



The Integration of Recent Migrants and Refugees: A Review of Research on Integration Policy Practices in the EU

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SPRING is a EU-funded project focusing on the integration of recently arrived migrants in the context of the large-scale arrivals of refugees and other migrants since 2014. It aims to develop a toolbox to improve the innovation, effectiveness and sustainability of the work done by Europe’s integration stakeholders at national, regional and local levels. The project mobilises significant research, networks and communications capacity and gathers, summarises and shares the best available research and evidence on the effectiveness, innovation, transferability, sustainability and evaluation methods for integration policies and practice.

The SPRING Platform integrationpractices.eu is the main hub to make the project results available to practitioners as well as to the general public.

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Introduction: Reviewing the Evidence on Integration Policy Practices

Albert Kraller, Asya Pisarevskaya & Peter Scholten

The large-scale arrival of refugees and other migrants that has not started in but is largely associated with the year 2015 and the “long summer of migration” has been a major watershed moment in a number of respects. While one can indeed question the commonly used label “migration or refugee crisis”, the notion of crisis understood as turning point and critical threshold is quite apt. Even though the numbers of migrants did rise during this period (IOM, 2015; Eurostat, 2015), scholars argue that the crisis was triggered by unpreparedness of the EU policies “to provide humanitarian intervention” due to lack of functioning migration policy (Castelli Gattinara and Zamponi 2020, 626; Menjívar, Ruiz, and Ness 2019). The repercussions of migration policy crisis were felt across the entire EU, since they challenged the capacities of European asylum reception systems, as well as also mainstream public institutions, for example in the area of welfare, employment or education. The large-scale arrival of refugees and other migrants thus triggered responses in a wide range of policy fields and on different geographical scales and political levels. In a policy context, the 2015 crisis has shaped migration and asylum governance in Europe for years to come. The ‘New Pact on Migration and Asylum’ (European Commission 2020a) and the measures it proposes thus still echoes the reverberations of the 2015 crisis.

While a large variety of initiatives, projects, programmes and policies of different kinds have been initiated in response to the events of 2015 and their consequences, the crisis has also led to a massive investment into research on migration and integration, involving the setting up new or expanding existing thematic programmes by research funding bodies, the commissioning of specific research by public authorities and other stakeholders at different levels and an increasing share of general research funding schemes going into migration research reflecting the increased interest of the academic community in this field. While migration research has experienced a longer term steady – and steep – growth, especially since the early 2000s (Pisarevskaya et al. 2020, figure 2), research on migrants, and especially refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants arriving irregularly in or after 2015 has experienced a massive increase since that period (See Kleist et al. 2019 for a quantification of trends in research funded on forced migration in Germany). Thus, while migration had received considerable attention from researchers before 2015, reflecting its wider salience and politicisation, there has been a certain shift of focus away from established migrant groups and EU migrants towards refugees, asylum seekers and other migrants part of these mixed flows.

A major research impetus has come from the European Union’s Research Programme Horizon 2020, which invested 200 million EUR for research projects on migration in response to the post-

2014 inflows in the period between 2018 and 2020 (European Commission 2020b).¹ Overall, the massive research effort invested at national and EU level has certainly been useful in highlighting specific do’s and don’ts, and successes and failures of integration policies and measures. Yet the sheer volume of research conducted makes it challenging for practitioners and policymakers, and at times also academics to have an overview of what knowledge is available and what specific results mean in the context of broader research conducted on a particular topic.

This report addresses this challenge, and in line with the overall mandate of the SPRING project, takes stock of research in the field of integration and more specifically, of research evidence on *integration policy practices*.² The focus on integration policy practices means that we do not aim to take stock of all research on integration per se, which would in itself be a massive undertaking and is out of SPRING’s scope. In a similar vein, this review focuses on findings relevant for the newly arrived migrants in the first years of their residence in the receiving countries, and specifically refugees and asylum seekers as well as other migrants often arriving in an irregular manner since 2015. This said, we also sometimes have included research on other groups and indeed previous waves of migrants, in the cases when the evidence on refugees and asylum seekers were scarce, as well as with the purpose of embedding research on recent migrants in the wider literature on immigrant incorporation.

In the following, we describe in more detail the methodology used to compile this review and to define its focus.

Methodology and Approach

Our review of research evidence on integration policy practices is based on three elements: (1) the elaboration of a system for classifying evidence (the SPRING taxonomy), (2) mapping of research evidence and (3) reviewing and synthesizing the research evidence.

The SPRING taxonomy

¹ In response to the events of 2015, the Commission had already decided to amend its 2017 work programme in 2016 and to invest an additional 11 million on migration (European Commission 2016). Some 100 million EUR were made available to the migration topics under its 2018-2020 work programme specifically (European Commission 2019). Importantly, research conducted under other call topics often also have or had important migration and integration components. The actual amount thus was considerably higher.

² The term ‘integration policy practices’ reflects an understanding of integration policy as inherently diverse and constituted by a plurality of different practices associated with a plurality of stakeholders (“communities of practice”) engaging in such practices. The term also refers to two basic dimensions of interventions: policy (and politics), i.e. the negotiation and definition of policy objectives and the choice of instruments on the one hand, and their implementation through concrete practices on the other (DUK and EUR 2021, 6).

The SPRING taxonomy (DUK and EUR 2021) aims at providing a systematic classification system of integration policy practices for the collection, mapping and synthesis of research evidence undertaken in SPRING. In addition, it was also meant to serve other activities undertaken by the SPRING project. A key requirement for the taxonomy was its capability to support the systematic mapping of evidence on integration policy practices. In this context, aligning the SPRING taxonomy with the Migration Research Hub taxonomy was crucial for using the Migration Research Hub as one of the research tools for the mapping of evidence. The Migration Research Hub taxonomy in turn is based on a combination of an inductive and deductive logic, using computer-assisted topic modelling to identify topic clusters and subsequently assigning labels to these topics.

In practical terms, the SPRING taxonomy thus includes those thematic Migration Research Hub taxonomy items that seemed to be the most relevant and produced relevant research results. In addition, to the category ‘areas of integration’ the taxonomy includes 6 additional categories - governance level/geographical target area; governance actors; analytical dimensions of integration policy practices; target groups in terms of legal status and admission channels; target groups in terms of social characteristics; and a residual category “other” research characteristics which includes, for example, methodology. The resulting taxonomy thus includes 7 overarching categories and altogether 61 topics (See DUK and EUR 2021 for more details regarding the methodology). Importantly and reflecting the nature of this review as a large-scale meta-review of relevant literature in the field of migrant integration, we do not follow any particular conceptualisation of migrant integration and basically follow an inductive approach reflecting the different theoretical and conceptual stances of the literature we reviewed and incorporating in our analysis any literature dealing with consequences of migration with a main focus on countries of destination and on migrants themselves, with attitudes being the main topic related (also) to non-migrants.

Mapping of Evidence

Organising the review of evidence: identifying topics for the review

In a second step, we mapped the available evidence. While the bulk of the literature reviewed concerns the period after approximately 2014, when the number migrants arriving in mixed flows was already rising, we generally considered literature of the past decade from about 2010 onwards. In view of the third step – the review of evidence compiled in the present report - we used the 15 topics distinguished under the category ‘areas of integration’ of the taxonomy as the basis for the mapping of evidence and as the basis of the review report. For practical reasons of organising the work we further reduced the topics to 12 topics, merging several topics with each other. Finally, we eventually dropped gender and gender relations as a distinct item as the resulting literature retrieved from the Migration Research Hub overlapped with all other topics. We there thus finally left with 11 topics - synonymous with the topics of the chapters compiled in this review.

Work on these chapters was distributed amongst the three main institutional partners involved in the review – Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR), Danube University Krems (DUK)³ and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), illustrated in table 1, below.

Table 1: Topics (Chapters) and distribution of responsibility

Chapter Nr.	Topic/chapter title	Responsible partner
Chapter 1	Rights and legal status	EUR
Chapter 2	Employment	EUR
Chapter 3	Education and training	DUK
Chapter 4	Housing and settlement	DUK
Chapter 5	Welfare systems	EUR
Chapter 6	Health	EUR
Chapter 7	Crime	ICMPD
Chapter 8	Family Relations, marriage and children	ICMPD
Chapter 9	Attitudes towards migrants, intergroup relations and contact	EUR
Chapter 10	Identity and belonging	DUK
Chapter 11	Civic participation, arts and leisure	DUK

While the focus of the overall SPRING project is narrower, focusing specifically on (1) employment, (2) education and training, (3) housing and settlement and (4) access to key services, itself covering several of the topics of this review report, notably welfare and social work as well as health, we decided to cover ‘areas of integration’ comprehensively, thus covering more areas than we originally set out to do.

Importantly, these topics reflect thematically consistent areas of research, that are clusters of research pieces that address common topics. Although at times overlapping or co-terminous with established notions of dimensions or fields of integration we do not necessarily imply that these areas are necessarily useful as conceptual framing for areas of intervention. As will become clear from individual chapters compiled in this report, the boundaries between topics are not strict and there are multiple interlinkages. While we have sought to avoid overlap, several issues are discussed within several chapters. For examples, while legal status and citizenship indeed have a foundational function (Ager and Strang 2008), specific rights and obligations are essential elements also of areas that Ager and Strang conceptualise as means and markers in their conceptual model of integration (such as housing, employment or education). The relationship between different ‘areas of integration’ may also be of a causal nature. For example, housing conditions and the location of housing has been shown to have an important impact on

³ Danube University Krems has since been renamed into University for Continuing Education Krems – Danube University Krems (UWK). In view of a consistency of partner references in the project we will continue using the “old” main name and acronym.

education, employment or social capital – in terms of ability to forge ties, bonds and bridges (See on the concepts Ager and Strang 2008). In other words, the thematic topics on which we base our review are ultimately only heuristic devices that has allowed us to sort and organise evidence.

Implementing the mapping

The mapping involved two processes complementing each other:

- 1) Automated search and categorization of evidence in the Migration Research Hub (in the following referred to as MRH).
- 2) Manual mapping of evidence that consisted of an expert survey and a mapping of EU-funded projects

Automated search using the MRH

The first process involved creation of the SPRING-project section on the Migration Research Hub, dedicated to integration policy practices. In this section we have created complex search queries that can automatically categorize in terms of ‘areas of integration’ the evidence already present in the MRH. These search queries have been created and tested by the EUR and reviewed by the DUK and ICMPD teams. Once the results of categorized evidence were deemed sufficiently relevant the query was saved and the lists of evidence were available for the team to start the review.

The second process of manual mapping was necessary to complement the collection of evidence through MRH. Even though the collection is constantly updated there are still some gaps, for instance the EU-funded projects are insufficiently included.

Expert survey

The Expert Survey was designed in such a way that it allowed the research community working in the field of migrant integration to suggest key publications that must be included in the review of evidence. We have asked in this survey to recommend both key papers and reports produced by the respondent (and her/his research group) as well as evidence beyond their research group that they considered the most important. All the submitted entries were also categorized by ‘areas of integration’. The respondents could select one or several relevant areas when they submit each item. The survey was available for 2 months from 26 July till 1 of October 2021. It was distributed through IMISCOE and SPRING social media channels, as well as mailing lists. In total around 80 respondents submitted 164 literature items.

Mapping of European research projects on migrant integration

The mapping of the practice-oriented started from the collection of relevant projects from the MRH project repository and complemented with the manual searches conducted via the expert networks and European commission funding websites by the DUK team. In this process 140 projects between 2014-2020 on migrant integration were mapped and categorized via SPRING classification system. The sources included: H2020, AMIF, Erasmus+, ESF+ and Justice.

Reviewing the Evidence

In a third step, we defined a common structure codified in a template that each of the authors used for the development of the respective chapter, based on the literature mapped in the course of our systematic mapping of research and complemented by additional literature research using the literature found as the guide for further research pieces. In addition, we also solicited advice from a range of external reviewers whom we asked to comment on initial, annotated chapter outlines. The chapters comprise five main sections (plus an introduction and chapter conclusions): a section providing a brief overall appraisal of research in a given field, identifying key topics discussed (section 2), a description of the position of migrants in a given field (“integration situation”, section 3), an analysis of the framing of interventions and overall policy objectives (section 4), an analysis of the main instruments used to address situations framed as being in need of intervention and (section 5) and an analysis of policy effects and effectiveness. As will be clear from the chapters that follows the research available differs widely in terms of the extent to which research on these different aspects is available, partly also reflecting the prominence of, or conversely, the lack of attention to specific aspects of ‘areas of integration’.

For example, there is relatively little research on policies and initiatives aimed at fostering social integration and the creation of new, or strengthening existing, ties between the migrant population and the non-migrant population. This is despite the fact that such approaches (such as ‘community sponsorship’ programmes, mentoring or buddy-systems) have gained increasing prominence in the activities in particular of civil society organisations, reflecting both a lack of research but also a certain neglect of ‘social integration’ by public institutions. What is even more striking is the relative absence of research on policy effects and effectiveness, more prevalent in areas with tangible objectives and more frequent use of evaluations (such as, arguably, in the area of employment).

The mapping and initial preparation of our literature review was commenced in September 2021 and completed in early January 2022. Initial and intermediate chapters were also reviewed internally by the project team members. Chapters were completed by May 2022.

Main purpose, Limitations and Outlook

In this introductory chapter we have laid out the background of this review report, described its objectives and the scope of the review in terms of target groups and subjects covered. Moreover, we have described the review’s methodology and overall approach taken and presented the organization of the review into 11 chapters as a result of the choice to prioritize a thematic over possible other angles. In the remainder of this introduction, we briefly discuss the review’s ultimately practical orientation and the limitations resulting from this design. Finally, we will provide a brief outlook on the next steps and the translation of the reviews into practical tools developed in the forthcoming deliverables.

The ultimate objective of this effort in synthesizing available research evidence on integration policy practices is to provide practitioners and policymakers with a guide towards available research evidence on integration policy practices targeting refugees, asylum seekers and other recently arrived migrants as well as their incorporation as seen from different thematic perspectives. While academic researchers may find our review also relevant for their work, academic audiences are not our primary target group. As a corollary, the review is strongly oriented towards empirical questions. We thus do not take up more theoretical and conceptual debates, for example on the adequacy of integration as an analytical concept or as a frame guiding policy interventions, reflected, for example, in the debates about mainstreaming and the use of generic policies vs. policy approaches based on a conception of migrants or specific groups among these as primary target groups of policy interventions (Scholten, Collett, and Petrovic 2016) or debates on the colonial roots of integration thinking (Schinkel 2018 see also the other articles in this symposium published in CMS). In reviewing the evidence, the review report also prioritizes topics more closely related to policy or other practical interventions. We thus leave aside research on empirical phenomena that are not directly relevant for policymaking or practitioners or that have, at least so far, not been framed as issues to be looked at. Finally, while all topics covered in this review involve issues of governance issues, we do not focus on migration and integration governance as a topic in its own right, nor do we address the politics of integration, both of which have received and are receiving considerable attention in a variety of EU-funded research projects undertaken in the period under review.⁴ This is not to say that we are ignorant of the importance of these aspects. As a corollary, we have attempted to incorporate some elements of the governance and politics dimensions of migrant integration into our review. For example, our attention to the framing of interventions in the different areas of integration is one element ‘bringing politics back in’. Similarly, the chapters on rights and legal status, identity and belonging and attitudes more directly speak to these dimensions. Nevertheless, we do not claim to provide an analysis of governance processes and arrangements, notably the role of different actors, forms of cooperation between state and non-state actors, or multi-level governance dynamics, even though some of them provide answers to questions such as how to best organize the governance of migrant integration in different fields, which governance arrangements work best or how to best address negative dynamics in policy processes and the politics around migrant integration. To some degree the latter, for example, speaks to more fundamental questions about the crisis of democratic and liberal governance as such. Our aims, by contrast, are more modest. In this report we primarily aim to take stock of the evidence on migrant incorporation in different thematic areas, the societal and policy problems identified as basis for policy or practical interventions, the nature and types of policy instruments analysed in that literature and some conclusion on their effects.

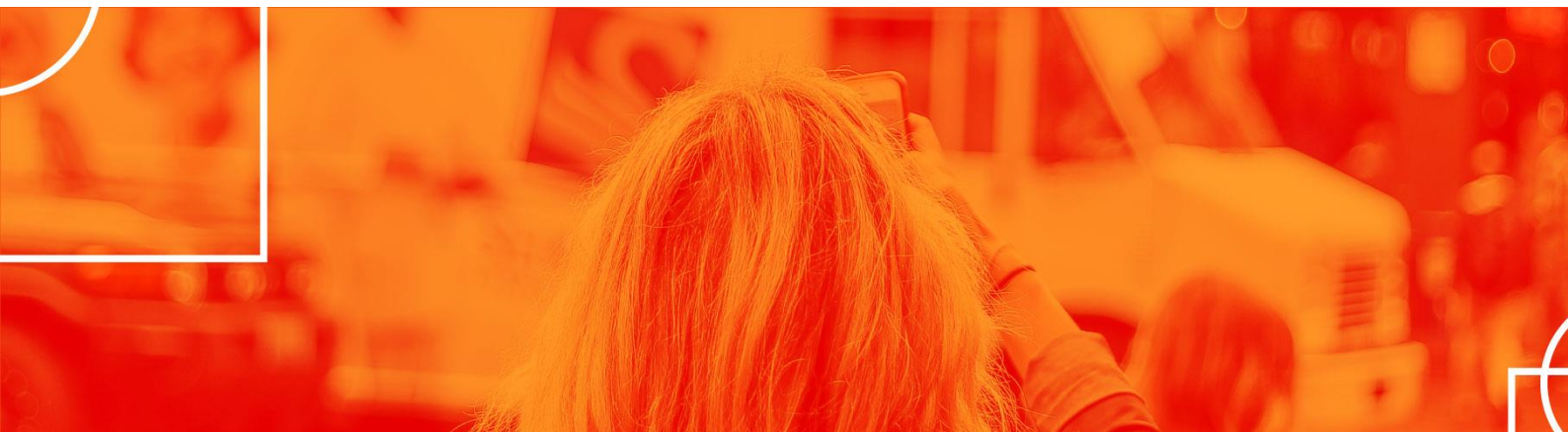
⁴ Projects prominently focusing on governance and political aspects include the projects “Evaluating the Common European Asylum System under Pressure and Recommendations for Further Development (CEASEVAL), the RESPOND project, the Assessing the Production and Impact of Migration Narratives (BRIDGES) project or the Prospects for International Migration Governance (MIGPROSP) project, to name but a few relevant projects.

Outlook

While we envisage that the present review report will be of interest to a variety of audiences and readers, the review report is but a first step in longer process of translating our synthesis into a variety of recommendation more directly addressed to practitioners. Thus, the review report will feed into an evidence repository developed by SPRING. Overall, the repository will provide access to different resources provided by the SPRING project, including to stakeholders, practices and research evidence. In relation to the latter, there will be a landing page to each of the topics subject to a chapter, providing a topic description, links to relevant Migration Research Hub entries, key literature and relevant practices. In addition, short factsheets ('practice notes') will summarise the contents of (selected) chapters. As visual elements, infographics will be provided on selected topics, including cross-cutting themes. Finally, a handbook directed at practitioners and focusing on selected topics will be created, involving a short presentation of key research issues in given areas plus selected examples of key findings.

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1 Rights and Legal Status

Asya Pisarevskaya & Peter Scholten

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses research that explores the role of legal status in the process of migrant integration. Rights in this chapter are understood as legal and social principles defining entitlements of people in a specific legal system. Rights of foreigners are closely linked with the legal status they have in the legal systems of the receiving country. Legal status could act both as a barrier and as facilitator in the integration process of migrants by limiting or granting rights to legal employment, welfare support, education, health care, protection, and many other areas of life (Ager and Strang 2008). In this chapter we aim to provide a synthesis of the research findings on this complex topic by looking specifically at the implications of different legal statuses, and rights linked to it for the population of post-2014 immigrants in European countries. We will review the evidence looking at variation of rights linked to the statuses of recognized refugees and persons under subsidiary protection, tolerated persons, other non-humanitarian legal statuses and migrants without a legal status (undocumented migrants). We will summarize research on relevant policies determining and assigning legal statuses and granting or limiting rights of immigrants. For instance, policies aimed at fast-tracking asylum

procedures or regularisation of undocumented migrants. These discussions are closely intertwined with questions of citizenship in a broad sense – who is considered a citizen in the European nation states and what is the role of citizenship in integration of migrants. It also explores literature on non-discrimination laws and regulations, which govern many migrant rights. Finally, the chapter reviews research examining overarching rights and obligations, territorial restrictions, and integration requirements.

Migrant rights is a well-established area of research. The differentiation of migrants’ rights according to legal status is often explored in the literature, as well as cross-country comparisons regarding the rights extended to newcomers and how these differences might be explained. Civic integration requirements, and their effects on naturalization and long-term residence status, have also received significant research attention in recent years with their increased use across Europe.

Rights are fundamental normative rules regarding what people are allowed or not allowed to do, and what obligations the state has towards them. First and for most, the democracies still have to abide by human rights, which all people are entitled to (Ambrosini 2016). As defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) there are 30 basic human rights which include, for example, right to life, freedom, equality, dignity, no slavery, no torture, equality before the law, right to fair trial, right to asylum, right to nationality, rights to marry and have a family and many others⁵. In relation to immigration, there are several types of rights that need to be distinguished: 1. Immigration rights - the rights allowing to cross international borders legally; 2. immigrant citizenship rights – which are activated once the border of the nation state is crossed and are accessed, setting out the way they will be incorporated into the nation state (Koopmans and Michalowski 2017). Migrants are only entitled citizenship rights if they have a legal status (Kraler 2019). Such legal status varies among immigrants, and their ascribed rights vary accordingly.

This chapter starts with an overview of the main topics examined by literature of the last decade in relation to legal status, rights, and non-discrimination. Then we discuss the main findings from the literature regarding the situation of post-2014 migrants in terms of legal statuses, rights, and citizenship. After that we will present the dominant policy framings and objectives that have been found by the researchers in relation to rights, legal status, and their role in shaping migrant integration process. Next, we will present, the most researched implementation practices that are aimed at expansion of migrants’ rights and facilitation of integration. The last part will look into the effectiveness of these measures in achieving policy objectives and reducing inequalities.

1.2 Research on legal status, rights and non-discrimination in integration process

The word-cloud overview of titles of recent publications (Fig.1) demonstrates that the analysed evidence deals with groups of asylum seekers, refugees and irregular migrants and focus on such issues as citizenship, naturalisation, rights, protection, legal statuses and civic integration.

⁵ <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>

A rich body of research documents the negative consequences of the lack of rights in a variety of integration domains such as health, employment, or housing, as discussed more extensively in the respective chapters in this report. Particularly, literature on undocumented migrants highlights how the lack of rights impedes integration and leads to exclusion and marginalisation of newly arrived migrants. The research project *INSIDE the deportation gap* (*INSIDE the Deportation Gap - Social Membership for Non-Deported Persons*, n.d.) examines how the limiting of rights for irregular migrants is used as a tool of migration control (Ataç and Rosenberger 2019). Policies regarding the change of immigration status have received increasing research attention in recent years, examining more broadly the status transitions when the reasons of migrants' stay change (European Migration Network 2016), as well as focusing on regularisation of undocumented migrants (Kraler 2019; Bonizzoni 2017; Chauvin, Garcés-Mascreñas, and Kraler 2013) or fast-tracking procedures for asylum applicants (Kagan 2017; Asylum Information Database (AIDA) 2017; Ghezelbash 2021; Reneman and Stronks 2021). Literature on regularization investigates the impact of status transitions on opportunities for migrants (Kraler 2019).

Figure 1: Key-words from the titles of the reviewed literature (excl. 'immigrant' and 'migrant' and variations of those)



Regularisation leads to large improvements in migrants' agency, for instance allowing them to open a bank account and move around the host country without the threat of deportation. Moreover, regularisation is found to drastically enlarge the employment opportunities for migrants across most European countries. Regularization allows migrants to choose better jobs in different areas of the host country and change fields of occupation. It is important to note, however, is that regularisation was not always perceived to improve employment opportunities in some countries. For example, in Poland, many migrants in informal work did not see their situation bettered by regularisation, in fact, it only added a level of bureaucracy that further limited their agency. Kraler (2019) suggests that regularisation does not create the most positive changes in employment opportunities for immigrants in countries very much impacted by economic crises. Overall, the EU is split in the impact that regularisation has on migrants: in northern EU states, including the Netherlands and Sweden, being irregular is more detrimental compared to being irregular in southern states, where there with irregular status have more opportunities and less formal exclusion. Consequently, the process of regularisation has far greater positive impact in the northern states, removing their social exclusion, than in the southern states (Kraler 2019; Chauvin, Garcés-Mascreñas, and Kraler 2013).

Studies on naturalisation and access to citizenship also often analyse these processes and formal requirements to be accepted into citizenship. The acquisition of citizenship of the receiving country often seems to be the ultimate formal step in completing the integration trajectory from

foreign newcomer to the citizen and (formally) equal member of the receiving society. The projects ‘Access to Citizenship and its Impact on Immigrant Integration’ (ACIT) (Bauböck et al. 2013) and ‘Migrant Life Course and Legal Status Transition’ (MiLifeStatus) provide important examples of evidence on these topics (‘MiLifeStatus’ 2017). There is also a consensus among researchers that legal status transition is no ‘magical device’ that guarantees integration. Formal integration is only a part of the complex and multifaceted integration process and even with citizenship of the receiving country migrants can be excluded and discriminated against by the mainstream population and state institutions. However, it is also confirmed that there are forms of citizenship that exist beyond (and sometimes despite of) limited rights and formal exclusion in the cases of irregular migrants (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas 2014; 2012).

Comparative research examines different citizenship regimes (Vink 2017b) and what might have influenced the states to extend or restrict immigrants’ rights (Koopmans and Michalowski 2017). Further studies analyse the difference of migrants rights linked to various legal statuses, as well as how this differs per country (Chetail, De Bruycker, and Maiani 2016; Carmel and Paul 2013; European Migration Network 2020). Researchers also highlight the importance of distinguishing between rights and practices, arguing that looking at formal rights alone might not be an accurate representation of how these are experienced by newcomers (Huddleston 2020; Ambrosini 2016; Huddleston and Falcke 2020). There is a significant strand of literature which examines the local level implementation of certain rights, examining, or even advocating for, regimes of ‘urban citizenship’, in which undocumented migrants that are excluded from formal systems of the nation state are granted some rights in the municipalities where they live (Bauder and Gonzalez 2018; Gebhardt 2016a; 2016b; Kos, Maussen, and Doomernik 2016; ‘StatusCities Project’ 2020; Bauböck and Orgad 2020; Spencer and Delvino 2019). Civic integration requirements and their effect on regulation of migrants’ rights have been critically examined in academic literature too (Bonjour and Duyvendak 2018; de Waal 2021; Böcker and Strik 2011).

There is also a body of literature examining how migrants including rejected asylum seekers, persons in protracted asylum procedures, people with humanitarian statuses of limited time duration or restrictive conditions, and recognised refugees with limited de-facto rights slip into precarious statuses or situations for prolonged periods of time. The TRAFIG project recently published two reports on these issues using the notion of “protracted displacement” to refer to such conditions (Roman et al. 2021; Christ et al. 2021). Protracted displacement refers to a “particular social condition of insecurity, vulnerability and dependency” (Etzold et al. 2019, 14), “a specific social constellation, in which the capabilities of displaced persons to rebuild their lives after displacement and the opportunities available to do so are severely limited for prolonged periods of time” (Etzold et al. 2019, 20). Furthermore, migrants experiencing protracted displacement will have decreased levels of agency, either through marginalisation, poor networks and connections, and reduced mobility, or all three. To illustrate this, one can look at Greece during the refugee crisis in 2015. After the crossing of over 855,000 migrants through Greece to the rest of Europe in 2015, migration channels subsequently tightened up, such as the route through the Balkans. As a result, many migrants that travelled to Greece with dreams of continuing north, ended up with their mobility reduced and getting stuck for long

periods of time, such as the 23,540 asylum seekers in Greek camps awaiting their application results for many months and years.

Literature on non-discrimination law and its link to integration processes is mainly discussed within the subject area of legal studies. This research is case-law specific, that is based on previously established judicial decisions, and is less focused on integration consequences for migrants (Brinkmann 2015; de Witte 2011; Reisel 2015; Wrench 2013; Muir 2011). One article by (Añon 2016) explicitly discusses antidiscrimination laws and policies as a way to improve integration policy. While another study also focuses on the local level of governance and examines the role of cities in anti-discrimination policies (Grigolo 2011). Another key work on the topic is written by Moritz Jesse ‘The Civic Citizens of Europe’. It analyses the legal frameworks within which inclusion of immigrants into receiving societies take place, it investigates “whether the legal potential for integration in the EU is sufficient for the inclusion of immigrants” (Jesse 2017).

Figure 2: Geographical locations in the titles of reviewed literature. Bigger size – more frequency



In terms of geographical focus of the analysed studies, we can see on the word-cloud (Fig 2.) that besides studies on various European countries, there is also research on the local level, including cities like Amsterdam, Turin, Berlin, Vienna, Barcelona and Calais. The countries, most frequently represented in the research are the Netherlands, Germany and Italy.

1.3 Formal integration of migrants in terms of rights and non-discrimination

In this section we will present the findings of literature on the extent of formal integration of post -2014 migrants in the European countries. By formal integration we mean the integration into the legal systems of the receiving countries and the extent to which the rights of newly arrived migrants are equal to those of citizens.

First of all, the research evidence points that there is a great variation in Europe from country to country. Some legal statuses are regulated by the EU and therefore are present in nearly all Member States. Such rights are linked to minimum standard of rights, including civic, economic and social rights. The EU sets out how different categories of migrants have different levels of such rights, however, the member states are permitted to opt-out or be flexible with the implementation (Carmel and Paul 2013). The statuses that are linked to more than a minimum standard of rights, are regulated by different national laws and are acquired under differentiating conditions in various countries. Bloemraad and Sheares (2017) review how this differs across European countries. Evidence demonstrates that for a migrant from a poorer country, their chances of successfully gaining citizenship double if they were to apply in Sweden than in Hungary. The reasons for such difference, according to the authors, are linked to post-

colonial histories of Europe and political orientation of the governing parties. Studies have demonstrated that, from a historical perspective, **post-colonial powers** now tend to have **more open citizenship** than non-colonisers, because having strong civic relations with colonies was a key political move. Other studies have revealed that left leaning parties tend to call for more open citizenship, with right leaning parties favouring stricter citizenship allowances, such as in granting citizenship only upon the basis of language skills and high fees for application (Bloemraad and Sheares 2017).

The range of different legal statuses also varies from country to country (as described in detail in the EMN report (European Migration Network 2020). This is what is referred to as “complex stratification” (Carmel and Paul 2013) or civic stratification (Kofman 2002). A comparative analysis of the different categories of migrant rights in the EU across three dimensions of rights (economic, civic and social) demonstrated that the different categories of migrants are stratified in terms of granted rights. For example, asylum seekers have to wait between 6-12 months, according to EU directive, before being able to work, whereas posted workers must only work with the agreed upon employer for a maximum of two years. In theory, this would create a clear hierarchy of migrant statuses based upon the rights they permit. However, reality presents itself differently. This stratification is very complex, with some migrant categories having more social rights but another having more economic rights; the hierarchy is largely inconsistent.

Moreover, legal statuses bearing the same name may have different meaning in different EU countries and carry different rights and entitlements. The study of Hajer compares the Netherlands with Italy and how they treat undocumented migrants. With the dichotomous admission policy of the Netherlands, those without a legal status are entirely excluded from access, with few exceptions, such as access to emergency medical care. On the other hand, those with legal status are entitled to the full range of benefits of the Dutch welfare state. Italy, however, systematically uses emergency policies. Acquiring a residence permit does not grant very many rights, besides the right to stay on the country’s territory. However, due to the country’s high reliance on irregular migrant labour, people are able to engage in semi-formal employment and sustain themselves (Hajer 2021).

In general, what can be noted that research views legal status as the “right to have rights”⁶ (Shaheen 2021). Those migrants with the least rights are those without a legal status in the receiving countries. A large body of literature focuses on the marginalized position of undocumented migrants and their exclusion from rights guaranteeing their basic human needs. In that sense, undocumented migrants are the category deprived of most basic rights. Another vulnerable category with most limited rights are asylum seekers in protracted asylum procedures. Evidence points at the backlog in status determination and long waiting time until the administrative decision on the eligibility of these persons to remain on the territory of the

⁶ The phrase has originated from Hannah Arendt, see Arendt, H. (1949). *Es gibt nur einziges Menschenrecht [There is only one single human right]*. *Die Wandlung*, 4, 754–770. Retrieved February 25, 2018 from <http://www.hannaharendt.net/index.php/han/article/view/154/274mal.h>

receiving country for humanitarian reasons. This leads for many asylum seekers to remain without rights (in a legal limbo) for extended periods of time as they await their asylum decisions. It has been reported that long waiting times can impede their integration in the long run and cause many mental health problems due to uncertainty of their life trajectories (Kagan 2017; Reneman and Stronks 2021).

Researchers note that the general trend of the European law is that migrants' rights become more restrictive (Mourão Permoser 2017). Such trend means that it is harder for migrants to be able to successfully apply and receive citizenship rights, such as the access to education and employment. Between 1999-2009, European countries largely tightened the conditions to which migrants can access citizenship rights, however these rights, when granted, have been expanded. An investigation into this trend determined two causes for this change, the first was over the uncertainty of the concept of granting citizenship rights based on nationality or whether these rights should be granted among the "deterritorialized norms of universal human worth" (Soysal and Soyland 1994 as cited in Mourão Permoser 2017). The other cause for more restrictive rights in the EU at this time was a shift from the goal of the EU as a supranational organisation in equalising all migrant rights, to a more segmented approach where different categories of migrants would be awarded different levels of rights.

There is a consensus across literature that laws and rights are not the only quintessential element in integration process. It is also important to pay attention and understand how they are implemented and managed in everyday lives of people (Ambrosini 2016). The dichotomy between formal exclusion and informal incorporation is not as strict as it might seem. And equally so, formal inclusion does not always guarantee informal integration. Rights do provide opportunities and the lack of rights pose various obstacles for integration. However, granted rights need to be exercised and made use of, while exclusion from rights still leaves space for informal citizenship. Thus, migrants' illegality can be understood more as "a handicap within a continuum of probationary citizenship" (Chauvin and Garcés-Masareñas 2012). This phrase means that that despite the formal exclusion that nation states enforce upon them, undocumented migrants could still strive and eventually "earn" their citizenship/ membership in the receiving society. Irregular migrants can take steps to reduce the sense to which they are perceived as illegal. By being a 'good illegal', such as though avoiding crime and paying taxes reliably, these immigrants can avoid deportations and even speed up their path to legalisation. Moreover, there is also a process by which states can aim to formalise the existence of irregular immigrants. For example, in Spain, undocumented migrants, whilst not legal residents, can register at municipalities in exchange for access to health care and education; they are 'documented illegals'.

The local level is considered very important here. Studies have discovered a dichotomy in aims of national and city-level policymakers. Often, national policies can be far stricter in granting legal status to immigrants. Whereas, at the local level, their priority is in the inclusion of their existing populations, whether they are legal or not. This is mostly the case for cities, which generally have higher populations of immigrants. Some cities, therefore, take a role as a 'sanctuary city', in which they accommodate and assist irregular migrants as far as they can

within the barriers of national immigration policy. An example of a sanctuary city is Barcelona, in Spain. The resistance against deportation of undocumented migrants, granting of city ID cards and enfranchising of non-nationals (Bauböck and Orgad 2020) demonstrate the importance and impact that the local level has in, not only shaping the rights and opportunities of immigrants but actually going against that of the national governments' (Bauder and Gonzalez 2018; Gebhardt 2016a; 2016b; Kos, Maussen, and Doomernik 2016; 'StatusCities Project' 2020).

As stated by Bloemraad and Sheares, "some citizenships are more valuable than others", as they can offer different rights and opportunities to immigrants (Bloemraad and Sheares 2017). Yet, as we have seen, in Europe, migrant categories are differentiated, with rights ascribed unevenly among such groups. However, there is not a clear hierarchy, but one of complex variations in which some groups may have full and equal health care and social security rights but have limited employment rights (for instance, seasonal workers, whose employment is restricted to only 6 months per year). Others may have right to stay for at least three years, have no employment restrictions and a right to employment assistance (refugees). A third category, for instance researchers, are restricted in the choice of their profession (that entails teaching and researching) in their employment, with only a single year guaranteed residence permit. Such specific groups present no real hierarchy, but rather a mix of granted and restricted rights that are attributed to various immigration statuses (Carmel and Paul 2013).

1.4 Framing and policy objectives in relation to migrants' rights and legal status

From the reviewed literature we can distinguish four main policy problem framings and the respective policy objectives aimed at granting or restriction of migrants' rights.

The first policy framing defines the problem of uncontrolled or unwanted immigration. It sets the objective to regain control and prevent immigrants from coming through the use of regulations limiting their rights. Restriction of rights and creation of legal obstacles for obtaining a legal status, thus is framed as instrument of immigration control (Ahlén and Boräng 2018; Ataç and Rosenberger 2019). Nation states do not grant legal status to unwanted immigrants in order to incentivize their return. Undocumented migrants are constructed in most of immigration policies through notions such as illegal, illegalized, undocumented, irregular, aliens, non-citizens, non-status migrant, which conveys the idea of criminality and undesirability (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascreñas 2012). In recent years, regularisation of irregular migrants (including rejected asylum seekers) has not been the most desirable policy solution by many European nation states, neither was the acceptance of underground presence of migrants without legally granted right to reside in the territory. Hence, return is a more popular policy objective to deal with the migrant who were not permitted to stay (Kraler 2019; Lietaert, Broekaert, and Derluyn 2017). Therefore, migrants lacking legal status that permits their stay in the receiving country, faced a threat of deportability (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascreñas 2012). Receiving states utilise the procedures of granting legal status as a mechanism of (future) immigration control. It is revealed in the form of intentional delays of asylum application procedures as a form of 'temporal deterrence' (Reneman and Stronks 2021), that national states utilize in order to discourage asylum seekers from coming.

Moreover, when looking at policies beyond the arrival and initial stay, literature regards Civic Integration Policies also as a form of immigration control. These policies regulate who and under which conditions can obtain the rights to long-term residency and national citizenship in a receiving country (Ahlén and Boräng 2018). Such policies usually include evaluations of migrants' knowledge of the language as well as of the host country's national history, traditions and values. Scientific literature regards that these policies fulfil a demonstrative function satisfying those citizens who generally oppose immigration (Goodman and Wright 2015). Through Civic Integration Policies societies seem in control of the conditions of political membership, which is both politically and rhetorically popular among the voters. While the impact of such policies on the outcomes of immigrant integration is found to be insignificant (Goodman and Wright 2015).

The second type of framing relates to the administrative problem in the situations when there are unexpectedly high numbers of asylum applications, that receiving state authorities are obliged to process. The policy objective set is to reduce the administrative backlog of cases and improve the efficiency of asylum decision making when the inflow of asylum applications is too high. Policies for the fast-tacking of asylum applications and group-based decisions are implemented to reach that objective (Asylum Information Database (AIDA) 2017).

The third policy framing can be called utilitarian from the perspective of the receiving nation states. The problem is defined in terms of economic or demographic needs that a receiving state has, and to which immigrant population can be a form of a solution. The policy objectives are set to make a selective grinding of rights to those groups of migrants that are deemed useful for the receiving state. The states, thus, choose to facilitate legal status transition to solve their problems beyond immigration. The examples of such policies can be seen in selective treatment of irregular migrants and support in transition to legal status for 'authorised' care workers, whose domestic services are in huge demand among the ageing European population (Ambrosini 2016; Bonizzoni 2017). Such 'laborization' policies are not unique to Italy, a recent study in Germany also explored the potential of this policy approach as a way to address vulnerabilities of unauthorised but resourceful immigrants (Jonitz and Leerkes 2022). EU member states usually facilitate the transition from any migrant status to work-based residence permits due to the economic benefits. For instance, international students are given some time (usually a year) after finishing their studies to look for jobs and, thus, change their legal status to highly-skilled labour migrant. Such measures allow the countries to retain international talent (European Migration Network 2016).

The fourth type of policy framing identified is human-rights based. It defines as a problem that some groups of people are deprived of exercising their human rights. The policy objective set to solve this is the legal granting of some limited rights to migrants in order to prevent destitution and extreme marginalisation. These issues are often addressed at local levels of governance, since the cities are left to deal with populations 'illegalized' by the national level legislations, i.e. rejected asylum seekers and those denied other immigration statuses (Gebhardt 2016b; Bauder and Gonzalez 2018). Some cities, called 'sanctuary cities' choose to create more inclusive and accommodative policy for their undocumented residents, even in the contexts of more

exclusionary national policy approaches. For example, Barcelona made use of the autonomy awarded to Spanish municipalities, implementing measures such as rumour dispelling and local institutions involved with providing services regardless of legal status (Bauder and Gonzalez 2018). Regularisations on the grounds of migrants’ vulnerabilities, for instance, severe health issues, also represent integration practice under the fourth type of framing (Kraler 2019).

1.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools of

formal integration of migrants

Mainly regulatory instruments govern legal statuses, which determine the rights granted to newly arrived migrants. Even before migrants’ arrival to the territory of the nation state, laws and directives define the rules for granting third-country nationals the right to enter via visa application procedures. Types of visas are usually linked to various purposes of entry and stay. They could be short-term and long-term, for the purposes of work, study, family, medical treatment and humanitarian assistance (Gest and Boucher 2021). The rights that migrants can exercise upon arrival are, thus, already determined at the stage of receiving a visa. After arrival, the entry visas are normally exchanged for the residence permits that further determine the conditions and rules of stay, and participation in the receiving society. However, some migrants arrive outside of regular migration procedures, that is without visas. In this section, we summarise research on instruments facilitating acquisition or expansion of rights for non-EU migrants that are relevant to their integration process.

The legal instruments on international level, such as UN Refugee Convention (United Nations 1951), allows people in search of international protection to come at the border and apply for asylum, declaring their purpose of stay as a refugee. However, every state that ratified this international convention and made it part of their legal system, has its own procedures in place to determine the process of refugee status determination, as well as a variety of humanitarian statuses that a person could receive. Some states distinguish between refugee status and subsidiary protection (Peers et al. 2015), and some other additional toleration statuses (i.e. ‘Duldung’ in Germany). They also establish directives to set the rules for fast-track procedures or group-based status determination (Asylum Information Database (AIDA) 2017; Ghezelbash 2021; Reneman and Stronks 2021), that reduce the time needed for status determination procedures in the instances of mass arrivals of migrants.

Besides status determination regulations, research also explores the legal instruments enabling a status change for migrants. EMN report provides a detailed overview of various legal possibilities enabling status change for various categories of migrants (European Migration Network 2016). All EU member states have laws allowing the change of status from and into almost all existing categories. Economic considerations are named to be the main reason behind such policies since most of the states aim to retain talent and tackle labour shortages as well as increase the cost-efficiency of their migration systems. Facilitation of integration and prevention

of irregularity are also names as reasons for states allowing status change for migrants. Change of status from educational reasons are very common in the EU member states, a status change towards remunerated activities, i.e. employment or self-employment, are most often facilitated, they usually enhance rights of migrants in terms of rights to work access, duration of stay and family reunification. France, the Netherlands, Ireland, Estonia and Lithuania and Germany all have some kind of post-education residence permits that allow successful students to look for jobs in the country of their studies. Changes from protection related statuses, i.e. asylum seeker and temporary permits for victims of trafficking, also exist in some member states. For instance, Sweden and Germany allows rejected asylum applicants to change into employment permit. However, more options of status change exist for the victims of trafficking (European Migration Network 2016).

The granting a legal status to undocumented migrants means the recognition of their right to reside on the territory of the receiving state, as well as access to some citizenship rights. Regularisation instruments differ across the EU countries and could be based on different grounds. Ambrosini (2016) highlights that unauthorised immigrant population could first be incorporated by societies and local institutions, while legal procedures of regularisation often follow this. His paper defines three ways in which legalization can occur: though recognition of danger or abuse, regularization procedures or amnesties, and assessment of special biographical condition. Recognition on humanitarian groups is an example of recognition through victimisation, and is mostly applied to forced migrants of all sorts, refugees and victims of trafficking (Ambrosini 2016). Such regularisations take place in Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and France, which means that any irregular migrant who is sufficiently vulnerable invokes a human rights obligation to be protected by the receiving state (Kraler 2019). Rejected asylum seekers, who for various reasons cannot be returned to their country of origin, often fall under this type of regularisations too (Kraler 2019).

Legalisation by deservingness requires migrants to demonstrate their successful socio-economic integration in the society (Ambrosini 2016). Such basis for regularisation is most used in Southern-European countries, particularly Spain and Italy, and increasingly also in Germany and France (Kraler 2019). Deservingness of stay can be based on a proof of employment and well as social integration. In France, stable relationship with a legal resident or a long-term residence can be grounds for such legalization (Ambrosini 2016). In Spain, the co-called '*arraigo social*' policy also establishes family links to legal residents and Spanish citizens as a ground for regularization. Work-related regularisations (also called '*laborizations*') require proof of paid job. In Italy, for instance, such regularisation programmes in 2009 and 2012 predominantly were searching for domestic and care workers, which resulted in 85% of the regularisation applications submitted by female domestic workers. While men working in other industries were not subject for regularizations (Bonizzoni 2017; Kraler 2019). Jonitz and Leekers (2022) describe various pathways to '*laborization*' available in Germany, including vocational toleration and employment toleration, which require either participation in a vocational training in a shortage occupation or an employment and financial self-sufficiency of foreigners for at least 18 months. Other conditions for labour-related regularization include a '*clear*' criminal record, '*clear identity*', '*Duldung*' status and German language proficiency (Jonitz and Leerkes 2022; Etzel 2021).

Another instrument of granting a legal status is linked to the special biographical conditions of migrants' lives. Legalization could be possible due to pregnancy and birth of children, or being unaccompanied minor or a child of irregular migrant. All these conditions, activate the tool of liberal protection of human rights and thus could lead states to regularize migrants (Ambrosini 2016). Biological conditions, such as severe sickness, is also linked with this regularization approach, according to the author.

The ultimate point of acquiring access rights for immigrants is naturalization, the adoption of formal citizenship of the receiving country. Citizenship status provides migrants with the same rights available to the rest of the country's citizens. As the GLOBALCIT Citizenship Law Dataset shows, the conditions to acquiring citizenship vary substantially among European countries, and the usual naturalization procedure requires a certain period of continuous residency in the country. This period ranges from 3 to 10 years. Besides, a clear criminal record, knowledge or the country's language, cultural values and periods of financial self-sufficiency are also usual conditions for granting of citizenship (Vink et al. 2021). The completion of Civic Integration Programmes and passing of the integration tests are often required not only for the citizenship but also for renewal of residence permits or access to long-term or permanent residency rights, for instance in France the Netherlands among many other Western and Northern European countries (see GLOBALCIT Citizenship Law Dataset; (Böcker and Strik 2011; Gebhardt 2016a). There are programmes of various duration for learning of the language and/or civic and cultural values of the receiving society exist in the EU countries and are obligatory to attend for some categories of newcomers from outside of the EU (often those are family migrants and refugees). However, to get access to permanent citizenship or residency, it is usually all categories of non-EU migrants are required to pass language and knowledge of society tests in the countries where Civic Integration policies are in place (Böcker and Strik 2011). Research evidence on these programmes often highlight the assimilationist, paternalistic and stereotyping character of such programmes. For instance, a study on French Civic Integration Programme found pronounced 'othering' of Muslims though the emphasis of the requirement to comply with French gender equality norms, and though the image of Muslim men as by-default aggressors and Muslim women, as potential victims of oppression (Onasch 2020). In the Netherlands, through the Civic Integration Law of 2006 the 'migrants with poor prospects' (those who fail the civic integration exam) were de-facto denied permanent residence permit and citizenship and, therefore, equal rights to participate in the receiving society (Bonjour and Duyvendak 2018). The study of Gebhardt (2016a) examining Civic Integration Programmes in the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden highlight that such national programmes aim to formalise and standardise the definition of 'successful' integration, which often conflicts with local level approaches that tend to have a more broad and inclusive perspective towards serving the need of all city residents, including immigrants. The nation-state enforcement of integration is reflected in either legal requirement of participation in those programmes and/or economic sanctions (i.e. withdrawal of benefits or necessity to pay our the debt) in the cases of failing of the integration tests.

While not representing a specific policy instrument, it is still important to mention that newly arrived migrants engage in campaigning for their rights through political movements. Such

political movements can be seen as an *informational instrument*, since they raise public awareness regarding migrants rights, and are able to create media resonance to start public and political debate on the issue (Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016). Much of the literature on such movements examines the dynamics of contestation itself, but the concrete demands and outcomes of these movements are also researched (Ataç 2016; Odugbesan and Schwiertz 2018; Rygiel 2011; Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016; Monforte and Dufour 2013). Asylum seekers in protracted asylum procedures, rejected asylum seekers, and refugees engage in protest movements by occupying public spaces, i.e. parks and churches, and demonstrating in the cities (Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016; Odugbesan and Schwiertz 2018). Civil society organizations and charities often act as supporters and mediators in those migrant movements demanding equal human rights, legal recognition, better living conditions and inclusion into wider society (Perolini 2022; Ataç 2016).

1.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools related to

Rights and Legal status

Few of the reviewed studies attempted to evaluate the effectiveness of specific policies on rights and legal statuses of newly arrived migrants. In the previous sections, the synthesis of research identified four common problem framings, policy objective and approaches developed to reach them. Here we discuss for each of policy objective what outcomes are reached and whether there is evidence that that the framed problem is solved.

The problem of uncontrolled or unwanted immigration is attempted to be addressed by national policies denying non-status immigrants various rights to participation in society. Policies aim to exclude migrants without a legal status from various spheres of receiving society by limiting their rights to accommodation, employment, health care, education, and other areas important for integration. Such difficult and exclusionary conditions are expected to encourage migrants' departure from the country. The existing evidence are not conclusive in providing a clear answer whether the policy objective of return and reduction of unwanted immigration is met through limitation of irregular migrants' rights to participation. Older research suggests that conditions in the origin country, especially those related to security, have a larger influence on return decisions of migrants than conditions in the host country. Moreover, the legal status had no correlation with their decisions (Black et al. 2004). While other research found that stable and secure residence status could be the biggest factor behind return decisions, and those whose residency rights were uncertain were least likely to return (Blitz, Sales, and Marzano 2005). On the other hand, a longitudinal study in Belgium found that in some cases poor living conditions, lack of access to social welfare, health care, and employment, could serve as incentivise the return of rejected asylum applicants (Lietaert 2016).

To cope with the problem of mass arrivals of asylum seekers, many European states use fast-track, accelerated and group-based processing of asylum applications, to speed up the decisions on the future legal status of the applicants, and distinguish those who are more likely to be

granted the rights to stay from those whose chances are slim (Asylum Information Database (AIDA) 2017). There is not enough research evidence to make conclusions about the effectiveness of such procedures and whether they reach the goal of alleviating the backlog of cases. The studies analysing such procedures mainly point at the detrimental effects of such policies to human rights of asylum seekers. Kagan (2017) states that group status determination leads to refugees being dehumanised and framed as a massive security threat, and that lack of individual processing of refugee status determination causes a further decline in refugee rights. Group-based determination allows states to use nationality-based categories of people to generalize that the reasons for migration are rather economic and not humanitarian, without going into individual investigations. Another study interprets the stratified processing of asylum claims by Dutch government as a strategy of ‘temporal governance’ (Reneman and Stronks 2021). Although the study does not have a way to confirm whether this was intentional or not, but it demonstrates that the approach fast-tracked groups with low chances of admission, while those with high chances to being granted refugee status were made to wait. The authors provide an example of two asylum seekers arriving on the same day to the Netherlands, in 2016. One, from Morocco, is interviewed within a week, and days after finds out that their asylum application was rejected. The other, arriving from Iraq, is held in a reception centre, waits months, undergoes multiple series of interviews. Their asylum request is successful, but they receive it over a year and a half after their arrival in the Netherlands (Reneman and Stronks 2021). Also the report of Greek Council for refugees and OXFAM demonstrate that group-based accelerated status determination procedures are detrimental for the rights of people to seek asylum and how the new Greek law (IPA) have even further delayed the processing of asylum claims of those who arrived before January 2022 (Kafkoutso and Oikonomou 2020). Needless to say, that spending months and years in legal limbo is detrimental to immigrants integration process.

The instrument of regularization is linked simultaneously to two other types of policy problem framing. The first one aims to meet economic and demographic needs of a receiving country, such as labour shortages and aging population, and sees legally excluded migrants as wasted resource. The second one sees marginalization and lack of human rights of undocumented immigrants as a problem. As described in the previous section, regularization measures on various grounds are utilised to ‘solve’ both problems and grant rights to economic and social participation. Access to and participation in employment were identified as crucial avenues to obtaining formal membership in the receiving societies (Kraler 2019). Jonitz and Leerkes (2022) conclude that work-based regularization (laborization) allows significant numbers of rejected asylum seekers to leave the condition of liminal legality and obtain residency rights in Germany. However, Bonizzoni (2017) highlights that due to both gender biases and gendered occupations there can be inequalities between men and women in their legalization opportunities through work. Other studies highlight tensions between “vulnerability” and “performance”, as regularization policies require undocumented migrants must show both proofs of their victimization and of civic or economic integration (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascreñas 2014). From the perspective of individuals, obtaining a regular status allowed immigrants to have a greater control over their life in the receiving country. Interestingly, it was noted that the effects of regularizations are different in the countries of Europe: access to health care and legal

employment rights were regarded as the most important ‘gains’ in Italy and Spain, while in ‘northern’ European countries gaining the rights to work and study were the most notable changes (Kraler 2019).

