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REFUGEES' INTEGRATION PROCESS IN LUXEMBOURG: THE CASE OF ARAB REFUGEES' POST-POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE ARAB REGION

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ABSTRACT

2011 was significant in the Arab countries; it started a people's political movement in many countries. It was known as (The Arab Spring). This Arab spring led to instability and insecurities in many countries, which resulted in a large flow of asylum seekers to neighbouring countries and Europe. This flow reached its peak in 2015, and many of them ended up arriving in Luxembourg.

The Arab-speaking population is relatively tiny in Luxembourg compared to other neighbouring countries. Still, numbers increased from 1200 residents in 2011 to over 7000 due to this flow of asylum seekers, mainly from Syria and Iraq. While Luxembourg had a specific demographic structure and a multilingual context compared to other European countries, the refugees faced a different situation concerning their integration into Luxembourgish society.

Multilingualism is one of the main challenges asylum seekers face, especially if they do not have previous experience or competencies in any European language. Language learning played a prominent role in allowing people to find job opportunities, decent housing, and be independent of the state and social support.

In this dissertation, I am trying to investigate how the integration process is functioning for this specific group of people in Luxembourg, which factors play a role in their integration, and how the support measures are valid.

I used a qualitative research approach with data collected through semi-structured interviews with asylum seekers who had already received their refugee status to analyse their perception and understanding of their integration process. The interviews were conducted in their native language (Arabic), which gave me access to a more straightforward free discussion with the interviewees but added a limitation of the need to translate the selected excerpts and not having the possibility to translate the whole interviews.

The main results are that the Arab refugees' integration process had several aspects. Concerning the prejudgment before arrival, the waiting time of their asylum application, then after holding the refugee status, other elements that they faced played a role as a barrier; or a challenge for their integration processes like housing, language learning, job market and family conditions.

I concluded that different components are needed to fulfil their integration needs, and they can be structured in organized stages for integration. The multiculturalism of Luxembourg can play a positive role in facilitating integration but, simultaneously, can create challenges

for people to adapt and progress in their integration process. The diverse components can be organized in a tower model built on the different integration components to reach the level needed for good integration.

Keywords

Arab Refugees, Migration, Integration, Language learning

RESUME

L'année 2011 était importante dans les pays arabes ; elle a vu se déclencher un mouvement politique populaire dans de nombreux pays. Il est connu sous le nom de (Printemps arabe). Ce printemps arabe a conduit à l'instabilité et à l'insécurité dans de nombreux pays, ce qui a entraîné un flux important de demandeurs d'asile vers les pays voisins et vers l'Europe. Ce flux avait atteint son apogée en 2015, et beaucoup d'entre ces demandeurs d'asile ont fini par arriver au Luxembourg. La population arabophone est relativement minuscule au Luxembourg par rapport aux autres pays voisins. Pourtant, les chiffres ont augmenté, passant de 1200 résidents en 2011 à plus de 7000 en raison de ce flux de demandeurs d'asile, principalement en provenance de Syrie et d'Irak. Alors que le Luxembourg présente une structure démographique spécifique et un contexte multilingue par rapport aux autres pays européens, les réfugiés ont été confrontés à une situation différente concernant leur intégration dans la société luxembourgeoise.

Le multilinguisme est l'un des principaux défis auxquels les demandeurs d'asile sont confrontés, surtout s'ils n'ont pas d'expérience préalable ou de compétences dans une langue européenne. L'apprentissage des langues joue un rôle prépondérant pour permettre à ces personnes de trouver des opportunités d'emploi, un logement décent, et d'être indépendantes de l'Etat et de l'aide sociale. Dans ce travail, j'ai essayé d'étudier le fonctionnement du processus d'intégration pour ce groupe spécifique de personnes au Luxembourg, quels sont les facteurs qui jouent un rôle dans leur intégration, et d'interroger l'efficacité des mesures de soutien. J'ai opté pour une approche qualitative avec des données collectées par le biais d'entretiens semi-structurés avec des demandeurs d'asile ayant déjà reçu leur statut de réfugié, afin d'analyser leur perception et leur compréhension de leur processus d'intégration.

Les entretiens ont été menés dans leur langue maternelle (l'arabe), ce qui m'a donné accès à une discussion plus directe et plus libre avec les personnes interrogées, ce qui n'était pas sans inconvénient, par la même, à savoir : la nécessité de traduire les extraits sélectionnés, à côté du fait de ne pas avoir traduit l'ensemble des entretiens.

Les principaux résultats sont ; le processus d'intégration des réfugiés arabes comporte plusieurs aspects. En ce qui concerne les préjugés avant l'arrivée, le temps d'attente de leur demande d'asile, puis après avoir obtenu le statut de réfugié, d'autres éléments auxquels ils ont été confrontés ont joué un rôle de barrière ou de défi pour leur processus d'intégration, comme le logement, l'apprentissage de la langue, le marché du travail et les conditions familiales. J'en ai conclu que différents éléments sont nécessaires pour répondre à leurs

besoins d'intégration, et qu'ils peuvent être structurés en étapes organisées pour l'intégration. Le multiculturalisme luxembourgeois peut jouer un rôle positif en facilitant l'intégration mais, simultanément, il peut créer des difficultés d'adaptation et de progression dans le processus d'intégration. Les diverses composantes peuvent être organisées dans un modèle de tour construit sur les différentes composantes de l'intégration, pour atteindre le niveau requis pour une bonne intégration. Mots clés Réfugiés arabes, migration, intégration, apprentissage des langues.

Mots clés

Réfugiés arabes, Migration, Intégration, Apprentissage des langues

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Glossary

Terms used	Definition
ADEM	<i>Agence pour le développement de l'emploi</i>
AMIF	Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund
Asbl	<i>Association sans but lucratif</i> Not for profit association
ASTI	<i>Association de Soutien aux Travailleurs Immigrés</i>
BPI	<i>Bénéficiaire de Protection Internationale</i> Refugee
Caritas	Caritas Luxembourg
CAI	Welcome and Integration Contract <i>Contact d'Accueil et d'Intégration</i>
CLAE	<i>Comité de Liaison des Associations d'Etrangers</i>
CoE	Council of Europe
<i>Croix rouge</i>	Luxembourgish Red cross
DPI	<i>Demandeur de Protection Internationale / Asylum seekers</i>
EU	European Union
FNS	National Solidarity Fund
<i>Foyer</i>	Collective housing for refugees and asylum seekers in Luxembourg
LAS	League of Arab States
<i>MATNEEN</i>	In Luxembourgish Together Exceptional funding call portfolio to support the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Luxembourg
<i>Oeuvre</i>	<i>Œuvre Nationale de Secours Grande-Duchesse Charlotte</i>
OLAI	<i>Office Luxembourgeois d'Accueil et d'Intégration</i> Luxembourgish Reception and Integration Agency
ONA	<i>Office national de l'accueil</i> National reception agency
PAN	<i>Plan d'action national d'intégration</i>
<i>Papier rose</i>	Pink paper, the paper received by asylum seekers for the period their application

	is checked by authorities
REVIS	<i>Revenu d'inclusion sociale</i> Social inclusion income
RMG	<i>Revenu minimum garanti</i> Guaranteed minimum income
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

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1 Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter will present an overview of the thesis, identify the issues with the flow of the Arab-speaking refugees to Luxembourg, and identify the terms and different misconceptions surrounding the term Arab and its implications for understanding it. Presenting the research question, the importance of this research, and the need for it for Luxembourg can help introduce the topic and its background information.

1.1 Background, purpose and objective of the research

Modern history has some crucial moments that changed how life and interaction among people globally occur. Those moments are not isolated from any issues that happened before them, but it still is significant as they could start a chain of changes that creates new challenges and issues that people have to deal with afterwards.

One of those moments or periods was the political transformation in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) starting in late 2010 and becoming much more intensive with a domino chain of reactions in 2011. It resulted in regime change with minor violence like in the case of Tunisia, Egypt or did not change the regime but created some political movements. Some ended peacefully, like in Morocco, Algeria and Jordan, or by using force like in Bahrain.

Still, the most significant is the continual use of force and violence, whether the regime changed. Still, it reached the level of a global proxy civil war like what happened mainly in Syria and took place in Libya, Yemen, and Iraq. These political transformations were called by some media outlets the Arab Spring. We are not in a position to discuss if this was an Arab Spring or Arab Autumn, but we are focusing on the results of these actions on creating a flow of migrants and refugees that were displaced either internally or globally. The reactions from the other host countries who received those asylum seekers fled from the violence and destruction in their home countries. This flow of migrants and asylum seekers, known as the 'refugee crisis, created a wide range of reactions in the European Union. It played an essential role in the political discourse and election results in many European countries and the whole western world, as we will see in more detail in Chapter two. Furthermore, it will be helpful to understand how the public discourse, political discussions, and media were always focusing on Syria mainly due to the population internally displaced inside Syria or displaced to the neighbouring countries with a massive humanitarian crisis inside Syria and beyond.

I had to find a precise definition and focus on a specific list of countries I could consider Arab in the research. The language criteria might be confusing because Arabic is widely spoken as a primary language in many countries in Africa and Asia; this will not be a precise selection

criterion for the target group needed. Also, the term the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) will create the same confusion.

To define a fixed number of Arab countries using a precise definition, I used to select the list of member states of the League of Arab States (LAS). LAS is an intra-governmental organization in which those countries consider Arabic the state's official language. A clear political definition will help me identify which country to consider an Arab country.

This clarification will help draw a clear line between diverse definitions of whom to consider Arabs, Arabic speakers, majority Muslim countries or MENA region, and specifically on the analysis and statistics concerning the people arriving from LAS member states.

However, there is no precise understanding of the term “Arab”. When considering the language-speaking community, Arabic is the lingua franca of the Arab world. Four hundred fifty million people speak it as native and non-native speakers (MIM & SC, 2020) across continents, each with their local culture and particular traditions. The term might represent the racial, ethnic, linguistic, geographical, cultural or religious background. Within Luxembourg's Arabic-speaking population, the most recent population of asylum seekers and refugees have originated from Syria and Iraq, in addition to people from Palestine and Libya (STATEC, 2020). A closer look at these countries of origin, specifically Syria and Iraq, reveals considerable diversity in the emigrating populations' ethnic and religious backgrounds. The primary religious affiliation is Sunni and Shia Islam, yet some Christian denominations, such as Orthodox and Catholic, also comprise the most recent refugees. And there are other religious and ethnic groups from these regions, such as Druze and Kurdish (Andreeva, 2020; MacDonald, 2012), who have had to endure a departure from their home countries. What is important, yet largely overlooked when considering “Arabs” in a Western European context, is the significant diversity and heterogeneity of the population even in the country of origin. The refugee crisis has heightened concerns about Arab immigrants (M. Berry, Garcia-Blanco, & Moore, 2015), and therefore, more than ever, a contemporary examination of the lived experience has become necessary.

In direct response, this research project aims to understand Luxembourg's integration mechanisms and how Arab-speaking refugees are experiencing them. The research focuses on the Arab-speaking community who received the status of refugee in Luxembourg and will direct a particular outlook onto those whose countries of origin are Syria and Iraq, as they represent the majority of the Arabic-speaking population in the country (STATEC, 2020).

Since 2015, Luxembourg has welcomed a significant number of refugees and asylum seekers due to global political transformations and violent conflicts taking place, specifically in the

Middle East area (STATEC, 2019). Diverse stakeholders from the governmental and non-governmental domains initiated a range of initiatives targeting the integration of newly arrived refugees (European Migration Network, 2019), and it is in this light that my examination of the impact of such initiatives is cast.

Until 2015, Luxembourg experienced waves of migration that mainly originated from across Europe. The significant surge of Arabic-speaking asylum seekers, who share a common linguistic, cultural and heritage background, is thus considered a new migration stream into Luxembourg. In order to have a better understanding of this new group and the successful means of interaction, there is a pressing need to investigate the complex processes related to their integration in Luxembourg, for example, how can they successfully integrate into the job market in the education system, how can they navigate and communicate within the multi-linguistic landscape of Luxembourg and how all of this might affect the welfare of the people themselves.

I chose the notion of integration as the central observable fact as it is one commonly used by Luxembourg's policy makers (Chambre des Députés du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 1993, 2008), also used by civil society initiatives country-wide (Ronnen Desch, 2017). Thus, the thesis' primary purpose is to understand how this notion is conceived, targeted and enacted by various Luxembourgish actors, but above all, experienced by the refugees themselves.

Leading from the thesis' primary purpose, its main objective is to understand how the integration works in Luxembourg, with particular attention to the country's most recent and significant refugee population, i.e., people from Arabic-speaking countries speaking a variety of Arabic dialects, striving to get their educational and professional proficiencies recognized, and negotiating practices of their culture, religion and conventional lifestyle. Emanating from the empirical work conducted, the second objective of this study is to build an integration model which allows for a depiction, explanation and projection of the integration process as it is experienced in Luxembourg's specific, contemporary context. This Integration model was designed based on the empirical work with this specific group (Arab refugees). However, it might be generalized to other refugees or immigrants to Luxembourg.

1.2 Research questions

The situation and processes delineated above lead us to articulate the core topic of our research: The integration process of Arabic-speaking refugees in Luxembourg post-Arab political transformations. It will be examined from the perspective and through the voices of

research participants who have recently immigrated to Luxembourg seeking international protection and received their status and residency in Luxembourg. In order to more clearly define the population being examined, I have decided to limit the characterization of “Arab” to populations from the League of Arab States (22 countries). The countries of the League have declared Arabic as their official language and identity (Fawcett, 2014a), irrespective of other languages spoken within their borders, which provides a point of reference from which to consider linguistic and cultural origin. Thus, any such national who immigrated to Luxembourg as an asylum seeker and received refugee status represents the target group of this research.

The phenomenon of integration will thus be addressed through the following research questions:

1. How do Arab refugees conceptualise, describe and analyse their integration process in Luxembourg?
2. Do refugees perceive whether age, gender, religion, education and professional experience affect their integration process?
3. How does the support offered by national stakeholders (e.g., government agencies, civil society organizations) help the refugees in their integration processes?

1.3 Significance of the study

Migrants from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) constitute a considerable component of the demographic structure of Luxembourg’s neighbouring populations like in Germany (Karakasoğlu, 2011), France (Melhem, 2011), Belgium (Caestecker, 2011), and the Netherlands (Lucassen, 2011). Historically, migration has flowed from and into those parts of the world since the second half of the 20th century (Bade, 2011).

However, the main migration flows in Luxembourg have been of European origin (Fetzer, 2011). Statistics show that in January 2020, only 6% of Luxembourg’s residents could be counted as being from non-European countries of origin, out of a total population of which 41.7% are from Europe and 52.64% are Luxembourgish nationals (STATEC, 2020).

Nonetheless, despite the historical migration, the Arabic-speaking population in Luxembourg increased significantly within the decade (2010–2020). While in January 2011, 1464 Luxembourgish residents from Arabic-speaking countries were registered, in January 2020, this count significantly rose to 6761 (STATEC, 2020). The number of Syrians and Iraqis living in Luxembourg has increased from 219 in January 2011 to 3222 in January 2020 and currently represents half of Luxembourg’s Arabic-speaking community (STATEC, 2020). This growth highlights the challenges the country must rise to, including welcoming a

comparatively large number of refugees from Middle Eastern origins in a short period. This has affected the complexity of multilingualism and multiculturalism within the Luxembourgish context (Tavares, Martin, & Juffermans, 2014). However, interactions among the different groups of refugees might be a further challenge, as their inter-community relations are loaded with tensions linked to the geopolitical complexities inherited from their countries of origin (Sahin Mencutek, 2021).

As we will see from the literature review (Chapter 3), there is a current knowledge gap in integration processes for refugees who have entered Western nations post recent political changes in the MENA region, including Luxembourg's experience. Consequently, this study aims to widen our understanding of the interacting circumstances among culturally-diverse groups, taking into consideration that the current demographic mixture is new for the Luxembourgish society, having induced some fear and threat among the resident population (M.-S. Callens, Meuleman, & Valentova, 2015; M. S. Callens, Meuleman, & Valentova, 2019). In particular, these sentiments have been intensified by recurrent attacks that have happened since 2015 to date in France, Belgium, Germany, Austria and other European countries (Bakker & Zuijdewijn, 2015; Bunker & Keshavarz, 2021; Parliament, 2018). The perpetrators of these attacks either had a migrant background or were refugees from MENA. All were influenced by the movement of Islamic Revivalism, fundamentally radicalized through an extreme religious interpretation of the Quran that they forcefully advanced as a legitimate premise for demonstrating excessive aggression (Arena, 2017; Kaya, 2021). Such attacks led to a heightened fear of refugees and migrants throughout large parts of the European population (Wike, Stokes, & Simmons, 2016), especially in conservative and right-wing political landscapes and their adherents. The inclusion of refugees in European societies has thus become a primary political concern, affecting how policies will be framed shortly. This has already and will continue to play a significant role in the coming elections across European Union (EU) countries.

The empirical research undertaken here is thus fuelled by the social context, as much as it answers to the current lack of prior research on the refugee situation in Luxembourg, especially concerning Arabs. In Luxembourg, there is an urgent need to more clearly understand how integration takes place, how refugees perceive affordances and how policies could be designed for the newly arrived. A focus on specific profiles of asylum seekers is essential, given the composition of cultural diversity across the country and the (perhaps hidden) complexities inherent to the seemingly homogenous group of Arab asylum seekers. Keeping sensitive to the current geopolitical situation in the Middle East, the tough journey asylum seekers from these regions made to reach Luxembourg, and the socio-

cultural differences within the group as well as between a host and newly arrived is equally imperative.

My goal is that this research's outcomes can help overcome concerns related to efficacious integration processes by offering a multi-faceted view of this phenomenon and a scientific model that unveils elements affecting the successful inclusion of refugees in the Luxembourgish society. Moreover, any recommendations on specific components generated from the scientific work are helpful for the long-term integration as they can be adapted to the needs of the target population. They can ensure societal homogeneity and welfare and supports the refugees' integration process in Luxembourg. To sum up, we consider a specific inquiry on the refugees' situation in the Luxembourg context and their integration efforts is needed.

I am a migrant myself from the same geographical region and cultural background as the participants of my study. This research project is also of direct personal interest to me. For me, it matters to conduct this empirical study to understand better how integration processes are taking place in Luxembourg and how policies or practices could be improved in the future. My background helped me to have perfect access to the target group due to speaking Arabic as my native language. In addition to the shared cultural background, the project "Initiative Choukrane" that I coordinated allowed me to get to know the participants personally for several years before conducting the research. This allowed me to have detailed insights and information from the participants within a commonly built trust among ourselves. Moreover, this generated practical and personal opportunities to conduct this research.

1.4 Overview of the thesis' chapters

The thesis is composed of five chapters. The function of the first two chapters is to frame the societal and scientific context of the research and its theoretical framework.

The first chapter introduces the study's background, impetus, purpose, aims and significance.

The second chapter analyses the complexity of the situation in the countries of origin concerning the refugee population being examined, the reverberations at an international and European level, and the impact on Luxembourg in particular.

The third chapter presents the theoretical framework and the research literature, summarising our current knowledge of the successful integration of refugees.

Chapter four expounds on the empirical study and its concerns: building a heuristic integration model that captures the integration process of Arab refugees in their new

European host country, as well as the methods used in the research to collect and analyse the data.

The fifth chapter contains the analysis and discussions of the data collected through interviewing the participants.

Finally, the final sixth chapter will discuss the findings and inducing conclusions and recommendations.

2 Chapter 2: The social context

This chapter frames the context in which the refugees examined in this study reached Luxembourg. It further presents some of the characteristics of the social context they interact within their new country of residence, including the diverse initiatives for integration found in Luxembourg.

The political transformations in the Middle East since 2011 have led to instability in some countries like Syria and Iraq. Violent conflicts ignited and created a humanitarian crisis. This situation reached its peak in 2015 as 12.4 million people were forced into displacement and refugees (UNHCR 3RP, 2016). They fled from conflict zones in order to find shelter and safety. More than 4.7 million Syrian nationals were among them, counting only up to 2015 (UNHCR, 2015). The number of people who aimed to reach Europe via the Mediterranean increased rapidly (OECD, 2016). This situation led to an unprecedented humanitarian crisis raising the number of deaths of those trying to cross the sea from Turkey to Greece.

The media played a crucial role in awakening global communities, especially after Aylan Kurdi's picture appeared in September 2015. This Syrian Kurdish child died while crossing the Mediterranean with his family (El-Enany, 2016). The picture's impact on the media was compelling. It represented one of the main reasons for the urgent response demanded on the European level towards the Middle East crisis, with particular attention to Syria. The image of Aylan's lifeless body upon the shores of the Mediterranean brought global awareness to the humanitarian need. It led to a variety of political responses on the EU level, followed by many consequences on political, social, cultural and even economic aspects within the EU. Germany and Sweden were initially portrayed as being open and receptive to Syrian refugees (Ostrand, 2015); however, this has shifted in the past five years due to multiple geopolitical considerations and changes in the European context (Ambrosini, 2021; Kriesi, Altiparmakis, Bojar, & Oana, 2021; Piatkowska, Hövermann, & Yang, 2020), as asylum-seeking waves continued inwards. The number of people who aimed to reach the EU through the eastern Balkan route was estimated at 1.85 million refugees up to 2016 (Sobczyński, 2019). Between April 2011 and May 2016, 1,066,844 asylum seeking applications had been submitted across Europe, only from Syrian nationals (UNHCR 3RP, 2016). As a whole, the situation presented a number of challenges and pressures on host nations.

As the crisis reached its peak in the second half of 2015, Luxembourg came to play a more significant role and responsibility at the EU level, not least due to its EU presidency. Steadily on the rise, in 2015, Luxembourg received 2265 applications from asylum seekers, where 45% could be counted as Syrian nationals. This represented a 30% increase from 2014 (European Asylum Support Office, 2016). The

country gripped itself for the road ahead, facing an unprecedented situation – both in numbers and in the cultural composition of entrants.

2.1 External context overview

This section presents the background and context, as it exists outside of Luxembourg, as well as that which led to the massive migrant influx of the newly arrived migrants and refugees.

2.1.1 *Countries of origin, context and development*

As briefly introduced in Chapter 1, the League of Arab States (LAS) consists of 22 member states, each upholding Arabic as the official language and identity (Fawcett, 2014b). While the language can be considered the main common element among LAS countries, there are also common historical and cultural aspects that helped frame how this region functions. There were extended periods in history when several LAS countries shared joint governance, the same dynasty, formed united nation-states, or fell under occupation or colonization from the same external forces (Firmian & Manfredi, 2020). These historical pathways indeed influenced the linguistic, cultural and religious denominations as well as the geopolitical formations of the region (Romero, 2020).

Most of the population living within the LAS is faithful to Islam, with a majority of Sunni and a minority of Shia among them. In addition, there are widespread Christian denominations of Orthodox and Catholics (Makdisi, 2019) throughout the region, as well as Jewish, Druze (Shlush et al., 2008), Baha'i, Alevi (Zubaida, 2019) and many more minority religious groups (Joseph, 2019). Diversity of ethnic groups can also be found throughout the LAS, with the majority characterized as Arabs – although this definition does not represent an apparent ethnicity (Drysdale, 2014) – alongside Kurds (Hawlla, 2017; MacDonald, 2012), Berber (Vázquez, 2020), Nubian (Janmyr, 2017), Assyrian, Armenian (Migliorino, 2008) and Turkic ethnic groups (Bram & Shawwaf, 2019).

Therefore, although people from LAS countries might appear or be represented as a homogeneous group on a more global stage, with a majority representative image of a Middle Eastern Arabic speaker who is Muslim Sunni, in actuality, there is a wide diversity of ethnic and religious groups within the Arab States, consisting of significant heterogeneity, on a variety of levels (Hazran, 2019).

The LAS' demographic composition is relatively young; in 2012, the median age was 23.7 years old (Khraif et al., 2015). Nevertheless, the youth unemployment rate has been close to 30%, double the world average (Fargues, 2017). The region's human resources have thus not been efficiently put to use for development and have been largely left out of the decision-making process. Literacy can be high in some member states, such as Egypt: in 2006, the rate was measured at 29.3% of the population of 10

years or more (Egyptian Adult Education Agency, 2008). While internet usage is prevalent throughout the Arab states, in 2019, internet users in the MENA region reached an average of 64% of the population, while the world's average reached 51% (ITU, 2021; WB, 2021). Between 2000–2010, internet usage growth in the MENA region increased by 1,825.3%, while in the same period, the global rate of increase was 444.8% (Daud, 2015). These two factors of having a youth bulge and the high percentage of using the internet and social media played a significant role in mobilizing the young people. They led to the political transformation movements in the Arab states.

In addition to the above, experiences of injustice, and exclusion from power, fortune and decision-making processes, led to popular movements, manifestations, rebellions, protests and uprisings from the early 2010s on, called the Arab Spring (Abdelhay, 2012; Hinnebusch, 2015; Pramanik, 2014). In each of the Arab States, scenarios presented themselves differently. Some turned violent, and civil wars broke out in Syria (Lynch, Freelon, & Aday, 2014), for example, Libya (Lacher, 2020). In addition, there was acute instability in Iraq due to ongoing wars and internal fluctuations (Furness & Trautner, 2020). Specifically in Syria, where movements turned violent, an estimated death toll of 511,000 up to March 2018 (HRW, 2019) was experienced, with 6.7 million internally displaced persons and 6.7 million refugees hosted by 127 countries (UNHCR, 2020). In addition to the civil war, an inflow of international forces, all of whom have individual interests in supporting one of the regimes against another, or interests in the mobilization of militants on the ground, created a complexity of allies and enemies throughout Syria, Libya, Iraq and Yemen (Haner, Wichern, & Fleenor, 2020; Ratelle, 2020).

The declaration of the establishment of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2013 (Gerges, 2016) pressured humanitarian emergency intervention, especially for people living in the areas that fell under the control of ISIS (Strang, O'Brien, Sandilands, & Horn, 2020). In turn, this increased pressure on the flow of asylum seekers out of the region, impressing their need to seek refuge in European countries (Fargues, 2017).

