

**The relationship between migrant integration policy
success and people's perception of migrant integration
success.**

A Europe-wide study zooming in on Greece.

Bachelorproject Human Geography & Urban and Regional Planning
Faculty of Spatial Sciences
University of Groningen

Author: Jeffry Nijhof – S2732157

Supervisor: dr. M.J. Thomas

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Abstract

While most European countries are recovering and adjusting economically, politically and culturally from the refugee crisis of 2015, Europe is still struggling with a large amount of (im)migrants living in all European countries. In order to, as a nation and a unity, have and keep control regarding (im)migrants, it is important to have sound policies in place regarding migrant integration. However, it is also important to have a look at the reality instead of only focusing on the production and improvement of policy. In this thesis, the matchability between the objective measure of success of migrant integration and the subjective evaluations of migrant integration success will be tested. This will initially be done on the European scale, in order to ultimately zoom in on Greece. The measurements are the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) and attitudes on immigrant integration. In the thesis, the chosen research methods are descriptive summaries of patterns in secondary data from MIPEX and Eurobarometer, supplemented by semi-structured interviews with individuals working in the area of migrant integration. The thesis has shown that distribution across Europe of values of both measurements is different. Where Sweden scores the highest on the objective measure and low on the subjective evaluations, Slovenia scores the other way around. Factors like age, education, and profession correlate strongly with the attitudes on immigrant integration. In the end, there are quite some similarities between the MIPEX-index and the attitudes on immigrant integration based on their values. However, speaking of matchability, the gap between the scores of the objective and subjective measure in countries is too big to consider both measurements as tools that produce similar results regarding migrant integration success. The take home message is that in the field of migrant integration, these objective and subjective measures do not form a match and should be looked at closely, but separately.

Keywords: (im)migrant, integration, attitudes, MIPEX-index, age, education, profession, policy domains

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The refugee crisis is a term that has been used actively since 2015 and not without reason. Where in 2014 roughly 40,000 people arrived in Greece, this number increased significantly to roughly 390,000 people in the first 9 months of 2015 (Gkionakis, 2016). The European Commission published estimates that suggest that the refugee crisis has 'direct fiscal complications' for all EU member states (European Commission, 2016). A lot of the asylum seekers in Europe are young professionals who are looking for a job. People fear for their jobs and their safety. It can cause anger and frustration among people (Desilver, 2015). This changes the population structure of Europe as a whole. The consequences regarding population structure work both ways. The fact that a lot of the refugees are young can help the current population ageing problem that is going on in Europe. It can, on the other hand, cause anger and frustration by people who are not part of the refugees of the refugee crisis. People fear for their jobs and their safety (Desilver, 2015).

The refugee crisis affects Europe in more ways than this, but these consequences alone show that there has to be a good and effective integration policy in place to make sure that the refugee crisis doesn't harm Europe any more than it should, but that the refugees are also treated in a human and proper way (Esses et al., 2017). Installing policies based on a top-down structure can be effective, but this isn't always the best way to deal with problems. In a lot of situations it can be useful to recognise the popular opinion regarding a certain topic. It can reveal certain aspects of a policy that don't work very well and which are hard to identify in a top-down structure of governance (de Roo, 2014). This is why the attitude of European citizens towards immigrant integration will be taken into consideration.

Relatively speaking, countries like Greece and Italy are having a harder time dealing with refugees (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2016). The main reason for choosing to zoom in on Greece is because of its geographic centrality regarding the refugee crisis of 2015. Greece and its inhabitants have been impacted the most by the crisis, mostly because of its geographical location. Because of this, it is interesting to zoom in on Greece regarding their MIPEX-score and the attitude its populations has regarding migrant integration success. After what the country went through regarding the crisis of 2015, it is especially interesting to see if the objective or subjective scores of Greece are in compliance with the scores of other European countries. The interviews conducted in Greece can serve as useful complementary data.

The refugee crisis of 2015 emphasizes the importance of having a sound integration policy in place. However, it is not only important for refugees but also for other migrants to have access to proper integration policy. Since there is no way of measuring a quantity of refugees in Europe, there are no measurements available regarding integration policy success for refugees or attitudes towards the integration of refugees. This is why this thesis will focus on the entire group of migrants, refugee or not.

Even though this research can provide relevance in both theoretical and social aspects, it is socially the most relevant if you look at the effect it can have on society as a whole. By looking at the success of integration policies and the attitudes of society towards integration, the results can provide an insight into the situation that hasn't been provided before. Policymakers can use the knowledge provided by this thesis to be more involved in the actual quality of their respective integration policy and improve the current policies where possible. This will hopefully improve the current integration process and experiences of

refugees. Additionally, integration is important for both the migrant and society. Migrants often originate from countries that do not necessarily share the same values or culture. If a country has a sound integration policy in place, these migrants might have a better shot at integrating successfully into society. This can increase their happiness, improve their attitudes towards the host society and at the same time improve the attitudes of the locals towards the migrants. On top of this, research has shown that the unemployment rate among migrants who have been in OECD-countries for more than 5 years is 50% higher than the unemployment rate among locals. Doing research on the success of migration integration can hopefully improve integration policies, attitudes of the migrant and society towards migrant integration and one another, and lower the unemployment rate among migrants (OECD, 2016).

In terms of theoretical relevance, this research can provide a stepping-stone for researchers to do more research on this topic in order to, just like this research, improve the current integration policies and thus improve the overall well-being of refugees/immigrants and the rest of Europe.

1.2. Research problem

The aim of this research is to discover the relationship between the effectiveness or success of the current integration policy and the attitude of people regarding immigrant integration. A possibility that arises when the results are in is to see if there is some kind of structural gap between the objective measure of success and the subjective measure of success. This could benefit the situation in European countries affected by the refugee crisis that do not have optimal integration policies. There are several secondary questions that arise out of this main research question:

- ‘What factors determine the success of integration policies?’.
- ‘What factors influence attitudes to immigrant integration?’. The first two secondary questions will be answered by literature review.
- ‘How does the success of integration policies and the attitude of people towards immigrant integration vary across Europe and specifically in Greece?’. This question will be answered by using descriptive statistics and geovisualisation.
- ‘To what extent do countries perform similarly in both the objective and subjective measure of (im)migrant integration success?’.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

The thesis begins with a review of the literature relating to integration, refugees, migrant integration success, and attitudes towards migrant integration success. This can be found in Subheading 2. Following this, the methods in the thesis will be explained. The MIPEX-index and data from Eurobarometer will serve as secondary data to answer the research questions. Data originating from the conducted interviews in Greece will serve as supplementary data that will help to answer the research questions. The methodology can be found under Subheading 3. After this, the results will be discussed. First, the MIPEX-index will be discussed. The distribution of scores across Europe will be discussed in 4.1.1. Following this, Greece will be zoomed in on in 4.1.2., regarding the MIPEX-index. Next, the attitudes towards integration success will be discussed. Again, there will firstly be an overview of the evaluations across Europe in 4.2.1. In 4.2.2., the extent to which certain factors have an influence on people’s attitudes towards migrant integration success will be discussed. Following the structure of Subheading 4, Greece will also be zoomed in on regarding the attitudes towards migrant integration in 4.2.3. The final section of the results can be found under Subheading 4.3. This section contains a discussion regarding the relationship between

the MIPEx-index and the attitudes towards migrant integration success. Finally, the results will be followed up by a series of conclusions (5.1), reflections (5.2) and recommendations (5.3).

2. Theoretical framework

The concept 'integration' can mean many things in different contexts and is multi-faceted. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR:8), integration 'requires a preparedness on the part of the refugees to adapt to the host society, without having to forego their own cultural identity. From the host society, it requires communities that are welcoming and responsive to refugees, and public institutions that are able to meet the needs of a diverse population' (UNHCR, 2006). The main concept for evaluating the success of integration policies is based on the MIPEx-index. The MIPEx-index stands for the Migrant Integration Policy index. The use of the index is to show the success of the integration policy that is installed in a certain country. The index allows for the identification of certain factors that are important for the successful integration of an immigrant in a country that is located in Europe (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2015). The MIPEx-index consists of eight policy domains on which countries get scored.

In the research of Cebolla-Boado and Finotelli, the MIPEx-index was compared to factors on the individual level of immigrants like parental education, gender, and the time since arrival (Migrant Integration Policy Index, 2015). They ultimately showed the integration outcomes of a cluster of countries in Southern Europe and Northern Europe (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2015). A divide between Northwestern and Southeastern European countries is possibly due to certain proposed initiatives in the Northwestern countries that are lacking in the Southeast. Examples of those initiatives are language instructions and subsidizing immigrants on the labour market (Zenou, 2008). According to Robila (2011), the lower MIPEx-scores in Eastern Europe can be due to a lack of resources and specialists. Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli (2015) also speculated of a Scandinavian cluster in terms of migrant integration policy success. This statement is supported by the research of Jensen (2016). This author confirms that Scandinavian countries have had permissive policies for a long time. After the 1990s, the integration policies of Denmark became stricter. The same goes for Norway. Drydakis and Vlassis (2010) and Economou (2010) both discuss a policy domain of Greece. Drydakis and Vlassis state that there is much discrimination in the Greek labour force. Economou states that the Grecian health sector is dealing and has been dealing with structural problems.

Attitudes are also a concept of importance in this thesis research. According to Eagly and Chaiken (1998), people obtain their attitudes by evaluating an entity either positively or negatively. An example of a country regarding its attitudes on migrant integration is Sweden. Sweden has been the largest recipient of immigrants for years due to its open immigration laws (PRI, 2017). However, because of this amount of immigrants that came to Sweden, the overall attitude of the Swedish population is changing in a negative direction (Aliti, 2014). Regarding the overall distribution of attitudes across Europe, one can expect a negative pattern in Eastern Europe. A news article of the Guardian (2015) explains the low evaluations of the Eastern European countries as a result of a history of trauma regarding immigration. However, according to Rovny (2016), the positionality of Eastern European countries towards migrant integration depends on the dominant political view in a country. Looking at some of the dominant political views presented in the Eurobarometer (2016), this

could be true. This could be an explanation for why these countries are not performing as well as Northwestern European countries in their evaluations.