In the reviewed literature Civic integration policies have been regarded as an indirect tool of migration control that sets more complex integration requirements for long term settlement and naturalization in the receiving countries. These policies are considered critically across the literature (Blankvoort et al. 2021; Onasch 2017; 2020; Kirk and Suvarierol 2014). However, there are few studies that thoroughly evaluate the impact of such policies. Ahlén and Boräng preliminary support for the idea that there are links between the extensions of civic integration policies and reduction in family immigration and labour immigration (Ahlén and Boräng 2018). While Goodman and Wright’s study indicates that mandatory Civic integration policies are a measure of symbolic politics and have no effect on integration (Goodman and Wright 2015). Their paper highlight that EU states vary in the way they use these civic integration measures to gatekeep citizenship. When comparing UK and Denmark in the impact of language requirements on naturalization the differences are apparent. In 2008, 40% of citizenship applicants in Denmark were rejected due to not passing the language knowledge requirements. However, in the UK, whilst over 30% of applicants failed the language requirements, only 2% were refused citizenship based on these grounds. This study suggests, however, not able to test, that civic integration policies act more as a policy of selection, as it is more difficult for already vulnerable immigrants (Goodman and Wright 2015). With regards to the evidence on link between citizenship and integration the findings of research are ambiguous. On the one hand, the acquisition of citizenship can be seen as an indication of successful integration as naturalised migrants acquire a status providing (nearly) equal rights to those of the local population. However, not all migrants have an equal interest in acquiring citizenship, and naturalisation doesn’t have the same consequences for all (Vink 2017a).

Migrant’s rights movements have also been discussed in the literature as a way to gain rights from bottom up. Migrants create spaces of autonomous existence and visibility, acting from the position of legal exclusion (Monforte and Dufour 2013), they speak against violations of human rights, demand freedom of movement, access to the labour market, and improvements to the asylum procedure (Ataç 2016). Migrants through public protest attempted to challenge power relationships, and claim their rights to stay in the country, to shelter, to works and education (Odugbesan and Schwiertz 2018). Even though such movements normally demand policy changes, they were mainly found to achieve social recognition and the relationships of solidarity between refugees and civil society supporters (Ataç 2016), by making their voices heard by the general public they redefined geographies of citizenship and political community (Ataç, Rygiel, and Stierl 2016).

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter provides a synthesis of research finding on the implications of different legal statuses and rights for post-2014 immigrants in Europe. It is clear that this is a well-established area of research, with a particular focus on the differentiation of migrants’ rights according to

status, a strong comparative dimension and a strong focus on civic integration requirements and their effects on naturalization.

One of the key topics of research are the negative consequences of the lack of rights across various domains of migrant incorporation, such as health, employment and housing. In relation to this, the literature shows that the impact of regularisation differs between Northern and Southern European countries; where the former in particular allows more opportunities within informal parts of the economy. Studies of naturalization shows that although naturalization is often seen as a final step towards full citizenship, it often is no ‘magical device’ for integration; integration is a much more complex process involving barriers to inclusion across a variety of areas such as employment, health, welfare and housing (see other chapters in this volume). However, without regularisation of naturalization, migrants often find themselves in prolonged period of precarious statuses, also described as ‘protracted displacement’.

In this context, there is a broad comparative literature, for instance differentiating between citizenship regimes with different approaches to the abovementioned topics, and different outcomes. Literature has shown that chances for migrant for acquiring citizenship can differ significantly between European countries. Post-colonial powers tend to have more open citizenship regimes than non-colonisers. Also, there are significant differences in legal statuses between countries, and the rights attached to these statuses (such as between asylum seekers and posted workers). In some cases, specific status may even have a very different meaning across countries, such as for undocumented migrants.

Research does note a general trend in Europe towards a more restrictive approach towards migrant rights. This seems triggered by uncertainty on the concept of granting citizenship rights based on nationality, and by a trend to more segmentation in Europe’s approach towards rights. However, it also seems that the dichotomy between formal exclusion and informal incorporation should be treated to sharply. Social complexity often allows for more blended outcomes such as ‘documented illegals’ or ‘probationary citizenship.’ In this context, there is also a growing literature on local forms of citizenship, including urban citizenship.

With regard to policies on legal status and rights, various policy frames can be defined. The first frames restricting access to citizenship as an approach to the problem of uncontrolled or unwanted immigration. Civic integration measures are often framed as a key part of such an approach. A second frame sees legal status and rights as an administrative issue, as a key procedural issue especially in cases of unexpected waves in the level of immigration. A third frame sees legal status and rights in a more utilitarian perspective in view of the broader economic and demographic needs of a country (or a city). This includes examples of ‘laborisation’ of migrants in relation to immediate labour needs. Finally, there is a more human-rights based frame towards legal statuses and rights.

The literature distinguishes a number of policy instruments and tools in relation to legal status and rights. This includes a variety of approaches towards the determination of status, such as differentiating long-term and short-term rights, distinguishing refugee and subsidiary status, etc.

It also includes tools for changing the status of migrants, such as in view of their integration or because of economic considerations. This also includes opportunities for granting a status to undocumented migrants, such as in terms of regularisations or amnesties. In some cases, legalisation is connected to deservingness, mostly applied in southern-european countries. This may be connected to a proof of employment or social integration. Naturalization is often seen as the ultimate point of access to rights and legal status. However, civic integration programs are often put as a condition for naturalization and can have a strong assimilationist and paternalistic character.

Finally, we have taken stock of some of the evidence on the different approaches to legal status and citizenship. In terms of rights and status as solution to the problem of uncontrolled immigration, the literature suggests that conditions in the country of origin are more influential than those citizenship policies. Also, return migration is often seen as being conditioned by a secure and safe status and position. In terms of immigration as an administrative problem, literature suggests that measures such as group status determination can lead to fast-track procedures but also to dehumanization and lack of individual processing. Regularisations are framed in relation to the frame of economic need for migrants as well as for the human rights position of migrants. Regularisation is often a significant enabler of labour market participation and provides a secure position from which to regain control over their lives.

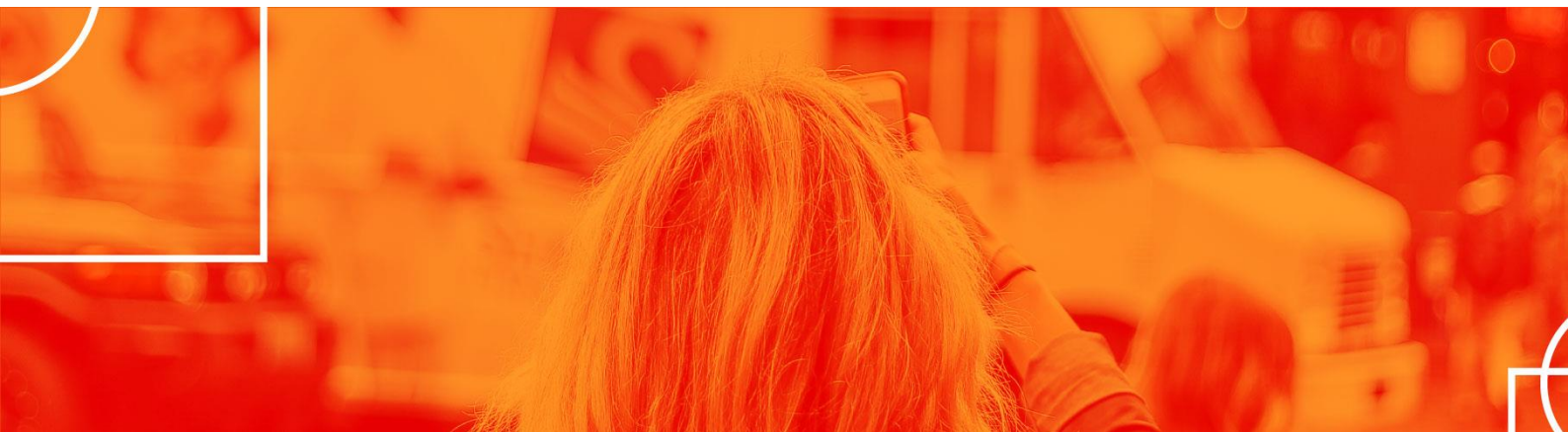
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2 Employment

Asya Pisarevskaya & Peter Scholten

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a synthesis of academic and grey literature on the topic of labour market integration of migrants in Europe in the past 10 years. Integration into the labour market is seen by many integration theorists as an essential element of the whole multi-dimensional integration process. All over the world, both academic and applied research has been interested in migrant labour market integration for decades, and the resulting corpus of knowledge is truly vast. This chapter intends to summarise more recent literature investigating from various perspectives the labour market integration of post-2014 immigrants in European countries, including the EU and affiliated states, such as UK, Norway and Switzerland focusing mainly on literature that directly and indirectly investigates governance of labour market integration, closely studying policies, policy instruments and practices facilitating or hindering participation of immigrants in the labour market of receiving countries.

Labour market integration of migrants is a well-established area of research. Research has examined how migrants fare on labour markets and how this varies according to migrant category, status, gender and how the labour market participation levels develop over time. The analysed evidence highlights the importance of labour market participation for newly arrived migrants because it allows them to become financially independent and is constitutive of an

individual’s identity (Ager and Strang 2008). Besides, it enables social interactions both with the host population and among other ethnic groups and enhances social cohesion.

The literature agrees that ensuring participation of immigrants in the labour market is highly desirable for receiving European societies. Labour shortages, prevention of long-term welfare dependency and facilitation of self-reliance tend to be the driving forces behind current labour market integration policies. The economic integration of newcomers is seen as crucial for the long-term sustainability of the European workforce (European Migration Network 2019). A myriad of policies and programmes have been developed in Europe to aid the labour market integration of newcomers, and these too have received growing scholarly attention. However, the research also notes that there is also a political demand to protect nationals from foreign competition for jobs. Immigrants are often seen by populist rhetoric as those taking jobs away from the citizens. So, those opposing demands lead to a difficult balancing act between measures facilitating migrant’s access to the labour market and those protecting the jobs of a nation’s own citizens.

This chapter begins by reviewing what has been researched with regards to the integration of post-2014 migrants in relation to employment. It discusses the current state of affairs of labour market integration of post-2014 migrants as evidenced in the literature, and the inequalities which the literature addresses. Further, it describes how labour market integration is discussed in public and policy debates, and how these issues are framed. Lastly, it gives an overview of the most commonly used instruments and tools, then outlines how these have been evaluated by the literature, and whether conclusions can be drawn from this on their sustainability and recommendations made.

2.2 Research on integration into labour market

In the past 10 years, the literature on labour market integration of migrants has been driven by academic as well as policy interests. European policy-makers at regional, national and local level have invested in evidence-based recommendations to improve measures in this area. Both academic institutions and policy-oriented think-tanks have received funding from the EU, national governments and foundations to research this topic. Several large-scale research projects have recently been conducted, such as the SIRIUS project (Skills and Integration of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Applicants in European Labour Markets), launched in January 2018. The goal of this cross-national research project is to produce evidence-based knowledge for practitioners about which aspects play enabling and obstructing roles in the labour market integration of post-2014 migrants (Mexi 2021). In addition, there have been several studies taking stock of policy measures and research on policies, such as cross-national report produced by the European Migration Network in 2019 to provide an overview of existing labour market integration policies in Member States targeting third-country nationals (European Migration Network 2019). Employment-focussed networks at the EU level, such as the PES (Public Employment Services) also regularly conduct studies on this issue (European Network of Public Employment Services 2018). The OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and

Development) regularly publishes reports in its Social, Employment and Migration Working Paper series that evaluate labour market integration and labour market integration measures (OECD 2022). Large-scale evaluations are also carried out at the national level, such as the recently published report commissioned by the German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs evaluating active labour market policies for refugees in Germany since 2015 (Bonin et al. 2021).

Labour market integration continues to receive scholarly attention also beyond such large-scale regional and national research projects. Many quantitative studies examine how migrants fare on the European labour market across countries and how this developed over time (Fasani, Frattini, and Minale 2018). Large-scale national data both from surveys and administrative registries is also often used to analyse labour market participation of migrants and refugees. The EMM database lists over 500 surveys on both national and sub' national level looking into the issues of labour market integration (Morales et al. 2020). An example of a national longitudinal survey conducted in Germany is IAB-BAMF-SOEP Survey of Refugees, which started since 2016, and is used to produce yearly reports on their level of integration (Graf 2021). Studies on policy measures targeting labour market integration are generally carried out on a national level, and most frequently in northern European countries, possibly due to better data availability (Arendt 2020; Auer and Fossati 2020; Battisti, Giesing, and Laurentsyeva 2019; Bilgili 2015; Bjerre, Pace, and Sen 2021; Bontenbal and Lillie 2021; Aumüller 2016; Ortlieb et al. 2020; Fossati and Liechti 2020; Roland Hosner, Irina Vana, and Golschan Khun Jush 2020; Spehar 2021; Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen 2016). However, the study of Zwysen and Demireva (2020) is an exception, since it analyses the impact of receiving country's policy context on various groups of migrants across the EU. Using EU Labour Force Survey data from 2008-2014, they compared the effect of labour market policies, family reunification and humanitarian reception policies on economic and non-economic migrants, both from the EU/EEA and from outside the EU (Zwysen and Demireva, 2020).

In light of the recent Covid-19 pandemic, several studies have closely examined, on the one hand, the contribution of migrants the functioning of essential services across Europe (Fasani and Mazza, 2020; Fernández-Reino et al., 2020), and on the other hand, highlighted the detrimental effect of the pandemic on labour market integration services, which negatively affected migrants with a distance to the labour market (Bešić, Diedrich, and Aigner 2021; Falkenhain et al. 2021).

Figure 3: Groups of migrants in focus of literature



experience more difficulties in finding employment in the receiving countries than the citizens because of a combination of personal and institutional factors. And therefore, their **pathways towards employment** are a subject of attention for both academics and policy-makers.

Research on labour market integration of migrants has tried to understand what are the reasons for those difficulties, why some newcomers start participating in the local labour markets faster and more successfully than others, and how can the receiving societies facilitate this process (Zwysen and Demireva, 2020). Some literature understands **integration into the labour market** as the process by which immigrants actively join the labour force of the new country of residence. Others, understand integration as the process by which immigrants become similar in their chances of employment to the receiving population, thus they **assimilate** into the labour market. However, just being employed is not seen as the only indicator of successful integration. Much research highlights the importance of finding a job that matches one’s level of qualification, a job that is full-time, that is formal (thus not paid in ‘black’), and even better that is well-paid. Needless to say, among citizens of the receiving countries, such ideal combinations of job characteristics are also rare, and the frequency of such scenarios differs across labour markets.

The attention to labour market integration among researchers has been drawn to various migrant groups, that are diverse in their origins, socio-economic characteristics, immigration status, gender and skill-level. In the past 10 years, research especially focused on the labour market integration of groups, whose initial immigration reason was not employment: asylum seekers, refugees, family migrants and sometimes irregular migrants. While the employment of

While the concept of integration has become increasingly contested in academic debate, many national and local policies have been developed in the past decades using this concept. There are various goals that policies aim to achieve, and they will be outlined in the section 4 of this chapter. While different research disciplines use various synonymic concepts, such as, inclusion, participation, facilitation, transition and incorporation of newcomers, there is a shared bottom line and an understanding of labour market integration as **participation of migrants in paid employment** or other economic activity, i.e. entrepreneurship. The shared view of research is that newcomers are found to

Figure 2: Geography of studies in this literature review



low and high-skilled labour migrants from within and from outside the EU has not been much studied in terms of integration, but rather in terms of quality and the conditions of their employment. This is because those immigrants usually come specifically for the reasons of employment and most already have a job offer before they arrive. For other groups mentioned above, employment is not guaranteed pre-arrival, and therefore they experience more legal, social and personal barriers towards a successful labour market integration. That is why in this literature review we will focus mainly on labour market integration of asylum-seekers, refugees, family migrants and irregular migrants.

2.3 Integration situation (inequalities) in employment

As mentioned before, asylum-seekers, refugees, family migrants and irregular migrants face harder obstacles compared to other types of migrants in integration in the labour market. The right to employment in highly regulated European labour markets depends on gaining an official permission to stay. Without such permits, the pathways of legal employment for immigrants are blocked (Fasani, Frattini, and Minale 2021). In most of the countries there were so many applications in the period of mass-arrivals of asylum seekers after 2014, that the backlog of cases led to very long waiting times before the outcome of the asylum application was known. The newly arrived migrants were, therefore, prevented from prompt entry into the labour force due to frustrating administrative time lags, including waiting to be accepted as a refugee and having the right to work (Mulvey 2015). In the countries with less rigid control of employment (i.e. Italy) asylum seekers were sometimes able to find informal employment, while in others, like Germany and Netherlands, this was not possible (Schenner and Neergaard 2019; Weber 2016). For asylum seekers whose application have been rejected after the long waiting time that meant becoming irregular, or undocumented. The systems in many EU states are designed in such a way to block all pathways to integration, including employment for undocumented migrants. More details can be read about it in the Chapter ‘Rights and legal status’ of this report.

For refugees and family migrants, who already received a permit to stay and work, the barriers to labour market integration stem from other factors, beyond the legal access to work. The reviewed literature highlights that non-economic migrants, including refugees, asylum seekers and family migrants are particularly disadvantaged in the labour market (Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016; Zwysen and Demireva, 2020). Meaning that they have lower chances to participate in the labour market of receiving country than economic migrants (Zwysen and Demireva, 2020). There is a lot of research conducted in the past decade and earlier that investigated those barriers in detail. Factors that prevent the integration of newly arrived migrants in Europe to the labour market include a lack of language skills, lack of knowledge of the receiving country’s labour market, psychological issues and trauma (more often in the case of refugees), non-recognition of qualifications from the countries of origin, lack of bridging networks that can facilitate employment, inadequate of support from facilitating institutions (Friberg and Midtbøen 2018).

In a 2008 study of humanitarian migrants in the UK, it was determined that having an insufficient grasp of the English language held back many migrants from successful labour market

integration (Bloch 2008). However, evidence from Germany demonstrate that with time immigrants improve their knowledge of receiving country’s language if there is sufficient offer of language courses (Brücker et al. 2019). Also, the study of Zwysen, W. and N. Demireva (2020) found that acquiring good command of receiving country’s language helps all kinds of migrants, including non-economic ones, to gain paid employment and access higher quality jobs.

Differences in personal and socio-economic characteristics of these immigrants also play a role in determining their pathways to the labour market. Evidence showed that level of education is a very important predictor of immigrant employment. The higher the level of education, the more likely migrant’s chances to be employed across European countries (Belegri-Roboli et al. 2018). Nevertheless, deskilling is commonly experienced among newly arrived migrants, when they work in positions below their skill or qualification level (Mexi 2021). In general, the level (in terms of occupational ladder, payment and prestige) of immigrant employment is lower than that of citizens, a high proportion of immigrants are employed in secondary labour market (Schenner and Neergaard 2019). This can happen for several and intertwined reasons: non-recognition of the pre-immigration qualification, less than perfect professional knowledge of the receiving country’s language, biased guidance that happens when immigrants are directed towards jobs that are always in demand (dirty-difficult-demeaning = 3D jobs), and also it could be that the individual’s level of education or qualification only allows low-skilled employment. Due to absence of formal qualifications certificates, it becomes hard to evaluate which competences newly arrived migrants possess, namely, what kind of tasks they actually know how to implement. Mismatches between formal credentials and actual skills also happen, therefore, some receiving countries require alternative ways to evaluate competences in the situations when the official credentials are absent or not recognized (Pfeffer and Skrivanek 2018).

A further barrier mentioned was that of discrimination, which a more recent Norwegian study has taken a close look into. Unveiled were the ethnic preferences that many employers would align to, demonstrating their racial discrimination and prejudice. Within this ‘ethnic hierarchy’ it became apparent that, whilst Swedish and eastern European migrant workers were largely suited to particular employment types, refugees and non-western migrants were often considered unwanted in any industry. These assumptions may have been formulated in line with the fact that, on an aggregate level, refugees and non-western migrants generally do have lower education levels and also are culturally further from Norway (Friberg and Midtbøen 2018). Yet, this ‘rules of thumb’ about a group of people has led to discriminatory and stereotyping towards individual members of the group, hindering their labour market integration. Similar feelings of discrimination have been felt by refugee teachers in Scotland (Smyth and Kum 2010).

Newly arrived migrant women experience less chanced of employment (Ala-Mantila and Fleischmann 2018). This is clearly demonstrated by the comparative report of SIRIUS project (Mexi 2021), in which was shown that men, especially with higher level of education, are more likely to be employed in the European labour markets. For many female migrants, their status and ethnicity does not stand alone in holding them back from full integration into the labour market. Once overcoming the legal barriers to join the labour force, female migrants often experience double-layered discrimination. Not only do they encounter nativism and a need to

understand local cultural norms, delaying their upward mobility, they also have to fight against the entrenched gendered stereotypes of some industries oriented towards men, as it is explained in the study of STEM professions (Grigoleit-Richter 2017).

Given all these obstacles, it is not surprising that scientific evidence speaks of a rather unequal position of newly arrived immigrants compared to average citizens. The reviewed literature continuously points at the higher levels of unemployment among newly arrived migrants, as well as higher levels of part-time or temporary employment (Ager and Strang 2008; Belegri-Roboli et al. 2018). The research highlights that it takes immigrants longer time than the receiving population until adequate labour market participation (Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016).

The Covid-19 pandemic also has had a negative effect of the support services available in the receiving countries, which meant that more immigrants in need of labour market integration received less support or were inadequately supported during the period of pandemic. This has extended their distance to the labour market even more. In Germany, the pandemic led to the temporary shutdown of services provided by jobcentres, such as training programmes and language courses. For unemployed refugees, this particularly increased feelings of insecurity and being 'put on hold', whereas the refugees in stable employment, with no need for the services provided by the jobcentres, were not impacted by this shutdown. This pause in available support services for refugees was also felt elsewhere in Europe, due to the furloughing of support staff and reduction in volunteers. Evidently, without these vital support services, refugees have an impeded ability to develop the vital skills and networks they need to become a competitive applicant in a time of high unemployment. Hence, this has reduced their ability to integrate into the host countries' labour markets (Bešić, Diedrich, and Aigner 2021; Falkenhain et al. 2021).

2.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives

The reviewed evidence show that the lack of labour market integration of newly migrants has been largely seen as a policy problem because it leads to welfare benefits dependency and prevents further social integration. Participation in paid employment is seen as crucial especially for asylum-seekers, refugees and family migrants because states want to prevent long-term dependence on welfare support. Therefore, participation in paid employment has been framed as a beneficial goal for the receiving European countries and the migrants themselves to strive for. Labour market participation is seen by European policy-makers as essential tool to fill in labour shortages in the receiving countries and ensure self-sufficiency of the newly arrived immigrants. Moreover, participation in the labour market is framed as a way to enhance social cohesion between the newly arrived and established population because a job is a place where not only professional but also informal relationships could emerge among employees (European Migration Network 2019). Bridging with host population and other ethnic groups, and bonding among migrants of the same groups facilitate social cohesion, formation of support networks and well as allows learning about each other's culture.

However, research points at many institutional and individual-level challenges to successful labour market integration of newly arrived migrants. The institutional challenges include issues

stemming from ineffective policies and legal barriers such as provision of right to work, non-recognition of qualification certificates from the countries of origin as well as hostile socio-political climate, including public attitudes and political rhetoric around the issue. The individual level framings of the problem point at a migrant’s own (lack) of skills and knowledge, such as poor command of the receiving country’s language and lack of specialised education, illiteracy, which all together lead to worse employability of migrants. Also, discrimination and prejudice are individual-level obstacles from the side of the employers and front-line workers (Lee et al. 2020).

The result of a European Commission sponsored peer review of labour market inclusion of applicants and beneficiaries of international protection clearly recommends granting of the right to work for asylum seekers and refugees in the member states to facilitate labour market integration (European Commission 2016). The EU supports its member countries by providing guidance in policy decisions, offering informational support and funding. Immigrants with a granted refugee status have a full right to work and access the labour market, but the process takes very long. Yet policies on the right to work for asylum seekers still vary amongst the states. According to the EU Reception Directive (Directive 2013/33/EU) asylum seekers should not need to wait longer than nine months following their application to be allowed to access the labour market. Nevertheless, Italy allows a worker access to the labour market after a two month wait, yet Ireland and Lithuania forbid asylum seekers’ employment during the entire period of application. Many EU countries do place various attempts to speed up the asylum seeker’s application process for better labour market access, such as Sweden, where applicants who have skills that are in high demand are ‘fast-tracked’.

The European Parliament’s report on work and welfare for asylum seekers and refugees list further challenges to labour market integration: lack of knowledge among employers that both groups are allowed to work, insufficient language knowledge of migrants, absence of certificates and diplomas to acknowledge specialised skills, and reduced mobility of asylum seekers and refugees living in remote reception centres (Poptcheva and Stuchlik 2015). To improve the labour market integration of these groups, The European Network of Public Employment Services (PES) (2018) address four key areas: language, skills and qualifications, partners and institutions, employers. Language training should fit with the vocational skills and experience of the refugees and be coordinated alongside training or employment itself. This has been the focus in Belgium, with foreign speakers given the opportunity to learn Dutch whilst at work (European Network of Public Employment Services 2018).

Another very common institutional problem is a lack of recognition of qualifications. The rigid policies make it very difficult for refugees and asylum seekers to get their qualifications authenticated due to lack of documents and limited recognition of qualifications achieved in third countries. PES also addresses this struggle of many migrants in getting their qualifications recognised. Skills assessments, such as the Vocational Competence Tests in Germany, can help to determine the skills that a refugee’s lack of official qualification documents obscure (European Network of Public Employment Services 2018).

Evidence highlight that the efficient coordination and cooperation of partners and institutions involved with integrating newly arrived migrants is key in facilitation efforts towards labour market integration. Partners often include NGOs, municipalities, immigration offices, and PES itself often taking a coordinating role. Through successful coordination, the needs for newly arrived migrants can be addressed efficiently and promptly. In Spain, government funded refugee reception centres work in a network, called ARIADNA, alongside NGOs such as the Red Spanish Cross to assist asylum seekers’ labour integration. Besides collaboration with NGOs and public actors, working with employers is also crucial. By helping match refugees and asylum seekers with appropriate employers, a ‘win-win’ situation occurs. To support this is the need to ensure the migrant is sufficiently trained to match where there is a labour demand (European Network of Public Employment Services 2018).

The problem of labour shortages has been largely shared across the EU member states. It could be addressed via projects such as the ‘Triple Win’ in Germany is aimed at filling the gaps in the country’s health care sector (Angenendt, Bither, and Ziebarth 2015). Research however, highlights that not enough is done to address the labour demand across all skill-levels in the EU. Demographic changes in European receiving countries, such as ageing populations and low fertility, create a need for both high and low skilled labour. While countries compete for highly-skilled talent, low-paid labour is the one much in demand but not welcomed (Weber 2016). The policies of many EU states towards asylum seekers and their access to the labour market are restrictive and work towards exclusion of both high and low skilled workers that the receiving countries desperately need.

There are two distinct service provision approaches to labour market integration: mainstream approach and group-specific approach. Some Member States, including UK, the Netherlands, and Estonia, aim at providing migrants with equal access to mainstream public employment services. While other Member States adopt a more targeted approach. This tailored approach focuses on providing specific measures targeting specific migrant groups. Such measures include examples like language training for those experiencing a language barrier in finding employment. Most EU member states use these targeted approaches alongside mainstream policies. Belgium, Finland, and Italy are among the EU member states that demonstrate more targeted policies, adopting policies such as customised support, integration programmes, and language courses (European Migration Network 2019).

2.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools in employment

(1) Regulatory instruments

For the labour market integration of refugees and asylum seekers, some Member States have implemented laws and regulations facilitating their legal access to employment. For example, in Germany, the *Act on the Acceleration of Asylum Procedures* of 2015 allows asylum applicants and those with tolerated stay permits (*‘Duldung’*) to take up employment three months after arrival, subject to approval of the Federal Labour Agency. Formerly, this approval had a condition that there are no other preferential candidates for the job, since 2019 it is based solely

on employment conditions according to which humanitarian migrants may not be employed under worse conditions than comparable native employees (Aumüller 2016). In Belgium, asylum seekers who do not receive a decision on their asylum application within four months can access a temporary work permit card, which lasts for 12 months and is renewable. It expires automatically if the outcome of the asylum procedure is negative (European Commission 2016). Regarding measures that do not specifically target refugees or asylum seekers, the EMN synthesis report states that most measures were either long-term programmes or ad-hoc projects, and that only nine of the 95 measures reported were of legislative character (European Migration Network 2019).

Civic integration requirements make up another indirect, legal or regulatory tool through which Member States encourage newly arrived migrants to take up employment. Literature on civic integration policies distinguish rights-based and responsibilities-based frameworks, and in the latter one long-term or permanent residency is conditional upon successful demonstration of economic integration, i.e. employment. Under responsibilities-based civic integration framework refugees are ‘pushed’ towards take up of jobs because it helps them secure continuous residency in the country of asylum. However, evidence from Sweden shows that under the rights-based civic integration framework, when permanent residency is guaranteed to the refugees, more people enter into education trajectories, which secures higher level jobs and less unemployment on the long run (Jutvik and Robinson 2020).

For highly-skilled newly arrived migrants EU has a Blue Card Directive that is meant to facilitate employment of highly skilled and highly earning migrants in the EU (Cerna 2018). Until 2021 this regulation required the applying migrant to demonstrate an employment contract with a higher-than-average wage in that receiving country. With the exception of Germany, which has offered more convenient and flexible conditions for applicants, the scheme was largely a failure in attracting highly skilled labour migrants (Weber 2016).

(2) Economic or market-based instruments

Most measures targeting labour market integration are funded through national governments or EU funding or a combination of these. A smaller number of initiatives is funded through private-public sponsorship.

Language training and civic integration courses is a very common type of measures, which together with mastering of the language has the labour market preparation component. For instance, in Sweden, immigrants are taught professional Swedish - a six-month language course, in which participation is voluntary and free of charge. It is funded through a grant programme managed by Swedish Employment Service (European Migration Network 2019).

To facilitate the match to the labour market professions, instruments of skills assessment or qualification recognition are employed (Andersson 2021). In Austria, a ‘competence check’ is conducted from 2015, which entails a survey for refugees to assess skills, qualifications and language knowledge. It aims to recognise skills and qualifications and provide information on

Austrian employment and education system (European Commission 2016; Ortlieb et al. 2020). In Germany, there is a programme called “Integration through Qualification”. It involves counselling on credential recognition and job training. Its goal is to ‘bridge’ vocational training of people with foreign qualifications with the receiving country’s qualifications. It is implemented through a network of NGOs, employers and competence centres, and involves supplementary trainings for the migrants, intercultural competence trainings for employers and job centers’ staff (European Migration Network 2019). Career counselling and job-search assistance are also very common instruments, that are provided either through Jobcentres, who receive specialised training and increased funding, or through civil society organisations (Battisti, Giesing, and Laurentsyeva 2019).

Financial incentives for migrants or employers in Germany is another measure to promote entry into the labour market. Those are called Integration grants (Eingliederungszuschuss/EGZ) and are paid to employers if they hire unemployed people. This benefit is used for both refugees and other groups. This subsidy is paid directly to employers by the jobcentre or recruitment agency, the refugees often are not aware that their employment is subject to EGZ. This financial measure incentivises employers, who are hesitating about hiring refugees without employment history in the receiving country, to do so. Refugees are often reluctantly hired for jobs because there are doubts about the knowledge or language or qualifications from the side of the employers. An argument often brought forward for the use of EGZ is that it enables further language learning within employment, and that it allows refugees to gain work experience in the receiving country soon after arrival. Even if the subsidised employment is not long-term, this work experience is beneficial for future applications (Bonin et al. 2021).

Support for self-employment or entrepreneurship of migrants is also a commonly discussed measure to promote economic integration. Starting a business or becoming self-employed is an alternative to employment of migrants, which still leads to their self-sustainability. Moreover, some businesses can create more jobs for both other migrants and locals. Evidence from Sweden, showcase several initiatives aimed at promotion of self-employment. One is called the “National Strategy for Regional Competitiveness, Entrepreneurship and Employment 2007-2013” is aimed at encouraging start-ups’ access to capital and to promote Sweden as an international leader in entrepreneurial opportunities. Other strategies saw the “minimum share capital in private limited companies” halved - particularly benefitting immigrant entrepreneurs. Overall, the study found that these policies led to growth of incomes for immigrant entrepreneurs over time (Kazlou 2019).

‘Outsourcing’ of integration projects to civil society organizations is a rather common financial instrument that is used by receiving countries’ governmental bodies. In some countries with a lesser involvement of the state actors, this practice is more widely spread than in others, with a state-controlled implementation of policies. Provision of employment services to the whole population of migrants who need it is expensive and often politically complicated. Therefore, governments use funding schemes to encourage the provision of labour market integration services by NGOs. Often the funding is competition based and is rather limited, which enables to make the service provision ‘cheaper’ but possibly reach wider populations. The disadvantage

of such instrument is that those services are often short-term and small-scale, and are provided by volunteers who do not have professional qualifications to provide such consultations to migrants (Bontenbal and Lillie 2021).

Another type of instruments aims to bring information to various target groups in order to encourage behaviour and attitudes helping labour market integration. For instance, there are campaigns and workshops for employers meant to raise awareness about diversity, providing trainings how to handle diversity of cultures in their businesses and efforts to inform them about employability of refugees and migrants. For instance, in Cyprus they organized seminars for employers within sectors containing a high concentration of immigrants. The seminars focused on how to handle cultural diversity within teamwork and job recruitment. Reviews of the project demonstrate that the employers' cultural, ethnic, and religious biases had decreased (European Migration Network 2019).

Many instruments oriented at engaging employers and businesses in migrant integration have a very short-term focus, such as creating an internship placement. However, longer-term initiatives are likely to prove more sustainable. In Denmark, the 'step model' aims to assist with labour market integration of immigrants beyond the initial hiring. This involves government support for employers who set up mentorships for newly arrived migrants, as well as subsidising wages of permanently employed migrants for up to a year. Another initiative builds on the feeling of social responsibility as the reason for employers to hire refugees. Such social responsibility is rewarded by Italian office of UNHCR with a logo 'Working for Refugee Integration, which companies that hire refugees can use to distinguish them in their market (OECD and UNHCR 2018).

Participatory measures in labour market integration are also utilized to facilitate employment of immigrants, though volunteering, mentorship and community building. As mentioned above, knowledge of receiving country's language is an essential skill to gain employment. To help migrants practice their language skills they are matched with 'language friends'- native volunteers, this instrument has been used in Sweden and Ireland (European Migration Network 2019). Other initiatives are aimed at providing migrants opportunities to gain work experience in the new country. They encourage newly arrived migrants to take up voluntary employment or internships as a step towards employment. Such instrument in Sweden involved a governmental regulation requiring public bodies to offer internships for recently accepted asylum seekers, so that they gain work experience and practice Swedish language. No financial incentives to organize those internships were given to the employers, and no payment to the interns. Since, these migrants do not have many alternatives to enter paid employment, without experience and without knowledge of language, the internships are seen as an altruistic gesture to help asylum seekers make first steps in the labour market (Alaraj et al. 2019).

2.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

in labour market integration

Overall, there seems to be consensus regarding the policy goals of labour market integration of migrants in the EU countries – the pursuit of employment participation for regular migrants. It is also clear that both institutional and individual factors shape the integration process of migrants. Therefore, it is necessary to consider evaluation studies of instruments tackling challenges on both levels, in order to provide a comprehensive picture.

Evidence confirms that in the case of refugee migrants it is essential to start integration measures as soon as possible after the arrival (Engbersen, Jennissen, and Bokhorst 2015; Fasani, Frattini, and Minale 2021). Delayed in integration measures results in unnecessary welfare dependency and waste of human capital. Moreover, according to an Austrian study comparing long and short term interventions (i.e. skills assessment), comprehensive and long-term programmes are more effective than short-term interventions (Ortlieb et al. 2020). Other research also confirms that stable and long term fundings streams to NGO-service providers are key in ensuring effective and sustainable practices of integration. If civil society organisations provide the lion share of labour market integration, public policies need to recognize their added value and ensure steady funding streams (Mexi 2021).

With regards to evaluation of effectiveness of mainstream versus targeted approach to integration. Three studies claim that tailor-made integration pathways are more effective in bringing migrants into employment (Degler, Liebig, and Lenner 2017; Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen 2016; (Zwysen and Demireva, 2020) A study in Finland found that the allocation of resources away from traditional ALMPs towards trainings specifically targeting immigrants had a largely positive impact on the earnings of disadvantaged immigrants. And a report on Germany (Degler, Liebig, and Lenner 2017) notes that labour market integration programmes tailored for refugees with different skill and language level are more effective in preparing people for the receiving country's labour market. For instance, illiterate refugees without basic qualifications need longer and more comprehensive programmes to be able to enter the labour market. Zwysen and N. Demireva (2020) find that it is important for receiving states to invest in language, vocational training and employment support specifically for refugees and family migrants, since this clearly increases their chances of better integration into the labour market. Lower-qualified, non-economic migrants benefit greatly from acquisition of receiving country's qualifications and attendance of language courses, thus policy measures facilitating access to those should be developed and applied.

Migrants' participation in language courses of the receiving country leads to better chances of employment and higher-quality jobs, the effect is especially strong for refugees and family migrants (Zwysen and Demireva, 2020). A large-scale evaluation in Germany, positively evaluated the Active Labour Market Policies, both in terms of labour market and social integration, and particularly the improvement of language ability. According to this study, the most successful instruments are those measures where **employers are directly involved**, as

opposed to measures occurring with third parties. Another positively evaluated measure is assistance accompanying vocational training or education, which leads to higher likelihood of completion of training or education. These are deemed essential for sustainable labour market prospects. Integration subsidies ‘Eingliederungszuschüsse’ are also regarded as particularly successful, with participants being employed almost 14 months longer on average and no longer relying on social assistance almost eight months earlier. Besides, vocation-specific language training is assessed as the single most-effective language training that significantly improves labour market outcomes. Measures evaluated negatively are employment-creating for refugees, which are also rarely used. The effects of such measures are in some cases negative rather than simply neutral. The report also highlights low participation of women in these measures, which is because of structural barriers, such as lack of childcare, and gendered perceptions of child-rearing obligations (Bonin et al. 2021).

An evaluation study from the Netherlands found no significant effect of a more intensive integration programme on labour market participation of refugees. In the case of the evaluated programme, more individual and tailor-made support did not necessarily lead to better outcomes of refugee integration. The period of analysis was short, only two years, and it is known that refugees need more time to integrate effectively in the labour market, however, the authors maintain that this case proves that very intensive support may lead to dependency paradox, depriving refugees from relying on their own agency. The study suggests that there should be a balance between provided integration support and giving incentives to evoke individual’s agency in integration process. Also, the study confirms the need for dual trajectories where language is taught and applied in the work context, and not separately from it (Dagevos and Linden 2021).

Attitudes and biases seem to have an important role in effectiveness of measures. According to a survey experiment conducted in Austria, Germany and Switzerland, the attitudes of employers play a more significant role than the types of active labour market policies that refugees participated in (Fossati and Liechti 2020). A Swiss study on assigning of ALMPs found that caseworkers assign labour market activation measures based on a competition logic driven by economic rationale. The staff tries to find job seekers who they perceive to be the easiest to employ, because the numbers of employed persons are linked to performance evaluations. Consequently, individuals whose distance from the labour market perceived larger are not placed in training programmes. Such practice does not provide effective upskilling and employment service to those immigrants who are already disadvantaged in the labour market from social, geographical and educational perspectives (Auer and Fossati 2020). Another study confirms that migrants feel a certain degree of coercion in countries with strong active labour market policies, such as Finland, Denmark or Switzerland. Since, they felt to be pushed into jobs deemed appropriate by case workers, however not fitting from the point of view of migrants themselves (Mexi 2021).

Financial incentives, such as employment grants for employers have been found as one of the best measures to encourage employment of refugees. However, is it not able to change the decision of employers, but rather it facilitates the decision for employers already considering

employing refugees. A downside of this programme is that it can be used as a form of salary-subsidy by employers, who will swiftly fire recipients after the programme ends and replace them with another subsidized employee. Evaluation study also suggests that the use of such instrument alone is not sufficient, but it is most effective when implemented alongside further instruments such as individual coaching and language courses (Bonin et al. 2021).

Some remarks on the difficulty to evaluate effectiveness of instruments as measures are often assessed based on output. Meaning, that the numbers of beneficiaries or numbers of conducted activities are counted, rather than results of the beneficiaries and outcome, i.e. as the post-programme employment rates, or how satisfied participants were with the programmes (European Migration Network 2019). Besides, often the studies lack a design that could enable evaluation. Moreover, to measure impact of concrete measures is especially hard as they are part of complex multi-component programmes (Iván Martín et al. 2016).

2.7 Conclusion

This review report has shown that there is a great wealth of studies on labour market integration of migrants. There is a strong consensus in the literature on the importance of labour market participation not only for (economic) independence but also for broader integration of migrants. In this review we focused in particular on labour market integration of newly arrived migrants, in particular asylum-seekers, refugees, family migrants and irregular migrants. Often for these migrants, access to the labour market is regularized, which can delay labour market participation. Also, the literature refers to various barriers to participation, such as related to language, recognition of qualifications, but also discrimination. The labour market position of newly arrived migrants is generally unequal, and when participation takes place, deskilling is common.

A broad variety of policy practices can be identified for supporting labour market participation of migrants. This includes regulatory policy instruments, such as aimed at facilitating access to employment, but also civic integration measures targeted at labour market participation. Economic policies include a variety of practices, including the language training and courses, skills assessments, career counselling, financial incentives for migrants but also for employers, support for entrepreneurship, and outsourcing of integration projects. Furthermore, there are practices oriented at the provision of information, helping migrants navigate the labour market.

The assessment of such practices in the literature suggests that still the delay in access to the labour market limits the participation potential of newly arrived migrants, resulting also in increased welfare dependency. Studies are overall positive of involvement of civil society organisations but also employers on a structural basis in enhancing labour market participation. For instance, employment grants for employers are seen as a clearly promising practice. Also, practices seem to be more effective when they are tailored more specifically to the needs of newly arrived migrants. There is, however, no clear evidence supporting that civic integration programs enhance labour market participation.

Given the abundance of policy practices in the domain of employment, there is a clear need for more evaluation studies. This has the aim of taking into accounts results from the perspective of the beneficiaries and long-term outcomes for them, not just the output of policies per se. More systematic evaluation is required.

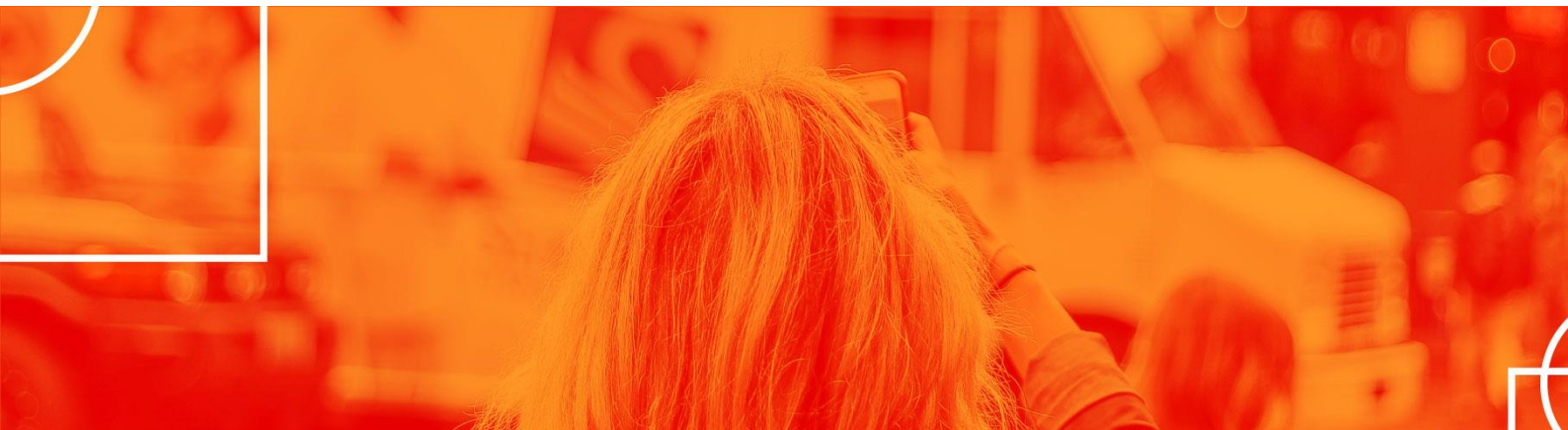
Our review has provided a birds-eye perspective on practices to enhance labour market participation of newly arrived migrants. It suggests that newly arrived migrants, because of their vulnerable position on the labour market (when opposed to most labour migrants), require a targeted approach. This can be targeted to specific newly arriving groups (such as recent Syrian refugees), or to refugee women. Promising are in particular practices that involve employers and civil society organisations and are structural of nature. Facilitating access to the labour market and preventing deskilling are positive examples. However, in order to truly accumulate knowledge on what works in terms of labour market participation, a far more systematic approach to policy evaluation is required.

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3 Education and Training

Tamara Kerschbaumer, Hakan Kilic & Albert Kraler

3.1 Introduction

Whether it's learning a second language, catching up on schooling, or the school system in general, when it comes to addressing social and economic inequalities and enabling disadvantaged groups to participate in society, the education sector is seen as having a major responsibility in addressing these issues. For the particularly vulnerable group of new immigrants, especially refugees, learning the majority language of the host country and catching up on educational qualifications is seen as the measure of all things. In doing so, the skills already acquired in the country of origin are often disregarded, and little consideration is given to the already difficult living situation of refugees. In addition, the limits set by the education system and institutions are often overlooked.

This chapter examines what policies and practices are being applied/implemented in the area of education and training for newly arrived migrants, what support measures have been put in place, how the pre-school and school integration design has taken place, and consequently how social integration has been promoted. This outline is based on the results of literature research by use of the Migration Research Hub, a survey on key publications for the topic area between the project's partners and their own research.

Since different research foci vary depending on age and entry into the education system, the Education chapter will also be divided into two subsections:

- (1) Pre-school Education
- (2) School Education

A significant part of the research on education and training focuses on policies and structural frameworks and rights. A further focus is placed on the educational assessment and needs of migrants, followed by a discussion of further education aspects. One topic that has been increasingly addressed in recent years is the influence of pre-school and school education on social integration and inclusion in the host country. In this context, the negative consequences of non-access to education are also partly discussed.

3.2 Research on education and training area

In this review chapter, we want to focus on what is often identified as an influence on refugee children's school careers. Therefore, we analysed research that has addressed the following issues: access to education; specific settings (welcome, immersion, reception, or introductory classes); first, second language or multilingual education; additional support; and tutoring. This is divided within the two domains: (1) pre-school education and (2) school education.

(1) Regarding pre-school education and arrangements

Although young refugee children come from very different backgrounds, they usually have one thing in common: their refugee experience or their family's refugee experience, which is usually accompanied by a high level of stress and hardship. Especially those children who are affected by physical and emotional stress, often also by poverty, and who do not yet speak the majority language of the destination country, can often be severely negatively affected in their future educational and professional careers. Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) programs are thus given a high priority when it comes to mitigating the risk factors that refugee children face (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018).

With regard to ECEC for refugee children with a focus on this target group, there are both explicit international comparative studies (Bloch et al. 2015; Crul et al. 2017; Essomba 2017; Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018; Jahreie 2021) and studies (Skaremyr 2021; Fouskas and Sidiropoulos 2017) that address specific aspects of the issue at a national level. In this regard, most studies seek answers to the question of how disadvantage and social exclusion can be prevented or mitigated for vulnerable children (Fouskas and Sidiropoulos 2017; Peleman, Vandenbroeck, and Van Avermaet 2020; Van Laere and Vandenbroeck 2017; Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018). This usually involves the structural framework, such as: access to education below compulsory school age; acquisition of the majority language of the destination country and the promotion of first, second, or multilingualism; the quality of the services offered, especially the training of professionals; the general age of entry; the parent-institution relationship (Krüger and Thamin 2021; Thomauske 2021); and the information transfer to

parents. What seems to be in the first place a side issue, but is no less relevant, is to shift the focus away from the children to the parents and the kindergarten staff, and their needs and perspectives (Van Laere and Vandebroek 2017; Erdemir 2021). Regarding newly arrived pre-school children topics that directly affect the children are mentioned: early language support⁷ (Šebart, Hočevár, and Štefanc 2017), the effects of trauma on second language acquisition (Kaplan et al. 2016), how the new linguistic environment affects them (Skaremyr 2021) or the general impact of Early Childhood Education and Care on the well-being of the children and their families (Bove and Sharmahd 2020). Some research studies go into some depth with regard to early childhood language development and shed some light on the handling and requirement of monolingualism (educational language) and the resulting effects on children (Panagiotopoulou, Rosen, and Strzykala 2021; Mecheril and Quehl 2015; Hélot 2021). Dealing with bilingualism or multilingualism (Panagiotopoulou, Rosen, and Strzykala 2021; Kirsch 2021; Jahreie 2021), and how multilingualism is being practiced in the pre-school or school setting, is also the subject of research in this area. Regarding the learning needs of refugee children, a report draws attention to children's educational gaps due to war and the increasingly worsening situation in their countries (Droliá et al. 2020).

(2) Regarding school education and arrangements

As mentioned above, a significant part of the research on primary and secondary school education focuses on policies and structural frameworks and rights. Another aspect receives a lot of attention in research, namely the lack of a systematic approach to data collection on refugee children; accordingly, all analyses are based on an ad hoc approach by various EU-host countries (UNHCR et al. 2019; OECD 2018). Many studies focus on country comparisons (e.g., EU-member states) in terms of policies and structural framework conditions and rights (Penninx, Garcés-Masareñas, and CIDOB – Barcelona Centre For International Affairs, Barcelona, Spain 2016, Essomba 2017). Others look at the educational pathways of refugee children, i.e., transitions from home to camps, reception centres, and eventual host country schools. Although access to education is a fundamental human right, access to education differs along the pathways from the source countries to the eventual host countries. Even in the final stage of arrival in a host country, different rules and rights apply depending on the legal status of asylum seeker: their subsidiary protection and convention status. The length of stay in the various places and the number of relocations, which impact on access to education, have an impact on mental health problems of refugee children (Nielsen et al. 2008; Siebert, Gabriele and Pollheimer-Pühringer 2020). This topic is addressed by various studies, in addition to the different ways host countries handle the often very heterogeneous needs of refugee children (Koehler 2017). The needs of refugee children centre around 3 themes: learning needs, social needs and emotional needs, as identified by Cerna (2019). In consequence, a holistic approach to education of refugee children is requested. Denmark identifies the needs for successful integration into school and life by offering mentoring/buddy systems, integration in local/municipal integration programmes, and a community school context to foster the creation of a social network of local and immigrant/refugee students (Requardt 2016).

⁷ Here: in the majority language of the destination country.

Another emphasis of research lies on the educational challenges faced by refugee children flowing from the large organisational differences of education systems in the various EU-MS (Berglund 2017, Sunata and Abdulla 2020). As educational institutions tend to reproduce existing inequalities between social groups, the group of refugee children tends to be marginalised in systems that have an early tracking system, which does not take into account that the children have to catch up both in term of the language of the host country and the learning requirements. An OECD working paper focuses on three such countries, Germany, Greece, and the Netherlands, and informs about the adjustments undertaken to better cater for the needs of this vulnerable group of students (Koehler, Palaiologou, and Brussino 2022):

A further strain of research examines children’s integration and education approaches, methodologies, and policies in Europe. One such OECD working paper provides a comprehensive overview of Dutch education approaches toward recently arrived children, their educational performance, and socio-emotional well-being (Bilgili 2019).

Another research area is dedicated to the educational assessment and needs of refugee children (Bircan and Sunata 2015). It is emphasised that basic needs and structural conditions (condition of schools and qualifications of teachers) partly do not correspond to quality standards and the needs of the children (Aydin and Kaya 2017).

Other studies highlight the importance of education in terms of structural and social integration (Çelik and Erdogan 2017) and address the crucial role that teachers can play in this process (Aydin, Gundogdu, and Akgul 2019). A specific topic makes reference to inadequate access to education in refugee accommodations (camps) and how social segregation leads to school segregation and affects social integration (Forschungsbereich beim Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (SVR_Forschungsbereich) 2018). This issue is particularly evident in country studies on Greece and Turkey (Vergou 2019, Çelik and İçduygu 2019). A grounded theory study addresses the overrepresentation of immigrants in special education and the opacity of data in this area (Subasi Singh 2020):

An even less considered topic is the role of schools and education on children's health and well-being, and how equitable education can eliminate inequalities (Mock-Muñoz de Luna et al. 2020). Another research gap concerns the prior educational experiences of young refugees before flight (Cerna 2019).

3.3 Integration situation (inequalities) in education and training

(1) Regarding pre-school education and arrangements

Before we take a closer look at the situation of pre-school education for newcomers, we would like to highlight some of the most important facts about early childhood education and care in Europe. In Europe, most children start primary education at the age of 6. As shown in the Eurodicy report (European Commission, EACEA, and Eurydice 2019), there are 31 million children

under this age living in the European Union who were potential users of ECEC services in 2019. There are significant differences between European countries in terms of access and quality of ECEC. In particular, when it comes to the transition from the childcare to the pre-school phase, the division is blurred. In most Central and Southern European countries, children move from childcare to education-oriented pre-school education at around age 3. What most European countries have in common, is that the quality of childcare for children under the age of 3 lacks development. This is probably also due to the low qualification requirements for childcare staff (ibid).