2.1.2 International context and development in the EU

Due to the situation described above and the flow of migrants and asylum seekers out of MENA countries, due to the political instability and conflicts that plagued the region, complex international reactions took place in the countries that received the inflows. Within this crisis, the three main migration routes through the Mediterranean to the EU became: the Eastern Mediterranean route towards Greece, the Central Mediterranean route towards Italy, and the Western Mediterranean route toward Spain (UNHCR, 2015). An enormous number of migrants and asylum seekers fled the conflict zones through these routes. At the beginning of the crisis, border control became impossible, and a

massive number of people lost their lives along these paths in their attempt at entry into an EU host country. In 2015 only 1,032,408 people were reported as having arrived in Europe, while 3771 were reported as deceased or missing. Since 2014, the total number of arrivals to Europe is counted at 2,188,940, with 20,862 reported dead or lost (UNHCR, 2021).

Political reactions in Europe have differed, from welcoming refugees for humanitarian reasons to blocking borders. In Germany, while the German Chancellor promoted an open policy of welcoming asylum seekers, her political opponents opposed such a policy, also from within the same political party of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). In addition to changes to the German political landscape (Jäckle & König, 2017) as well as the deviating social reactions by supporting the asylum seekers or being against them (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017).

Political turbulences happened across the EU and extended beyond, on an international level. Far-right political discourses arose, leading to Donald Trump's success in the 2016 United States presidential elections and the UK campaign to leave the EU referendum, which was known later on by the Brexit in that same year – both of which had a direct connection with the flow of asylum seekers from the MENA region (Crouch, 2017). Other political disturbances among the EU member states concerning the distribution of refugees and having quotas for each country, some countries fulfilled the need or more while others refused to host any refugee (Fernández-Huertas Moraga & Rapoport, 2015; Zaun, 2018), and this was one of the critical topics of discussion on the European political agenda on national and EU levels, as well as the discussions related to the Dublin agreement in which the asylum demand should take place in the country of the first entry within the EU block. However, it created massive pressure on the southern EU countries, especially Greece and Italy, which created much more complexity in the EU political agenda.

2.2 Luxembourgish National Context

Luxembourg has a very unique demographic, cultural and linguistic situation. Its three official languages, in addition to nearly half of its residents being foreigners, frame how interactions occur between different cultural groups in a particular way, which enforces the multilingual and multicultural context of Luxembourg.

In January 2020, Luxembourg counted 626,108 residents, including 296,465 foreign residents – among them 95,057 from Portugal (STATEC, 2020). In addition, Luxembourg is experiencing strong daily cross-border flows (*frontaliers*). Over 40% of its workforce (ibid) commute to work in Luxembourg while living in its neighbouring countries (France, Belgium and Germany). This composition influences the linguistic landscape of the country. It challenges refugees who might need to learn more than one language to be able to integrate into society or find employment opportunities, as we will see in Chapter 5.

In response, in Luxembourg it was created several governmental and social initiatives were created to help refugees integrate by, for instance, facilitating language learning opportunities and engaging refugees in local communities. In Chapter 5, we will see how refugees perceive themselves through these initiatives and opportunities and how they impact their lives.

In recent years, Luxembourg has welcomed over 20,000 new inhabitants (ibid), who arrive for work, study or other reasons, beyond asylum, with a total annual increase of the population by more than 10,000 persons (ibid). This makes it clear that having an active integration policy in place is highly important for the social construction of the country. In turn, a law of integration was issued on the 16th of December 2008 and modified on the 4th of December 2019. Currently, Luxembourg is in the process of producing a new integration law under preparation in 2021.

Hosting asylum-seekers and refugees vary from country to country, but in Luxembourg, we find that this process can or must be modified several times over. Once an asylum seeker arrives in Luxembourg and applies for refuge, they receive a rose document (*papier rose*) from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They should visit the Ministry once per month for meetings and interviews related to their request and application for refugee status. This process might take several years, depending on the case. In the meantime, that person might move between accommodations; from the first entry accommodation to the welcoming refugee centre (*foyer d'accueil*) or to another centre that considers specific cases, such as Dublin cases, or to a camp for rejected applicants, or a foyer where asylum seekers stay for the rest of their application period up to receiving residency. Even after residency and after having obtained the legal status of refugee, that person might stay in a given centre, as many have, due to housing

complications – shortages and high prices – in Luxembourg. This will also be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Since the biggest flow of asylum seekers arrived in Luxembourg in 2015, the responsibility of dealing with the legal demands of asylum and managing this process fell under the administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while accommodation management, welcoming and integration processes fell under the responsibility of the Ministry of Family Affairs, Integration and the Greater Region, through the national office of welcoming and integration (*OLAI, Office Luxembourgeois de l'accueil et de l'intégration*¹). Thus, in practice, the government had distributed responsibilities for welcoming asylum-seeking newcomers between two Ministries. This was modified by an act (*Loi du 4 décembre 2019*) that entered into force on 1 January 2020 and designated administrative and legal processes to the National Office of Welcoming (*ONA, Office national de l'accueil*), administratively falling under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so that refugees now mainly deal with one Ministry in their welcoming and asylum application processes. Meanwhile, the integration process of refugees falls now under the newly formed Department of Integration in the Ministry of Family Affairs, Integration and the Greater Region.

Aside from the governmental institutions working in the integration field for refugees and asylum seekers, several civil society organizations are working alongside to help welcome, host and integrate these newcomers into Luxembourgish society. For example, most refugee camps are managed either by Caritas Luxembourg² or the Luxembourgish Red Cross³ (*Croix-Rouge Luxembourgeoise*). Other organizations work on language learning, housing support, education, volunteerism, employment, information and administration, cultural activities and media.

In 2015, the *Oeuvre Nationale de Secours Grande-Duchesse Charlotte*⁴, a national funding institution for civic activities, launched a 15 million euros envelope of funding called *Mateneen*⁵, which in Luxembourgish means “together”. The funding was focused on integrating refugees and asylum seekers in Luxembourg and has supported over 90 initiatives. *Mateneen's* call created an ecosystem of

¹ www.olai.lu

² www.caritas.lu

³ www.croix-rouge.lu

⁴ www.oeuvre.lu

⁵ www.mateneen.lu

organizations that work on integration by focusing on various domains. In that same period, an initiative called *Ronnen Däsch*⁶ (the “round table” in Luxembourgish) spearheaded a series of meetings for stakeholders working in the field of integration, representing different civil society organizations, governmental institutions and municipalities, all aiming to coordinate and discuss the challenges of integration faced by refugees and asylum seekers in Luxembourg. Alongside *Ronnen Däsch*, another coordinating civil society entity known as the Collective Refugees⁷ (LFR, *Lëtzebuenger Flüchtlingsrot, Collectif Réfugiés Luxembourg*) was established, with members that brought together prominent actors, such as the Red Cross, Caritas, *ASTI (Association de soutien aux travailleurs immigrés*⁸), *CLAE (Comité de liaison des associations d'étrangers*⁹) and *Passerell*¹⁰, that also work on welcoming, hosting and integrating refugees, as well as fostering legal support for refugees.

⁶ www.ronnendesch.lu

⁷ www.en.lfr.lu

⁸ www.asti.lu

⁹ www.clae.lu

¹⁰ www.passerell.lu

2.2.1 The growth of the Arab population and refugees in Luxembourg

The research focuses on the Arabic-speaking refugees in Luxembourg who arrived in Luxembourg after the Arab states' political transformation. This movement, known as the Arab Spring, started in late 2010 and early 2011 with domino effects in different Arab states. The following statistics show the size of the targeted group in the Luxembourg context and how it grew over time from 2011 on.

We start first to understand the size of the DPIs (Demandeur de protection internationale) asylum seekers by month within the last decade:

Demandes de protection internationale par mois 2010 - 2020												
Année	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Specification												
Total	796	2 171	2 057	1 070	1 091	2 447	2 036	2 318	2 204	2 048	1 020	132
Janvier	50	116	224	80	94	88	265	224	175	226	155	67
Février	54	149	132	71	88	89	119	236	121	183	105	65
Mars	56	238	207	74	70	98	103	222	132	220	116	
Avril	45	147	195	91	49	78	125	186	132	170	10	
Mai	47	135	264	78	88	90	122	194	139	140	18	
Juin	48	114	181	89	63	101	160	144	151	124	39	
Juillet	47	160	236	106	84	106	131	160	238	133	94	
Août	52	221	137	76	96	190	197	182	222	184	90	
Septembre	91	312	125	119	134	374	199	192	210	158	159	
Octobre	98	225	167	126	128	381	269	194	178	209	123	
Novembre	107	177	120	100	114	423	163	143	234	138	111	
Décembre	101	177	69	60	83	429	183	241	272	163	147	

Table 1: Demandes de protection internationale par mois 2010 – 2020¹¹

The number of asylum seekers who applied per month in Luxembourg increased dramatically by late 2010 and early 2011, as in the previous (Table 1). These fluctuations continued within the last decade, with the highest average in 2015. It started to decrease only in 2020, mainly due to the covid-19 crisis on the global level as the average per month dropped.

All the numbers mentioned above are the total number of applicants of all nationalities (with applicants from the Arab states among them). In the following statistics, I present the situation for the Arabic-speaking population only:

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https://statistiques.public.lu/stat/TableViewer/tableViewHTML.aspx?ReportId=12911&IF_Language=fra&MainTheme=2&FldrName=2&RFPath=12447

Demandes de protection internationale par pays de nationalité 1998 - 2019										
Nationality	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Total all nationalities	2171	2057	1070	1091	2447	2036	2318	2204	2047	17441
Syrie	10	14	24	93	630	289	361	227	287	1935
Iraq	43	31	27	15	538	161	127	196	110	1248
Libye	8	18	15	10	6	19	13	7	27	123
Israël/Palestine	10	6	5	7	43	13	26	27	28	165
Algérie	30	33	43	42	25	75	168	80	79	575
Comores										0
Djibouti		1				1				2
Egypte	2	2	6	6	6	8	14	16	5	65
Maroc	5	8	25	11	14	75	205	94	48	485
Mauritanie	1		3		1	5	6	5	7	28
Somalie	13	13	7	5	11	22	22	25	42	160
Soudan	1	2	4	3	5	14	28	65	38	158
Tunisie	43	46	52	38	18	39	110	91	34	471
Bahreïn								1		1
Jordanie		2			2	3	4		3	14
Koweït	2			1	1		2	5	2	13
Liban	5	1			1	6	4	7	6	30
Yémen		1			1		3	14	12	31
Total Arab	102	109	140	106	85	248	564	403	276	2033
% Arabs	4.70%	5.30%	13.08%	9.72%	3.47%	12.18%	24.33%	18.28%	13.48%	11.66%

Table 2: Demandes de protection internationale par pays de nationalité 1998 – 2019¹²

In the previous statistics (Table 2), 18 out of 22 member states of the League of the Arab states are mentioned, missing only Saudi Arabia, Oman, United Arab Emirates, and Qatar. Comoros is mentioned in the statistics but apparently without any indication of an asylum application in the given period from 2011 till 2019. Another critical issue is that some of the Arab speakers who applied for asylum might come from other countries that are not a member of the League of Arab states, like, for example, Eritria or other African nations. In order to find a tool of identification, we opted for the country's membership in the league of the Arab states. However, this does only partly resolve our problem. In reality, some of the citizens of these countries cannot speak Arabic or at least it is not their native language. So, the only way would be to identify how many members of a specific linguistic group

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https://statistiques.public.lu/stat/TableViewer/tableViewHTML.aspx?ReportId=12912&IF_Language=fra&MainTheme=2&FldrName=2&RFPath=12447

moved to Luxembourg. However, I could not find any reliable source that presents an overview of the linguistic skills or ethnic groups of the asylum seekers, nor even a total number of them.

That's why we have to consider the official numbers as an indication of the group size of asylum seekers through a specific period of time. The specific countries with the highest number of applicants are mainly Syria and Iraq. In my interviews, I also met with people from Libya and Palestine to get an overlook of their situation too. Since I am focusing on refugees, who already received a residence permit in Luxembourg, I did not manage to find any participants with refugee status for the interviews from other Arab countries like Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. These countries have a significant number of asylum applicants, but they rarely receive refugee status in Luxembourg. As in Table 3 below, the total number of applicants, who received refugee or subsidiary protection status in Luxembourg from 2011 to 2020, was from Algeria 2, Tunisia 3, and Morocco 1. This indicates a minimal number in comparison with the significant applications from other countries. The table also shows that the majority of applicants from Arab states, who received the status in Luxembourg, are from Syria 1899 and Iraq 797, representing the majority of participants in our interviews.

Total receiving Statut of refugee and subsidiary protection											
Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Algeria						1		1			2
Bahrain											0
Comoros											0
Djibouti											0
Egypt				4		1					5
Iraq	10	17	35	26	21	101	347	170	56	14	797
Jordan						1	1				2
Kuwait											0
Lebanon		1					1	2			4
Libya			4		2		1	2			9
Mauritania											0
Morocco							1				1
Oman											0
Palestine / Israel	1			1	8	19	11		16		56
Qatar											0
Saudi Arabia											0
Somalia		2	5	3		8		3			21
Sudan						2	1	7			10
Syria		2	15	42	79	538	463	313	268	179	1899
Tunisia	1			1			1				3
UAE											0
Yemen								6	10		16
Total Arabs	12	22	59	77	110	671	827	504	350	193	2825
Total other nationalities	47	63	162	178	228	790	1206	1052	693	767	5186
Autre*									49	30	

Table 3: Total number of asylum seekers who received refugee and subsidiary protection 2011 – 2020 from Arab states

The other difficulty in identifying the targeted population that causes the trouble is that the exact numbers of some applicants from the Arab states are not precise. Some of the applicants, for example, do not have the nationality of the country of their origin, like the case of Palestine. Here, Israel/Palestine is mentioned in the list, while some refugees might not even hold any identification from the Palestinian or Israeli authorities. They might then be included in the numbers of other countries or mentioned in the statistics as “non-identified” (*Indéterminé*). Because of these uncertainties, I did not use the numbers from the list above (Table 3). As a consequence, my indications would not have been correct.

We can see from the previous statistics that even in 2005, the year of the highest flow of asylum seekers to Luxembourg, citizens from Arab states mentioned in the list represented only 3.47% of the applicants that year. For the entire period between 2011 and 2019, they represent 11.66% of the total number of applicants.

When comparing both figures, we can see that in the last ten years, 2825 people of Arab origin out of a total of 5186 asylum seekers from all over the world received refugee status in Luxembourg, representing more than 50 % and giving special prominence to our study.

Retours des demandeurs de protection internationale par pays de nationalité 2001 - 2019										
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Pays										
Total Retour	524	1681	632	616	731	502	411	230	192	5519
Algérie	1	1		3			1	2	9	17
Égypte									2	2
Iraq	2	6			23	57	15	5	5	113
Jordanie		1					1		1	3
Israël										0
Liban						4	1		1	6
Libye									1	1
Maroc	1		3	3		3	5		7	22
Mauritanie										0
Somalie					1				1	2
Soudan	1	1							1	3
Syrie					2	1				3
Tunisie	3	1	2	5	11	7	4	1	6	40
Total Retour Arabs	8	10	5	11	37	72	27	8	34	212
Percentage of retour from Arab states	1.53%	0.59%	0.79%	1.79%	5.06%	14.34%	6.57%	3.48%	17.71%	3.84%

Table 4: Retours des demandeurs de protection internationale par pays de nationalité 2001 – 2019¹³

The previous (Table 4) shows us that the citizens of Arab countries represent a minor percentage of the whole returnees. With only 3.84% of the total number of returnees, this number is also very low for the entire period mentioned in Table 3, covering 2011 – 2019.

When comparing the official numbers from both grids, we can state that: From 2011 - to 2019, the total number of asylum seekers arriving in Luxembourg was 17,441, with 2,033 people from Arab countries. On the other hand, the total number of returnees is 5,519, with only 212 people from the Arab states. A direct link between both numbers cannot be established as the people, who were obliged to return, had submitted their application and got the negative reply before the mentioned specific period of 2011 – 2019. In the end, by avoiding establishing a direct link between both statistics, it is just to draw attention to the specific situation of asylum demands submitted by Arab states' citizens.

Concerning the Palestinian population (I left in the schedule the name of the state of Israel even though it is not a member of the League of Arab States), one person returned prior to the mentioned period (2011-2019), and the name of Palestine is not mentioned in the list of returnees. This might give the impression that there might be at least 165 people from Israel/Palestine, as mentioned in Table 5, who applied for asylum in Luxembourg; as they are not mentioned as returnees, they might be either waiting for the decision, or they have got the resident status, which would contradict with the following statistics.

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https://statistiques.public.lu/stat/TableViewer/tableViewHTML.aspx?ReportId=12913&IF_Language=fra&MainTheme=2&FldrName=2&RFPath=12447

Population par nationalités détaillées 2011 - 2020

Année	01/02/2011	01/01/2012	01/01/2013	01/01/2014	01/01/2015	01/01/2016	01/01/2017	01/01/2018	01/01/2019	01/01/2020
Algérie	277	322	331	373	402	414	415	433	439	505
Comores	4	5	6	5	6	6	6	8	8	10
Djibouti	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	-	1	3
Égypte	37	43	60	77	90	90	128	167	190	218
Libye	3	4	13	24	22	20	17	23	29	43
Maroc	524	564	616	673	733	830	873	1,009	1,121	1,360
Mauritanie	3	1	1	7	5	3	2	2	4	6
Soudan	13	11	12	16	17	18	24	34	84	106
Somalie	40	38	48	54	59	66	65	65	67	102
Tunisie	275	331	374	428	467	510	535	643	778	887
Arabie saoudite			1		3				3	1
Bahrein									2	1
Emirats Arabes Unis							2	2	3	3
Irak	194	210	225	248	261	771	857	898	984	1,056
Jordanie	5	4	6	5	7	16	23	28	27	35
Koweït	1	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	6	4
Liban	48	56	62	72	76	86	72	89	91	126
Palestine	13	14	14	14	16	17	1	1	1	
Qatar						1	1	1	1	1
Syrie	25	30	31	43	148	831	1,183	1,700	1,933	2,266
Yémen						1	2	4	19	28
Total Arabs	1,464	1,637	1,804	2,042	2,316	3,684	4,208	5,110	5,791	6,761
POPULATION TOTALE	512,353	524,853	537,039	549,680	562,958	576,249	590,667	602,005	613,894	626,108
Percentage Arabs / total population	0.29%	0.31%	0.34%	0.37%	0.41%	0.64%	0.71%	0.85%	0.94%	1.08%
Total étrangers	220,522	229,870	238,844	248,914	258,679	269,175	281,497	288,234	291,464	296,465
Percentage Arabs / étrangers population	0.66%	0.71%	0.76%	0.82%	0.90%	1.37%	1.49%	1.77%	1.99%	2.28%

Table 5: Population par nationalités détaillées 2011 – 2020¹⁴

In order to have another vision of the development of the population of residents in Luxembourg from the Arab states, we can check Table 5. It includes 21 member states out of 22, missing only the Sultanate of Oman. The grid presents a continual increase in the number of residents from the Arab states from 2011 till 2020, from 1464 residents in 2011 to 6761 in January 2020, as well as a percentage of the total population in Luxembourg in 2011 from 0.29% of the total population and 0.66% of the foreign residents in Luxembourg, till it reaches a 1.08% of the total population and 2.28% of the total foreign residents in Luxembourg in 2020.

This increase of the Arab population as a new community sees their numbers multiplying rapidly. In less than ten years, the population increased from over half per cent of the foreigners in Luxembourg to over two and a quarter per cent of the foreigner population. This indicates the importance of studying their integration path in Luxembourg.

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https://statistiques.public.lu/stat/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=12859&IF_Language=fra&MainTheme=2&FldrName=1

There is a big challenge in identifying the exact number of Arab states residents in Luxembourg. This is due to the practice of double nationalities in the EU. When a citizen from an Arab state living in Luxembourg uses his/her EU passport he is holding for official usage in Luxembourg, and registers for residence and work permit in another European country, he will appear in the statistics of this country without holding the proper citizenship. This is messing up the statistics and finally does not allow us to identify the exact number of Arab states and citizens, with residence in Luxembourg, in addition to the double nationalities; when acquiring the Luxembourgish nationalities, it is impossible to show in the statistics all the nationalities that each individual holds but to know that there will be a need to dig in further analysis in order to find out how many holds double nationalities, but what we need here is the last official data from States that will show each resident as a single number in the list, not to have a mistake of double-counting of residents.

Total receiving Statut of refugee and subsidiary protection											
Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Algeria						1		1			2
Bahrain											0
Comoros											0
Djibouti											0
Egypt				4		1					5
Iraq	10	17	35	26	21	101	347	170	56	14	797
Jordan						1	1				2
Kuwait											0
Lebanon		1					1	2			4
Libya			4		2		1	2			9
Mauritania											0
Morocco							1				1
Oman											0
Palestine / Israel	1			1	8	19	11		15		56
Qatar											0
Saudi Arabia											0
Somalia		2	5	3		8		3			21
Sudan						2	1	7			10
Syria		2	15	42	79	538	463	313	268	179	1899
Tunisia	1			1			1				3
UAE											0
Yemen								6	10		16
Total Arabs	12	22	59	77	110	671	827	504	350	193	2825
Total other nationalities	47	63	162	178	228	790	1206	1052	693	767	5186
Autre*									49	30	

Table 6: Total number of asylum seekers who received refugee and subsidiary protection 2011 – 2020 from Arab states¹⁵

¹⁵ Bilan de l'année 2011 - 2020 en matière d'asile, d'immigration et d'accueil, Directorate of immigration Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes, accessed 25th March 2021

The migration path is important to understand among the population of residents in Luxembourg from Arab states. For example, not all Syrians who live in Luxembourg are refugees. From the previous two figures, we can see that the total number of Syrian residents in Luxembourg in 2020 was: 2266 persons. However, the number of people who received refugee status in Luxembourg from Syria in the last ten years is 1899. This means that about 367 Syrian residents in Luxembourg did not apply for asylum. In addition, till 2020, only 50 Syrians acquired the Luxembourgish Nationality (according to Table 6). In 2011, 25 Syrians were living in Luxembourg, while in the same year, only ten people applied for asylum. This urges us to analyse the exact situation and how it developed through time in detail. Not everybody arrived in Luxembourg as an asylum seeker. They probably came for other reasons or were involved in a family reunion initiative for someone who had already received refugee status. However, the rest of the family decided not to apply for asylum.

In Table 5, we can see that the number of Palestinians is decreasing. While they are mentioned in the statistics of the DPIs in Table 2, there might be 165 Palestinians living in Luxembourg. They are, however, not mentioned in the list of returnees in Table 4 which means the 165 who applied for asylum (in table 2) did not return (in table 4). However, in table 5, this number is not apparent; even in 2020, not a single Palestinian is mentioned as living in the country. It is possible that the source (STATEC) is adding their number to “*Autres Nationalités*” or “*Apatrides et étrangers sans indication de nationalité*”. However, I cannot mention them as long as they are not officially labelled as Palestinians or mentioned under Israel. In this situation, however, I should use the state's name within the member states of LAS since Palestine is mentioned. I mean by that there is a problematic situation in comparing the statistics of some nationalities like Palestine there is no mention of them in the list of the population from Statec in table 5, while in table 6 from the MAE there is mentioned that 56 from Palestine/Israel received refugee status in Luxembourg in the same period (2011 – 2020).

In these lists, we do not indicate how many of them are refugees and who hold another type of residence permit in Luxembourg. However, we should have the total number of residents in Luxembourg, even those who only hold the “*papier rose*”, indicating that their asylum application is being checked.

Another critical point should be remembered, is the acquisition of the Luxembourgish nationality and its importance for successful integration in Luxembourg. It is at least a legal accountability to participate in the national elections.

Acquiring Luxembourgish Nationality

Original nationality	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
Syrian			1	1				8	10	30	50
Iraqi	4	6		2		1	7	12	10	13	55
Algerian	1	2	1	2	3	7	9	28	22	11	86
Moroccan	6	4	4	9	6	11	28	36	36	24	164
Tunisian	3	3	9	8	7	6	18	27	28	21	130
Egyptian	1				3	1	8	12	21	9	55
Lebanon	1		1	1	3	2	4	3	3	1	19
Palestinian											0
Yemen											0
Libyan											0
Jordanian	1							2	2	1	6
Mauritania											0
Somalian							1			2	3
Comoros							1				1
Djibouti							1				1
Arabie saoudite											0
Bahreïn											0
Émirats arabes unis											0
Koweït											0
Oman											0
Qatar											0
Soudan											0
Total Arabs	17	15	16	23	22	28	77	128	132	112	570
Total acquired nationality	3,405	4,681	4,412	4,992	5,308	7,142	9,030	11,877	11,452	9,389	71,688
Percentage Arabs	0.50%	0.32%	0.36%	0.46%	0.41%	0.39%	0.85%	1.08%	1.15%	1.19%	0.80%

Table 7: Acquiring Luxembourgish Nationality

<https://mj.gouvernement.lu/fr/dossiers/2020/nationalite-luxembourgeoise.html>

In Table 7, I selected the names of the 22 Arab states from the official numbers indicated by the Luxembourgish Ministry of justice with the number of people who acquired the Luxembourgish nationality from 2011 to the most recent available numbers in 2020.

We have to keep in mind that the law for acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality has been modified and came into action in 2017, affecting the number of people who have acquired it since 2017. This rate is now higher than before the new law. The number of Arab residents in Luxembourg, who acquired the nationality within the last decade, is still a tiny minority of 0.80%. This might be due to the increasing rate of new arrivals from the Arab states since 2011, and some of them do not yet possess

the legal requirements of living in Luxembourg for a minimum of 5 years. Nevertheless, we can see that numbers have doubled since the new law was implemented.