By means of doing research on the attitudes of people towards immigrant integration, the voices of the citizens will be displayed. It is important to receive this kind of feedback to improve policies. There are certain factors that can have an impact on the attitude of an individual. The factors used in this thesis concern the individual level. According to Butkus et al. (2016), the factors influencing the attitudes of society towards immigrants are personal characteristics, the area that people live in, and one's socioeconomic status. This is supported by the Eurobarometer (2017), which points out age, education, and employment status as the most influential factors. Based on the literature, three factors were selected to use in this thesis. The first one is age. This factor is divided into four categories: 15 to 24 years, 25 to 39 years, 40 to 55 years and 55 years and above. According to the Eurobarometer report (2017), younger people are more likely to see immigrant integration as a positive thing, while older people tend to see immigrant integration as a problem. In opposition to this, the source 'Migrant integration statistics' (2017) shows that in 4 out of 12 of Eurostat's researched countries, the youth unemployment rate is higher for native-born inhabitants than non-natives. This could be more of a reason for the younger people to be less positive towards migrant integration success. However, this is contradicted by the results from the research of Gorodzeisky (2011), who concludes that younger people are more likely to be inclusive towards minority integration and older people are more likely to be exclusive. Next to age, the factor 'end of education' is used. This factor is also divided into categories: end of education before 15 years, end of education between 16 and 19 years, end of education after 20 years, and still studying. The relationship between education and the attitudes towards migrant integration according to the Eurobarometer report is similar to 'age'. People who are more educated are more likely to see migrant integration as something good, while people who are less educated are more likely to see migrant integration as something bad. A good amount of sources support this statement, like Jarochava (2017). Chandler and Tsai (2001:186) also agree and link this relationship to several factors: 'wider knowledge, more critical habits of thought, greater security, or merely a more sophisticated defense of their class interests'. Paas and Halapuu (2012) agree and relate it to being in accordance to the human capital theory. The final factor is 'occupational class', which categorizes the population into subgroups according to their profession. These categories are: self-employed, managers, other white collars, manual workers, house persons, unemployed, retired, and students. Of these categories, Jarochava (2017) points out that people from the categories 'other white collars', 'managers', and 'students' are more likely to be positive towards migrant integration success than people from the categories 'manual workers' and 'house persons'. Paas and Halapuu (2012) explain that this could be due to the lower amount of socio-economic risks that people in higher occupational classes experience. The arrival of immigrants poses less of a threat to the people in higher occupational classes than to people in lower occupational classes. Figure 1 shows the conceptual model of the research.

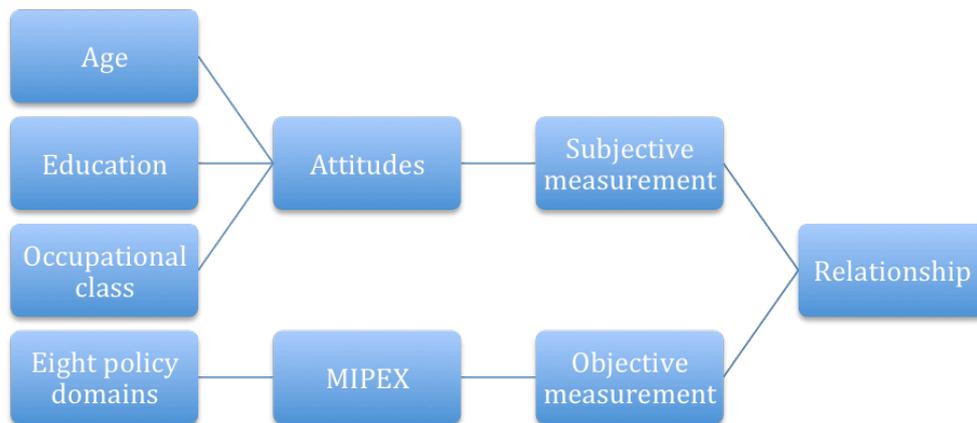


Figure 1: The conceptual model of the research.

3. Methodology

3.1. Secondary data and descriptive methods

The secondary data that is used in this thesis consists of other scientific literature and databanks that provided the information needed to ultimately answer the central and secondary research questions of the thesis. One example is to use the data from the Eurobarometer (2017) to see what the attitudes are of European citizens towards migrant integration in their country. Another quite specific example is the MIPEX-index. This index is originally based on eight policy domains. The quality of both types of secondary data is quite good overall. However, there are limitations to the data from Eurobarometer, because of the attitudes being expressed in percentages in the dataset. The weakness of the Migrant Integration Policy Index is that it is based on the performance of migrants in eight policy domains, but it does not necessarily say something about the actual policy in place in a country.

The creation of a statistical model is necessary to determine whether there is or is not a relationship between the variables 'success' and 'attitude'. Once the model was finished, the analysis started in order to see if there is a certain significance between the variables. Based on these results, this part of the research could be answered. Next to this, the extent to which individual socio-demographic factors contribute to the attitude of people regarding migrant integration is shown.

3.2. Supplementary primary data and qualitative interview

The primary data is collected through the conducting of interviews with experts in the field of migration and integration. Several organizations that serve or deal with refugees/migrants were contacted to ask if they would be willing to participate in the research. The majority of the organizations expressed their consent. The questions that were asked mainly concerned the possible explanation(s) for the success of integration policies and the attitudes of people towards immigrant integration. The qualitative research method should help support answers to secondary questions as supplementary data. The primary data is collected during a week of field work in Athens, Greece. In order to end up with the desired results, the interviews were executed by means of an interview guide. This guide can

be found in Appendix B. The interview is a semi-structured interview. Once all the desired data was collected, the interviews were transcribed. Once that part was done, the gathered qualitative data was analyzed by means of coding it thematically and to see whether there is some structure in all of the collected data that could be usable for the thesis. The thematical coding is done through a programme called Atlas.ti.

Interviews were conducted in a foreign country about a sensitive topic in this country. It is important to take the feelings of the respondents into consideration. The main ethical considerations of importance for this research to consider are: to provide the participants with an adequate amount of information about the research method, to tell them that they have time for consideration before consent is provided, to tell the respondents that they can also stop if they want to, to ask for permission to record the interview, and to have respect for possible cultural differences and treat those differences respectfully. Another aspect of importance is positionality. It is important to pay attention to the interviewer's positionality since that person is a complete outsider.

4. Results

4.1. Migrant Integration Policy success

4.1.1. Europe's policy success

If you look at the MIPEX-scores of all participating countries depicted in Figure 1, there are several tendencies that can be detected (Migrant Integration Policy Index, 2015). At first sight, one can see that the countries with the highest scores are Sweden, Portugal, Finland, and Belgium. The countries that are situated in the lower ranks are Turkey, Latvia, Cyprus and Lithuania. Figure 2 shows the scores of the countries in all respective policy domains, while Figure 3 shows the overall scores of the countries. Looking at the high and low-ranked countries, there is a pattern visible in which countries in the northwest of Europe are more likely to be higher ranked than countries from other parts of Europe. The lower scores are more likely to belong to countries from the southeast of Europe. Other countries with high scores are Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Other countries that are located in the southeast of Europe and also score on the lower end of the spectrum are Slovakia, Hungary, Greece, Bulgaria, and Croatia. The higher MIPEX-scores of Northwest European countries can be explained by the initiatives that a lot of these countries have to help immigrants. Examples are the subsidizing of immigrants in Sweden, and the right to language instruction in Germany and other countries (Zenou, 2008). An interview respondent, called Dionysia Lambiri, confirmed that there are barely initiatives in Greece regarding language instruction even though a good amount of immigrants in Greece could use language instructions. The lack of such initiatives could explain why countries like Greece in the Southeast of Europe are scoring lower on the MIPEX-index. The overall low scores of the European countries can be due to other reasons. Research of Robila (2011) shows that the lack of resources in Eastern European countries contributes to an inadequate policy system. Following this, there will be no adequate national monitoring and evaluation of the policy. Additionally, there is not a sufficient amount of specialists available in most Eastern European countries.

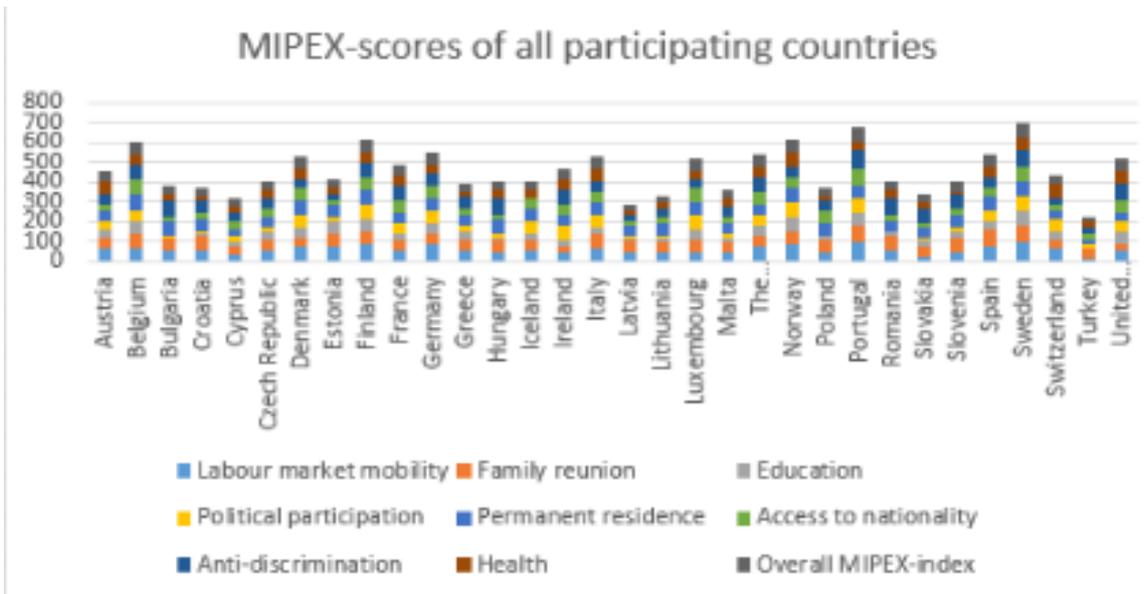


Figure 2: An overview of the MIPEX-scores of European countries.

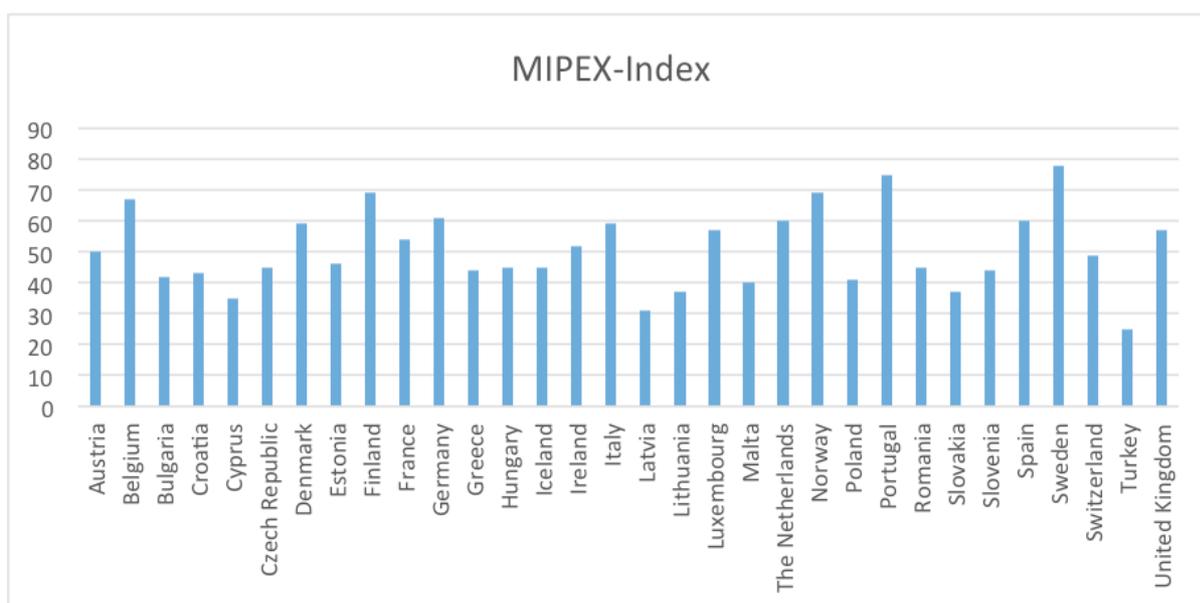


Figure 3: Overall MIPEX-score of the participating countries.