Against this background, there is now the question of what access refugee children have to the pre-school sector. Refugee children are often referred to as a vulnerable group in many studies or are counted among the migrant group without addressing their specific situation (Vandekerckhove and Aarssen 2020; Bloch et al. 2015). As a result, the often difficult conditions for children affected by flight, the educational gaps that (can) result from war or flight, and the impact of trauma on learning do not receive further attention. According to these studies, refugee children generally seem to face more barriers than children of immigrants with other reasons for migration (Crul et al. 2017). And even within the group of refugee children, it should be noted that children from different countries of origin may differ just as much in terms of their pre-school experiences (ibid.). It is also pointed out that there are neither adequate educational services nor clear strategies in reception centres to ensure meaningful ECEC (Bloch et al. 2015). Regarding the management and implementation of multilingualism and the promotion of first language(s), linguistic diversity is highlighted as an asset across the EU, but implementation seems to be the main problem (Hélot 2021; Mary and Young 2021; Krüger and Thamin 2021; Thomauske 2021). As far as access to ECEC is concerned, there are different regulations in the European countries, since, for example, compulsory schooling starts at different ages and pre-school education is organised very differently. In some countries, such as Germany or Austria, parents whose asylum status has been officially recognised are treated equally to German or Austrian citizens, i.e., access to pre-school education is granted under the same conditions. Costs vary, although the last year of kindergarten is free in some German states and in Austria. In Sweden, children of pre-school age, regardless of their status, can attend open pre-school, which is free of charge (Crul et al. 2017; Dörfler and Blum 2014; European Commission and Directorate General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture 2021).

(2) Regarding school education and arrangements

Immigration to Europe has a fairly long history, at least in many western European countries – given the colonial past of many countries that are now part of the EU; but immigration gained momentum after WWII also in non-colonial countries of Western Europe, partly resulting from immigration programmes, and partly as a result of refugee intake. Integration of this heterogeneous group of migrants into the school system became a topical issue with the implementation of the OECD-PISA surveys from 2000 onwards. The data documented that foreign-born-students lagged behind native born children in academic performance, also when controlling for socio-economic status of parents. As a consequence, some countries embarked on educational reforms to promote the educational success of migrant youth (OECD 2015,

chapter 13) (OECD and European Union 2015); particularly Germany and Belgium were successful in these endeavours. Despite some progress, in 2012 on average 30% of foreign-born children across the EU lacked basic reading skills at the age of 15, compared to 14% of native-born children. Immigration countries could build on this experience with migrant children in the school system and possibly add additional special support measures.

The PISA-based studies do not differentiate between various types of migrants. It is only since the most recent inflow of refugees from 2014 onward that the integration of the specific group of refugee children in schools receives attention. The source countries of this inflow of refugee youth are many and varied, encompassing youth from the Middle East, Afghanistan, and various countries and regions in Africa and South America. Their successful integration in the school system has become a major political issue in the receiving countries of Europe, not least because of the large numbers concerned. This fact, in addition to the high probability of settlement in the host country, entices countries to address barriers to successful integration of refugee children in schools, largely due to their impact on their subsequent labour market and social integration potential. While refugee children share many of the challenges of migrant youth, for example, challenges of acculturation to a new environment, culture and language, discrimination because of their ethnic-cultural background, and a crisis of identity (Malewska-Peyre 1994; Schwartz et al. 2018; Hack-Polay et al. 2021). The scant literature on this issue suggests that refugee youth face additional obstacles. Bloch et al. (2015) point to the role of an insecure residence status, dispersal and loss of family members, and the trauma they experience, which can impact upon their psychological and social wellbeing and health. In consequence, “*rethinking refugee education*” in Europe is on the agenda (de Wal Pastoor 2016, 108) and argues:

[...] for a holistic, whole-school approach to refugee education, which includes education policy, school structures, classroom practice, curricula, pedagogy and teaching materials, as well as cultural awareness and refugee competence.

This proposal is the outcome of a research project (TURIN)⁸ on refugee youth upon resettlement in Norway. The call for a holistic approach is taken up by Koehler et al. (2022) who look into the institutionalisation of promising practices to that avail in Germany, Greece and the Netherlands. The basic tenet is that for refugee students to succeed, individual (host country and mother tongue language proficiency and their physical and mental health), interpersonal (friendships with peers, family support, and social networks) and school-level factors (learning environment, school engagement, teacher-student interactions, and parental involvement in school) have to be addressed. Policies impact on these factors and can hinder or support refugee student integration.

In the Netherlands, LOWAN⁹ (Tudjman et al. 2016) (Support for Newcomer Education) operates in primary and secondary formal education settings. It provides support, advice, and direction for teachers, municipalities and school boards as well as local and public authorities to organise

⁸ (Lynnebakke, Pastoor, and Eide 2020)

⁹ <https://www.lowan.nl/>

education for newcomers. But it is also running full-time classes outside mainstream schools, where students receive a tailored programme on mathematics, Dutch language, spelling, comprehensive reading, and social and emotional skills, before they can move into regular classes. Similar arrangements are found in other EU member states. Most EU countries have additional classes either in mainstream schools or outside, addressing learning needs of refugee children (Forschungsbereich beim Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration (SVR_Forschungsbereich) 2018). Nevertheless, very little is done to address social and emotional needs.

Another aspect is crucial for educational opportunities of refugee youth, namely the age at arrival as age limits in compulsory education systems often reduce chances for accessing mainstream education. In the case of the Netherlands, youth have the right and duty to attend school up to the age of 18. This is a challenge for many young refugees who have lost several years of education before and during their flight. This means that the time is often too short to obtain a certificate which opens up good employment opportunities later.

Dunlavy et al. (2020) and Jervelund, Signe Smith et al. (2020) provide some insight into the learning outcomes of refugee children in Nordic countries. While the average grades of the refugee children tended to be lower than those of their native-born peers, the lowest scores were among the refugee children who arrived between 15-17 years of age. The grades of refugee girls tended to be higher than those of boys, regardless of age. Girls from Afghanistan and Iran had the highest scores and boys from Somalia the lowest. But there are differences between the Nordic countries. Refugee children do better in school in Sweden than in Denmark or Norway. Dunlavy (2020) suggested that Sweden has a longer history of accepting refugee children in school and thus more experience in promoting learning outcomes and social integration of refugee children. The study also indicates that the refugee's country-of-origin matters, partly due to the economic development of the source country and the educational experiences there. Overall, age at arrival was more important for learning outcome differences than the country of origin.

The CAGE-Report states that the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish education systems do not explicitly address the health and wellbeing of newly arrived immigrant and refugee pupils in national level immigrant education policies. This is seen as a short-sighted policy, as health inequalities may be exacerbated over a lifetime via experiences of marginalisation in the society (Jervelund, Signe Smith, Krasnik, Allan, and de Lasson, Anne-Kathrine Rosenkrantz 2020).

Another aspect impacting negatively on education and social integration of refugee children emerges due to increasing residential segregation and the associated segregation of schools. Not only is the general language level of the host country lower in segregated schools, but also the limited availability of experienced teachers, as they tend to abstain from working in schools with children from a "difficult background" (Berglund 2017).

A recent PISA study (2021) (Gouëdard 2021) comes to the conclusion that a 'growth mindset' matters for learning outcomes; disadvantaged and immigrant youth with such a mindset achieve

significantly better scores than students with a fixed mindset. According to mindset theory, children with a fixed mindset believe their talents are innate gifts; they tend to avoid challenges since they interpret large efforts and setbacks as a result of low ability. In contrast, students with a growth mindset consider learning outcomes as a result of effort; they tend to set their own learning goals and, develop learning strategies thereby developing confidence and enlarging their potential.

3.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives

(1) Regarding pre-school education and arrangements

In the field of pre-school education, there are only a few studies that deal exclusively with the situation of refugee children. And this is exactly where the fundamental problem is seen: mostly, refugees are referred to as a vulnerable group or as migrants, without their specific situation being addressed. With regard to refugee families with young children (0-4 years), it is also pointed out that these children mostly remain invisible in policy and practice (Vandekerckhove and Aarssen 2020). In reception centres, for example, there would be neither adequate pedagogical offers, nor clear strategies to ensure meaningful ECEC. Although children with a refugee background can certainly be counted among the children at risk, they are often not mentioned explicitly or are simply considered as a group of children with a migration background (Bloch et al. 2015, 41). However, the sometimes more difficult conditions for children affected by flight, the educational gaps that (may) occur during war or flight, and the impact of trauma on learning, are worth special consideration. As far as studies are concerned, it appears that refugee children usually face more barriers to educational attainment than children of immigrants (Crul et al. 2017, 2). And even within this group, it must be noted that children from different countries of origin can differ just as much in terms of their school experience (ibid).

In terms of pre-school education, the academic literature provides an overview of the treatment of migrant children before school age within Europe, although the focus is often set on the school age itself. Against this background, it is worth pointing out Crul et. al.'s (2017, 2) criticism that most studies do not distinguish between refugee children born in the country of migration and those who arrived during compulsory education. The latter is considered in this study as an "intermediate generation", whose learning may differ from the former. In general, according to Crul et. al. (ibid), studies pay too little attention to the development of school careers over a longer period of time, while usually giving a brief account of entry into the education system

Another focus addressed in the publications is dealing with multilingualism and promoting first language(s). Although the EU seems to be concerned with highlighting linguistic diversity as an asset and promoting inclusive language policies, the implementation of such multilingualism promoting policies seems difficult to manage (Mary and Young 2021, 112).

Additional emphasis is placed on universal access to childcare. The EU Quality Framework for ECEC emphasizes the importance of ensuring that early childhood education and care services are accessible and affordable for all families and their children (European Commission and

Directorate General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture 2021). Flexible hours would allow participation for children of working mothers, single parents, and those from minority or disadvantaged groups, among others. In this regard, area-wide high-quality and affordable services have the greatest impact on promoting equity and social inclusion.

Nevertheless, some reports could be found that specifically address the aforementioned target group (Park, Katsiaticas, and McHugh 2018; Bove and Sharmahd 2020; Tobin 2020). ECEC is increasingly seen as a potential factor for improving equal opportunities in the long term for children at risk of social exclusion and/or from families with a migrant background (Peleman, Vandebroek, and Van Avermaet 2020).

The literature on pre-school education for migrants consistently highlights the importance of ECEC in improving the long-term equity of children at risk of social exclusion, but no solutions could be found on how to monitor this process in the long term (Fouskas and Sidiropoulos 2017; Guerin 2014). In particular, one research highlights that studies usually only briefly address entry into the education system (Crul et al. 2017, 2). Furthermore, it is emphasized that the lack of differentiation between refugee children and children of migrants without a refugee background overlooks the special situation of refugee families (Bloch et al. 2015; Vandekerckhove and Aarssen 2020). According to studies (Crul et al. 2017, 2), refugee children generally face greater obstacles than children of immigrants. Another difficulty is dealing with multilingualism, which is declared as an advantage by the EU, but in most cases is not (Mary and Young 2021). The lack of quality of the services offered in this sector, especially the training of professionals and the age of entry, play a particular role in this area (Krüger and Thamin 2021). Likewise, the provision of information to parents (Thomauske 2021; Van Laere and Vandebroek 2017), as well as the relationship of parents to the pre-school institutions themselves, is also addressed. One article (Tobin 2020) highlighted those practitioners are often caught in something of a bind when it comes to being culturally responsive to parents while following their educational beliefs and principles. The result of this study has shown that ECEC practitioners in the studied countries adhere to quality standards and best practices and also maintain a certain level of awareness of different cultures (for example, words from the children's languages of origin are used in the morning greeting, culturally relevant books are added to the book corner, etc.). However, when it comes to questions about the curriculum or pedagogy, pre-school teachers would not respond to parents' wishes. According to many parents, they would have liked content in the kindergarten that would make it easier for them to enter school (writing the child's name) (Tobin 2020, 15). Similarly, bicultural staff would play a critical but underappreciated role as cultural and linguistic facilitators. A finding from the same study is that professionals are not adequately prepared for the challenges of working with refugees and new immigrants with a different first language. Research has also found that refugee resettlement, integration agencies, and early childhood education programs suffer from capacity issues (see Park, Katsiaticas, and McHugh 2018)). There are almost no activities for children under school age in reception centres, and educational gaps during this period often go unnoticed even at the policy level. The separation between refugees and asylum seekers often creates a bureaucratic hurdle in organizing and managing childcare (Crul et al. 2017). Similarly, responsibility for ECEC services is mostly at the

subnational level and is not everywhere sufficiently available or capable of effectively serving diverse populations (Tobin 2020, 13).

(1) Regarding school education and arrangements

Problems that are voiced by various actors and interest groups in the context of education of refugee children have various dimensions: One is in the health sphere with a specific focus on experiences of trauma due to persecution, loss of family and friends, but also relative to the health hazards encountered in the country of origin as well as the countries of transition before arriving in the host country. Another aspect refers to the socio-economic position and access to education in the source country and the specific challenges relative to learning and social participation in the host country in consequence. A third aspect relates to the specific experiences of forced migration and the fears and anxieties as a result of that. Another strand of problem identification focuses on the situation in the host country, in particular the housing situation (segregation, deprived regions, etc.), and the neighbourhoods (ethnic enclaves with little contact with the host society), the insecure residence status (such as temporary and irregular), but also, discrimination and racism.

The policy response is indicative of the identification of the problem by the decision-making authorities. If the integration of children in schools is largely seen as a problem linked to the ‘deficiencies’ of the children, policies are going to focus on measures which help the children to ‘catch up’. Whereas if children are seen as an opportunity in an ageing society with low fertility, one may favour strategies to identify the strengths and talents of the children, in particular to also focus on the preservation of the language of the country of origin, in addition to the host country language. The latter is also linked to the promotion of extra-curricular activities, often offered/organised by the schools, for example, in sports, arts, and drama. Among the countries opting for the first problem identification are Austria as well as Southern European countries, that is, in the main countries that do not identify themselves as immigration countries. The second approach tends to be favoured by some Nordic countries, in particular Sweden, and increasingly also Germany and the Netherlands. The second approach is framed as a human rights approach, which takes education as a public good and a human right that is to promote the well-being of all children and foster their social participation. Conversely, the first approach is often labelled as the neoliberal policy approach augmented by the human capital paradigm (Sedmak et al. 2021).

The OECD study on the integration of immigrant children (2015) (OECD 2015) shows that the share of immigrant students does not lead to a decline in the education standards in host communities. This result implies that immigrant children have valuable skills and competences and often a lot of motivation to succeed, also in circumstances that are difficult. Consequently, both policy approaches may have their success, but the identification of special talents may be more difficult in the neoliberal approach than in the human rights approach.

A Eurydice report (2019) (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2019) provides an overview of integration policies of refugee children in schools. They highlight the education systems that

have the most comprehensive policies toward this vulnerable group of students. These encompass the identification of student needs and their solutions, the support of teachers to adopt a whole-child approach, and the school environment in general. Among the countries which adopt this approach are Portugal and Spain in Southern Europe and Finland and Sweden in the North. While Germany, Austria, Italy, and the United Kingdom tend to focus on the competences in the host country language, France also focuses on core subject areas, in particular Mathematics.

3.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

in education and training

(1) Regarding pre-school education and arrangements

ECEC is increasingly seen as a potential factor for improving equal opportunities in the long term for children at risk of social exclusion and/or from families with a migrant background (Peleman, Vandebroek, and Van Avermaet 2020; Bujard et al. 2020). Against this backdrop, barriers such as bureaucratic hurdles, high costs, a lack of linguistically and culturally competent programs, and inflexible schedules nonetheless make refugee families less likely than native families to enrol their children in childcare (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018). The fact that refugee families "do not have the luxury of finding the perfect ECEC program" and have to compromise on their choices also contributes to the difficulties (Tobin 2020, 13).

From the literature collected, it is only possible to identify indirect measures and instruments used in the pre-school sector for children from refugee families because, as already mentioned, they are often not specifically addressed. Of course, this does not mean that there are no measures designed specifically for refugee children in the pre-school sector, but that these could not be found in the currently consulted research literature in English or that there is a lack of scientific monitoring of the measures. A comparison in the European context also proves to be difficult in the pre-school sector, as the age of entry into school varies within Europe and thus also the age of entry into care facilities (Vandekerckhove and Aarssen 2020; Bove and Sharmahd 2020; Tobin 2020; Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018). In May 2019, the Council of the EU adopted a Recommendation to improve early childhood education and care systems. The education ministries of the EU member states have also approved this Recommendation. However, the structure and content of national systems for ECEC measures remain the responsibility of national authorities. Guidance on the following key components are presented in this Recommendation ('Early Childhood Education and Care Initiatives | European Education Area' 2022):

- Access to early childhood education and care
- Training and working conditions of staff of early childhood education and care settings
- Definition of appropriate curricula
- Governance and funding

- Monitoring and evaluation of systems

In a comparative study (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018) examining the needs of children of asylum seekers, it quickly became clear that the challenges of serving young refugee and asylum seeker children were very similar in most countries in two respects:

- (1) nationwide interventions to address the ECEC needs of this target group were very weak due to a lack of national accountability and support from local authorities responsible for providing ECEC services,
- (2) although the importance of trauma-sensitive care is recognized by ECEC programs, this type of support cannot be provided due to a lack of resources.

For children of refugee families, who are often resettled several times within host countries and sometimes wait a long time for a decision on their asylum claims, temporary housing often poses an additional hurdle in the educational pathway, as it can disrupt their access to important support services. While EU law states that children have the right to education regardless of their legal status, children often remain for extended periods in reception centres where adequate educational services are not provided. For early childhood programs in particular, it is emphasized that there is often a lack of capacity to reach and care for children (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018). For example, one study (Fouskas and Sidiropoulos 2017) shows that so-called Reception Classes (RCs) and Reception Structures for the Education of Refugees were created by the state (Hellenic Ministry of Education and the Institute for Educational Policy). These Reception Structures for the Education of Refugees (RSER) foresee those children will be placed in RCs through a diagnostic test depending on their age, previous knowledge (regardless of how long they have been educated in their country of origin), knowledge of Greek, and other individualities. The program includes the creation of timetables, a student card, the selection of textbooks, and the coordination of the training of the teachers. For children aged 4 to 7 years, kindergarten units will be established within the hospitality centres. The offer of RCs is rounded off by additional offers from international organizations (in this case, IOM) and NGOs, which are only allowed to offer corresponding measures after receiving a certificate from IPE (ibid.).

ECEC programs, which primarily aim to build a solid foundation for school readiness and thus pave the way for school success, are expected to have greater long-term benefits than the provision of costly interventions later on. Moreover, these programs can also reach parents and families, proving to be a promising tool for achieving integration goals (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018).

Against this background, it can be summarised that even in the examined literature on ECEC measures for the target group of new immigrants, there are hardly any references to newly implemented measures, instruments, and tools. Rather, it seems that for refugee children the already existing structures and offers were used. The exceptions in this literature review can be counted as Sweden and Germany, which have some specific measures and programmes at the

national or local level to implement ECEC services for the mentioned target group. In some countries where there were no formal measures, NGOs stepped in (ibid.).

The following contents were identified in the literature review:

(1) Measures to promote language acquisition.

The many languages spoken in classrooms across Europe have contributed to the need to recognise and promote linguistic diversity and to support children with their first language other than the majority language in the target country in their language acquisition (Mary and Young 2021). Although linguistic diversity and the promotion of inclusive language policies are stated in EU policy documents (Iskra 2021), the implementation of what could be called living multilingualism seems to fail because of the often monolingual ideologies of school systems. Mary and Young (2021) gave an example of this by following a pre-school teacher for a year and observing her approach to multilingualism and the break with the monolingual norm. Teachers' beliefs about languages have a major impact on how multilingualism is managed at home and in the classroom (ibid).

- *Sprach-Kitas* in Germany

In Germany, almost 400 million euros were invested between 2017 and 2020 to expand the *Sprach-Kitas* programme launched by the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs and double the number of staff. The federal investments have also made it possible to expand the *Stepping Into Childcare* programme, which aims to strengthen the relationship between parents and the childcare facility, and inform parents about the childcare services offered in the country (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 16).

- Gothenburg Language Center¹⁰

System-wide leadership is also often needed to introduce new methods of qualifying childcare workers or to recruit new staff with language and cultural skills.

What is particularly noticeable in Sweden, is that there is a prevalence of high levels of coordination and support at the national level. For example, the Swedish education authority works closely with municipalities and offers special programmes aimed at newcomers. As far as pre-school is concerned, provision is made for children with a mother tongue other than Swedish to develop their cultural identity and knowledge of both languages. The Gothenburg Language Centre provides mother-tongue teaching and support for all schools in the city, which relieves the schools enormously with regard to these tasks (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 16–17).

(2) Measures to facilitate access to ECEC services.

¹⁰ <https://goteborg.se/wps/portal/enhetssida/sprakcentrum>, 15.02.2022

Regarding access to ECEC, we find different arrangements within the European countries, as for example, compulsory schooling starts at different ages, or the pre-school education is very differently organised. In certain countries, such as Germany or Austria, parents whose asylum status has been officially recognized are treated equally to German or Austrian citizens, i.e., access to pre-school is granted under the same conditions. The costs vary, although the last year of kindergarten is free in some German states and in Austria. In Sweden, pre-school age children, regardless of their status, may attend open pre-school, which is free of charge (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 17).

For example, a study (Skaremyr 2021) from Sweden emphasizes that previous research on newly arrived children has mostly focused on the question of educational access and how to ensure optimal education, and therefore places the research focus on the children themselves and how they are able to participate in everyday life in pre-school in a new linguistic environment by using communicative means.

(3) Measures to improve the quality of ECEC services.

System-wide leadership is also often needed to introduce new methods of qualifying childcare workers or to recruit new staff with language and cultural skills (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 20).

(4) Measures to improve the quality of training for pre-school staff in childcare facilities.

Another promising and sustainable initiative seems to be the recruitment and training of multilingual staff - ideally from the refugee communities themselves. In this regard, the following measures can be mentioned:

- Stadtteilmütter (Borough mothers)

Borough mothers in the model Kitas programmes in Berlin take on a mediating role between newly arrived families and the institutions themselves. The special feature of the district mothers is that they are mostly refugees themselves (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 17).

- Sleutelpersonen (Key Leaders)

In the Netherlands, Key Leaders act as cultural mediators.

- Fast Track Initiative¹¹

In order to attract skilled workers with language and cultural competencies, the integration of immigrants and refugees is also promoted in these professions (including childcare) via the Fast Track Initiative.

¹¹<https://www.government.se/articles/2015/12/fast-track---a-quicker-introduction-of-newly-arrived-immigrants/>, 15.02.2022

(2) Regarding school education and arrangements

Refugee children arrive in Europe with a variety of previous educational and schooling experiences. Children in the same age group accordingly have different educational experiences. Therefore, and because most European education systems are characterised by complex structures and regulations, integrating these children and youth into an education system requires the provision of transparent information about the education system and educational opportunities (Koehler et al. 2018).

In Belgium (Flanders), for example, newly arrived families are able to get information about the education system from their local integration centre and NGOs. In addition, some schools organize "networking days" to facilitate contacts between students, parents, school principals, teachers, and after-school teachers (Koehler 2017). The city of Malmö (Sweden) offers around 3,000 newly immigrated students academic counselling in their own language, thus providing a more detailed overview of the education system. In Germany, for example, the Leipzig Educational Advisory Service offers monthly group and individual counselling sessions to inform about the German education system and the opportunities available, particularly regarding continuing education (EUROCITIES and Huddelston 2017). Another approach, primarily based on providing information, is also being adopted in Hamburg, where the education authority runs welcome classes in every reception centre for asylum seekers and refugees. The aim of these classes is the rapid learning of language skills and a general orientation with regard to school careers. This "education from day one" approach is intended to avoid losing time and also to prevent children from being held in limbo for an indefinite period of time (Korntheuer and Damm 2018; EUROCITIES and Huddelston 2017).

In addition to the measures that primarily concern the dissemination of information regarding national education systems and opportunities, measures were also implemented to facilitate the integration of children into school. One such measure is the so-called preparatory classes, which are implemented in various EU member countries (namely, France, Germany, Greece, and Sweden) for newly arrived students with little or no knowledge of the language of instruction (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2020).

In Austria, children who do not have sufficient knowledge of German are given the status of *extraordinary student* (außerordentlicher Schüler) and are not graded in other subjects, but receive mainly German lessons (Atanasoska and Proyer 2018). In 2015, the city of Vienna established *preparatory classes* and, in Upper Austria, *bridge classes*. These were separate classes located in public schools. They last for one year. However, results show that these classes are insufficient in Vienna and almost non-existent in some rural areas in Upper Austria. In 2018, Austria introduced a new model of language support in schools through so called *German classrooms*¹² (Proyer et al. 2021). Students with no or little knowledge of German are separated

¹² „Deutschförderklassen“

from their classmates in most subjects and taught in German. If they pass a test that certifies their language skills sufficient, they are fully integrated into the regular class.

A similar approach is also being pursued in France. In this regard, language classes are offered to pupils who were previously enrolled in school but do not speak French. Other preparatory classes are also offered to students who have never been to school before. The goal of these classes is the acquisition of the French language and the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, so that the students can move on to a regular class. These separate classes are integrated into the French state schools (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2020).

According to existing literature, Germany still faces a major challenge in integrating refugee children and youth into the school system. In 2015, approximately 1 million asylum seekers arrived in Germany and around 325,000 refugee children and youth have been accepted into the German school system. The literature points out, in particular, the additional financial requirements, which will amount to around 2.1 billion euros per year, in order to finance, among other things, around 20,000 additionally required teachers (Voges et al. 2016). Accordingly, Germany also implemented preparatory classes, which are applied differently in the respective federal states and are called *language learning classes*, *preliminary courses*, and *welcome classes* (Sprachlernklassen, Vorkurse, Willkommensklassen) (Baader, Freytag, and Wirth 2019). This form of separate schooling, which includes the models of separation, partially integrative and integrative variants, is intended to enable the fastest possible integration into the regular school system (Massumi et al. 2015; Ahrenholz, Fuchs, and Birnbaum 2016).

The existing literature further highlights that academic achievement, particularly in reading and writing, mathematics, and other core subjects, is the primary concern, but the holistic needs of students are not fully recognized. In this regard, the development of children and youth, including their academic development, cannot be fully realized without supporting their non-academic needs, resulting in holistic approaches being increasingly promoted and recommended by researchers in recent years (Hamilton 2013; Sean Slade and Griffith 2013; Krachman, LaRocca, and Gabrieli 2018).

Regarding this approach, the “Language Friendly School” in the Netherlands operates within the framework of formal primary and secondary education. The program started in 2019 and has since been implemented in ten schools in the Netherlands, one school in Spain, and one school in Canada. The school concept focuses on the increasing multilingualism in schools and societies due to migration flows. Therefore, in these schools, all languages spoken by students, parents, and other school stakeholders are seen as adding value. The practice applies a bottom-up approach to the entire school adapted by developing a language plan that involves all school members (that is, students, teachers, and other school staff) (Language Friendly School 2021). The existing literature also illustrates the benefits of multilingual learning, and that an appreciation of language and cultural background will promote success in all respects by increasing self-confidence and self-esteem (European Commission et al. 2017).

The *Praxiserprobung für geflüchtete Jugendliche* (“Practical Learning for Refugee Youth”) started in 2018 and is implemented in seven secondary schools in Berlin/Germany. The target group are young refugees between 15 and 20 years of age, for whom the welcome classes as mentioned above or mainstream secondary schools are not promising. The main goal of the practice is the targeted preparation of students for the transition to vocational training. To achieve this goal, students are accompanied in school and in companies through practice-oriented learning (Koehler, Palaiologou, and Brussino 2022).

3.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

in education and training

(1) Regarding pre-school education and arrangements

Three of the most promising measures presented in the report “Responding to the ECEC Needs of Children of Refugees and Asylum Seekers” (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018):

- ***Systematic Support:***
- ***Expansion of childcare spaces, language support, tailored training for educational professionals, and mentoring programs for parents.***

A study in Belgium, for example, has shown that although pre-school attendance is always supposed to have a long-term positive impact on social participation and to diminish inequalities in the education of vulnerable children, pre-schools can also be part of the problem, rather than the solution. This is at least the case when the quality of services provided is not adequate. The key to solving this problem is seen, on the one hand, in an ECEC system that goes beyond individual competencies and, on the other hand, in the training of pre-school staff (Peleman, Vandenbroeck, and Van Avermaet 2020, 19).

With respect to ECEC services for refugee and asylum-seeking families, the following were identified as needing more attention: expanded service delivery, language support, and customized workforce training and parenting programs. In this context, for example, the programme “Sprach-Kitas” (Language day-care centres) was launched by the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, aimed at day-care facilities that have a special need for language support due to an above-average number of newly arrived migrant children (Brandt 2017). With the goals of promoting language education integrated into everyday life, inclusion-oriented education and cooperation with families, this program starts with the families themselves, as well as with the childcare facilities. *Borough mothers* (Stadtteilmütter), a Berlin’s Modell-Kitas program, help to connect newly arrived families and local service providers. A similar program exists in the Netherlands called Sleutelpersonen (Key Leaders) (Lilas Fahham, Beckers, and Muller-Dugic 2020), where cultural mediators work in refugee communities to provide education and facilitate access to services. Another strategy in Sweden is worth mentioning because it takes a very different approach: The Fast Track Initiative. In order to attract skilled workers with

language and cultural competencies, the integration of immigrants and refugees is also promoted in these professions (including childcare).

- ***Prevent segregation to strengthen social cohesion: Care for young refugee children together with native children in mixed classes.***

In Sweden, policymakers see the segregation of newly arrived children in separate classes as a disadvantage to their integration, so newcomers should also benefit from mixed classes. Preventing segregation of newly arrived families is seen as a top priority for the country (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018).

- ***Cooperative partnerships (including interagency) to foster collaboration and cooperation to promote ECEC initiatives.***

Promoting collaboration and cooperation to foster ECEC initiatives is also seen as promising. In Belgium, for example, *Kind en Gezin* (Child and Family), the public ECEC agency for Belgium's Flemish community, has established family centres uniting all services for families with children (Huizen van het Kind) (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 18).

(2) Regarding school education and arrangements

The main problems related to preparatory classes, mentioned in the previous chapter, and language courses are the limited duration and the insufficient number of preparatory classes. In Germany and France, experts note that the duration of preparatory classes is not long enough to build sufficient language skills and that students generally need more time and support to learn German or French (Massumi et al. 2015; Baader, Freytag, and Wirth 2019; Voges et al. 2016; Ahrenholz, Fuchs, and Birnbaum 2016, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2020).

Similarly, experts in Austria emphasize that the biggest challenge is that only half of the students reach the level of German required to attend a mainstream school/class. Furthermore, Füllekruss and Dirim (2019) conclude with regard to the German classrooms in Austria that through these classes the ideology of the nation-state is reproduced education system by rejecting multilingualism and maintaining only German-language proficiency. In addition, the segregation of these classes could lead to multiple forms of *Othering*, exclusion, and disadvantage of students with refugee or migration backgrounds. According to the authors, this mechanism is also reinforced by the fact that regular classes in Austria are not very integrative in terms of German language support.

In comparison to the mainstream approaches, holistic education is not yet established in the mainstream European education systems. At the same time, educators and academics have recognized the potential of this approach, which can enable the integration of refugees and newcomers into education and society. At the same time, the existing literature highlights the successful implementation of holistic concepts.

Since the beginning of the Language Friendly School programme, multiple schools around the globe have joined the network. The first evaluation of the program shows that many different teaching concepts have been established and implemented in order to create an inclusive environment. Another success factor mentioned is the cooperation of parents and the communities, which contribute to the children’s learning success through the multilingual approach (Language Friendly School 2021), which is also underlined by numerous studies (European Commission et al. 2017; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2020). The outcome of the Practical Learning for the Refugee Youth program was that young refugees were given the opportunity to test their own skills in real-life situations and to see which skills are compatible with the German labour market. Furthermore, most of the educators were in contact with refugees for the first time, which in turn gave young refugees the opportunity to expand their technical knowledge in German. Moreover, it could be observed that the self-esteem of the participants increased, which made future goals and life in Germany more attractive to them (Koehler, Palaiologou, and Brussino 2022).

3.7 Conclusion

(1) Regarding pre-school education and arrangements

Based on the practices outlined and found in the literature, the following general picture can now be drawn: thoughtful approaches to supporting children from new immigrant families can be found in both governmental and non-governmental initiatives. However, the literature review also draws attention to the fact that in many areas there is a lack of accountability towards the target group addressed. In most cases, access to ECEC services already varies within a country (cf. Germany, Austria Sweden, and Denmark) (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, Crul et al. 2017), which makes it all the more difficult for newly immigrated families to find appropriate services for their children. Due to the special needs of families who also often (have to) move within a country, the aforementioned varying conditions within a country pose a major hurdle in terms of moving from one educational institution to the next smoothly.

The criticisms of these practices and services found in the literature concern the lack of responsibility towards the target group, the lack of quality of the services offered in the field of ECEC, the lack of visibility of the needs of the target group, the insufficient involvement of parents, the lack of preparation of educational staff for the challenges, and the fact that creating a language-sensitive environment is often only good on paper. All these critiques already contain possible solutions within themselves.

Measures created for refugee children and their families must both address immediate needs and enable longer-term success and social participation (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 19).

- Cooperation and networking

A whole-of-government approach to ensure successful integration of newcomers should be implemented, and partnerships between national and sub-national state actors should be established to also define roles and responsibilities clearly (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 16).

- Making needs visible

The special needs of refugee children and their families, the gaps in education that may have occurred in refugee camps, and war-related trauma; all these require special consideration in terms of the services offered in the ECEC sector (Vandekerckhove and Aarssen 2020; Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018).

- Language-sensitive environment

In terms of creating a language-sensitive environment, this involves several things: on the one hand, hiring and training multilingual staff, ideally from the refugee communities, and on the other hand, also recognising the value of multilingualism, and seeing it as an asset (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 43; Kirsch 2021; Hélot 2021; Thomaske 2021).

- Involvement of parents

To best support children, it is essential to strengthen the relationship between parents and childcare providers (Park, Katsiaficas, and McHugh 2018, 18; Thomaske 2021; Van Laere and Vandebroek 2017).

- Quality of the measures offered, training of professionals

In order to increase the quality of ECEC measures, the training of care staff must be improved, and they must be prepared for the special needs and challenges they face when dealing with refugee children and their families.

(2) Regarding school education and arrangements

Based on the findings of the existing literature on the education of refugee children and youth, a number of recommendations for action can be identified addressed to different stakeholders in education policy and administration, practice, and academia. Selected recommendations for action are summarized below.

- Transparency about the Education Systems

In order to enable transparency about the education systems of the host countries, a multilingual European platform should be created where refugees and newly arrived families can find

information about the different school systems. This platform should also allow a comparison of the school systems of the country of origin and the destination country (Koehler et al. 2018).

- Identifying Potential and Utilizing Resources

The education of students must not be reduced to language support. Rather, the heterogeneity of newly arrived children and youth requires a resource-oriented approach and a high degree of individual support and differentiation (Massumi et al. 2015).

- Highlight Good Practices

Large-scale European congresses focusing on the presentation of good practices and on successful educational pathways of young refugees would allow for the showcasing of the high potential of refugees. This would also motivate policy makers and stakeholders to adopt good practices from other countries (Koehler et al. 2018).

- Adopt whole-school and whole -community approaches

Implementations and programs will only be successful if schools can provide a positive school climate and take a whole-school approach to dealing with refugee students that includes parents and communities. In addition, schools are not the only institutions responsible for refugee students, so a community-based integration of these students takes place. In this regard, coordination between the education system and other sectors, such as health, social services, housing, labour market, and welfare is necessary (Cerna 2019).

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4 Housing and Settlement

Hakan Kilic & Albert Kraler

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the current state of research on housing and settlement of newly arrived migrants and includes scientific publications and ‘gray’ literature (e.g., project reports, proceedings) and is limited to the publication years 2011-2021. Geographically, this review covers EU and affiliated countries such as the UK, Norway, and Switzerland.

In recent years, public authorities in EU Member States at local, regional and national levels have been increasingly challenged with the accommodation of newly arrived migrants. Yet access to adequate and affordable housing is widely considered as an essential first step in the settlement

Figure 1. Countries in focus of research



process for migrants and refugees and as an essential part of their integration process, a basis of basic life in a new environment and a prerequisite for further actions, e.g., search for employment, access to host country language courses, participation in community events and other activities. Without secured access to appropriate housing, newly arrived migrants may compromise their health, see their educational and employment opportunities reduced, and face challenges in social and family life.

The central role of housing for accessing other rights and services and for the ability to make use of one’s full capabilities is also reflected in the international human rights framework. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 thus stipulates that all individuals have the right to an adequate standard of living. While the notion of ‘adequate standards of living’ also includes access to basic food, clothing and other rights, access to adequate housing is often considered as a foundational right, a ‘pre-condition for the exercise of the other basic rights indispensable to leading a dignified life, such as the right to health’ (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2011, 58). The right to adequate housing is also incorporated in the (binding) Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), More recently, The Geneva UN Charter on Sustainable Housing (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2014), a non-legally binding document endorsed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) on 16 April 2015, underlines the importance for the governments to “ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services”. The foundational function of housing is also underlined by the role housing plays in meeting the Sustainable Development Goals (Habitat for Humanity 2021). Importantly, housing and settlement are considered as important pillars of social integration and of great importance to the population in general in many European countries, notably in the context of rising costs and the increasingly problematic affordability of housing due in part of the dismantling of public housing programs in recent decades and a volatile housing market (Adema, Plouin, and Fluchtmann 2020).

Housing and settlement of immigrants is a well established topic of research. Also, in respect to newly arrived migrants, it receives a lot of attention in research. Access to housing, housing conditions of migrants/refugees and policy regulations regarding housing and settlement have been examined widely in the past ten years; the post-2014 migration dynamics gave another impetus with a focus on refugee housing. The issues covered include regulations on access to housing for different categories of migrants, the quality of housing available for the various categories, national and communal housing policies, the impact of housing on social integration, mental health and well-being, and how housing conditions and access to housing are managed at the municipal and local level.

The chapter proceeds as follows: The next section reviews the current state of research on housing and settlement of recent immigrants and their integration in the area of housing that has been published since 2011. In addition, this chapter provides an overview of how these issues are discussed in policy debates and public discourse. Finally, it discusses the policy

instruments and tools used for implementation and presents recommendations based on the literature.

4.2 Research on Housing and Settlement

Housing and settlement of migrants have been identified in various studies as an important field of action for integration long before the large increase in numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in 2015 (Biffi et al. 2016; Asselin et al. 2006). But there has been a growing number of publications from various fields of research addressing different aspects of housing and settlement specifically for this category of migrants since 2014. An analysis of the existing literature shows that there is a consensus on housing being one of the main facilitators of integration of migrants and refugees, together with access-rights to the labour market, to education, and health care. These studies show that employment alone is not the main route of integration in today's migration flows. For this reason, ensuring access to affordable and adequate housing is of primary importance (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2021). Furthermore, according to a current report of the United Nation Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), both housing and immigration policies are primarily set at the national level, but the impact of both policies tends to affect the regional and local level - who are in fact in charge with planning - and managing and requires action at the municipal level (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2021).

The subsections briefly presented below provide first insights into the major aspects and concerns covered in the literature. It should be noted ahead of time that the issues concerned are complex, which makes it hard to clearly distinguish or differentiate between housing for refugees versus newly arrived migrants. The literature examined for this review has areas of overlap in specific issues and aspects of migrant and refugee housing.

The core topic with regards to housing and settlement is access or denied access (Bolzoni, Gargiulo, and Manocchi 2015) to housing (Kourachanis 2018b; Kreichauf 2018a; Tsavdaroglou et al. 2019; Tsavdaroglou and Kaika 2021) and housing conditions (Brown, Gill, and Halsall 2022). Studies in this field focus on institutional and structural barriers and hurdles that hinder access to housing (El-Kayed and Hamann 2018; Frey 2011), and are responsible for difficult housing search processes (Aigner 2019), and access to municipal housing (Adam et al. 2020). Further important components of this section are refugee reception systems (Glorius et al. 2019), residential segregation and concentration (Tunström and Wang 2019;

Figure 2. Topics in focus of research



Musterd 2011; Musterd et al. 2017; Tintori, Alessandrini, and Natale 2019) of refugees and newly arrived migrants in marginalized neighbourhoods.

Another focus in relation to refugees and newly arrived migrants is the relationship between housing and integration, especially in terms of social and structural integration (Ager and Strang 2008; Kohlbacher 2020; Nikki Scholten; Sennay Ghebream; Tamar de Waal 2019; Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016; Kearns and Whitley 2015). The health condition of refugees and thus the influence of housing on physical and mental health (Ziersch et al. 2017; Leiler et al. 2019; Rowley, Morant, and Katona 2020; Walther et al. 2018; 2020) is also increasingly becoming a subject of research and will be part of this chapter.

4.3 Integration situation relative to Housing and Settlement

Since 2015, the immigration of refugees and asylum seekers has received increasing attention in public and political debates, as the number of people seeking protection has risen sharply. European countries, but also cities and municipalities are facing new challenges flowing from increased refugee inflows. After providing initial care and accommodation for asylum seekers, the focus shifted to integration as residence status was granted in large numbers. Also in this stage, numerous obstacles remain in relation to access to housing, which is an essential part of integration.

One of the topics addressed in research refers to the unequal distribution of newly arrived migrants on the one hand and asylum seekers on the other. While newly arrived migrants tend to settle in urban areas with a large pool of jobs and social infrastructure, asylum seekers tend to be distributed by the nation states according to reception centres at hand, often in rural and less developed regions. The extent to which asylum seekers are integrated in the local communities be it in terms of access to housing and work differs by host countries. Once asylum is granted, refugees tend to move to urban areas as well, however. The large inflow of asylum seekers in 2015/16 represents a special case, not least because of the unprecedented numbers but also because of the diversity of source countries. Their distribution across EU-MS reflects, among various other factors, the socio-economic conditions of the host country concerned (availability of jobs and social support) as well as the presence of diasporas (social safety net) (ESPN 2019). Accordingly, there are large differences between EU-MS in terms of stocks of asylum seekers and refugees. In consequence, the challenges faced by the destination countries differ due to supply factors, i.e., resources available at local level, and characteristics of refugees/migrants. For refugees to obtain decent and affordable housing in a welcoming neighbourhood may be the beginning of a new life. It is a key resource, providing a sense of belonging, which facilitates the next steps of integration, be they language training, access to work, school, health care, and community participation.

Literature on the type of accommodation of refugees in the initial reception phase cannot provide clear answers as to what is best for integration – collective (institutional) or individual (private) accommodation. While reception centres or other forms of collective accommodation tend not to facilitate social interaction with the host community, it is almost by definition easier in individual accommodation offered by civil society or the private sector (Tanis 2020). While it is easier to get affordable accommodation in rural areas, the lack of job options drives many migrants/refugees into cities where they tend to live in (private) collective accommodation, where they share rooms, bathroom and kitchen with others. Their situation is often precarious and privacy is limited. If refugees or beneficiaries of subsidiary protection cannot afford to pay for the accommodation, they may access local social welfare, which covers housing costs up to an “adequate” level.

Regarding existing research, refugees' access to housing is considered an essential step on the path to integration and a precondition for full access to social and civil rights and social benefits. Local authorities and their actions play an important role for social inclusion. If their housing policies hamper access by migrants or refugees, their inclusion in the community may be jeopardised. Such a case is documented in literature for the city of Turin (Italy); in that case local authorities hindered access to housing through informal practices; in addition, gaps in the implementation of national legal frameworks at the local level could be identified. In the case of Turin, many refugees, who did not receive support to access housing, chose squatting instead (Bolzoni, Gargiulo, and Manocchi 2015). Similar actions are documented for Greek cities as refugees tend to be perceived as a threat to personal and community security.¹³

Access to housing in rural areas is also frequently addressed in research. Many European countries, including Germany, the United Kingdom, Austria, and Sweden, accommodate asylum seekers during the asylum procedures through decentralized distribution mechanisms, either on a mandatory or voluntary basis, in rural areas (Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016; Rosenberger and Müller 2020). The existing literature emphasizes that there are different forms of mobility with regard to rural-urban migration and that recognized refugees in particular show different patterns of mobility. In addition to employment opportunities, closeness to family, friends and the ethnic community plays an important role, according to the literature (Aschauer, Wimmer, and Krisch 2016). However, some refugees also seem to return to rural areas because finding work and housing in the cities is proving to be more difficult and the support of the community does not meet expectations (Weidinger 2021). In addition, others prefer to stay in rural areas because, on the one hand, there seems to be support from volunteers, which builds up an emotional connection to the region. On the other hand, the secure living environment, which seems to be particularly important for the children (Stenbacka 2012b), is also emphasized

¹³ Vergou, Penelope; Paschalis Arvanitidis; Panos Manetos 2021. Refugee Mobilities and Institutional Changes: Local Housing Policies and Segregation Processes in Greek Cities. *Urban Planning* 6(2). DOI: 10.17645/up.v6i2.3937

as a factor for settlement in rural areas, as well as the comparatively smaller schools, which enable better support for the children (E. S. Stewart and Shaffer 2015; Weidinger 2021).

The study by El-Kayed and Hamann (2018) points at mobility barriers within Germany via different legal measures in the various federal states; also mobility within the federal states at the local level can be affected, thereby preventing refugees from accessing the whole gamut of their civil rights, such as the free choice of housing. Another aspect impacting on the choice of location by refugees is access to welfare and social support, which may differ between provinces as in the case of Austria (Dellinger and Huber 2021).

Another problem refugees may face in terms of choice of regional settlement after being granted refugee status are explicit barriers to mobility, at least for a certain period of time, in various host countries. While there are no restrictions in law or practice to the freedom of movement of asylum seekers and refugees within Sweden, they are not free to decide on their residence if accommodation is requested from the Migration Agency (Emilsson and Öberg 2021). In Germany the situation is somewhat different: while refugees are allowed to move from a municipal accommodation to a private apartment, they are not allowed to move from the municipality in which they were registered to another municipality for the first three years after being granted refugee status; this is a result of the residence requirement, which is meant to regulate the distribution of refugees within the federal territory and the federal states (Adam et al. 2020). The problem is that many apartments do not cater for the family structures of refugees, such that large families face difficulties in finding appropriate accommodation (Foroutan et al. 2017).

The highly competitive real estate market - especially in urban and metropolitan areas - makes it difficult for refugees and newly arrived migrants to enter the private housing market, so that different strategies are applied. In her empirical study, Aigner (2019) identifies four types of housing entry pathways. Particularly young men tend to rely on other migrants to act as both informal intermediaries and landlords. This access pathway can be described as a migrant-assisted pathway. Furthermore, refugees receive assistance from locals in finding housing, which is the local-assisted pathway. This group benefits from accommodations and free rooms provided by helpful locals free of charge or at low rental prices. Newcomers without advantageous formal and informal support, on the other hand, are in the weakest position and have to search for affordable housing on their own. People in this group of the non-assisted pathway experience repeated rejection and discrimination by real estate agents and private landlords and are often victims of exploitation. Families and single mothers tend to receive more often than other groups formal assistance and follow a welfare pathway, according to the study. This path of access is characterized by a more or less direct transition from an NGO-supported housing facility to social housing. Very often, these so-called starter apartments are rented out by NGOs, which tend to officially remain the main tenants and bear the financial responsibility.

Also support networks of volunteers/NGOs (cf. Community sponsorship) can act as facilitators to access housing. Community Sponsorship enables local community groups to welcome and support refugees directly in their local communities. By engaging the local community in the provision of housing it can be shown that the integration outcomes are positive for refugees as well as communities (Sue Elliott and Yusuf 2014). This goes to show that social networks can play an important role in accessing housing (Adam et al. 2021). In most cases, it is family, friends or the ethnic community that are supportive. On the other hand, it can be random encounters, or NGO workers, who facilitate the start of a new life by helping to find housing. The receptiveness of the host society can play an important role in this context. In addition, newly arrived migrants may receive support by migrant communities who have lived in the host country for a longer period of time, not only to find housing, but also in terms of social integration, job search, and various support structures (Wessendorf and Phillimore 2019).

Social networks and connections can be especially important for migrants who run the risk of being excluded from the housing market. Housing quality and contract types may be determined by household-specific financial capabilities and nationality. Many refugees and newly arrived migrants are confronted with the fact, that landlords reject them based on their foreign origin, legal status, lack of language skills, and/or socioeconomic characteristics, such as being a welfare recipient. Discrimination affects particular groups more often, for example Afghans, who are under general suspicion according to Kohlbacher (2020).

The studies reviewed also point at institutional, structural barriers and discriminatory practices by landlords and housing companies that hinder access to housing for refugees; in so doing their actions affect the movement and settlement of refugees.

The general shortage of affordable housing and the even more difficult access conditions for some groups of the migrant population are ideal conditions for illegal estate agent structures refugees are often confronted with. In particular, groups of people who have been trying to find housing for a long time without success, are especially receptive to agents operating illegally, who guarantee the provision of housing for a fee but often cannot deliver (Hanhörster et al. 2020). Affected persons usually do not report these circumstances to the authorities because they are afraid of legal consequences.

The sense of home and belonging are among the central themes in migration research and are seen as a central aspect of integration (Orton 2012). An important indicator that has an influence on these feelings is the place of residence (Galera et al. 2018), the neighbourhood (Hebbani, Colic-Peisker, and Mackinnon 2018) and the environment/surrounding (Kearns and Whitley 2015). Studies on housing in rural areas indicate that small communities can foster integration (Gruber 2016) but living in rural areas can also lead to social isolation or social exclusion, which in turn can contribute to alienation and challenge their sense of home and belonging, particularly in cases of migrants originating from urban settings (Wernesjö 2015).

In this sense, the study by Kourachanis (2018a), which refers to the Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation (ESTIA)¹⁴ program, addresses how social housing can support social integration in Greece. Another example is the CURANT project, which was funded by The European Union's European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) under the Urban Innovative Action (UIA) between 2016-2019. This project aimed at supporting the social integration of unaccompanied young adults through co-housing with Flemish flatmates (Mahieu, Clycq, and Van Raemdonck 2019; Mahieu and Van Caudenberg 2020). Czerny (2012) points at the importance of community work to foster the integration of migrants in the neighbourhood, while Kaya and Mahnke (2012) document good practice examples of community-oriented integration in housing complexes in two Austrian cities with large migrant and refugee communities (Innsbruck and Wörgl).

The comparative study by Galera et al. (2018) looks at the role of location of refugee accommodation for social integration. Accommodations that are in remote rural areas or on the periphery of municipalities, with limited accessibility to public transportation, constrains opportunities for social interaction and integration. Furthermore, vacant housing in rural areas is usually located in very small municipalities, which are affected by rural exodus, and in poor condition, which explains why recognized refugees tend not to want to settle there (Weidinger and Kordel 2020), even though job possibilities, mostly in the low-wage sector, are sometimes available. The poor accessibility of workplaces due to weak public transport connections and a lack of individual motorization is often cited as a further reason for onward migration, which very often makes it difficult to stay in rural regions, even though social integration can sometimes progress more quickly due to increased social interactions (Weidinger, Kordel, and Pohle 2017a). Kreichauf (2018a) compares the situation of asylum seekers in Athens, Berlin and Copenhagen and concludes that “refugee accommodation has increasingly been transformed into large, camp-like structures with lowered living standards and a closed character” in many host countries. Following Kreichauf underlines also that housing policies in Denmark are centralized at national level and is not part of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) and has not fully implemented council directives regarding reception, qualification, and asylum procedure. Furthermore, Denmark allocates asylum seekers to remote areas outside urban settlements and recognized refugees to municipalities with low immigrant populations to ensure “better integration.” To this end, municipalities that already have a high percentage of people of foreign origin, most notably Copenhagen, Arhus, and Aalborg, are so-called “0-municipalities,” meaning that no refugee can move to or be distributed to these cities, on the grounds of spreading the burden of immigration (Kreichauf 2020). In Norway for example, where the housing of refugees is organized through dispersal – refugees are settled between municipalities – and interaction with local people is hardly given (Herslund and Paulgaard 2021; Hernes et al. 2019), which may have an impact on refugees’ feelings of belonging (Wernesjö 2015). Similar situations are found in Italy. Using a case study in Macerata/Italy, Novak shows that unequal

¹⁴ For more information, see: estia.unhcr.gr/en/home

accommodation standards in reception centres prevent asylum seekers from participating meaningfully in social life (Novak 2021).

To what extent COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent regulations have affected housing and social integration is a new subject which hardly emerges in literature yet; it can be expected that it will be a focus of future research. However, a recently published study from Sweden indicates that the pandemic has hindered the process of living together and developing social bonds. The authors draw this conclusion from a qualitative case study of a collaborative housing project in which elderly people live together with young local people and refugees. The project was interrupted four months after the start of COVID-19, and thus resulting in changes in the use of common spaces and reduced social interactions, thereby reducing the social integration that had begun (Arroyo et al. 2021).

The housing environment has a significant impact on our private lifestyle and, accordingly, on physical and mental health (Schneider and Mohnen 2016). This means that good housing conditions are a health resource, while poor housing conditions pose health risks. The LARES study by the World Health Organization (WHO) found that people with a low socioeconomic status are more often affected by a negative health status than people in better off housing conditions. Factors detrimental to health are a poor indoor climate, which can cause high blood pressure, various allergies or asthma, and a lack of daylight increases the risk of developing depression or anxiety disorder. Mold and moisture in housing can also lead to asthma, anxiety disorders, and depression, as well as migraines and other problems (WHO 2007). According to these studies, the mental as well as physical health status of refugees and newly arrived migrants are affected by housing conditions (Murphy and Vieten 2020; Mohsenpour, Biddle, and Bozorgmehr 2020). A study conducted in Sweden in 2019 showed that asylum seekers as well as refugees who had been granted asylum but continued to live in facilities provided by government, that more than half of the participants in the study reported clinically significant levels of symptoms of depression, anxiety, and risk of having posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The negative results were higher for asylum seekers than for refugees who had received a residence permit. In addition, they rated their quality of life below the norms for the general population and exhibited a high correlation with mental health outcomes (Leiler et al. 2019).