These statistics do not show how many have previously held a residence permit for international protection (BPI). The new nationality law allows refugees to acquire the nationality and counts their legal residency in Luxembourg from the first date the person is registered with the authorities, even if their asylum application is still under process. This legal procedure allows some refugees to acquire Luxembourgish nationality within a concise period after receiving their refugee status in Luxembourg. Their application process might have taken a while before completion.

The considerable interpersonal difference might also have beneficial effects on the integration purpose. We could look at how much they managed to learn about Luxembourgish society, build connections and try to be integrated into the new environment. One of the leading indicators is learning languages, specifically the Luxembourgish language, to pass the language test required by the nationality law to acquire the Luxembourgish nationality. Some examples at this stage from our interviewees: One person managed to get the nationality five years after arriving in Luxembourg, and another participant managed, while waiting for the asylum application process to be completed, to learn French and Luxembourgish to a proficiency level that will allow this person, after staying for five years in Luxembourg, to apply for acquiring the nationality.

2.3 Integration models

We will need to have an overview of the practical models of integration and how different institutions understand what integration is according to their documents and declarations, which directly affects their work with the direct target groups they are supporting.

2.3.1 International

2.3.1.1 UNHCR Refugee integration

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the UN Refugee agency that works on supporting refugees and asylum seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and resettling them. Some countries are doing the work of accepting and managing the status of refugees.

According to the UNHCR, the integration of refugees is:

The integration of refugees is a dynamic and multifaceted two-way process which requires efforts by all parties concerned, including a preparedness on the part of refugees to adapt to the host society without having to forego their own cultural identity, and a corresponding readiness on the part of host communities and public institutions to welcome refugees and meet the needs of a diverse population. The integration process is complex and gradual, comprising distinct but inter-related legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions, all of which are important for refugees' ability to integrate successfully as fully included members of the host society. (UNHCR, 2014)

The definition looks at the practical side of integration and how different parties should work together to achieve it. The definition and discussion of the issue of cultural identity and how it should be respected and not forego it in return for acquiring a new host society's cultural identity.

2.3.1.2 EU / Zaragoza declaration 2010 +

The EU Zaragoza declaration of the European Ministerial Conference on Integration is a framework of cooperation among the European states that focuses on four main areas:

- Employment

Taking into consideration issues of Employment/unemployment, Self-employment, over qualification

- Education

With a focus on Language skills, Certification and accreditation of qualifications, Advancement in the schooling system for migrants

- Social inclusion

By raising the sense of belonging and facing the experience of discrimination, the migrants might face.

- Active citizenship

Through encouraging trust in public institutions, involving people to vote and participate in the decision-making process, and facilitating migrants' acquisition of citizenship.

2.3.1.3 MIPX Migrants integration policy index

It has policy indicators that can help evaluate and measure the migrants' integration policies and compare them between EU member states. The indexation and measurement are done in cooperation with civil society organizations

The index focuses on Labour market mobility, Family reunion, Education, Health, Political participation, Permanent residence, Access to nationality, and Anti-Discrimination

KEY FINDINGS

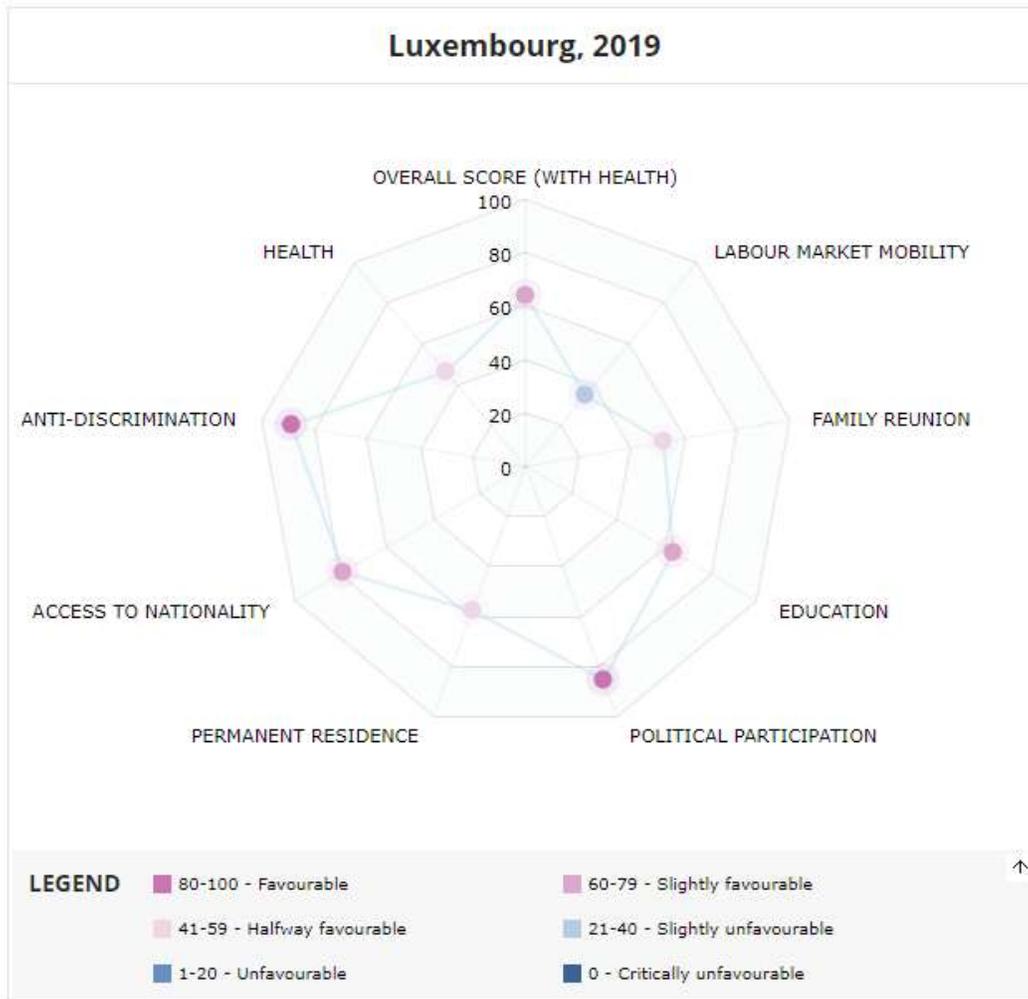


Figure 1: MIPEX, Luxembourg

<https://www.mipex.eu/luxembourg>

This is an example of how the measurement appears on vital national findings (in this figure for Luxembourg) to visualize what is needed to be working on more and the points of strengths and weaknesses in this index. Also, it shows the comparison with the other EU member states that can help create benchmarks for every indication.

2.3.2 Luxembourg

2.3.2.1 Public institutions

In Luxembourg, the current legal framework of integration is organized through the law of integration of the year 2008. This law is currently being modified (2020 – 2021) through consultation with the various actors and organizations concerning the integration mechanism in Luxembourg. The law of 2008 had an amendment in 2019 that modified some of the institutions and their functions in response to the changes that occurred on society's migration and integration mechanism.

The main governmental state institution actor for integration is the:

- Ministry of family, integration and grand region

Before the 2019 amendment, The ministry of the family had previously the OLAI (Luxembourg Office for Reception and Integration) *office Luxembourgeois Accueil et integration* established by the law of 16 December 2008 as a governmental institution that coordinated directly several programs that support integration for foreigners in Luxembourg, and among them refugees. This was replaced after 2019 by The National Reception Office ("*Office national de l'accueil*", ONA¹⁶).

Administratively, ONA is part of the Ministry of foreign affairs; since the law of 2019, the ministry of foreign affairs is mainly taking care of all the issues concerning welcoming and reception of refugees because previously, the missions were mixed between different authorities in deciding refugees' status granting. Other is working on welcoming and reception. That is why the ministry of the family is now the leading governmental actor in integration. However, it is not the only governmental entity that works on integration; for example, the ministry of education through the "*maison d'orientation*" and the ministry of labour through ADEM plays a vital role in helping residents in Luxembourg with issues concerning education and the job market.

After the establishment of ONA, the OLAI did not exist anymore. Instead, the department of integration and all the activities that OLAI did have were transmitted either by ONA (in the case of welcoming and reception) or directly to the department of integration within the ministry of family and integration. For example, the Welcome and Integration Contract (*Contrat d'accueil et d'intégration* -

¹⁶ <https://ona.gouvernement.lu/en/service.html>

CAI) aims to foster integration and involvement of foreigners in Luxembourg by offering language learning courses, civic education courses, and other activities that they organize to help foreigners to learn about Luxembourg, its culture, history and civic involvement (Guichet.lu, 2021b).

Some of the instruments are helping the institutions to assist and activate the integration plans; for example, the Municipal integration plan, *Plan communal d'intégration*, is an instrument and guide for municipalities to help in setting the activities and actions that can take place on the municipal level (Syvicol, 2021) and the Supported integration path *Parcours d'Intégration Accompagné (PIA)* which mainly targeted the asylum seekers and the refugees in Luxembourg, to provide them with language courses, and introduction to the daily life in Luxembourg, in compromises of 3 phases in which the language level and the competencies are raising by time. (Integratioun.lu, 2020).

2.3.2.2 *Consultative bodies*

Several consultative bodies are advising on integration on local and national levels. For example there is the Municipal advisory committee on integration CCCI (*commission consultative community d'intégration – CCCI*), which give advice and proposals to support the integration of the local inhabitants in the municipality. There is another consultative body on the national level, the national council for foreigners (*Conseil national pour étranger - CNE*), that aims to give consultation on laws before it is presented to the national parliament.

2.3.2.3 *Relevance of the study for Luxembourg*

There is a need for more studies on the integration of refugees in Luxembourg, as it does not fulfil all the research gaps that need to be covered as the Integration of refugees in Luxembourg is not enough studied. We have a gap in our knowledge about refugees in Luxembourg, specifically the Arab refugees.

The other point is that Luxembourg is a diverse, multicultural, multilingual society, and the definitions or models of conceptualisation of the integration process will need to be re-studied in the Luxembourgish framework, not just for refugees but for everybody who lives in Luxembourg either being Luxembourgish national or with the heritage of migration.

3 Chapter 3: Literature analysis

The following chapter presents a literature overview of research that conceptualises integration and its components. Moreover, I look for indicators regarding how integration might be framed in Luxembourg concerning the specific target group of the study, and I analyse existing models of integration that could be applied to the case. In order to understand the essence and specificities of the integration process, a selection of relevant research is offered to widen the discussion on living in another country and the various mechanisms that are active throughout such experiences.

3.1 Definitions

The concept and phenomenon of integration are far from evident and continue to be widely disputed. Popular understandings of integration mostly evoke blurred concepts of migrants being successfully incorporated into a new social and cultural environment. As (Robinson, 1998) expounded: “Integration is a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most” (p.118). Castles et al. (2002, p.12) emphasise this point: “There is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration. The concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated” (Stephen Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002). However, establishing at least a working definition/understanding of the concept of integration is necessary for this study and further research in this area. In line with this is the chapter's main objective, which will conclude with such an understanding.

Referring to existing literature (cf. Overview (Lyck-Bowen & Owen, 2019)), the two authors conclude that *“in its broadest sense, integration can be understood as the process by which people who are relatively new to a country (i.e. whose roots do not reach deeper than two or three generations) become part of society”* (2019, p.27). (Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016) select a definition for integration as *“the process of becoming an accepted part of society”* (p.14) which is intentionally open for two reasons:

First, it emphasizes the process character of integration rather than defining an end situation. Second, in contrast to the normative models developed by political theorists, it does not specify beforehand the degree of or even the particular requirements for acceptance by the receiving society. This makes the definition highly useful for empirical study of these processes. (p.14)

These previous are helpful to construct and build a working definition, and I can see the strengths in considering the notion of having a new society, considering the integration as a process in itself, as well as taking into consideration the social acceptance of the receiving society. Furthermore, this can fit with the specificity needed in my study.

The concept of “refugee integration” is rooted in the UN 1951 Refugee Convention, which bestows host countries with the right to adapt the convention to their national systems and concerns (S. Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002; Martin, 2015). This freedom to adjust the general UN convention to national particularities has generated a panoply of approaches, including:

Complex processes that are difficult to administer by the host society and complicated to follow for refugees. As a result, refugees cannot navigate integration systems sufficiently for sustenance in their new society, thus ending up marginalized. (Oduntan & Ruthven, 2019, p.791)

Indeed, there is ample room for interpretation and adaptation, making an already complex process even more complex and inadaptable. Nevertheless, there seems to be a generalised understanding of integration as the process of being incorporated into a host society, which implies a dialogic or two-way process involving adaptations made by migrants and the host/welcoming community/society (Farrugia, 2009; Oduntan & Ruthven, 2019)

Oduntan and Ruthven emphasise that this is “*typically conceptualized as the individual's process of incorporation into a new society*” (2019, p.792). This could present the terminology of being “incorporation into” does the incorporation, in this case, means integration, or does it define the process of integration in the new society as being in-cooperated into? each definition is a floating alongside one another.

“Refugee integration” however, is considered as a forced displacement. Underpinned by the UN 1951 Refugee Convention:

a refugee is someone who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. (Oduntan & Ruthven, 2019, p. 791; UNHCR, 2015; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010)

Oduntan and Ruthven consider the term “*persecution reasons*” in the UN convention as the key element granting appropriation rights to hosting countries. The term refers to the legitimate grounds for granting protection to an asylum seeker. However,

Persecution can occur for various reasons, which are defined by the host country, and the scope of persecutions for each host country keeps expanding and evolving with time to adapt to new humanitarian disasters. Thus, numerous complicated processes and systems surround the appropriation of the convention. (Oduntan & Ruthven, 2019, p. 792)

The literature on refugee integration discloses a broad range of differing definitions and approaches emphasising areas of common attributes and controversial features of integration (Chrissanthaki, T. & Østby, 1997; Farrugia, 2009) deplors that “*only a small proportion of the available literature explicitly attempts to provide a specific definition of refugee integration*” (Farrugia, 2009, p. 52). In her thematic analysis of definitions on integration, she outlines that

Integration is defined and described in relation to the complex participation of the immigrant in more-or-less organised and also institutionalised fields of social, economic, occupational, residential and communicative systems of social action in the host society. (Ibid, p.52)

According to the UNHCR, this is “*a complex and gradual process with legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions, and imposes considerable demands on both the individual and the receiving society*”(UNHCR, 2018 cit. in Oduntan & Ruthven, 2019, p. 792). Full integration into a host society, as a hypothetical journey’s end in a gradual move, would imply “*a state of complete similarity between immigrants and native people in their participation in the socially regulated distribution of valuable resources*” (Diaz 1995: 202 cit. in Farrugia, 2009, p. 52).

The definitions seem clearer here after looking into the process of integration on different levels, but still there are other aspects that are needed to be taken into consideration with studying the situation of Luxembourg.

Referring to influences of Bernard (1986) (Sohn, Reitel, & Walther, 2009) and Scandinavian researchers Alund and Schierup (1993) on the definition provided by Diaz, Farrugia resumes that “*integration is the immigrants’ adaptation to the institutions, norms and culture of the ‘majority society’ to the extent necessary for the group’s members to function in the society, while at the same time keeping intact its own ethnic identity*” (Farrugia, 2009, p. 52). Here it is slightly different version of the previous definition, as each of them can represent a different degree of understanding for the definition of the integration.

Regarding the degree of integration, several authors agree on a number of vital factors such as legal status, language, the availability of work generating sufficient income, access to social services, family reunion opportunities, and access to citizenship through naturalisation, participation in civil and political life. Farrugia also emphasises the significant role of human rights in the integration process, i.e., migrants are not excluded from social and economic rights, with the risk of experiencing aversion and marginalisation phenomena. Core respect for fundamental human rights puts everyone in society on equal footing. It needs to be considered” an essential basis for addressing and resolving the tensions and potential conflicts between people with *different interests and socio-cultural backgrounds*” (Farrugia, 2009, p. 53). Following this, Farrugia (2009) enumerates four essential dimensions regarding the integration of migrants into respective host societies, regardless of the chosen or applied definition or concept of integration. Whereas three essential fields of integration had already been previously defined by (Werth, Stevens, & Delfs, 1997), i.e., the social, economic and cultural role migrants play in their new environment, Farrugia added the role that migrants play in political life as a fourth dimension. This attribute depends on *“whether the host government allows political participation or even grants voting rights. The political dimension of integration is often rejected as irrelevant by states disliking the idea of granting political rights to migrants with a foreign passport”* (Farrugia, 2009, p. 54).

Acculturation patterns

For Farrugia (2009) *“well-planned integration policies are essential to social stability and to protecting the rights and dignity of migrants”* (ibid, p.53). The *“2007/2008 Human Development Report”* published by the United Nations Development Programme recommends three policy principles: a) respect diversity, b) recognise multiple identities, and c) build common bonds of belonging to the local community (UNDP, 2007). However, as noted earlier, national policies differ considerably regarding interpretations of “integration”. Nevertheless, qualifying a successful integration process has been framed by federal authorities as either being “assimilation” and/or “multicultural”, where

all forms of cultural or social behaviour ranging from completely giving up one’s background to preserving unaltered patterns of behaviour are covered by the term of integration. This problem of definition, however, is that it has a bearing on measuring integration, because the requirements for success in assimilation are much more challenging to meet than requirements for multicultural coexistence in a society which remains indifferent to other people’s rights or customs. (Farrugia, 2009, p. 53)

From the point of view of the individual refugee, assimilation or multi-culturalism represent attempts to settle into a new host culture. People, who migrate from one culture or country to another, carry their knowledge and cultural background. As Bhugra (2004) points out: *“After settling down in the new environment, their cultural identity is likely to change and that encourages a degree of belonging”* (Bhugra, 2004, p. 129).

Experiencing a foreign culture, including exposure to a different lifestyle and cultural practices, generates many challenges and sensations (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) called *“culture shock”*. (Sheikh & Anderson, 2018) mention that refugees who had to flee their countries of origin due to reasons of war and conflict might experience severe effects of culture shock as

these individuals are usually unprepared to leave their countries, have greater risks of mental health issues (e.g., there is often trauma associated with the departure and travel), and they have not had the opportunity to organize places to stay or work in the new country (Hocking, Kennedy, & Sundram, 2015). (2018, p.22)

For Dinesh Bhugra, what may compound the intricacies of navigating newness includes the following:

Simultaneous exposure to multiple cultures has the potential to result in conflicting attitudes, values, and behaviours, which in turn gives rise to related issues including distorted cultural identity, cultural adjustment difficulties, and mental health issues (Bhugra, 2004; Bhugra & Becker, 2005). (Sheikh & Anderson, 2018, p. 22)

Theoretical conceptualisations of acculturation

The concept of acculturation can be traced back to Redfield et al. (1936), who defined it as a process of transforming an individual's identity (or a group) due to the simultaneous exposure to multiple cultures. They defined the process of acculturation as a *“phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups”* (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149).

A more interactive definition emphasises potential outcomes of the cross-cultural engagement between multiple cultures an individual or a group might experience. They go through a change of behaviour or psyche while negotiating cultural juxtaposition (Berry, 1990). For further details of Berry's approach, see the section below. In an attempt to condense the findings of a recent systematic literature review on the emergence of *“acculturation”* as a concept, the following table takes up Sheik and Anderson's (2018) insights.

Model	How to conceptualise an individual adjusting to cross-cultural contact	Critics	Authors
unidimensional	A single cultural identity-based continuum ranging from identifying entirely with one's home culture to identifying entirely with the host culture		(Milton M. Gordon, 1964)
		too simplistic, failing to recognize an individual's ability to maintain complex multiple identities	(Dion, K.L., & Dion, 1996) (Phinney, 2003)
dual-dimensional	Acculturation takes place within the cultural exchange from encounters from different cultural groups -cross-cultural contact		(Ager & Strang, 2008) (J. W. Berry, 1997a) (Birman, Trickett, & Vinokurov, 2002) (Kramer, 2013) (Leong, 2014)

Table 8: Sheik and Anderson's systematic literature review of the emergence of the acculturation concept

The dual-dimensional model of Berry

John Berry (1997, 2005, 2008) proposed one of the most prominent theoretical models useful in understanding acculturation. He conceived of two orthogonal dimensions associated with cross-cultural contact: 1) the strength of identification with the host culture (cultural stimulation through the contact or the desire to interact with representants of the host culture); 2) the strength of maintenance of the home culture (maintenance of personal cultural heritage while living in a new host culture). A quadrant model emerges by crossing the two axes, displaying four possible acculturation 'strategies' (also referred to as acculturation attitudes), i.e., assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization, as depicted below. They allow one to categorise newcomers in a new host culture by determining the strength of their concurrent identification with their host or home cultures.

Importance of maintaining cultural identity and characteristics			
Relationships with larger society valued		Yes	No
	Yes	Integration – preferred, UK policy, mutual adaptation	Assimilation – one-sided adaptation
	No	Separation – chosen or enforced by society	Marginalisation – can result from exclusion or discrimination

Figure 2: Acculturation strategies after Berry (1997) (Phillimore, 2011)

In Figure 2, Berry identifies four strategies of Acculturation. This shows the interrelation between Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalisation and how to identify the policies and strategies in place. Even if it is a relatively “old” model, it is still applicable and can be very useful for my research.

Based upon Sheik and Anderson (2018), Berry’s (1997) four acculturation strategies/attitudes are synthesised in a table for a better overview.

Strategy/ attitude	Relation to home culture	Relation to host culture	Comments	Further research
Assimilation	De-identification process	Active replacement process	historically expected to change people’s cultures during times like colonialism or the slave trade era, and arguably still exists today	(Ward, 2008)
Integration	Maintaining identification	Acquiring identification	attenuates the negative effects of culture shock and could also lead to better psychological outcomes such as lower rates of depression	(Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004)
Separation	Maintaining identification	Rejecting identification	often associated with negative outcomes, such as depression and lower self-esteem	Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004)
Marginalisation	De-identification process	Rejecting identification		

Table 9: Berry’s four acculturation strategies/attitudes

For the purposes of this research, it is important to emphasise the differences between the scenarios of assimilation and integration, as these notions might be confusing for some of our participants in the study. For example, one interviewee mentioned that Luxembourgish authorities would like to redesign the “other” non-native individual to fit into the Luxembourgish society. Although integration is the main keyword in the narration, the participant associated it with the meaning of “assimilation”.

Sheik and Armstrong outline that Berry’s model (1997)

also emphasizes the importance of examining psychological acculturation in addition to cultural and behavioural acculturation which many models fail to do. This allows acculturation to be studied from a psychological perspective since the process is not solely dependent on social or cultural structure as studied by sociologists and anthropologists, respectively. (Sheikh & Anderson, 2018, p. 23)

Leading from Berry’s work, Phillimore (2011) emphasises a perspective that reflects on the development of acculturation strategies alike, differing between the perspective of dominants and non-dominants, and leading to different outcomes

from the perspective of non-dominants, it is possible that strategies might be chosen, as new arrivals decide to mix with the dominant population, or imposed, if perhaps the dominant population is reluctant to engage with new arrivals, or if policies are not in place to support integration, and institutions do not adapt to meet their needs. (Phillimore, 2011, p. 580)

Phillimore (2011) further points toward a range of **collective and individual factors** impacting on the choice or the ability to either engage in new cultural relationships or maintain well-known cultural traditions. Such factors might occur prior to or after acculturation, at a group or community level

These occur on a group level and may relate to group experiences before acculturation, such as political context, economic situations, social and cultural factors. They can also occur after acculturation and may include the attitudes of ‘dominants’ towards migrants, and the extent of support they receive from their own ethnic community and wider society. (Phillimore, 2011, p. 580)

At an individual level, the choice of an acculturation strategy might be moderated by factors relating to situations and experiences happening before migration and upon arrival.

These include age, gender, status and cultural distance, as moderating factors prior to acculturation and prejudice; discrimination, coping strategies, resources and social support received, as moderating factors during acculturation (Berry, 1997). (Phillimore, 2011, p. 580)

By exploring these factors, we might gain insights into one's ability to follow a particular integration path. According to Berry (1997), refugees are being subjected to the acculturation process from the moment they leave their home country, which requires an everlasting negotiation between adopting the host culture and maintaining the heritage culture. Studying Turkish and Dutch-Turkish people's acculturation process (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003) have shown how this negotiation determines the successful psychological and social adjustment of refugees in the host country.

Specific to this study's interviews, I aim to gain insights from participants concerning their particular acculturation experiences and how these might have generated psychological stress and tensions on the internal plane. By referencing acculturation strategies/attitudes with participants' experiences, I intend on capturing their ability to integrate in a meaningful way.

Recent theoretical work and empirical research have further expanded the concept of acculturation through a stronger emphasis on the notion of biculturalism, i.e., the integration of a person's native and host cultures.

This research also supports theory that the acculturation process is bilinear and multidimensional suggesting that an individual in a new host country may be oriented to either, both, or neither of their cultures, however, their negotiation of these different orientations may vary, alternate, and blend across different domains and sociocultural contexts. (Guler & Berman, 2019, p. 130)

Several researchers (e.g. Berry, 2003; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010; Zane & Mak, 2004) embrace a more multi-dimensional perspective or domain approach to acculturation, adding complexity to our current understanding of the acculturation process.

the acculturation process can be conceptualized through the examination of multiple dimensions and domains that exist in an individual's native and host cultures, such as one's self-reported cultural identity, social affiliation, cultural knowledge, language preference, and cultural values and beliefs. (Guler & Berman, 2019, p. 130)

In their meta-analysis of 83 studies, (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013) identified a significant, strong, and positive association between biculturalism and adjustment (both psychological and sociocultural). This biculturalism-adjustment link is stronger

than the association between having one culture (dominant or heritage) and adjustment. Thus, our results clearly invalidate early sociological accounts of this phenomenon, which portrayed bicultural individuals as "marginal" and stumped between two worlds. Analyses also indicate that the association between biculturalism and adjustment is moderated by how acculturation is measured, the adjustment domain, and sample characteristics. (2013, p.122)

Guler & Berman (2019) conclude in their analysis that a large part of the acculturation researchers (cf. overview in 2019, p.130) considers biculturalism today as the most advantageous form of acculturation.