In order to get a better view of the countries, their scores and their geographical location, the map below in figure 4 shows the geographical patterns that can be detected in the distribution of MIPEX-scores in Europe. In the map, the yellow colour represents the lowest scores, the orange colour shows the scores that are not the worst, but are not good either. The red colour shows the MIPEX-scores that are good, but not as good as some others. The best scores are represented by the purple colour.

It is visible that Scandinavia is an area filled with high indexes. In the article of Jensen (2016),

an explanation for the quality of Scandinavian integration policy is given. Before the 1990s, Norway, Denmark and Sweden all had permissive policies regarding migrant integration. The current differences between the Scandinavian countries are also explained. Where Denmark's integration policy developed in a more restrictive way, the integration policy of Sweden remained (almost) the same as before the 1990s. Norway's integration policy, in terms of permissiveness, is situated between Denmark and Sweden. The direction of the integration policies of these Scandinavian countries can be recognized in the MIPEX-scores. All of the Scandinavian countries have high scores. Sweden has the highest score (78), followed by Norway (69), and Denmark (59).

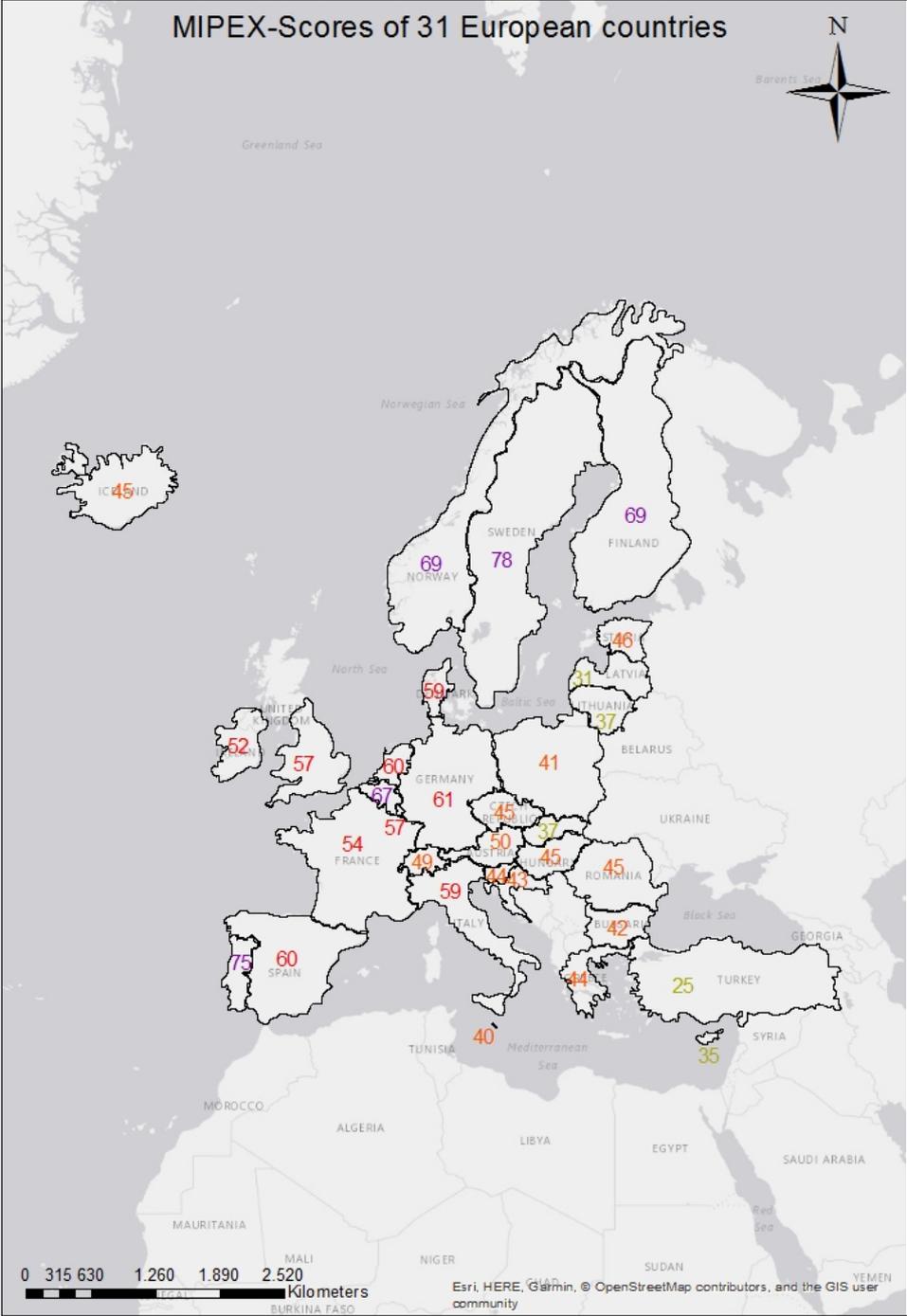


Figure 4: An overview of the geographical distribution of MIPEX-scores.

4.1.2. Situation in Greece

In the overview of the scores across Europe it is visible that the countries in Southeast Europe score lower than countries in Northwest Europe. In relation to the crisis it is likely that Greece will perform similarly or worse than the countries situated in the Southeast of Europe. The MIPEx-score of Greece is 44. On the one hand the score matches the expectations of not being high, but on the other hand, when looking at Europe as a whole, the score of Greece is quite close to average (51). Greece's MIPEx-scores in all policy domains are depicted in figure 5 below. Health is the policy domain in Greece that has the lowest scores, while anti-discrimination has the highest scores. Economou (2010) confirms that it is not striking to see that Greece does badly when it comes to the 'health' policy domain. Economou explains that the health of the Greek population is improving, but that there are severe 'structural problems' within the healthcare system of Greece that are related to the organization of the health care systems, the delivery of services and the lack of funds. However, it can be seen as surprising that 'anti-discrimination' has the highest score (60). Drydakis and Vlassis (2010) conclude in their research that there is significant discrimination in the Grecian labour market. One of the interview respondents, Dionysia Lambiri, expressed that in her opinion, Greece does not perform that well in the MIPEx-index because 'it is much more difficult there. Greece is a transit country but most of the immigrants cannot leave. Besides, other European countries are filtering immigrants to gain higher skilled people'.

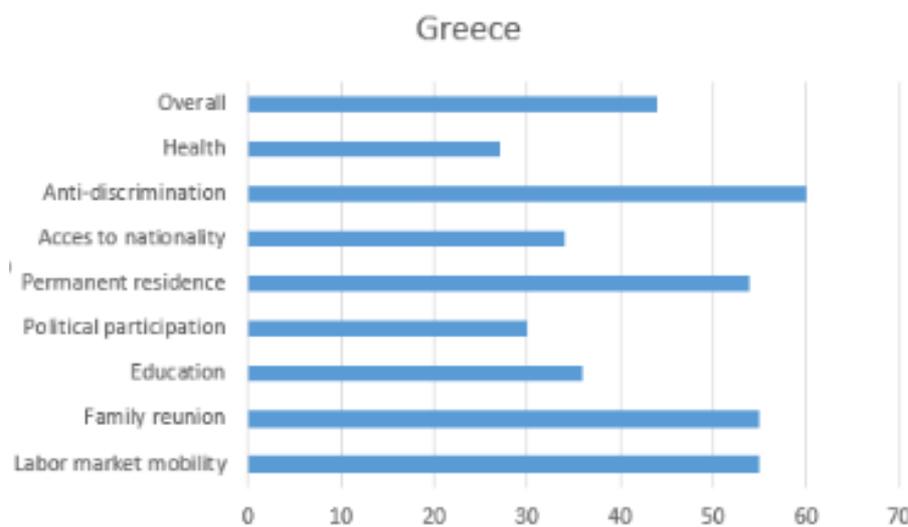


Figure 5: An overview of the individual policy domain scores of Greece including the overall score.

4.2. Attitudes towards migrant integration

4.2.1. Variations across Europe

When you take a first look at the distribution of attitudes regarding immigrant integration across Europe, the perceptions are divided. All perceptions of the participating countries are based on a question that concerned if they consider the integration of immigrants to be successful in their respective country. Among the countries that have the most positive perception are Ireland, Portugal, Luxembourg, and Slovenia. Countries that overall have the most negative perception are Estonia, Bulgaria, Sweden, Latvia and Italy. Contrary to the distribution of MIPEx-scores, the northwest-southeast divide is not as strong when it comes

to perceptions. While a country like Slovenia has a very positive view on immigrant integration, Sweden has a very negative view. Sweden is known for its welcoming immigration laws. After the refugee crisis, 165.000 people came to live in Sweden within a year (PRI, 2017). This development could have had a negative impact on the attitude of the Swedish population towards their migrant integration success. According to Aliti (2014), the perception of Swedish young adults on immigration has changed in the last couple of years. Aliti states that the respondents did not want more immigrants to enter the country because they think it would cause problems. Next to this, the majority of the respondents think negatively of the immigration policy of Sweden. They either think the policy creates segregation because of its strictness, or it is too permissive. The respondents also think that immigrants in Sweden are still subject to ethnical discrimination. The conclusions provided by Aliti could explain the Swedish negative view regarding migrant integration success. An overview of the attitudes is depicted in figure 6.

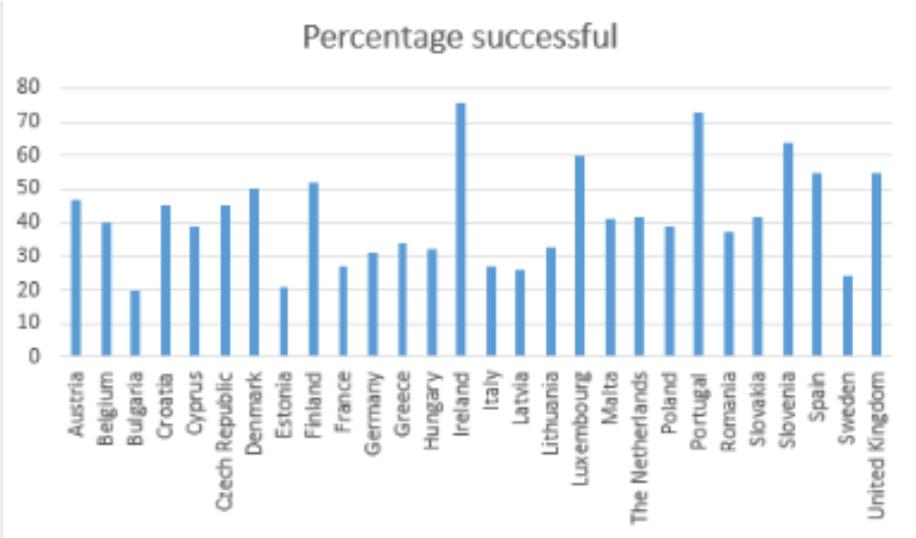


Figure 6: An overview of the percentage of respondents of 28 European countries that feel like immigrant integration in their country is successful.