These results highlight, that individuals who tend to reside in overcrowded refugee accommodations show high levels of mental distress and rate their quality of life negatively (Leiler et al. 2019; Walther et al. 2020). In contrast, refugees living in private housing are less affected by psychological stress and show higher life satisfaction. Especially asylum seekers who stay in refugee shelters with limited privacy, limited autonomy, and isolation from the local and ethnic community experience high stress levels (Walther et al. 2018). Staying in refugee accommodation is also associated with security concerns, as refugee accommodations have often been the target of attacks in host countries such as Sweden, France, Italy or Belgium (Leiler et al. 2019; Ambrosini et al. 2019).

Compared to collective accommodations, refugees and newly arrived migrants who had been granted asylum and were living in private accommodations show not only higher levels of mental health but also higher levels of physical health (van Melle et al. 2014). This is also the case because shared accommodation is mostly significantly different from private accommodation in terms of space, area, level of restrictions, social contacts, and respondent satisfaction (Dudek, Razum, and Sauzet 2022). In most cases, asylum seekers living in shared accommodation also have to share a kitchen, which can be poorly hygienic and thus affect eating habits and physical health (Rowley, Morant, and Katona 2020). In addition, inadequately equipped accommodations, and noise, which is generally caused by the large number of people, can cause insomnia. Poor accessibility to public transportation, and thus a challenge of rural housing, can also affect physical health. When health services are difficult to reach, health problems are less likely to be treated and may worsen (Dudek, Razum, and Sauzet 2022).

The Covid-19 pandemic has also had a significant impact on the mental and physical health of refugees and newly arrived migrants, particularly in collective accommodations. Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, refugees have suffered a significant deterioration in their mental well-being (Garrido et al. 2022), although it can be said that the psychological stress of refugees in the first months of the Corona pandemic remained high, because they were in the accommodations more isolated than the rest of the population (Entringer et al. 2021). The consequences of loneliness were also a lack of host country language skills, as language courses could not take place as a result of the pandemic. In addition, social participation was impaired and mental stress could not be addressed or reduced (Entringer et al. 2021; Stürner and Bekyol 2021).

4.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives

Issues of migration, border management and mobility are a dominant part of global political discourse and are seen as a major challenge, particularly in Europe. In order to control the large numbers of inflows and, consequently, the mobility of asylum seekers and refugees, EU states are pursuing restrictive measures. In particular, concerns about possible uncontrolled "secondary migration" of asylum seekers led to the adoption of the Dublin Regulation¹⁵, which defines precisely which country is responsible for an asylum application. Even after a positive asylum decision in an EU country, beneficiaries of international protection have no right to free movement within the Schengen area. Only after five years and with certain conditions can an EU long-term residence status be granted.

¹⁵ See for more detail: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system/country-responsible-asylum-application-dublin-regulation_en

Mobility restrictions also exist at the national level. During the asylum process, national laws justify the restriction of mobility with the need to prevent people from fleeing during the asylum process and/or provide for a more even distribution throughout the country. However, even people who receive a positive decision face mobility restrictions in some countries. This is most often the case when social assistance benefits are tied to residence in a particular region (Katsiaficas et al. 2021).

However, housing and settlement policies vary widely across Europe. The Common European Asylum System (CEAS) contains references and recommendations regarding refugee reception conditions, including standards, responsibilities, and shelter management. Some countries have already developed concrete legal frameworks regarding integration, accommodation and care systems, where clear institutional responsibility structures are in place. In other Member States, however, asylum systems and institutional frameworks are still evolving (Mouzourakis and Taylor 2016; Kreichauf 2018a). In this regard, the experiences of newly arrived migrants and refugees in terms of reception, and access to housing vary greatly both between and within countries, depending on the capacity of individual cities, neighbourhoods, or even households (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2021). Policies in the housing sector are primarily local policies. Most policies in this area do not have exceptions for migrants but tend to focus on low- or middle-income households. Moreover, access to municipal housing usually entails waiting times. Local authorities also developed measures to overcome or minimize ethnic discrimination as well as discrimination against migrants in the housing market. These include the establishment of landlord-tenant mediation offices and housing information services for migrants, as ethnic segregation is also often seen as a problem (Penninx, Garcés-Mascreñas, and CIDOB – Barcelona Centre For International Affairs, Barcelona, Spain 2016).

Numerous studies are available that examine public attitudes toward refugees and migrants (Ruhs 2022; Consterdine 2018; Glorius 2018). It should also be noted that these attitudes differ significantly depending on the characteristics of refugees and migrants (Overseas Development Institute (ODI) 2017). For example, people tend to be more sympathetic with recognized refugees than with asylum seekers and other migrants (Hatton 2016). On the other hand, many researchers point out that accepting refugees was a national policy and they basically agree with acceptance, but also have anxieties and security concerns (Pew Research Center 2016; Klein 2021). Accordingly, public debates about immigrant integration are often based on inaccurate or misleading data. With regard to housing, these include, for example, the extent of immigrants' use of social benefits, including social housing and housing subsidies, and spatial segregation (Iceland 2014). Spatial segregation is usually discussed in terms of "parallel societies," with certain neighbourhoods regularly referred to as "ghettos" and "no-go" areas (Danielak 2019). Also in Germany, which has received the most refugees in Europe, the topics of "ghettos" and "parallel societies" dominate the public and political discourse. In addition to several mandatory integration measures (language, vocational training) established by the "Integration Law" in

2016, the law also introduced residency requirements for new arrivals, giving regional governments more authority to regulate and settle refugees (Danielak 2019).

The high number of asylum seekers who arrived in Europe in 2015 and 2016 is considered one of the key challenges for social cohesion. The most important tasks such as the provision of emergency accommodation, housing and registration had to be handled. In the long term, however, the transition of asylum seekers from shared accommodation to the housing market must be regulated and poses major political challenges for the states, which are framing this issue in different ways.

4.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

in Housing and Settlement

(1) Regulatory policies

In recent years, several European countries have faced the challenge of refugees accumulating geographically, which would lead to the formation of ethnic enclaves (ghettos, no-go areas), resulting in an unequal burden of immigration, higher financial costs, and housing shortages in major cities. To counteract this possibility, several countries, including Germany, Austria, Italy, Sweden, the UK and Denmark, have implemented dispersal policies based on quota system (ESPON 2019).

The political justification for spatial distribution/dispersal policies is, on the one hand, the argument that the costs of accommodating asylum seekers should be spread over as many regions and municipalities as possible, that urban housing and labour markets should be relieved, and that parallel societies in cities should be prevented (Stewart 2012). On the other hand, aspects of regional planning and regional development of rural areas are also mentioned. Due to migration and a shortage of labour in rural areas, asylum seekers are seen by policymakers as an opportunity to prevent housing vacancies, reduce the deconstruction of infrastructures (e.g., schools) and contribute to the economic, social and cultural revitalization of rural areas with the resources they bring with them (E. S. Stewart and Shaffer 2015; Mehl 2017). In response to the increasing number of refugees, Sweden introduced a Settlement Act (2016:38) in 2015 to regulate the distribution of refugees living in government-provided accommodation among municipalities. Under this law, municipalities are required to receive refugees and provide housing for them. While earlier discussions centered on housing in the context of ethnic and socioeconomic segregation, policy discussions are now framed as competition for access to housing and growing local opposition to refugee settlement (Emilsson and Öberg 2021).

With regard to the distribution of refugees, a distinction must be made between the time during the asylum procedure and afterwards, where different paths are also taken. Asylum seekers in Germany are allocated to a specific federal state through a distribution procedure (Königsberger Schlüssel) based on the tax revenue of the federal states and their population size. Meanwhile, the refugees themselves have little to no say in where they are placed. Since 2016, German federal law has also restricted the residence of people who have been granted asylum status. Previously, recognized refugees could settle in any federal state or municipality in Germany. The newly introduced residence requirement restricts freedom of settlement and obliges all refugees to settle in the federal state where their asylum procedure took place and to remain there for three years (Weidinger 2021; Weidinger and Kordel 2020; Danielak 2019; El-Kayed and Hamann 2018; Adam et al. 2020).

After their arrival in the Netherlands, asylum seekers are allocated to asylum centres (AZC). Also in the Netherlands, asylum seekers have no choice of a specific AZC, which is usually located in rural areas. Living there is strictly controlled, so privacy and autonomy are limited because everyone also has only five square meters available to them. After a positive decision, they can stay for five years and are provided with a social housing, usually in the same region, and can only live further away under certain conditions (work, study, etc.) (Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016).

In the UK, a similar approach is used, but with a significant difference. Most asylum seekers choose between being distributed to government-provided accommodation or staying with friends and relatives. Those who have organized their own accommodation tend to live in or around larger cities. The rest are largely dispersed to disadvantaged areas where there is an oversupply of cheap, often poor quality housing in areas with failing housing markets. Once refugees are granted refugee status, they must provide their own housing and financial resources within 28 days. After that, they no longer receive asylum support (Stewart and Shaffer 2015; Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016).

Asylum seekers in Austria are relocated to one of the nine federal provinces after initial reception. As part of a no-choice distribution policy, the majority of asylum seekers are accommodated in mostly small collective accommodations, so-called organized shelters (operated either by the federal states, NGOs or private actors. Alternatively, asylum seekers can also be accommodated privately. After receiving a positive asylum decision, refugees are forced to leave the state-organized accommodation within four months (Aigner 2019; Reeger, Nagel, and Josipovic 2021; Kohlbacher 2020).

(2) Informational instruments

Access to the private housing market after refugees have received a positive decision begins with the search process. Here, how refugees get the right information plays a crucial role. Over the last, various organizations, associations and NGOs have made it their mission to provide information on access to the private housing market, which is difficult for refugees due to language barriers, lack of networks, but also due to financial situation. The Refugees Wien (“Housing - Refugees.Wien, Die Informationsplattform Für Geflüchtete in Wien”) website for example provides detailed information on, among other things, what financial support in Vienna is available for housing and which organizations offer housing counselling. The leading Catholic aid organization Caritas, for example, takes care of about one third of the persons in need who are entitled to basic care in Austria and also provides information and housing counselling for recognized refugees in the first four months after recognition (Aigner 2019). The Scottish Refugee Council publishes a guide for housing practitioners working in Scottish local authorities, housing associations and the third sector supporting the integration of those seeking protection and refugees. The specifically defined goal is to “...work to empower and enable access and exercise their rights, and enable people seeking protection to participate fully in their communities and their new home” (Scottish Refugee Council 2021).

(3) Participatory instruments

Long-time residents and newcomers living together can sometimes cause conflicts. Social mediation and community work combined with mediation in mixed neighbourhoods or apartment blocks can essentially improve living together.

The project "Willkommen Nachbar" (Welcome Neighbour), which was launched in Vienna in 2010 and has since been extended to all Vienna municipal buildings, is a measure to specifically promote communication between old and new tenants in municipal housing complexes. By welcoming new tenants in the municipal buildings, neighbours get to know each other better. This creates a basis for positive communication and neighborhood. Communication is seen as the basic prerequisite for breaking down prejudices (“Willkommen Nachbar! - Wohnpartner” n.d.).

Another initiative was implemented in Italy. AMAR - Social Mediation Agency in the Field of Housing was a project funded by the European Commission and the Italian Ministry of Interior under the European Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals between 2013-2014. The AMAR project established an agency (consisting of three counselling centres in three different municipalities of Rome, located at the local social services offices) that provides social mediation services to help migrants find housing and promote their socioeconomic inclusion. It also aims to promote peaceful coexistence between different communities living in the same building (“AMAR project – Social Mediation Agency in the field of Housing | European Website on Integration” n.d.).

Another initiative, which provides a platform for exchange and local actors to foster welcome, inclusion, and integration of newly arrived migrants and refugees in Europe, is the SHARE Network, which was established in March 2012 and led by the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) Europe. One of the current Project is SHARE-Quality Sponsorship Network and brings together a consortium of actors running community sponsorship programmes in Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Spain and the UK. The aim here is to build and strengthen the sponsorship stakeholder community by sharing practices and information at the EU level (“Sponsorship: Share QSN” n.d.).

4.6. Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

Generally, there is a surprising lack of research on the effects and effectiveness of housing policies towards newly arrived migrants. The effects of policies can often only be assessed in an indirect manner, notably by drawing on the evidence presented above in section 3 on different integration outcomes by different types of accommodation. Thus, there is a mounting evidence of the negative impacts of institutional housing as compared to private accommodation on a variety of outcomes including sanitation and hygiene, physical and mental health, well-being, social integration (in)security and violence as well as access to services (Leiler et al. 2019; Ambrosini et al. 2019; van Melle et al. 2014; Walther et al. 2018; Christ, Meininghaus, and Röing 2017; Roman et al. 2021; Tanis 2020), often worsened by the Pandemic (Entringer et al. 2021; Stürner and Bekyol 2021; Garrido et al. 2022). Yet improving well-being of and access to services to refugees and asylum seekers has not been an objective of recent shifts towards collective accommodation and camp-like structures, rather it is control and containment that has guided these policies (Kreichauf 2020; 2018b) and it indeed relaxing mobility restrictions and moving away from camp like structures would improve the outcomes for refugees (Katsiaficas et al. 2021).

In similar vein, research on dispersal policies has shown that the dispersal of refugees to disadvantaged areas negatively affects integration outcomes (Kearns and Whitley 2015). Similarly, Hoxhaj and Zucotti have shown that although attitudes towards migrants is generally more positive in areas of high-concentration of migrants, they are less positive in more disadvantaged areas with a high concentration of migrants (there is no effect in most disadvantaged areas), implying that dispersal to less disadvantaged areas might also increase hostility towards migrants (Hoxhaj and Zuccotti 2020). Conversely, taking into account local characteristics and assigning refugees and asylum seekers through a careful matching of individuals’ characteristics and features of local areas to which refugees and asylum seekers could be assessed, could massively increase integration outcomes. Thus, based on an assessment of data driven algorithmic assignment of refugees to different local areas in Switzerland and the US, Bansak et al. show that employment prospects for refugees and asylum seekers would increase by 40 per cent in the US and a staggering 75 per cent in Switzerland

(Bansak et al. 2018; see also ESPON 2019, 107). Existing dispersal policies often based on some distribution quota between regions or territorial units or simply on the availability of housing or large-scale reception facilities thus clearly appear as problematic in terms of integration outcomes.

While the literature generally tends to see individual accommodation as more favourable compared to collective accommodation, even in those contexts where public authorities adopt favourable policies promoting access to private housing the objectives of policies are often difficult to achieve. Thus, comparing housing strategies of in two locations in Germany Adam et al. find that a tense housing market and the limited availability of apartments meant that collective and often improvised accommodation had to be resorted to despite a policy preference for individual housing (Adam et al. 2021). This points to more fundamental flaws of public housing policies and the limited room for manoeuvre for public authorities.

4.7 Conclusion

The analysis of the existing literature shows that the housing situation is one of the most important factors for the integration of newly arrived migrants and refugees. Complementary to this, access to employment, education and health support also play a key role. Based on the analysis, a number of recommendations can therefore be listed.

- Integration in cities is an important element. To provide adequate and affordable housing for newcomers in cities, national governments need to work more closely with local governments and provide them with more authority and resources (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2021).
- Integration an increasingly dynamic and multi-layered process and very often relies on interaction between the host society and the newcomers. In this respect, it is important that migrants and refugees and service providers cooperate and learn from each other in designing and setting up the necessary services. The goal here is that refugees and newly arrived migrants should not only be perceived as recipients of services, but should actively participate in shaping them. With regard to housing, it is occasionally more difficult to establish a good basis for interaction in times of crisis (covid, economic crises), when the native population also has limited/no access to affordable housing and the arrival of migrants in communities and cities can create tensions. In this context, it is important to balance the housing needs of the native population with those of migrants and refugees (Pastore and Ponzio 2016; Psinos and Rosenfeld 2018)
- The need to adapt national policies to provide adequate and affordable housing in response to the economic, financial and migration crises needs a responsibility-sharing approach. International organizations have an important role to play here and should support the efforts of national and local authorities to improve access to medium- and long-term and sustainable housing solutions for migrants and refugees. They should also

engage in long-term housing data collection, best practice collection and sharing, and building capacity (Martin et al. 2018; Lutz, Stünzi, and Manser-Egli 2021; UNHCR 2016).

- According to the literature analysed, post-migration stressors such as poor housing conditions can put the mental health of newly arrived migrants and refugees at risk. Rapid access to health care for asylum seekers and refugees is therefore essential to also mitigate possible costly interventions at a later stage (Aretz, Doblhammer, and Janssen 2019). Policymakers should therefore consider the potentially negative impact of refugees' insecure legal status (cases of subsidiary protection) on mental health, as a large proportion of refugees who are granted less secure status usually have that status extended and continue to stay in the host countries. However, this less secure status also has a massive impact on life satisfaction (Walther et al. 2018), which could put the health care system under strain in the medium and long term. One important measure mentioned in the literature to increase life satisfaction and reduce psychological distress among refugees is housing in private accommodations. Living in overcrowded shelters can cause or exacerbate health problems (Leiler et al. 2019). Beyond efforts to improve living conditions in refugee shelters, strengthening infrastructural connections between these facilities and mental health services would be an appropriate action (van Melle et al. 2014; Walther et al. 2018; 2020; Weidinger and Kordel 2020).
- Social integration is much more than providing temporary or permanent housing for asylum seekers and refugees. By distributing and housing newcomers in remote and rural areas, often with poor public transport connections, social interaction is often made difficult. In addition, contact with their own community is often interrupted. This often causes newly arrived migrants and refugees to migrate to the larger cities after receiving their status, not only because the job opportunities are better estimated. However, many refugees also tend to stay in smaller municipalities, where they receive support from society and from associations and NGOs. In this respect, it is proposed to allow the possibility of free movement during the asylum procedure and to reduce the restrictions (Weidinger, Kordel, and Pohle 2017b; Weidinger and Kordel 2020; Kourachanis 2018a; Wernesjö 2015; Novak 2021; Stenbacka 2012a).

4.8 Bibliography

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5 Access and Use of Welfare Benefits

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5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines evidence on integration of newly arrived migrants into welfare systems within Europe. We draw on the literature that analyses post-2014 migrants' access to social security and social benefits in the receiving countries, as well as the research focusing on the use of those social benefits or other material support, and how this is regulated or facilitated through policy and practice.

Themes of differential welfare access among socially weak groups (Gøsta Esping Anderson and John Myles 2009) and the interaction between welfare service providers and their clients (Lipsky 2010; Ambrosini 2017) are long-established research fields across a variety of disciplines. However, the attention to immigrant populations in such works has been less frequent. One reason for this is that looking at ethnicity or migration backgrounds often goes against the ideology of relevant institutions, and to some extent also the research on this issue (Georges Felouzis 2010). Nevertheless, a significant portion of research at the intersection of welfare and migration studies comparatively analyses the use of welfare benefits by migrants and the

receiving population. The extent of reliance on welfare among established immigrant groups and their descendants, including Turkish and Moroccan communities, have also been examined closely. This chapter does not touch upon that stream of literature because the focus of our evidence review is on newly arrived immigrants.

Welfare access of post-2014 migrants has received substantially less scholarly attention. The research has focused mainly on intra-EU mobility and the welfare rights of EU citizens, rather than on third-country nationals. According to scientific research, policies with the aim of restricting welfare use are more dominant than those aiming to facilitate welfare access among migrant groups. This is particularly the case at the national level, where the welfare use of migrants and the (perceived) associated costs are highly politicised. Subsequently, most research on welfare-related policies and practices focuses on the restrictive aspect of those, while integration practices aiming to facilitate welfare access are both rare and rarely studied.

This chapter first outlines prominent streams of research published in the past 10 years that link welfare systems and migrants' integration processes. Secondly, on the basis of this research, the evidence describing the state of migrants' integration into welfare systems will be reviewed. Then, we will outline the common policy framings of problems related to welfare and migrant integration and the solutions presented by the literature, as well as policy instruments and tools that are aimed at solving the problems, and evidence evaluating their effectiveness. We will close the chapter with the conclusions and recommendations for practitioners of integration and policy makers.

5.2 Research on welfare systems and migrant integration

The literature examining the topic of welfare in migrant integration focuses mainly on Nordic and Western countries of Europe: Norway, Sweden, Netherlands, Belgium, Austria.

One strand of literature explored the relationship between types of welfare state and welfare outcomes among recent immigrants. A commonly applied typology is that of Esping-Andersen, identifying three ‘ideal types’: liberal, conservative corporatist, and social democratic (Sainsbury 2012). There are also attempts to build and refine typologies more specifically for immigrant social protection regimes (Lafleur and Vintila 2020). Further literature focuses on welfare generosity and immigrant social rights, that is whether generous welfare states are more likely to exclude immigrants from access to welfare benefits, or to grant them greater access (Römer 2017; Schmitt and Teney 2019). Research examined differences between nativist and post-national approaches of social

Figure 4: Geography of studies analysed in this review
(larger countries are more frequent)



protection, in which the former is based on citizenship, while the latter on residence – common to the EU. The study of Scheibelhofer has defined three strategies: generally, selectively, and purposefully gated access to social protection, limiting access to welfare for undocumented as well as highly-mobile migrants (Scheibelhofer 2022). Research has analysed trends of immigration and welfare provision in the EU; overall, the European welfare states tend to expand with the growth of immigration, rather than shrink, proving their resilience to the globalisation of immigration flows (Fenwick 2019).

Research have been also focusing on welfare use and welfare dependency among migrants and non-migrants (Gustafsson 2013; Bruckmeier and Wiemers 2017). Studies examined non-labour-motivated mobility of EU citizens from Northern to Southern states, and analysed the interactions and outcomes of retirees and patients within the welfare system of the receiving state (Finotelli 2020). A report by the Joint Research Centre, the European Commission’s science and knowledge service, published in 2019, exploited three waves of EU-SILC data to analyse how welfare benefit receipt differs between natives and non-EU migrants (A. Conte and Mazza 2019).

Figure 5: Key words from the titles of the reviewed literature



2019; Vintila and Lafleur 2020). Recently, such research has looked at policy strategies that reshape and restrict access to welfare for EU citizens (Barbulescu and Favell 2020). Literature highlights that even under restrictive EU welfare laws, in some receiving states, more social rights are granted to the intra-EU migrants even if they do not fulfil the residency requirements, and that the category of ‘illegal EU migrants’ have been produced by various organizations and practitioners ‘bottom-up’ (Perna 2021; Lafleur and Mescoli 2018). Moreover, the links between welfare systems and intra-EU migrants’ mobility decisions have also been examined in recent years (de Jong and de Valk 2018; de Jong 2019; de Jong and de Valk 2020). Furthermore, relating to restrictive welfare policies, research has examined how such policies are employed as a means of migration control, and how access is restricted particularly for undocumented and irregular migrants (Karlsen 2021; Lafleur and Stanek 2017; Shutes 2016; Schoukens and Buttiens 2017; Bendixsen 2018; Leerkes 2016; Koning 2019; Ataç and Rosenberger 2019). Such literature exploring varying rights according to legal status is discussed further in the chapter, ‘Rights, legal status, and non-discrimination’.

Recently, a transnational focus on studies of welfare have emerged. The current cross-national research project, MitSoPro¹⁶ (Migration and Transnational Social Protection in (post) crisis Europe), examined the procedures, scope, and extension of welfare entitlements for third-country nationals across Europe, focusing on both receiving and sending states (Lafleur and Vintila 2020). In their literature review, they highlight that migrants’ welfare access has been studied in the field of social policy and migration research. It was argued that social policy scholars have overlooked specific barriers faced by migrants, as well as the fact that migrants maintain relations with welfare states of their origin countries and sometimes even with other welfare states where they have previously lived and worked. Migration scholars recently started using the concept of ‘transnational social protection’ to understand cross-border access to welfare (Vintila and Lafleur 2020; Levitt et al. 2017). The concepts of (Faist et al. 2015; Levitt et al. 2017) challenges clear cut distinctions between ‘here’ and ‘there’, but also between formal and informal systems of social protection, (Serra Mingot and Mazzucato 2018). Recent studies explored the ‘welfare paradox’, in which migrants are employed as agents of welfare systems (i.e., care workers), while themselves are excluded from social support systems of the receiving states (Oso and Martínez-Buján 2022, Valk 2015).

Further literature examines the role of front-line workers, also referred to as ‘street-level bureaucrats’, in welfare outcomes for immigrants (Hussénus 2021; Lipsky 2010; Trine 2019; Ambrosini 2017; Schütze 2020). These works look into the widely spread perceptions of front-line workers about the cultural otherness of immigrants and refugees, which is translated in the image of less able and backward newcomers that strive to benefit from the welfare system of socio-democratic states. Such research highlights the importance of personal discretion in the interactions with both EU and non-EU immigrant welfare claimants, even in highly regulated

¹⁶ For further information see <http://labos.ulg.ac.be/socialprotection/>

welfare allocation systems (Ratzmann and Heindlmaier 2022; Ratzmann 2022; 2021). Other research, on the contrary, highlights the struggles of welfare workers to incorporate compassion into bureaucratic duties. The research highlights unpreparedness of the street-level-bureaucrats to deal with psychological traumas experiences by refugees before or during their migration, which makes their bureaucratic duties morally challenging (Weiss Nerina and Gren Nina 2021). The notion of migrants’ deservingness as central to the practice of welfare provision in the EU has been examined by recent research (Ratzmann and Sahraoui 2021). The use of various languages or monolingualism by front-line workers has also been investigated in welfare institutions (Scheibelhofer, Holzinger, and Draxl 2021).

5.3 Integration situation (inequalities) in welfare

To describe the current state of post-2014 migrants’ integration into the welfare systems of the European states, we need to look at it from several angles. The issues of welfare access, welfare uptake, and income inequality will be discussed first, while at the end we highlight the differences among European countries. While reading the chapter, it is important to remember that refugees and asylum seekers are not the most studied group in the stream of literature that we draw upon here, and that other groups, such as EU mobile citizens and non-EU labour migrants, are more often in the focus of the welfare inequalities research.

(1) Access to Welfare

Immigration policies regulating the right to enter a country, and the intertwined rights to reside and work, lead to modes of exclusion from welfare systems. The requirement of holding a valid residence and work permit restrict social security access to several groups of migrants, such as asylum seekers in the period prior to their official recognition of their refugee status, rejected asylum seekers, and undocumented / irregular immigrants (Bendixsen 2018; Shutes 2016). Vintila and Lafleur’s edited volume “Migration and Access to Welfare Benefits in the EU: The Interplay between Residence and Nationality”, published in 2020, provides a comprehensive overview of 27 EU member states on that subject (Vintila and Lafleur 2020). However, the comparative analysis does not include specific groups of migrants who could also be defined as ‘newly arrived’: undocumented migrants, students, asylum seekers, refugees, posted workers, and seasonal workers. Nevertheless, based on this comparative analysis of welfare access for citizens and foreigners in the EU countries, it is found that the eligibility of migrants to both contributory and non-contributory benefits is restricted in most of the EU countries, particularly for third-country nationals coming from outside the EU. Such contributory benefits are based on an/the individual’s contributions to the funds during the years of gainful activity, i.e., employment. To be able to access those benefits, immigrants need to be officially employed in the receiving country for several years and their employers should pay those contributions. While most legally residing immigrants are not directly excluded from receiving contributory benefits, their employment could often be informal and unstable, which creates the indirect

potential for exclusion from those types of welfare benefit (Vintila and Lafleur 2020). With regards to non-contributory benefits, there is more evidence of direct exclusion of migrants, especially those coming from outside the EU. Those types of benefits aim to prevent poverty and destitution among vulnerable groups or in specific periods of their life (for instance by child rearing or old age). Access to those kinds of benefits is contingent on certain periods of gainful employment and often periods of residency in the receiving country. Overall, the length of residency and possession of the right documentation (i.e., long-term residence permits) are the main qualifying conditions for migrants to access social benefits in the EU (Vintila and Lafleur 2020).

Beyond the legal provisions regarding access to welfare systems, front-line welfare workers also could facilitate or restrict the granting of benefits for migrants. Research evidence shows the existence of an ethnic bias in the provision of social benefits for immigrants.

A study in Sweden delved into welfare workers' attitudes towards immigrants and how this impacted their service. Investigations into these workers' experiences when encountering migrant users of welfare determined that workers who held pre-existing negative attitudes towards immigrants found encounters with them 'more difficult', claiming this was due to language and cultural differences. This study confirmed the previously theorised idea that welfare workers' preconceived negative attitudes towards immigrants can harm their delivery of welfare services. Additionally, a Danish study has revealed that some welfare workers hold negative stereotypes upon their refugee welfare recipients, many carrying the view that the culture of immigrants is inferior to that of the Danish. In both Denmark and Sweden, there is clear stereotyping and devaluation of those of immigrant status by some individual welfare workers, undermining the image of a welfare state that is supposed to be egalitarian (Schütze 2020; Trine 2019).

Moreover, evidence confirms that for some groups of migrants, i.e., older people, refugees, and illiterate people, it is even harder to claim benefits they are entitled to due to difficulties with administrative tasks, poor command of the country's language, or lack of necessary documentation (Hunter 2018).

Welfare uptake and income levels are closely intertwined; evidence notes a general socio-economic inequality between newly arrived migrants and receiving populations, which seems to explain most of the differences in welfare dependency. According to the JCR report based on EU-SILC data, non-EU immigrants have lower chances of receiving contributory benefits. However, with respect to non-contributory benefits, the picture is different, as most countries show a greater welfare dependency of non-EU immigrants compared to natives. Controlling for observable socio-demographic characteristics between natives and immigrants significantly reduces the gap in probabilities for almost all countries in the analysis. This finding suggests that differences in such characteristics as age, gender, family size, and the level of education explain

the differences in welfare uptake between the migrants and natives. Socio-demographic characteristics play an essential role in conditioning the uptake of both contributory and non-contributory benefits. Migrants and natives with the same socio-demographic characteristics are likely to receive social benefits equally often in nearly all EU countries (A. Conte and Mazza 2019). A 2017 simulation study conducted on German data also broadly confirms those findings, concluding that higher welfare use among migrants can be explained by their higher risk of welfare dependence. A lower income status, which foreign born individuals are more prone to, leads to a higher risk. When such income inequality is accounted for, there is no difference between migrants and natives (Bruckmeier and Wiemers 2017).

It is important to note that a utilitarian attitude towards the use of welfare benefits by migrants is rejected by evidence. Recent studies on expectations of migrants towards the public welfare system show that economic support to young adults is perceived as a right acquired through labour market participation, and that expectation of being supported are greater among younger families, while the care needs of elderly family members are not expected to be addressed by the state (Albertini and Semprebon 2018). Moreover, take-up of welfare has many negative consequences for migrants, which in literature is called ‘exclusion through inclusion’ (Karlsen 2021). Even though immigrants may be included in the welfare systems, they are also punished by making use of it. For instance, for many groups self-sufficiency is seen as one of the conditions for the extension or renewal of residence permits. Additionally, applications for family reunification can be negatively affected by welfare take-up of the applicant. Researchers also point at a rather wide technique of ‘earned citizenship’, by which the receiving states require the EU migrants to fulfil economic, social, and cultural conditions of membership to allow their use of the welfare system (Kramer 2016).

(2) Variation across EU Member States

Literature highlights that access to welfare is extremely varied across EU Member States (Schmitt and Teney 2019; Römer 2017; Lafleur and Vintila 2020; Sainsbury 2012; European Migration Network 2014). Schmitt and Teney (2018) have argued that generous welfare states facing larger immigration flows tend to provide immigrants with more inclusive access, however they also found some evidence of welfare chauvinism in cases where there was a backlash to multiculturalist policies (Schmitt and Teney 2019). The study of Kramer and Heindlmaier comparatively analysed administration of social assistance in Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, and developed a typology of three different ways of providing welfare access to EU mobile citizens: the form, signal, and delegation models (Kramer and Heindlmaier 2021). The MitSoPro project provides a comprehensive overview of the rules excluding and including migrants into receiving welfare systems, ordered per country (Vintila and Lafleur 2020). They hypothesised that there must be noticeable differences between countries of continuous immigration and the countries of emigration, where there are few residing foreigners and a lot of their own nationals living abroad. Moreover, the composition of immigrant populations in

terms of origin (EU vs non-EU), welfare state models, the amount of welfare expenditure on social protection, and politicisation of immigration were also thought to be important factors shaping the degree of welfare integration of immigrants (Vintila and Lafleur 2020). Indeed, it was found that the welfare systems differ between Eastern, Central, Nordic, Western, and Mediterranean countries. These groups of countries differ from each other in terms of degree of social security, areas of priority (i.e. unemployment or old-age pensions), and the generosity of support for both non-migrant citizens and migrants. When it comes to differences between these groups, the project found that most EU states follow common patterns despite their differences. Namely, they provide better access to welfare benefits for those residing on their territory, especially if those migrants are EU mobile citizens. This highlights the harmonising role of the EU regulations on equality and non-discrimination for the EU mobile citizens. At the same time, there is more difference in terms of welfare support for third country nationals among the EU member states, and often more restrictive requirements for non-contributory welfare benefits. However, the editors of the volume did not explain whether those patterns of difference confirm the influence of some factors.

For refugees, welfare access also differs from country to country. A report of European Parliamentary Research Service of 2015 on selected member states has concluded that recognized refugees enjoy the same rights to social benefits as nationals of receiving countries, although in some states free movement restrictions apply for those who receive benefit support (Poptcheva and Stuchlik 2015). We have not found studies more recent with a comprehensive overview of variations in welfare support available to this category of migrants. A report of AIDA gives short overview of financial support available to refugees with a status, if they do not have sufficient means to rent accommodation. The financial support is available in Slovenia, Poland for a period of 1 or 1,5 years, in Greece it is available to a limited number of people and only for 3 months, while no financial support is available in Hungary and Romania after AMIF funding was terminated in 2018 (Mouzourakis, Pollet, and Ott 2019). Another study analysing welfare provisions for refugees in Scandinavian countries, highlighted that while these countries have rather generous and universalist approach to welfare benefits access, there have been differences in the way these policies changed in the times of refugee crisis. In Sweden there were no changes in refugees' rights to social benefits, but some financial sanctions were introduced in the cases when refugees do not participate in labour market activities. In Norway only introduction of residence times requirement to obtaining cash benefits for small children has been added, with all other rights remaining the same as for citizens. While Denmark undertook several restrictive changes since 2015: lowering integration benefits by 50%, restricting access to social pensions and introducing the same rules for refugees to be eligible for child benefits as for citizens, which made it harder (Hernes 2018). TRAFIG working papers also provide important insight into general lack of sufficient welfare benefit access to migrants in protracted displacement situations in Greece, and Italy. Asylum seekers in camps, and also recognized refugees are not supported enough by welfare systems of these Southern European countries, which puts these people into socio-economic marginalisation and deprivation (Roman et al.

2021) Also, for non-removed but rejected asylum seekers (NRAS) welfare provisions differ across European countries, according to the studies presented in a special issue on the topic (Ataç and Rosenberger 2019). In those countries where NRAS have access to housing after the rejection of their application they de facto receive additional services, which positively distinguishes this group from other types undocumented migrants, who are excluded from most welfare services (Ataç and Rosenberger 2019).

5.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives

According to evidence, the problem of migrant integration in relation to welfare systems is mainly formulated in terms of welfare ‘abuse’ or its undesirable incentive for immigration. For instance, the “Welfare magnet hypothesis” (Borjas 1999) is widely spread among receiving countries. It is based on the belief that generous welfare systems attract immigrants who seek to rely on benefits as their main source of income. The political debate frames immigrants as a potential “burden” for the host welfare system and legitimizes their exclusion from the social support available for the non-migrant residents¹⁷ (Giulietti 2014). Politicisation of migrants’ access to welfare leads to restrictive social policy towards migrants (Lafleur and Stanek 2017).

Related to these framings are the narratives of “welfare tourism” and “welfare shopping” within the EU, which mainly target the EU mobile citizens from member states with lower levels of welfare generosity. This problem framing assumes that some EU mobile citizens choose to emigrate from their countries to claim welfare support on various grounds (child-care or unemployment) in the countries with the higher welfare provisions. Those framings lead to stricter welfare provisions for EU immigrants in some states (i.e., for Southern Europeans in Belgium) (Lafleur and Stanek 2017).

In general, immigrants are perceived as less deserving of welfare benefits than non-migrating citizens (Reeskens and van der Meer 2019), and this idea of undeservingness is closely linked to the construction of a foreigner as ‘the other’; the stranger that does not originally belong to the territorially bound nation-state. Othering legitimizes that the state and the collective of its citizens is not responsible to provide a safety net for the ‘other’ – the migrant. Moreover, the construction of the other is infused with the presumption of immigrants’ inclination for free-riding behaviour or laziness. It is translated into the idea that generous welfare benefits would disincentivize immigrants’ employment. This, in turn, leads to the argument that the reduction of welfare benefits would improve labour market integration (Arendt 2020; Andersen, Dustmann, and Landersø 2019).

All in all, these framings point at the problem defined in the use of welfare resources by the people deemed undeserving for that support. And the state’s efforts are aimed at prevention or

¹⁷ Barbulescu and Favell, ‘Commentary’.

restriction of that use. On top of that, welfare generosity is defined as a problem that presumably leads to another problem: a lack of labour market integration of migrants, which in turn could again lead to increased welfare dependency. Therefore, the objective to disrupt this ‘vicious circle’ is pursued through reduction of welfare support.

Another framing of the problem is linked to the state’s attempts to control the presence of foreigners on their territory. Irregular migrants are not supposed to stay in the countries, as their presence on a state’s territory is deemed undesirable, and, thus, constitutes a problem. Their exclusion from welfare systems is meant to incentivise return and solve the problem of their irregular stay. Some states even adopt regulations that allow undocumented migrants to access some benefits, under the condition that they cooperate in returning to their countries of origin (Rosenberger and Koppes 2018).

Rarely does evidence point at another kind of framing regarding welfare system integration. Particularly on the local level of governance, the problem is seen in poverty and delinquency linked to a lack of opportunities for self-subsistence. Hence, the facilitation of welfare access for immigrants is seen as a policy objective which could potentially solve this problem (Ataç, Schütze, and Reitter 2020; Bauder and Gonzalez 2018).

5.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

in welfare system integration

As discussed in the previous section, there are two main types of policy objectives with regards to membership of immigrants in the welfare systems of receiving states: one aimed at their exclusion, another at inclusion.

Regarding the instruments aiming at the restriction of migrants’ access and use of welfare benefits, literature discusses the regulatory and legal measures to achieve this. Section 3 mentions several of them. One common instrument is the introduction of legal conditions of eligibility related to the time of residence and official employment in the country for some migrant groups. Germany restricts welfare rights for the newly arrived EU citizens, who are not eligible for job-seekers allowance and social assistance if they have not been living and working in the country for at least 5 years (Barbulescu and Favell 2020). A similar approach is taken in Denmark, where migrants can claim unemployment benefits only after 7 years of residence (Vintila and Lafleur 2020). This effectively means that newly arrived migrants are excluded from receiving this kind of social support.

Another regulatory measure is related to the condition of active job search as a requirement in order to receive welfare support. For example, in Germany, a Hartz IV reform was passed in

2003, obliging the recipients to have regular meetings with Job-centre advisors and demonstrate the proof of active job search. These measures aim to encourage recipients to find a job to support themselves, preventing a complacent dependence on the welfare state. Another measure that is both regulatory and economic in nature is the reduction of the amount of welfare provided for refugees, discussed in two Danish studies (Arendt 2020; Andersen, Dustmann, and Landersø 2019). There is a variety of other policy instruments designed to bring immigrants into employment, which can be understood as a tool to reduce the use of social benefits among immigrants. Those measures are discussed in detail in the chapter on Labour Market integration (this volume) and they may be considered as the most salient tool in ‘welfare management’.

(1) Regulatory and economic instruments facilitating welfare access and use

Recognised refugees and holders of other forms of humanitarian protection are the group among newly arrived migrants that are usually eligible to receive some welfare support during the first years, however, the amount of subsidies is uneven across EU countries. The NIEM Humanitarian Protection Report provides a comparative analysis of the legal protection and how EU states deal with Humanitarian Protection Holders (HPH) (C. Conte 2021). In terms of legal access to social security for HPH, Greece has the most social security and benefits, which is above that of nationals, due to the availability of benefits targeted only to refugees. The benefits that refugees are eligible for are equal to that of nationals in Sweden and Spain. However, in the Czech Republic there is more restrictions on the types of welfare support available for migrants under humanitarian protection (such as no old age benefits). These restrictions on the regulatory level are even more pronounced in the Netherlands and Poland, yet the largest lack of welfare support for HPH immigrants can be found in Hungary and Lithuania, with only homelessness care services available for these groups.

This report also highlights the administrative barriers and lack of information to social benefits and the informational tools available that can assist the HPHs. For example, despite Greece having generous legal provision of welfare benefits on paper, there is a tremendous lack of information on how to access them, and many administrative barriers to actually enable refugees to access those social security entitlements. A similar situation is also observed in Hungary. The Czech Republic, Italy, and the Netherlands have less administrative barriers to social benefit access and provide resources facilitating HPHs to access it, such as face-to-face meetings (C. Conte 2021).

The access of asylum seekers to social protection who have not received the decision of their status is rather limited in the EU, but some states have accepted directives in the recent years to support migrants in the process of their asylum. For instance, the German constitutional court ruled in July of 2012 that the level of financial support provided under Asylum Seekers’ Benefits Act was unconstitutional and should be raised to be equal to Hartz IV. Rejected asylum seekers

who cannot return receive Duldung status that allowed receiving of social benefits under this Act, although they may have lower levels of support (Jonathan Price and Sarah Spencer 2014). Another legal research paper examines welfare access for the tolerated irregular migrants in Austria, through the EU Charter of the Fundamental Rights (Hinterberger and Klammer 2020).

(2) Information instruments

In several EU member states, translation and interpretation services are employed that facilitate access of immigrants to welfare benefit services. For instance, the City of Helsinki provides a website regarding moving to Finland, explaining how to access to social security, and information about health care, housing, education, and other specific information for migrants from EU or non-EU countries. This website is available in 12 different languages which reduces the language barrier for immigrants to connect to Finnish state institutions. Another example of an informational measures are the forms that immigrants can use to apply for social security. Estonia, Finland, Hungary, and other countries offer these forms in multiple languages. However, the provision of such interpretation and translation services is not always evenly provided for all migrant groups. In Latvia, only victims of human trafficking can access interpretation facilities. In Ireland, interpretation services are limited to areas with many immigrant clients. Non-governmental non-profit organizations also often act as interpretation service providers instead of the state, for instance, in the Czech Republic, Luxembourg, and Poland (European Migration Network 2014).

(3) Participatory instruments

Non-governmental, civil society organizations often provide welfare support for migration in the cases when state institutions and state policies exclude them from welfare policies. NGOs provide basic shelter, food, and some guidance for destitute migrants¹⁸. However, while states provide funding to NGOs, the amount of this funding has decreased over the years, while the number of beneficiaries has increased (Jonathan Price and Sarah Spencer 2014). That leads many NGOs to direct their efforts to acquire other streams of funding, at a cost of actual service provision to migrants. Such situation allows for the system of humanitarian exceptionalism, allowing the state to maintain legitimacy as a humanitarian actor, while simultaneously playing a role in the construction of the precarious situations in which some migrants find themselves (Bendixsen 2018). On the local level, some cities, for instance Amsterdam, Stockholm, and Vienna, enable rejected but not deported asylum seekers to access limited welfare support through NGOs. That way migrants who are not eligible for mainstream welfare, are still supported against falling into destitution, ‘under the radar’ of public and political contestation (Ataç, Schütze, and Reitter 2020).

¹⁸ (Jonathan Price and Sarah Spencer 2014; James 2021)

Although this cannot be categorized as a specific policy tool, the role of employees in the formal structures of welfare provision has also been researched (Ratzmann and Heindlmaier 2022). The studies show that street-level-bureaucrats could act as informal facilitators of welfare access for migrants. Individual discretion allows welfare workers to take decisions about granting or refusing welfare support based on their compassion towards those in need. This does not mean that they directly violate the rules, but rather they can bend or interpret the rules in the favour of migrant. This is demonstrated by the example of those front-line workers that help migrants to fill in the applications correctly or log in their health complaints as ‘urgent and severe’, if that allows people to get access to medical care (Ambrosini 2017). Other researchers point out that sometimes the informality of arrangements between migrants and street-level-bureaucrats is mutually beneficial, however takes place within the system of power imbalances. For example, turning a blind eye on informal employment of undocumented migrants in the sector of elderly care, serves both the migrant and the state; helping an asylum lawyer to determine a nationality of other applicants could mean a favourable decision for the helping asylum applicants.

5.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools in welfare system

The effectiveness of the instruments and measures discussed above can only be assessed from the perspective of the policy objectives. A measure is effective if it fulfils the intended goal. From the several policy problem framings identified above, we can distinguish 3 kinds of policy objectives in relation to migrants and welfare systems of receiving states:

- (1) Objective (exclusion from the welfare system) <= Framing (because of welfare magnet/ welfare tourism hypotheses and because migrants have not contributed as much as citizens)
- (2) Objective (decrease of welfare amounts) <= Framing (because generous welfare leads to welfare dependency, disincentivises employment)
- (3) Objective (inclusion into welfare system) <= Framing (because lack of social security leads to more societal problems; and because of humanitarian reasons, compassion)

Policy objective	How is this objective framed?
Exclusion from the welfare system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The welfare magnet/ welfare tourism hypothesis - Migrants have not contributed as much as citizens
Decreasing welfare amounts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Generous welfare leads to welfare dependency - Generous welfare disincentivises employment
Inclusion into the welfare system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of social security leads to more societal problems - Humanitarian reasons, such as compassion

We have not identified specifically evaluative studies that assess effectiveness of the listed policy instruments. However, the overall impression from the evidence review is that regulatory instruments (laws and directives) successfully reach the goal of excluding the (underserving) groups of newly arrived migrants from accessing welfare systems. The only way that effectiveness of this exclusion is undermined is through the voluntary organizations and NGOs, providing support to those officially excluded. However, whether such exclusion leads to reduction in numbers of immigrants entering the country is questionable. The study of Giuliatti rejects the welfare-magnet hypotheses, refuting the core assumption that underlies the framing of this policy problem (Giuliatti 2014). The study found that the unemployment rates and low wages in sending countries have an effect on migration decisions that is ten times greater than that of welfare benefits in receiving countries, refuting the idea that generous welfare is such a large incentive for migrants to arrive to the EU. Also, for intra-EU migrants, the life course events were found to play a much more significant role in their mobility decisions, while the generosity of the welfare state in the destination country was not even considered (de Jong and de Valk 2018). Thus, generosity and availability of welfare benefits do not significantly affect the number of immigrants seeking to enter the country. Another evaluation study of Rosenberger and Koppes examined the effectiveness of granting social benefits to undocumented migrants, upon the condition to cooperate in returning to their countries. The study did not provide solid evidence that such an instrument is effective in provoking people to leave the country of immigration. The authors hypothesize that such policies are more likely to incentivize rejected asylum seekers to go underground and hide from authorities (Rosenberger and Koppes 2018). Therefore, it can be implied that regulations restricting access to welfare do not work as a tool of immigration control.

Another outcome that does not seem to be achieved by the instruments restricting access to welfare is the balancing out of the immigrants’ and citizens’ contributions to the welfare system. One of the problem framings was that immigrants contribute less than citizens, and therefore their rights to welfare should be limited. The evidence so far seems to dismantle the widely spread belief that immigrants are a burden to welfare systems of Europe. For instance, the OECD’s 2021 report shows that in all countries, immigrants contribute more in taxes and other

contributions than the governments spend on their social protection, health and education (Damas de Matos 2021). The payment of taxes and social contributions is only possible for migrants in the cases of legal and official employment. As discussed in the chapter on labour market integration (this report), this is not the case for those groups of migrants that are excluded from such access by their legal status or discrimination. Therefore, it is clear that those newly arrived migrants whose access to employment is restricted are the ones that make use of welfare benefits if eligible. Therefore, the problem, as framed, does not correspond to reality. The only outcome that is effectively achieved by such policies is that the receiving states economically benefit from the migrants, while saving in direct costs to sustain the welfare of those in need. Despite this, as we will demonstrate later, such saving on initial welfare leads to more expenditure in other areas, due to the adverse effects that a lack of welfare support has on the vulnerable groups.

With regards to the welfare dependency theory, evidence demonstrates that the immigrant populations in the majority of EU countries generally use welfare less or equal to that of native populations. The countries where this is not the case include Sweden, Denmark, and, to a lesser extent, France and Germany. Interestingly, while migrants' use of welfare benefits is generally lower than native populations across the EU, their likelihood of living in poverty is higher (Giulietti 2014).

The effectiveness of economic policy tools, such as reducing the amount of welfare support for refugees, has been evaluated in two recent studies. While the reduction per se is effectively achieved through the legal directives, the societal outcome of incentivising employment among refugees is not totally positive. Some research confirms that a reduction in benefits leads to an increase in employment percentages or a modest reduction in welfare-benefit dependency. Arendt's study, conducted in Denmark in 2015, argues that the welfare benefit reduction more than doubles the share of males who are employed 10 months after their arrival. However, wages that they receive on their jobs are lower. Among women, however, he found no labour market response to benefit reduction. Among the negative consequences, that he claims to be understudied, the study confirms the increase in health care utilization, crime charges, and crime levels following benefit reductions (Arendt 2020).

Another evaluation study of Andersen and colleagues confirms the found trends in a quasi-experimental study of Denmark's Start Aid welfare reform in 2002. This reform is, of course, not related to the post-2014 migrant arrivals, but the study still yields important implications for the questions we ask in this review. This reform initially led to an increasing in employment and earnings but decreased total income for refugees. Moreover, employment response faded over time, and it also led to the exit of the female labour force. Just like was found in the study of Arendt, the adverse effects of this measure were also visible. Reform led to an increase in property crime (such as shop lifting) and also negatively affected children, leading to worse participation in preschool, poorer performances in language tests, and rise in youth crime

(Andersen, Dustmann, and Landersø 2019). In sum, the evidence mentioned above serves to justify the third type of policy objectives aiming at provision of welfare for newly arrived migrants in order to prevent adverse effects of integration and poverty on the long run.

It is important to highlight that the role of gender and gender-based judgements of front-line workers also play a role in assessing the welfare claims. The vignette study of Husenius in Sweden shows that female case workers are more likely to grant welfare support to women with Swedish names on the application form than to Arabic female names, and the least probably to claims associated with Arabic male names (Hussénus 2021).

Some evidence indicates that provision of interpretation services in welfare service institutions are not always effective. A study in Ireland showed that even though this service was made available on paper, it was not used in practice. There is both a lack of awareness and access of the interpretation services for the clients who have language support needs. Not a single client who was questioned stated that they had been offered interpretation access, and 27% stated that they had requested an interpreter and not been given one. Instead, personal contacts of immigrants provided help with interpretation. Another issue that makes the access to services ineffective is the complexity of the system, and lack of support to explain to migrant beneficiaries how they can navigate it (Crosscare Information and Advocacy Services 2018).

5.7 Conclusion

This review focused on access to and use of welfare benefits by newly arrived (non-EU) immigrants. This topic has been covered broadly in the literature, focusing amongst others on differences between countries with various welfare state regimes and increasingly also about the evolution of transnational forms of welfare provision and on the role of street-level bureaucrats in providing access to welfare. Key concerns in the literature involve limitations in access to welfare, fears of welfare dependency, and the causes and consequences of significant differences between countries in terms of welfare policies.

In terms of policy practices, this review discussed various practices for restricting migrants' access and use of welfare benefits, such as requirements concerning time of residence before access to benefits or conditionalities in terms of labour market participation. A variety of practices was identified for how to facilitate welfare access and use. This includes regulatory and economic instruments, such as access to social protection. In this regard, very significant differences were found between European countries. Another type of practice concerns information instruments. Various countries have positive examples in place in terms of active information services to facilitate access to available welfare protection. Finally, we also identified participatory instruments where, often, at a local level, NGOs and volunteers play a key role in welfare provision.

The literature is very critical of the so-called ‘welfare magnet hypothesis’. It also suggests that, rather than policies, unemployment rates and low wages play a far more important role in migration decision making. Furthermore, on average, immigrant populations seem to be using equal or even less welfare than when compared to the native population. However, regulatory instruments seem generally quite effective in excluding newly arrived migrants from welfare. Such policies may also have an inadvertent negative effect in terms of enhancing unemployment, which again can also increase welfare dependency. This indicates that there is a need for a more long-term and broad perspective on the relation between access to welfare and integration.

In view of sustainability of practices in the area of welfare integration, this review report suggests that it is important to have a more evidence-based and structural approach to welfare integration. Evidence-based because frames, such as on welfare dependency and short-term welfare exclusion, are critically reviewed. And structural in that policies take a broader view, not only on inclusion or exclusion of welfare benefits, but on welfare and integration, including the potential of participation. In this view, the significant differences between countries can also be a resource to compare and learn from how practices can work out.

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6 Health Care

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6.1 Introduction

Health is an essential part of human life and access to health care is a core need of every human being. Newly arrived migrants are no exception, some of them might have suffered traumatic experiences before or during migration, others may have acquired health problems already in the host country (and not necessarily as a result of their migration). Just like anyone else, migrants may have chronic and acute illnesses, or be need pregnancy check-ups and treatment at childbirth, or be at risk of infections such as Covid-19 or the flu. However, newly arrived migrants may face various legal, administrative, linguistic, and cultural barriers when accessing health care systems in receiving countries (Gil-González et al. 2015). When untreated, health problems can create obstacles to integration and participation in the labour market, as well as society at large, and even lead to premature death (Slootjes 2021). This chapter aims to synthesise research about integration of post-2014 immigrants into health care systems of European countries. We will draw on both academic and policy-oriented literature and research projects to provide a comprehensive overview of how

the health of newly arrived migrants is addressed through policy and practice. The review includes studies on the health status of immigrants, their use of health care services, and how their access to health care is regulated and facilitated. The first years after arrival are especially challenging in terms of access to health care, from both institutional and individual perspectives. On the one hand, there are institutional challenges related to formal incorporation of the newcomers into receiving structures, for instance, arrangement of all necessary documentation to access health care. On the individual or informal side, there could be a lack of knowledge regarding the health care system, an inability to communicate the health issue, cultural norms that may cause misunderstandings or even prevent migrants from seeking medical help, and many other issues.