Further relevance to this study (Kurt et al., 2021) is that studies on voluntary immigrants have dominated the acculturation literature. In contrast, the acculturation process of refugees differentiates from the voluntary migrants in two essential features, referring to Allen et al. (2006). Refugee immigration is involuntary as refugees are forcibly displaced and not able to return to their home countries due to fear of persecution. Moreover, they reside in low- and middle-income countries, which often lack substantial economic and social resources (UNHCR, 2020). Voluntary immigrants, by contrast, choose to migrate to other, primarily high-income countries (IOM, 2020), looking for a better social and/or economic future. They are more prepared for life in a new setting than refugees are (Safdar & Van de Vijver F.J.R., 2019). Refugee immigration is laden with potentially traumatic events (PTEs) such as captivation, torture, physical injury, witnessing death or injury of loved ones at their countries, or "en route" to the destination countries (Miller & Rasmussen, 2017; 2010). These experiences have pervasive impacts on acculturation and adjustment outcomes (Allen, Vaage, & Hauff, 2006) and constitute their primary acculturation condition. *"Exposure to traumas is highly prevalent in refugees and strongly associated with mental health outcomes, however, rarely included in investigations of the acculturative process of refugees"* (Kartal et al., 2018, p. 931).

The existing research literature generally supports the dose-response relationship between traumatic experiences and psychological adjustment outcomes among affected refugees, i.e., the higher the PTEs they had, the more significant symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and depression they reported. Those refugees who experienced more intensive traumatic experiences are also more likely to face complications in their acculturation and adaptation process to a new culture (Steel et al., 2009).

Kurt et al. (2021) emphasise the importance of coping resources, which can be understood as *"constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or*

internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person” (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 141), in the acculturation process of refugees, and that these can be further considered as traumatic experiences that,

induce changes in refugees’ personal characteristics such as coping strategies (..). Traumatic experiences are likely to deplete one’s adaptive coping resources (..) which are necessary for successful adjustment during the acculturation process (Allen et al., 2006). Therefore, coping resources deserve special attention in the acculturation process of refugees. (Kurt et al., 2021, p. 216)

3.2 Indicators of integration

Tantamount to defining integration are attempts to identify a set of factors allowing one to monitor how the process of integration of immigrants develops over time, i.e., searching for patterns of progress, regress, or stability in the host society (cf. Berg, 1997). Once again, however, clarity is elusive:

In this context, it is pertinent to ask whether the most important factors are individual motivation, social or economic background, or language abilities. Perhaps the various conditions existing in the new environment might be the most important factors for explaining successful integration. (Farrugia, 2009, p. 53)

Leading from this, Farrugia (2009) further directs our attention toward the overall difficulties in evaluating the process of integration, concerning complex phenomena in society from widespread but interconnected areas.

The evaluation of progress (or non-progress) in integration cannot be restricted to one single unit of measurement. There is no such thing as “one kilo of integration” or “five metres of integration” which would make comparisons over time and/or between two countries an easy task. We can only try to identify facts and phenomena giving an impression of the current social, economic, cultural and political role migrants play in a given society as well as changes occurring over time. (Farrugia, 2009, p. 54)

Nevertheless, the social, economic, cultural and participatory-political dimensions of integration define specific integration indicators. However, public opinion in the host society must be considered, giving us an essential indication of the widespread willingness to accept immigrants. In every society, groups manifest welcoming and/or xenophobic tendencies, of which the latter can develop into more aggressive forms or degenerate into violent actions

against migrants. The question pops up and needs to be examined for each case: whether such tendencies should be considered dominant and representative of the entire society or as extreme manifestations of a very few in opposition to the mainstream. Farrugia suggests that we consider the distribution of such incidents and corresponding media coverage: *“Much depends on the media portrayal of such incidents and their actual numbers and frequency”* (Farrugia, 2009, p. 54). She lists four further difficulties regarding the practicalities of defining and evaluating indicators of integration:

1. The non-availability of statistics on migrants in the form, quality and exactness necessary for research, e.g., the housing situation as the housing market is mainly in private hands and private information on the tenants is not accessible.
2. Missing sets of reference data, as to become meaningful, indicators need to be compared over time and, more importantly, regarding other data sets.
3. Doubts about the usefulness of comparing characteristics of migrants to those of the host population. *“Is the average of the non-immigrant population really a good point of reference? Does this kind of comparison neglect central characteristics of the migrants and other important factors determining the indicator in question?”* (Farrugia, 2009, p. 55).
4. Finding a signifying unit of measurement becomes even more complicated when we attempt to measure the degree of integration in the following three fields:
 - a. The degree of cultural integration: Apart from language skills that are regularly evaluated in the meantime, it seems almost impossible to agree on indicators for cultural integration.
5. The degree of political integration: One frequently used indicator is naturalisation. Naturalisation does indeed give evidence about a migrant’s willingness to become an equal part of the new host country and the statistical basis is more or less reliable. Referring to Bauböck et al. (2007), Farrugia highlights that *“... statements concerning the development of naturalisation rates over time or comparisons of naturalisation rates in various countries are of limited use when serving as indicators of integration”*. (Farrugia, 2009, p. 55).
6. The degree of social integration: In this area, the availability of relevant data is the main problem, which, if they exist at all, are mainly outcomes of small-scale surveys, *“Binational friendships, housing or outer appearance (clothing, hairstyles) are as difficult to evaluate as leisure activities or social status within a certain group of people.*

Therefore, statements concerning the migrants' social integration are often limited to speculation" (Farrugia, 2009, p. 55).

Thus, as well argued by central researchers in the field of integration studies, defining integration indicators is just as difficult a task as defining integration itself. Nevertheless, observing and evaluating integration processes within contexts would be impossible without such considerations.

3.3 Models of integration

Numerous scholars have developed a variety of theoretical models to determine, monitor and measure successful integration, such as Esser (2001), Ager and Strang (2008), the Migrant Integration Policy Index (2015), and Penninx and Garcés-Masareñas (2016). In reviewing the literature on integration, the model of Ager and Strang (2008) emerged as one of the most cited models on integration, very much used in contemporary analyses. It is based on research of refugees' settlement, a similar target group to the current research. It considers integration in all its specificity, creating a framework that links domains and themes as indicative of successful integration. These can be used to foster discussions and understand integration in relation to a resettlement setting. Their model is enduring and can be adapted to different contexts as it covers the major elements, concepts and themes that further our capacity to capture integration. Accordingly, Ager and Strang (2008) define integration as a two-way process, especially within mutual social connections and not just as a responsibility of refugees to get integrated. This process is described as taking place within the local community – a holistic process is undertaken concerning a whole host of different themes and domains affecting one's experiences. Their research presents a strong starting point that can be utilised as a base for considering the integration of refugees in Luxembourg, hopefully revealing the relevant components that mark Luxembourg's national and specific context. For example, the multilingual context of Luxembourg is in strong contrast to the monolingual situation in the UK – the setting within which their 2008 study was founded. In Luxembourg, learning several languages is essential not just to be able to communicate in everyday life, but it serves as the basis for all further levels of closer integration. In turn, learning languages in Luxembourg is important for employment opportunities that will then allow individuals to have their own private housing. A refugee might need to learn more than one language in order to reach a systematic achievement in his/her integration process (mentioned by several participants of the

current study - cf. Chapter 5) in comparison to the UK, where it could be sufficient to learn English only to fulfil the needs for all the domains mentioned in the model.

Ager and Strang (2008) conceived of their model through an inductive methodology, approaching indicators, definitions and concepts of integration through a variety of resources. They compared those concepts with published reflections from refugees regarding their integration process and outcomes. They organised field work and conducted semi-structured interviews with refugees and non-refugees who live or work in the field areas. They subsequently analysed data from a national cross-sectional survey of refugees that primarily focused on refugees receiving services in the UK. They then complemented this with other thematic components that might play an essential role in integration. The who of this data was the foundational source to formulating a framework for understanding integration. Distilled, this includes ten core domains of integration and four main themes, which are: 1) achievements and access to different sectors as a means for integration, such as employment, housing, education and health; 2) assumptions and practices concerning citizenship rights and responsibility as main foundations of an integration process; 3) processes of social connection among different groups in the community and social connections to build through social bridges, bonds and links; and, 4) the structural barriers and facilitators in relation to domains of language and cultural knowledge, safety and stability in the local environment. Graphically, their model is depicted below.

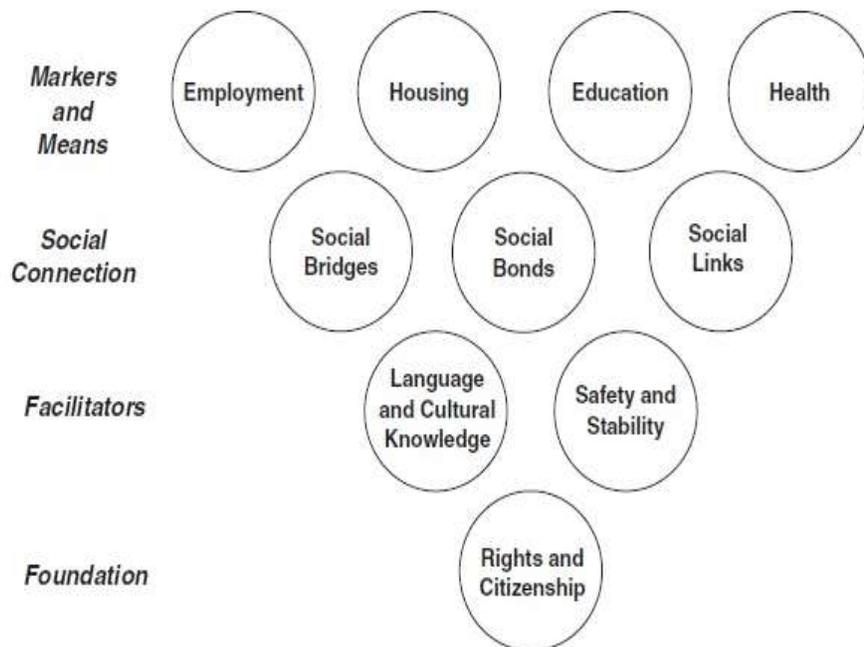


Figure 3: Conceptual framework defining core domains of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008)

Ager and Strang (ibid.) do not mention any levels of integration for each of the elements of their model. However, taking the language situation in the national context of Luxembourg as an example, different levels immediately become noticeable, starting with the first level – to be able to communicate through the use of one (of the many) official language. As much as languages are learned, and the person will progress to speaking more languages, this advancement can arguably be seen as an indicator of the person's potential to reach more advanced levels of integration. For this reason, I took into account some conceptualisation of levels of integration, differentiating between them and not just mentioning the main domains, in my analysis of the empirical data of the current study. Consideration for different levels of integration allows for the use of theory in practice. For example, this will help build a self-reflection tool to identify the core components to be covered in an integration process in order to reach a satisfactory level of integration for the individual or an advanced level of integration

Another model of integration that inspired parts of my research is found in Spencer and Charsley's *Comparative Migration Studies* (Spencer & Charsley, 2016), which investigates the processes and factors that impact an individual's integration in relation to society and turn, how it may affect them over time. The authors identify five sets of factors which are: social, structural, cultural, identity, civic and political. In analysing transnational marriages in the UK as a case study, they illustrate their model's conceptual and empirical value to shape the integration process as a two-directional method, that can be developed over several levels in relation to family and life events. First, the individual has a two-way interaction with society and within the five main domains; social interactions with relationships and marriage; structural interactions as in labour and housing market participation; cultural interactions as in changing values, attitudes or behaviours as well as a lifestyle; and civic and political interactions through participation in the community and everyday life. This participation might affect the political scene and not merely be involved in it. Then, all these interactions can affect a person's identity through which the individual develops a sense of belonging to the new place they are living in. In this model, we can see the influence of Ager and Strang's (2008) work, especially concerning the domains of interaction between the individual and society. Graphically, the model appears complex, as illustrated below.

acting in policy interventions and having a transnational effect that can impact through families or policy on the local and national levels as well as on a transnational level.

3.4 Empirical studies on migration, integration and refugees

Empirical studies dealing directly with the integration process of Arab refugees in Luxembourg barely exist. In contrast, there is an abundant research literature on the integration processes of refugees in the broader European or international context. Considering that the target group in this research emanates from the Middle East, the specific case I consider became noticeable only with the massive flow of migrants and asylum seekers out of that region in 2015. Thus, it must be considered a specific and new phenomenon, deserving an examination in its own right. For this reason, I first searched for literature and empirical studies concerning refugees and integration, taking care to focus on:

- a) Recent research publications
- b) studies using one of the integration models I mentioned above (Ager & Strang, 2008; J. W. Berry, 1997b; Spencer & Charsley, 2016),
- c) specific research themes or topics in line with the data collection or analysis of the current study.

3.4.1 Research into components of cultural acculturation

The focus on c) 'specific research themes ... will be the content of this section, beginning with Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas (2016), who thematise the cultural-religious dimension in their integration model which scrutinises the perceptions and practices of both parties, i.e., the receiving society's and immigrants', as well as their reciprocal reactions to difference and diversity:

If newcomers see themselves as different and are perceived by the receiving society as culturally or religiously different, they may aspire to acquire a recognized place in these respects. For their part, the receiving society may or may not accept cultural or religious diversity. Here again we find two extremes. At one extreme, new diversity may be rejected and immigrants required to adapt and assimilate into mono-cultural and mono-religious societies. At the other extreme, ethnic identities, cultures, and worldviews may be accepted on an equal level in pluralistic societal systems. Between these two extremes again are many in-between positions, such as accepting certain

forms of diversity in the private realm but not, or only partly, in the public realm.
(Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016, p. 15)

The main point here is the identification of extremes of reaction and the distinction between private and public realms. We shall see later that, in the data, religion is /is not a major issue for interviewees.

3.4.1.1 Education

Prior research has identified education as a significant factor influencing an individual's or a group's identification with the host culture and affecting their acculturation strategy/attitude. The dialectical relationship between education and acculturation has stimulated an increasing number of researchers to explore how education might impact, and vice-versa, also be impacted by, how people strive to adapt to a new cultural context.

Participation in education programmes might take various forms concerning, for example, the refugee's age. For refugees of the age of compulsory education, education will take on the form of formal education and schooling (J. W. Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). For people beyond that age, programmes might be informal, such as education through non-accredited courses in vocational training, language learning programmes (see below), and community- or peer-based learning. Access to formal education might be the primary goal. This generally allows one to gain official qualifications, hopes to attain employment/income (Hopkins & McKeown, 2002) or augment education trajectories for the younger generation.

An abundant amount of qualitative and correlational research has empirically studied the interconnections between these two domains – education and integration –for example, shown by the work of Gupta, Kumar, & Stewart (2010), Lopez & Yamashita (2017) or Sheikh, Anderson, & Koc (2018). In their systematic literature review, Sheik and Anderson (2018) emphasised a direct causal relationship between the two units, i.e., how acculturation co-varies with education. They explored patterns in the relationships between the acculturation strategies of refugees/asylum seekers and education-relevant outcomes. Their meta-synthesis of 19 articles revealed that:

a majority of the existing research provides evidence for psychological acculturation (increasing identification with the host culture, independent of identification with the home culture) being related to the level of education, school adaption, school attachment, academic achievement, and social/school support. Specifically, we found evidence that relationships exist between positive education-relevant outcomes and

both integration and assimilation strategies (although the latter to a lesser degree). Importantly, the research also showed that a lack of identification with the host culture was associated with lower levels of these education-relevant outcomes. These findings suggest that schools and tertiary institutions could play a vital role in the integration of refugee and asylum-seeking students. (Sheikh & Anderson, 2018, p. 22)

Liebkind et al. (2004) investigated factors predicting the school adjustment of a sample of Vietnamese immigrant adolescents of Vietnamese origin in Finland (ages 13 to 18) compared to a sample of host national Finnish youth. Their results showed that immigrant adolescents were better adjusted to school than their host national peers were.

In addition, school adjustment was enhanced by the integrative mode of acculturation (i.e., acquisition of the skills needed for participation in the host culture along with adherence to traditional cultural patterns).

However, ethnic identity and acculturation were shown to be distinct phenomena; the acquisition of new cultural traits did not imply the simultaneous adoption of a new identity. In addition, perceived discrimination had a detrimental, whereas perceived parental support had a positive impact on the immigrants' school adjustments. The impact of these factors turned out to be mostly indirect (e.g., through self-esteem, sense of mastery, and psychological distress). (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004, p. 635)

Crul et al. (2019) studied different educational policies and school systems in Sweden, Germany, Greece, Lebanon and Turkey and how they affect the inclusion of Syrian refugee children (Crul et al., 2019). Their study focused on the post-2011 situation, which presented similar conditions to those encountered by the current study's participants, specifically Syrian Arab refugees, upon arriving in Luxembourg. The five countries examined in Crul et al.'s study enact different approaches of welcoming children into their educational systems. However, they cannot be compared to a public education system where pupils learn in a multilingual (i.e., the Luxembourgish) context throughout their educational pathways. All five nationals mentioned in the research were made to use only one main language of instruction, with the introduction of a second foreign language, only at a later study stage.

Veck and Wharton studied how school cultures strive to build trust through an inclusive schooling approach for refugee children by examining the mistrust and trust in the inclusion or exclusion towards refugees (Veck & Wharton, 2019). They also offer recommendations about building an inclusive schooling approach by encouraging listening and confronting kids with

stereotypes and generalisations in order to avoid exclusion. There would be a need to establish a similar trust in the education system among refugees in Luxembourg to support the integration of their children and, in extension, of their families.

Other studies identified particular challenges surrounding education and integration, especially for refugee women. Watkins et al. (2012) examined factors influencing English language education, participation and achievement among Burmese Karen refugee women in Australia. The researchers identified gendered, cultural and socio-political factors as barriers to education. In their conclusions, they requested a greater sensitivity to and awareness of the background of refugees, with respect to their culture and gender, by educators.

Research is needed into the combined relationships between culture and gender across pre-displacement, displacement and resettlement and the impact of these factors on post-immigration educational opportunities. Training is needed to sensitise educators to the complex issues of refugee resettlement. (Watkins, Husna, & Juliet, 2012, p. 126)

Even educated and well qualified men, but especially female refugees, struggle to get their education diplomas and qualifications accepted in host countries. A recent study (McLaughlin et al., 2020) documented the touching experiences of protracted displacement in a group of 19 displaced Syrian academics - now living in Turkey in high unpredictability, insecurity and uncertainty - and their fight to keep a sense of academic self.

Further studies on challenges surrounding education and integration for refugee women are to be found in (Ibesh et al., 2021)

3.4.1.2 Language Learning

Whereas structural integration, defined as integration into the labour market and the education system, is today at the centre of attention, (Kreienbrink, 2017, p. 135) rates cultural integration via the acquisition of knowledge and skills, including the language of the new country of residence, as equally important: *“As families migrate, their languages move with them, leading to greater linguistic and cultural diversity. The new hyperdiversity challenges modernist ideologies linking identity and belonging to a single national language and cultural tradition”* (Suárez-Orozco, 2015, p. 429).

As we have seen from the previous sections of this chapter, proficiency in the local language(s) is a core social marker of immigrants' integration and can ease their adaptation. Language proficiency has a beneficial impact on the acculturation process of immigrants, as it eases their interactions with local people, enabling them to navigate complex social and administrative

processes and make friends. Nationals from a host country perceive the official languages spoken on their territory as being part of their national identity. As a consequence, immigrants who fail to master these languages may be perceived as a threat by some groups of the host society (Schwartz et al., 2010). Moreover, (Liebkind et al., 2004) evidenced that enhanced language skills may also increase immigrants' perceived acceptance by peers and increase their sense of environmental mastery and well-being. Furthering this, (Sorgen, 2015) investigated the relationship between mutual accommodation and integration in relation to spaces for language acquisition and the resulting impact of participation of refugee youth in the UK. Her study illustrates

how language acquisition in terms of resettlement not only focuses on linguistic proficiency but also on how such spaces provide a supportive place of refuge and support. This research underscores a deeper discussion of the migrant new speaker profile, providing evidence for ways in which to broaden an understanding of this key shift away from previously held notions of the native versus non-native individual. (Sorgen, 2015, p. 241)

Research on second-language or additional language acquisition on bi- and multilingualism informs debates on models promoting successful learning trajectories for immigrants, particularly with regards to the language to be used for instruction, the practices of the instructional processes, and the duration (in time). Suárez-Orozco (2015) highlights two constants that have defined the relationship between immigration and language:

First, every wave of large-scale immigration in multiple destinations generates a fear that new immigrants will not learn the dominant language. Second, the children of immigrants from widely divergent origins inevitably gravitate toward the new language (Tse, 2001; Portes and Hao, 2002) and, over time and across generations, lose their native language skills (Fillmore, 1991). (Suárez-Orozco, 2015, p. 429)

Isphording and Otten (2014) thematise on the degrees of similarity between the languages of immigrants and of their host country. They consider the linguistic distance a potential obstacle for learning an additional language, leading to essential differences in mastering the necessary language skills for a successful economic and social integration in the host country.

Immigrants face very different costs of language acquisition, associated with their linguistic origin. The influence of the first language (L1) on the acquired language (L2) is a common research topic in linguistics: A larger linguistic distance between L1 and L2 is believed to hamper any potential language transfer (the application of knowledge in

the mother tongue to second languages) and to make it more difficult to differentiate between different sounds and words. Linguistic studies typically analyze the effect of linguistic distance employing small samples or case studies. (Isphording & Otten, 2014, p. 32).

They mention that the effect of linguistic distance on language acquisition can also be interpreted within an economic framework:

The acquisition of language skills is an investment in a type of human capital with a high degree of specificity. Analogously to the restricted portability of source-country education (Friedberg, 2000), language skills are restricted in their portability across borders. The value of language skills outside a certain country can be very low, and immigrants have to invest in destination language skills as a prerequisite for successful integration. The imperfect portability of source-country language proficiency is a cost factor in the acquisition of the destination language. The linguistic distance indicates this portability of source-country language skills to the destination country. The larger the linguistic distance, the lower is the applicability of source-country language knowledge in the acquisition of the destination language. This leads, ceteris paribus, to greater difficulties and higher costs in the language acquisition (Chiswick and Miller, 1999). (Isphording & Otten, 2014, p. 32).

Concerning the current study, Luxembourg has a unique linguistic landscape. Thus, it is crucial to understand how the multilingual context functions in Luxembourg and how immigrants experience the language situation in the country. Horner and Weber understand the overall language situation in Luxembourg as a highly multilingual country (Horner, 2015; Horner & Weber, 2008) and how the language policy and planning perspectives take place in practice. They (Horner & Weber, 2008) show the historical context of this development, the issues of standardisation of the Luxembourgish language, and the debates about language requirements for citizenship. This is prior to debates concerning citizenship and voting rights for foreigners of the 2015 national referendum and the nationality law reform of 2017 that set out specific criteria for Luxembourgish language acquisition. Horner analyses this process and the reconfiguration with the harmonizing migration policies across the EU (Horner, 2015). Both clearly understand the backgrounds and historical developments concerning the linguistic landscape and language acquisition concerning integration in Luxembourg.

This doctoral research work exhibits how complex the situation in Luxembourg is, especially for newcomers, learning multiple languages where they do not speak official languages. Moreover,

the need to learn several languages directly impacts other components of the integration process—the school system's concerns with children and young people from refugee families.

Recently, Kalocsányiová presented a vision of the linguistic landscape in Luxembourg in direct relation to refugees and how trans-languaging is used as a method to create meaning in interactions in society (Kalocsányiová, 2017, 2020). She also shows how language ideologies affect the integration of refugees and asylum seekers and claims to reconsider the conceptualisation of the integration process in relation to the Luxembourg context.

Buchanan et al. (2018) investigated the adaptation differences between refugee and non-refugee immigrant youth in Australia and the roles that perceived discrimination and language proficiency play in adapting the two groups. The study revealed that the adaptation of refugee and non-refugee immigrant youth differs, despite some similarities.

Refugee youth experienced more maladjustment compared to non-refugee immigrant youth, as evinced by significantly lower psychological adaptation and poorer socio-cultural adaptation. Study results demonstrated that both refugee and non-refugee immigrant youth with higher levels of perceived discrimination tended to experience more maladaptation. Further, ethnic language proficiency seems to serve both refugee and non-refugee immigrants' socio-cultural adaptation. Proficiency in English, on the other hand, seems to benefit refugees' psychological and socio-cultural adaptation, but serves non-refugee immigrants' psychological adaptation only. (Buchanan et al., 2018, p. 105).

In the case of English language acquisition, Akresh et al. (2014) present a conceptual model that defines how it affects social and cultural assimilation in the United States (Akresh, Massey, & Frank, 2014). The authors took the pre-migration habits into consideration that can affect migrants' cultural assimilation and their knowledge of the English language. They showed how migration might affect migrants' linguistic competencies when they arrive in the English-speaking host community that uses English in social settings and daily life. In this specific case, English is the native language used mainly in daily life in the United States.

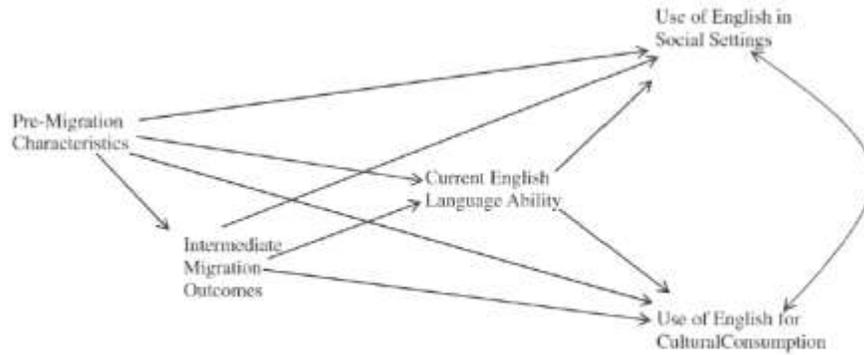


Fig. 1. Conceptual model of English language acquisition and its effects on social and cultural assimilation.