4.2.2. Variations by socio-demographic factors

Based on the research of Butkus et al. (2016) and the Eurobarometer (2018), the factors that were selected to see whether they influence the attitudes of people towards migrant integration are: age, end of education, and occupational class. Both sources concluded that all three factors do influence the attitudes of people towards immigrant integration. This is in accordance with the results of the factor ‘age’ in this research. In figure 7, you can see four age categories of the factor ‘age’. The interesting aspect of this figure, is that it is clearly visible that a lower share of the people who are over 55 think that the migrant integration in their respective country is successful. Another interesting aspect, is that the age group of 15 to 24 years old is not as positive about the successfulness of immigrant integration as the age group of 25 to 39 years old. According to Eurostat’s ‘Migrant integration statistics’ (2017) this could be due to the negative thoughts that go around in Europe concerning youth unemployment. In 4 out of 12 of Eurostat’s researched countries, the youth unemployment rate is higher for native-born inhabitants than non-natives. This could have had an impact on the attitudes of the people belonging to this age group. Gorodzeisky (2011) contradicts this source. She states that people, who are younger, are more likely to be in favour of including minorities. It is also concluded that older people tend to be more excluding towards minorities. This could be due to the fact that younger people interact more with immigrants than older people (Gorodzeisky, 2011).

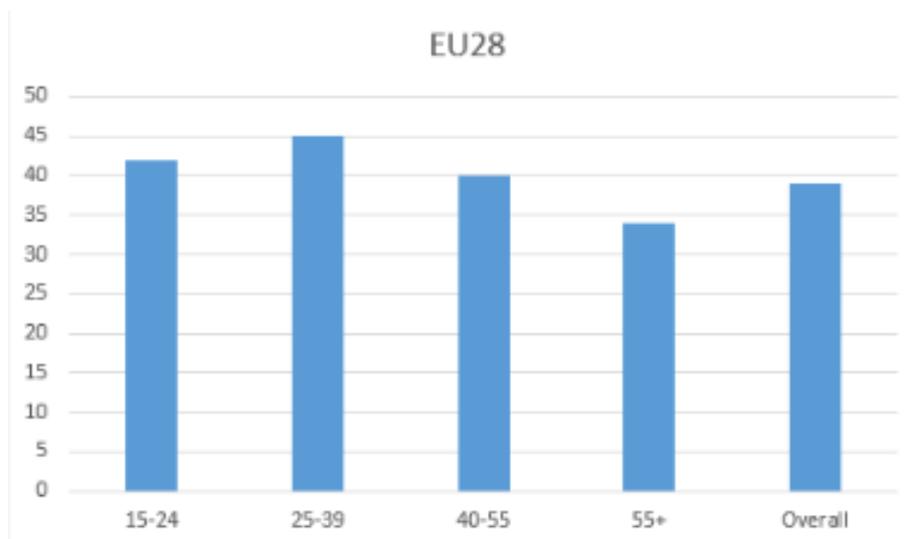


Figure 7: The overall percentage of people of each age group who think that the immigrant integration in their respective country is successful.

The second factor is the age people had when they ended their education. Within this factor, there are four subgroups, which is also visible in Figure 8. There is a clear upward tendency, which means that the people with the shortest time of education are overall the least positive about immigrant integration success in their country and that the people who had the most years of education or who are still studying are the most positive about immigrant integration success. The fact that education has a big influence in attitudes is confirmed by the work of Jarochova (2017), in which she states that people with more years of education tend to be more positive regarding integration of immigrants. This is supported by the research of Chandler and Tsai (2001). They state that people's tolerance and pro-immigration attitudes tend to improve the higher someone is educated. Chandler and Tsai (2001:186) identified the factors contributing to the higher tolerance as: 'wider knowledge, more critical habits of thought, greater security, or merely a more sophisticated defense of their class interests'. Higher educated people are more likely to come into contact with other cultures in college and future work, which means that it is likely they will be more informed on the success of migrant integration.

The final factor is occupational class. This factor is categorized into eight subgroups, with each of them representing a certain professional branch. Within these factors, there are some patterns that can be recognized. According to figure 8, those in higher occupational classes like white collar and management, including students, show higher rates of evaluating migrant integration as successful. Meanwhile this share is particularly low for people in professions like blue collar and the retired. When comparing these results to the research of Jarochova (2017), the work of Jarochova shows a similar pattern. The subgroups of students, managers, and other white collars, i.e. the people in the higher occupational class, are the most positive and the people who are retired or house persons are the most negative. A possible explanation for these differences between occupational classes is provided by Paas and Halapuu (2012). They conclude that people with lower socio-economic risks have more tolerance towards immigration. This means that the people with the better jobs and financial security face less risks, when migrants are integrated and active on the labour market at the same time. That is also why people in the higher occupational class tend to view migrant integration as more successful than people in the lower occupational class, because they are not as impacted by the integration of migrants as the people in the lower occupational

classes are (Paas & Halapuu, 2012). All of the subgroups and their respective perceptions can be found in Figure 9.

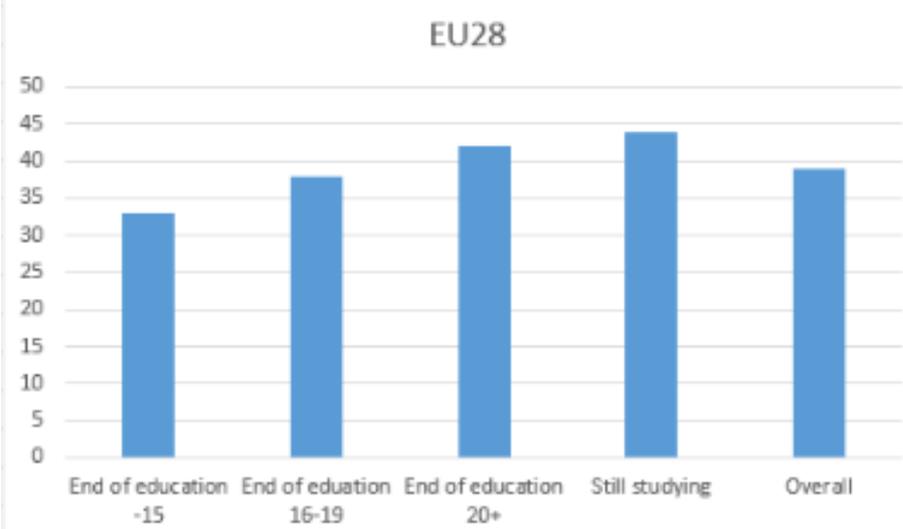


Figure 8: The overall percentage of people of four subcategories regarding years spend on education who think that the immigrant integration in their respective country is successful.

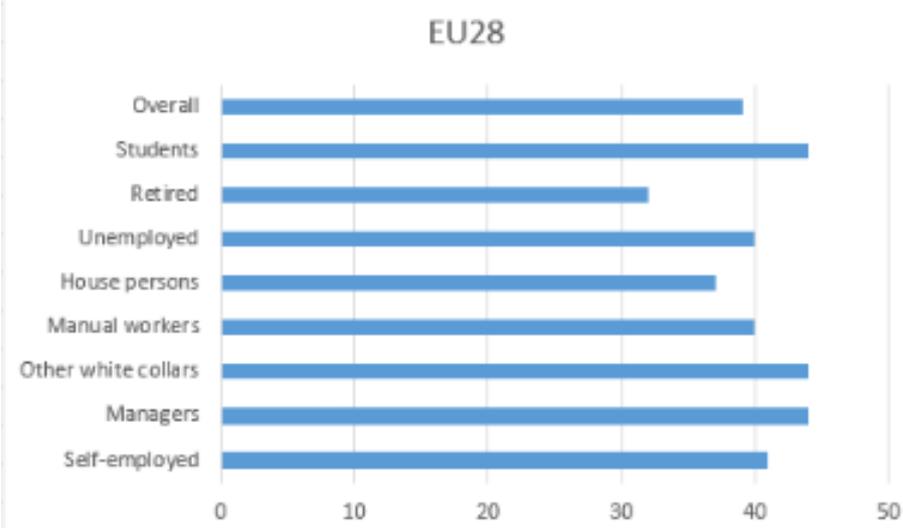


Figure 9: The overall percentage of people of eight different subgroups regarding occupational class who think that the immigrant integration in their respective country is successful.

4.2.3. Situation in Greece

The combination of Greece’s position in the refugee crisis and the average-to-low MIPEX-score make it likely for a lower share of the Greek population to think that migrant integration is successful. As expected, 34% of the Greek population thinks that the integration of immigrants is successful. This percentage corresponds with data resulting from an interview with Dionysia Lambiri, who said: ‘The people interviewed in one of our studies do not think that refugees can eventually be integrated into the Greek society’. This

final sentence in particular corresponds with the 34%. With this percentage, the Greeks are ranked in the middle of the EU28. In Figures 10, 11, and 12 below, the three factors that were previously discussed are depicted. The 'occupational class' factor is different from the rest of Europe. In this factor, manual workers and the self-employed are the most positive regarding the success of immigrant integration, while house persons and managers are the most negative. This is interesting, because the latter two professions are the most positive when you look at the overall attitudes of the EU28.

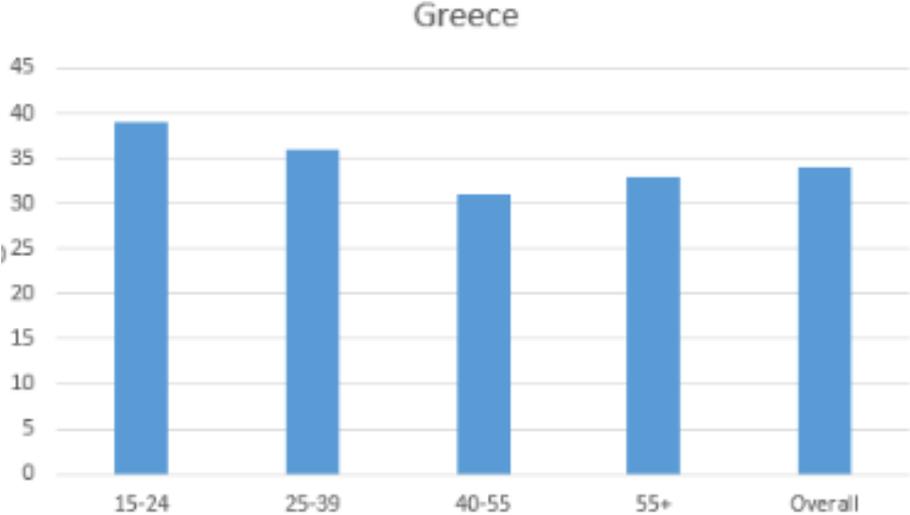


Figure 10: The percentage of people of each age group who think that the immigrant integration in their respective country is successful.