Migrants’ health and access to health care is a well-established area of research. Barriers to health care access for migrants generally, but particularly asylum seekers and irregular migrants, have been increasingly studied in the past decade. There is also a growing body of research evaluating interventions and programmes that attempt to facilitate access to health care for migrants, such as cultural competency interventions, the use of interpretation services in hospitals, or measures to improve health literacy among migrants.

This chapter begins by outlining recent research on the health and health care access of post-2014 migrants and the evidence gathered on their health status and barriers to health care. It discusses how the question of both facilitating and restricting health care access is discussed in public and policy debate, before providing an overview of instruments and tools employed to facilitate and regulate access. Finally, the scarce evidence on such policies and programmes is discussed, and the sustainability of such practices is commented on.

6.2 Research on health

A review carried out by the MigHealth care project in 2018 (co-funded by European Union’s Health Programme), which was based on 71 papers published between 2011-2017, indicates that research on migrant health is usually country specific and focused on specific illnesses. Mental health remains an underexplored topic, studied mostly in relation to refugees, since those are groups fleeing

Figure 1: Key words from titles of the reviewed literature on migrants’ health



Figure 6: Medical related issues in the reviewed literature. (Bigger words are more frequent).



conflicts and violence, as well as long processing times of asylum applications result in psychological traumas and disorders (Bogic, Njoku, and Priebe 2015; Fazel et al. 2012; Hodes, Anagnostopoulos, and Skokauskas 2018; Hollander et al. 2016; Leitner et al. 2019; Melamed et al. 2019; Mohamed and Thomas 2017; Niemi et al. 2019). Generally, a top-down evaluation approach is employed, and there are fewer investigations of migrants’ own, self-defined health needs. Several studies investigate accessibility of health care for migrants, where the focus lies predominantly on undocumented migrants and refugees (Henry, Beruf, and Fischer 2020; Agudelo-Suárez et al. 2012; Kor Grit, Otter, and Spreij 2012; El-Gamal and Hanefeld 2020; Médecins du Monde 2016; Kohlenberger et al. 2019; Aniek Woodward, Howard, and Wolffers 2014; O’Donnell 2018; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2013; Gil-González et al. 2015; Arora et al. 2018; Spencer and Hughes 2015; Razum and Bozorgmehr 2016; Cuadra 2012). Across the literature, there is a greater focus on communicable diseases rather than non-communicable diseases, preventative care, and equity in health (Lebano et al. 2020). In terms of scientific disciplines, most research can be found in specialised medical and health journals, journals dedicated to health policy, and journals focusing on the issues on the intersection of migration and health.

Figure 7: Groups in focus of the reviewed literature on migrants' health (Bigger words are



According to an earlier review carried out by PHAME (Public Health Aspects of Migration in Europe) in 2015 on delivery of health care and health care policy for refugees and asylum seekers, research comes mostly from three European countries: the UK, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. They also state that country-specific research makes a comparison in terms of health care difficult. They highlight a limited scope of evidence on health status of asylum seekers and refugees, where focus mostly lies on maternity care and mental illness. They argue that there is scant evidence on use of health care services by migrants compared with non-migrant populations (Bradby et al. 2015).



Figure 8: Countries from titles of reviewed literature on migrants’ health. (Bigger words are more frequent)

The topic of self-determined or subjective perceptions of health and wellbeing by refugees has received more attention recently (Georges et al. 2021; Psinos et al. 2017; Jaschke and Kosyakova 2021). Furthermore, the accessibility of health care services for migrants has also been increasingly studied. For example, a recent comparative study has examined differences in self-reported health of asylum seekers and refugees between Germany and Austria, in order to establish the effect of limited versus unrestricted access to health care (Georges et al. 2021). A similar study investigated whether early or improved access to the health care system has a positive effect on the mental and physical health of refugees in Germany (Jaschke and Kosyakova 2021). Both studies found that unrestricted access improved mental wellbeing, as well as the subjective health assessment of refugees.

Another recent research focus is on the perspectives of health care practitioners on providing services to migrants, examining the challenges they face in treating migrants, or their accounts of migrants’ access (Harrison and Daker-White 2019; Dauvrin et al. 2012; Devillé et al. 2011; Lindenmeyer et al. 2016; Suphanchaimat et al. 2015; Balaam et al. 2016; Bradby et al. 2020). Two EU-funded projects have specifically focused on health care provision for migrants working together with health care professionals. EUGATE¹⁹ (Dauvrin et al. 2012) project analysed legislation, policies, and perspectives of health care providers from 16 EU countries in the period from 2008 till 2012, to formulate recommendations of best practices of health care for migrants and minorities. Another project, Restore (2011- 2015), studied the implementation strategies for patients of different origins and language background in primary care settings²⁰ (Lionis et al. 2016). Together with health care professionals, Restore co-designed innovative solutions for adapting health care for immigrants and evaluated them from the perspective of participants.

¹⁹ <http://www.eugate.org.uk/index.html>

²⁰ <https://www.fp7restore.eu/index.php/en/project-details>

6.3 Integration situation (inequalities) in terms of migrant’s health

and health care access

(1) Health situation and inequalities²¹

Research commonly refers to the ‘healthy migrant’ effect, as in Europe immigrants are, on average, younger and healthier relative to native population. This may be true initially, since good health and younger age are important personal determinants of migration in the first place. This leads to ‘natural’ selection, especially among voluntary labour and family migrants both within the EU and from third countries. However, for forced migrants, multiple factors before and during migration process might engender ill health. Self-reported health of refugees falls below that of resident population (Kohlenberger et al. 2019). War, social unrest, and extreme poverty in the countries of origin prone people to leave and in the process cause a detrimental impact on their health. Many refugees have not only seen the horrors of violence, but some experienced them: bombings, killings, loss of loved ones, abuse, torture, and rape. Moreover, harsh conditions of perilous journeys that refugees make in order to reach Europe contribute to both mental and physical health problems. Furthermore, upon their arrival, precarity and uncertainty related to long processes of recognitions, overcrowded living conditions, or a lack of resources may continue to contribute to ill health (O’Donnell 2018). There is clear evidence of a higher prevalence of mental distress in refugees and migrants (Lebano et al. 2020; Bogic, Njoku, and Priebe 2015; Fazel et al. 2012; Hodes, Anagnostopoulos, and Skokauskas 2018; Hollander et al. 2016; Leitner et al. 2019; Li, Liddell, and Nickerson 2016). For example, a cohort study in Sweden found that refugees are at increased risk of schizophrenia and nonaffective psychotic disorders compared to native-born Swedes and non-refugee migrants. Migration trajectory, racism, discrimination, and poverty are named among possible reasons (Hollander et al. 2016). Literature further discusses unmet mental health needs of migrant children, particularly unaccompanied minors (Bradby et al. 2015). Poor living conditions among various vulnerable migrant groups are linked to their poor physical and mental health (Lebano et al. 2020). This can occur not only among refugees, as mentioned above, but also irregular immigrants, low-skilled migrant workers, and family migrants joining spouses with low earnings, who may experience poor living conditions more often than others.

Migrant mothers reportedly have poorer birth outcomes and perinatal health compared to native populations; asylum seekers and refugees are particularly at risk (Bradby et al. 2015; Anouk E.H. Verschuuren et al. 2020; Heslehurst et al. 2018; Kaufmann et al. 2021). A systematic literature review carried out in 2018 found that there was consistent evidence that perinatal outcomes were predominantly worse among migrant women, particularly in terms of mental health, maternal mortality, preterm birth, and congenital abnormalities (Heslehurst et al. 2018).

²¹ (See Migration and Health programme 2018; Lebano et al. 2020; Bradby et al. 2015)

Evidence also indicated that health needs of migrants are less likely to be met, and the risk of not being treated is significantly higher among irregular migrants, since their access to health care is legally restricted in many countries (Busetta, Cetorelli, and Wilson 2018). For migrants in transit, the continuity of health care is also a big issue, since in order to gain access, many countries require registration (van Loenen et al. 2018).

The recent COVID-19 pandemic has revealed further inequalities of migrants' health. Migrants are at a disproportionately higher risk of infection compared to native populations, and their mortality rate is two to five times higher. These trends have been observed globally. These observed inequalities in health are linked to higher exposure of migrants to drivers of ill-health, such as low income and poor housing, as well as various barriers to accessing the health services in countries of residence (Slootjes 2021).

(2) Access to health care

Out of all migrants, undocumented ones have the most barriers to access health care. According to an overview published in 2015, in six EU member states, they are entitled only to emergency care. In a further 12 countries, irregular migrants are excluded from primary and secondary care but have entitlements to certain specialist services. In 10 Member States, irregular migrants have the right to access some primary and secondary care. Those countries are Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, and the UK. However, in four of these countries, they are required to pay full costs, which are often very high, and in Germany, public servants are required to inform immigration authorities if an undocumented migrant comes for treatment (Spencer and Hughes 2015). Such legal barriers restrict integration of irregular migrants into health care systems, creating unwelcoming circumstances for establishing their lives in the receiving countries and reconfirming the 'undesirability' of their stay. Even when undocumented migrants are entitled to care, fear of being reported to immigration authorities prevents them from approaching health care, even when in need. Moreover, the lack of knowledge of migrants' right for health care among health care providers creates an additional barrier (O'Donnell 2018).

Further administrative barriers for other migrants entitled to health care include lack of health insurance, which is necessary in many countries, and linked to this, high costs of treatments and medication (Müllerschön et al. 2019). Insufficient knowledge of a common language among both migrants and health professionals lead to further communication barriers (van den Muijsenbergh et al. 2014). Lack of trustworthy information available in foreign languages is one of the reasons behind lower health literacy among migrant groups and insufficient knowledge of health care systems. Absence or insufficient amount of interpretation services in the health centres exacerbates those communication problems and may lead to discriminatory practices based on perceived linguistic incompetence (Peled 2018). Customs of gender relations distinct from the mainstream receiving countries pose cultural barriers to migrants' health care access. For instance, lack of

female interpreters and possibilities to choose a treatment by a doctor of the same sex make it more difficult, especially for women, to seek specialised gynaecological care (Henry, Beruf, and Fischer 2020; Heslehurst et al. 2018). Remote locations of reception centres, asylum-seekers centres and detention centres lead to geographical barriers of access to health care for migrants living there (Bradby et al. 2015; Wahedi et al. 2020).

Structural aspects of health care provision differ across European countries. Access to health care is universal in some countries and insurance based in others. General practitioners or family doctors, community health services, and hospitals can fulfil different roles and functions in various countries. The organisation of health care systems has important impact on its accessibility for vulnerable groups. In a cross-European study analysing access to primary health care for marginalised migrants, it has been determined that national policies reducing the health care entitlement of these vulnerable groups have a negative impact on both the migrants' access to health care and the caregiver's capacity to provide such care. This can be illustrated when looking at the Netherlands, which, in 2012, withdrew its provision of interpreting services. Policy changes like this increases the systemic barriers to health care. Barriers on a structural level include, for example, limited competencies in communicating due to linguistic differences at the level of the provider (Kringos et al. 2013; O'Donnell et al. 2016).

(3) Health care utilization

A systematic review of scientific literature between 2009 and 2017 analysed findings of the studies in terms of differences between migrants' and non-migrants' utilization of health care services in Europe. Even though the evidence was limited for making a comprehensive comparison between the countries, a tentative conclusion was that no difference was found in the use of general practitioner services. However, most evidence point at the higher use of accident and emergency services by migrants (Graetz et al. 2017). Literature points to various reasons for this discrepancy, among which are: lower-social economic status, poorer diet and living conditions, free and easier access to accident and emergency services compared to GPs and specialists, lack of health literacy, and poor understanding of the system itself.

Another literature review focused specifically on undocumented migrants' use of health care services. Most of the studies confirm that these migrants are less likely to seek medical assistance than other migrants and non-migrants. This is usually the case even when legally the access to primary or emergency care is permitted for this group. Lack of knowledge about their rights and fear of being reported are the main reasons for this underutilization of health services. Both health care professionals and migrants themselves often do not know which medical help they are entitled to receive and under which conditions. As mentioned before, access to health care differs among European countries, and these findings come from the countries with more than minimum health care entitlements for these migrants. There is a lack of research on this topic in the countries with

‘less than minimum health care rights’ to undocumented migrants, where their exclusion from health care systems is most severe (Winters et al. 2018).

6.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives of integration

into health care systems

In the area of health care system there are two polar framings of the integration issue. The first and dominant framing focuses on disadvantages of migrants’ access for the receiving country, while the second focuses on the needs or human rights of migrants and problematizes the fact that some groups of migrants are insufficiently included in the health care systems.

(1) Restricting access to health care for (irregular) migrants

Cost considerations is a widely spread argument used to justify exclusion from health care of some groups of migrants, for instance, undocumented ones. This argument is based on the perceived threat to resources of the receiving state. The assumption is that providing health care for undocumented migrants poses a financial burden to the health system, leading to unavailability of health care for the receiving state’s own citizens. This argument has been disproved, as timely treatment of diseases in primary health care is actually cost saving for the receiving state as a whole (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2015; Trummer and Krasnik 2017). The evidence presented in the section 6 of this chapter provides an explanation into why this happens. Another related framing problematizes excessive and unwanted immigration flows and uses exclusion from health care as a tool to deter new arrivals (Razum and Bozorgmehr 2016; Slootjes 2021). This ‘health care-as-magnet’ hypothesis is based on the same rationale as ‘welfare-magnet’ hypothesis. For example, in Germany, access to full health care for asylum seekers was legally restricted in 1993 with the aim of reducing budget spent on asylum seekers and to deter asylum seekers from coming to the country (Bozorgmehr, Wenner, and Razum 2017; Razum and Bozorgmehr 2016). This legislation created a natural experiment and based on the comparative study it was found that, in the long term, such a measure actually resulted in higher costs for the receiving state (Bozorgmehr and Razum 2015).

Another example is the creation of ‘Hostile Environment’ in the UK, where the National Health Service (NHS) was directed to enforce immigration controls by requiring health officials to inform the authorities of people whom they suspected of being in the country illegally. The measure was originally justified as it assisted with controlling irregular immigration and also reduced the financial and resource strain on the NHS. The policy was criticised for various reasons. These included the loss of confidentiality in health care and how it ignored the growing discussions that resource issues in the public health care sector largely results from austerity and the subsequent funding cuts,

rather than its usage by irregular immigrants. This measure has since been withdrawn due to the unforeseen negative implication for public health as a whole (Hiam, Steele, and McKee 2018).

The internal malfunctioning of health care systems are also attempted to be solved by excluding migrants. The UK's NHS has been built around the principle that it should be free and not provided upon the ability to pay. In recent years, the emergency department of the NHS has faced increasing pressure, leading to underperformance in terms of waiting times. To address this, a 2016 act by the UK government set forward charges to non-British citizens in receiving secondary care, with a proposal for this to be extended for emergency care too, clearly working against the NHS's key foundation principles (Harrison and Daker-White 2019).

All in all, the exclusion of migrants from health care access can be understood as either an objective pursued to solve the perceived problem of their financial burden, or as a means to reach a further objective – the prevention of undesirable immigration.

(2) Enabling and facilitating health care access for migrants

The opposite kind of policy framing sees the lack of health care access for migrants as the violation of their human rights. Humanitarian or rights-based view states that anyone in need should be able to get medical assistance no matter their legal status. While the state organization is bounded by the national laws, charity and humanitarian organizations often step in to fill the gap. For instance, in Germany, where regular health care is provided on the basis of a patient having health insurance, many irregular migrants may be excluded from access, either due to legal or financial reasons. Response to this exclusion of health care access can be found since the 1990s in Germany, with humanitarian organisations such as 'Malteser Migranten Medizin', a Catholic Church funded charity run by both employees and volunteers, addressing the health care access gap. Similar humanitarian organisations providing health care access to irregular migrants have expanded across large cities in Germany ever since. Despite their efforts and growing professionalisation within these humanitarian organisations, their level of care simply is inferior to that of the insurance-based health care system in Germany (Huschke 2014).

Another related framing sees the problem in the risks posed by untreated diseases brought to the receiving population. Therefore, for the sake of public health, immigrants are given access to receiving country health care services. Such framing explains access to infectious disease care for migrants, although evidence suggests that migrants rarely bring infections that pose a threat to host population (Legido-Quigley et al. 2019).

Spenser and Hughes's analysis in 2015 notes that health care access for undocumented migrants has been generally liberalised across Europe, with some notable exceptions. At least from the legal perspective, in most countries health care entitlements have been extended rather than restricted (Spencer and Hughes 2015).

6.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

in health care system integration

Regulatory instruments are the base line of all health care provision or restriction for migrant groups. Access to health care is generally granted by law. Article 35 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU states that ‘everyone has the right of access to preventive health care and the right to benefit from medical treatment under the conditions established by national laws and practices. However, social insurance-based systems are problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it is because complex bureaucratic registration processes make it more difficult for refugees and asylum seekers to access those services, even when they are legally entitled. And secondly, because the social insurance system requires documentation and financial means from migrants, which they may not have. This is especially true for unemployed and poorer refugees and asylum seekers (Bradby et al. 2015).

An example of an instrument from Germany, that facilitates access through an electronic card, resulted in improved mental health of refugees. One of the changes in 2015 regarding refugees and asylum seekers’ access to health care involved the introduction of electronic health cards (eHCs). Municipalities and federal states in Germany had the option to form an agreement with their health insurance funds to organise almost full access of health care for the groups of immigrants previously excluded from such health care. This includes asylum seekers who are within their first 15 months of arrival and rejected asylum seekers who have yet to leave the country. Once granted an eHC, these people would have “immediate and unbureaucratic access to the health care system” (para. 1). Seven of the 16 states in Germany decided to introduce this agreement (Jaschke and Kosyakova 2021).

For unwanted irregular migrants, states employ instruments legally restricting their access. For instance, German legislation in 1993 decided to legally restrict access to health care as means of deterrence policy, based on the argument that it would reduce numbers of asylum seekers (Bozorgmehr and Razum 2015). Another measure against irregular migrants is a formal obligation of doctors to share information with immigration authorities of the country. For example, a Memorandum of Understanding between the NHS (in the UK) and the Home Office introduced in 2017, required doctors to share information about their patients justified to be “in the public interest to support effective immigration enforcement” (Hiam, Steele, and McKee 2018).

Examples of economic or market-based instruments have been presented in the literature review on the cultural competency of health workforces. They describe funding of cultural competency trainings for health care staff, the aims of which were referred to as achieving cultural awareness, cultural respect, cultural safety, or cultural understanding. Those trainings were provided not only to physicians or nurses but to a diverse range of health care professionals. Most common are the

trainings of two different types: categorical – the ones teaching about the cultural peculiarities of specific groups, and a cross-cultural training approach – aiming to enhance intercultural competences suitable for interactions with any different cultures (Jongen, McCalman, and Bainbridge 2018).

Subsidizing projects by civil society organisations that step in to ‘fill the gap’, or that provide care to irregular migrants without the threat of reporting them to immigration authorities. For instance, in Frankfurt ‘Humanitäre Sprechstunde’ was organized by a non-governmental organization, however, funded through the municipality. This instrument provided anonymous, primary health care consultations for irregular migrants, in order to prevent epidemiological risks to larger populations that can happen if the health issues of migrants are untreated. Regular health care was not available for these migrants because of bureaucratic requirements that irregular migrants could not meet. Regular job and health insurance are needed to register with doctors (Delvino and Spencer 2019). Another common financial instrument is to subsidise the costs of those unable to access health insurance. Some cities in the Netherlands, including Eindhoven, Amsterdam, Nijmegen, and Utrecht all fund NGOs that sponsor health care (ibid.).

Informational or communication-based and participatory measures commonly include information campaigns in order to increase health literacy of migrants. Particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic, the translation of public health information became a more wide-spread practice (Slootjes 2021). For instance, in Austria, the state issued an ‘Impfbroschüre’, providing information on vaccines in multiple languages (Gruber 2013). Another example of such type of measures is supplying courses on the workings of the health care system in Denmark, where immigrants often experience low patient-doctor satisfaction as well as suboptimal health care utilisation. The teaching about the local health care system was integrated in the language and culture courses for immigrants (Smith Jervelund et al. 2017). Besides that, the access to health care is facilitated through provision of translators and interpreters, as well as use of intercultural mediators. Good communication is so crucial in a doctor-patient relationship, and various measures have been undertaken in countries across the EU to address this communication gap. Intercultural mediators are found to play a significant role in immigrant patient and doctor relations. These people facilitate and improve communication and reduce the barriers caused by linguistic and socio-cultural differences. There are both formal and informal intercultural mediators and interpreters involved in the health care context (Lionis et al. 2016; O’Reilly-de Brún et al. 2015; Verrept 2019). The ‘Refugees Health Unit’ in Greece offers opportunity of health care providers working with translators, in the context where health care provision for migrants suffers from limited finances and insufficient coordination of actors (Lebano et al. 2020). NGOs and voluntary organisations play a large role in performing outreach tasks, for instance identifying the needs of refugees in terms of health care, providing them with relevant information, and directing refugees to the services they need (Berchet, Colombo, and Dumont 2018). Migrants, especially those with irregular status, tend to mistrust state service provisions, therefore NGOs are often better suited for such outreach tasks (Stefan Priebe, Giacco, and El-Nagib 2016). One of the ways to involve refugees themselves in health

care provision is to train them in providing mental-health counselling, for instance, the International and Psychological Organisation (IPSO) provides outreach mental health support, offered in a variety of languages, and trains refugees to become counsellors that are both culturally and linguistically more sensitive to the refugee-clients (IPSO 2020).

6.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

in health care system integration

In this section we synthesise evidence from literature regarding the effectiveness of policies and instruments to reach their objectives. The objectives are set on the ground of the problem framing and, thus, their outcomes need to be analysed using this link.

With regards to the policy objectives restricting access to health care, we found mainly evidence of ineffectiveness of those policies. Migrants' access to regular health care was problematized due to a presumed financial burden on the receiving state. Several studies point that these considerations are fallacious. Costs of providing preventative health care are lower than the costs incurred when such care is not made accessible and migrants' health situations worsen (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2015). A 2015 study examining the effects of restricting health care access for refugees and asylum seekers in Germany found that access restrictions are associated with higher expenditures and found no evidence for claims that providing asylum seekers with cards enabling them to access health care services would increase health care costs (Bozorgmehr and Razum 2015). The emergency health care places a greater financial burden than the preventive care. An example of this can be found in irregular migrants with propensity for strokes. Using data from countries across Europe, it was found that access to regular health care leads to cost savings of around 16% over a lifetime. A similar trend can be seen in the case of providing regular prenatal care for irregular migrants as opposed to just emergency care, with the former being more cost effective. This renders false the assumption that regular health care is more financially burdensome than emergency-only care (ibid.). The exclusion of irregular migrants from health care in order to enforce migration control has also been proven to have negative consequences. When the doctors were asked to report on the migrants' status, migrants aimed to minimise their interactions with health care providers, putting their lives and health at risk. As already established, putting off medical attention can lead to an eventual need for more expensive emergency treatment, ironically leading to greater public cost. Additionally, limited immunisations and undiagnosed illnesses are likely to cause a spread of infectious disease to wider populations (Hiam, Steele, and McKee 2018).

Regarding interventions aiming to facilitate access to health care for migrants, we have identified the evidence evaluating effectiveness and outcomes of various types of instruments. First of all, it was found that in the countries where *regulation* provides a more liberal access to health care, the self-reported health among refugees is better (Georges et al. 2021). This is supported by arguments

that access to regular health care minimises the implications of poor health for a person’s ability to work and it prevents their need for emergency services later on (Bozorgmehr and Razum 2015). The study of Jaschke and Kosyakova’s determined that the eHC for newly arrived asylum seekers and rejected asylum seekers in Germany positively affected the asylum seekers’ health, psychological well-being, and satisfaction of the health care system as opposed to those who had to wait 15 months before full health care access (Jaschke and Kosyakova 2021).

Secondly, various communication instruments have been evaluated rather positively by the analysed studies. An evaluation study carried out in Ireland on the use of interpreters points at the benefits of employing both formal and informal interpreters. Formal interpreters promote greater trust and satisfaction as well as save time and money for the care providers. However, they can influence the patient-doctor dynamic and logistic could be challenging. Using informal interpreters was easier to organize, since it falls under the responsibility of the patient, also there was a greater relationship of trust between the patient and the interpreter. However, doctors had serious concerns about the involvement of informal interpreters too, such as a lack of competence and the presence of the interpreter’s own interests when interpreting for a family member. Moreover, they saw the involvement of children as interpreters as problematic (O’Reilly-de Brún et al. 2015). The policy in Denmark that introduced paid interpreter services was evaluated as negatively affecting more vulnerable groups of immigrants, including those with small incomes, poor health, unemployed or inactive in the labour market, and thus contributing to social inequalities in health care access (Harpelund, Nielsen, and Krasnik 2012). Evaluation of intercultural mediators carried out by the World Health Organisation in 2019 points at the generally positive impact on the quality health care services for migrants. However, this positive effect can be hindered by a lack of professionalization, insufficient training of such mediators, as well as inconsistent and non-systematic implementation of intercultural mediation programmes (Verrept 2019).

Another type of instrument that was positively evaluated is the cross-cultural training programmes.

A systematic review of evaluations carried out in 2018 showed generally positive effects of workforce cultural competence interventions among health care professionals. However, the study noted that most evaluation studies focus on building awareness and changes in attitude of the health care professionals, however behavioural outcomes are not as consistently measured (Jongen, McCalman, and Bainbridge 2018). Evidence points at two main ways to provide cultural trainings - cross-cultural and categorical approach, as described in the section 4 of this chapter. Research shows that both types of approaches were proven effective, because the positive outcomes of practitioner knowledge and beliefs were reported. However, there were no clear evidence on the effect it had on culturally diverse patients (ibid.).

Another positively evaluated instrument are the interventions to improve health and health care literacy of migrants (Fox et al. 2021). The studies report significant improvements in clinical outcomes, attitudes of patients towards health care system and self-efficacy. Knowledge of the

health care system reportedly improves health care-seeking behaviour and migrants' contact with health care systems (Smith Jervelund et al. 2017).

Thirdly, studies have evaluated positively the involvement of NGOs in health care provision for migrants, however they also noted a number of problems that hinder the impact of their services. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the evidence points at the importance of civil society organizations 'filling the gaps' of public sector. The examples include the provision of culturally sensitive health services or hotlines for refugees with insufficient health care access. However, it is also suggested that such solutions may not be sustainable due to limited funds for the NGOs and limited geographical coverage of such services, since they usually are located in the cities, leaving migrants in rural or remote areas without health care access (Slootjes 2021). The RESTORE project highlighted the benefits of **engaging with multiple stakeholders** and using participatory approaches to identify best practices in their evaluation of guideline and training initiatives on cross-cultural consultation (Lionis et al. 2016). However, such multistakeholder engagement has to be properly coordinated. Studies found that poor coordination among actors continues to hinder health care services for migrants. This problem is especially severe in transit countries, for instance Greece, Italy and Slovenia, where poor internal and external coordination of health care services seem to be a cause of insufficient service provision for the vulnerable migrant groups (Lebano et al. 2020). Evidence from a literature review on mental health provision, identified promoting social integration, developing outreach services, coordinating health care, providing information on entitlements and available services, and training professionals to work with these groups help to develop good practice of migrant health care. These actions require resources and organizational flexibility (Stefan Priebe, Giacco, and El-Nagib 2016). Another issue pointed by literature are the power imbalances that have been observed in voluntary health care practices driven by humanitarian considerations. The study of Huschke observed such power imbalanced between the service users and service providers in the form of expectation of gratitude from the patients that is shared among the health care professionals engaging in voluntary health services. On the other hand, patients of such good-will service often felt that they were not in the position to complain, speak up for themselves, or discuss an insufficient treatment with the health care providers (Huschke 2014).

Last but not least, the studies also point at the importance of other interlinked factors that influence good health of migrants. For instance, better living and working conditions are essential to good health of migrant groups, while poor living conditions attributed to higher cases of unmet health needs. Irregular immigrants are disproportionately affected by poor living and work conditions, thus interventions in those areas are needed to improve their health (Busetta, Cetorelli, and Wilson 2018).

6.7 Conclusion

This review focused on practices to promote the integration of newly arrived (non-EU) migrants in health care systems. It shows that there is much literature on this topic, ranging from studies of access to and use of health care, health care provision, and to specific health needs of groups such as refugees. On the one hand, migrants are often perceived as relatively healthy, as they are often younger on average. On the other hand, there is a broad recognition of specific health concerns in relation to mental health due to migration journeys, but also due to vulnerabilities related to their often weak and uncertain position (manifested clearly by the COVID pandemic). Such vulnerabilities seem to be most pronounced amongst undocumented migrants, who often face an accumulation of vulnerabilities (legal, social, economic, health).

In terms of policy practices, there are numerous examples of efforts to restrict (degrees of) access to health care. This is also fed by a ‘health care-as-magnet’ hypothesis, assuming that health care is a factor for immigration. Financial considerations sometimes played a role here as well. In several states there were examples where accessing health care was connected to immigration enforcement. Research suggests that such practices can be counterproductive, for instance because they can lead to higher health costs if someone’s condition aggravates.

However, there are numerous examples as well of efforts to enable and facilitate access to health care. Such practices are fed by international human rights, but also by concerns about the impact of diseases on the larger population and by a recognition of the need for at least some basic services. This includes the decoupling of health services and immigration studies, but also, for instance, trainings in intercultural skills and the subsidizing of NGO’s who ‘fill the gap’ in health care provision. NGOs seem generally very well capable of reaching otherwise difficult to reach target groups. And the training of intercultural competencies is seen as very welcome to challenge cultural biases in the field of health care. Also, many examples were found targeted at information provision, enabling access to health care (and enabling prevention). Communication instruments are generally assessed as rather successful.

In sum, our review of evidence learns that to develop a more sustainable approach to health care integration, it is recommendable to put effort and resources not only in the regulation of access to health care but also in intercultural competencies and in information provision. Such investments can also be seen as sustainable in terms of preventing longer-term health issues that weigh in on the health care system, but primarily on the migrants involved.

6.8 Bibliography

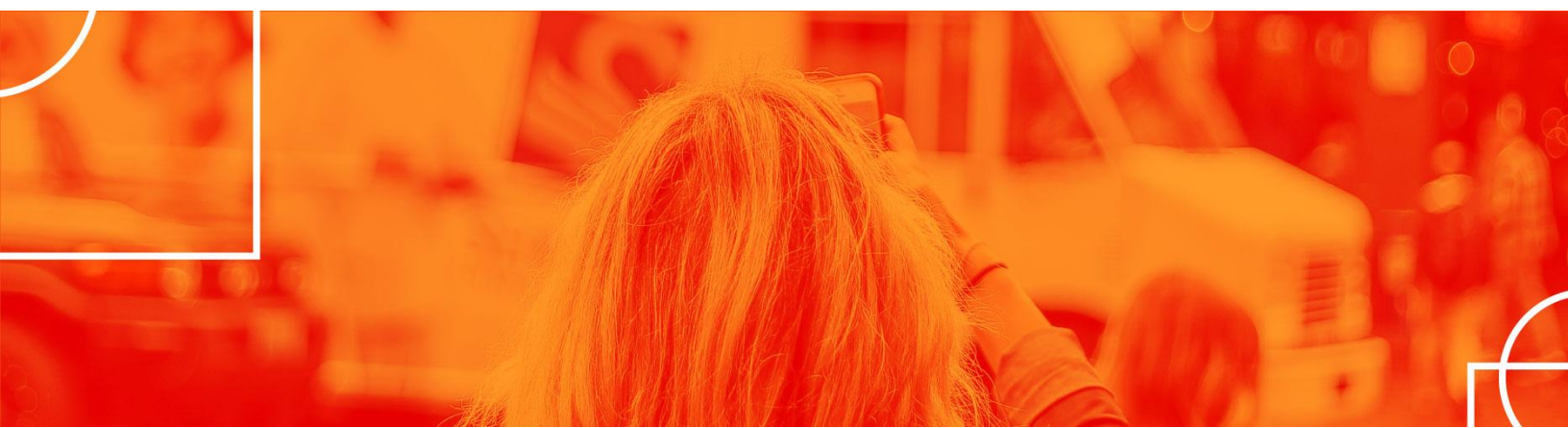
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7 Recent Migrants and Crime

Meike Palinkas

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to provide a synthesis of academic and grey literature on the topic of recent migrants and crime, covering the timeframe 2011 to 2021. More particularly, it intends to summarise recent literature investigating crime-related topics relevant to the integration of post-2014 immigrants in a European context. Furthermore, various crime-related topics, where migrants are viewed as both, perpetrators and victims of crime are reviewed. Whereas in general the focus of this chapter is on newly arrived migrants, literature on some topics (i.e. youth crime, ethnicity and crime, and (religious/political) radicalization or extremism) is broadly discussed in reference to people “with migrant background” and migrants of 2nd or 3rd generation migrants. Since the aim of this synthesis is to give an overview on the topics of crime and integration, research focusing not exclusively on first generation migrants is still considered of relevance for this chapter and is thus incorporated.

Migration research is not just interested in the forms and causes of migration phenomena, but also in associated questions of the social inclusion and incorporation of migrants in host societies. The

latter, at least in Europe, is commonly referred to as the integration of immigrants. The subject of crime in this context gained more attention throughout recent years. Following the high influx of refugees in Europe in 2015, “securitization of migration” and other migration-related policies mirroring security concerns have gained more and more focus. In political debates and public discourses, the stereotype of criminal migrants as “male, young and delinquent” is widely discussed. Narratives concentrate on the relationship between immigrants and crime rates with integration as intermediate factor.

Data on “criminal migrants” cannot be compared one to one with actual crime trends. When interpreting data on the delinquency of national and non-nationals, numerous aspects must be considered and differentiated. Moreover, the victimization of migrants is an important field in the context of crime and integration. Migrants face an increased risk to become victims of crime, both on their journey to their host country as well as after arrival in the receiving society.

This review is structured as follows: Chapter one maps the research landscape with regard to crime and integration and thereby introduces how crime and integration is discussed within research. Subsequently, chapter two goes more in depth on the wider topics discovered and gives an overview on how exactly those topics are discussed. Chapter three looks more closely on framing interventions and policy objectives in relation to crime and integration. Chapter four then deals with the instruments and tools policy makers have used and use to implement different kind of objectives. Last, chapter five addresses the effectiveness of implemented policies and measures. The review concludes with a summary in chapter six.

7.2 Research on migrants and crime

Issues of crime and deviance in the context of migration and immigrant integration have long been subject to research. Over the past years several disciplines looked at the intersection of the two topics. First and foremost, the topic of immigrant integration is mostly discussed by criminologist scholars. Especially in the criminologist discipline the topic has been researched since several decades. In fact, a significant part of research was done prior to 2011. From a migration research perspective, comparatively, the intersection between the two topics has gained attention rather recently. Particularly well-researched fields to mention here are trafficking in human beings (THB), terrorism and radicalization, as well as research on (perceived) changes and implication in society.

A lot of research is centred around the relationship between immigration and crime rates. The precise research design and specifications vary across the studies. Many research papers use national criminal statistics as a benchmark to gauge the criminality among non-natives. Much research about crime and integration and related topics is done on a national and local level. Generally, a lot of studies often confirm that the “first generation” of immigrants or newly arrived migrants are less often involved in criminal activities in the host country. Research suggests that recently arrived migrants are more eager to integrate and in fact are very consumed by the

integration process and its different challenges itself. It appears that the topic in general and criminal behaviour in any kind of form is more a concern of children of immigrants due to a variety of reasons. Hence, not all research presented in this chapter covers exclusively post-2014 migrants. Since topics and results appeared to be of relevance for the integration of recent migrants they are still considered.

Nonetheless, when looking at the connection of the topics crime and integration research can be broadly structured at looking at it from two different perspectives: migrants as perpetrators and migrants as victims of crime. The topic around victims of crime respectively puts a strong emphasize on victims of trafficking, exploitation and forced labour. Other relevant topics that have emerged in this regard include hate crime and violence towards and among refugees and asylum seekers in reception centres. When looking at migrants as perpetrators topics such as the potential “import” of crime in general together with inflows of migration waves is questioned and analysed in depth. Furthermore, youth delinquency and the likelihood of youth becoming engaged in criminal activities is quite widely discussed in many research papers. This is frequently seen in the relation to a possible radicalisation of youth to extremist ideologies. The question if radicalisation is a question of “import” or rather developed nationally after arrival in Europe is one that is particularly misperceived by the wider public. Lastly, the fear of migrants and general safety and security concerns arise when talking about crime and integration.

7.3 Integration situation in relation to crime

(1) Migrants as perpetrators

As previously mentioned one of the most frequently researched question of the immigration-crime nexus is: **are immigration and crime related** (Atanisev, Haverkamp, and Kunkel 2019; Boateng, Pryce, and Chenane 2021; Baier 2015; Bannenberg 2003; Chavez 2017; Feltes, List, and Bertamini 2018; Grafl 2018; Owens et al. 2019; Solivetti 2013; Walburg 2021)? The scientific debate on the linkages and relationship is complicated by the lack of systematic data on specific immigrant variables and violence or criminality, both nationally and internationally. On the EU level data on criminal offenders or detained people records at most the citizenship (UNODC 2022; “Database - Crime and Criminal Justice - Eurostat” n.d.). The disaggregation of national police crime statistics varies across countries: In Sweden, for example, the police did not collect information on ethnicity, religion or race (of either perpetrator and victims of crime) for a long time and only after years of pressure included this kind of data in 2015. Nonetheless, it does record the involvement of asylum seekers in criminal activities –independent of the immigrant’s role in these activities (e.g. perpetrator or witness or victim). For a three months’ period, between November 2015 and January 2016, the Swedish police endeavoured to estimate the scope of newly arrived refugees engagement in crime and concluded that only 1% of all filed reports were recorded with asylum seekers being involved as victims, perpetrators or witnesses (Fariss and Eck 2017). In Germany, the recording of

police statistics is a federal matter and thus statistical differences may even arise within the country and different levels of data are not always comparable (Groß 2019). In the UK, data is observed on foreign-born nationals (Bell and Machin 2013). In addition, whenever statistics on the nationality, ethnicity, or foreign-born people are recorded, conclusions on newly arrived migrants cannot be drawn. Rather, analyses are conducted on second or third generation immigrants or people with migrant backgrounds and even comparisons between native and non-native populations can be misleading for various reasons. Because of this limitation in data, figures have to be interpreted more cautiously.

Although some authors suggest an overrepresentation of immigrant groups in crime statistics (Baier 2020; Brå 2021; Klement 2020; Pilgram, Fuchs, and Leonhardmair 2012), it is important to look at the wider context of how this overrepresentation could be explained. In this regard, several factors have been identified: Some types of crimes can by definition only be committed by immigrants, i.e. offences against national alien- and asylum acts, or are quite particular foreigner-specific offences, such as the forgery of documents, which is frequently related to the irregular entry and residence status (Bannenberg 2003). In addition, the ratio of crimes committed by men compared to the ratio of crimes committed by women is 4:1; looking at violent crimes the ratio is even 7:1. Conclusively, research found that it is adolescents and young men, who are most exposed to crime. With regards to sociodemographic characteristics and composition of post-2014 migrants in Europe, more migrants are young men and hence, appear significantly more often in crime statistics than women. Thus, the increased proportion of crime engagement of young migrants can be explained criminologically (Bannenberg 2003; Feltes, List, and Bertamini 2018). Moreover, the general social structure in which migrants find themselves is often more vulnerable compared to local populations. Factors that are associated with criminality are often a prevailing feature in the social structure of migrants. They live more often in large cities, where crime rates are generally higher, belong more often to lower income and lower educational classes, and are more often affected by unemployment, thus increasing the overall criminal risk (Bannenberg 2003; Beckley, Kardell, and Sarnecki 2017). Further, research suggests that the “migrant group” is too heterogeneous to draw general conclusions. This is particularly striking among adolescence, where, for example, unaccompanied minors are considerably different to young adults or young migrants of second or third generation (Dessecker and Rettenberger 2021).

Many migrants also find themselves in a more vulnerable position and a higher likelihood to engage in criminal activities. First of all, research finds that the age – especially the age one had on the migratory journey – is a crucial factor in the likelihood of criminal engagement. Criminal involvement at a more mature age is rather rare (Dessecker and Rettenberger 2021). The lack of future perspectives and missing or precarious everyday structures in the life of (young) migrants foster the development of ethnically defined subcultures and crime-affiliated environments (Kuschej 2021). Moreover, high unemployment rates, low or no educational qualifications and low income rates are pivotal predictors in explaining the increased likelihood of migrants’ engagement in criminal activities or of having ever been suspected of criminal offences (Bovenkerk and Fokkema

2016; Kuschej 2021; Solivetti 2013). Particularly asylum-seekers are vulnerable to petty crime or small-scaled crime due to long waiting periods until claims are processed and the inability to pursue any employment during this time (Grafl 2018; Haverkamp 2016). Next to educational attainment and economic (in)activity plays social capital another crucial role in migrants’ chances of integration and therefore their likelihood of their (potential) engagement in criminal activities (Solivetti 2013). Even more, integration was mentioned as central factor in crime prevention (Grafl 2018) and a failed integration (system), the feeling of exclusion and discrimination creates a stress response which can manifest itself in criminal behaviour (Beckley, Kardell, and Sarnecki 2017; Chavez 2017).

The public discourse experienced in the past repeatedly a shift of interest towards **youth crime and juvenile delinquency**. However, discussion as well as literature on first generation immigrant youth in relation to crime is rather scarce. It is suggested, that youth criminality is more frequently a phenomenon that is observed for children of immigrants or even 3rd generation immigrants (i.e. “not-the-foreign-born-but-their-children“-perspective (Walburg 2014)). However, it appears that arguments from the literature are still relevant in the wider context of integration. Evidence from Sweden revealed that discussions are less about who is more inclined to criminal behaviour but rather about the engagement in different types of crime and how this is reflected by the different phases of migrant’s life cycles (Kardell and Martens 2013). Different researchers pointed out the role of parents and the family system in adolescence being involved or becoming involved in crime (Bannenberg 2003; Uysal, Stemmler, and Weiss 2019; Pfeiffer, Baier, and Kliem 2018; Salmi, Kivivuori, and Aaltonen 2015; Walburg 2014). Experiences in the family home influence the attitude that children and adolescents form towards social norms. In addition to the parental home, other areas of the social environment are relevant for the formation of their own social norms. From a criminological point of view, a lack of parental authority can lead youth to steering increasingly towards delinquent peer groups, where they adapt delinquent behaviour and the respective norms. Also experiences of violence in childhood and adolescence increase the likelihood of young people becoming delinquent (Pfeiffer, Baier, and Kliem 2018; Walburg 2014). As a consequence, research concludes that from a crime prevention perspective polices should be shifted to support immigrant families to prevent deviant behaviour (Salmi, Kivivuori, and Aaltonen 2015).

Delinquent behaviour of migrant youth is often portrayed as consequence of an inner cultural conflict, between two what is assumed to be contrary but static and homogeneous cultures, that arises during the integration process. It is said that this conflict leads migrant youth to a loss and search of identity and thus a lack of norms and values. Research expands this thought on the circumstances of youth delinquency by arguing that there is also an outer cultural conflict in which delinquency is primarily a consequence of the lack of integrative processes of the youth. According to the view point of the outer cultural conflict, delinquency among migrant adolescence is the result of insufficient cultural adaptation to their host society. This argument is commonly quite accepted in the wider public, as it allows to “outsource” the topic to something that is part of migrants’ characteristic and that has been “brought” with them to their respective host society. However, criminal involvement is something which is not primarily or solely related to ethnic-cultural

diversity. In all of this, experiences of social disadvantage and discrimination must also be taken into account. Various research have shown that the acceptance of norms that legitimise violence and violent delinquency is closely linked to (perceived) experiences of discrimination and the socio-economic situation (Uysal, Stemmler, and Weiss 2019; Walburg 2014). Lastly, it should not be neglected that the group of young refugees is exposed to higher stress factors, which can lead to delinquent behaviour (Fischer et al. 2017).

Overall, it has not yet been adequately researched which effects migration-specific factors have on the development of delinquent norms (Walburg 2014). According to research findings, promoting the participation of young immigrants and adolescence from migrant families in education, as well as the access to and incorporation of immigrant youth into structured leisure time activities is an essential key factor in reducing delinquency risks. The better their integration into the education system succeeds and the better they are integrated into daytime activities, the more violent behaviour loses its attractiveness (Salmi, Kivivuori, and Aaltonen 2015; Walburg 2014).

The perspective of increased marginalisation brings several aspects into focus: the acceptance (and potential adaptation) of violence is primarily the result of socially underprivileged migrants. The lack of opportunities to earn money, which are due to various conditions, pushes them into some grey zones- such as the distribution of illegal substances. The so-called “**street culture**”, for example, is a response to this marginalisation process. Research suggests that **drug dealing**, as part of practical rationality of the street life culture, allows migrants to feel increasingly as actors of their own life, rather than victims of a marginalisation process. However, the engagement in street life and drug dealing further accelerate this exact marginalisation process and reinforces economic and social exclusion (Sandberg 2008).

Of great relevance when examining the topic of crime and migrant’s integration is also **clan- and family-based crime**. Practitioners active in the crime (prevention) field often face a two-sided problem where the first relates to preventing active members from committing (more) crime, and the second relates to keeping criminal families from “acting as incubators for new criminals” (Hochschule für Polizei und öffentliche Verwaltung NRW 2018). Research even suggests, that each new generation in families with members with delinquent behaviour is at risk of “inheriting” the previous generation’s criminal behaviour”(EUCPN 2020). Still, clan- and family-based crime is primarily focused on migrants with a longer migration history or children of migrant descendants rather than newly arrived migrants. The concept of clan is primarily understood in ethnic terms, translating into clans who are, for example, of Arabic-, Turkish-, or Chechen-descended or groupings from the Western Balkans. In recent years, persons of Turkish-Arab origin, who belonged to the Mhallamiye ethnic group, have especially come to the centre of attention (Generalstaatsanwaltschaft Celle and Landeskriminalamt Niedersachsen 2021). There, the distribution can be traced back to civil war refugees from Lebanon with a chain of temporary suspensions of deportation, as well as the family reunification associated with that time. Research

shows a more current development of family based crime by some refugees from Syria. However, there is yet no (academic) literature on this phenomenon (Deutsche Welle (DW) 2019).

Especially since 2015 has the involvement of immigrants in terrorist attacks sparked concern about (possible) **radicalization among refugees and asylum seekers**. In most of the cases, concerns were associated with violent extremists using migration flows to get into Europe. Research showed that refugees have indeed been involved in extremist attacks. However, despite refugees and asylum seekers in some instances, it is emphasized that the vast majority of terrorist attacks in Europe since 2015 were conducted by domestic cells. Conclusively, a “jihadist infiltration of migration flows” is comparatively small and should not be the principal reference point in approaching this complex topic. Despite limited data available on asylum seekers and refugees potential development of tendencies for radicalisation after their settlement in Europe, concerns were increasingly raised on possible radicalisation after arrival in Europe on the grounds of Syrian refugee diaspora becoming progressively more vulnerable to radicalisation and particularly targeted by Islamic recruiters (Abushi and Nordbruch 2020). There are several factors increasing refugees’ vulnerabilities to radicalisation: as such, living conditions prior and after the migration experience as well as their legal and social status as asylum seekers and refugees in the host country impact their vulnerabilities to radicalisation and violent extremist ideologies greatly. Insecurities about one’s residence status and the inability to develop long-term perspectives might encourage a retreat to radical ideologies.

Further, this is also linked to public perceptions in which all refugees and asylum seekers are frequently equated with “Muslims” as a whole, while even though most asylum seekers who arrived in Europe between 2015 and 2019 are in fact from Muslim countries their personal situation in their home countries, their cases to leave from there, and their religious understanding differ greatly. Social marginalisation might lead to seeking alternative social structures. Equally, experiences of discrimination and hostility in public life leave refugees and asylum seekers more vulnerable to extremist narratives (Abushi and Nordbruch 2020; Rubin 2021). The possibility of refugee radicalisation is different for every refugee (population) (Eleftheriadou 2020).

However, at the same time research found that the probability of newly arrived refugees being radicalized in (Western) Europe is rather low. Schmid (2016) emphasized that rather than recently-arrived migrants, it is the following generation(s) that become more vulnerable to radicalization: “If they are not fully integrated in host societies, they might develop resentment and with some that anger might become so strong that they – or more likely, their children – turn against the host society. That has been one of the reasons why so many of the foreign fighters from Europe were the sons of immigrants” (Schmid 2016, 45). Radicalisation processes can be observed above all in the difficult phases of adolescence. Further research has noted that many of the “classical” radicalisation models are based on second generation economic migrants, which are inherently different to refugees. It is emphasized that thus not only usual radicalisation drivers, such as personal and collective grievance, are important factors to consider, but also issues that were pointed out by other authors (Abushi and Nordbruch 2020), such as circumstances prior and after

the migration experience, the cause of flight or prior political affiliation (Eleftheriadou 2020). In general, the radicalisation process rather happens domestically than beliefs are being “imported” into Western societies (Rubin 2021). In addition, the host state's will and capacity to address refugees' needs also plays an important role and early stage policies predetermine possible future radicalisation to a great amount (Eleftheriadou 2020).

Experts from the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) identified several groups which are at heightened risk for extremist ideologies due to their experiences of their flight and diaspora: (a) rejected asylum seekers, (b) refugees and asylum seekers with mental health issues, (c) unaccompanied minors and (d) unaccompanied minors turning 18+ (Abushi and Nordbruch 2020). Schmid (2016) concludes that the vast majority of migrants are not involved in terrorism in any way.

(2) Migrants as victims

While most studies are perpetrator centred and there is a lot of literature on right-wing radicalism and extremism and xenophobic violence, there is comparatively few empirical findings on victims; in general, the studies pay little attention to the victim perspective. However, looking at the intersection of integration and crime allows to look at migrants as perpetrators (see previous sections), but also as victims of criminal offenses. Overall, it is apparent that refugees themselves are at high risk of becoming victims of crime.

Although there is limited evidence, certain circumstances suggest an increased risk of victimisation for non-natives or persons perceived as non-natives. The consequences of victimisation for socially marginalised victims are particularly burdensome due to their difficult economic and social situation. Research suggests that victims' willingness to report is considerably limited when language insecurities, bad experiences with the police in the home country and insecurity or even fear of the authorities are weighed against reporting (Bannenberg 2003; FRA 2014; Leerkes, Martinez, and Groeneveld 2019; Feltes et al. 2018; Papadakaki et al. 2021; Willems 2020). In the case of an irregular residence status, fear of personal consequences leads to refraining from pressing charges (Bannenberg 2003). This again leads to one of the central problems in the recording and evaluation of registered crime and the associated victimisation: the willingness to report. Since only reported cases are documented in the police crime statistics and those statistics have only limited significance for the actual victimisation of refugees (Feltes et al. 2018; Willems 2020). Hence, it is recommended to delink the two components of prosecutions of violence and immigration control: investigation and prosecution of violence against migrants should take precedence over the proceedings related to the immigration status of victims. Concerning this matter academics, international institutions and NGOs brought forward the concept of the “firewalls”, which aims for a separation between the provision of public services (i.e. health, education etc.) and immigration enforcement activities. Firewalls strive for the provision of effective access to entitlements, rights and protection. In particular, they are designed to warrant the inability of authorities to access information concerning the immigration status of individuals who are in need of assistance or

services (i.e. schooling, medical facilities, social service institutions). By the introduction and implementation of firewalls, institutions are not obliged to inquire or even share information about individual's migration status. Therefore, spheres of social service provisions are protected against the identification, documentation or reporting on immigration status of their respective clients and hence, migrants can feel more safe in accessing, approaching and using services without fear on consequences of their (irregular) migratory status (Crépeau and Hastie 2015; Van Durme 2017).

An increase in immigration may be associated with an increase in the fear of crime, which in turn is positively related to natives' negative sentiment toward migrants. However, a general increase in immigration does not affect crime victimisation (Nunziata 2015) per se, but events in particular, such as terrorist acts, can cause spikes in racially motivated crimes in EU countries (Nwabuzo 2019). Not only extremist acts but also other key happenings can lead to an increase in racially motivated crimes. Piatkowska et al. (2020) showed in their research that before 2014, when there was an average immigration influx, there was no impact of the immigration rate on hate crime rates. According to the authors that, however, changed with the so-called refugee crisis in 2015, which triggered amplified threat perceptions.

A few more detailed topics which emerged to be larger research areas with view to the victimisation of migrants are highlighted in the following.

A topic trafficking in human beings (THB) and forced labour or marriage is no new phenomenon in migration research. In fact, the topic has been well studied during the past few decades. Trafficking of human beings is internationally recognised as serious violation of human rights, as well as a manifestation of social injustice. Research argues that there is a link between migration and criminal forms of exploitation such as human trafficking or forced labour (David, Bryant, and Joudo Larsen 2019). Oftentimes THB is seen in connection with (transnational) organised crime. The recruitment of the victims of trafficking is carried out in the country of origin of the victim. Deception, false promises of employment and good working conditions, sometimes also free housing and good salaries are the most common means through which vulnerable people become victims of trafficking. Once the victims arrive in the country of destination they are forced to prostitution or other hard work with very little or no salary. Through threats very different kind victims are made highly dependent on their traffickers. Research also revealed that THB victims are additionally forced to engage in a range of other criminal activities, such as begging, property crimes, pick pocketing, benefit fraud or drug selling. As a result, victims of trafficking who were exploited for the engagement in additional criminal activities are often convicted for the offences they were conducting under coercion (Europol 2016).