Figure 4: *Beyond English proficiency: Rethinking immigrant integration* (Akresh et al., 2014, p. 201) conceptual model of national (English) language acquisition (in the USA) and its effects on social and cultural assimilation”?

This conceptual model might need to be reviewed if we consider the multilingual context of Luxembourg, having three official languages complemented by the widespread use of other dominant languages. Conceiving English as the dominant language of interaction in different social contexts, the authors did not consider this complexity that I believe has to be added to the factors and components that shape the integration process in Luxembourg. So, although Akresh et al.’s model (2014) is helpful as a starting point,

3.4.1.3 Role of religion in immigrant integration

The flow of refugees from the Arab region into Western countries implied that arriving asylum seekers and citizens and support organisations in the receiving society differ religiously and culturally (Ager, A., Ager, 2017). Speaking in public spaces about refugees from Arab countries is often grounded on stereotypes such as qualifying the vast majority of people from this region as Muslim. We have, for example, invalidated section 3.4.1 above. Oversimplified generalisations or stereotypes alike, used by groups of the host society, intermingle many concepts such as religion, ethnicity, origin, etc. and are, of course, misleading.

Lyck-Bowen and Owen (2019) highlight that the role of religion in integration processes is still disputed. *“This is a likely consequence of the myriad of potential contextual factors that play a role in how religion operates as a force supporting or impeding integration: or in some cases both simultaneously”* (Lyck-Bowen & Owen, 2019, p. 27). A further issue is the variety of definitions of religion in use, impacting on the focus, process and results of integration studies. Whereas Maliepaard and Phalet (2012, cit. in *ibid.*) examined religiosity in terms of social

identity and social practice, Knott (2011, cit. in *ibid.*) explored integration in four “arenas” in which religion operates and provides resources: culture, society, history and context. Keric (2017) considers religion as a tool for integration and inclusion of refugees, explaining that the term ‘religion’ is,

inherited from the Enlightenment, where, from the process of secularization, it has been limited to the private sphere and, even within it, to a very limited time frame of when it is practiced. Therefore, the way the concept emerged is only present in the contemporary Western European cultural background and nowhere else. Otherwise, religion, including all its spiritual and practical dimensions, is a part of everyday life, and as such, a part of the individual and collective well-being of ‘religious’ societies.(Keric, 2017)

Hortsmann and Jung (2021) explain that “*while religion offers sanctuary and empowers the most vulnerable groups, religion is also used to create boundaries, alternate political discourses, parallel societies, or to produce communities and cells of utopian thinking and for the circulation of political ideologies*” (Horstmann & Jung, 2021, p. 1)

Mavelli & Wilson, 2017 note that the topic of Islam has largely dominated the political debate on refugees and religion, fuelled by the fear that Muslim refugees from the Middle East might bring an essentialist and radicalised version of Islam to Europe. After previous research had revealed deep antipathy towards the Arab community in Malta and identified social representations grounded on a blend of ethnic and religious categories with negative connotations, Buhagiar, Sammut, Rochira, and Salvatore (2018) evidenced the strength of negative arguments concerning the integration of Arabs in Europe, collected from the public space.

“Results pointed towards the almost total exclusivity of arguments from cultural essentialism. These posited Arabic culture as an underlying essence that makes integration difficult or impossible. ... Reductionist, determinist, delineatory and temporal aspects of cultural essentialism were all emphasised by respondents. The essentialist exceptions to negative arguments from cultural essentialism were rare and were posed tentatively by participants. Their paucity and manner of delivery substantiate the claim that it is strictly an Arabic cultural essence that is deemed to make integration impossible”. (Buhagiar et al., 2018, p. 560).

These outcomes provide a massive justification to expand discussions on integration beyond language acquisition and labour market participation on the domain of values (including what

religion means and represents for individuals), as highlighted by (Kreienbrink, 2017, p. 135). Kreienbrink (2017) further questions whether religion has been sufficiently taken into consideration by the people in charge of designing integration measures and whether religion might play any role in emotional integration, i.e., developing a feeling of belonging to the receiving country.

In the Western perspective of living together in modern, liberal society, religion is a minor variable and is mainly part of private life. But perhaps we are underestimating the importance and meaning of religion for community living, at least for those from (some) mainly Muslim countries where religious beliefs have a much greater meaning in daily life (de Maizière 2016). (Kreienbrink, 2017, p. 136)

In the introductory chapter of the Special Issue on “Religion and Integration Among Immigrant and Minority Youth”, Kogan et al. (2020) discuss the relationship between religion and various integration outcomes. Based on a rigorous literature review, they propose five potential mechanisms through which religious affiliation might impact youth’s integration processes in the socioeconomic and cultural spheres.

“Religion might influence socioeconomic and other integration outcomes through (1) its function as an identity marker, (2) religious content and individual characteristics attributed to religious affiliation, (3) resources acquired through religious participation, (4) signals conveyed through religious membership, and finally (5) majorities’ overt discrimination against some religious minorities. (Kogan, Fong, & Reitz, 2020, p. 3546)

Ad 1: religion may become a group identity marker rather than a worldview or an organising principle that guides adolescents’ daily lives.

Ad 2: religious content might influence attitudes towards work and education (cf. in analogy to the work of Weber) as religions praise dissimilar values (e.g., competitiveness and determination in contrast to asceticism and austerity), shape the formation of cultural values and orientations or prevent crime and deviance.

Ad3: religious membership may be beneficial due to resources accrued through religious participation.

Ad 4: visible signs of religious affiliation may activate social stereotypes and certain types of behaviour fuelled by conscious rationality. For example, religious symbolic headgear (e.g., veil, turban, kippah, dastar, etc.) signals religious belonging and individual religiosity to other people.

Ad 5: various forms of unconscious discrimination do not need to get prompted by visible signs (as for mechanism 4) but through symbolic boundaries and ascriptive indicators of one's religious affiliation, such as a name (more likely to be activated when economic considerations deteriorate).

3.4.2 *Research into components of economic acculturation*

Employment, entrance to the labour market, accreditation of qualifications, self-employment and entrepreneurship, are essential indicators for integration.

3.4.2.1 *Employment*

Adequate employment and integration into the labour market have been identified by previous research as key goals of refugees and looked-for outcomes at individual and societal levels, for example, in Germany (Battisti & Felbermayr, 2015; Worbs, Bund, & Böhm, 2016), Australia (Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010), or throughout the (OECD b, 2016), (Gericke, Burmeister, Löwe, Deller, & Pundt, 2018) qualify a successful and lasting integration into the labour market as *“securing and maintaining any type of formal employment”* (Gericke et al., 2018, p. 47), that also constitutes *“an important lever that can help to reduce welfare dependency and improve individuals' well-being”* (ibid., p.47). Further research evidence is available from New Zealand (Pernice & Brook, 1996), the UK (Ward et al., 2001), and Germany (Thränhardt, 2015). Critical features for a successful labour market integration of migrants have been well identified by prior research as shown in MIPEX, 2020; OECD b, 2016; Schuster, Desiderio, & Urso, 2013; and Sumption, 2013. They are concerned a) administrative obstacles for accessing the labour market and b) challenges at an individual level.

On the policy and programmatic- interventions-side, Bucken-Knapp et al. (2018) present a list of recommended policies for successful work integration, which might foresee

an early offer of language tuition and skills assessment to asylum seekers with good prospects for being allowed to stay, developing an individualised integration plan, and recognition of foreign credentials including alternative methods of assessing informal learning and work experiences. (Bucken-Knapp, Fakih, & Spehar, 2018, p. 222f.)

On the individual side, a majority of refugees face a range of well-known difficulties when attempting to access the labour market, such as *“when refugees are no longer in possession of important identity documents and educational certificates, or when judged to lack certain formal education competencies”* (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018, p. 223) or *“uncertainty about legal*

status, lack of language proficiency, lack of formal qualifications, cultural differences, and, in some cases, traumatic stress” (Gericke et al., 2018, p. 47). Further research on this topic has been achieved for example, in Germany by (Battisti & Felbermayr, 2015), in the UK by (Ward et al., 2001) or (Marfleet & Blustein, 2011) in the US by (Yakushko, Backhaus, Watson, Ngaruiya, & Gonzalez, 2008)

Bucken-Knapp et al. specify two different approaches as to how authorities deal with the challenges refugees are experiencing, i.e., the deficit approach (e.g. Alden & Hammarstedt, 2014; Bevelander & Irastorza, 2014) on the one hand, and the discrimination approach (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013) on the other hand. The ‘deficit approach’ argues that *“when migrants improve their educational and professional skill set, they will then be able to participate in the labour market on an equal basis”* (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018, p. 223). Academic scholars who subscribe however to the ‘discrimination approach’ maintain that,

discriminatory processes within organisations prevent refugees from fully participating in the labour market. There is ample evidence to suggest that documentation and skill deficits, as well as organizational discrimination, constitute barriers to refugee labour market integration. (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018, p. 223)

A further substantial difficulty that refugees encounter, evidenced by popular and scholarly accounts, concerns maintaining a long-lasting and sustainable **employment opportunity** in the host country’s labour market. In Germany, for example, (Brück, Dunker, Ferguson, Meysonnat, & Nillesen, 2018) evidenced that only 50% of refugees were employed after living in Germany for five years. Analysing a sample of Non-Western, predominantly non-labour, immigrants in Sweden for the 1990-2014 period, Aslund et al. (2017) deduced that,

The patterns of time to first contact and labour market entry vary with business cycle conditions, country of origin and other background characteristics. But the main message is the remarkable stability of a relatively slow entry process and long-term outcomes below those of the average worker. (Åslund, Forslund, & Liljeberg, 2017, p. 1)

As difficulties are not faced to the same extent by all categories of refugees, Bucken-Knapp et al. conclude that *“there appears to be a consensus that certain groups, especially refugee women, the young, and those who arrive late in their working lives, face especially formidable challenges (European Commission, 2016)”* (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018, p. 223).

Recent empirical research, focusing on labour market integration, foregrounds the sense making duty of governance regarding a) the policies, programmes and administrative measures

associated with this process (cf. overview in Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018) and b) the remaining integration challenges.

Indeed, there is frequently an implicit assumption in much of this literature that an adequate understanding of why specific programmes are successful or fall short can chiefly be gleaned from an analysis of the program itself - both in terms of an underpinning logic and through an examination of the concrete programmatic tools. (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018, p. 223)

Bucken-Knapp et al. (2018) also mention the need to analyse policy design as a core explanatory factor for understanding integration outcomes. They contend that the voices of migrants themselves are often absent within existing research literature about the success of national or municipal support or labour market integration programmes. The inclusion of migrant voices in research examining integration constitutes a modest but genuine contribution in two ways.

First, as migrants are the primary beneficiaries of integration policies and programmes, the inclusion of their voices allows scholars to gain an appreciation of how key stakeholders in the integration process assess different measures, and where they place the emphasis on further needed reforms.

Second, the inclusion of migrant voices, particularly through semi-structured interviews, highlights the critical role for an intersectional approach to the development and delivery of integration programmes, particularly in the sphere of language training. [...] different categories of migrants – especially with regards to educational qualifications – have very different understandings of the efficacy of integration programmes. (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2018, p. 224)

Data based on migrants' experiences and stories might be an interesting source to identify clusters and trends for a) refining the development of integration programmes, support measures, etc. and their delivery, b) for conducting further research.

Regarding research on Luxembourg, to date, little is known a) about the challenges refugees face in Luxembourg to enter and succeed in the labour market, b) about their work- or profession-related problems, and c) their appreciation of perceived social support through integration policies and intervention programmes.

Schenner and Neergaard (2019) analysed integration into the labour market for asylum seekers and refugees in Europe and how a different refugee status can play a role in accessing European labour markets (Schenner & Neergaard, 2019).

Research is needed to examine relations between social support schemes and guaranteed income models for refugees in some countries in relation to access to employment, for example, in light of languages and accreditation of qualifications. Do these create barriers, or do they facilitate access to labour markets in host countries?

3.4.3 Research into components of social acculturation

Social integration, i.e., enhancing contacts, social relations and interactions, is an essential dimension of integration. Moreover, emotional integration, i.e., developing a feeling of belonging to the receiving country, is another vital dimension to be taken into account (Esser, 2006, 8f.). Therefore, this section will analyse research on different factors, starting with family and social networks.

3.4.3.1 Family and social networks

Social support is fundamental for social integration and emotional well-being. Migrant social network literature describes how migrants strive to accumulate social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and mobilise resources in and between their origin and destination country. Social support networks are often composed of local and transnational connections, whereas social support might be divided into actual dimensions (instrumental, social companionship) and intangible dimensions (emotional).

A large number of studies investigate the protective role of the family and social networks in forced migration. Especially in the health sciences, researchers broadly agree that networks of social interactions constitute protective factors for refugee mental health following immigration and that growing social networks contribute to improving mental health over time (cf. overview in Löbel, 2020, p. 20). Other studies have sought to evidence a causal relationship between social networks and mental health by focusing on social interventions such as support groups, mentoring programmes, and initiatives designed to strengthen families (e.g., Berkman, 1995; Cohen, 2004)

Abundant evidence also exists about the ties between relatives, which promote self-worth and provide guidance and emotional care, resources that again positively affect mental health. (cf. overview in Löbel, 2020, p. 20).

The term “family” refers to a group of two or more individuals who are related by birth or legal status or who otherwise present themselves as a family. It is hence difficult to formulate a common definition of who falls within this group (Office of the High

Commissioner for Human Rights, 1990), and legal definitions vary from country to country. (Löbel, 2020, p. 21)

Defining the basic family is not easy as this unit differs according to Western and non-Western perspectives. Western conceptions consider the nuclear family, consisting of spouses or partners and any minor and adult children, whereas in other parts of the world, often in cultures of origin of refugees, larger family structures are common. Extended family is formed by parents, siblings, and other relatives. In her overview, Löbel (2020) analyses size, composition and family separation as characteristics of family networks, a structure I maintain as well for the analysis of my empirical data, by being more explicit on some of the studies mentioned.

The size of refugee family networks

Focusing on the size of refugee family networks, (Löbel, 2020, p. 21) lists copious research evidence about prominent structural network characteristics. Starting with the network size, which indicates about,

- the degree of access to valuable resources, which might have beneficial impacts on mental health by providing social influence, support and promoting positive affect, and much more.
- the speed to recover from mental illness as more social support might probably be available.

Herz (2015) tried to identify which dimensions of support are transferred across national borders on the one hand and what structural, relational and ego-attributional constituents of migrants' personal communities form social support, on the other hand.

The results show that household, local, national and transnational relationships provide a wide array of social support. Though being restricted in the tangible dimensions of social support (instrumental, social companionship), transnational ties provide more intangible (emotional) support. Conflicts are less prevalent in transnational relationships than within the household. Furthermore, the multi-level analysis of the ego-centred network data shows that both structural characteristics of personal communities (size, density) and ego attributes (e.g. age and gender of ego, time of residence in country of residence) are less relevant than relational characteristics (e.g. contact frequency, tie strength and esp. transnationality) in explaining how migrants receive social support. (Herz, 2015, p. 64)

Kornienko et al. (2018) conducted research on the role of personal networks as sources of financial and emotional support in immigrants' close personal ties beyond the immediate family of Central Asian migrant women in Russia. The research team explored multi-level predictors of exchange processes with personal network members that involved three situations: (1) only receiving support, (2) only providing support, and (3) reciprocal support exchanges. The results of their analysis showed that,

closer social relationships (siblings and friends) and greater levels of resources (income and regularized legal status) at both ego and alter levels were positively related to providing, receiving, and reciprocally exchanging financial and emotional support. Egos were more likely to provide financial assistance to transnational alters, whereas they were more likely to engage in mutual exchanges of emotional support with their network members from other countries. Personal network size and density showed no relationship with support exchanges. (Kornienko et al., 2018, p. 125)

Löbel (2020, p. 21) considers that both studies (Herz, 2015; Kornienko et al., 2018) provide evidence that weakens the relevance of network size in providing social support in contexts of migration.

The composition of refugee family networks

The composition of a social network matters as it reveals the diversity in social support available from specific role relations, i.e., the types of support that respondents can expect from specific types of others with a particular role.

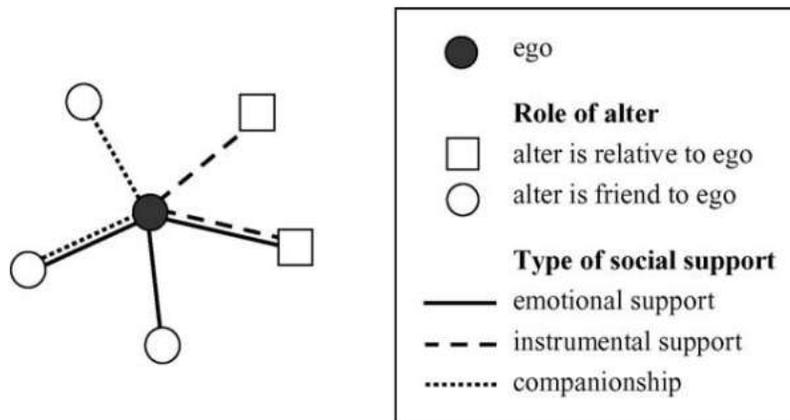


Figure 5: An example of a person's multidimensional social support network (Agneessens et al., 2006, p. 429)

Agneessens et al. (2006) mention that attention to social support goes beyond the size of the network, that captures only a small part of the complexity of the complete social support network, and the overall level of support existing for a specific person.

Different types of social support are not necessarily provided by the same alters (cf. ...), and therefore one can think of an individual having various social support networks, represented by the different sorts of lines in Fig. 1 [Figure 5 above]. Since the social support networks for different types of support only partially overlap, we need a more precise picture that would differentiate between the types of support. Not all types of support are necessarily equally important (cf. ...). Moreover, individuals do not vary only in the overall level and specific types of support available to them but also in the sorts of alters who provide these different types of support (cf. ...). Different types of alters might have different resources or different importance to ego. (Agneessens et al., 2006, p. 429)

Agneessens et al. (2006) measured a person's number of alters, who provide emotional support (1. the need to talk to someone; 4. to get comfort when someone close dies) instrumental support (2 aid when one gets sick; 5. financial problems) information or social companionship (3. go on a trip for a day). As a brief summary of their multiple findings, they say:

Depending on the role relation for the five support items, this diversity can adequately be represented by distinguishing 2–4 types of respondents. For the role relation friends, we can differentiate between respondents who expect only companionship from their friends, those expecting emotional support as well as companionship, and respondents expecting no social support at all from their friends. For immediate kin, we find those with only emotional support, those with emotional and instrumental support, those with all types of support, and finally a group of respondents expecting no support at all from immediate kin. (Agneessens et al., 2006, p. 427)

Regarding the outcomes of this study, Löbel (2020) informs us that family members usually supply essential resources for general mental well-being by offering care, emotional encouragement, comfort, and aid. She sustains this argument by further research evidence and provides more details about specific support provided by family members.

By providing a sense of safety, kinship ties encourage rational problem-solving capacities (cf. ...). Moreover, relatives are often the first to act in cases of acute need (cf. ...). In particular, it is the continuity of support that distinguishes the family network from other sources of mental health support (cf. ...). Overall, family support is less

bound to expectations of reciprocity than support from friends and acquaintances (cf. ...). (Löbel, 2020, p. 21)

The physical separation within refugee family networks

Family networks of immigrants show major evidence of geographic separation. Nearly every migrant leaves family members behind to work abroad. This concerns the nuclear as well as the extended family unit as for example when parents must leave their children with extended family such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles to work abroad, or in the case of refugees, were often the elderly seldom leave regions of conflict. A study of labour migration to the United States conducted by Suarez-Orozco et al. (2002) reports that up to 85 percent of the participating early adolescents had been separated from one or both parents for extended periods.

While family separations are common to all country-of-origin groups, there are clear differences between groups in lengths of separations as well as people from whom the youth are separated. ... Results of analyses of variance indicate that children who were separated from their parents were more likely to report depressive symptoms than children who had not been separated. Further, qualitative data from youth, parent, and teacher perspectives of the experience of separation and reunification provide evidence that the circumstances and contexts of the separations lead to a variety of outcomes. (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2002, p. 625)

In the refugee context, family separation experiences evolve into stressors, as evidenced by Priebe Kucukalic et al. (2012), who assessed mental disorders in war-affected refugees from the former Yugoslavia in Germany, Italy and the UK (≥ 255 per country). Socio-demographic, war-related and post-migration characteristics were evaluated for their association with different disorders.

Prevalence rates of mental disorders varied substantially across countries. A lower level of education, more traumatic experiences during and after the war, more migration-related stress, a temporary residence permit and not feeling accepted were independently associated with higher rates of mood and anxiety disorders. Mood disorders were also associated with older age, female gender and being unemployed, and anxiety disorders with the absence of combat experience. Higher rates of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) were associated with older age, a lower level of education, more traumatic experiences during and after the war, absence of combat experience, more migration-related stress, and a temporary residence permit. Only younger age, male gender and not living with a partner were associated with substance

use disorders. The associations did not differ significantly across the countries. War-related factors explained more variance in rates of PTSD, and post-migration factors in the rates of mood, anxiety and substance use disorder. (Priebe Kucukalic et al., 2012, p. 216)

The researchers concluded that for different disorders, risk factors vary, but are consistent across host countries for identical disorders.

Weine et al. (2004) developed a grounded-theory model of Family Consequences of Refugee Trauma, based on the descriptions of Bosnian refugee families in the US across four realms of family life: 1) changes in family roles and obligations; 2) changes in family memories and communications; 3) changes in family relationships with other family members; and 4) changes in family connections with the ethnic community and nation state. In each realm (see Figure 6 below), the model also specifies family strategies, called Families Rebuilding Lives, for managing those consequences.

Realms of Family Life	Displaced Families of War	Families Rebuilding Lives
Family Roles and Obligations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living through children • Less family time • Challenges to patriarchalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hope provided by children • Flexibility, tolerance, and trust • Family togetherness • Grandparent parenting
Family Memories and Communications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memories bring pain • Adults want to forget • Children don't talk about past • Have fear of burdening others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing good memories • Talking with children • Expressing emotions • Building trust through sharing
Family Relationships with Other Family Members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family back in home country • Family scattered in the Diaspora • Living with vulnerable family members • Single mothers in a new country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning a return • Planning for reunification • Maintaining a larger family constellation despite distance • Sending money
Family Connections with Ethnic Community and Nation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Losing touch with our way of life • Children don't speak our language • Children become Americanized 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching children our history • Teaching children our language • Returning to religion • Strengthening our identity

Figure 6: Family Consequences of Refugee Trauma (Weine et al., 2004, p. 151)

Further outcomes of family separation research, as compiled by Löbel (2020), give evidence that:

- refugees tend to lose contact with relatives in the country of origin (cf. overview in Löbel, 2020);

- constant strain dissolves existing networks of close family and friends, leading to boredom, loneliness, and depression among Syrian refugees living in Jordan (Stevens, 2016, cit. in *ibid.*);
- plans for the future are postponed among refugees in Australia waiting for family reunification (Wilmsen, 2013, cit. in *ibid.*);
- family separation leads to poor concentration and feelings of guilt (Williams, 2006; Wilmsen, 2013, cit. in *ibid.*);
- symptoms of depression swell both in children growing apart from their parents and in their mothers (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2002; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010, cit. In *ibid.*).

Geographic dispersion also negatively affects:

- the actual tangible provision of resources in the network (cf. overview in *ibid.*); and
- access to resources, especially for children (Rask et al., 2015, cit. in *ibid.*).

Mainly, qualitative research on family separation reveals changes in power relations among family members as,

- women become more independent of partners or parents in times of separation, leading to conflict and insecurity in family relationships (Rask et al., 2015, cit. in *ibid.*).

Furthermore, psychiatric studies exploring the effects of family separation reveal:

- mental illness due to fear about family members being harmed in the country of origin (Nickerson et al., 2010, cit. in *ibid.*);
- family separation is a significant determinant of PTSD (Schweitzer et al. 2006; Teodorescu et al., 2012, cit. in *ibid.*).

3.4.3.2 *Defining the concept of civic engagement*

In this section, I want to briefly resume some conceptual reflections and relevant research on the participation of migrants in their host societies' civic activities and/or contributions as agents of political change.

The search for a standard definition of the concept of “civic engagement” is not easy as a prevailing definition of the term is missing *“although many have been offered (National Academy on an Aging Society, 2009a). The term has been applied to a range of activities “[f]rom volunteering to voting, from community organizing to political advocacy.”* (Cutler et al., 2011, p. 222)

Berger, (2009) speaks about “a catch-all term for almost anything that citizens might happen to do together or alone” (Berger, 2009, p. 335) when analysing the raising popularity and conceptual extension of “civic engagement” in the two previous decades. Cutler et al. (2011) point towards the multifaceted character of civic engagement which complicates a potential consent on a shared definition.

Not only does the concept cover a lot of ground, but it encompasses volunteering done on behalf of formal organizations, including schools, churches, hospitals, and nonprofit organizations, as well as informal engagements such as helping friends, neighbors, and relatives (Putnam, 2000). (Cutler et al., 2011, p. 222)

As a central element in most characterizations, that Cutler et al. (2011) analysed, civic engagement is qualified as an “action contributing ‘to the improvement of one’s community, neighborhood and nation’ (Philanthropy for Active Civic Engagement, 2009, p.7)” (Cutler et al., 2011, p. 222), whereas categorising the types of activities associated with civic engagement as either “social (including most behaviors classified as volunteering and public service) and political (including participation in all facets of the political process) (McBride, 2006–2007)” (Cutler et al., 2011, p. 222). The authors also highlight the blurred line between both paid and unpaid participation.