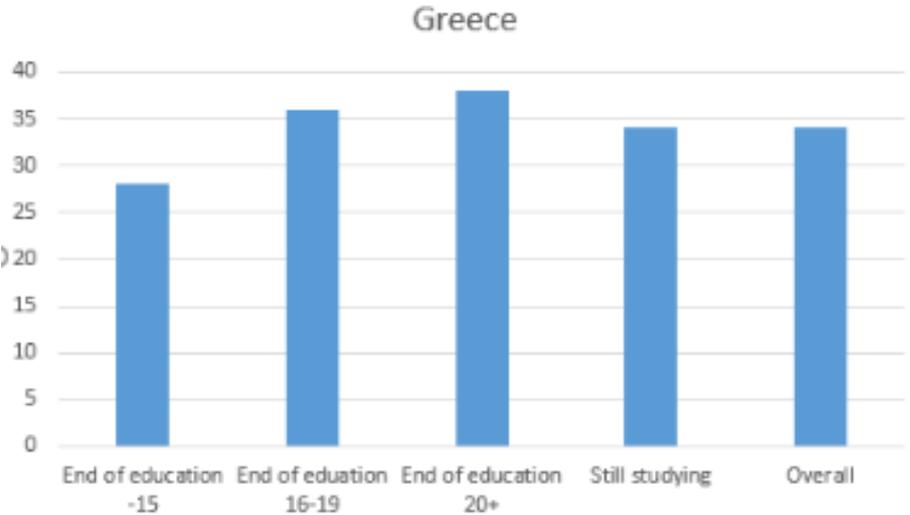


Figure 11: The percentage of people of four subcategories regarding years spend on education who think that the immigrant integration in their respective country is successful.

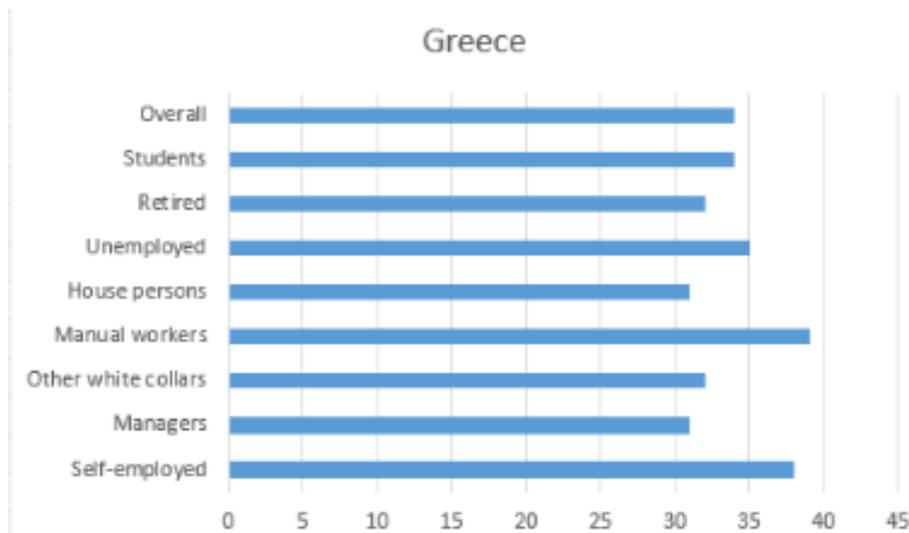


Figure 12: The percentage of people of eight different subgroups regarding occupational class who think that the immigrant integration in their respective country is successful.

4.3. Relationship between policy success and attitudes

Based on the outcomes of the MIPEX-index and the attitudes, it is interesting to see if both measurements show similar results. This comparison between measurements is visible in Figure 13. The most striking countries in this comparison are Sweden, Ireland, Bulgaria, and Estonia. Sweden is particularly interesting, because of their high MIPEX-index. However, the inhabitants of Sweden perceive their immigrant integration very negatively. Bulgaria and Estonia both have a very low MIPEX-index, and also have a population that sees the immigrant integration in their country negatively. With special regards to the refugee crisis, Eastern European countries were seen as 'heartless and mindless' governments when they enforced their borders instead of to accommodate refugees (The Guardian, 2015). This attitude towards immigrants can explain the low MIPEX-index. Since they enforced their borders, it is likely that they do not have a sound integration policy in place. It is also likely that because of the governments' actions, the population's attitude towards migrant integration success is also low. According to Rovny (2016), the positionality of an Eastern European country towards migrant integration depends on the dominant political view in the country. Looking at Bulgaria and Estonia, their dominant political views on immigration are negative. Out the Bulgarian population, 77% has a negative view on non-EU citizen immigration. In Estonia, 70% sees immigration as the number one issue that the EU is dealing with right now (Eurobarometer, 2016). These findings support the conclusion of Rovny (2016).

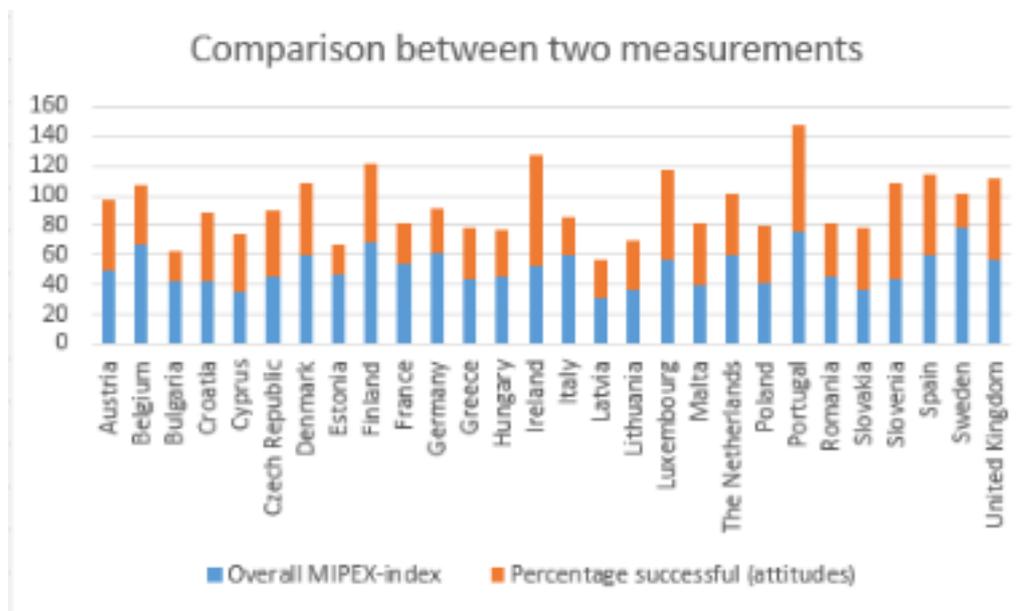


Figure 13: Shows the similarities and differences between the scores originating from the MIPEX-index and the percentages of respondents in each country who thinks that immigrant integration in their country is successful.

Following the results of all individual countries, it is logical to assume that the relationship between both measurements is not very strong. This is confirmed by Table 1, which is portrayed below. It shows that $P > 0.05$, which means that the relationship between both is not significant. This doesn't mean that both measurements are completely different and can't be compared. It means that there are some significant differences between both values of certain countries, which leads to incomparable results of the respective measurements.

		Overall MIPEX-Index	Attitudes on Successful Integration
Overall MIPEX-Index	Pearson Correlation	1	,272
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,161
Attitudes on Successful Integration	Pearson Correlation	,272	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,161	

Table 1: Shows the significance and correlation between the MIPEX-index and the attitudes of people towards the successfulness of immigrant integration.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Main points

The distribution of the MIPEX-index across Europe has two striking features: the Northwest-Southeast divide and the Scandinavian cluster. According to Robila (2011), the lower MIPEX-scores in Southeast Europe can be explained because of the lack of resources there. The success of the Scandinavian cluster can be explained based on the research of Jensen (2016). In his research, Jensen attributes Scandinavia's success regarding their MIPEX-scores to the permissive immigration policy they had until the 1990s. Even though nowadays the policy of some Scandinavian countries has become somewhat stricter, they still perform well on the MIPEX-index. The MIPEX-score of Greece is not surprising: it is in the middle-to-low range of scores.

The distribution of the attitudes regarding migrant integration success across Europe had one feature that stood out amongst the others: the evaluation of Sweden. Sweden scored very low on the attitude measure. This is surprising, given their MIPEx-score and the fact that Sweden has been Europe's largest recipient of immigrants in the last years (PRI, 2017). The current inflow of immigrants to Sweden has its downside regarding the population's attitudes. Based on the research of Aliti (2014), it became apparent that the Swedish population doesn't want more immigrants coming to their country, they think negatively of the country's immigration policy, and they recognize that there still is ethnical discrimination of immigrants.

Out of the selected factors, all three of them showed that they have an influence on attitudes regarding migrant integration success. Firstly, the analysis showed that a larger share of the younger population, in comparison to the older population, tends to be positive regarding migrant integration success. Regarding 'education', the results showed that people with a higher educational level tend to be more positive regarding migrant integration success. Chandler and Tsai (2001:186) explained that people who are higher educated have a wider knowledge and are more experienced when it comes to interacting with people from different backgrounds. They will automatically be more informed when it comes to migrant integration success. The analysis regarding occupational class showed that people in higher occupational classes are more positive regarding migrant integration success. Paas and Halapuu (2012) explained that people in higher occupational classes have less socioeconomic risks. These people will encounter fewer immigrants in the labour market than people in lower occupational classes and will thus be more likely to be positive regarding migrant integration success. Greece showed similar results to the results of Europe overall, except for the occupational classes. In Greece, 'house persons' and 'managers' were the most negative regarding migrant integration success.

Finally, there are some similarities between the scores of both measures. Greece for example has two scores that are quite similar. However, the differences between the measures in certain countries are too large for both measures to be a match. A country like Sweden that scores the highest on the objective measure but third lowest on the subjective measure shows the lack of similarity between both measures very well. It shows that the quality of government policy and the perception of the quality of government policy can have significant gaps. This confirms why it is important to not only work on national (integration) policy from a government level, but to also listen to the inhabitants.

5.2 Reflection

When I look at the research that I executed, there is strength in the variation that the research offers. The thesis involves an objective index that assigned scores to 31 European countries regarding their migrant integration policy. The results involve a subjective dataset that contains data on the attitudes of people regarding immigrant integration. On top of that, the thesis offers knowledge obtained through primary qualitative data collection, which adds expert opinions on certain matters. An aspect of this thesis that is both a strength and a weakness is the analysis of attitudes by using factors to see whether these factors influence attitudes regarding immigrant integration. The concept is a good one and definitely interesting. Currently the thesis offers a large amount of info graphics regarding this section. Due to a modified dataset that only showed the share or percentage of the population choosing an answer to a questionnaire question, I was unable to execute a proper statistical analysis, by means of a multivariate regression. Another complication resulting from the

Eurobarometer dataset is that some categories were so specific that I couldn't find literature that provided a sound explanation. I was mostly experiencing this while trying to explain why 'managers' in Greece were less positive regarding the migrant integration success than they were overall in Europe. Finally, a strength is the structure that initially shows the situation of the participating European countries and later zooms in on Greece.