Hate crimes can be understood as so-called "message crimes", in which a criminal offence or violent act is not merely directed against an individual, but is to be understood as a hate message against a specific group (Bannenberg 2003). Measuring hate crime as such is somewhat a challenge, as the crime becomes a "hate crime" only when discrimination was the underlying motive of the

commitment of the crime (Birch et al. 2020). Especially in the wake of the large influx of refugees in 2014 and 2015 the topic of hate crime against migrants became more widely discussed. Research showed that not simply the size of asylum seeker inflows causes an increase of incidents of hate crime, but rather the fast compositional change of the residential native population. Similarly to economically deprived regions, residential areas with previously low numbers of foreign-born population show the strongest rise in hate crime. Quite to the contrary and on a more general note, authors concluded that the higher the number of foreigners already residing in a certain region or district the lower the number of hate crimes. Conclusively, there is no homogeneous link between the number of asylum seekers and hate crime and in fact it is not the number of asylum seekers that translate into a higher number of attacks, but where those asylum seekers are located (Entorf and Lange 2019; Wagner et al. 2020; Willems 2020).

Protests and assaults on refugee homes and asylum seekers have been largely pushed into the background in the public discourse despite the fact that there are quite a number of criminal offences involving insults, (physical) harm, arson and other attacks against refugees or refugee shelters (Haverkamp 2017). Refugees are increasingly becoming victims of right-wing extremist violence. Research in Germany showed, that the violence against refugees remained high even after its sharp increase in 2015 (Fischer et al. 2017). The attitudes and narratives of right-wing extremists become more visible and are more frequently expressed in violent actions (Abushi and Nordbruch 2020). Authors even found that social media does in this relation not only function as a powerful tool to propagate and spread violent messages, but also motivates real-life action(s). Hence, for the case of Germany, it is suggested that there is a link between social media online posts and anti-refugee incidents (Müller and Schwarz 2021).

Next to attacks on refugee homes and shelters violence among refugees is also not uncommon: Christ et al. (2021) identified systemic and structural causes for the emergence of conflicts in shelters and the associated processes of victimisation, such as differences in procedural processes and thus also access to integration opportunities. Due to the different status(es) associated with the perspective of being able to stay in a particular host country, a hierarchy often develops in the accommodation facilities, which the less privileged experience negatively. This hierarchy often corresponds to existing prejudices or racist attitudes towards other nationalities, cultural or religious groups (Feltes, List, and Bertamini 2018). In addition, it can be intensified and discharged in everyday problems of a shared accommodation, such as the distribution of food or other commodities. Another fact that can lead to conflicts and subsequently to violent crime is living together with foreign people from other cultures in a confined space (Feltes et al. 2021). The size of the accommodation, the spatial confinement, the heterogeneous composition of the residents as well as the lack of retreat possibilities for the individuals themselves can contribute significantly to the escalation of conflicts (Fischer et al. 2017; Willems 2020). In addition to the experience of violence during the flight, there may also be psychological stresses such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or post-migration stressors such as fears for the future or worries about relatives remaining in the country of origin, which in some cases reduce the ability to deal with conflict.

The protection of particularly vulnerable groups is frequently not sufficiently taken care of in many places. Women and LGBTI people do not experience gender segregation in many German shelters (Willems 2020). Infrastructural deficiencies, such as showers and toilets that cannot be locked, facilitate opportunities to commit crimes, which make single women in particular more frequent targets of sexual harassment. However, refugee women do not only experience psychological, physical and sexual assaults in shelters, but also in public spaces as well as offices or authorities (Feltès et al. 2018).

An increase in immigration is more likely to be associated with an increase in the fear of crime rather than an affecting crime victimisation. Research found that fear of crime and crime perception is (positively) related to natives' negative sentiments towards immigrants. Natives observe that in areas where immigrants are more prevalent crime rates are also higher and jump to the most obvious conclusion – namely that immigrants strongly tend to criminal behaviour – but they are neglecting other factors: evidence from victimisation data (Nunziata 2015). Incisive events, such as the Christmas market attack in Berlin in 2016, affect mostly people with an already right-wing political attitude (negatively) compared to opinions of the general public. Only as time progresses the spill-over effect (in form of) worsening attitudes towards immigrants and refugees in particular can also be observed in the general population (Nägel and Lutter 2020). Furthermore, research shows no significant relationship between fear of crime and the incidents of crime (as in reported crime). Even more so, there is a negative correlation between community diversity and anti-immigrant attitudes (Hooghe and de Vroome 2016).

The uncertainty in the course of migration processes is not an unusual phenomenon, but a normal reaction of natives with and without a migration background to the unknown. The way this subjective uncertainty is dealt with varies, ranging from friendly reception to massive rejection of immigrants. Hereby, among others, the urban design of migrant neighbourhoods plays an important role in how migrants feel (e.g. missing places to gather and limited space to hang out (for the youth)) (Atanisev, Haverkamp, and Kunkel 2021). The settlement of migrant communities promotes a transformation of the community as a whole and restructuring communities as a whole is often seen as problematic (Birch et al. 2020). For the German example, due to discrimination in the search for housing migrants concentrate on housing where socially disadvantaged Germans (have to) take up residence due to their unavailability of financial means. Thus, migrants frequently live in neighbourhoods with comparatively high proportions of unemployed and welfare recipients, resulting in a high correlation of welfare recipients, unemployment rates and migrants (Kutscher 2020). On a more general note, research suggested that people living in more urban areas are more used to a general level of crime and disorder and thus their feeling of safety is not as strongly affected if there is an increase in migration. This is contrary to people living in rather rural areas, where even a small number of criminal acts is possibly perceived as impacting the daily life of and within communities (Hooghe and de Vroome 2016).

7.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives

One of the framing issues problematized in wider public and policy debates is the discussion on the migration and security narrative. Among others, this also includes considerations on fear and concerns among the host society of the “foreigner” and on migrants increasingly “importing” crime and terrorism into host societies. (Media-driven) Moral panic, especially after incidents such as New Year’s Eve in Cologne 2015, the Christmas market attack in Berlin, or the terrorist attacks in Paris or Brussels, lead to concerns not only expressed by the public, but also by policy makers. Throughout Europe migration policies have found to be subject to a criminalization trend. As negative attitudes with regards to migrants became more and more present in the public and political discourse stricter responses to (mostly irregular) migratory matters have been adopted. Scholars came to call such convergences between criminal law or crime control and immigration law or immigration control also “crimmigration”, a term which was first introduced by Juliet Stumpf in 2006. Research suggests that the media plays an important role in the framing of migrants as criminal and deviant. Thereby, it shapes public views and justifies the adoption of criminal justice responses to (mainly undocumented) migration. Crimmigration scholars argue that the construction by the media of certain immigrant groups as criminals serves to legitimize the development of crimmigration legislation. In fact, crimmigration laws are the outcome of (inter-)connected discursive processes in which immigrants are constructed as a social threat and which ultimately rests on reinforcing interactions between the media, public and political discourses.

Mass media is assigned an essential position in these processes due to the labelling and attribution of certain qualities to individuals and groups and inferring causes and meaning. However, despite the common notion that the media discourse fuels policy making, authors discovered that in the Netherlands the framing of migrants appears to be a very discursive process in which the media does not precede or fuel but rather follow politics and policy (Althoff 2020; Jelmer Brouwer, van der Woude, and van der Leun 2017).

In Europe, the criminalization of the immigration discourse causes the relegation of crime prevention objectives to a secondary position in the management of foreign penal regulations. Mainly the policing field is affected by this shift in perspective towards an instrumentalisation of crimmigration policies. With the Schengen principle of free movement within the EU, states sought other ways to control “unwanted mobility”, primarily carried out by police forces and incorporating various crime-fighting activities. Next to the instrumentalisation of administrative coercion of petty criminals, France engages also in cross national police alliances to identify non-nationals. Nonetheless, police controls are not encountered in the same way by everyone: research from the Netherlands shows that people who are possibly deemed to be a higher risk experience an increased control mechanism and their identities being questioned, which in turn results in a process of “social sorting”. Especially in dealing with petty criminal activities committed by non-nationals, policing agencies are gradually prioritizing the utilization of immigration law measures rather than mobilizing crime prevention procedures.

Following this, expulsion is in the political debate increasingly seen as a crime-fighting option. An example for this development is seen in Germany, when after the events on New Year’s Eve 2015, it was announced that criminal law would be tightened with sexual harassment being a new addition. However, the most noticeable changes in the legislation took place in the Aliens Act: the expulsion of foreigners with a criminal record would be simplified and the grounds on which asylum seekers could be excluded from refugee status would be broadened – thus effectively resulting in an amendment of the right of residence in 2016, which was preceded by the proposal to include sexual assault and harassment as a reason for expulsion under the laws on the right of residence (Althoff 2020; José A Brandariz 2021; José A. Brandariz 2021; J. Brouwer 2020; Vrăbiescu 2021).

Other than policing tactics that mainly focus on petty crime, counter-terrorism strategies evolved to be a significant policy response. Anti-terrorism interventions and pre-crime strategies targeting non-citizens, especially aiming at curbing religiously inspired terrorism, i.e. jihadist movements, have increasingly established to target incidents before they reach any violent phase itself. The field of counter-terrorism in the UK experiences virtually a competition between policies aiming at “preventing” and policies aiming at “countering extremism”. This results in a policy spiral of the two policy approaches and makes the agenda even more challenging to understand and delineate in which two policy approaches go back and forth and thereby produce several unresolved challenges (Brandariz 2021; Walker 2017). Nonetheless, also in relation to counter-terrorism efforts, literature observes a practical and de facto upsurge of deportation practices – at least in the UK (Brandariz 2021).

The criminality of immigrants presents not only an immediate aspect of migrants’ integration, but also a trend reversal: the point at which the hospitality of the host society is transformed into hostility towards the immigrants. An example for this is seen in Germany where the events at Cologne station on New Year’s Eve 2015 reframed the previously announced “welcome culture” to a debate of terror-related concerns and towards anxieties (Solivetti 2013; Wigger, Yendell, and Herbert 2021). This gives rise to a xenophobic and hostile environment in which the picture of migrants as perpetrators can easily be shifted and they become victims of crime – the second, but less prominent, framing issues problematized.

7.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

related to crime and integration

The policy objectives, tools and instruments outlined in the subsequent section are not meant to provide an exhaustive overview of all existing policies across European countries. Rather, the instruments mentioned here display *examples* of measures in different European countries, highlighting the types of measures taken to counter the various issues problematized in wider public and policy debates.

(1) Regulatory: Prosecution

There are national (criminal) laws, national penal codes/penology, by which means the specifics of domestic prosecutions of immigrants, who have engaged in criminal activities, are regulated. However, a general regulatory policy tool that is applied across European countries is the loss of the legal right to stay and associated with this, the expulsion or, in some cases, deportation. Further detailed consequences in this regard are often country-specific: whereas in Belgium the commitment of a crime (and the thereof resulting conviction) causes immigrants to lose the right for residency (UNHCR n.d.; Belgische Kamer van volksvertegenwoordigers 2018), the commitment of a crime in Germany can mean for the immigrant not only that the right for a settlement permit does no longer exist, but also that naturalization at any point in time is no longer possible (Deutscher Bundestag 2015). Many European countries do not segregate foreign national inmates in their regular prison system. There might be a detention centre to detain foreign nationals who await deportation or whose application for asylum is yet to be processed. Norway, the UK and the Netherlands form an exception here by being the only Western European countries that run regular prisons entirely reserved for foreign nationals. Yet, in this regard, too, literature arrives at the same conclusion: crimmigration becomes a key site in Western European prisons and imprisonment is often only the precursor to deportation (Di Molfetta and Brouwer 2020; Franko 2020; Mulgrew 2017; Pakes and Holt 2017).

Some migrants are labelled as “undesirable but unreturnable” (UBU). These are migrants who, because of allegedly involving in (serious) criminal activities, are unwanted but due to legal or practical reasons (i.e. among others the principle of non-refoulement, because of non-cooperation of country of origin or because of a lack of travel documents) are unreturnable. Germany, Norway, the UK and Denmark, for example, respond to this by temporarily granting the “undesirable but unreturnable” migrant a right to stay: either by existing schemes (*toleration status* [Duldung] in Germany) or by providing tailored schemes (e.g. Denmark, the UK and Norway). Other states may provide some form of a right to stay but with serious restrictions attached, such as the possibilities of home detention or electronic monitoring (e.g. France). The Netherlands and Belgium, for example, do not provide any temporary residence permit or leave to remain. This means that UBUs are regarded as irregular (undocumented) migrants and thus, are not allowed to work, do not have health insurance and are not able to rent accommodation. Indefinite detention is not allowed in European states and therefore no legal option (Cantor et al. 2016).

Traditional purposes of punishment have been surpassed by the objective of greater border controls. Many states increasingly use penal power as both, a mechanism for punishment as well as for deterrence to make oneself less attractive to “unwanted migrants”. Subsequently, contemporary penal institutions, in addition to their other tasks, control mobility by three main modalities of penal power: criminalisation, policing, and imprisonment or deportation respectively (Franko 2020).

Usually, these regulatory policy tools do not refer to post-2014 migrants exclusively, but rather to “non-nationals” in general.

(2) Prevention

Research focuses a lot and has emphasized several aspects in relation to crime prevention: the importance of social cohesion and family relations, education and a prospective integration into the labour market (Feldes et al. 2018; Grafl 2018; Haverkamp 2016). Prevention programs are tackling and aiming at different topics and angles. One of the in the literature widely discussed one is the radicalisation to terrorism and violent extremism.

Migrants are often more vulnerable to thoughts of (religious) extremism, in particular younger people with a history of poor school performance and a possible criminal record (i.e. ranging from petty crimes to more serious offenses). In addition, prisons and detention centres are often described as “massive incubators for radicalisation”. To counter these threats, the Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN)²² was set up in 2011 by the European Commission. RAN is an EU-wide network which aims at connection first-line practitioners and local actors working on different topics of (de-)radicalization and prevention of violent extremism in all of its forms. In addition, the RAN Centre of Excellence (CoE) serves as a hub for connecting, developing and disseminating expertise and fosters an inclusive dialogue between practitioners, policy-makers and academics.

On a more national level, multiple European countries – for example, Belgium Germany, Italy, Spain, and the UK – have put in place mechanism to prevent radicalisation and violent extremism (Ben Brahim and Rogoz 2020). In Austria, for example, DERAD²³ is a NGO commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Justice to particularly provides support for prisoners in the field of extremism prevention, as well as for the aftercare of persons convicted of extremism. The NGO explicitly deals with religiously based political extremism in all its forms (Hofinger and Schmidinger 2017). In Belgium working groups which specialize on further subtopics (i.e. radicalisation online, on the radio, television, right- and left-wing extremism, including Salafism) have been created. In addition, a control for visa applicants by imams from outside the EU is planned. The 2017 Policy Note points out that only imams officially recognised and working in official mosques will be eligible for a visa (Ben Brahim and Rogoz 2020).

Programs do not only address the prevention of radicalisation and violent extremism but also people who want to end their involvement in Islamism and want to leave certain violent groups. In Germany, for example, the Hayat programme²⁴ is an initiative where various projects in the field of interventions against extremist Islamism are developed (Koehler 2013). It particularly aims at

²² https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/networks/radicalisation-awareness-network-ran_de

²³ <http://derad.at/>

²⁴ <https://www.hayat-deutschland.de/>

facilitating the exit from Islamism. Similarly, the API programme²⁵ (“Aussteiger Programm Islamismus”) supports and guides people who are willing to leave their Islamist environment and enables them to make a safe and sustainable exit from the scene.

Moreover, over preventative measures which are not directly or necessarily related to de-radicalisation, violent extremism and Islamism are for example general crime prevention programs. In Germany, programs such as “Kurve kriegen²⁶”, “Klarkommen!²⁷” “Brothers²⁸” are particularly crime prevention programmes for adolescence.

Informational / communication-based

There are several awareness-raising campaigns on various topics to either prevent someone from *becoming a victim* of crime or further *assist victims* of crime (e.g. campaigns on forced marriage or transnational organised crime (TOR)) or to prevent someone from *committing* a crime. Awareness-raising campaigns exist on national level (France, Germany, Netherlands, UK, Sweden etc. (FRA 2014; West Midlands Police 2021)) as well as from international stakeholders (UNODC 2012) etc.

(3) Protection

Similar to prevention programs, the protection of migrants as victims of crime often requires cooperation with the victim. In spite of that, migrants who became victims of a particular crime are frequently reluctant to engage in forms of jurisdiction out of fear about their status, stigmatization, reprisal or community alienation. Moreover, particular attention should be paid to forms of re-victimization of migrants that may occur in the context of criminal justice systems itself (UNODC 2015).

7.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

related to crime and integration

Just like in many other fields, it is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of policy instruments and tools in relation to the integration and crime nexus. Yet, attempts to evaluate the effect of certain policies have been made. As such, crimmigration policies and associated policies have been criticized. The German law on expulsion, for example, is criticized to be leading to the exclusion of those who are in particular need of support (e.g. delinquent minors) from integration into society. It is said as yet another example where criminal law is pushed into the role of an instrument of

²⁵ <https://www.api.nrw.de/>

²⁶ <https://www.kurvekriegen.nrw.de/>

²⁷ <https://www.klarkommen.nrw.de/>

²⁸ <http://brothers-bonveno.de/>

control within the wider framework of migratory laws (Hörich and Bergmann 2016). The boundaries of crimmigration practices became increasingly blurred, creating hybrid forms of punishment. Authors argue that current crimmigration practices are imposing and delivering meanings that go well beyond rooted aims of administrative measures. Although traditionally designed with a preventive purpose, administrative measures now lean towards social exclusion and a reaffirmation of the value of citizenship (Di Molfetta and Brouwer 2020).

Foreign national prisoners do not only serve a particular sentence in a “special” penal institution, but they are also waiting to be expelled from their temporary host country (Di Molfetta and Brouwer 2020). With the creation of foreign national prisons deportation has been facilitated and formalised as a state-sanctioned “confinement of differentiation”, i.e. detention that prevents integration with and facilitates exclusion from society. By shifting the focus from usual penal policies and practices on to ensuring efficient returns the concern for reintegration has become inferior to expulsion. Rather than treating immigration and penal processes distinctively, the creating and operation of prisons which focus on removals has enabled a prioritisation of deportation as a politically driven end result over the rehabilitation as regulatory foundation for penal process. However, it is suggested that the view that different circumstances and services are required for a group which “is not going to be re-integrated” is misplaced – also these prisoners have to be re-integrated into a society; even if it is a different one to where they are serving their sentence (Mulgrew 2017). Lastly, empirical research from the past decade proved that harsh punishment like imprisonment is not the best measure to reduce crime (Kury 2018).

Furthermore, the (evaluation of the) effectiveness of preventive measures²⁹ and de-radicalisation programmes has increasingly come to the centre of attention in recent years. Yet, despite the rapidly growing number of programs, both at regional and international level, there is still limited evidence of comprehensive evaluation on their effectiveness and impact assessment regarding policies is scarce. There is limited evidence on what supports a positive change and therefore it is difficult to determine if an intervention is (likely to be) successful (Aiello, Puigvert, and Schubert 2018; CREST 2019; Davy 2016; Kober 2017). A major challenge in preventive programs and measures is the evaluation of an attitudinal change of participants. However, to date indicators measuring the effectiveness and success of initiatives by means of output analysis, merely looking at attitudinal change (i.e. acts of, for example, violence) rather than behavioural change (i.e. fundamental beliefs leading to, for example, violence). The reason for this is related to methodological complexities of measuring attitudes. Another relevant aspect that research mentioned with reference to scarce literature on policy and programme evaluations are that many measures have not been underway long enough to allow an evaluation of particularly long term effects (O’Halloran 2017). Moreover, given the nature of preventive programmes they do not necessarily have a

²⁹ There are many different crime prevention programmes and measures focussing to prevent delinquency of refugees on all kind of different aspects, e.g. crime prevention in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, radicalisation prevention, violence prevention and many more, which are not particularly highlighted in this section.

definite time period and so conceptual and normative questions arise on where the evaluation of measures should begin and end (Kober 2017).

Yet some assessments have been done which, however, not necessarily yield the desired results: Researchers report that the impact of counter-extremism policies reveals a rather negative effect due to the stigmatization of the Muslim community and minority groups. This undesirable consequence can be observed, for example, in increased “stop and search” measures or discriminatory profiling targeting in particular Muslim or migrant communities. It is suggested that this leads to the emergence of the Muslim community as a suspect community. Arbitrary or random policing can subvert the effectiveness of such policies, since people are less likely to assist police (Aiello, Puigvert, and Schubert 2018). In the UK, for example, an evaluative study on de-radicalisation programmes in 2018, commissioned by the Home Office, “reported that 95% of de-radicalisation programmes were ‘ineffective’” (Brader 2020; Hamilton 2018). A broader assessment that looked at de-radicalization experiences in Europe concluded that de-radicalization policies “failed to deliver the expected outcomes of reducing the appeal of terrorism and dealing effectively with prison radicalization and recruitment” (El-Said 2017).

What research concludes is that it is not only about designing prevention programmes for migrants and their offspring exclusively, but rather developing strategies and opportunities that promote integration for all (Atanisev et al. 2021). Research highlights that the noteworthy challenge in reducing violent extremism is lies in finding the right balance between short-term strategies (i.e. frequently repressive measures) and long-term strategies (e.g., trust-building) (Bjørge 2020). To prevent negative outcomes of the policies and their implementation, policies should include the voices of their end-users. Particularly with view to youth it is recommended to open up debate in a respectful environment that is not judgmental but open to various opinions and thereby establishing trustworthy relationships with the people in these spaces (Aiello, Puigvert, and Schubert 2018).

7.7 Conclusion of the chapter findings

Whereas empirical evidence can perhaps point towards a statistical correlation between deviant behaviour of migrants and problems with integration, further research suggests that it is not the migration experience itself but rather the accumulation of individual and socio-structural problems leading to a higher statistical probability of delinquent behaviour among migrants. At the same time, authors describe that disintegration is favoured by stigmatisation and disadvantages. Particularly male youth with a migration background are said to be exposed to many risk factors of violence due to a lack of prospects, limited social abilities, and perceptions of aggressive aspects rooted in a traditional male role that views violence as a legitimate means of resolving conflicts. For refugees, experiences and traumas caused by war in their country of origin and the flight itself, as well as a lack of trust in the state and its institutions, combined with above mentioned factors result in the

need for specific crime prevention for migrants. This said, it needs to be stressed that migration and crime per se are not causally connected.

Hence, the importance of preventive approaches and practical activities are highlighted repetitively. With regard hereto, authors recommend a holistic approach that applies a comprehensive range of mechanisms and measures. It is underlined that this has a higher probability of reducing the issue than relying on a simplistic and narrow set of measures alone. In addition, information sharing among different stakeholders and multi-agency work is seen as an essential aspect to successfully manage complex problems such as, for example, violent extremism. The need for coordinated strategies in the application of the preventive measures and their controlled implementation in practice is continuously emphasized. Further, trust and trust-building activities, secured through involvement, are seen as another possible key in preventive initiatives and thus ultimately to smooth integration. In this respect it is also strongly recommended to have an open communication and dialogue with the individuals at risk, but also with the general public and other people involved (Bjørøgo 2020).

However, what is lacking, is the systematic evaluation of such crime prevention measures. Most attempts of evaluations are project-based reports only and exploit theoretical concepts; a widely accepted multi-faceted and reliable impact assessment as such does currently not exist. Additionally, universally applicable evaluation criteria to measure and evaluate prevention measures do not exist but are urgently required. Authors criticise that even in cases where evaluations have been conducted – which are also frequently project-based approaches – it is not demanded to measure actual effects in terms of crime reduction. In addition to this, clearly defined objectives and comprehensible criteria of most reviewed projects are oftentimes missing. As far as evaluations exist, they are mostly limited to checking boxes aligning with questions such as: ‘how many persons and institutions requested were reached within the scope of the project?’ or ‘how satisfied the stakeholders were with the project’. In most cases, the designation as a crime prevention measure does not even differentiate between non-specific social prevention and specific crime prevention (Bannenber 2003).

Last, a lot of research with regards to crime and integration is done on national and local level. Thus, it is recommended to include different languages for further research in order to gain a more complete picture on national and/or regional initiatives. After all, integration is seen as the most successful prevention, above any particular and specific measure, approach or programme.

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8 Family Relations, Marriage and Children

Marija Grujić

8.1 Introduction

This chapter synthesises research studies and reports on integration and policies on migrant families in Europe in the past ten years (2011-2021). The focus is on post-2014 migrants of different ages, gender, vulnerability and migration status, (e.g., accompanied, unaccompanied and separated children, lone parents, and sexual/gender minorities).

Thematically, it covers various family-relations related topics³⁰, including marriage, spouses/parents, and children. For instance, family reunification/separation, family and marriage migration, and children’s access to education (or its lack, e.g., exclusion/segregation). The chapter is divided as follows.

³⁰ In the context of this chapter, family and family-related is used as synonym to refer to matters covering relations between spouses, parents and children.

Subchapter one introduces the range of the research on migration and integration. This sets up the stage for the literature that discusses specific aspects of family relations, marriage, and children in the countries covered by the review, namely the EU and affiliated states, UK, Norway, and Switzerland. Subchapter two is on the integration situation (inequalities) in relation to the research area in the focus of this chapter as a whole. In this context, norms about family unity and family relations play an important role as they structure the scope of the migration policy (both national and supranational). Also, accentuating the ‘nuclear family’ tends to push forward particular family and gender norms, overlooking the diversity of family relations, and contributing to some families remaining “invisible” (Kleiner and Thielen 2020). Subchapter three is on framing interventions and policy objectives. Subchapter four deals with instruments and tools. Subchapter five addresses the topic of the effectiveness of measures discussed in various initiatives. In conclusion, conceptualising this integration and the sustainability of these integration practices discussed, based on available evidence.

8.2 Research on family relations, marriage and children

The topic of integration of post-2014 migrants and their families is part of social sciences and migration studies’ ongoing debates on family migration, marriage migration, family unification, transnational spousal migration, and parents and children’s integration in education and the broader context of various European societies. An important part of these discussions is the understanding of family unity, which is also the focus of the legal studies, underlining that the right to family life interlinks with how integration is determined (Milius 2018).

The relevance of transnational ties, such as marriages and families, for integration is discussed in the literature dealing with the effects of migration on family life; this review included articles that discuss the topics such as bi-national couples, parenting and well-being. In this context, the issue of intra-EU migration notes a blind spot in the literature on family life and relations among European migrants.

The meta-data from the Migration Research Hub note various tendencies, both in terms of geographies and topics in the literature, on family-related topics.³¹ The “family relations and migration” taxonomy (without any further modification in the searching, e.g. year), on the Migration Research Hub presents 742 results. Geographically, most studies are focused on immigrants from Muslim countries in Europe (in the European context, family reunification and associated EU policies is often highlighted) or Latino immigrants in the United States. In the context of internal migration, Chinese rural-urban migration is prominent. Economic points are often highlighted, particularly the welfare systems of destination countries and the economic contributions of immigrants. Family relations within the migrant family or ties with members, usually children, left behind are also often

³¹ The meta data are gathered during the extensive reference checks conducted by the International Center for Migration Policy Development’s Research Intern Réka Szabó.

the foci of studies. Another common focus is of return migration and the status of the second-generation. Inequalities and their manifestation in the education or health care systems can influence immigrant children and adolescents to a great extent, as argued by the studies focusing on psychological or psycho-social effects and development. Tendencies are similar in the “family and marriage migration” search, but the appearing results are much more: 3397. There are more articles about LGBTQ issues, unaccompanied minors, and the fertility of immigrants.

According to the extensive review of the studies conducted in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, the authors concluded that most of the literature on family migration and integration scrutinises legal changes and policy arguments (Eggebo and Brekke 2019). There has been a change of heart on how its impact is perceived by the policymakers and the broader public, shifting from a rather enthusiastic view of being a “vehicle of integration” to now “failing” (Saskia Bonjour and Kraler 2015a). The latter lacks evidence; however, such representations and beliefs continue to shape political discourses (Saskia Bonjour and Kraler 2015a, 1409–10). In this context, the dominant position of migrants is them being the Other (dominantly identified as “Muslim family”), embodying traditional and patriarchal views. On the other hand, the national Self is identified with European values and belongs to Us. Such views situate how problems are framed, for example, transnational marriage migration is portrayed negatively as a sign of a lack of integration. Moreover, family migration policy encompasses different racialised dichotomies, placing families outside the imagined Us. This legitimises restrictive migration policies contributing to the construction of inequalities, as discussed below in more detail in relation to family migrants (s. Bonjour and de Hart 2013).

Geographically, literature on the EU countries dominates the field, with Germany, the Netherlands, the Nordic countries (e.g., Sweden, Denmark), and the UK as the leading regions. In the literature, integration is often framed as something dominantly relevant to non-European migrants; there is a lack of research on intra-EU migration dynamics. Some scholars address this gap and stress different aspects of familial and social networks’ embeddedness in a local (national) context (Koelet and de Valk 2016; Koelet, Van Mol, and De Valk 2017). This can be seen based on the evidence from the EUMARR survey,³² which focused on European binational couples as “forerunners of the European integration project in comparison to native European citizens”. The EUMAAR survey’s focus in Belgium showed that feelings of social loneliness after migration is not only something reserved for non-European migrants.

The post-2014 migratory movements led to a higher research interest on the situation concerning the integration of refugees and asylum seekers. In this regard, the authors focus on the integration of refugees and asylums seekers and their resettlement, taking both a country-specific and a comparative perspective. A prominent topic is the integration of migrant and refugee children as

³² EUMARR “Toward a European Society: Single Market, Binational Marriages, and Social Group Formation in Europe” was the first survey designed to collect comprehensive data (between 2012–2013) on binational and unination couples in Europe, their lives and lifestyles in eight major European cities, (see Koelet and de Valk 2016)

well as the regulation of their safety and prevention of gender-based violence. Furthermore, psycho-social aspects of belonging and integration situation, such as intimacy and access to health care, among newly arriving migrants or other groups (e.g., undocumented persons) are analysed in sociological and psychological approaches (Næss 2020; Bartolini 2021).

8.3 Integration situation (inequalities) in the context of

family, marriage and children

Integration discourses and the terminology in which policies about family migration, reunification and the right to family life and unity are expressed are significant for understanding inequalities and their practical consequences for migrating families (Kofman, Saharso, and Vacchelli 2015).

Family reunification and integration are relevant for various categories of migrants and their families, and their status (refugee/asylum seekers, labour migrants) plays an important role in policy arguments. The recent scholarship seeks to go beyond simplified views about women as passive or victims, questioning the role of gender norms in the processes of separation and waiting for unification (Saskia Bonjour 2018; Morris 2015; Welfens and Bonjour 2021; Wray 2015). In this context, as described by the authors for Finnish context, time is an important factor, as persons in the process can ‘age out’. Here, they can lose their right to family reunification as it is not acknowledged to be in the best interest of the child and even seen as hampering integration (Tapaninen, Halme-Tuomisaari, and Kankaanpää 2019, 9).

As shown in the comparative study on Polish migrants in Norway, Sweden, and the UK, decisions about family reunification, including migration of partners and children, situate labour market dynamics (e.g., level of its regulation), gendered dynamics, and broader power relations between couples. For instance, migrants’ economic integration is not an equally important factor for family reunification. Less regulated labour markets may support gender equality and assist couples to practice the double-earner family model, as decisions about migration of family members will not be postponed until the leading migrant (in this case, dominantly men) has a secure and permanent job. Paradoxically, migration to protected labour markets (i.e. Norway and Sweden) can, as an outcome, reinforce the traditional male-bread-winner model.

In the context of family migration, socio-economic requirements (e.g., labour market inclusion, language skill, income) have exclusionary functions as those with a weaker labour market position cannot engage in family migration. As noted by Kofman (2018), gender, in particular, contributes to inequality, especially for female sponsors who potentially already experience gender inequality in the labour market regimes, such as the pay gap and caring obligations for children and parents (Kofman 2018).

For instance, countries might justify stricter family migration regulations to prevent forced marriages and improve access to the labour market, which will enhance opportunities for leading an autonomous life. Based on evidence from Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK, research shows that female migrants were drawn at the centre of debates and policies on immigration and integration for specific gendered reasons targeting them as mothers. Namely, they are considered as “reproducers of the next generation”, and this generation should learn to have the cultural capital needed to become “a good (self-sufficient) citizen” (Kofman, Saharso, and Vacchelli 2015, 50).

Furthermore, research on the role of transnational ties in fostering or thwarting migrant women and men’s integration and their children describe integration processes as multifaceted. In this regard, the effectiveness of the tools and instruments in achieving policy goals, as further discussed in section five, relies on consulting migrants as actors of migration without losing sight of gendered inequalities in the context of transnational ties.

The post-2014 arrivals led to an increased focus on the integration of refugees and asylum seekers, especially in the countries of Greece, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Turkey (Androusou and Iakovou 2020; Bunar 2019; Crul et al. 2019). The-post flight settings raise questions of the effects of lengthy procedures and assessments of the needs of vulnerable groups, as well as the scope of mechanisms of protection concerning various sub-categories of migrants, such as same-sex migrant couples and LGBTIQ+ asylum assessments (Mrazova 2019).

Based on the nation-state project and its power to include/exclude (‘visibility’ and ‘in the system’ and ‘invisibility’ as those who have to hide, e.g. rejected asylum seekers), undocumented refugee children can remain socially ‘invisible’ (Wahlström Smith 2018). Drawing on the ethnographic research in Sweden, Wahlström Smith (2018) argues that the socio-political context that requires almost all activities in which children can participate (from school to leisure) leads to anonymity to the local community in the host society. Moreover, it can affect their psycho-social health, and children report “embodied fear”. Their “hiding in plain sight” and need to stay ‘invisible’ is embedded in the Swedish societies’ regimes of ‘visibility’ of power relations. The author argues that children’s access to rights and support resources should not be taken for granted in ‘child-friendly states’ such as Sweden (Wahlström Smith 2018, 14).

8.4 Framing interventions and family-related policy objectives

In the policy discourses on migration and integration, the concept of family or family-related migration policy relates to legal recognition of marriage conceptualisations of ‘family unity’ and its members (e.g., spouses, parents, children). As noted by some authors, assumptions about the connections between “family migration” and “integration” are essential for the development of policies (Saskia Bonjour and Kraler 2015b). For instance, the Council of the European Union adopted the EU Directive 2003/86/EC on the Right to Family Reunification in 2003, which was the first part

of the Community Law about family migration. It states minimum requirements under which third-country nationals are permitted to bring family members in the light of their right to family life. Some Member States recognised the Directive as a policy that could give a legal ground for introducing pre-departure integration measures.

Political debates about family-related integration policy often invoke gender relations and how migrant women and men understand family norms or female employment. These discussions also raise various socio-economic, cultural and welfare concerns. With focusing on migration policy concerning admission policies in regard to, e.g. family migration or reunification, Kofman, Saharso, and Vacchelli (2015, 83) differentiate between three types of interventions: (1) pre-entry tests (language and knowledge of society), (2) minimum age of marriage, and (3) sponsorship criteria. In the pre-entry phase and criteria of admission, there is a stronger focus on female migrants, whereby the post-entry measures target men, as seen in the regulations about domestic violence or forced marriage.

Consequently, when framing problems, women are commonly addressed as someone who requires protection and men as potential threats. Combating forced marriage is commonly intersected with the government's measures of control, particularly immigration, citizenship applications and residence permits. In this regard, many EU countries guarantee the right to return and the right to independent resident permits for the third-country nationals who are forced marriages survivors. The preventive measures are commonly coupled with other actions, such as age requirements for family reunification. However, the age threshold for family reunification varies, and evidence concerning its effectiveness is inconclusive (Europäische Union 2014, 26).

As aforementioned, the EU Directive offered a possibility to adopt a regulation that limits the right to family reunification under a premise that it will support integration and prevent forced marriages. This led to changing the age threshold, even among the countries that did not participate in the Directive (e.g., UK, Denmark, and Ireland). Similar was with the rules concerning the age of both the spouse and sponsor. In 2008, the UK raised the threshold for seeking a visa to settle in the UK as a spouse. However, scholars and activists warn of a 'moral panic' created in the media and by the anti-immigration politicians' populist discourses on forced marriage as a 'social evil' that is linked to migration and specific ethnic and religious belonging. As noted by Patel (2014, 228):

[F]orced marriage has been used to feed into fears and anxieties about immigrant populations and is increasingly used to show that it represents a threat to societal values. The issues have been increasingly woven into prevailing narratives on the failure of multiculturalism, integration and national security.

Policy resources about ethnic minorities' transnational marriages often focus on binary stereotypes about male and female migrants' role in integration. Research on the role of transnational ties in fostering and thwarting migrant women and men's integration and their children show that integration processes are complex and multi-layered. Based on qualitative research findings among Pakistanis in the United Kingdom and Turks in Denmark, it is possible to understand various

dimensions of gendered inequalities among newly arriving migrant men. As the authors note, Muslim migrant husbands face and experience such inequalities when being able to silence their vulnerabilities. This is in contrast to these men’s presumed roles of a “powerful Muslim patriarch” or “coldly strategising economic migrant” that the authors detected in the discourse on transnational marriages in both countries (Charsley and Liversage 2015). They emphasise a need for an intersectional understanding of male marriage migrants’ gendered position as newcomers and Muslims, which impact the negotiation of power relations in the domestic and public sphere.

The post-2014 movement increased populist sentiments, which are not only reserved for one particular European state or only non-European migrant group; still, the Other is commonly associated with non-white Muslim migrants and their family members. For instance, in Germany, the “Law to Fight Child Marriage”, aimed at protecting girls from premature marriage, is currently under revision triggered by the case of a young Syrian refugee couple (husband was 21 and wife 14 at the time) that was, upon arrival, briefly separated from their joint temporary accommodation by the Child Protection Services. The Court withdrew the separation in 2016 as there was no evidence of forced marriage. This case triggered political discussions about post-2014 refugees coming from, for instance, Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan. Policies and discourse portrayed them as the backward Muslim Other, and women from these countries as in need of help, often lacking recognition of women’s emancipation and their religious belonging (Rath 2019).

Linking gendered-based violence with Islam has been already part of debates in the EU, and it is important for what various authors recognise as integration challenges. For instance, discussions about the provision and assistance that Muslim women survivors of domestic violence in Italy require situate well the relevance of integration discourses (Bucci 2012). Namely, populist parties put on the spot Islam-related family and marriage practices, e.g. polygamy, certain concepts of family law, or the role of women, all of which “make it unacceptable to integrate Muslim immigrants into Italian society” (Bucci 2012, 83). Sabbe et.al (2014) argues that forced marriage is intertwined with migration and integration on the one hand and domestic violence on the other. In addition, these are commonly linked to culture, religion and specific minority groups. Furthermore, even though it is a form of gendered-based violence targeting predominantly women, endangering their health and well-being, implemented solutions are mainly of a legal character, emphasising immigration and criminal matters concerning acts of forced migration (Sabbe et al. 2014, 176).

To describe this positioning of the family into the public domain, some authors employ the notion of ‘doing family’, which aims to stress both the state’s regulatory role and the migrant’s approaches – namely, their self-positioning as citizens and parents. This has been elaborated in the analysis of mothering techniques of Filipino and Thai women with migration backgrounds residing in Belgium in the ‘mixed family setting’ (Fresnoza-Flot 2018). Their strategies and self-positioning situate a broader socio-political context and an increase in state control concerning “binational marriages” (matrimonial relations between people of different ethnicities/nationalities).

Literature on transnational parenting has shown that separation negatively affects integration among different groups (e.g. in the Netherlands) (Haagsman, Mazzucato, and Dito 2015). Notably, parents depend on their agency and personal strategies (Vives and Vazquez Silva 2017). Scholarly work on both the Dutch and Danish spatial dispersal policies address issues around refugee integration into host societies while critically questioning inclusion into welfare settings and the impact of the size of the local community (e.g. urban and rural differences on integration) (Larsen 2013; van Liempt and Miellet 2021). In this context, possibilities to establish social ties is vital for integration. Moreover, uncertainties over family reunification as separation from family negatively affect migrants’ sense of feeling at home and their wellbeing (van Liempt and Miellet 2021, 2392).

Moreover, fear and other psycho-social aspects of family-related separation, especially in the encampment and resettlement, tend to be overlooked. Some authors identify various psycho-social issues resulting from family separation with prolonged process unification and waiting for family members. Jinan Bastaki (2019) argues that the refugee law and feminist advocacy still did not adequately consider the definition of “family” in refugee law and its harmful effect on adult refugee women seeking asylum with their families. As the definition tends to be the nuclear family, it results in excluding adult children who reached maturity during the process, which can have two unwanted results for the asylum-seekers – as either they or their families can receive protection, leaving the other in limbo. None of the EU Member States with a high number of asylum seekers permit parents to reunite with children older than 18 years automatically. Only Spain and Norway identify dependency as a category outside the nuclear family (Bastaki 2019, 182). As noted by the author, this allows adult single women seeking asylum with their families to be lawfully separated from their families during and after the asylum procedures. Therefore, separation is ignored in much of the literature, as it emerges as an opposite to a perceived idea about women’s autonomy and the “stereotype that Muslim women must always want to escape their families” (Bastaki 2019, 283).

Some of the integration challenges that authors link to inadequate or dissatisfactory accommodation could be overcome by engaging better policy on alternative housing options that aim to engage host societies families, as already practised in some EU countries.³³ Based on interviews with multi-stakeholders from various family hosting projects (also known as home-sharing and domestic hospitality) in France, it is possible to understand the rationale, contrast advantages, and disadvantages of such solutions for accommodating newly arrived refugees and the effects on future social work practice. The findings confirm that this type of hosting impacts personal capacity (e.g. language skills, mitigation of the cultural knowledge gap, and health improvement) to face integration challenges and external factors (e.g. employment and educational support, and the enhancement of social connections), which aid integration progresses (Ran and Join-Lambert 2020). Nevertheless, the scope of support is also related to hosting families’ capacities, such as their social connections and financial background, aiding access to formal and informal

³³ (Zill, Van Liempt, and Spierings 2021; van Liempt and Miellet 2021); See chapter on Housing for extensive discussion on the topic of accommodation.

education. Furthermore, this type of hosting can also have a negative impact, such as on privacy and experience of independence.

One further integration challenge that requires critical attention is the inclusion of Newly Arrived Migrant Children/Students (NMC or NAMS) in the educational system as well as envisaged support for parents. Despite their rights to equal and high-quality education, as guaranteed by the international resolutions and local regulations, scholars emphasise that there are gaps between the policy intentions and their practical outcomes. This has also been noted in the analysis of the Swedish Language Introduction Programs, which authors understand belonging to what is commonly seen as ‘refugee-only’ schools as legitimising a specific type of ‘inclusion through exclusion’ (Bunar and Juvonen 2021). Namely, such schools develop from ‘transitional classes to schools for newcomers’ due to a broader lack of recognition for children’s individual premigratory resources in this context overseen as there is a tendency of understanding their challenges to access education as ‘deficit’ (Nilsson and Bunar 2016). Instead, the authors call for more support-based inclusion programs that aim to shorten the time children spend in separated programs and thus make a quicker transition into the mainstream program. What is suggested is expanding options for training targeting teachers, such as in-service training and pre-service education in disciplinary literacy (Bunar and Juvonen 2021, 17).

The European Commission report covering main policy approaches notes different factors influencing NMC and NAMS integration into the host society’s formal education, however, most of them are not specific to education (Dumcius et al. 2012, 29). The authors summarise three common ones that parents and children face: access, participation and performance, also underlining a problem of segregation arising due to factors such as 1) residential segregation, 2) native flight or 3) accumulation of migrant students in schools for children with special needs (Dumcius et al. 2012, 30–31). This report records a diverse spectrum of policy measures at school having the following thematic focus: a) linguistic support, b) academic support c) parental involvement, and d) intercultural education and a friendly learning environment. Important takeaways from this study are the following. First, for inclusion, an integrated approach is crucial. Second, having NAMS as a separate target group in education is not a precondition for achieving a solid and inclusive integration policy. Third, to achieve effective implementation, they suggest national monitoring and regular control. For instance, in some countries (e.g., Italy and Sweden), it is up to school management to decide on how regulations are put in place of funds allocated. In 2013, when this report was published, there was still not a significant number of policies aiming to address NMC, which changed in the years to come, namely after 2014, when the number of school-age children arriving with parents or alone rose significantly.³⁴

³⁴ For instance, between 2015 and 2019 Sweden had 100,000 children asylum applicants, which is a significant number for a country of 10, 5 million inhabitants (see Bunar and Juvonen 2021, 2).

The authors of the five countries' (Turkey, Lebanon, Germany, Greece, and Sweden) comparison describe differences among Syrian refugee children, stating that despite EU regulations on including children in obligatory educational system children within three months,³⁵ in practice that is not the case, especially in countries with a high number of refugees, such as Greece and Turkey). Also, what remains the biggest challenge is segregation. Moreover, age differences concerning school admission into compulsory education are not cross-country identical. The status plays an important role for children who are in the asylum procedure. According to available findings, they have 10 to 50% less schooling, and often their study time is shorter than for children in regular school (Crul et al. 2019, 4) For instance, in Greece, to respond to the challenge of having to integrate a high number of refugee children in the aftermath of 2015, the Ministry of Education set up the Reception Facilities for Refugee Education. Similarly, in Turkey, Temporary Education Centres were established, aiming to provide for Syrian children schooling outside and inside the camps.

Framing interventions and policy objectives in the aftermath of 2014 situate a number of already existing integration-related discussions for newly arrived family members concerning family reunification and prevention of forced marriage. Regarding children, the focus is on inclusion in education which is achieved by adjusting existing policy to respond to broader socio-political factors, including the high number of arrivals at this time.

8.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

targeting family, parents and children

To implement family-related policy objectives, states introduce diverse instruments and tools. These include the following type of measures: a) regulatory (based on legislation: laws, regulations, and directives) or command and control; b) economic or market-based (including financial incentives and sanctions, funding, and financial support); c) Informational and communication-based, which involve information campaigns, public statements, events, social media, and videos), and d) participatory. The reviewed literature on family relations, marriage and children mentioned some of these measures, which are summarised in the next paragraphs.

European discourses on the cultural integration or assimilation of migrants impact policies and how the migrants are targeted. In this context, temporality, that is, residing 'here' - the host society and 'there' – the country of origin, is seen through a lens of European time as a norm of what is considered modern and secular. In the research on parenting training policies in the Netherlands, the author notes that they have, as an explicit goal, an 'activation' of groups of parents whom some politicians and policymakers comprehend as 'lagging behind'. The state foresees various campaigns, spanning from sponsored swimming to support accessing the labour market. Therefore, regulatory

³⁵ See, article 14 paragraph 1, European Regulations 2003/9/EG.

policies such as parenting courses aim to 'bring' them – the Other, whose time is labelled as traditional, religious, and backwards - into 'our' (modern, European) space-time. In the author's words: "Distinctions between 'who has arrived in modernity and who has not' legitimate quite far-reaching policy interventions, ranging from ever more stringent migration laws to courses teaching 'modern', 'active citizenship'" (Van den Berg 2016, 23–24). In this context, mothering developed to be one of the key sites of policy interventions and tools of nation-building as their roles as parents extend to supporting the state to create future active citizens: their children. Also, parenting courses function as prevention measures against 'inactive' citizens.

Another example of regulatory measures is the puzzling differences in Germany's legal structures targeting accompanied and unaccompanied refugee children (Hillmann and Dufner 2019). Limited access to health and stark differences in accommodation arrangements for children travelling alone and with parents pose a range of ethical questions and the slight possibility to justify reasoning that set children travelling with their parents in a much worse situation. The limited access to health is not only insufficient, but some authors describe it as "bare emergency health care" (Hillmann and Dufner 2019, 5–6). Additionally, the difference in accommodation for accompanied and unaccompanied children possibly violates the principle of equality before the law as set in Art. 3 (1) of the German constitution, EU Directives concerning reception standards, and articles 18, 21 and 23 of EU Directive 2013/33/EU. The authors note that these findings contradict the widely known positive image of German refugee policy, which is in their view kept due to efforts of thousands of volunteers seeking to compensate for the gaps mentioned above in legal structures, explicitly regarding refugees' rights and options to access health.

Economic or market-based measures, (including financial incentives and sanctions, funding, and financial support) vary across countries, and consider the importance of social categories of difference (e.g., age, gender, status) of migration decisions making (e.g., unification) and integration.

The labour market integration of leading migrants and their family members in the context of family reunification differs between EU countries, their respective state welfare systems (e.g., socio-democratic, liberal provision of education, health care, and childcare), inter- EU migrants and third-country nationals. The place of residence of the migrant's spouse or partner is related to their economic integration, however not in a straightforward way, with age and gender playing significant roles, as shown for the Polish migrants in Sweden, Norway and UK (Ryndyk 2020). Surprising, only in the context of Scandinavian countries (and its more regulated labour market), the economic integration of Polish migrants turns out to be a significant predictor of their family reunification, which was, the authors argue, due to higher chances of finding a job in the UK as it has a less regulated labour market.³⁶ Important conclusion and takeaway for the Scandinavian countries'

³⁶ The authors note that when couples engage in migration decision-making (first stage) and family reunification in the country of immigration (second state), they bargain and wage both material and non-material costs and rewards that the move involves. In this regard, the type of employment (e.g. permanent/temporary) and frequency of unemployment are significant factors as

policy-makers are that family immigration into less regulated labour markets can improve gender quality as it facilitates a double-earner family model; decisions about uniting will be not postponed because the partner/husband cannot fulfil what is expected to be his gendered role as a provider. In the author's words, "[f]amily immigration into more protected labour markets, on the contrary, may result in the reinforcement of the traditional male bread-winner model" (Ryndyk 2020, 16). The longitudinal study (2003–2015), comparing labour market integration among asylum refugees, resettled refugees, and their reunited family members in Finland, shows how gender differences and employment/unemployment rates intersect among newly arrived migrants. The highest chances of getting employment have migrant men united with their families, most likely due to social ties; however, women do not share the same paths. One of the probable reasons is child work obligations. Contrary to this subgroup of women, resettled refugees integrated much faster, most likely as these women tend to already have children before the arrival (Tervola 2020). A study conducted in another Nordic country, Denmark, shed light on the period after many European countries cut welfare benefits for refugees, post-2015 (e.g., Germany and the Netherlands). Focusing on the effects of Denmark's Start Aid welfare reform targeting refugee immigrants showed that this reform did not only result in women withdrawing from the labour market, but it also had a negative impact on children's attendance in preschools and care facilities as well as youth crime rates. Namely, it had an opposite effect from what it was initially intended: encouraging self-sufficiency and autonomy (Andersen, Dustmann, and Landersø 2019).

Literature covering information and communication-based (information campaigns, public statements, events, social media, videos) measures is diverse; it captures well the importance of involving migrants themselves in the conceptualisation of the tools. In their article on Arabic speaking Iraqi and Syrian refugee families' integration in Germany, the authors note that media repertoires have a valuable role in facilitating the integration of refugees in various sociocultural contexts of their respective societies. However, they can also lead to isolation resulting from concentrating on the home countries' networks and Arabic content, which was the case among more mature research participants (i.e., parents). On the other hand, the findings showed that those who focus more on the locally offered content in the German language tend to be better included in the host societies. The authors note that integration policy should include more guidance on the targeted use of media practice to support the integration of newly arrived migrants (Rothenberger, Elmezeny, and Wimmer 2019, 17). For instance, in Sweden, a mobile application is employed to support newly arrived migrants in their language learning; mobile technology had a function of a mediating device that can potentially enhance social integration (Bradley, Lindström, and Hashemi 2017). A study conducted among newly arrived Arabic-speaking migrants who were involved in a language learning offered by the national introduction program targeting people who were granted asylum confirms these results about mobile technology. Namely, around 30% of interviewees employed their smartphones primarily to keep in touch with family and friends in their home

reuniting could be postponed due to a lack of economic security/limited welfare provisions. Also, spouse's (in this context, women, as leading migrants were predominantly men, between 2007–2017) chances of finding employment upon the second stage are crucial.

countries and use social media (Bradley, Lindström, and Hashemi 2017, 6). Importantly, the participants did express a wish to meet more local Swedes, but they did not practice Swedish via mobile apps. This result offers important feedback on how the app could be adjusted to connect better people who were granted asylum with locals who have mastered Swedish or are native speakers.

German NGO (Arbeitskreis Neue Erziehung e.V. – Association for New Education – with parents for parents) established in 1946, has a long history of fostering intercultural integration with a Parents Newsletter. One of the reasons for their success in publishing the newsletter was providing it in different languages, including Arabic, before an increase of refugee arrivals in 2014 and 2015. Reaching migrant families is central for their program, and the motto “with parent – for parents” is a key element of their activities and considerations for producing informational media. Furthermore, Arab parents are engaged in the preparations (Kyuchukov and New 2017, 220). One further reason why involving migrants directly in the preparation of informational-communicational based activities is that it allows a diversity of experiences, including negative ones, such as forced marriage and trafficking to be shared. As noted by the authors of the ASSIST report, first-hand narratives can improve the impact of any campaign points or information materials, especially regarding the use of language that appropriately and respectfully reaches the audience (Nusha Yonkova, Jennifer Okeke Campbell, and Mary Henderson 2020, 31).

The literature mentions various educational material and engagement methods among the participatory measures targeting migrant families and children. One of the methods is a peer-mentoring scheme for immigrant students in English secondary school as a part of the project ‘INTO: Intercultural tools to support migrant students in schools’ (funded by the EC and implemented in five EU countries. All students were newly arrived migrants (had arrived within two years), and the program involved mentors and mentees - all recruited among the student population - facilitators. One of the findings was that because all mentors and mentees had an experience of migration, their relationship could benefit as they had empathy for each other (Messiou and Azaola 2018, 148). This broad scope of support involved language, practical (e.g., timetables, policies), academic (e.g., help with homework, and reading) and also offering, upon wish and need, and pastoral support. The INTO project had positive results, improving mentees’ integration and self-assurance. In addition, the program supported people to make new friends, which was also helpful with adjusting to a new environment. Even though the scheme led to the development of different skills, mentors often had to find ad hoc and creative ways to overcome barriers, such as shyness or language, which many mentees struggled with in their early days of arrival. All in all, it raises awareness about needs and provisions and cultural sensitivity for diversity in schools and beyond. Also, for the long-term results, schools have to take an active role in implementing and setting in action such programs.