The advent of incentive programs, such as educational vouchers, stipends, and other forms of compensation, has blurred the line between paid and unpaid participation. Moreover, some scholars argue that unpaid caregiving constitutes a vital form of civic engagement (Martinson & Minkler, 2006). Others suggest that the portrayal of civic engagement even includes the acquisition of knowledge and skills required to perform various civic actions (Fisher et al., 2005). (Cutler et al., 2011, p. 222)

Beyond these two broad categories, Berger (2009) emphasises also moral engagements as a third category of “more nuanced and descriptive set of engagements: political, social, and moral” (Berger, 2009, p. 335) to replace the vague notion of “civic”.

When sociologists laud "civic engagement" they commonly mean what I call social 'or moral engagement, people's attention and energies invested in social groups and networks or focused on moral reasoning and follow-through. When political theorists and political scientists laud "civic engagement" they often focus on what I call political engagement, people's attention to and activity in political issues and processes. These are issues and processes that necessitate interaction with the polity (the state) or any

level of government. But democracy may actually flourish with only middling levels of political engagement if it is rich in social and moral engagement. (Berger, 2009, p. 336)

Torres & Serrat, (2019) mention that while some scholars “advocate for a broad perspective on civic participation, including any activity contributing to the development of social capital (Norris, 2002; Putnam, 2000)” (Torres & Serrat, 2019, p. 2), others restrict their approach to first and foremost volunteering (e.g., Cutler et al., 2011).

3.4.3.3 Defining the concept of socio-political participation

Regarding the socio-political participation of migrants and minorities, research findings show “that migrants, minorities, people with low socio-economic status (Bremer & Kleemann-Göhring, 2015; Calmbach & Borgstedt, 2012), and low literacy skills (Bremer & Pape, 2017; Grotlüschen, 2017)) have been excluded from participation in the socio-political realm” (Grotlüschen et al., 2021, p. 48). In their attempt to analyse the concept, Grotlüschen et al. (2021) draw upon various works to frame what socio-political participation in a host country is, as synthesised in the table below.

Concept	Object	Approach	Description	Scholars
political efficacy	Definition	Rationality	rational choice theory: a strong belief in efficacy gives rational reason for activity in the political realm	Becker (1993) Vetter (1997)
		Affect and emotions (e.g., anger)	strong feelings concerning a group’s political situation challenge the assumption of rationality	Magni (2017)
		Social practice	political activity is embedded in broader social practices and habitus of the individual and community	Bourdieu (1972)
	Appropriateness between operationalisation concepts and apprehension of political activity	narrow and formal approach of political participation	focusing only on a representative institution (the government) political participation is seen only in terms of voting and passively knowing the basics of representative democracies (the functioning of government and parliament; the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers; a basic knowledge of the various political parties and the voting process) represents the political expression of the well-educated subgroups of society but not the political expressions of the lower social classes	
		A wider	To avoid that	Bremer

Concept	Object	Approach	Description	Scholars
		understanding of political participation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> the definitions of political expression of the higher social classes are applied to lower social classes. survey data can then be misinterpreted in a sense that lower classes would be politically disinterested. <p>would provide several forms of political participation for all aspects of society</p>	(2012)
			adolescents from lower social classes have a strong sense of injustice, being much more politically involved than adolescents from higher social classes	Calmbach & Borgstedt (2012)
			Including also other forms of political participation such as discussions with neighbours and colleagues, protest camps, unannounced demonstrations, or boycotting	
	perceived political efficacy	Variance	policy feedback on activities such as demonstrations or petitions plays a role in explaining the variance of perceived political efficacy	Hern (2017)
		a result of political participation	low political efficacy is as an effect of low participation subpopulations with low statistical values in their perceived political efficacy can be understood as being excluded from political participation, because political participation would raise their feelings of efficacy	Šerek, Machackova, & Macek (2017)
Volunteering	Definition		any voluntary work undertaken, including unpaid work for a charity, political party, trade union, or other non-profit organization.	Grotlůschen et al. (2021)
		Boundaries	does not cover the activities carried out informally in neighbourhoods and among families or whether people engage in helping others, as this often takes place in more casual contexts.	Grotlůschen, (2017).
		Part of migrants in volunteering	migrants are underrepresented among the number of adults who volunteer,	Schmiade, Vogel, Lux, & Simonson (2014)
		Literacy	matters for volunteering	Grotlůschen (2017)
		habit and self-selectivity affect volunteering	a reason to interpret low scores in volunteering as a combination of exclusion from social and political organizations as well as self-exclusion	Kleemann-Göhrling & Epstein (2016)

Table 10 : Analysis of the concept of socio-political participation (Grotlüschen et al., 2021, p. 48f.)

Based on this extended analysis, Grotlüschen et al. (2021) define socio-political participation *“as a combination of feelings of being heard in the political realm and as participation in social activities such as volunteering. It captures one’s involvement with governments, non-governmental organizations, trade unions, political parties, or similar structures”* (Grotlüschen et al., 2021, p. 44).

3.4.3.4 Studies on social engagement

Torres and Serrat (2019) give an overview of the various ways in which civic participation is studied:

Some scholars use a selection of items from different surveys (e.g. European Social Survey, Survey on Health, Aging, and Retirement in Europe) to create composite indicators of civic participation (e.g. Hoskins & Mascherini, 2009), while others focus on identifying relevant conceptual dimensions in order to qualitatively distinguish among different types of civic activities (e.g. Barrett & Brunton-Smith, 2014; Theocharis & van Deth, 2016). (Torres & Serrat, 2019, p. 2)

Among these different types of civic activities, scholars (see overview in Torres & Serrat, 2019, p.2) agree on differences between social and political forms of civic participation.

Social participation includes all the activities primarily directed towards helping others outside the family, producing a common good, or solving a community problem. This type of civic participation includes both individual activities, such as prosocial behaviors directed towards non-kin, donation of money or in-kinds supports towards charities or NGOs, and collective activities, such as participation in volunteering, community, or charitable organizations. The later have been called ‘civil’, ‘pre-political’ or ‘latent political’ participation, due to their no manifest political intention.

Conversely, political forms of civic participation groups all the activities that have the explicit aim of influencing political outcomes. This type of civic participation also includes individual forms, such as voting, contacting political representatives, donating money to political parties and organizations, signing petitions, boycotting, or political consumption activities, and collective forms, such as protest activities, participation in political organizations or forums, or participation in social movement organizations. (Torres & Serrat, 2019, p. 2)

A scoping review of research on older people's civic participation has shown that social participation (particularly volunteering) is the most prominent focus of investigation, while political activities have yet to attract scientific attention, depicted in Figure 7 below.

Older international migrant groups

Social participation		Country of birth	Host country
International labor Migrants	Lee, Johnson, and Lyu (2018)	China, Philippines, Korea, Vietnam	United States
Family-reunification international retirement migrants	Mui, Glajchen, Chen and Sun (2013)	China	United States
	Wright-St Clair & Nayar (2017)	China India Korea	New Zealand
	Nayar and Wright-St Clair (2018)	China, India, Korea	New Zealand
	Wright-St Clair & Nayar (2018)	China, India, Korea	New Zealand
Amenity-seeking international retirement migrants	Haas (2013)	UK	Spain
Refugees	Gele and Harsløf (2012)	Somalia, Eritrea, Uganda, Ethiopia	Norway
Political participation		Country of birth	Host country
	-	-	-

Figure 7: Studies on older migrants' civic participation by type of civic participation and type of older international migrant group addressed (Torres & Serrat, 2019, p. 4)

The researchers are not surprised about this imbalance that they explain as follows:

research into older people's civic participation tends to be framed against the active and successful aging paradigm, where as the focus on volunteering that some of this research has had has reinforced the conceptualization of older people as contributors to welfare regimes, rather than as citizens that could potentially challenge the political establishment. (Torres & Serrat, 2019, p. 2)

Regarding refugees' social and political engagement, scholars agree that their participation in civic activities is recognized as crucial to their health and well-being. In Norway, Gele and Harsløf (2012) identified a number of barriers obstructing elderly African refugees to participating in civic organisations, such as poor health conditions, lack of information about relevant organisations, language difficulties and mistrust towards organisations. *“The elderly immigrants also pointed to the effectiveness of organizations in addressing community issues as a factor motivating their civic engagement”* (Gele & Harsløf, 2012, p. 166).

In their overview of studies investigating the reasons why people participate civically, Serrat and Torres (2019) raise the question as to whether factors such as generativity; attitudinal,

normal, and control beliefs ; self- and other-directed motives ; or altruistic and self-benefit motives (research overview in 2019, p.2), determine the different types of civic participation, and if these also apply to older migrants, and “*whether different migratory life courses are associated with different motivations for civic participation*” (Torres & Serrat, 2019, p. 2).

In a study about older Asian migrants in New Zealand (Wright-St Clair & Nayar, 2017) found that, for example, although these people felt welcomed into co-ethnic communities, they experienced discriminatory behaviours from the wider New Zealand community. These experiences generated serious grounds upon which to question whether occurrences of racism in the host society affect older migrants' willingness to participate in civic activities.

Serrat and Torres (2019) enumerate a range of micro, meso, and macro contextual level factors associated with stronger exhaustive civic participation, as prior research has shown, summarised in Table 11, below.

Contextual level	Factors enhancing participation in civic activities	Research (in Serrat & Torres, 2019)
micro	invitation to participate in one's informal social network	Rozario (2006)
	perceived social support and reinforcement	Cheung, Tang, & Yan (2006)
meso	religious attendance	McNamara & Gonzales (2011)
	neighbourhood connectedness	Dury et al. (2016)
	community attachment	Okun & Michel (2006)
macro	government policies	Warburton, Paynter, & Petriwskyj (2007)
	welfare state regimes	Hank & Erlinghagen (2010)

Table 11: Range of micro, meso, and macro contextual level factors linked to greater civic participation (adapted from Serrat & Torres, 2019, p.2f.).

Again, the authors query whether research findings for older people’s civic participation also apply to older migrants. A last point concerns the beneficial outcomes of elderly civic volunteering and whether these might also be expected for older migrants.

research on older people's volunteering has shown that there are a wide range of benefits associated with this type of engagement, such as improvements in physical and mental health, cognitive function, mortality risk, well-being, physical activity, health care use, loneliness, and prospective engagement in lifestyle or productive activities (Serrat et al., 2019). (Torres & Serrat, 2019, p. 3)

Such volunteering might be motivated through a commitment of the elderly to support people and provide assistance to residents left behind. In the case of refugees and migrants, who stay

in touch with people living in the midst of an armed conflict, as Serrat & Torres explain, “volunteering may not reap the same tangible benefits that previous research has identified” (2019, p.3).

Another useful field of civic participation concerns research on sport and social inclusion. In their critical overview, Ricatti, Dutto and del Bono (2021) challenge the assumption that sports per se facilitates the civic participation of migrants.

Individual and structural hurdles to sport participation, at the intersection of age, gender, class, race and bodily ability, also mean that sporting environments can effectively promote social cohesion only in so far as they facilitate complex processes of adaptation for all the participants (Spaaij, 2013). Even then, many other factors, including costs, logistics, family attitudes, gender norms, cultural and religious beliefs, perceptions of health and well-being, and socio-economic considerations, may hinder participation by migrants and their children (Caperchione et al., 2009). (Ricatti, Dutto, & del Bono, 2021, p. 3)

The authors summarise that policies and practices of social inclusion through sports often lack in increasing the overall participation of migrants and refugees. Referring to research achieved by Spaaij et al. (2014) in Australia, they conclude that “*rhetorical discourse and public policies about sport that insist on cultural diversity as a positive facet do not necessarily translate into actual practices*” (Ricatti et al., 2021, p.3).

In their systematic review of studies about the role of cultural capital in migrants’ integration in the context of sport and physical activity, Smith, Spaaij and McDonald (2019) contend that,

migrants’ cultural capital can be both an asset to, and a source of exclusion from, sport participation. Sport and physical activity are sites where migrant-specific cultural capital is (re)produced, where new forms of cultural capital that are valued in the destination society are generated, and where cultural capital is negotiated in relation to the dominant culture. (Smith, Spaaij, & McDonald, 2019, p. 851).

Moreover, the authors do not enumerate any relevant evidence showing the ways in which and the extent to which cultural capital, accumulated by culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) migrants in sport and physical activities, might impact, or get transferred to, other areas of integration, such as employment and education.

Overall, these findings show that we need to reconceptualise cultural capital. Following Erel (2010), it is essential to step back from ‘rucksack’ approaches that view cultural capital as something that migrants either possess or lack, and instead aim for a multi-

faceted conceptualisation of cultural capital that emphasises CALD migrants' (bounded) agency and views integration as a two-way process of change and adaptation in particular contexts. Critically, the findings provide strong evidence that CALD migrants maintain and enact their cultural heritage and identities through actively constructing alternative sporting spaces and practices that validate their existing cultural capital. (Ibid, p.864)

Block and Gibbs (2017) conducted a qualitative, exploratory study in a range of Australian sport settings for youth and children with a refugee background to examine the benefits, challenges and shortcomings associated with,

- participation in short-term programmes for refugee-background children;
- participation in ongoing programs for refugee-background children and youth; and
- integration into mainstream clubs.

For all three participation models, the study identified associated health, well-being and education benefits, qualified as markers and means of inclusion. (Connection with Ager & Strang)

A number of participants emphasised the physical health benefits associated with being fit and active. More commonly however, they spoke about benefits contributing to mental health and wellbeing such as self-esteem, positive self-image, goal setting and leadership skills. (Block & Gibbs, 2017, p. 95)

Regarding the development of bridging social connections and relationships, participants appreciated participation in enjoyable group activities. Even *“short term or one-off events was seen as strengthening bonding connections and sometimes also linking connections”* (p.96). As key barriers to overcome for participation, the study managed to identify a *“lack of knowledge of systems, gender norms, and competing family priorities - with parents preferring their children to focus on education ... costs and, to a lesser extent, transport”* (Block & Gibbs, 2017, p. 96)

For all models, sport was seen as a means of helping young people to understand and participate in Australian culture; a way of benefiting health, wellbeing, self-esteem and confidence; and as an activity that contributed to behavioural attributes supporting education. The opportunity to experience success and reward for effort - otherwise not available to those whose educational background meant they struggled in the classroom - was seen as particularly valuable (Block, Cross, Riggs, & Gibbs, 2014). All

models were also viewed as fostering bonding and linking social connections. (Ibid, p.97)

The potential benefits are particularly salient for disadvantaged and marginalised young people at-risk of poor educational, health and social outcomes associated with social exclusion. In their conclusion, the authors highlight:

While bonding social capital is essential for wellbeing, bonding ties are also responsible for creating social boundaries. The development of group identity and social capital within groups is, by its nature, exclusionary with respect to those with different norms and identities. This raises difficulties for attempts to couple this type of social capital with social inclusion (Eriksson, 2011; Field, 2003; Wakefield & Poland, 2005). (Ibid, p.98)

In analysing the ongoing processes in an Australian asylum seeker football team (ASFT), (Dukic, McDonald, & Spaaij, 2017) demonstrated the potential of inclusion through sport activities when fighting the structural and interpersonal barriers experienced by asylum seekers. A central dimension of their study is the development and appreciation of “polycultural capital” (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010) that contributes to forms of resilience and the achievement of other indicators of social inclusion. Schaaf and Robinson conceived “polycultural capital” as a way to theorise the achievement of cumulative advantage possible in a context where being permanently exposed to more than one culture. “*Adapting Bourdieu’s theory of social space, ‘polycultural capital’ is coined as a theoretical construct which describes the potential advantage Pacific second generation (New Zealand-born) may experience from ongoing exposure to culturally distinctive social spaces*” (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010, p. 1). For Dukic et al. (2017) the ‘success stories’ generated through the asylum seeker football team (ASFT) revolved around two themes:

The first is social connectedness and the way the ASFT provides social interaction and support. The second is the way in which football facilitates the development of polycultural capital that strengthens elements of one’s identity and contributes to the resilience and confidence required to engage with the uncertainty presented by the host country. (Dukic et al., 2017, p. 107)

Creating opportunities for social connectedness is significant for asylum seekers and refugees, who often experience intense isolation, uncertainty and loneliness after arrival followed by a long-lasting and unpredictable period of ‘wating around’ while their asylum application is processed. The intrinsic social character of football allows players to mutually engage with one

another, fill some of their free time, escape from their daily stress routines, 'switch-off' temporarily and enjoy the 'here and now' of the game, experience the formation of friendships, connect with longer-term asylum seekers and get advice about processes, services and systems (p.107). Furthermore, playing football has poly-cultural capacity because of its ability to:

1. let the players, possessing a football habitus, connect back to a previous identity in their home countries. *"In this way football is more than just a diversion from oppressive conditions; it offers a return to a younger, happier sense of being"* (p.107);
2. create resilience defined *"as the capacity of individuals to cope with adverse life circumstances, which is constituted and enacted through the interactions between individuals and their environments (Teram & Ungar, 2009)"* (p.108) by the authors.
3. produce a type of fluency, a form of expression almost in the sense of a form of language, *"even asylum seekers from different linguistic backgrounds can communicate with and through the ball"* (p.108).

Dukic et al.'s (2017) study also promotes the often-ignored importance of a sporting habitus and physical capital in individuals' experiences of playing. With *"football habitus"*, the authors understand that participants *"could play, and in playing moved naturally below the level of conscious reflection (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Indeed, others recognised the possession of the football habitus as a form of physical capital (cf. Shilling, 2013)"* (Dukic et al., 2017, p. 104)

The field of play is simultaneously a physical and a social space, and the football habitus can overcome the potential for misrecognition arising from the diversity of linguistic and cultural backgrounds that refugees and asylum seekers have. So, whilst the day-to-day negotiation of life in a new country is often fraught with uncertainty and full of misunderstanding, kicking the ball provided a space of familiarity, confidence and even freedom in the sense of movement and flow. (Dukic et al., 2017, p. 104f.)

3.4.3.5 Studies on political engagement

Studies about the political engagement of refugees are quite scarce as already shown by Torres and Serrat (2019, p.4) in their research overview of older migrants. However, there is an increase in research achieved during more recent years. The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a tool which measures policies that enable the integration of migrants in countries across five continents. It identifies and measures integration policies and interconnects integration policies, outcomes and public opinion, drawing on international scientific studies.

Regarding policy indicators, revealing whether immigrants obtain the right and opportunity to participate in political life, we learn that political participation is one of the weakest areas of integration policy.

Most immigrants are granted little opportunity to inform and improve the policies that affect them daily. They have limited local voting rights (non-EU citizens in the case of EU countries). They can rarely rely on strong consultative bodies or well-supported migrant organisations. Their political opportunities differ enormously from country to country. In Australia, New Zealand and Western Europe, they enjoy greater voting rights, stronger consultative bodies, more funding for immigrant organisations and greater support from mainstream organisations. With the exception of Korea, immigrants in Asian countries enjoy almost none of these rights unless they (can) naturalise. Despite European norms and promising regional practices, political participation is still absent (or almost absent) from integration strategies in Bulgaria, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia. (Solano & Huddleston, 2020, p. 33)

In relation to the key findings concerning Luxembourg, MIPEX informs us of the following about political participation opportunities:

Electoral rights	Non-EU nationals can stand as candidates and vote in local elections in seven EU countries (Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden).
	Immigrants can vote locally under major restrictions (e.g., after five years of residence, via special registration procedures or only in certain municipalities) in 12 countries.
	Voting rights are long fought and hard won. They were granted to migrants in Luxembourg and Slovakia in 2003; and again, in Luxembourg in 2011.
	Once passed, voting rights are difficult to revoke.
Political liberties	Immigrants can join political parties with no restrictions in half the MIPEX countries (27/52).
Consultative bodies	Immigrants are regularly consulted in 12 MIPEX countries (EU countries, Australia, Korea and Switzerland).
	Most bodies are not strong or independent enough to create meaningful opportunities for immigrants to affect policy change. They tend to be weak, government-led, sometimes government-appointed, and too poorly funded to engage migrants and represent their diverse interests.
	Consultation bodies come and go according to whether or not a government is willing to listen to them. Those with weak standing can aggravate issues of trust, interest or professionalism for immigrants and policymakers.
Implementation policies	In 24 MIPEX countries, immigrant organisations can rely on funding or some form of in-kind support. The funding in 16 of these countries comes with no attached conditions beyond being a partner in consultations set by the state.
	Most funding and in-kind support is provided in North-West Europe, Australia, Canada,

	Korea, New Zealand, Mexico and Portugal.
	Funding for immigrant organisations usually depends on a government's priorities rather than on community needs.

Table 12 : Key findings on political participation regarding Luxembourg (adapted from the MIPEX website)

The MIPEX website also list outcomes from over 30 scientific studies emphasising the importance of inclusive and integration policies for democracy and closing the gap between immigrants and non-immigrants.

The fact that most policies deny immigrants the opportunity to be heard by politicians means that they are less likely to not only vote, but also to contribute to improving public life and attitudes.

...

Under inclusive policies, immigrants are more likely to participate by voting in elections, contributing to political groups and parties and joining protests, boycotts and unconventional actions.

Over time, immigrants develop similar levels of political engagement, trust and satisfaction as the general public. And a strong dynamic emerges between these policies and public attitudes. Inclusive polices are associated with higher levels of public trust, lower feelings of economic threat and a greater sense of a common civic rather than ethnic identity. (MIPEX, 2020; Solano & Huddleston, 2020, p. 34)

Housing, employment and health matter in policymaking regarding the integration of migrants, as demonstrated by numerous studies presented within this chapter. However, policies expand to include adult education for socio-political participation (Desjardins, 2017). *“Even without citizen’s rights, migrants have an opinion on whether they ‘have a say’ in the host or dominant society”* (Grotlüschen et al., 2021, p. 42). These authors analysed variables on political efficacy and volunteering as indicators for socio-political participation in five OECD countries based on data from the Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), i.e., Austria, Canada, Germany, Israel and the USA. The target population included first-generation migrants who migrated or were second-generation migrants of two migrant parents. For a comparative study, differences among countries have to be taken into consideration, but the varying composition of migrants must be taken into consideration.

Migrants who are educated, young and skilled may find it easy to participate (Gensicke & Geiss, 2010). Those who are less educated, older and who come to reunite with their family may face higher barriers for socio-political participation (Gensicke & Geiss, 2010). (Grotlüschen et al., 2021, p. 45)

Findings show that first-generation migrants in four countries (Austria, Canada, Germany, and the USA) feel low political efficacy (exclusion from socio-political participation). *“This is mostly due to lower socio-economic status overall as well as to lower literacy in the hosting countries’ official languages”* (2021, p.57). However, findings reveal significantly lower inclusion in volunteering activities for first-generation immigrants.

Moreover, language minorities of a large size find themselves excluded in both situations (political efficacy and volunteering), regardless of whether their language is officially accepted in their country. Findings are robust across countries, as expected. Differences in influx policies disappear when migrant composition is controlled for. (Grotlüschen et al., 2021, p. 57)

3.4.3.6 Studies about granting citizenship

Drawing on policy indicators for access to nationality, MIPEX highlights that immigrants’ access to nationality has improved significantly in Brazil and Luxembourg and, to a lesser extent, in China, Greece, Latvia, Moldova, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey.

For example, in Luxembourg, the wait for the first-generation was lowered from 7-to-5 years and their efforts are rewarded for learning Luxembourgish , while the right to citizenship was regained by spouses and extended from the third- to the second-generation. (MIPEX website)

Luxembourg-related information from MIPEX’s key findings reveals the following about access to nationality:

Eligibility	Ordinary first-generation immigrants face a wait of five years in half the MIPEX countries (23).
	Citizenship entitlements exist in half of the countries for children born or educated in the country to foreign parents. In the other half, these children must undergo a naturalisation procedure.
Conditions and security of status	Language requirements differ significantly across countries. Nine countries require only A1 proficiency or carry out no assessment; 19 require A2 proficiency and 24 require B1 proficiency or apply discretionary procedures.
	Immigrants do not have to undergo an integration requirement in nearly half of the MIPEX countries. In the other half, they must pass a test as part of the process. Only Belgium and Luxembourg allow ordinary applicants to complete a specific course.
	Proof of income or employment is required for citizenship in a slight majority of countries (33/52).

	12 countries require that applicants demonstrate a minimum income, while the remaining 21 countries impose more demanding requirements.
	Criminal record requirements are demanding in a slight majority of countries (32/52). Applicants are ineligible if convicted of a crime, sentenced to imprisonment for more than five years, or charged with other offences (e.g., misdemeanours or minor offenses).
Dual nationality	Dual nationality is fully embraced by a slight majority of countries (31 countries, including most recently Brazil, Moldova, Norway and Turkey), while 11 other countries only allow dual nationality based on exceptions.

Table 13 : Key findings on access to nationality regarding Luxembourg (adapted from the MIPEX website)

MIPEX (2021) also refers to a selection of more than 30 independent studies investigating the removal of obstacles to citizenship around the world, facilitating national citizenship and allowing immigrants to feel more like equal members of society.

Immigrants' chances to naturalise as citizens are strongly influenced by the policies in place, especially on dual nationality, birthright citizenship and the legal and procedural requirements. Inclusive policies can also boost some immigrants' acceptance, socio-economic status, political participation, sense of belonging and trust. (MIPEX website)

Chimienti et al. looked at second-generation refugees focusing on children of refugees and how their social, educational, economic, cultural and intergenerational lives are taking place (Chimienti, Bloch, Ossipow, & de Wenden, 2019). The second generation could represent a case of exclusion, as they might be considered not part of the society in which they are born. The legal framework of granting citizenship according to the place of birth *jus soli* (right of soil) or their parents' origin *jus sanguinis* (rights of blood). The latter includes a compulsory procedure to receive citizenship or the nationality of the country where they were born and spent their lives.

Considering the unique situation of the current thesis' study that examines newly arrived refugees to Luxembourg since 2011, there has been an increase in children born in recent years to families who arrived in Luxembourg as refugees. Moreover, changes to the law of acquiring Luxembourgish nationality, as of 2017, allow more adults to acquire naturalisation and receive the nationality for themselves and their children after having passed the language test and having attended the required civic courses. This gap needs to be filled in future studies. Thus, it could widen our perspective on integration in Luxembourg by considering the country's population changes and how these affect the sense of belonging among refugees and second-generation children.