5.3 Future recommendations

For future research, it would be a good thing to search for a proper dataset regarding attitudes on immigrant integration. This way, the multivariate regression can be executed. Another angle that could be interesting is to look at the amount of migrants a country has received in a period of time and to look at the MIPEX-index and the attitudes of the population towards migrant integration success. This way one can determine whether there is a significant relationship between the amount of migrants coming to a country, an objective measure of integration success and a subjective evaluation of integration success. Finally, it would be interesting to do more research on the explanations for a country like Sweden that had a high MIPEX-score but had overall strong negative attitudes towards immigrant integration.

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Appendix

Appendix A:

Transcript 1:

I = Interviewer (Jeffrey)

R = Respondent (Professor)

I = Can you tell a little bit about yourself?

R = Yes. I am a professor in the department of geography at the university of And my field of expertise is migration, immigrant migration, mainly in Southern Europe and in Greece, and in general I think now, and I am teaching quantitative methods and epistemology of social science, social geography, stuff like that.

I = Okay

R = But I have a focus on migration

I = And you've been living here in for a long time?

R = For all my life almost, except for three / four years where I was living in the UK where I have done my PhD and that's many many years ago (1997).

I = Were you glad to be back in Greece?

R = Yes, at that time I had to come back because it's compulsory here in Greece. I didn't have any problems. I could live in the UK and here as well. I didn't mind.

I = The first questions will be more general on integration. What concepts do you associate with integration when you think about integration?

R = I think it's a tricky concept. We have to be critical about it because I really do not know what it means when we talk about integration. For me integration has the meaning of reducing discrimination and racism. The only significant I see in the term is to the treatment for immigrants to be the same as for non-immigrant. But, the term integration has a lot of connotations. For example, cultural, assimilation, stuff like that. Which is then become a tool for racism itself. The term I mean. But if you redefine the term along the lines of reducing discrimination, racism, xenophobia, then the term I think is on the right track. But if you use it as a term to define some people as integratable or others as non-integratable or as cultural plans or social-cultural stuff, then it becomes negative for discrimination and equality. A very tricky term which in international bibliography as you may know there's a large branch that is extremely critical about the term because they usually ask immigrant with the great unimaginable color of society. But I know many people that live in Greece and they are Greek nationals and they are not integrated into society. Not many of them. They ask immigrants to meet requirements but they do not ask natives. So it's racism / discrimination. In many cases they ask immigrants to know Greek history but millions of Greece know nothing about Greek history. Another thing is am I obliged to follow Greek history? No. It's our freedom. The only point I think is meaningful is the trying to fight racism and discrimination and this is integration.

I = Ah okay! So do you think that integration can be perceived differently by different cultures like in different countries?

R = No, they can be perceived differently by different state-cultures. Differently in different times by the same states. Completely differently about integration of different social groups or immigrant groups. So yes, I believe that it's happening.

I = Okay. So now I want to discuss integration policies with you. In your opinion, when is integration policy successful?

R = I think that any integration policy that makes the life of immigrants easier is successful for me, because I am a critical scholar on migration status. Migration status is very divided. To be very schematic, there is a camp that is working with immigrants, not talking in the place of immigrants in solidarity. I belong to this camp. There is another camp that works on state logics. They're doing migration management so it's a different camp, logic. So, to my perception anything in the policy realm that makes life social, economic, political about human rights, racism, discrimination, easier is a good integration policy. But this is not the perception of the Greek state or states in general. I think it's not the perception of the State of

the Netherlands as well. They perceive integration as a tool for selecting some people to be compliant with some norms and some other people that do not comply with these norms, they would not select them. They exclude them later on, they deport them, or which we see every day in the media. For them, this is a nice integration policy. For me, it is not a nice integration policy, it's bullshit. It's racist policy. It's the same to be named integration policy. I = So what you're describing now, if it's more based on numbers and other characteristics of immigrants that would like meet their requirements, would you say that that is an unsuccessful integration policy?

R = Yes. It's totally unsuccessful. For me for example, we have about 1 million people from Albania. No requirement at all to teach the Albanians the Albanian language. It's cool. This a major devaluation of personalities as a whole. When the children goes into school and the compulsory test to speak in Greek. There's no policy about this, no implementation of such a policy to let immigrants learn their own language. Even though integration starts with education, labor market, housing market, it has to do with how they see immigrants in social services, health, social policies. Different realms that you know, they make possible that when you put the pieces together you say that this is a nice integration policy or a very bad integration policy. So far the formal integration policies they are not existent, at all. Here, immigrants they are integrated via mainly social networks with other Greeks, other immigrants. A lot of social capital. Via the social networks of solidarity and mutuality they integrated themselves into Greek society. We have to stop looking at integration as a State thing. I can integrate into a society myself with a social group, with my networks, with me access. They did it very successfully. I did research on the social capital of Albanians in Greece over the years and it was published in Journal of Environmental Migration Studies. It was very interesting they managed to do that despite the lack of serious integration policy by the state. We have to redefine integration as a social thing, not as a state thing.

I = Do you think that there's a grey area between a successful and unsuccessful policy because one could say 'If policy isn't successful it's automatically unsuccessful'.

R = No. The terms 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' are more of a continuum rather than two absolute defined things. In some realms there are policies that they help immigrants because the political situation over the 25 years that Greece has immigrations in the country changed a lot: different parties, different policies, different people that make decisions with so many differences. It's not black and white. In general there is not a coherent integration policy that I perceive. There are areas in the Greek policy realm that there are successes but not huge successes. For example: the two very big, large legalization problems that allowed hundreds of thousands people to get recognition. Maybe this is a small or partial step but it's a step. In the labor market: some trade unions for example try to integrate immigrants in their ranks to help them and to help immigrants to include in their negotiations with employers. This was not a state policy of course but it is immigration policy because it produces inequality in payment which is racism according to where you are from. So there are many areas of successes but not a huge one.

I = Okay! Some kind of index I used for my research has eight policy domains and they would look at how well the migrants in a country performed and I would like to know your opinion on these eight factors or indicators. So the first one is labor market mobility.

R = There are many differences in different groups, for example, here we have the phenomenon of ethnic entrapment, enclaves, that immigrants are, it's very difficult to go beyond them. Independently of their capacities, their degrees or education or stuff like that, over 90% I think of Phillipino women that work in Greece they are working in domestic labor. But this group of Phillipino is very heterogeneous, it is one of the cases that this ethnic enclave is more evident. In other groups as well: about the largest group in Greece: the Albanians: there are three sectors that they are concentrated in. For example before the crisis (economic crisis in Greece), they were concentrated mainly in construction, public works, tourism, stuff like that, the lower ranks. Now we have a lot of immigrants from Africa, which are more excluded than the other groups because here the color plays an additional role. They are more excluded. I do not see groups of immigrants that they work extremely improve their position. I see only individuals immigrants that have done it. Those are existent, but groups no.

I = So do you think it's a good indicator for an integration policy to be successful?

R = Yes, absolutely.

I = So, how about education of migrants?

R = Yes, this is a very good indicator because via education you can examine a lot of things, for example: cultural exclusion or not, cultural openness, the chance of the formal education systems towards differences (cultural/social), stuff like that, so very good.

I = okay! So how about family reunion?

R = yes, also. This is a matter of human rights.

I = And health?

R = Yes. This is one of the realms that I think immigrants had some access to health services because here in Greece we used to have and we still have I think, despite problems, we have an open public health system that accepts people to treat irrespectively if their illegal immigrants, Greeks, or Dutch. So because of this in brackets inclusive health system, immigrants were able to have some advantages. So I think yes, this indicator is crucial.

I = Right! And how about political participation?

R = This is crucial for me, but it is not existent here. There was a law some years ago to allow legal immigrants to participate in local elections. There was a fuss and reactions, unbelievable reactions, no it's a very weak indicator in reality, but very crucial as an indicator. Because political participation is connected to social organization of immigrants.

And one save route to integration is to organize themselves, not to let us or anyone else to speak for them. They have to speak for themselves. If we want to be in solidarity with them. I've been in many conferences about migration in Greece with no immigrant talk in the conference to speak about themselves. Only experts, non-experts, but the immigrants are the experts on themselves I think. This is a right and it starts from political participation.

I = Yes. I can see that. Then the next one is permanent residence of immigrants. Do you think that it's important? (Housing)

R = Yeah, it's extremely crucial because at the start of the immigration flow here in the 90s, thousands of immigrants were staying in houses of four/five/six/ten, now immigrants from Africa experience the same experience. So I think it's very crucial.

I = Ah okay. And how about access to nationality?

R = Yeah. Look if they are integrated in the majority, they do not need that. They do not want nationality of they have like housing and do not experience discrimination and such. They don't care. This is a tool for manipulation of immigrants and when this is used for example to deny immigrants permanent residence, to keep them as always deportable. So it's very important for them to be Greeks because of this, but I do not support to give them nationality in order to keep them always in this position.

I = Yes! And then the final think which I think is an important indicator, which is anti-discrimination as an indicator.

R = The most important. I think there should be one indicator. I think there's discrimination in every realm, in every field. Ehm, so if you have this coherent one integration indicator, then you can use it very productively in every field (in health, labor market, housing, education, political participation).

I = Are you updated on the variations that are currently in Europe regarding their integration policy success? Because I did some research on the migrant integration policy index which shows that the integration policy success of Greece is has a score of 44/100 and that puts them on the 22nd place out of 32 european countries.

R = Right, that's very low right?

I = Yeah it is. When you look at the Southern European countries like Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Greek has the lowest score out of all of them. These other countries are more in the top of the ranking of the countries. So could you think of any way that could be explained or what are your opinions on the difference between the success of the integration policies?

R = Look, I think that Greece has a peculiarity that it has a national limit of itself which is very strong. It was always a homogeneous country this was valued very high in the minds of people. This was a perception and this perception has not ideal results in racism/discrimination. I see that as one of the reasons. The other one is that Greek state left about 10 years to pass and then started to implement some policies about immigrants. And this was done deliberately so that they could exploit it.

I = So what do you think of the attitude of people who live in Greece regarding integration policies? Do you think that they are overall positive or negative, or very different from each other. Do you have any idea about that?

R = There are many opinions. A large proportion of Greeks would not want immigrants to be here so they do not want deliberation whatsoever. If you go to them, with that question, it's a bad thing because it's integration of something to be here. So that's why, but there are other people of course they are in favor of integration policies and minority of people like me and they use this perception of integration policy.

I = Ah okay! Do you think that for example parental education is a possible explanation for the variations in integration success of immigrants/migrants?

R = Yes. Maybe, in a research of project that we've done in Western Greece we've found that people with lower education/credentials have worse chances at integration than people with higher education. But this was a result from quantitative research. But with qualitative research we found that people with higher education had higher capacities to obscure their race. So it was not so clear. It's about experiences in the streets, in schools, critical experiences, and not so much parental education or level of for example: people that are laborers that work together with immigrants they developed social networks and many of them are in solidarity with immigrants. So it's more about experiences and perceptions: from where do you get influences, how those influences are combined with your actual experience from, and all of this together determines how do you behave towards other people. Because if you behave badly towards immigrants, it's 99% sure that you behave badly to other people as well.