Based on the study’s findings conducted in Swedish preschools, it is evident that newly arrived children adopted various communicational strategies (e.g. invented language, body language, switching) to overcome language barriers and initiate play-together with peers (Skaremyr 2021).

For these reasons, the authors state that states need more holistic preschool pedagogy that understands children as agents, stating that “the communication, be it linguistic or para-linguistic, of newly arrived children should not be regarded as inadequate, but as active communicative acts allowing them to participate in the preschool practices” (Skaremyr 2021, 406).

8.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

in family-related policies

This section synthesises examples of instruments and tools (e.g., sponsorship and community-support programs) targeting specific sub-groups (such as refugees, families with children, newly arrived migrants, children & youth) employed across the countries focused upon in this review to point out the scope of their effectiveness and outcomes.

“Menschen stärken Menschen”, the sponsorship program of the Ministry for Family, Seniors, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ), established in Germany in 2015, aims to support newly arrived refugees and asylum seekers with integration by linking them with the local population. It is a national initiative connecting NGOs and associations and programs – led by various actors, from schools, kindergartens, migrant associations, churches, mosques, and more, both at the regional and local level (BMFSFJ 2017). In total, 67% of sponsorship focuses on families (in German: Familienpatenschaften) and 41% on 1:1 sponsorship targeting minors. Since 2016, it has been accompanied with an impact analysis measuring its effectiveness. A report from 2017 names central factors of success of these initiatives (61% of questioned participants) being mutual sympathy and personal characteristics, for example, responsibility and openness of the involved parties (ibid., 53). In total, 81% said that sponsorship raises awareness about civil management on the local level (ibid., 73). These findings raise a question among community and sponsorship programs as catalysts of refugee integration and policymakers’ role in facilitating effective community engagement. Providing adequate training is crucial, as chances for achieving better results increase with qualified volunteers who can establish trust with beneficiaries (Susan Fratzke and Emma Dorst 2019).

A good example of a welcoming refugee program is the Portuguese Refugee Support Platform (PAR – Plataforma de Apoio a Refugiados). PAR was established in 2015 and has since continued with gathering networks of organisations and volunteers. Empirical research portraying the perspectives of families confirms what much of the literature had already mentioned on the topic of language, namely, investing in policies that facilitate a) learning of the host society’s language and b) access to the labour market are valuable tools (Barbosa et al. 2021). For these reasons, in the context of this country, they mention strengthening participation in the ‘Portuguese for All’ program and similar wide-reaching good practices. Also, reliable funding and support on the national level play a key role. This can be seen in Portugal, where the Office of the High Commissioner for Migration

structures and implements training programs for sponsors and operates a 24-hours hotline for sponsors and refugees, increasing effectiveness (Susan Fratzke and Emma Dorst 2019, 12).

Findings from Spain, Serbia, and Belgium on promoting effective educational and care measures for the integration of refugees notes that one of the obstacles to this is that refugees’ first languages are commonly not used in systematic ways. Schools seek to bypass these obstacles by engaging bilingual buddies; however, the success of such practices requires planning, organisation and adequate pedagogical structuring (Bunar 2019). In addition, good cooperation between schools and parents is necessary for the children’s educational success (Bunar 2019, 74). Empowering mothers, who are together with their children seen as an essential element of the integration process, is recognised as a vital part of education-related policies focusing on school-aged children in post-2014 Greece. To target these groups, tools of non-formal education, such as language training for mothers, were employed as a ‘tool’ to enhance results of the formal education, (i.e., of the refugee children in the state facilities).

In their evaluations of some of the programs targeting school children, scholars note that one of the biggest challenges and crucial instances of the success of such programs is the training of teachers (Androusou and Iakovou 2020). By applying the action research paradigm, they state that focused educational interventions among the refugee population can give future teachers valuable insights into the importance of connecting theory to practice and of collaboration (e.g., with parents). This is because learning in the context of flight is difficult, and there are various challenges, from fluidity to psycho-social problems, that people on the move face.

Being together with family members and overcoming fears of separation is also effective for integration, as shown by the research conducted in six EU Member States on the topic of integration of young refugees. In this regard, family reunification is recognised as one of the “key mechanisms for better integration of migrants and refugees”. Namely, separation from family members and uncertainties about their security “hinder effective participation in language courses, school and training and from finding a job”, all of which are central to integration (EU 2019, 11).

By drawing on Ager and Strang’s (2008) conceptualisation of successful refugee integration, and findings from Austria and the Netherlands, Alessi et al. (2020) note that the experience of LGBTQ refugees differs. As previously mentioned, various refugee and migrant subgroups might understand integration differently and access or involvement in some of the domains, such as social connections, employment, housing, education or health, varies based on their gender, age, sexual orientation, and religion. In this context, racialising discourses about refugees coming from predominantly Muslim countries also contributes to the overall situation of integration (Alessi et al. 2020). For instance, holding the intersecting identities of identifying as LGBTQ and being a refugee could prevent integration for some people, such as lacking access to crucial benefits (e.g. access to language classes) when they feel threatened (by other refugees). At the same time, membership in LGBTQ social identity categories may well aid in facilitating affirmative social bonds with other

sexual and gender minorities attending LGBTQ-supportive groups. Importantly, Alessi et. al.’s (2020) research participants acknowledged that, despite the pressure coming from a continuous confrontation with homophobic or transphobic refugees, they also trusted that the host societies’ laws and social customs could protect them (Alessi et al. 2020, 10).

The effectiveness of tools and instruments is dependent on specific sub-groups’ needs. Research among the LGBTIQ+ population in Italy shows that despite governments stressing the importance of socio-economic autonomy, access to work and social health remains a problem as there is a lack of institutional support for refugees, especially in the field of psychological support and economic assistance (Rosati et al. 2021). Support for transgender refugees is even more scarce, as only grassroots organisations provide it. For this minority group, difficulties at accessing employment, housing, and medical care are amplified through discrimination and hostility based on their expression of gender. Namely, their chances for integration are rendered as they do not receive adequate support. Importantly, some refugees had to flee their countries and families due to sexual and gender-based prosecution and thus already have limited options for help from networks such as the community of origin (e.g., members of the diaspora) to whom other refugees could turn to and thus increase, for example, their chances of employment. Finally, as research from Germany among newly arrived LGBTIQ* refugees indicated, based on numerous intersecting attributes, there are examples of discrimination across different categories of belonging (e.g., gender, sexual orientation, migration status) having negative effects on individuals’ mental health and day-to-day life (Golembe et al. 2020).

8.7 Conclusion

How can the sustainability of integration practices targeting families be understood? Reviewed literature emphasises various intersecting factors – from sensitivity when scrutinising family migrants and their children’s status to the importance of well-informed training. Some of the key elements raised in the literature would be programs that consult migrants themselves about their needs (e.g., access to language education) and the best ways to address them, particularly if they belong to some of the vulnerable categories. Also, cooperation on the national level and stable funding are essential, as well as fair distribution on a regional and local level. Furthermore, other authors mention the importance of feminist perspectives and cultural competence for addressing diversity issues, especially when specific practices can be misread as a case of negligence (Nusha Yonkova, Jennifer Okeke Campbell, and Mary Henderson 2020, 24). Also, a gender-sensitive approach to integration must include generous childcare provisions to support women in attending courses that can aid their inclusion.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) “Focus group on integration” final report states that insufficient income, accommodation, and social networks contribute to an unequal situation. Many refugees and asylum seekers have to spend a prolonged time in informal housing and temporary shelter. Such exceptionally precarious living arrangements contribute to

integration becoming a challenging goal to reach, and measures cannot be sustainable. One way to overcome this is to develop more personalised integration tools based on the assessments of skills and aspirations. The UNCHR recommends that asylum seekers and refugees, to achieve integration, should be included among disadvantaged workers early on and stay in this category for the first two years of their status of protection (UNHCR 2017).

Other authors noted that intersectionality could help policymakers understand inequalities, especially concerning sensitivity for diversity. It unveils how multiple minority identities interplay in the host society, such as ethnic and gender identities, that have a great impact on how family relations are structured.

Finally, this review did not record one definition of integration in the literature, and it emphasised the importance of taking into account that this is a highly gendered term often with the normative implications (e.g. religious belonging) concerning family-related policies, for instance, focusing on forced marriage or thresholds for age assessment (Spencer and Charsley 2021; Ager and Strang 2008). Also, as some scholars noted, various refugee and migrant sub-groups might understand integration differently (Korac 2003). Like numerous types of families, there are also various aspects of integration (e.g. spatial/temporal/geographical, individual/network-based) (Eggebo and Brekke 2019; Spencer and Charsley 2016, 6). This is one of the reasons to evaluate family-related measures as interrelated and multidirectional processes across various domains.

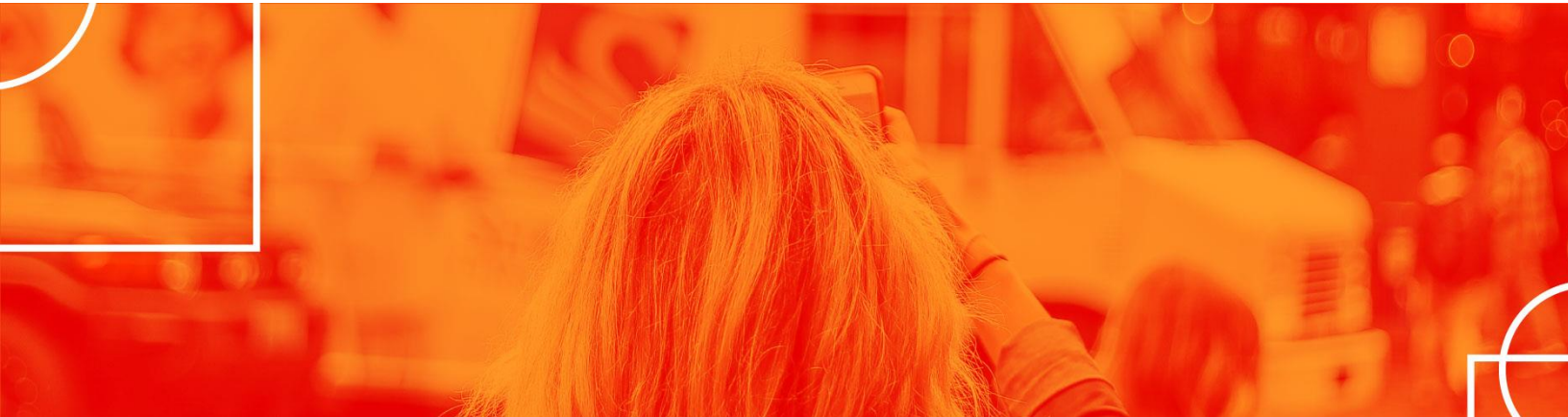
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9 Identity and Belonging

Isabella Skrivanek

9.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of research evidence on integration policies and practices that address newly arrived migrants’ identities and feelings of belonging. It includes research published between 2011 and 2021, with a focus on Europe (EU and Schengen associated countries) that address identity and belonging as part of integration processes, and how receiving societies aim to shape a (collective) identity and belonging among newly arrived migrants and receiving societies (governance). Newly arrived migrants are defined as those who arrived after 2014, and the focus is on integration policies and practices that address the first phase of adaptation and inclusion.

Scholarly interest in identity and belonging represents an established field of research, which is linked to the evolution of social sciences and social theories (May 2013, 12ff; Yuval-Davis 2011, 11ff.). Similarly, issues of identity and belonging represent a central aspect in migration studies

based on the changes in society due to migration and conceptualisations of observed processes, including social interaction, adaptation, conflicts, and its outcomes. In this vein, questions of identity and belonging represent central and underlying, respectively, features of conceptualisations of integration, acculturation, majority-minority relations, race relations, et cetera (Park and Burgess 1921; Gordon 1964; Berry 1970; Esser 1980). Identity and belonging concern the position and relationship between “individuals” and “society(ies)” (May 2013). Viewing the “self” and “society” as relational means that the self evolves in relationship with, and in relation to, other people. In this perspective, “society” represents the outcome of dynamic human interactions and relationships between individuals. Thereby, researchers stress the processual character of identity and belonging and argue to focus on the processes and outcomes of social relations, narrations, practices, and representations, extending the focus beyond groups, identities, and culture (Anthias 2009, 14). Building on identity would risk to group people into identity categories, defining and reducing individuals to membership in these categories (May 2013, 7f.). This is used in identity politics, as “unity is produced by pointing out what is ‘not us’” (Mattes 2017, 94) and has been deployed by minority (Lähdesmäki et al. 2021, 26) and majority groups (Noury and Roland 2020). Treating a person or group as “not us”/“them” in contrast to “us” has been described as “othering” (Schenk 2021) For example, attributing to migrants an inferior status due to their cultural and ethnic identities (Khan 2014, 289) devalues migrants by the “white” majority (Amelina, Schäfer, und Trzeciak 2021, 5). Migrants are also “othered” in research; they are separated from the “natio-ethno-cultural mainstream”, as it has been described for the statistical category of “migration background” (Will 2019, 553) (Spencer and Charsley 2021).

At the individual level, identity is “an individual’s narrative of self, that is who they think they are, and in relation to others, and therefore an identification process” (Khan 2014, 286)³⁷. Belonging is “the process of creating a sense of identification with, or in connection to, cultures, people, places and material objects” (May 2013, 3). Thereby, belonging (and nonbelonging) is defined as a relational configuration (Amelina, Schäfer, and Trzeciak 2021, 1; Anthias 2009, 10) and thus a “dynamic process of establishing, maintaining and transforming relations with and attachments to people, places, practices, and institutions” (Nunn, Spaaij, und Luguetti 2021, 2). Belonging involves on the one hand identifying oneself as an individual “with” (self-identification), and being identified by others “as” (categorisation) on the other (May 2013, 4; Yuval-Davis 2011, 12ff.). Belonging comprises an individual’s identification and feeling of attachment to a community (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 242; Kannabiran, Vieten, and Yuval-Davis 2006; Simonsen 2018; 2016, 1156). It can take place at different scales and different (intersecting) spheres that

³⁷ With reference to (Anthias 2009), See also (Yuval-Davis 2011, 14).

shape a person’s sense of belonging and manifest in different forms of objective and subjective attachment (emotional, formal, practical, embodied, ethical, sociocultural, and historical). Linking belonging to political, economic and social membership, it

“can include an attachment (to place, community), claims (for place, community), attributions (of place, community), formal membership to places through meeting criteria of such membership, as a commitment or practices of consensus to a state/social system.”(Anthias 2016, 178)

As a relational configuration, belonging involves processes of seeking/rejecting and granting/excluding among “those seeking to belong”, and “the politics that govern whom belonging is granted” (Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021³⁸; s. Amelina, Schäfer, und Trzeciak 2021).

In a relational and processual perspective of belonging, conflicts over migration can be viewed as “classificatory struggles over (dominant institutional) definitions of belonging and membership”³⁹. Thereby, belonging can be a positive or negative relation, including spheres that one identifies and values or not (Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021; Anthias 2009; Amelina, Schäfer, and Trzeciak 2021).

This review is structured as follows: Section two maps the research landscape with regard to identity and belonging and introduces how it is discussed within research. Subsequently, section three addresses the integration situation of post-2014 migrants in regard to identity and belonging, while section four sheds light on the framing interventions and policy objectives in relation to identity and belonging of migrants. Section five summaries the instruments and tools, which research has studied in regard to identity and belonging of migrants. This is followed by an overview of reported effectiveness of implemented policies and practices. The chapter concludes with a summary in section seven.

9.2 Research on identity and belonging

Research on identity and belonging in migration and refugee studies links on a theoretical and conceptual level to the classical canon of sociological theories on the “individual”/“self” and “society” (May 2013, 12ff; Pickel 2021, 186ff; Yuval-Davis 2011, 12ff) and to conceptualisations of “integration”, including pleas to rethink and revise the latter. Critique on migration and integration research regards underlying colonial/nation-state centred visions of society (Schinkel 2018; Favell 2019; Wimmer und Glick Schiller 2002), the reproduction and essentialisation of such nation-state and ethnicity centred conceptualisation, and categories by research itself (Dahinden 2016; Amelina, Schäfer, and Trzeciak 2021). A focus on nation states as a unit of analysis has been

³⁸ With reference to Nira Yuval-Davis, *The politics of belonging: intersectional contestations* (London: Sage, 2011).

³⁹ Amelina, Schäfer, und Trzeciak, 2f.

criticised as “methodological nationalism”, limiting identity to a fixed place and, in regard to assimilationist approaches, tying it to a fixed and unitary social core (Anthias 2009, 6). Some scholars suggest to “de-migrantise” migration research (Dahinden 2016), de-essentialise notions of migration, mobility, and integration (Amelina, Schäfer, und Trzeciak 2021, 2), and for example, redefine integration based on lived experience, involving non-migrants and migrants in a process of “co-production” (Gilmartin and Dagg 2021). Integration research has also been criticised for neglecting migrants’ points of view and focusing too much on functional indicators (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 242). Ager and Strang (2008) pointed to the role of social connections for integration, distinguishing between social bridges (with other communities), bonds (with family, co-ethnic, co-national, co-religious or other groups), and links (with structures of the state). Recent research has also addressed facets of contemporary integration policy and practices that hinder migrants to “integrate” and participate in social (sub-)systems, resulting in “disintegration” on the one hand (Hinger and Schweitzer 2020). On the other hand, focusing on “disintegration” does not mean per se, that “integration has gone wrong” (Meissner and Heil 2020, 3). Instead, it could allow focusing on power asymmetries in contexts of superdiversity, and uncertainty and instability of everyday situations, which do not necessarily lead to loss of control (feared and put forward as arguments for integration policy (Meissner and Heil 2020). However, others argue to stay with the concept of integration and address the challenges in a reflexive way (Spencer and Charsley 2021). Besides the concept of integration, further publications address concepts of multiculturalism and interculturalism (de Waal 2020; Meer, Modood, and Zapata-Barrero 2016), links between US perspectives (critical race studies/intersectionality) and European integration literature (Magazzini 2021), migration-related classifications and powerful discourses of othering (Amelina, Schäfer, and Trzeciak 2021), and links between migration, citizenship, and identity (Brizić, Katharina; Şimşek, Yazgöl; Bulut, Necle 2021).

Research on the integration of post-2014 migrants in regard to identity and belonging covers different groups, in particular forced migrants (Khan 2014; O’Reilly 2018; Maggie O’Neill u. a. 2019; Buber-Ennser u. a. 2016; Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020; De Martini Ugolotti 2020; Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021), children/youth (Etzel 2021; Allsopp and Chase 2019; Nunn 2020; Rorato 2020; Chen and Schweitzer 2019), family migrants (Charsley u. a. 2020; Charsley, Bolognani, and Spencer 2017) and women (Chikwira 2021; O’Neill u. a. 2019; Krummel 2015; Goulahsen 2017; Lindqvist and Wettergren 2018; Morrice 2017b). Thereby, the specific situation of forced migrants represents a broader area of research (being subject to a country’s asylum regime and involving a [substantial] period of uncertainty, and its impact on forced migrants’ identity and feelings of

belonging). Research findings published between 2011 and 2021 include post-2014 forced migrants⁴⁰ as well as earlier groups of forced migrants (Khan 2014; O’Reilly 2018).

While (national) policies reflect underlying understandings of who has a right to belong, which is rather limited during pending asylum procedures and involves specific normative orientations and social expectations in civic integration policies, some research studies how migrants challenge and resist to these policy frameworks and orientations (Khan 2014).

A further focus of research is on the governance of integration policy measures that address the identity and feelings of belonging of (recently arrived) migrants. This regards approaches on identity and belonging at different levels of government, the type of actors involved (beyond public actors, e.g., third sector organisations, private actors, and forms of self-organisation), potential tensions and conflicting logics in the adopted policies between levels and the impact of existing policies, and potential conflicting logics on issues of identity and belonging among migrants (Manatschal, Wisthaler, und Zuber 2020; Wisthaler 2021). This strand of research accounts for belonging to the (nation) state and belonging on lower scales, such as the regional or local level, and identification with a certain geographical area or place (Manatschal, Wisthaler, and Zuber 2020).

Further studies specifically focus on policy tools and instruments as well as activities and opportunities that (aim to) shape migrants’ identities and feeling of belonging and have an impact on migrants’ identities and feelings of belonging, respectively. Researched policies regard, on the one hand, civic integration and citizenship policies (Morrice 2017a; Onasch 2017) (stemming to a larger extent from the national level), and subnational manifestations and struggles for socio-cultural integration and policies and activities in different social spheres and subsystems on the other hand. Research subsystems comprise education (Banas 2020; 2019; Brizić, Katharina; Şimşek, Yazgül; Bulut, Necle 2021; Collett 2019; García-Mateus and Palmer 2017), health (Lindqvist and Wettergren 2018), leisure, arts, sports, culture (De Martini Ugolotti 2020; Nunn 2020; Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021; Islam 2018; Singleton 2021; Lewis 2015; Spracklen, Long, and Hylton 2015; Singleton 2021) and religion. Citizenship policies are thereby often viewed as “institutional realisations of national boundaries”(Simonsen 2016, 1155) that indicate underlying understandings of “us” and “them”, and represent a formal barrier to belonging, as they set requirements that must be met to be included in the national community (Simonsen 2016, 1156). Since the 2000s, many European states have introduced civic integration policies that extended

(Buber-Ennsner u. a. 2016; Perron 2020; Etzel 2021; Allsopp und Chase 2019)

the strata of membership to further legal status (from entry to permanent residence) preceding citizenship (Goodman 2010; 2012; 2014).

Despite a focus on identity and belonging on the side of migrants, a further strand of research involves the host society. This regards discourses, narratives (including the role of media) and attitudes. Studies investigate here what these discourses and narratives can tell us about the underlying understanding of national membership and corresponding criteria for belonging (Ammaturo 2019) Studies also demonstrate what impact public discourse, narratives and attitudes have on migrants’ identities and feelings of belonging (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020; Mattes 2017; Simonsen 2016, 1156) as well as in what ways these underlying (national) paradigms are reflected in integration policy and influence and change integration policy (Perron 2020), respectively. Furthermore, research on identity and belonging of post-2014 migrants refer to (national) integration policy paradigms, in particular assimilation, multiculturalism, interculturalism, and social cohesion, shifts and changes in these paradigms and corresponding implications for concrete policies, narratives on identity and belonging, including migrants’ feelings of belonging. A further research focus is on the role of transnationalism and diasporas on identity and belonging (Binaisa 2013; Erdal and Lewicki 2016; Sigona u. a. 2015; Cohen and Kranz 2015; S. Park and Gerrits 2021).

9.3 Integration situation in regard to identity and belonging

Research on identity and belonging highlights the specific situation of refugees as asylum seekers in host countries, which includes being in a (prolonged) “liminal situation” (O’Reilly 2018) and subject to the institutional regime of the host country’s asylum system, referred to as being in “legal limbo” (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 242; Yijälä and Nyman, o. J.). The period seeking asylum implies waiting for verification or refusal of refugee status and represents an “in-between existence” in spatial and temporal terms. The accommodation during this time is usually a highly controlled and monitored space, lacking of freedom over basic and intimate details of everyday life and routines, due to, for example, shared rooms, overcrowding, a lack of space, different routines, bad sleep, noise, and a lack of control over food and eating times (O’Reilly 2018, 8,10). Waiting for verification or refusal of refugee status involves a “‘punitive’ aspect of waiting” due to lacking information of how long they must wait (Khosravi 2014). Waiting can erode a sense of the present (O’Reilly 2018, 12). The reception centres can become “a ‘limbo’, an in-between space, inside the host country but outside of the host society”⁴¹, as, for example, asylum seekers are not allowed to work or access education, resulting in “deskilling”, and being “unable to do

⁴¹ O’Reilly, „Living Liminality“, 14.

anything for years at a time”.⁴² Being in a “legal limbo” can involve fear and anxiety, a state of worrying, and a sense of lethargy. Among forced migrants (asylum seekers, beneficiaries of asylum or some other form of protection status) in Vienna and Istanbul, the two main themes concerned uncertainty about the future and the feeling of being a partial member of society “who cannot decide about his/her own destiny” (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 246). Being a refugee (asylum seeker) can involve the feeling of life-on-hold, embodied feelings of suspension and immobility, isolation, boredom, suspension, uncertainty, hierarchies of human worth (De Martini Ugolotti 2020, 8), being in a “limbo-like stage of the migration process while waiting for the decision on their request for international protection” (Yijälä and Nyman, o. J., 119), as well as “uncertainty and anxiety about the future and limited economic and social access to the host society” (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 242).

Spheres of belonging of young refugees include: the family; friendship and recreation; education and employment; ethnic community and culture; religion; local community, culture and place; homelands and country of asylum; and the resettlement country (Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021; Nunn 2018; 2020). Research points to challenges of young and often unaccompanied refugee migrants due to growing up in two cultures and the traumatic experiences related to their flight (Banas 2020; Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021), adding onto the experiences of (non)belonging that young people face in their transition to adulthood (Nunn 2020). Furthermore, a study finds that unaccompanied migrants and refugee minors must plan for different scenarios in their futures as the common EU policy discourse is that they “‘belong’ back in their ‘country of origin’” (Allsopp and Chase 2019, 12). This would be linked to the assumption that family reunification is in their “best interest”, neglecting that minors’ migration might be part of a “family life project”, due to family-related persecution, the family as part of a diaspora, or other reasons. This would impact differently on their lived experiences of membership and belonging, including those with a strong affinity to their home country and intention to return, those with multiple belongings and a feeling of belonging to the host country, as well as those with no sense of belonging (Allsopp and Chase 2019, 12).

Overall, migrants and refugees in particular may face a “downward class journey”, and can be forced to leave previous work experience and qualifications behind⁴³ and negotiating past professional identities (Ennerberg and Economou 2021), affecting past identities of class and professional status (Etzet 2021, 12). This is also reported for migrant children in school in regard to their bilingual or multilingual background (Brizić, Katharina; Şimşek, Yazgül; Bulut, Necle 2021).

⁴² O’Reilly, „Living Liminality“, 14.

⁴³ (Etzet 2021, 12) With reference to: (Holm Pedersen 2012)

In regard to the mental health and well-being of migrants, a study on migrant women in Sweden finds that social suffering in the post-migration phase can bring migrants into contact with psychiatric care, seeking “to be seen and confirmed as the person you are, and need to be, in the new host society” (Lindqvist and Wettergren 2018).

Research on identity and belonging points to the role of public discourses for identity and belonging. This regards public statements, political struggles and media reports involving anti-immigrants discourse (Botterill, McCollum, and Tyrrell 2019) and construction of identity in the media (Datta 2017; Drüeke, Klaus, and Moser 2021), which impact on subjective belonging.

A study on persons seeking refuge in Austria in 2015 found that women tend to be more religious than men (defining religiosity as the intensity of religious practice and/or belief); 18% of female respondents claimed to be very religious compared to 9% of male respondents. Overall, more respondents stated not being religious (20%) than being very religious (11%) (Buber-Ennsner u. a. 2016, 17). As regards the gender gap in religiosity, Trzebiatowska and Bruce (2012) attribute this gender gap to social differences, identifying five main explanatory factors. These are: a time lag in secularisation effects (affecting men earlier than women); vicarious religion⁴⁴ (taking responsibility for the religious commitment and morality of others) and patriarchy; control of sexuality; secular gender roles; and the body, health, and illness. While these factors can overlap and reinforce each other, they attribute most explanatory power to a time lag in secularisation, concluding that a general decline in gender differences would also gradually decrease the gender gap in religiosity.

9.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives

Onasch (2017, 578) states that creating immigrant integration programmes actually requires the definition of the elements of national belonging⁴⁵, revealing who is perceived as an immigrant and what distinguishes migrants from the national community. Furthermore, political debates about integration “oftentimes evolve around immigrants’ willingness or capability to belong to a nationally defined society” (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 241). Since the 2000s, Western European countries have increasingly introduced measures and requirements that address country knowledge, language proficiency, and liberal and social values (Goodman 2010, 754). They are commonly referred to as “civic integration policies”, and have become tools that define national understandings of membership and belonging (Goodman 2012, 659; 2014). The novelty

⁴⁴“notion of religion performed by an active minority but on behalf of a much larger number, who (implicitly at least) not only understand but approve of what the minority is doing” (Davie 2007)

⁴⁵ „in creating immigrant integration programmes, policy makers must define the elements of national belonging“ (2)

compared to existing North American requirements for citizenship is that, in Europe, these requirements concern “various strata of membership” (Goodman 2010, 754), ranging from entry to permanent settlement. As in the case of the UK, these policies should “equip the individual with the linguistic and cultural capital to participate in all spheres of life in their community and the polity” (Khan 2014, 289) In the Netherlands, first civic integration measures date back to 1998 and were not only introduced as “vague” integration measures, but to increase the economic self-sufficiency of newcomers⁴⁶. Thereby, pre-entry requirements are largely governed by immigration control objectives (in particular family-based migration), which Goodman has termed “membership regulation at the border” (Goodman 2014, 228).

A study on unaccompanied migrant and refugee minors finds that in EU policy and discourse, the underlying assumption is that they “‘belong’ back in their ‘country of origin’” (Allsopp and Chase 2019, 12). This would be linked to the assumption that family reunification is in their “best interest”.

Overall, language, culture, and values have become markers of national identity (Khan 2014, 290), and venues of negotiation for belonging and based on which features (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 242). Thereby, research finds that boundaries in liberal democracies have been increasingly deployed in terms of “value compatibility” (Triadafilopoulos 2011, 867). Onasch sees boundary drawing in integration programmes as “racialisation”, whereby markers of race are not limited to phenotypical characteristics, but instead based on a contrast on many dimensions of difference, and operates in integration discourses and programmes in terms of language, culture and religion (Onasch 2017, 3f., 15). Religion can be used to produce in- and outsider groups, and draw symbolic boundaries, which create a binary distinction between a majority (“we”) and an outgroup (“the other”), upholding difference based on religion. A study (Mattes 2017) on German and Austrian integration policy development finds three patterns how religion has been used as a symbolic boundary. This is “muscular liberalism” (defining the majority as “unified by liberal values” and Muslims as the outgroup with lacking willingness to implement liberal norms), “Christian ancestry” (constructing secularism and liberalism as historical product of Christianity and thereby linking it to Christianity, doubts that Muslims are able/willing to adapt to these norms), and “universal religion” (constructing a religious community and an illiberal group that misconceives religion) (Mattes 2017, 97–100).

Viewing belonging as a relational process, it addresses and involves the host society and underlying paradigms and policy shifts. Such was seen in Great Britain, which turned from multiculturalism to

⁴⁶ Dutch Ministry of Justice cited in (Goodman 2012, 664)

an assimilationist focus, framed within a social cohesion agenda and an imagined homogenous Britishness since the mid-2000s (Khan 2014; Morrice 2017a). Social cohesion would be seen as the “new panacea to the societal ills” caused by multiculturalism and increased asylum-seeking migration, requiring to use the social capital among migrants (manifesting in bridging, bonding, and linking social capital). Policy would favour bridges (intergroup relations) over bonds (intragroup relations) (Khan 2014, 288). For Germany, a study reports that the founding narrative on flight and expulsion was reframed by leading politicians and media in 2015-16, making links between Germany’s own past experience of forced migration at the end of and after the Second World War and the “refugee crisis” unfolding in 2015. This shift broke the previous general understanding that this experience of “flight and expulsion” was different from migration and the decreased constructed borders between native Germans and all other newcomers, reminding “the German[s] that migration has been an integral part of German society for decades and reinforces the new self-perception of Germany as a country of immigration” (Perron 2020, 11f.). Etzel speaks of a new model of conditions of integration that focused on post-2014 humanitarian migrants in Germany, and which is linked to the German welfare state and migrants that were granted international protection (Etzel 2021, 2).

Research findings that relate to identity and belonging also point to differences in policies between “ordinary regions” and so-called “Rokkan regions”⁴⁷. The latter are regions with a distinct history of statehood and/or cultural and linguistic identity (Wisthaler, Verena 2021). Rokkan regions would have heightened concerns on regional identity, culture and language. It makes Rokkan regions in their approach more similar to assimilationist national level approaches, while ordinary regions are rather similar to the local level, with more pragmatic and less symbolic policies than the national level (Manatschal, Wisthaler, and Zuber 2020, 1477, 1480).

Leisure activities vary to a large degree in their institutionalisation and direct link to integration policy goals regarding identity and belonging. In the Nordic countries, nature-based integration has received increasing attention, which is linked, on the one hand to Nordic lifestyle which highly values outdoor recreation and living close to nature, and on the other hand, the expectation that “a connection to nature can be a channel to Nordic culture and language using the entire palette of senses” (Pitkänen u. a. 2017, 8).

⁴⁷ Named after the Norwegian social scientist Stein Rokkan.

9.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

in identity and belonging

(1) Regulatory (based on legislation: laws, regulations, directives) / or command & control

On the regulatory level, there are **two main areas** that address and impact, respectively, on migrants' identity and feelings of belonging. This includes the regulatory framework of the asylum regime, and legal provisions on civic integration and citizenship.

With regard to forced migrants, the asylum regime represents a strong regulatory framework that limits migrants' opportunities for membership as long as they are asylum seekers. This regards restrictions in access to different sectors of society and available services, in particular the labour market and educational programmes. Research points to the impact on daily life due to these legal restrictions and consequences on belonging. Indirectly, these legal restrictions can limit further opportunities for participation, if forced migrants cannot generate income from employment and do not have the financial resources to afford, for example, public transport and participation in leisure activities.

Research on identity and belonging views civic integration programmes as tools “for protecting and defining the boundaries of belonging across Europe” (Onasch 2017, 2) and they are linked to the acquisition of legal status, ranging from first entry permits (e.g., language pre-entry requirements) to permanent residence and citizenship (Goodman 2012, 664). In other words, civic integration requirements can define criteria on how to achieve higher levels of belonging in legal terms. The tools and instruments include, on the regulatory level, prescribed levels of language competences, specifications on written commitments that immigrants are required to sign (e.g., “Reception and Integration Contract” in France (Onasch 2017), “Integration Agreement” in Austria (Pöschl 2012)) and types of proofs to document the required criteria, such as specifications on course curricula, language tests, citizenship tests, and oaths. Thereby, requirements have increased since their introduction in many European states, increasing, for example, language competences and knowledge on the laws and values of the receiving societies, required proof of these competences, as well as the groups of migrants subject to such civic integration requirements (Goodman 2010; 2012). Furthermore, civic integration programmes include regulatory and economic sanctions. Regulatory sanctions and consequences in case of failure to fulfil civic integration requirements can regard the right to immigrate (e.g. integration requirements prior to immigration for family migrants) (Onasch 2017, 6), the right to obtain an

extension or long-term residence permit, as well as removed access to citizenship as long as the requirements are not met. Research points here to differences between the levels of government and highlights that subnational levels can turn migrants into “regional citizens”, despite a restrictive national framework (Manatschal, Wisthaler, and Zuber 2020, 1477, 1480). Additionally, civic integration requirements are found to be more pronounced in regions with a distinct history of statehood and/or a cultural and linguistic identity (so-called “Rokkan states”), adding an additional regional layer to integration requirements and expecting immigrants to adopt to regional languages and culture (Wisthaler, Verena 2021).

A further topic addressed in research on identity belonging can be resumed under the heading of “access to mainstream services”. This involves, on the regulatory level, the right to access services, such as the health care system (Lindqvist and Wettergren 2018) and draw on its services (see next section).

(1) Economic or market-based (incl. financial incentives and sanctions, funding, financial support)

Economic and market-based tools and instruments that research addresses in regard to migrants’ identity and belonging include the provision of language courses, some forms of work (community service, voluntary work), and minor or basic educational programmes. Despite general legal restrictions in access to different sectors of society during pending asylum procedures, research points to initiatives and approaches (at the subnational level) that provide specific/sectoral opportunities within general restrictions, such as access to community service activities, voluntary work, and basic vocational training as some limited activities in the host society, which provide a sense of normality within a period of general uncertainty. Leisure activities as part of integration policy are discussed for the Nordic countries, in particular in regard to “nature-based integration (NBI)”, such as guided walks in the nature (Singleton 2021; Pitkänen u. a. 2017).

In education, research suggests for students learning the language of instruction, to provided activities that correspond to the their level of cognitive development and allow them to fully express themselves, achieved using semiotic systems other than language, such as image, photo, and video (Pickel 2021).

Further mainstream sectors and services can be relevant for migrants’ identity and belonging, as seen in a Swedish study which reports for access to psychotherapy (Lindqvist and Wettergren 2018).

Linked to regulatory civic integration requirements are certain economic and market-based tools and instruments that are provided to migrants in order to fulfil these criteria, in particular language

courses and some forms of orientation courses. In some countries, such courses were specifically introduced for post-2014 migrants, as seen, in Austria, with its value and orientation courses for refugees that obtained refugee or subsidiary protection after 2014 (Skrivanek and Faustmann 2019, 104f.).

(2) Informational / communication- based (information campaigns, public statements, events, social media, videos)

Narratives on migration and integration (as part of city branding efforts) are named as a potential tool at the local level to foster “more inclusive, integrated and cohesive communities” (Kierans 2019, 6) and shift the boundaries of belonging by redefining who is and who is not welcomed to the public space (Kierans 2019, 6; Belabas, Eshuis, and Scholten 2020, 14). Thereby, telling past and present stories about the place, history, and values is suggested as a way to create a sense of identity and belonging and contributing to a place-based narrative (Kierans 2019, 33; Hadj-Abdou 2014). Research on forced migrants found that an understanding and knowledge on local culture and history can create a sense of belonging and rootedness to that place, despite a limbo-like situation during pending asylum procedures (O’Reilly 2018, 18). A current project (2017-2023) on city level initiatives is “Inclusive Cities”⁴⁸ in the UK, where Kierans (2019, 34–49) provides an overview of initiatives in different European and North American cities. Public events can address migration related diversity in a country or locality. For example, “Refugee Week”⁴⁹ is an annual UK-wide festival celebrating the contributions, creativity and resilience of refugees and people seeking sanctuary, providing refugees a space to share their experiences, perspectives and creative work. It was founded in 1998 and is an umbrella festival that includes arts festivals, exhibitions, and film screenings as well as museum tours, football tournaments, public talks, and activities in schools alongside media and creative campaigns (Khan 2014, 291).

In regard to post-2014 policy responses, Perron (Perron 2020) shows how Germany’s founding narrative of flight and expulsion was reframed by leading politicians and media in 2015-16, making links between Germany’s own past experience of forced migration at the end of and after the Second World War and the “refugee crisis” unfolding in 2015. This shift would have broken with the previous general understanding that this experience of “flight and expulsion” was different from migration and decreased constructed borders between native Germans and all other newcomers, reminding “the German[s] that migration has been an integral part of German society

⁴⁸ <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/project/inclusive-cities/>

⁴⁹ <https://refugeeweek.org.uk/about/>

for decades and reinforces the new self-perception of Germany as a country of immigration” (Perron 2020, 11f.).

(3) Participatory (based on volunteering, mentorship, community building initiatives)

Tools and instruments related to **leisure activities** can largely differ in their form and degree of institutionalisation, ranging from informal and self-organised forms of fandom and practicing a leisure activity (e.g. football), to some basic institutional support from non-public organisations as in-kind benefits (such as providing a room where people can meet), and small financial subsidies (e.g., to rent a room, afford public transportation to reach the place) and state funded leisure activities. The latter, focusing on nature-based activities, has increased in prominence in Nordic countries (Gentin u. a. 2019; Singleton 2021; Pitkänen u. a. 2017).

Research also points to the role of religious **communities** for migrants’ identity and feelings of belonging. It can provide opportunities to establish social relations within the local community (e.g. go to church, mosque) as well as being part of a transnational community (O’Reilly 2018).

9.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

in identity and belonging

In regard to the effectiveness and outcomes of integration policy instruments and practices, research states that belonging can create, at the individual level, a meaning and feeling of safety (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 241; Lambert u. a. 2013). This can contribute to overall well-being (Chase 2013, 867f.; Marksteiner, Janke, and Dickhäuser 2019, 46) at the individual level and social cohesion at the societal level (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 241; Schiefer and van der Noll 2017).

Research highlights that being subject to a specific institutional regime can transform an identity, as “the need to conform to an institutionally imposed stereotype can both reinforce control and transform an identity” (Zetter 1991, 45). Here, research points to liminal situations of asylum seekers (whereby these observations seem relevant for further groups of migrants with uncertain or irregular status). The period of seeking asylum implies waiting for verification or refusal of refugee status and represents an “in-between existence” in spatial and temporal terms.

Internalising this limbo situation can lead to feeling liminal, which O’Reilly has termed “ontological liminality” (O’Reilly 2018). Ontological liminality describes “the ways in which a chronic sense of fear, insecurity, invisibility, and a highly controlled existence are lived and internalized”-(O’Reilly 2018, 3). In other words, the “in-between existence becomes part of one’s identity and everyday lived experience” (O’Reilly 2018, 14). Despite these transitional, in-between situations, which can prevent asylum seekers from becoming part of the host society, forms of belonging, attachment and connection can evolve with places and people where asylum seekers are accommodated. These connections can stem from voluntary work, access to (certain) educational programmes, religious practices, and familiarity with the history and culture of the place where asylum seekers are accommodated. Voluntary work and (limited) educational programmes (which asylum seekers are permitted to access) are found, as such “loopholes to integration and belonging in a system which discourages both” (O’Reilly 2018, 17), helping to occupy the minds during long and undefined periods of waiting and preventing “deskilling”. Religion has also been mentioned as a source and space to develop some forms of belonging. Churches and mosques are found to provide a sense of community as well as transnational links and membership in an inter/transnational community (O’Reilly 2018, 18). Furthermore, “an understanding and knowledge of the history and culture of where one lives creates a sense of belonging to that place, a certain ownership over it and rootedness with it”. This is attributed to an understanding and knowledge of local history and culture (O’Reilly 2018, 18).

While the observation that a specific institutional regime can transform an identity has been made in regard to national asylum systems, other institutional regimes can have similar impacts, as a study shows for practices within the German welfare state and labour market administration, which devalued degrees and previous work experience of Syrian refugees in Germany and expressing “the superiority of cultured people over those who are not cultured” (Bourdieu 2014, 158). The study finds not only neglect in bureaucratic practices as job centre agents to do not draw on national foreign labour credentials accreditation infrastructures, but also stresses that neglect and dismissal of previous experiences and skills devalues refugees’ habitus and “hope to return to a version of their previous selves” (Etzel 2021, 12)⁵⁰, encouraging them to give up past identities of class and professional status. Regarding health and belonging, a Swedish study finds that migrants in psychotherapy seek belonging in symbolic terms (formal access and right to health care), as well as in a deeper emotional sense (therapist as a local adviser) (Lindqvist and Wettergren 2018). A “social-belonging intervention” at German universities finds that such “mindset interventions” can support disadvantaged migrant students with tools to better manage

⁵⁰ With reference to (Jackson 2005; 2008).

the challenges of the host society and culture (Marksteiner, Janke, and Dickhäuser 2019, 54). Citizenship policies represent a formal barrier to belonging by setting requirements (Simonsen 2016, 1156). While research highlights on the one hand, that settler societies and early democratisers rely on attainable boundary markers for national membership (such as language skills, respect for the country’s institutions and laws, and simply feeling as part of the nation) that allow boundary crossing (Simonsen 2016, 1156), there are also findings that point to a cultural bias in citizenship regimes, such as the British, which would exclude the most vulnerable groups of migrants from actually accessing citizenship, creating “stratified tiers of belonging for migrants” (Morrice 2017a, 606). Research points to difficulties to actually cross boundaries when the host country’s values are kept as distinct and superior to migrant values, as found for the French civic integration programme (Onasch 2017, 14)⁵¹. It reflects and reproduces existing racial hierarchies of the French nation into which migrants are assumed to integrate as post-colonial migrants, reflecting the historical and contemporary contrast to construct a European, French nation:

“The program discourse thus racialized participants by assigning them essentialist, differentially valued characteristics and locating them in the long-standing relationship between Europeans and non-Europeans.”(Onasch 2017, 13)

However, inclusive integration policies⁵² can have a positive impact on the naturalisation intentions of EU/EFTA citizens and on immigrants from less developed countries “after a certain period of exposure” (Bennour 2020, 8), acting as material and symbolic means to influence immigrants’ naturalisation intentions. They define material resources, such as access to societal domains and support measures to meet requirements for long-term residence titles and citizenship, such as language competences. On the symbolic level, they send signals from authorities to non-citizens who have legitimate membership with the national community (Bennour 2020, 2f.)⁵³.

Thereby, research points to the role of subnational levels to foster belonging and establish a sense of embeddedness. Against partial exclusion from the national level, such as excluding asylum seekers from integration policies and restricting labour market access, subnational policies can be more inclusive and provide local opportunity structures for (forced) migrants to establish a sense of embeddedness and belonging. This is evident among the various inclusive city level policies providing minor employment, language courses, and some educational programmes (e.g., basic VET). These can provide some normality and naturalness in contrast to waiting, sleeping, boredom

⁵¹ With reference to (Balibar 1991, Lewis 2005).

⁵² Inclusiveness was derived from an “Integration Policy Index” (established by (Manatschal 2011).

⁵³ With reference to (Witte 2014, 195,205)

and lonesome life in reception facilities (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 246; O’Reilly⁵⁴ 2018, 16f.). Subnational integration policy making can turn migrants into “regional citizens” and provide alternative loci for emotional belonging and identification, by granting (some) access to labour markets, social benefits, political rights, recognition of cultural diversity, and strengthening their identification with and political engagement in the respective regions (Manatschal, Wisthaler, and Zuber 2020, 1481f.). While subnational levels can foster some sense of belonging and social normality in an otherwise exceptional or exclusionary situation, it can create an increasing dilemma at the individual level due to conflicting policy logics. Individual integration efforts at the local and regional level may be disregarded by national immigration authorities, such as in decisions on a right to stay (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 247f.).

Furthermore, research finds actions of (forced) migrants that resist to prescribed forms of identity, for example, as imposed by civic integration policies. Khan speaks of processes of “disidentification” (Khan 2014, 286). Khan views British civic integration policies (termed as “citizenship classes, tests, and oaths’ policy”), which have evolved since the mid-2000s, as technocratic attempts to manage diversity by constructing “an ‘imagined’ British identity”. Furthermore, Khan finds different forms of social actions that forced migrants (asylum seekers and refugees) deploy in order to challenge and resist public misconceptions of asylum seekers and refugees, reconstructing stereotypes and communicating their diverse ethnic and cultural values and experience to locals. This includes arts, culture, volunteering, befriending, and parenting (Khan 2014, 285f., 291). Taken together, measures and activities that disrupt the daily routine of waiting and uncertainty bring some sense of normality and dignity to forced migrants. This involves state provided/supported opportunities, such as some forms of employment (occasional work, voluntary, work, and community service activities), educational programmes (language courses and basic vocational training), as well as self-organised activities supported by public and non-public actors (charities) (O’Reilly 2018).

Several studies focus on the role of leisure activities for feelings of belonging and identity of (forced) migrants. They find different outcomes. Leisure activities, such as football or music making (De Martini Ugolotti 2020; Lewis 2015; Khan 2014), can be a local sphere of belonging as well as a resource for belonging across nations and localities (Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021, 4; De Martini Ugolotti 2020, 3, 12, 41). For forced migrants, leisure activities can provide a possibility to “disrupt apparently unescapable subject positions, such as ‘refugee’, ‘service user’, and ultimately ‘guest’” and experience a form of belonging that goes beyond the relationalities of host-

⁵⁴ With reference to: Saskia Sassen, „The Repositioning of Citizenship: Emergent Subjects and Spaces for Politics“, *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, Nr. 2 (2003): 41–66, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ncr.2003.0028>.

refugee relationships and experiences of hostility and exclusion (De Martini Ugolotti 2020, 40f.). The researched activities mainly evolved from below, by migrants themselves and with some support from (non-public) actors, providing in-kind benefits, such as a room to meet, or small subsidies to rent a room or afford public transportation to reach the activities. Performing such leisure activities can be a source of continuity and confidence that migrants bring with them on their migration journey and can draw on during displacement and then settling in a new country (Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021, 7). However, outcomes on belonging range, as described for football, from “bounded engagement” (limited to the activity not transcending beyond) to institutionalised community programmes and transnational intragroup belonging (Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021, 8–10). A further study (on participatory arts-based research) points to challenges in how such activities can create an inclusive sphere of belonging, in particular if working with marginalised groups, whose belonging is often constrained and contingent (Nunn 2020; 2018). In the concrete participatory arts-based project, a 15-year-old Syrian woman had written and sung a song, but subsequently developed concerns how the evolving Syrian refugee community around her would perceive that. While she did not sing in a following exhibition event and just played the drums, her family was approached by several Syrian community members voicing concerns and showing incongruencies between the young woman’s transformation and “a community still grappling with ethno-religious and gendered politics of (non)belonging in a new, post-migration socio-cultural context”. (Nunn 2020) Similarly, limitations are reported in football, being gendered, addressing mainly young, abled bodied men, and finding uneven recognition by receiving societies due to classed, racialised, gendered, and autochthonic politics (Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021, 11). Furthermore, research points to the role of discourse and everyday interactions with members of the majority population for migrants’ sense of belonging, which can be more important for subjective belonging than legal policies (e.g., citizenship policies). This is explained by the fact that immigrants engage less frequently and directly with formal boundaries (of a citizenship regime), compared to experiences of informal and subtle boundary drawing in everyday encounters (Simonsen 2019; Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 243). A study on how media discourses on Muslims impact on Dutch Somalis’ sense of ‘belonging’ in the Netherlands finds that current media discourse is predominantly experienced as negative and exclusionary in nature, but migrant responses vary, reproducing and reconstructing boundaries. This includes increased in-group solidarity and affirmation of religious bonds as Muslims, disengaging from simplistic media discourse and claiming a right to belong, while others showed fluctuating belonging that intersects with class, religion, and ethnic hierarchies (Kassaye, Ashur, and van Heelsum 2016, 783ff.). A study in Istanbul and Vienna finds that forced migrants are sensitive to public notions of “us” and “them” with regard to Islam in both localities. National political discourses largely differ, referencing a shared cultural heritage and religious brotherhood

in Turkey and showing high scepticism towards Islam in Austria. The framing in Austria is perceived as racialised, and a marker of difference, while in Turkey it builds a basis for reducing differences between Turks and Arabs (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 244ff.). High scepticism of Islam in national discourse in Austria generates a sense of alienation and anger among forced migrants in Vienna towards national authorities, who they perceive as being more concerned with individual religious affiliations than “what one is doing in terms of integration efforts”, and furthermore perceiving politicians as “promoters of negative discourse on migrants, ... creating stereotypes and setting them in a criminal context” (Rottmann, Josipovic, and Reeger 2020, 248f.). Described real life experiences included welcoming encounters as well as incidents with “normal” people that had adopted the negative discourse. A study on Anglo-Saxon immigration countries and European nation-states (Simonsen 2016) finds differences in the welcoming capacities of Western societies due to different historical roots. Criteria of nationality would rather involve attainable and loose criteria in settler societies (USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), and early democratisers (Great Britain, France, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) that allow for easier boundary crossing and mutual identification among newcomers and established majorities. This concerns criteria such as language skills, respect for the country’s laws and institutions, citizenship, and feeling as part of the nation - in contrast to (more) rigid markers such as ancestry, religion, birthplace, and having lived in the country for most of one’s life (Simonsen 2016, 1156, 1167f.). These findings suggest that the focus on migrants’ feelings of belonging to the host society and national community need to go beyond policy regimes and national models. Furthermore, the study finds a strong positive effect of the level of belonging in the majority population on migrants’ belonging. In “patriotic” societies, immigrants seem more encouraged to belong (Simonsen 2016, 1168). For Germany, a study (Perron 2020) finds for the period of 2015-16, that the leading politicians and the media made links between Germany’s own past experience of forced migration at the end of and after the Second World War and the “refugee crisis” unfolding in 2015. This would have: legitimised government decisions to open the borders; reiterated trust, reminded that Germany managed large inflows under more difficult circumstances in the past; helped to minimise the exceptionality of the current phenomenon; and challenged the common metaphor of “being rooted” as proper way of living. Taken together, it decreased constructed borders between native Germans and all other newcomers, supporting the rather new self-perception of Germany as a country of immigration (Perron 2020, 11f.).

9.7 Conclusion

Overall, issues of identity and belonging represent a fundamental and central domain for integration policies and practices as they concern the position and relationship between

individuals, or “the self”, and society. Debates on migrant integration have become important venues of negotiations of who belongs to a society and under what conditions. Put differently, integration programmes reveal who is perceived as an immigrant and what elements define national belonging. However, research highlights that belonging is a relational and dynamic process that can take place at different scales and (intersecting) spheres, and manifesting in different forms of objective and subjective attachment. Furthermore, belonging can be a positive or negative relation, and one may or may not decide to identify with certain spheres.

Thus, while research points to the complexities of what determines an individual’s identity and feelings of belonging, explicit integration policy measures are rather selective and have been increasingly focused on country knowledge, language proficiency, and adherence to liberal and social values. Moreover, institutional mechanisms can impact substantially on individual identity and feelings of belonging, keeping migrants in a limbo-like situation, devaluing past experiences and competences, reproducing racial hierarchies, and causing contradictions between migrants’ aspirations and policy goals and logics (including conflicting logics between levels of government). Apart from explicit policy instruments and institutional dynamics, research findings emphasise the role of discourse and everyday interactions with members of the majority population for migrants’ sense of belonging, which can be more important for subjective belonging than legal policies.