3.5 Conclusion and research gap

I tried through the literature analysis to present the available definitions of the concepts and phenomenon of integration that construct and build a working definition of how integration and acculturation are defined as well as trying to understand and review indicators and models of integration that constructs a conceptual framework defining the core domains of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008), or conceptualising a model of integration and effectors (Spencer & Charsley, 2016).

While focusing on the integration of refugees, *“only a small proportion of the available literature explicitly attempts to provide a specific definition of refugee integration”* (Farrugia, 2009, p. 52). Within this small proportion of the available literature, it was tough to find the specific literature that can cover the questions needed for researching the integration of the refugees in Luxembourg from the Arab countries.

I focused on obvious critical needs like language learning, the role of religion, research into components of economic acculturation like employment, research into social acculturation like the family and social networks, and defining the concept of civic and political engagements in socio-political participation granting citizenship.

Still, it was tough to find a model of integration that could fit the specific profile of the Arab refugees in Luxembourg. Considering the level of the ethnic, socio-cultural and linguistic diversity of the host community in Luxembourg, with the specific needs of the Arab community, this can be considered relatively new to be hosted in Luxembourg.

This research is trying to fulfil the research gap. It is aimed through this research to provide an understanding of how the integration process of the Arab refugees can function in Luxembourg and a pilot trial to have a model of integration that can fit with this specific population.

4 Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

As a researcher, having the advantage of speaking the language and coordinating a project titled “Initiative Choukrane” that aims to facilitate the integration of refugees in Luxembourg, I had the opportunity to come into contact with a number of newly arrived refugees in person, many of whom were on their early stage of being in Luxembourg. This advantage helped me have a more profound knowledge of the challenges and circumstances they had to pass through while living in Luxembourg.

Throughout the “Initiative Choukrane” project (2016 – 2020), I had to visit many foyers, get to know people and try to help some of them in different ways. More than 150 persons signed up to join the project I am coordinating, and I kept in direct contact with most of them daily. In the beginning, I organized several workshops for them either in their foyers or in public spaces to discuss different topics about integration. From this came their main input that helped me formulate a trial model to understand integration.

4.2 Conceiving integration for this study

Being inspired by the Ager & Strang 2008 model, I tried to create a specific model able to reflect and fit more accurately with the situation of refugees in Luxembourg. I worked through memos of informal discussions I had with participants of the “Initiative Choukrane” to set up such a model for data collection and evaluation. This model was based on different components that my project participants mentioned as necessary to attain a better integration in Luxembourg. I realised that similar components could best be organised in clusters or levels that are built upon each other. In order to reach the highest level of integration, the refugee will need to acquire as many as possible of the components in each cluster and build up progressively a well-established resilient structure. This integration model might look like a tower, where each cluster represents a level of integration.

The idea of a tower model was inspired by participants' inputs and discussions in the workshops that I organized through the “Initiative Choukrane”. These inputs inspired me to identify the components (which will be mentioned in detail below), group them in clusters and conceive the tower model discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Another inspiration came from the well-known Maslow's pyramid of needs (1954). Maslow's model allows us to recognize the full range of conditions refugees need in a hierarchical logic. The tower model starts with the basic needs that asylum seekers experience when arriving in a new country,

Luxembourg in our case. As they fled from conflict and war zones, leaving everything behind in their search for a safer place to be able to survive, essential physiological needs upon arrival are shelter, food, water, warmth, security, safety for example a health insurance and, of course, rest from the long and hard trip they had to accomplish till reaching destination. Similar relevant information can be pinpointed through the priorities of the reception activities offered by the authorities in Luxembourg. Beyond the imminent basic needs the model also addresses psychological needs, such as having the family and friends around and being included in the host society or to feel part of it. These measures will support their personal self-esteem and sense of belonging and feeling at home in a new community. Finally, there are the needs of self-fulfilment and self-actualization when seeking to achieve one's full potential and actively participate in the new host society. According to the input I had through the participants' comments, the Maslow theory offers similarities with the stages that the refugees might experience to reach the highest level of integration.

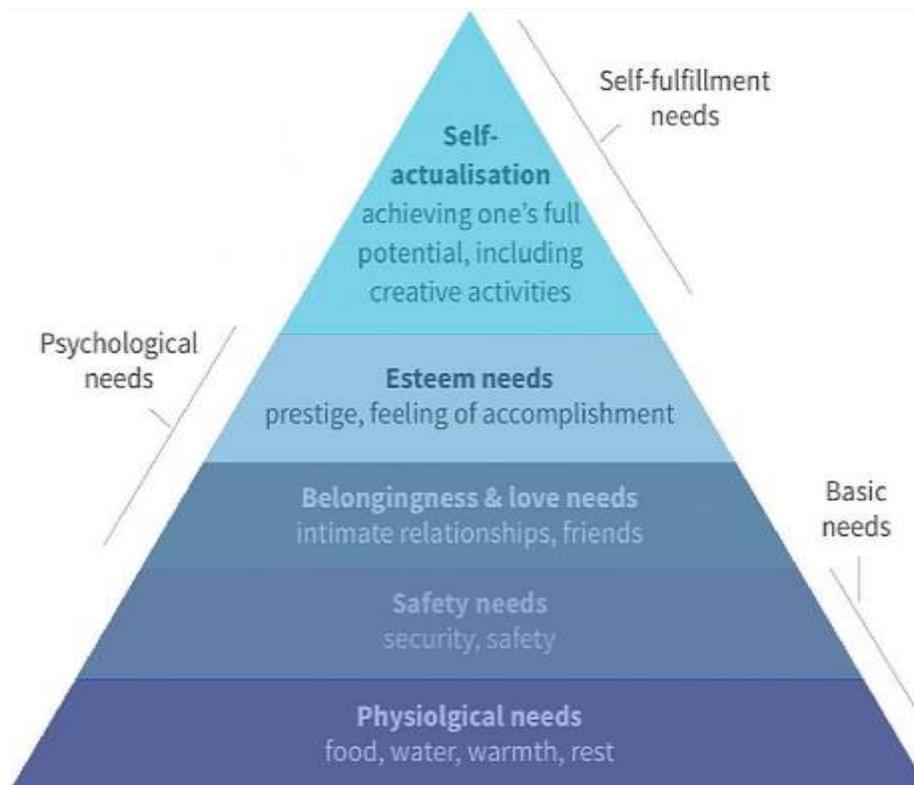


Figure 8: Maslow, A. H. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370-396.

Following Maslow's logic (Maslow, 1943), each of the needs will be experienced after having satisfied the previous level of needs. Maslow's model might serve as a way of acknowledging the need situation of asylum seekers and refugees. However, it misses some themes and domains that had been

suggested by Ager and Strang (2008). Therefore I didn't follow a hierarchical approach, as Maslow did, in conceiving a model that might describe integration in Luxembourg. However, the vertical dimension of Maslow's model influenced how I conceived the tower model that I intend to use.

I tried to find a connection between the human need's levels of Maslow theory and the model of integration developed by Ager & Strang (2008) by defining the core domains of integration and having in mind the complexity of the multicultural multilingual context of Luxembourg. I thought about a method that can order the levels of integration and develop from both the Ager & Strang model and the Maslow pyramid using the components that the participants from the workshops suggested.

Using the idea of a wooden toy, i.e., the Jenga, and how it is played, I shifted the game's principle and goal to the object of integration. More precisely, I kept the concept of the tower and the blocks representing different integration components. However, in contrast to the purpose of the game, i.e., to keep the full tower in balance by selectively removing blocks, my tower model starts from bottom up with a pile of blocks that raise the tower's height when new levels are added a stable basis. Additional components need to be acquired in the integration process, but some components can be left out on one's way up. The player, however, can achieve the goal of attaining the next level of integration only if there are enough components to build on. These components are not freely available but need to be acquired with effort made by the asylum seeker. By meeting these requirements, he/she will be able to build a stable and resilient tower of integration. The components mentioned in the figure below are just examples or suggestions of how our model can be achieved.

It is important to clarify that acquiring all components is not compulsory, but possessing as many components as possible is essential. This will increase the strength and stability of the tower. This was a crucial feature for me when claiming that such a tower model could represent the integration process of refugees in the new environment.

4.3 The tower model of integration

The model is to be used as a conceptual instrument for theorizing the situation in Luxembourg. Later, I also used the model as a guide for collecting data in my interviews.

Thirdly, the model was also used to reference my deductive analysis of the interview data. In addition, I also analysed the data inductively for dimensions that are missing in the model or that the model does not represent accurately.

In using the model for data collection, however, I did not present interviewees with a ready-made list of components as it will be described in chapter 5. I used the picture of the tower blocks as in Figure 9 below with all the blocks empty, and in some cases I used the physical wooden blocks of Jenga and the participants in the interviews used stickers to write a title of a theme on one of the blocks, and then order it in the tower as they built it.



Figure 9: The suggested tool to present the tower model of integration for refugees in Luxembourg

The blocks or components used in the tower construction activity can thus stand for any dimension relevant to the individual in the integration process such as legal status, action, competency, experience, connections and feeling part of the social structure in Luxembourg. It is something very subjective, depending on personal experiences and beliefs.

This tower model of integration is not conceived as a static tool for measurement or assessment but a dynamic instrument to clarify the range of components, a refugee claims is necessary to feel integrated in the host society. It might also help them identify what components are missing and what kind of actions should be taken in specific areas to achieve a high(er) level of integration.

While collecting data I found that there might be a possibility of clustering those components to be represented in different levels, each level can be reached through time while developing the individual skills and getting more integrated in the society. That's why I suggested 4 levels of integration, as it will be presented in chapter 5.

4.4 The radar chart

The tower integration model is meant to understand the process and levels to achieve the integration. The construction allows to elicit and represent which components or indicators a person manages to fulfil or acquire while living in Luxembourg. However, due to the complexity and variety of the individual situations (which will be presented in detail in the data analysis section), it is less convenient for analysing and explaining the data from the interviews. Therefore, an additional tool for this purpose had to be developed but based on the same levels of integration as described above in our tower model.

According to the complexity of the topic and the variety of individual cases, the tower integration model is not fine-grained enough to reflect this diversity. I also think it is impossible to create a single tool to accurately collect and analyse how a person is depicting his/her integration process in the new environment. So, the data I expected to collect through the interviews, elicited by my tower model, need to be analysed in detail at a micro-scale by referring to a person's knowledge, skills, attitudes and values over time. Such an assessment tool must be flexible enough to consider individual trajectories, characteristics and developmental uniqueness.

It also allows representing a careful consideration of personal competencies that a person was able to acquire prior to his/her arrival in Luxembourg. For example, when a refugee already speaks French fluently at arrival, this can be an advantage for integration compared to others who do not possess this competence. This person will be in a better position to communicate with the authorities and

institutions in Luxembourg than a person who just speaks Arabic. Here, a translator needs to intervene, adding another communication barrier.

On the other end of the spectrum, we might find refugees who entered Luxembourg as illiterate people who cannot read and write in their native language. Discussing and analysing their trajectory with one tool only and with a general measurement scale does not seem accurate enough to grasp the differences and progress. Our analysis tool might help add further information to the integration landscape by identifying distinct entry doors for participants as a starting point of their integration trajectory. However, it is essential to note that receiving refugee status and prospects for successful integration are not dependent on the linguistic competencies of the refugee.

As presented in Figure 10, my analytical tool is a radar chart with the shape of a circle or a pie. I defined eight axes representing different dimensions of experience for measurement. The radar chart and the different dimensions can be used to visualise a person's situation at a given moment in time and to identify the crucial areas he/she needs to work on to achieve a higher level of integration.

This data analysis tool is not designed for general usage. It is a proposal for this research and might get further developed through follow-up research. For this research, it was applied to organize the analysis and visualisation of the interview data we collected with the help of the tower model of integration. It also has the potential to be used as a method for self-assessment and a tool to measure the integration of the person in a systemic and scalable way. I did not ask the participants to use it to self-assess their integration level, but I realized the need to have a tool of this kind.

The axis of the integration idea represents the main components in the data analysis tool, which will help us have a clearer idea of how the integration works in detail. The axes can be developed with different levels of integration till a person reaches the highest level of integration.

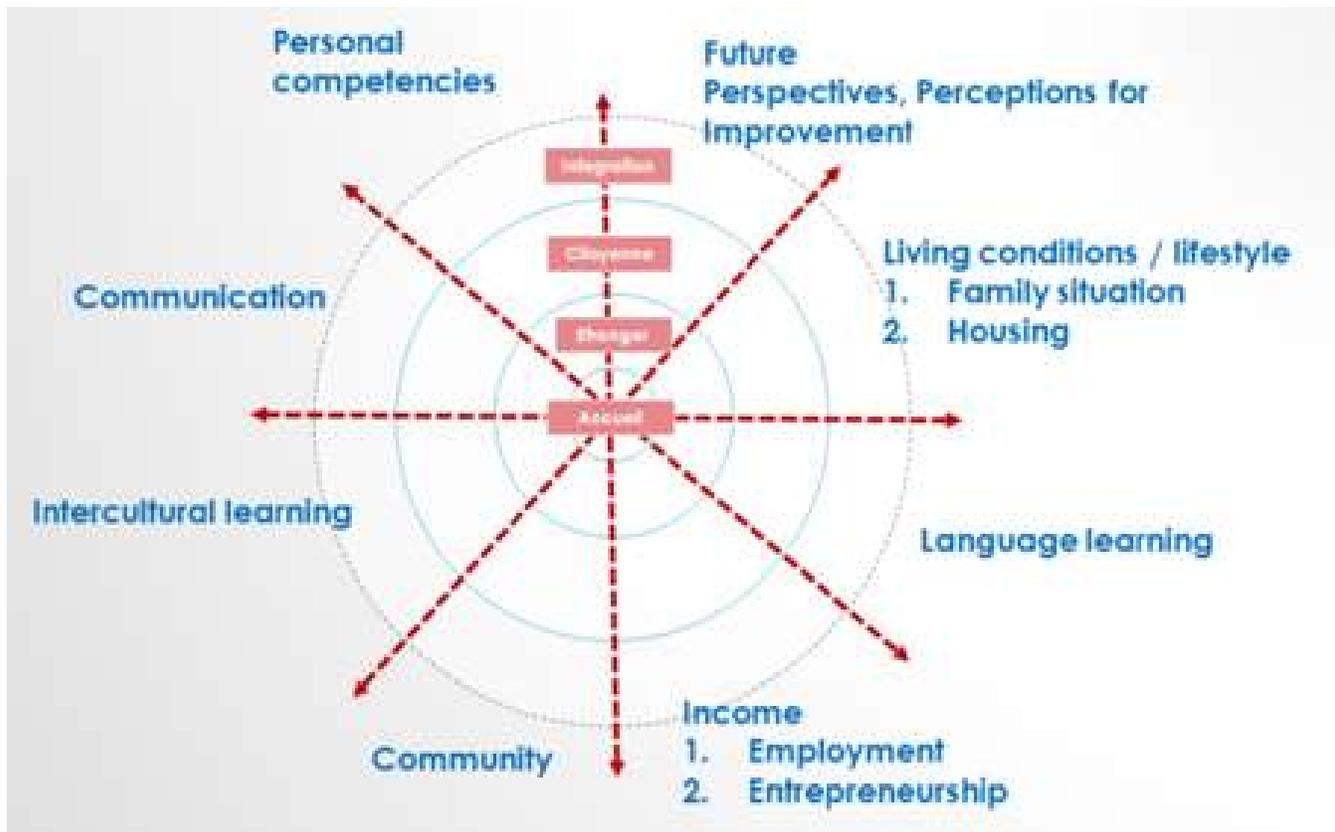


Figure 10: Radar chart as an assessment tool for data analysis

The chart circles (Figure 10) represent the four main levels of integration (accueil, étranger, citoyen, integration) in analogy to the tower model. The transition from one level to the next one needs further achievements along the axes, whereas the starting point itself might be located at various levels of the axes.

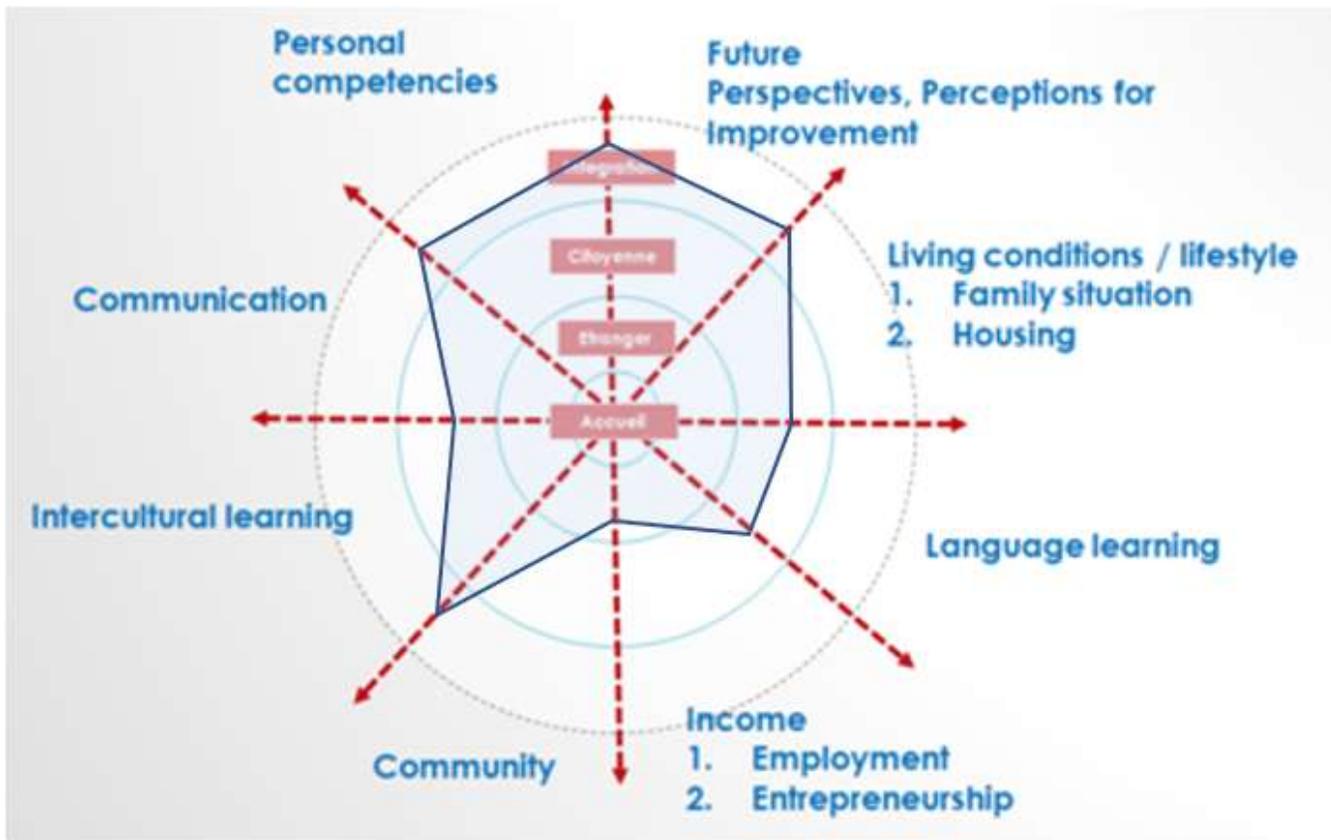


Figure 11: chart as an assessment tool for data analysis example.

The example in Figure 11 depicts how the lines drawn using the radar chart axes are delimiting the area of an individual integration profile. In contrast, the intersections at the level of the eight axes indicate what level has already been achieved by the person. Such visualisation can be done, as mentioned above, for any individual case and for any entry profile, as complex as it might be.

To take an example of the housing axis: When the person is living in a foyer, he/she is still on the *Accueil* level for this category. Suppose the person is already living in a private house. In that case, we can induce the potential to persevere in the integration trajectory, depending on limiting/enhancing factors such as the type of contract, the period of rent (temporary or long-of-time), and the financial aspects (individual income or state subsidies for example).

Let us now briefly introduce the eight axes of the model that will guide our analysis of the interview data.

4.4.1 Language learning

Language learning is an essential category for refugees. Language proficiency helps them get to know the society, find job opportunities, find accommodation and become independent. The more

languages they speak, the higher they can climb the integration ladder. Due to Luxembourg's multicultural and multilingual situation, speaking more languages increases one's access to news about events, issues, and support.

For example, a person starting with English and French and learning Luxembourgish as an additional language has an excellent chance to find a work opportunity immediately. The third language could make the person reach an even better level of integration.

A further topic of inquiry is whether there is an ideal language learning sequence to follow or whether one language is a more essential resource than another. In many situations, however, the predominant language to learn is set by the work domain a person is involved in. So, it might be Portuguese due to the workplace language she/he is permanently confronted with. There is no pre-established order of learning languages nor a pre-defined multilingual profile to attain.

4.4.2 Lifestyle / Living condition / Family status

The lifestyle differs from one person to another and might affect a person's integration trajectory. We understand leisure, consumption, and everyday practices by lifestyle, such as engagement in social, cultural, sports, or entertainment activities. For example, having a car facilitates people's general mobility, especially for people living in remote areas. It also affects their consumer behaviour in the sense that they can reach the shops they like and choose the kind of products they want. The family reunion might also be an essential component facilitated by having a car as the separation situation might induce suffering, whereas any reunion makes families more stable.

4.4.3 Income / employment / Entrepreneurship / Certification

Employment and job opportunities are significant as they guarantee a self-generated income. Launching an own business might be a solution for others depending on their entrepreneurial motivation and skills to ensure an independent professional activity. On the other side, relying still on REVIS/RMG as the source of income might guarantee people's survival but limit their options for further integration.

4.4.4 Community / communication / interactions

The options vary between a vast network of friends and exchanges with people from the host society to proximity to people sharing the same language and culture of origin in Luxembourg, which affects the level of integration. Questions I might clarify through the interview data are: Do they try to expand their network, or are they satisfied with the community around them? How much do they interact with

the multinational society in Luxembourg? How many Luxembourgish persons do they know? Which kind of relations do they sustain with the institutions in Luxembourg and the public domain? Do they try to get informed about the society around them, or do they keep following news from their country of origin?

4.4.5 Intercultural learning

The process and the outcomes of intercultural learning will be analysed in this section, i.e., the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values refugees develop while living in a new cultural environment and experiencing life in Luxembourg. How aware are they of the importance of learning from and about others around them? How do they acquire knowledge about the new cultural background? How do they interact with people from other communities?

Intercultural learning and intercultural competencies are essential factors that affect the integration process of the individual refugee. It is essential to understand how they learn about the new culture, can understand the differences, and perceive the integration policies affecting them.

4.4.6 Personal competencies

Personal competencies play an important role in integration. In particular, proficiency in languages used in Luxembourg before they arrived in Luxembourg, knowledge about Europe in general and Luxembourg, in particular, might positively influence the integration path, e.g., visiting Europe prior to entering Luxembourg for asylum purposes.

4.4.7 Awareness/communication

Awareness and knowledge of what is going on in a country are essential for integration. The person who follows news about Luxembourg will display a higher degree of interest in being part of the new host society. In the future, he/she might evolve much better in the integration process due to the accumulation of information about what is happening in Luxembourg.

4.4.8 Future perspectives / perception for improvement

Future perspectives play an important role and can be considered an integration axis. When a person sees his/her future in Luxembourg, he/she will undertake everything to consider himself at home and highly committed to providing the best living conditions and future for their children.

4.5 Participants

The data and statistics about the growth of the Arab population in Luxembourg (see Chapter 2) allow us to understand the changes happening in the Arab community and the related impact of the flows of refugees and asylum seekers. It is not easy to get exact statistical data about the target group: Arabs living in Luxembourg (the refugees from Arab states). Statistics about the number of asylum seekers are not available with precision as it is also not precisely knowable who is still involved in the asylum process at a given moment and who will have refugee status refused. In addition, the procedure to acquire Luxembourgish nationality also blurs the numbers and obstructs the possibility of having the precise number of specific nationals living in Luxembourg.

Therefore, for my research, I directed the focus to the people I interacted with through the civil society initiative (initiative Choukrane) I coordinated. I kept in contact with many of the participants in the workshops and activity sessions and, in some cases, even with their families. I got also involved in helping some of them regarding issues related to their imminent needs as, for example, schooling of children, applications for university or a job opportunity, filling out administrative applications and submitting them to the authorities, as well as issues that were directly related to their life in the foyer or to start the process of family reunion. Through these interactions, I managed to build a network of refugees from Arab origins in Luxembourg, which I used as a basis to recruit participants for my interviews.

The chosen interviewees had different ethnic, religious and national backgrounds. They thus represented the multi-faceted Arab community in Luxembourg without trying to have a statically representative sample of this community. The selection was driven by the information I collected about them and their families, their housing situation, employment and educational background, and their linguistic competencies. In some cases, I had known these people since the beginning of their stay in Luxembourg. The selection tried to include refugees from each level of integration as far as I knew from relevant background details.

My familiarity with the participants helped me open up the discussions in the semi-structured and focus group interviews I conducted. Moreover, I could point to some of their integration experiences that I knew about to draw attention to a crucial point and to get a deeper insight into their current life situation. However, I did not add any issue to the interviews that the participants themselves did not mention.

I thus had an opportunity to sample. I visited foyers all over Luxembourg, organized several meetings, and invited participants through the network of previous participants or advertisements on social

media and in foyers where they live. This methodology allowed me to have widespread publicity in Luxembourg and communicate in Arabic facilitating communication with the targeted population. The publicity and networking were done in the name of “Initiative Choukrane”.