I = uhuh! Do you think that gender could be an explanation for different integration successes? Would a woman do better than men in integration in Greece?

R = Gender is a big issue, but there are groups of immigrants that are 90% only woman. Other groups are 90% men. Or groups that are families. So, their gender plays a role in their evaluation of devaluation. It's different to be an Albanian man working in construction than a woman working in a restaurant. Because Greek society has a lot of racism and sexism as well. I cannot define it as a racist or sexist society because it's a simplification for any society. But there's a lot of it. So when these combined together, the exclusion and discrimination is exaggerated. Complex social inequalities, when you have a lot of different roots of social inequalities: gender, nationality, labor market, color: then it's complex and difficult to overcome.

I = Then some final questions! If it were up to you, would you change anything specific about the Grecian integration policies?

R = A lot of it. For example: first of all, language courses at schools. Legalization of papers. And freedom of movement. Access to papers, access to rights. These are not theoretical, they are practical, they can be partially managed very easily.

I = Right. And what do you think the future will bring for Greece if things continue like this, of their integration policies would remain the same.

R = I do not think that integration policies would improve in any countries from state initiatives. I think that there has to be social movement to bring results. It's up to us. It's up to people that are solidar. If you keep wait from a benevolent state to integrate itself, it won't happen and it never happened in history.

Transcript 2:

J = Jeffry (thesis-writer)

I = Interviewee

J: Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

I: Yes of course. My name is Dionysia Lambiri and I am a project coordinator at the Athens Center for Migrant and Refugee issues. I've worked here for a year now. The project started a year ago. It is a very new project. My background is economic geography/economics. I started working here because I was interested in how Athens deals with migrant and refugee issues.

J: Okay cool! Can you tell me about your time living in Greece? Have you for example always been living here in Greece?

I: No I haven't. I was born in Athens, but after I finished my bachelor's I went for a master's in the UK. I did a PhD in the UK. After this I worked at various universities: University of Reading, University of Southampton. Prior to that I lived in France as an Erasmus-student. So overall, I've lived abroad for over 18 years.

J: Okay, so can you tell me things about the organization you work for?

I: The Athens Coordination Centre is an initiative of the city of Athens and is privately funded by the Stavros Niarchos Foundation. We started in February last year and our centre here is part of a wider project. The project helps the city of Athens to deal better with issues related to integration. Overall, the project has I would say five axes. First: the center which we are at right now. At the center, we reached out to a lot of organizations. There are 250 people participating. The center invited these people and organized their work in working committee. Each committee focuses on a specific set of services. They meet regularly on a monthly basis. First, identifying the gaps in what is needed. They started developing ideas on how these gaps could be filled. Always considering Athens, not Greece. In Greece the local authorities do not have any competence in relation to integration. Integration is dealt with on a national level. All funding goes to the national government. Basically what we're doing here is getting the knowhow of all these participating organizations and bringing this closer to the city of Athens which doesn't have the knowledge and wants to build capacity to deal with all these issues. We also have a research component. We mapped the profiles of the migrant refugees who currently live in Athens and we interviewed them. We asked them the basic stuff and if they are happy, if they want to stay, if they want to learn Greek, what their plans are. They just want to leave Greece and go elsewhere. This is important because of you're talking about integration you have to know if they want to be here. The local perceptions on integration is also important. We asked them if they live peacefully with these people. Do you think these people could be integrated? We got some insights from that as well. The last thing we've done is we made a guide for the city of Athens to create a contingency plan in the case of another refugee crisis. This way Athens can be better prepared and what they need to do to be better prepared.

J: That all sounds great! I now wanted to go more in depth about certain terms/concepts relating to my research. Integration is a very vague, big, broad concept. What thoughts do you associate with integration when you think about it?

I: People can be very different but they can live peacefully and be financially independent. But the prerequisite of this is knowledge of Greek language. This is extremely important.

J: I wanted to zoom in a bit on integration policies because there is some like overarching integration policy in Europe. In your opinion, when would an integration policy be successful? And when unsuccessful? And do you think it's binary or do you think there's a grey area in between?

I: First of all, I think that integration needs to start at the national level. Municipalities like the city of Athens need to have support when they're trying to run initiatives like the one we're running. The competences of municipalities stop at a certain point and the nation should act here. I think that integration starts at the national level. When it comes to education, the stage should provide accessible Greek lessons so that a person who arrives here does not depend on NGO's to learn Greek. A state needs to have Greek lessons and an organized system of this. This should be compulsory for people when they arrive here. In

terms of employment, people need to ideally be supported in order for their existing skills. They have to be channeled in the right sectors of the economy. There should also be very good information in relation to how they can access public services. They need to know exactly what they need to do in order to reach their goals. Understanding of how the Greek system works is needed to go through it.

I think there can be a grey area. You can have something that benefits only those who put a lot of effort in it. People that are willing to invest a lot of time into, go through something like this that is really unstructured, need to be rewarded. If you don't have a mediator for certain services, in reality the service won't be available / accessible.

J: So there is a policy index called the MIPEX-Index. The score of Greece is 44 and it's pretty low. How do you think this is possible?

I: The reason is because of the situation here is much more difficult. Greece is viewed by the majority as a transit country. The majority of refugees/migrants (90%) they want to leave. At the same time slowly the population that remains in Greece changes. Other European countries are filtering the higher skilled people. Germany has a lot of skilled people. The people who are the most difficult to integrate remain in Greece. A lot of people here don't even know how to read or write.

J: I was also looking for possible explanations for the variations in the success in policy of integration. The first one is time since arrival. The second one is gender. The third is parental education.

I: I think it does matter. I don't know how the causality goes. If someone goes here and they are stuck here and they realize slowly that they wanted to leave but they can't leave. People who decided to learn Greek aren't necessarily more integrated. It could also mean that they're realizing that they are not likely to leave. Gender: probably it does but it depends on the household situation. If you have a single woman, then I think integration is easier because there's a lot of support for single women. If we're talking about women in Muslim couples, it is more difficult. They stay at home they don't learn the language. In these households gender could be more important. Parental education is definitely a yes. If a child has the opportunity to go school, it will learn Greek and be the mediator for the parents.

J: Ah okay! What are your opinions on the attitudes towards integration policy that society has in Greece?

I: I can tell you about the attitudes towards integration but not about integration policy because there are no integration policies in Greece. The government says they have an integration plan but they actually don't. But in terms of opinions about integration, our study has shown that people are very positive in terms of housing. People have a marginal preference for refugees to live in the city rather than isolated camps. People are positive about the refugees attending schools. They are less positive about refugees having work permits to work here. Overall, the people interviewed in the study do not think that refugees can eventually be integrated into the Greek society. This is true also for people from migrant background themselves. Second generation migrants are sceptical as Greeks about the integration of the new people here.

J: If it were up to you, what would you prioritize when you would be developing an integration policy?

I: Greek lessons and cultural lessons. What else. I'm not going to talk about employment because it is more difficult. On the other side it is building capacity inside the municipalities in order to better deal with the migrant/refugee population. One side: social cohesion. The other side: public sector view -> building capacities. Of course there are softer things that can be done, for example awareness campaigns. The main thing is learning Greek, education, facilitating the generation of the new migrants to access schools, and also the big problem at the moment in Athens is that the generation of this people is that men from 18-25 is kind of lost at the moment. Finding ways for this groups to stop being in the limbo and to be active somehow.

J: What do you think the future will bring for Greece when it comes to migrant integration?

I: I think that at the moment Greece is in an extremely difficult situation because it is kind of blocked. If you look at the UNHCR map of the quote of how many people each different country should have received, of course Greece is over its capacity just like Italy. Germany, Spain, France have extremely low percentages of their quota. Greece needs to be

decongested somehow for the sake of these people. Athens at the moment is at a very critical stage. We're creating a preparedness guide. It is like a timebomb and it is waiting to happen. If suddenly the people who are currently in the islands are coming to Athens, Athens is already over its capacity. It is not yet prepared for more people.

J: So the final question is about the duration of the project you're working on here. Where do you see it going?

I: The project was supposed to be only for 1 year. We were supposed to be finished last month. All coordination will be done through the city of Athens. The city of Athens is not ready yet to deal with it yet. We extended it till August. Now we are in the process of looking for funding for the continuation of this project. We have applied for funding from the Rockefeller foundation to continue this in a slightly different way, which is in a research direction. We want to go towards urban integration in which the refugees themselves will have a key role. We want to have an application for some representatives of the migrant population and they can tell us the way they feel about the services. We can have a big dataset and we know certain barriers that the refugees/migrants are dealing with.

Transcript 3:

J = Jeffry (Interviewer)

I = Interviewee (SolidarityNow, George Kanaris)

J: So can you tell me a little bit about yourself?

I: George, I work here in Athens at SolidarityNow as a welfare service coordinator. I have studied psychology and have a long humanitarian experience with big reknown humanitarian organizations abroad and now I'm doing this job more in human resource management and management I would say.

J: Okay! Can you tell me some things about your time living here in Greece?

I: I was working abroad for a long time. I have lived in many countries around the world: Africa, Asia, Middle East. After a long time of travelling and moving around I settled down in Greece to work here.

J: Ok. So did you move here to settle down or did you have specifically in mind that you wanted to work for a refugee organization here?

I: It was both, mixture of reasons. I was a bit fed up with my previous job and previous lifestyle. There were many needs in Greece so a good timing to use all my professional experience in my country.

J: Okay great! Can you follow this up by telling me about the things your organization does?

I: This is a Greek organization that was founded in 2013, quite new, but has expanded a lot. Nowadays it is one of the biggest organization providing humanitarian aid to the population. It has different projects. Where we are at now, we provide all kinds of services (legal, economic, social). Very recently we started a new component: employability services. Very soon we will have accounting services. The people who come here will first meet the social worker and this social workers will decide what needs the people have and what services they need. All free of charge. On top of that, we also have a team of interpreters. Most of the people who come here are not Greek or don't speak the Greek language. We want to provide the services without any kind of discrimination. It is not only a center for the refugees: it is for the entire population. Not only refugees need our services.

J: Okay nice! I want to talk a bit about the term 'integration'. What do you think about the term 'integration'?

I: Everybody nowadays knows about integration. People are still arriving but it is not as bad as it used to be. It is not a crisis phase, it is a post-crisis phase. It is a huge challenge and something very difficult. We have to work hard to make it possible. To be realistic: this is a really difficult goal to achieve based on many different factors: those people experiences many different barriers. It is very difficult for them to find a job. Not only due to the lack of language, but also lack of experience, qualifications. There are people who speak the language and have qualifications, but they are the minority. The vast majority is the case of youngsters that don't speak the language and don't have the qualifications. It is also often the case that there's a lack of motivation to integrate. There are already problems in Greece: not only humanitarian crisis because of the influx of refugees: economic crisis. The host community also experiences a lot of problems. It is not only the arrival of the refugees and the difficulties they face. The society they want to be part of already experiences problems which makes it extra difficult.

J: That's very true. Do you think that there's a difference between countries in their integration policies?