However, research also finds forms of belonging, attachment, and connection evolving with places and communities where migrants live, as well as social actions of (forced) migrants resisting prescribed forms of identity, challenging and resisting public misconceptions. Arts, culture, volunteering, befriending, and parenting are reported as such venues to challenge misconceptions and develop a sense of belonging and attachment. Different leisure activities can provide such a local sphere of belonging as well as a resource for belonging across nations and localities. This is also reported for religious communities, providing opportunities to establish social relations within the local community (e.g., going to church or to the mosque) and being part of a transnational community. Against partial exclusion from the national level, subnational policies can provide local opportunity structures for (forced) migrants to establish a sense of embeddedness and belonging, as seen with inclusive city level policies providing minor employment, language courses, and some educational programmes (e.g., basic VET), providing alternative loci for emotional belonging and identification.

9.8 Bibliography

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10 Attitudes Towards Migrants, Intergroup Relations and Contact

Asya Pisarevskaya & Peter Scholten

10.1 Introduction

This Integration process involves both the receiving societies and the newcomers. The way the arrival of newcomers is perceived by the host society defines the context of integration process and can either facilitate or hinder it. In this chapter we provide an overview of evidence examining the role of attitudes of receiving society towards migrants, intergroup relations and contact in the process of integration of post-2014 migrants. We focus especially on how the attitudes of host population and intergroup contact are targeted by policies and shaped through its implementation measures.

The experiences of encounter and relationships occurring between members of receiving population and immigrants also form a crucial aspect of integration process, defined by Ager and Strang in terms of ‘bridges’ and ‘bonds’ (Ager and Strang 2008). Prejudices regarding migrants might encourage discrimination and marginalisation. Integration practitioners address this problem by

awareness-raising campaigns and through initiatives bringing the local and newly arrived population together.

Public attitudes toward immigration and factors influencing them have long been measured by researchers and policy-makers alike. *Attitudes in academic literature are defined as relatively stable social constructions based on in three components: affective, behavioural and cognitive*, however, depending on the issue, they can be based on one of these components (Messing and Ságvári 2019). Attitudes of long-term residents regarding newly arrived migrants might exist independently of any direct experiences with migrants and be formed through exchange of ideas among the host society and media coverage. Intergroup relations and contact in this chapter are defined as social interactions between long-term residents and newly arrived migrants.

The attitudes of migrants toward the host society have received less attention. The projects and campaigns aimed at influencing attitudes have received limited scholarly attention, generally through descriptive case study analyses. Evaluative studies on such projects are rare. Interculturalism, and the focus on contact and dialogue has been increasingly studied by scholars in recent years as a new policy approach to governing migration-related diversity in a ‘post-multiculturalist’ era. The project “Intercultural Cities” stands out as a cross-national project creating tools for cities to facilitate good relationships between migrants and receiving population. It created a self-evaluation index describing the extent of interculturality achieved in the cities and provides guideline on how to improve interculturalism through initiatives lead by both local governments and civil society actors.

This chapter begins by outlining how attitudes and intergroup contact and relations have been approached by research, before discussing research findings regarding public attitudes towards newly arrived migrants. It discusses in what way this question is problematised in wider public and policy debates, honing in on the framing of proposed solutions. An overview is given of commonly used instruments and tools, and evidence on their effectiveness is discussed. Finally, this chapter concludes with an evaluation of the sustainability of such practices, through which recommendations can be drawn.

10.2 Research on attitudes and intercultural contact

Public opinion towards immigration and migrants is a very popular subject of investigation, and not only in Europe. Public opinion towards immigration is an important factor of politics of migration and diversity (Hampshire 2013a). It is a matter of concern for political actors, policy-makers and, of course, academic researches. There has been a wide array of reports published based on Europe-wide quantitative surveys on public opinion (Eurobarometer, Eurostat, European Social Survey) (Huddleston and Sharif, Hind 2019; Hooghe and de Vroome 2015; Hoxhaj and Zuccotti 2020; James Dennison and Lenka Drazanova 2018; Messing and Ságvári 2019). The aims of these studies vary

from capturing changes and drivers of public opinion, to examining how different factors, such as how immigrant concentration or socioeconomic contexts shape public attitudes.

Others examine to what extent individual characteristics of population determine their attitudes towards various groups of immigrants. One research project that stands out is “PUMOMIG – Public opinion, mobilizations and policies concerning asylum seekers and refugees in anti-immigrant times (Europe and Belgium)” supported by Belgian Science Policy Office (Rea et al. 2019). Field research on this project was conducted between 2017 and 2019, it was a quantitative cross-national comparative analysis of public opinion and qualitative analysis of mobilizations. The Observatory of Public Attitudes to Migration (OPAM) at the Migration Policy Centre⁵⁵ aims to uncover causal relationships surrounding public attitudes towards migrants through assessing European-wide, national, and regional variations over time and different citizen groups, with data going back to 1981. OPAM analyses these attitudes alongside a vast range of possible indicators from socio-demographic characteristics to the time spent watching TV, from contact with minorities to parental education. This database is available to

Figure 10: Frequent key words related to the topic of attitudes from the titles of reviewed research



Figure 9: Geographical locations mentioned in titles of the reviewed literature (bigger titles are mentioned more frequently)



be analysed by the general public via an open access dashboard. A couple of recent studies specifically examined how public threatening events, such as terrorist attacks, effect the attitudes of majority towards immigrant minorities and intergroup conflicts (Frey, 2020; Frey, 2021).

On the Figure 10 we can see the countries and cities mentioned in the titles of the reviewed studies. We can see that research on attitudes and intergroup contact with newly arrived migrants has been conducted both in the Mediterranean region, the Northers and Western countries of Europe, while there is no mention of Eastern or Central European

⁵⁵ <https://migrationpolicycentre.eu/opam/>

countries. Which indicates a lack of research on this topic in those geographical areas.

A lot of research has been conducted on how policies shape public opinion or attitudes toward immigration, particularly focusing on multi-culturalist policies (Niessen and Huddleston 2009; Blinder, Ford, and Ivarsflaten 2019; Hooghe and de Vroome 2015). Research has also examined whether immigration policies align with public opinion, and why (not) (Blitz 2017).

Another prominent strand of research focuses on the role of the media. Here research examines media discourses on migration, as well as the impact of media discourses on public opinion (Butcher and Neidhart 2020; Bleich, Bloemraad, and de Graauw 2015; Coninck et al. 2018; Fuochi et al. 2020; Strömbäck et al. 2021; van Klingeren et al. 2015; Blinder and Jeannet 2018). Initiatives of mass media encouraging dialogues between third country nationals and local populations vary across Europe, with some countries not having any policy surrounding this area, including Austria and Belgium. Estonia, on the other hand, developed, among other initiatives, a social media campaign raising awareness of Russian-speaking employees and their career opportunities. Assessment into these various policy initiatives begun in 2020 by the European Migration Network, but the findings have yet to be published (European Migration Network 2020).

Research on policies attempting to influence attitudes is scarcer, also as measuring the direct effect of such policies is difficult. Rather than reviewing large-scale policies, qualitative studies examine individual campaigns or projects and their effects on small groups of participants. Generally, these are local small-scale projects, and research is ethnographic or based on interviews with the participants (Lapina 2017; Mayblin, Valentine, and Andersson 2016; van Heelsum and Vermeulen 2018; Wiseman 2020).

Research on intergroup relations and how they can be improved is also a well-researched topic in the field of psychology (Jetten and Branscombe 2016). In the mid-2000s, Laundry and Wood proposed a new paradigm - 'Interculturalism' - suggesting how diverse communities could cooperate in a 'productive harmony' (Landry and Wood 2007). Interculturalism became an emerging policy paradigm in the migration-related diversity debate, that provided a positive alternative to multiculturalism, prevailing in the past. The interculturalist paradigm emphasises the importance of the intergroup contact to foster social cohesion of diverse, ethnically heterogeneous societies. While multiculturalist policy became regarded as increasing segregation and assisting the growth of far-right anti-immigrant parties (Zapata-Barrero 2017). Interculturalism is, therefore, seen as providing an attractive alternative to multiculturalism in policymaking, that can address tensions between groups in society. However, some researchers have argued that both paradigms shared much in common, namely the values of 'encouraging communication, recognising dynamic identities, promoting unity and critiquing illiberal cultural practices' and thus, cannot be regarded as truly distinct to each other (Meer and Modood 2012). Nevertheless, the Council of Europe programme, *Intercultural Cities*, launched in 2008, has supported local authorities to design and implement inclusive integration policies. A significant number of reports were published under the

programme, with examples of good practices and evaluations of policies and practices fostering intercultural contact across cities where they are implemented.⁵⁶ More scientific research evaluating the impact of this new policy paradigm on the attitudes and intergroup contact with newly arrived migrants is needed.

10.3 Attitudes of receiving society towards post-2014 migrants

Immigration ranks as one of the most important issues for EU citizens. Media attention on immigration, whether balanced or not, has been found to damage attitudes towards immigrants. This was notable in the period of the so-called ‘refugee crisis’ of 2014-2015, when the media attention increased the salience of the issue. Huddleston and Sharif found that the number of people having very negative attitudes towards immigration grew slightly between 2014 and 2015 and then fell again. This effect has been especially notable in Central Europe, with its relatively smaller immigrant populations (Huddleston and Sharif, Hind 2019).

However, contrary to popular belief, public opinion of receiving populations towards immigrants remains relatively positive and stable in the course of the period between 2002-2016 in most parts of Europe (Huddleston and Sharif, Hind 2019; James Dennison and Lenka Drazanova 2018; Messing and Ságvári 2019). Looking at data between 2002 and 2016, Messing and Sagvari identify three groups of European countries with similar patterns of accepting/rejecting attitudes towards migrants from poorer countries outside Europe. The first includes the wealthy states of Norway, Switzerland and Sweden, all having higher than average and very stable perceptions of immigrants. The second is made up of largely destination countries, including Germany and the Netherlands, where rejection of immigrants is moderate, yet fluctuates slightly. Such fluctuations may have been caused by economic hardship, such as during 2008 in Spain. The next group of countries has had a fairly high rejection of immigrants up until 2014-15, where acceptance rates rose and continued to do so over the subsequent few years. This group includes Portugal, which was in the grips of the 2008 financial crash until 2012, and the United Kingdom and Ireland. Migration was presented to be a root cause of many problems, yet this abated following the 2016 Brexit referendum. The final group of countries are unique in their increasing rejection of immigration and includes Austria, Italy and Hungary (Messing and Ságvári 2019).

Another study, by Dennison and Zrazanova, concludes that public opinion towards non-EU migrants across Europe have become more positive between 2014 and 2018, with the exception of Hungary and Sweden. The perception that immigration is linked to crime and threatens welfare, culture and employment varies across Europe, with Greece, Italy and Hungary feeling on the whole, most

⁵⁶ (Intercultural Cities 2021; Joki, Wolffhardt, and Huddleston 2018; Daniel de Torres 2019) For further information see: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/about>

threatened by immigration, and Sweden, Spain and France comparatively least so (James Dennison and Lenka Drazanova 2018).

The Fundamental Rights Report of 2021 gives an overview of hate crimes, hate speech, racism and xenophobic attitudes in various countries of Europe. It claims that in 2019-2020 there was an increase in hate speech targeting migrants and ethnic minorities online, in mass media and by political figures. The report also highlights that 33% of people in the EU feel uncomfortable when having asylum seekers and refugees as neighbours (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2021). The works of Frey (2020,2021) indicate that threatening events negatively affect the reception climate in Germany, reflected in increased hostility towards migrants, more refugee discrimination, adverse effects on mental health. For instance, 2015 New Year’s Eve (NYE) sexual assaults in Cologne led to a significant increase in daily violence towards migrants and refugees, especially in the neighbourhoods that previously has low levels of anti-immigrant sentiments (Frey, 2020). And a further study in Nice, Würzburg, and Ansbach confirmed the negative impact of terror attacks on intergroup relations and feelings of refugee’s acceptance (Frey,2021).

The most negative attitudes are among those people who feel politically disempowered or are financially insecure (Messing and Ságvári 2019). However, evidence on other factors shaping negative public opinion on immigration are mixed. Some studies show that the perception of economic threat from the side of the immigrants is an important driver of anti-immigrant sentiments among the natives. It is mainly the perception of the economic competition, rather than actual presence of economic competition, that can drive negative attitudes towards immigration (James Dennison and Lenka Drazanova 2018). Moreover, evidence show that general concerns over the (negative) impact that immigrants could have on the economy of the receiving country as a whole, are behind the negative attitudes towards immigrants, and not the individual perception of labour market competition or the wage reduction driven by foreign labour (Hampshire 2013b; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). Such effects on wages have not been found by the research.

However, other studies, based on the statistical analyses of European and US data, reveal that immigration threat to national identity is more important than economic factors as a determinant of anti-immigrant attitudes (Hampshire 2013b; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). These analyses reveal that native populations can hold great concern that immigration can erode national identity, including the norms and their native language.

The political power of right-wing anti-immigrant parties plays a crucial role in determining how anti-migrant narratives become a norm in the receiving societies (Messing and Ságvári 2019). Research points that mass media framings and narratives about immigration have a stronger effect on public opinion in the regions where the share of immigrant population is small (James Dennison and Lenka Drazanova 2018).

Another crucial driver of attitudes towards immigration is the current salience of the issue - how prominent it is in public policy discourse and the media. Eurobarometer data covering 2010 to 2017 demonstrate that the perception of immigration as being an important issue peaked alongside the ongoing refugee crisis in 2015, when salience was high. This perception of importance immigration issue generally started to decline again in 2017, alongside its salience as a national concern in most EU countries. In Italy, for example, the salience of immigration issue is still high because the country is located at the external EU border, there public opinion on immigration is more negative. Finland, on the other hand, has moderate immigration salience as well as relatively positive attitudes towards immigration (Glorius 2018).

Whilst most studies look at factors leading to negative perceptions of immigration, one study emphasised the role of humanitarianism to more positive attitudes. Humanitarianism is defined as a concern over the wellbeing of other people. This concern spills over to political support of social spending and helping fellow citizens and others in need. Humanitarianism therefore also predicts opposing opinion towards restrictive immigration policies. The influence of mass media images showing many struggles of immigrants has led to an increased support for more permissive immigration policies (Glorius 2018; Newman et al. 2015).

Research on rural contexts found that respondents in rural areas are more sceptical towards migrants and especially refugees than urban populations (Crawley, Drinkwater, and Kausar 2019). Among the reasons for those more negative attitudes research names compositional socio-demographic effects of population in rural spatial contexts, such as “higher age, lower educational attainment and poorer standards of living” (Glorius, Bürer, and Schneider 2021).

Research on intergroup relations and contact

Whether or not intergroup proximity and contact improves relations between groups is a long-debated topic in sociological and socio-psychological research. The *contact theory* suggests that interethnic contact results in less prejudice and more interethnic tolerance. While *conflict theory/ Group threat theory* claims that proximity between immigrant and native groups leads to (perceived) competition and negative stereotyping of each other. There are empirical evidence supporting both theories. A 2020 report by the Kiel Institute for World Economy brought forward evidence of the ‘contact hypothesis’ as attitudes toward immigrants are more positive when there is more contact between locals and immigrants, however this depends on local socio-economic context (Hoxhaj and Zuccotti 2020). Overall, it seems that both conflict and contact theories are true depending on various conditions. For instance, the type of contact between immigrants and natives is important: meaningful contact or accidental proximity matter for intergroup relationships. Warm, positive and personal interactions are considered meaningful and aid in fostering better relations between the two groups leading to more mutual respect. These positive interactions can occur in face-to-face encounters with no status inequality between people. On the

other hand, the interactions that are based in routine and that are impersonal can lead to feelings of threat and negative perceptions of entire minority group (Kierans 2019).

Local socio-economic context further has an influence on the nature of contact between natives and migrants. A report with data sourced from across the EU determined that in areas with higher concentrations of immigrant populations, the local populations have more positive attitudes towards 'the others', in agreement with the contact theory. However, this is only the case in areas with low unemployment and a relatively flourishing local economy (Hoxhaj and Zuccotti 2020).

Positive contact is associated with increased intercultural competence - the ability to communicate, react and respond in an appropriate way and be sensitive in the face of different cultural contexts; while negative contact is associated with reduction of intercultural competence (Meleady, Seger, and Vermue 2020). In increasingly diverse European societies, intercultural competence grows in value. It can be developed in everyday contact with members of different cultural groups. The positive or negative manner of such interactions influence the subsequent development of intercultural competence. Studies investigating this relationship found, for example, a positive interaction of a white person with a black person increased the appreciation of cultural differences and improved their intercultural competence.

10.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives on attitudes towards migrants

Public attitudes towards immigration are often used in party competition politics. Immigration has been heavily politicised, especially in the times of mass immigration inflows like a 'refugee crisis' (Krzyżanowski, Triandafyllidou, and Wodak 2018). Some parties choose to build their election campaigns on anti-immigrant sentiments, or on the contrary, on pro-immigrant and pro-diversity sentiments to attract voters that share such attitudes (Hampshire 2013b). From the integration-oriented policy perspective, however, there is a shared understanding that negative public attitudes towards immigrants impede integration, increase marginalization of groups and undermine social cohesion (Rea et al. 2019). Therefore, negative public attitudes are seen as a problem, and a policy objective of fostering more tolerant and welcoming attitudes towards newcomers is set.

In the analysed literature we have identified two main strategies to improving public attitudes to immigrants. The first one concerns managing discourses and narratives about immigrants online, in media and public sphere, while the second one focuses on facilitation of positive interactions between receiving society and migrants.

Tackling misinformation about immigrants in the media, creation of alternative positive narratives about immigration and prevention of hate speech are the most common interventions of the first type. A study analysing news articles from Germany, Spain, Italy and the Czech Republic found that those narratives included disinformation that builds upon readers' fears of migrants, linking concerns that readers already have, such as COVID-19, to migration (Butcher and Neidhart 2020).

Such disinformation increases the threat perception of migrants. Consequently, to tackle this misrepresentation of immigrants-as-threat it is advised to find a middle ground: still match the message to the main values of the audience, but continuously provide an alternative and friendly narrative about migrants. Pushing an overly humanitarian narrative to contrast the security narratives is perceived to be less effective. Discussing economic concerns, for instance, should not be avoided but rather than framing immigrants as the ultimate burden, it is important to reinforce the concept that each member of economy is vital to its functioning (Butcher and Neidhart 2020). To improve public attitudes towards immigrants more positive narratives need to be linked to people’s core values (Kierans 2019). Different ways to creating an immigrant-inclusive narrative exist, tailored to specific audience. For example, for left-leaning liberals the argument that diverse areas are ‘happier’ may be more suitable, while the right-leaning working class audience tend to be more receptive to the explanation that public funds are not used by migrants as they are generally younger. Art and cultural institutional settings have also been utilised for promotion of alternative narratives to achieve positive attitude change towards immigrants. For instance, French National Immigration History Museum, aimed to improve the perception of how immigrants have been involved in France’s history through various exhibitions and events. This museum aimed to readdress immigrant stereotypes (Kierans 2019).

Interculturalist policy paradigm can be regarded as the overarching approach under the second type policy interventions. It places significant importance on creation of peaceful, constructive, and positive interactions in localities between native and immigrant populations. Interculturalist policies aim to address prejudices and negative attitudes of diverse groups towards each other through various means (Zapata-Barrero 2015; Bello 2017). This approach prioritises social cohesion as a collective goal of living in culturally diverse settings. Specific intercultural approaches in policy could involve various initiatives to encourage mutual, reciprocal dialogue and understanding between people in of different origins, promoting dynamic and plural adherence to different identity groups, linking the groups themselves together and reducing the distinctions between who does and who does not belong to a certain identity (Yogeeswaran, Verkuyten, and Ealam 2021). Local level policies and initiatives are crucial under this paradigm, since it emphasises interactions between people. There are over 100 cities in the EU that are part of the Intercultural cities programme (Zapata-Barrero 2017). This programme assists with the development of intercultural policies at the local level, continuing to develop and test initiatives and share the successful ones with other cities in the programme, such as study visits (Council of Europe 2019). Research finds that such policy approach is rather effective in reaching improved wellbeing of people and more positive views towards foreigners (Joki, Wolffhardt, and Huddleston 2018). The findings of one study conducted in the UK highlight that intercultural contact can have positive influence on attitudes towards immigrants. Positive contact between member of different cultural groups, increases their intercultural competence overtime. Such higher intercultural competence leads to lower instances of negative contact with different cultural groups. Although it was not possible to prove through their methodology, the authors suggest that intercultural interactions and the resulting competence could follow mutually reinforcing feedback loops (Meleady, Seger, and Vermue 2020).

10.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

in shaping attitudes to immigrants and enhancing intergroup contact

The analysed literature examines various kinds of instruments to foster positive attitudes of receiving population towards the newcomers and facilitate intercultural encounters.

Among the regulatory instruments anti-discrimination laws or acts are often used. Yearly reports by European Agency for Fundamental Rights give an overview of the laws and directives tackling negative attitudes towards ethnicised others. Racial Equality Directive and the Council Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia are mentioned as the foundational instruments on European level. In 2020 the EU adopted its first anti-racism action plan for the next five years, which is an important step towards combating both individual and institutional forms of racism in all EU policies. Instruments, linked to public sentiments more closely are those preventing hate speech and incitement to hatred. In the member states, an Austrian law against hate on the internet addressing racist and xenophobic statements entered into force early 2021, providing additional procedural support to the victims of such actions. While the Netherlands has adopted a law criminalising incitement to hatred, discrimination or violence against persons on grounds of race, religion or belief. Number of other countries, including Ireland, Portugal and Luxembourg made legal steps towards doing the same (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2021).

Economic instruments relevant to shaping public attitudes towards immigrants often include subsidies and funding for ‘intercultural spaces’ or training projects. Examples of such instruments include an ‘Integration garden’ in Copenhagen, Denmark, a project where plots of land were divided in a pattern through which long-term residents and newcomers become direct neighbours. This community garden offered 150 garden plots to native Danish, and the other 150 to people born outside of the country, which were positioned side-by-side, allowing for more possibilities of interaction between Danish and non-Danish gardeners. This project thus installed an ‘integration grid’, as described by the authors. It is important to note, however, that most of gardeners born outside Denmark were often employed, white, and generally from within the EU (Lapina 2017). Another initiative in Scotland ‘Habibi project’ aimed at providing individual support for refugees under 18 years old and provide group activities for young people of diverse backgrounds, such as weekend trips. It created an intercultural space for the youth to interact with each other and discuss each other’s culture (Wiseman 2020). Another project to be highlighted aimed to foster ‘meaningful’ intercultural contact by bringing together children from Muslim and Jewish backgrounds who were living in the same UK towns. They had opportunities to play sports together, but also to interact in more informal settings outside of these officially organised activities (Mayblin, Valentine, and Andersson 2016).

Informational and communication-based instruments are rather commonly discussed in analysed literature. Several studies mention information campaigns and other means promoting different narratives about immigrants. In Bristol a #rethinkingrefugees campaign was launched. This campaign framed messages about the refugees along economic rather than humanitarian lines. The aim of this campaign was to change the narrative about refugee population away from a humanitarian one that emphasised their need for help and support, to an economic one pointing at the added value they bring to the receiving communities. This way refugees can be perceived as assets to the local economy as opposed to a drain on resources. Pre-Ignite process was the first stage of the whole initiative in which refugees were given the support they need, i.e. mental health support, to live independently. A further programme, Ignite, worked to connect refugees with employers providing higher-paid job opportunities. Such campaign by re-framing narratives of refugees also helped to improve their employment opportunities (Kierans 2019).

Barcelona Anti-Rumour Network is a strategy established as a reaction to xenophobic and racist manifestations that gained ground in Barcelona. The strategy has changed from providing rigorous information to incorporating emotional and relational dimension. It also fostered meeting spaces and engagement between people of diverse origins (Casademont Falguera, Cortada Hortalà, and Prieto-Flores 2018). Information campaigns, trainings for CSOs and network events were also part of the programme against extremism launched in the UK in 2016. This programme called ‘Building Stronger Britain Together’ aimed to support civil society in creating more resilient communities and stand up to extremist movements. The programme included a range of national communications activities on issues like hate crime, and local campaigns tailored to the needs of the target area, promoting messages of diversity and tolerance, celebrating shared values and showcasing civic participation (Home Office 2019). One of the main tools of the project ‘Intercultural Cities’ is to create “alternative narratives” about diversity of origins: positive, pluralist and progressive narratives based on intercultural principles and respect for human rights. The project has published several toolkits to support the cities in developing such narratives (Intercultural Cities 2021; Daniel de Torres 2019).

Preliminary report published by EMN on national practices of using the mass media to influence public attitudes on migration. The report mentions several AMIF-funded projects across Europe. Examples include anti-racism campaigns on public transport, broadcasting stories of refugees on national radio/TV, media forums and events where refugees communicate directly with the media representatives, media campaigns informing the audience on the importance of integration and welcoming of recognized refugees and other third country nationals in the receiving society, TV shows about cuisine from different cultures and other similar events. The countries where media was utilised to create welcoming climate for the newcomers included over 20 countries from various regions of the EU and Norway. The countries where there were no such campaigns reported were Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Luxembourg and Sweden (European Migration Network 2020).

10.6 Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

fostering positive attitudes and intercultural contact

Relatively few studies exist that evaluate the direct effects of programmes and policies targeting attitudes of long-term residents towards the newcomers. Media campaigns, often used to shape the attitudes, are particularly rarely evaluated because it is difficult to control for other factors to estimate the real impact of the campaign. Nevertheless, in this section we provide some evidence allowing to make some inferences with regards to effectiveness of some policy instruments.

Evaluation reports of Intercultural Cities Project indicate a strong statistical link between local intercultural policies and local well-being. It is concluded that cities with intercultural policies are more likely to have populations that believes immigrants are good for their cities. Strong intercultural policies can also improve satisfaction and trust towards public services and local administration (Joki, Wolffhardt, and Huddleston 2018).

The anti-extremism programme “Building a Stronger Britain Together” was evaluated as having positive outcomes by the Home Office, UK. The report highlights that the skills and experience of the CSOs’ staff, the quality and diversity of the content, the endorsement of activities by community leaders are essential for success. Activities that involved people from different backgrounds coming together for interaction were effective. More isolated individuals in the communities were more likely to be reached in a safe setting with small number of participants. Complex bureaucratic procedures and delays in funding, and short-term funding created obstacles for implementation of interventions, because that did not allow CSOs to retain staff and create trusted projects, also one-time activities had a limited impact (Home Office 2019).

In terms of communication, MPI report concluded that overly positive messages could be perceived as disingenuous. Messages failing to tap into audience’s lived experiences or do not come from a trusted source may be dismissed. It was emphasised that correct communication strategy is an integral part of integration policy (Ahad and Banulescu-Bogdan 2019).

Qualitative studies that evaluated individual projects aiming at improvement of public attitudes to immigrants give insights to some challenges in the implementation of informational campaigns. Evidence state that informational campaigns based on economic potential of migrants are sometimes risky, as some segments of the population might perceive them as a testament that immigrants receive special treatment (Kierans 2019). Distrust in public institutions was one of the difficulties in the implementation of the Barcelona Anti-Rumour initiative. Therefore, the creation of a network of non-governmental actors was very important in this case. The authors also raised

doubts whether some campaigns may have also legitimised and reproduced the very rumours they are trying to combat (Casademont Falguera, Cortada Hortalà, and Prieto-Flores 2018).

With regards to the measures that aimed to facilitate intergroup contact, the study on the ‘integration garden’ in Copenhagen found that overall, the gardeners were motivated to join the project mainly because of their desire to garden, rather than for the purpose of integration. Furthermore, participants themselves established a dichotomy between the ‘Danes’ and the ‘foreigners’, suggesting that the project’s goal of cutting down such differences was largely unsuccessful (Lapina 2017). Another study emphasised the importance of meaningful contact in the intercultural encounters. Meaningful contact is identified as contact which “breaks down prejudice and translates beyond the moment to produce a more general respect for others” (Mayblin et al. 2016, p.1). Creating the opportunity for meaningful, rather than superficial encounters is crucial to creating a socially cohesive environment, particularly in diverse cities, where groups may have historically and culturally rooted oppositions. However, because further divisions, such as social differences, between the two groups, the impact of one off project on meaningful contact is limited (Mayblin, Valentine, and Andersson 2016). Analysis of a ‘Habibi project’ in Glasgow highlights that language barriers leads to difficulties in quality interactions between youth of diverse origins, and often result to misunderstanding. Moreover, an overemphasis on the participants’ identities being based on their ethnic background sometimes led to highlighting more differences and tensions. Nevertheless, the Habibi project demonstrates how open multicultural spaces provide good opportunities for mutually beneficial cultural learning and understanding and fosters feelings of recognition (Wiseman 2020).

10.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided a review of literature on policy practices on attitudes towards migrants, intergroup relations and contact. A core part of the literature deals with publication opinion towards immigration and migrants, focusing either on the impact of policy on public opinion as the other way around. The role of the media has received much attention in this context as well.

Research shows, perhaps in contradiction with popular perception, that publication opinion towards immigrants is largely positive in Europe. And has even become more positive between 2014 and 2018 in the context of the so-called refugee crisis. However, it is clear that there are distinct differences between countries as well as fluctuations within countries. Various factors, such as fear for economic competition, impact on national identity, the power of right-wing anti-immigrant parties and issue saliency seem to play a key role in such differences and fluctuations.

Intergroup relations received significant attention amongst others in the context of attention for interculturalism. The impact of intergroup relations has been a traditional issue of controversy

between believers of contact or conflict theory. Evidence seems to support both theories but under different or specific conditions.

There seem to be two prominent strategies towards improving public attitudes to immigrants: managing discourses and narratives about immigrants online (including tackling misinformation) and facilitating positive interactions between society and migrants (including so called interculturalist policy strategies). These strategies come with a variety of instruments and practices. This includes anti-discrimination laws, but also the creation of intercultural spaces or training projects, or information campaigns for promoting different narratives. Evidence suggests that such instruments can be effective, but that there also risks when not applied in a context-sensitive way (risking that they could be perceived disingenuous, or when the implementation does not involve 'meaningful' relations).

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11 Civic Participation, Sports, Arts and Leisure

Albert Kraler & Manfred Zentner

11.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of research evidence on integration policies and practices that address (newly arrived) migrants’ and refugees’ civic participation with a focus on arts, sport and leisure activities. It is based on literature published between 2008 and 2021 that address specific policies and practices in Europe and/or theoretical/conceptual issues on the topic. The chapter focuses on various forms of participation of migrants in public live from leisure activities like sport and culture to participation in organisations. Civic participation itself covers a broad variety of activities from partaking in projects organised by different bodies to volunteering in activities and to membership in NGOs, from active support of political grassroots movements to self-organised lobby or support entities. For this chapter civic participation is defined as any form of voluntary and active involvement in a community. The different fields of participation range from involvement in

unorganised leisure activities to sport clubs, art projects and musical activities and from religious engagement to political involvement in organisations. All active involvement is voluntary and occur in the third place (Oldenburg 1999). Furthermore, it focuses only on the active involvement of newly arrived migrants themselves – and it focuses on participation in leisure rather than on participation in pressure groups with a political aim.

After 2015, a strong focus of research on participation was on the one hand on the civic involvement of members of the host societies to foster and promote refugee’s integration. On the other hand, the interest in migrant’s active involvement in projects, activities and NGOs especially regarding the impact on integration was spiked once more to have a focus on refugees and newly arrived migrants. Research on first- and second-generation migrants’ social and civic participation in local organisations, sport clubs, cultural associations, NGOs political parties and other has a long tradition (Blecking 2001; Cronin and Mayall 1998; Martiniello 2011; Mutz and Burrmann 2011; Schneider et al. 2012). These approaches research immigrants’, second, and even third generations’ involvement in voluntary activities analysing this involvement regarding forms of social integration, feeling of belonging, social capital, cultural capital, socio-economic dis-advantage, gender roles and more. The impact of migrant’s active participation in sport or cultural associations on integration became an issue of research only in the last 15 years.

Research on civic and social participation of newly arrived migrants and refugees in organised leisure activities is less present in migration research journals but finds a place in leisure or sport sociology. Primary the focus of this research has been on the positive impact of participation on health and well-being and a feeling of belonging, the concentration on social integration of newly arrived migrants followed.

In this chapter we provide an overview on the research on the integrative effect of participation in social and civic activities like sports, arts, culture, and leisure. Starting with a review of the different topics covered by research, the chapter will lead to a presentation of results grouped by the fields of participation. Furthermore, it provides a spotlight on the connections with integration policies research reviewed.

11.2 Research on civic participation, sports, arts, and leisure

Research on integration *through* participation in voluntary activities is placed in different theoretical frameworks and scientific spheres. Research papers stem from socio psychology, sociology, mental health, from political science or from cultural anthropology. The analytical framework for studying integration is defined either by exploring the feeling of belonging or the feeling of community (De Martini Ugolotti 2020; Fader, Legg, and Ross 2019; Spaaij 2015; Lewis 2015; Nunn 2018; 2020; Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021; Stone 2018; Takle 2013), analysing the development of social capital (Saksela-Bergholm 2020; Saksela-Bergholm, Toivanen, and Wahlbeck 2019; Spracklen, Long, and

Hylton 2015; Smith, Spaaij, and McDonald 2019; Greenspan et al. 2018; Agergaard 2011), or by reviewing the process of acculturation (Elbe et al. 2018; Hindriks, Verkuyten, and Coenders 2015; Ryba et al. 2018; Stura 2019; Whitley, Coble, and Jewell 2016; Fader, Legg, and Ross 2019). Furthermore, we find different descriptions and basic principles of societies ranging from transnationalism to multi-culturalism and post-migrant societies. This last differentiation frames the understanding of integration and integration policy in the respecting geographical regions. Whereas e.g., in the British context in many analyses feeling of belonging in cultural groups is studied regarding identity building in a multi-cultural society, research in Germany mostly focus on fostering social capital by interethnic contacts or on acculturation through participation in associations or projects.

Many studies are anchored in other fields than migration and integration studies. While they extensively discuss specific disciplinary concepts, (civic) participation often remains undertheorized and used in a descriptive manner. Thus, different degrees or scales of participatory involvement are described, but not further examined. As Niemi et al. (2019) note “[s]ocial participation plays a key role in the integration of refugees and asylum seekers into their host societies, and is also closely tied to the mental health of those populations.” In their review and conceptual model on social participation and mental health they define four domains for participation of refugees and asylum seekers – ethnic communities, religious congregations, sports and leisure groups as well as political associations (Niemi et al. 2019, 13). The paper does not explicitly include arts, music and theatre into the third domain, sports and leisure groups. The different fields of participation range from involvement in unorganised leisure activities to sport clubs, art projects and musical activities and from religious engagement to political involvement in organisations.

Following topics are discussed in the literature:

- **sports in general:** positive effects on integration and sense of belonging (Fader, Legg, and Ross 2019; Agergaard and Cour 2012; Mohammadi 2019; Makarova and Herzog 2014; Whitley, Coble, and Jewell 2016; Elbe et al. 2018; Spaaij 2015; Smith, Spaaij, and McDonald 2019; Middleton et al. 2020; Flensner, Korp, and Lindgren 2021)
- **certain sports, organised sports:** sport clubs (Stura 2019; Tuchel et al. 2021; Doidge, Keech, and Sandri 2020; Dowling 2020); Cricket (Islam 2018); football/soccer (Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021; Stone 2018; Fader, Legg, and Ross 2019; McDonald, Spaaij, and Dukic 2019); mixed-sex sports (rugby) (Pizzolati and Sterchele 2016)
- **Challenging the role of sport for integration:** (Spracklen, Long, and Hylton 2015; Nobis and El-Kayed 2019; Marucco 2020)
- **arts/culture:** arts in general in post-migrant societies (Schramm 2019), role of music for diasporic belonging (De Martini Ugolotti 2020), participatory arts-based research mediates belonging (Nunn 2020), music and health (Lenette and Sunderland 2016), Music and dancing (Lewis 2015), arts-based approaches (Nunn 2018; Gross et al. 2021), arts education (Rowe 2021)

- **nature-based activities:** planned nature-based integration (Singleton 2021; Gentin et al. 2019; 2018; Banaś 2021; Pitkänen et al. 2017), leisure activities in nature (Lewis 2015)
- **participation in social activities:** neighbourhood activities, NGOs, projects (Osima 2019; Nikki Scholten; Sennay Ghebreab; Tamar de Waal 2019; Kierans 2021)
- **religion and integration:** support or hinderance of integration though religion (Beek and Fleischmann 2020; Conner 2019; Foner and Alba 2008; Kogan, Fong, and Reitz 2020; Maliepaard and Schacht 2018; Sarli and Mezzetti 2020)

Even though in almost all research papers references to integration policies are made, only in few the connection is pointed out and analysed. Especially studies on the situation in the Nordic countries offer a critical discussion on the coherence of participation practices and policy expectations.

11.3 Integration situation of post-2014 migrants with regard

to civic participation, sports, arts leisure

(1) Sport and integration

The analysis of participation of immigrants in sports has a long tradition in research on migrant integration, covering different issues (Braun and Nobis 2011; O’Driscoll et al. 2014; Makarova and Herzog 2014; Nagel et al. 2020; Smith, Spaaij, and McDonald 2019; Janssens and Verweel 2014). Walseth and Fasting (2004) note that in European countries “the sport associations are thought to be mini-democracies”, and they furthermore point to the argument “that immigrants can learn the majority group’s values and norms easily by participation in sport which is exemplified by fair play and democratic values.” This citation describes the prevailing opinion on the impact of participation in sport organisations well: a way for migrants to learn about the host society – and many would argue a call for assimilation. A report for the European commission (Sennett et al. 2016) points to various (other) positive effects that participation in sport and physical activities could have – among other: creating ownership, cultural exchange, development pathways, and enhancing cultural sensitivity. The report provides an extensive list of sport projects focussing on the integration of migrants and refugees. In a similar vein, Spaaij et al. (2019) show the steep increase in research papers on the topic of sport and refugee after the big influx of asylum seekers and refugees in 2015.

Regarding newly arrived migrants’ participation in sport activities after 2014 one focus was on the impact on health. Beside the positive impact of sport and physical activities on general health research also shows high correlations of physical activity and mental health respectively resilience. Research with asylum seekers and refugees can demonstrate the positive effect of physical activities on mental health especially on post-traumatic stress disorder (Nilsson et al. 2021; Ley and Barrio

2019). Ley and Barrio (2019) explain “a resource-oriented, trauma-sensitive approach to sport”. Ley and Barrio (2019) focussing on PTSD in various forms but making it explicitly applicable for the case of refugees. Regarding the health provision it has to be pointed to the fact that also individual, non-organised sport and physical activities and not only participation in clubs support mental health.

“Cultural identity is central to health” opens an article (Mezzich et al. 2009) and highlights an aspect also provided by involvement in sports, especially in sport organisations: the feeling of belonging. The impact of involvement in sport activities on the feeling of belonging respectively on a sense of community is analysed in a number of papers (e.g. Fader, Legg, and Ross 2019; Doidge, Keech, and Sandri 2020; Nunn, Spaaij, and Luguetti 2021) with different foci on belonging. On the one hand belonging is framed as the feeling of being integrated, being part of an interethnic community in the host society. On the other hand, it can be interpreted as being part of an ethnic group providing cultural identity.

Social capital defines another analytical frame of migrants’ participation in sport activities (Walseth 2008; Smith, Spaaij, and McDonald 2019; Burrmann, Braun, and Mutz 2019). Primary social capital is based on bonding inside a group and is strongly connected with a feeling of belonging and a sense of community. Islam (2018) proved the positive effect of an ethnic sport activity for the development for individual strategies to build up and perform an ethnic identity. The sense of belonging to the is furthermore developed in ethnic sport activities. Fader et al. (2019) showed the positive effect of a sense of community inside a youth soccer club for refugees on the newly arrived migrants’ resilience and perceived cultural adjustment and acculturation.

On the other hand, research also points to correlations between participation in sport and migrant background (O’Driscoll et al. 2014; Braun and Nobis 2011) and analyses forms of disadvantage and discrimination. Among other education background, language proficiency, socio-economic background but also cultural background can present obstacles for participation in sport organisations. Newly arrived migrants regularly fall in one or more than those categories affecting participation in sport clubs, and thus face obstacles to participate.

Furthermore, it has to be emphasised that participation in physical activities and in sport organisations alone cannot guarantee social inclusion. It depends strongly on the positive and supportive engagement of the members of the sport organisations but also on the active involvement of the participants. Mohammadi (2019) pointed to the factor of time of involvement but she also highlighted other obstacles like language barriers and – and this is essential especially for projects with women – lack of access to childcare service during the activities.

Agergaard (2018) describes in her analysis the over boarding hope that participation in sport alone could be a pathway to integration in other fields of society like education, the labour market or citizenship. Integration policies employing sport activities are focussing too much on the aspect of social capital provided through involvement in organised sports, she argues, which is not per se

promoting integration. Stura (2019) shows in her study that refugees who participate in sport clubs experience integration both in the team and in the club; she also reports positive effects on language learning and experiencing local culture. Nevertheless, she points to the fact that this is only a step to integration and cannot be the only issue (ibid.). The success of integration cannot be based on participating in sport activities alone, it is rather the effort of trainers, coaches, managers and other club members to promote equality on the one hand and foster community values on the other (Doidge, Keech, and Sandri 2020).

In a similar vein a Swedish study (Flensner, Korp, and Lindgren 2021, 10) shows that the leaders of the analysed sport club “articulated their belief that integration, as they perceived the concept, was beyond what they could influence through their work”. In this study the respondents pointed to the fact that integration is connected also to structural factors such as “breaking residential segregation, reducing economic inequality through access to work” (ibid.). In contrast to “integration” the responsible in the sport club see inclusion as their main and also reachable aim.

A study with ten Swedish sport clubs (Hertting and Karlefors 2021) present comparable results stating that the clubs have potential for contribution to personal development and can also foster social connectedness. Yet the study also finds that building bridges between refugees and asylum seekers on the one hand and the host society on the other in the form of bridging social capital takes more efforts than just involvement in sport activities. Furthermore, the analysis shows that sport policy and the sport clubs’ politics and strategies often do not align with integration policy since sport clubs are more interested in sport performance than in participation.

(2) Arts and culture for integration

Like sport clubs, also cultural associations provide opportunities for migrants and refugees to get involved in a more active role– in the sense of deciding on the nature of the activities and defining the art production. In many forms of art – e. g. literature, poetry, painting, drawing, sculpturing, film – but also in performing arts – e. g. music, theatre, dance – freedom of expression is an essential part for the artists. So, participation in arts and culture is often not only part-taking, but part-giving, co-creation and creation. Regarding participation concepts (Arnstein 1969) these activities show higher degrees of participation than being part in arts and culture – e. g. movies about newly arrived migrants – or consuming arts or culture – e. g. listening to music – or being involved without being able to make decisions – e. g. being member of a team or following rules.

Research on arts-based integration projects and participation in culture seems to focus more on post-migrant societies (Schramm 2019; Martiniello 2015) with interculturality, (super)diversity and hybridisation (Vanderwaeren 2014); assimilationist approaches like learning to accept rules are not reflected in the analysed literature. Thus, other indicators for integration are analysed in this research. Strengthening the self-concept, identity building, feeling of belonging and sense of community are seen more important than intergroup contacts with the host society. Culture and

arts organisations have the ability to integrate refugees in the local society. Gross et al. (2021, 373) assign associations the potential of providing transformative services by “providing Integrative Art Projects like those that include refugees in plays or solicit their input on museum exhibitions”. In this regard transformative services are seen as an approach to provide services for newly arrived migrants and refugees (Nasr and Fisk 2019).

Mental health on the other hand is also in the focus of research (Ugurlu, Akca, and Acarturk 2016; Morison, Simonds, and Stewart 2001; Chapman et al. 2001; Rousseau et al. 2014) but in these cases various art-based approaches from therapy to performing arts were analysed regarding the effectiveness mainly for PTSD.

Beside the positive impact on health, research on participation in arts and culture focus strongly on the individual in the group, the feeling of belonging and on the construction of ethnic or hybrid cultural identity (Baily and Collyer 2006; DiMaggio and Fernández-Kelly 2015; Kasinitz and Martiniello 2019; Lewis 2015; Marsh 2017; Martiniello 2015; 2019; Martiniello and Lafleur 2008; Vanderwaeren 2014).

Lewis (2015) describes identity building supported by music and dance and feeling of belonging to an ethnic group of African (from Angola, Cameroon, DRC, Zimbabwe) and Kurdish (from Iraq and Iran) refugees. She shows the impact of visiting ethnic music nights (e.g. Angolan organised by members of the local African community or Kurdish events) and of dancing traditional or typical dances in traditional outfits on feeling of belonging to an ethnic group. In her research she can highlight the enhancing or even fostering effect of such participation.

Active creation in arts and culture like literature, comics, film, music, and other art-based activities are also topic of research, including their impact on mental health and social integration (Nunn 2018; 2020; Schramm 2019).

Active music making is another means for integration of newly arrived migrants; it enables identity building, promotes resilience and foster intergroup exchange. Wellbeing and integration go hand in hand, following the research paper analysing a community music project enabling the participation of refugees (Vougioukalou et al. 2019). The research shows that a sense of community and the feeling of belonging of refugee women in a well-established Welsh community choir improved the wellbeing of the refugees. It furthermore helped establishing inter-ethnic exchange and thus fostering social inclusion. Also set in the United Kingdom is the analysis of a co-creating weekly music sessions for and with refugees (De Martini Ugolotti 2020). This research points to the development of diasporic belonging by expressing themselves in the context of forced displacement, marginality, and insecurity. Thereby self-efficacy is improved. The development of self-esteem, identity and resilience is also highlighted in a study with newly arrived migrant children in Australia which analysed musical play as a method (Marsh 2017).

The participatory arts-based research project “Dispersed Belongings” (Nunn 2018; 2020) highlights the importance of refugees’ expression of feelings of (non)belonging. The research points to five dimensions – relations, resources, reflection, representation and recognition – of the young research-artists’ output of transformative opportunities for belonging in and beyond the project. Especially the recognition of the refugees’ belonging both to their ethnic communities and their surrounding is seen as essential result of the participatory research.

(3) Nature-based integration

In the Nordic countries Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden nature-based integration activities have been developed as a new approach for the integration of immigrants. The concept was co-created in a cooperation of NGOs and state institutions from the four Nordic countries. As Gentin et al. (2018, 16) point out, “Nature-based integration is about both nature itself and nature as a base for empowering the immigrants to take part in their new society”. The approach refers to the positive effect of nature for mental and physical health on the one hand, and to the importance in the Nordic countries of experiencing nature and spending leisure time outside on the other hand. Against this background, the Nordic Council of Ministers founded a project to analyse the role of nature for the integration of immigrants. Language learning is pointed out as a positive element of this intergroup approach. Reports (Gentin et al. 2018; Pitkänen et al. 2017) show that the approach has big potentials but evaluation methods for further projects should be developed.

(4) Religious participation and integration

One major element of civic participation is participation in religious groups. Foner and Alba (2008) describe the different understanding of religion as hinderance or support for integration in the society in Western Europe and USA respectively. They point to the fact that in many European countries nationalist and populist politicians argue against refugees and migrants using the argumentation that the Islam is a threat to values and integration. On the other hand, Foner & Alba (2008, 361) highlight the American paradigm of the positive role of religion noting that religious membership offers a refuge and provides newly arrived migrants a network of co-ethnics, promotes feeling of belonging helping to deal with the challenges of immigration and helps young people to move ahead. European research focuses mainly on differences between religion of migrants and the majority of the host society and thus mainly on Islam, Foner and Alba say. A research by Bloom et al. (2015) shows that religious beliefs (independent of the religion) support welcoming of migrants of the same religion but strong religious social identity fosters opposition to members from dissimilar groups. Sarli and Mezzetti (2020) argue that in Western Europe political secularism fostered cultural secularism leading to a loss of importance of religion in the public and private life, which frames research in this domain (Sarli and Mezzetti 2020, 444). It is striking that only few research is done on the role of religious participation of post 2014 migrants for integration. Available

studies are focussing on the supporting role of religious organisation, often with involvement of already established migrants (Karakayali 2018).

Kogan et al. (2020, 3546) propose various effects of religion on integration: religion might effect integration “through 1) its function as an identity marker, (2) religious content and individual characteristics attributed to religious affiliation, (3) resources acquired through religious participation, (4) signals conveyed through religious membership, and finally (5) majorities’ overt discrimination against some religious minorities.”

Beek and Fleischmann (2020) analyse Dutch data regarding the correlation of religiosity of Muslim migrants, indicated by religious identification and practice, with indicators for migration like socio-economic partition, Dutch contacts, national identification, gender egalitarianism, language skills, Dutch friendships and sexual liberalism. They find negative relation between religiosity and language skills, Dutch friendships, and sexual liberalism but no correlation with the other indicators. They conclude that the degree of religiosity does not hinder the integration of Muslims in the Dutch society.

That differences religious believes support or hinder integration in Western European societies is also analysed regarding two Christian congregations in Dublin. Conner (2019) studies a multicultural, nondenominational Christian church composed from Irish-born and foreign-born from around the world. The research showed that the church promoted interethnic contact and therefor supported integration, but on the other hand, Irish-born inhabitants of the community where the church was located showed scepticism – both towards the nondenominational rituals and the migrants.

11.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives

Fostering civic participation of migrants has become a policy objective in integration policies of many European countries, mainly in sports. The analysis of integration in and through sports (Agergaard 2011; 2018; Agergaard and Cour 2012; Burrmann, Braun, and Mutz 2019; Dowling 2020; Hertting and Karlefors 2021; Tuchel et al. 2021) refers to national integration policy.

The general strategy behind the analysed integration policies using the promotion of newly arrived migrants’ civic participation is based on an increase of social capital on the one hand and on fostering feeling of belonging on the other hand. Critical reviews on the positive effect of participation in sports for integration (Agergaard 2018; Dowling 2020) point out that the expectations are too high. “Looking at the rationality behind ethnic integration through sport, it becomes clear that state and non-state actors hold different perceptions of the aims of the project and thereby how the problem area is to be governed.” (Agergaard and Cour 2012) The different points of view of sport associations and municipal or national policy makers can easily lead to

divergent expectations of projects. Doidge et al. (2020) point out that also in sport policies regarding integration the role of an active sportsperson is reduced to that of the refugee and not seen holistic as someone interested in sports and physical activities. Inclusion and equal treatment to all participants in sport clubs are aims of the organisations (Doidge, Keech, and Sandri 2020; Flensner, Korp, and Lindgren 2021). Furthermore it has to be pointed to the fact that sport itself is not always as inclusive and social integrative as described (Spracklen, Long, and Hylton 2015). Social bonding capital inside the group in a sport club can also be excluding towards others.

Integration policies' use of arts-based approaches are by far not so much discussed in research. Integration by arts-based participation projects (and evaluations thereof), which are often funded by local or regional structures and policy units, point to possible connection of integration policies and cultural policies. But the positive effect of participation in arts and culture on integration, especially on promoting feeling of belonging, shows also at private as well as at commercial music events.

The nature-based integration is developed by direct involvement of state institutions of Nordic states. Its impact will only be evaluated in the future.

11.5 Commonly used instruments/tools for civic participation

The predominant tool for civic participation in sports, leisure arts and culture is funding of projects on different local, regional, national and international level. Sport clubs are financially supported for special projects aiming for integration (Tuchel et al. 2021) nevertheless the lack of other necessary support measures is also pointed out, like access to child care to enable migrant mothers to participate in sport activities (Mohammadi 2019).

Regarding religious participation the instruments of policy makers are far more diverse. Zanfrini (2020, 5) called the respect of religious rights and religious freedoms a “litmus test of the quality of democracy” in the host countries. Tools and instruments range from positive support of religious congregations to questioning the religious belief as fake argument of asylum seekers.

Financial incentives and project funding are also the main instruments for enabling arts-based interventions for integration of newly arrived migrants.

11.6 Conclusion of the chapter findings

The chapter showed researched models of integration through civic participation in sports, leisure, arts, and culture. Integration policies foster and promotes approaches in civic society organisations to support newly arrived migrants' integration by opening up to them. Many organisations are

following the call and develop special opportunities for refugees and migrants or lower the threshold to enable them to participate in existing offers.

Research shows that participation in sport activities promote mental health and has a positive impact on sense of community, on belonging, on developing of social capital and on intergroup contact. Music and dance promote feeling of belonging and has positive impact on mental health, participation in arts-based projects allows promotion of self-esteem and enables recognition of multi-layered forms of belonging. Intergroup contacts fostered in other common leisure activities, like nature-based activities, is not only positive for mutual understanding, language learning and intercultural exchange. Leisure is important for everyone's mental health especially for people in uncertainty.

Nevertheless, participating in sports, arts, culture and leisure activities alone is not sufficient to enable societal integration. All activities in organisations are building up social capital but at the same time are exclusive: Not everyone can participate in the activities; obstacles are time restrictions, language barriers costs as well as talent. But even more important than the exclusive factor of certain activities is the fact that integration happens not only in sport, arts and culture. Participation in education, the labour market, and housing cannot be replaced by participation in sports, nature activities, arts and culture.

Additionally, the interpretations and expectations of integration policies – formulated by local, regional, national or European policy makers and integration services – do not automatically coincide with sports policies – of sport clubs, public health organisations, artist and other actors in the field of leisure activities. For instance, sport clubs have mainly interest in inclusion of many people keen on sport in their activities, want to secure fun and relaxation for their participants or they focus on positive outcomes in competitions: in any case newly arrived migrants are interpreted as participants – not as a target group with special needs.

Overall, it can be followed that leisure activities in sports, arts, culture and nature are important for newly arrived migrants regarding their mental and physical health, regarding their sense of community and feeling of belonging and for social capital. All of it are positive elements for better social integration, but it can only be a part of integration at large.

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