I: It is not necessarily true that one country is more humanitarian and other are more business-based. The policy in most EU countries is the same regarding integration. All the countries in the EU are forced to follow policies and to apply the rules. We cannot generalize. In Greece it's more about the geographical position of the country. We are where we are and we just have to deal with it. Greece is not the destination for most people: it wasn't their final destination. Just due to the fact it's close to Africa they have to cross Greece to reach their final destination. However, a big part of them is stuck in Greece. The borders are closed and they cannot legally reach other countries. Many of them do illegally. It is much more difficult for them now. Often without many chances of success.

J: Right! I want to discuss integration policy a bit more. When is integration policy successful in your eyes?

I: In my eyes, if they have the opportunities to have a decent life. Health, labor market mobility, education are all important factors in this. They need to become financially independent. It is not so much about accommodating them. Accommodation is a huge problem. We cannot respond to the demand. We should more stick to how to empower the people. We should in the first stage accommodate them and give them money but they need to become independent. By means of humanitarian assistance they become passive. Integration to me is more that: how to empower them, they can rely on themselves. They need to succeed in finding a job.

J: Integration policy can also be unsuccessful. Many people would define and unsuccessful policy in a different way. Do you think a policy can be either successful/unsuccessful (binary) or do you think that there's a way in between?

I: It's hard to say. In my opinion it comes together with the previous question. Only providing the humanitarian assistance is in my eyes unsuccessful policy. The people become passive and rely on the assistance instead of on themselves. Later on, you risk the unsuccessful integration.

J: Okay! There is a certain index called the MIPEX-Index. It measures how well the migrants are doing in a country on 8 policy domains. Based on this, countries in Europe get scores. Greece didn't score very well (44 out of 100 points). Could you think of an explanation why they didn't score that well and why countries like Italy or Portugal did score pretty good or substantially better?

I: No. I mean. No.

J: Okay. So there can be different explanations the variations in integration of people. And I've got three here. I would like to discuss them with you: Time since arrival, gender, parental education.

I: When the person arrived? Okay. Yes and no. There are a lot of bureaucratic procedures. It is a long and difficult and stressful process for them. It's like they're in the transit phase. During this time, the people don't really invest because they are hoping to leave the country and why would they waste energy if they are leaving the country in a small period of time. Ultimately, it is most of the time working against them because they are often stuck in Greece. This transit phase often turns out to be wasted. It is annoying to have a phase like this but while you're there, you might as well use it in a beneficial way. The system of very hostile for the asylum seekers.

Gender, not so much. It is not about gender. Maybe there is discrimination against women for instance because of the country people come from. Not very present here in Greece. Parental education, in theory yes because if you come from a well-educated country you are most probably a well-educated person. You have self-confidence and believe in yourself. You have a different goal in life. It is very relative because you can expect and see the same attitude and lifestyle from a person whose parents are not educated and whose education is very low.

J: Okay great! I also wanted to discuss the attitude of people here in Greece towards the integration policies. Do you think that there is a big difference in attitudes between people here or is there a general consensus?

I: I already answered this question. There is no generalization. People are divided. The one more than the other.

J: What do you think the future will bring for Europe and Greece when it comes to the integration policy?

I: I don't think the future is that bright. Of course we have good examples. Not only for them and their integration but for all of us.

J: Is there an eventual goal you want to achieve by working for this organization? Do you have a personal goal? What is the goal of the organization? Where do you want to see this organization go in the future?

I: We work in the post-crisis phase now. We work more towards this direction. We try to integrate working conditions for these people. Human employability service here. Not only entering the market but also entering the education system. For many of them it is very difficult to find a job. We have two directions: help enter the market, help them building their capacity. It is not the only one. We have a clear goal of integration, which is why this

concept is so important. Also entrepreneurship-project. We don't work towards integration, we work towards this direction/goal.

Appendix B

Interview guide

[Introduction]

- Introduce yourself (name, education, why you're in Athens)

[Background of the research]

- I am conducting this research for my bachelor's thesis. My personal and central theme is: migrant integration. My thesis will be about the relationship between integration policy success and people's attitude towards these policies.

[Theme]

- The aim of this research is to gain insight into the migrant integration situation of Greece, particularly in the integration policy success, the variables impacting the integration success, people's attitudes towards policies and the variables impacting these attitudes. I will be interviewing three experts as supplemental primary data. Other than that I will use secondary data.

[Ethical consideration]

- Everything you tell me is completely anonymous: I will never reveal your name, profession or anything else. Not even to my supervisor. The transcripts of the interviews will reach no one other than me. In order to execute this interview as well as possible, I would like to ask you for your permission to record our conversation.
 - The interview will take up around 30 minutes of your time.
 - I would like to emphasize that you can be honest: there are no wrong or right answers. Finally, it is important to mention and for you to know that you can stop with the interviews at any given moment: you are not required to have a reason for this.
- ➔ Do you have any questions before we get started?

[General questions]

- Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?
(name, age, work)
- Can you tell me some things about your time living here in Greece?
(place of birth, for how long have you been living here, migrated, are you satisfied, do you want to stay here)

[Questions concerning the central theme of research]

[Secondary question 1] -> What is the meaning of integration in the research setting presented in the thesis?

- What concepts/terms do you associate with 'integration' when you hear the word?
- If you had to define integration at this moment, what would you say and why?

- Do you think that the term 'integration' is being perceived differently by the Grecian citizens in comparison to the rest of Europe? If yes/no, why (not)?

[Secondary question 2] -> What factors determine the success of integration policies? -> now that the term 'integration' has been discussed, we're going to talk about integration policies.

- When do you think a certain integration policy is successful? How do you define 'success' in this case.
- When do you think (a certain) integration policy is unsuccessful? -> Do you think that there's a 'grey' area (semi-successful) in between successful and unsuccessful integration policies? If yes: what would this look like? (one could say that there is no grey area in between both because if policy isn't successful, it's automatically unsuccessful).
- Are there any factors that you can think of that would determine the success of integration policies? (think about certain indicators that could show that there's a discrepancy between migrants/refugees and people who aren't a migrant or refugee).
- In the next question I will name 8 possible factors that could determine the success of integration policies. I would like you to rate these factors on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being not determining at all and with 5 being very determining:
 - Labor market mobility
 - Family reunion
 - Education
 - Health
 - Political participation
 - Permanent residence
 - Access to nationality
 - Anti-discrimination
- What do you know about integration policy in Europe? This can be an overall policy but also policy that is installed in a specific country.
Possible follow-up question: what is your opinion regarding the mentioned integration policy?
- If not mentioned: what do you know about integration policy in Greece?
Possible follow-up question: what is your opinion regarding the mentioned integration policy in Greece?

[Secondary question 3] -> How does the success of integration policies and the attitude of people towards integration policies vary across Europe?

- Do you have any idea about the variation in Europe when it comes to integration policy success? If yes, could you elaborate on that for me? After this, even if the answer is no: briefly inform the interviewee about the variations.
- Did you expect these variations? Why did you or did you not?
Optional question after this: what about these variations surprised you the most?
- Do you have any idea about the variation in Europe when it comes to the attitudes of people towards these integration policies? If yes, could you elaborate on that for me? After this, even if the answer is no: briefly inform the interviewee about the variations.
- Did you expect these variations? Why did you or did you not?
Optional question after this: what about these variations surprised you the most?
- If you're focusing on the integration success in European countries, which countries or what part of Europe do you think performs the best and why? (Keep in mind that not every country is equally concerned with their integration policies because of several reasons: e.g. less migrants/refugees)
- I want to ask the same question for the attitude of people towards integration policies. Can you speak about the countries or parts of Europe that are the most positive or most negative regarding attitudes towards integration policies?

- Greece has a score of 44 on a scale of 100 on the MIPEx-Index. The MIPEx-Index is an index that indicates the success of migrant integration policies based on eight policy domains. These eight domains were previously mentioned in the interview. They claim the 22nd place out of 32 European countries. However, out of the EU15 countries, Greece is placed last. Additionally, out of the bigger Southern European countries (Greece, Spain, Italy, France, Portugal), Greece is also placed last. Moreover, these other bigger European countries are in the top-half based on their MIPEx-ranking.
-> What are your opinions regarding these facts? Can you think of a possible cause for the poor performance of Greece?
- It one would look at the people's attitudes towards integration policies, Greece is in the middle. Can you think of a reason why this is the way it is?
- And finally, can you think of a reason why Greece is doing bad on Migrant Integration Policies but the people's attitudes towards these policies are more positive than one would think? (If the policies are bad, then you would think that the attitudes are also bad).

[Secondary questions 4] -> What are possible explanations for the variations in success and attitudes towards integration policies?

- In the previous questions, we've discussed the variations in integration policy success and attitudes towards these policies. In this section I would like to talk about possible explanations for these variations.
- Can you think of any possible explanations for the variations in success of integration? (Be aware: this is success of integration, not success of integration policies). If yes, which ones?
- Just like in one previous question I would like to name three possible explanations for the variations of success in integration and then it would be your job to rate them on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being a very unlikely explanations and 5 being a very likely explanation.
 - Parental education
 - Gender
 - Time since arrival
- Can you think of possible explanations for the variations in attitudes towards integration policies? If yes, which ones?
- Again I would like you to rather several factors that could contribute to the variations in attitudes. We will be working with the 1 to 5 scale again:
 - Psychological factors -> mainly revolves around the personal beliefs and values of someone.
 - Family factors -> the upbringing of a person is considered to be very influential on the child's views. Ideas and perceptions of parents are often the same or comparable to those of their children.
 - Societal factors -> elements of the term 'society' are the culture of for example a country, the spoken language, or traditions.
 - Economic factors -> one's financial situation can also change someone's attitude significantly. An example would be that people on the top of the socioeconomic ladder are more likely to be right-wing than people on the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder.

[Secondary question 5] -> 'To what extent does the success of integration policies determine the attitude of people towards integration policies?'

- The final secondary question of my thesis revolves for the largest part around the relationship between the success of integration policies and the attitude of people towards integration policies.
- Do you think that there's a relationship between the success of integration policies and the attitude of people towards integration policies? Why (not)?

- (We probably agreed to the fact that there is a relationship between both variables just like my hypothesis) -> what are your opinions regarding attitudes determining the success of integration policies?

[Optional questions or question that do not necessarily fit within one of the boxes above but can be interesting/important]

- If it were up to you, would you improve anything in the Grecian integration policies? If yes, what?
- What do you think the future will bring Europe and Greece when it comes to integration policy (success)?

[Nearing the end of the interview]

- Is there anything else you want to tell me that concerns this interview or the themes/concepts discussed?
- Do you have any questions?

- This is the end of the interview. I want to thank you for participating and opening up a spot for me the interview you.
- Your answers in this conversation will be converted into a transcript. As mentioned earlier, this transcript will be destroyed afterwards. If you would like to have a look at the transcript once it's done, that's definitely possible.
- Also, if you are interested in having the end product of my thesis to read, then that would also be possible once it's done. If you want this then we can exchange our e-mail addresses. I will, if you want to, give you my e-mail address in case you have questions regarding the interview or something else if a question pops up.