I selected 50 participants as a potential target number for the interviews. I had one specific criterion: to have participants mainly from Syria and Iraq, which include the majority of refugees within the target group, and then to have other participants as a sample from other nationalities like Libya and Palestine. I also tried to choose to have a diverse group ethnically, religiously, by age and gender. Finally, I managed to have 27 interviewees who agreed to participate in 20 separate interview sessions, as some of them participated as a group or in couples.

The following is the list of the participants from the interviews. However, I cannot present their complete profiles to preserve their anonymity and protect their identity. Even if some agreed that I could mention their names, especially within the small community in Luxembourg, it might be possible to identify the speakers’ profiles from disclosed data excerpts.

Interview	Code	Gender	Age	Origin	Stay in Lux./ Months	Language /s	Language level	Education Level	Housing conditions	Family in Lux	Work/ed
1	SP1	Female	31–35	Iraq	68	E/F/L/D	C1/B2+	7	private	Yes	Yes
2	SP2	Male	46-50	Syria	44	E/F	A2+	5	private	Yes	No
	SP3	Female	41-45	Syria	44	E/F	A2+	5	private	Yes	No
	SP4	Female	21-25	Syria	44	E/F	B1+	4	private	Yes	No
	SP5	Male	21-25	Syria	44	E/F	B1	4	private	Yes	No
	SP6	Male	16-20	Syria	44	E/F/L	B1+	3	private	Yes	No
3	SP7	Male	31-35	Syria	24	E/F	B1+	6	private	Yes	Yes
	SP8	Female	31-35	Syria	43	E/F	B1+	6	private	Yes	Yes
4	SP9	Female	31-35	Syria	51	E/F	C1	6	private	No	Yes
5	SP10	Male	26-30	Syria	53	E/F/D/L	C1	6	private	Yes	Yes
6	SP11	Male	41-45	Iraq	38	E/F/L	B2+	5	Foyer	No	No
7	SP12	Male	46-50	Syria	58	E/F/L	B2+	5	Private	No	Yes
8	SP13	Male	46-50	Syria	26	E/F	B1+	8	Foyer	No	No
9	SP14	Male	46-50	Iraq	44	E	C1	8	Private	Yes	Yes
10	SP15	Male	31-35	Syria	19	E	B2	6	Private	No	No
11	SP16	Female	31-35	Iraq	52	E	C1	6	Private	Yes	Yes
	SP17	Male	26-30	Iraq	40	E	C1	6	Private	Yes	No
12	SP18	Male	51-55	Libya	19	E	C1	5	Private	Yes	Yes
13	SP19	Male	26-30	Iraq	42	E	C1	6	Private	No	Yes
14	SP20	Female	36-40	Palestine	54	E	B2	6	Private	Yes	Yes
15	SP21	Male	51 -55	Syria	55	F	A2+	4	Private	Yes	No
	SP22	Female	46-50	Syria	55	F	A2+	4	Private	Yes	No

16	SP23	Male	31-35	Syria	28	F	A1+	2	Foyer	yes	No
17	SP24	Male	36-40	Syria	40	A		4+	Private	yes	No
18	SP25	Male	36-40	Syria	26	A		2	Foyer	No	Yes
19	SP26	Male	36-40	Iraq	18	A		7	Foyer	Yes	No
20	SP27	Male	36-40	Syria	29	A		2	Foyer	Yes	No

4.5.1 *Citizenship*

As shown in table 6, I invited 18 participants from the 1,899 Syrian refugees in the country, 7 participants from the 797 Iraqi refugees, one from the 56 Palestinian refugees and one from the 9 Libyan refugees.

4.5.2 *Religious and ethnic backgrounds*

Here the distribution among the participants was: 21 Muslim Sunni, 1 Muslim Shia, 3 Christian Catholics, and 2 Druze.

From their ethnic backgrounds, the majority can be considered Arabs, although this is not a proper identification of ethnicity, as I previously mentioned in Chapter 2. I had only 5 participants with a non-Arab ethnicity, for example, Kurds.

4.5.3 *Linguistic and educational backgrounds*

All the participants speak Arabic fluently at a native level even if their native language might not be Arabic, for example, the Kurdish language. All the interviews were done in Arabic; the interviewees spoke in various dialects, whereas I used the Egyptian variety. Communication was always accessible among the participants.

Some of the participants speak already one or more European languages. They mentioned that this practice helped them a lot during their integration process. For example, 20 out of the 27 participants spoke a very advanced level of English, even prior to their arrival in Luxembourg. The other seven interviewees did not speak any European language in advance.

Among the 27 participants, 2 participants could already speak French or Spanish fluently prior to coming to Luxembourg, 12 participants managed to learn French, 5 participants learned French and Luxembourgish, and 2 participants managed to learn German. The final linguistic situation shows that

2 of the participants can speak four languages: English, French, German and Luxembourgish, and three are fluent in English, French and Luxembourgish.

One of the participants, who is a university graduate and had been in Luxembourg for only two years, could not manage to learn French. Maybe he faced other challenges during his initial period that obstructed language learning. In contrast, other participants with a much lower level of education managed to learn at least French and some even French and Luxembourgish. Some participants mentioned that the education level plays a role in facilitating additional language acquisition.

The educational background of the participants was as follows: 2 participants with doctoral education or equivalent, 2 participants with Master's education or equivalent, 9 participants with Bachelor education or equivalent, 5 participants with short-cycle tertiary education, 5 participants with post-secondary but non-tertiary education, 1 participant with upper secondary education, and finally 3 participants with lower secondary education. I did not manage to include any refugees with only primary education or early childhood education for my interviews.

4.5.4 Gender

Seven female participants and 20 male participants attended the interview sessions. The gender unbalance is since very few women participate in the “Initiative Choukrane” activities. I visited several foyers and made presentations to most residents to attract more female participants. I also used social media to promote the initiative and invited potential project beneficiaries. Unfortunately, it was impossible to convince more female participants to join the project. Analyzing and understanding any implications of socio-cultural backgrounds on this gender-balanced participation in civic activities needs further research beyond this study.

Last but not least, time constraints and the Covid-19 restrictions and lockdown situation in 2020 eventually blocked any further initiative to attract more female participants to the interview sessions. This is one of the limitations of my study and the biased recruitment strategy we opted for, based on the network of the project “ initiative Choukrane”.

4.5.5 Family situation

Twenty participants were living together with their family: a) husband, wife or partner from the country of origin, b) a husband, wife or partner the person met in Luxembourg, and c) having their children living in Luxembourg with them.

The children came in some of the cases together with their parents as a family into the country at the request for asylum. Others managed to achieve family reunions and bring their family to the country at

a later stage. They mentioned this challenge in the interviews. Life separated from their children affected them very hard until their children were finally able to reach Luxembourg. Finally, there were also some cases of children born in Luxembourg.

Seven participants did not have families, either because they were not married, were divorced, or for other reasons that it is impossible to disclose here.

4.5.6 Housing

Concerning the housing conditions of the participants, 6 participants were still staying in the foyer, while 21 participants had private accommodation at the time of the interviews.

4.5.7 Employment

The employment situation was challenging to inquire about. Identifying who had a job officially and who did not was complicated. Some had income-generating activities, either for a short period or even continuously. Some also managed to get a job opportunity, an internship or workplace training where they were granted a salary or income. Others managed to receive a scholarship for their studies.

In contrast, others did not have any independent income whether they tried to search for a job. I decided to make two different participant categories and distinguish between “work /worked” and “no work/not worked”.

Work/ Worked: 12

No Work/ not worked: 15

This was the situation of the participants during the period of the interviews.

4.6 Data collection

I conducted semi-structured interviews with the participants. Using a question guide covering the main themes mentioned in the research questions, I used the tower blocks for data collection and discussion facilitation.

4.6.1 Semi-structured interviews

Using semi-structured interviews is the most suitable methodology for the data collection in this specific research nature

Structured interviews are based on a set of identical standardised questions for all the interviewees. These questions might help standardise the answers and compare and evaluate the participants' replies. However, they will be of little help to dive deeper into different topics or layers that the participants like to address in the interviews for a better understanding, taking into consideration the complexity of the theme and the target group.

Unstructured or narrative interviews risk the interview sliding into an informal conversation about the topic. The participants' subjective points of view about the topic of integration might be exposed but articulated without a shared structure that allows the researcher to synthesise the utterances to answer the research questions.

Semi-structured interviews, based on a list of guiding questions concerning the focus of research, will allow collecting the answers to the research theme. Moreover, they allow us to follow the flow of the conversation and react flexibly to the interviewees' utterances to deepen our understanding of important topics that might appear within the interview.

The semi-structured interviews are also suitable for collecting the data about this research object because of my familiarity with that method from former experiences, especially while interviewing migrants in other projects. Before the interviews, I interacted with some participants on different occasions, so the semi-structured interview helped me connect to these earlier discussions and start the interviews quite smoothly.

4.6.2 Location

As mentioned in section (4.7), I conducted all the interviews privately at home or in my office. In order to keep privacy safe, assure an excellent sound quality in the recordings, and create comfort for the interviewees. The primary location was my office in the university (Belval), where I conducted almost all the interviews, as this location assured an interview session without any disturbances. I conducted Two interviews at Kirchberg's university premises and five in the interviewees' private accommodation. The latter secured the conversation's privacy and made it easier for them to join the session.

I aimed to conduct the interviews in private locations to minimise potential disturbances and guarantee the participants' privacy. In some cases, reaching Belval would have been hard, so conducting the session in their private house made participation more accessible and comfortable.

I used an MP3 recorder and a mobile phone to record the interview and an immediate additional backup file. All the recordings were fine and kept. For three interviews, I had to change the battery of the MP3 recorder during the session so that the recording was split across two files. All the recording devices were evident on the desk or the table we sat around during the interview.

4.6.3 *The questions guide*

The interview questions were based on the research questions to cover all targeted topics. A summary of the guide with all the questions, lying in front of me during the interviews, assured that all the topics were addressed. This printed guide also helped me keep track of my progress during the interview.

I did not ask direct questions, but I split the research questions into crucial issues I was interested in. I memorised all the questions to be able to allow a natural flow of the discussion to arise, to be able to jump from one point to another or to dive deeper into a point if needed.

In order to ease the participants into the interview, I started with easy questions to facilitate the conversation or brainstormed the topic first to identify critical issues. I collected their understanding of the concepts mentioned and the specific meanings they attributed to these definitions.

The question guide and all the questions used in the interviews are available in the appendix section (Annex II), but I am adding here a summary of the guide in relation to the research questions

Research questions	Topics covered in the interviews questions guide
1. How do Arab refugees conceptualise, describe and analyse their integration process in Luxembourg?	Describing their integration process, personal meanings, and discussions about their life in Luxembourg.
2. Do refugees perceive whether age, gender, religion, education and professional experience affect their integration process?	Exchanges about different categories in relation to their personal integration concept like Age, gender, education, professional experience, family situation,
3. How does the support offered by national stakeholders (e.g., government agencies, civil society organizations) help the refugees in their integration processes?	Dialogue about their personal experience in dealing with different institutions and initiatives according to their personal understanding of integration.

So, my research's main lines and topics, formulated as research questions, structured the interview guideline first. Subsequently, they were transformed into a list of questions that entered the guideline to record and clarify all the details and sub-details needed to answer the research questions later.

4.6.4 The tower blocks

In section 4.3, I mentioned using the tower blocks as a data collection method. They were used either as actual wooden blocks or as a printed pictures of the wooden blocks. I informed the interviewees that the blocks could represent any integration components and should be apprehended as material visualisations. I did not mention different levels or stages of importance. However, I just asked them to write the names of the components on these blocks and pile them up to represent their representation of the integration process as they have experienced it so far (either in the printed or wooden blocks form).

In some cases, the interviewees did not manage to write the names on the blocks or struggled to select the precise title for some blocks. I did not insist on keeping the participants' thinking focused on the blocks only and skipped this writing step in the interview. The blocks were never meant to work as a barrier for the interview but as facilitators. They were meant to visualise abstract components and materialise them in the form of wooden blocks. In those cases, we started the conversation immediately.

I did not ask them to order and build a structural tower in which higher blocks represent the components of the higher level of integration. However, I asked them which blocks were of higher importance to them in the interview. Some participants perceived the central importance as being located at the base of their building and attributed less importance to the tower itself.

4.6.5 Limitations

Using the semi-structured interviews and the tower blocks as a method for data collection had some limitations that I had to keep in mind.

- Replicability

There is a limitation in the replication of the study, i.e., in obtaining consistent results from different respondents, as semi-structured interviews do not include strictly identical questions, so the answers might vary. Participants might have been asked differently according to the natural flow of the discussions, which adds a limitation in comparing different participants' answers.

- Predetermination

While discussing different topics, there might be a predetermination of the answers according to the natural flow of the discussion, the wording used in the question, and the current situation of the participants.

- Representation of the target population

The study sample does not statistically represent the MENA migrant population in Luxembourg, which I presented in section (4.5). I tried to build a sample with a similar representation concerning the gender, ethnic groups, age groups, educational level and employment/housing/family situations. However, it was impossible to consider all the categories of the targeted population within the sample selection.

- Complexity

The data analysis and coding stage were complicated due to the different wordings used by the interviewees. This semantic variety added a layer of complexity to the research.

- Validity and reliability

Investigating a specific feature or condition of the migrant population for a specific time frame of their integration process would enhance validity and reliability. The accuracy and consistency of the answers might change if the research focus is narrowed. Nevertheless, the research can only have a time-bound validity as their integration situation develops over time.

I refer to the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985), who introduce trustworthiness as a key concept in determining the scientific value of a qualitative study. Research achieves trustworthiness if it manages to meet the following criteria (as counterparts to validity, reliability and objectivity used for positivist research):

Credibility (internal validity): confidence in the 'truth' of the findings

Transferability (external validity): showing that the findings have applicability in other contexts

Dependability (reliability): showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated

Confirmability (objectivity): a degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest. (from <http://www.qualres.org/HomeLinc-3684.html>)

Moreover, gathering the data might object to the researcher's subjective interpretation. In my case, I have been familiar with the interviewees prior to the interviews. This knowledge played a role in the flow of the conversations in the interview session and, later on, while analysing the interviews.

- Problematic generalisability

The results or findings from this research cannot be generalised to the entire population of refugees from Arab countries in Luxembourg. I tried to compose a well-selected sample, but it still will not allow me to generalise my findings to the whole population.

4.6.6 Potential biases in the data collection process

The use of semi-structured interviews and the tower blocks had several potential biases in the data collection process, like:

- How did the wording I used in the questions affect the answers of the participants?
The interviews were done using Arabic to avoid misunderstandings during the conversation. However, the wording used for expressing their understanding of different terminologies or definitions might affect the analysis of their answers.
The wording of the questions might also direct the answers toward specific orientations. I tried to clarify the questions as much as possible and made them clear to my interactants before requesting their point of view. Nevertheless, this might be a potential bias in the data collection process.
- How were different excerpts translated into English after the transcription process? Some quotes and excerpts from the interviews were selected based on specific codes. The selected text was translated into English by taking care of the diverse meanings that some terms might have in Arabic language varieties. In section 4.8, I will describe the coding process and how it works. However, these multiple linguistic layers of interviews, transcriptions and analysis might lead to potential biases in the data collection process.

The interviews were conducted while the participants were still in their integration process. All participants had already received their residence permits in Luxembourg, and none of them was still considered asylum seekers. However, they still were at different stages of the integration process concerning housing conditions, employment, family situation, language learning, and much more.

Furthermore, their heterogeneous conditions might create potential biases in the data collection. For example, it might be that a participant was trying to find private accommodation, which could be the central issue in his mind. It can affect his answers intensely during the interview as a significant challenge he is facing at that moment. Moreover, if the interview is repeated after he got a private accommodation, different answers or a stronger focus on other topics might get relevant.

Others might have stable employment, receive Luxembourgish nationality or applied for it. So, their interpretation of their current situation will differ from participant to participant, creating potential biases in the data collection.

4.7 Confidentiality and trustworthiness

The following criteria were used to organise the interview sessions and plan the interview environment: Confidentiality, anonymity (in the transcription procedure), privacy (in the recording process), and consent for their participation in the research.

The interviews were done in three locations. Most of the interviews were recorded in my university office at the Belval site, and two were conducted at the university campus at Kirchberg. Five interviews were conducted in a private house—these arrangements aimed to avoid any interruptions during the sessions and any risks of violating privacy. Participants had to feel free to express themselves within the sessions without fearing problematic issues arising and jeopardising the interview criteria mentioned above.

The trust of all the participants was given since I knew them personally prior to the interviews, e.g., as participants in the initiative or through different activities in Luxembourg. In addition to that, all the participants signed a consent form (in annexe II). I mentioned clearly that we are in an interview recording session on the topic of integration in Luxembourg. The recording machine was visible on the table in front of them. In some of the recordings, the battery had to be replaced, which was mentioned in the recordings.

I will use selected excerpts from the recorded comprehensive data in the analysis. When there is a need for clarification, this will be mentioned by a clarification note. These might include details needed to understand the particular situation, e.g. stating what was meant by that exact quote while ensuring that no personal information was included with the risk of revealing identity.

80% of the interviewees accepted to mention their identity or name. However, I decided not to reveal any of their names, religious or ethnic backgrounds, or nationalities in most cases, except for those quotes in which they mentioned their country of origin. Moreover, I did not mention when they arrived in Luxembourg, nor the names of the foyer or different foyers where they were staying. When they lived in private accommodation, no further details were disclosed about the area or the municipality they might have mentioned in the interviews. All these precautions were carried out to keep all personal details of participants undisclosed, even for insiders of the refugee community, and to be able nevertheless to reveal as much as possible relevant to the object of the research study.

To start the interview, I explained the concept of the tower, gave them blank wooden bricks and invited them to transform them into labelled components that could fit in the different levels of integration according to their point of view. I did not present them with the tower with pre-determined components but let them invent any component they liked. In some cases, we used actual

wooden blocks in the interviews, and in others, we used only a visual representation of the tower blocks printed on paper.

All the interviews were done using the Arabic language. Usually, I speak in the Egyptian dialect form of Arabic, which all the interviewees clearly understood. They used their Arabic dialect form. I did not impose the use of official classical Arabic to avoid pressure on them, switch codes or speak in a foreign language. I wanted them to express themselves in their native language and feel at ease when communicating with me.

The recording equipment I used was not connected to the internet to protect the interviewees' voices. Concerning the transcription, I did some of the transcriptions myself to keep their privacy. Others were sent via secured tools to someone I asked to help me in Egypt. He/she agreed to respect the privacy of any personal information available from the recordings and not to disclose any details related to any of the speakers, such as names. Moreover, I did not share all the interviews with this person at once to avoid he/she is getting the complete picture of the recordings, for example, when interviewees mentioned any other interviewee in their interview. I did not share the recordings with any other Arabic speaker living in Luxembourg because they might recognise the speaker from some information disclosed in the recording or even from hearing the speaker's voice. All this was done concerning the anonymity and privacy of the interviewees. The person who did the transcription had no idea about the community of the Arabs in Luxembourg and had never met any of them.

All the transcripts display the participants' original voice, i.e., without turning the speaker's dialect into the official classical Arabic and potentially altering the meaning through the transcription procedure. Only selected quotes were translated into English. I did this myself to ensure that the meaning was correctly presented and to have consistency in the data presented in the English translation. I selected the quotes and their particular topics concerning their representation within the data and their implications for the model, which I used for the deductive analysis.

Finally, I have to clarify my position as a researcher since I have a common background with the participants in the research. I come from Egypt, speak Arabic as a native language, and have many ethnic and religious background similarities with the participants.

To avoid a manipulative impact on the study or adding any personal interest, I tried to be as objective as possible in the ing of t Being a migrant, I faced similar issues during my integration in Luxembourg. However, I do not compare the cases with my own experience but try only to analyse the data in an objective matter as required in a scientific approach.

In this manuscript, I am attaching (in annexe V) data from all the speakers for the evaluation and reference for the committee examiners only. This text will be removed afterwards. Only the excerpts of

quotes added for analysis will be kept within the text to respect the informed consent and the agreement with some of the speakers to keep their identities anonymous.

4.8 Coding and quotes

Once all interviews were recorded, transcripts were done in their original language (Arabic). I reviewed all transcripts achieved by an external fellow while listening to the original records again to revise my impressions from the interviews.

4.8.1 Coding

Significant terms and excerpts were labelled based on phrases, sections, or words that represented topics related to the research questions or that had been explicitly stated as essential by the interviewee. This procedure was repeated for all interviews. The list of codes used is available in Annexe III of the Appendix.

4.8.2 Grouping

The essential codes were identified. Several groups of codes were merged to create a thematic category. The categories were not of the same type but about objects, processes, components or challenges for integration. These categories helped me to conceptualise the data.

4.8.3 Labelling

Labelling the groups helped identify the most relevant and investigate how they are connected. These connections and labels are the themes that form the main structure I used for the data analysis sections (see chapter 5). The themes present the participants' perspectives in the study.

4.8.4 Interview quotes

In chapter 5, I selected interview quotes representing the participants' voices in the conversations and used them as particular illustrations of the data analysis. The core codes and groupings guided my selection. I searched for the key terms in all the interviews to ensure that I did not miss any valid interview quotes that could fit with the topics and the themes.

After selecting the interview quotes, I translated them into English to ensure non-Arabic-speaking readers could understand them. I used suitable English wordings and terminologies for the research themes and validated the data representation in the research.

5 Chapter 5: Data analysis

In this chapter, I do a deductive data analysis on the transcripts of the empirical interviews I conducted with the participants using the dimensions of experience identified in earlier chapters and presented in the tower model and the radar representation. I will start each subsection by giving an overview of the main elements mentioned by the 27 participants, followed by a selection of quotes emphasising the implications of this topic in more detail and representing the broad existence in the data sets.

In the first step, I will identify the different components of integration described by the participants (sub-section 5.1) and, in a second step, organise their intensity and interplay into a sequence of different stages/levels (sub-section 5.2). These four primary levels, displayed by the tower model, are stages a newly arrived asylum seeker might pass through to get familiar with the country and be part of the society. The conditions, the overall time frame needed, and the final level of integration might differ from one person to another according to the interplay of different components of integration.

5.1 Components of Integration

In this section, I present the data from the interviews and organize them according to the leading integration features through the details that the interviewees mentioned within these levels. I will select some excerpts/quotes from the interview transcripts that emphasise significant benefits or troubles impacting the integration process.

5.1.1 *Community / communication / interactions*

Interview	Code	Main ideas about Community / Communication / Interactions	Link to
1	SP1	Being part of the society and knowing the local people is significant and support the integration of the person not to be isolated from the society, and that can result to be excluded	Community, social connections
2	SP2	It is important to have interactions with the society	Social interactions
2	SP3	Without people, we cannot survive	Psychological status
2	SP4	Different reactions and development with the people from the beginning when they arrived in Luxembourg as new Arabs, and till there were more Arab society in Luxembourg	School and peers
2	SP5	It is vital to have friends and peers	Education and job market

2	SP6	It was not hard to have friends	schooling
3	SP7	Having connections in the same field can help integration	Culture and job market
3	SP8	being single or in a family may change the path of interaction in the society	Community
4	SP9	It was imperative to have social connections in Luxembourgish society. It opened many doors, and I learned about many things in the country	Awareness, involvement in activities
5	SP10	Having multiple interactions on different levels is very important to know about the country and to be part of the society	Education, social initiatives
6	SP11	Working hard to improve the conditions by interacting with the local society and practising the language	Lifestyle, language learning
7	SP12	Social connections are significant, and it was an essential reason for finding housing and a job opportunity	Work, housing
8	SP13	Language plays a vital role in building a community, otherwise will stay within the Arab speaking community only	Language learning, society
9	SP14	Having a supportive local social network was essential to learning about the country and being involved in many initiatives and activities	Initiatives, cultural scene
10	SP15	A sense of belonging is crucial, and it can make the feeling that the person belongs to the country he is living in, even though having been recognized as an individual	Regulations, social support
11	SP16	Social connection is essential to facilitate challenges of life, work, and health issues	Housing, employment, health
11	SP17	The local interaction in the municipality can help in getting to know the local realities in the area the person is living in	Local integration
12	SP18	Having some knowledge about the European lifestyle is very helpful to interact with the society and have the right path for integration	Attitudes
13	SP19	Using the talents in building a social network can help the individual in finding employment opportunities and be part of the society	Recognition of competencies
14	SP20	Having local connections with people living in Luxembourg is very helpful and can support the individual in facing all the difficulties	Family
15	SP21	Having a relationship with Arabs who lived in Luxembourg for a long time helped a lot in integrating into the society and participating in different events	Support networks
15	SP22	The same point of view as SP21	Support networks

16	SP23	It is tough to have interaction with the local community while living in the foyer, and only be able to meet French security staff in the foyer and rarely meet any Luxembourgish person	Housing, language learning
17	SP24	There is a need for language to be able to interact with the local community	Language learning
18	SP25	The person has to be active in building a social network to be able to find job opportunities and build his future	Language learning, job market
19	SP26	It is very hard to build social connections, especially with living conditions very far without lack of transportation	Housing, transportation
20	SP27	Networking is essential to facilitate the challenges we have	Social support

Table 14: Overview of the main ideas about Community / Communication / Interactions

Interaction: Integration and Policies

In the following excerpt, SP11 mentions that integration is essential for living in society, and a person cannot be isolated from their surroundings. The speaker is defining integration through negation and avoiding isolation and exclusion. The example of the society that the speaker uses is a jail. Mentioning the image of a jail appeared in many interviews as a representation of the foyer. They considered themselves living in jails, even if they had the freedom to leave the foyers or refugee camps most days. Nevertheless, having rules of timing, visits, schedules for serving food and meals in some of the foyers or buying products from a camion service that visits the foyers once or twice a week is limiting their feeling of freedom while living in the foyer.

SP 11: 230 - 289

<p><i>“Without integration, you cannot live in this society; you cannot live far from your friends, neighbours, or environment. Even if the person lives in jail, he will need to know his jail mates. Not to mention living in a civil community, working and living, having children that go to school, meeting your children, and getting to know new people. Anyone who lives isolated from society, especially refugees, is doomed to fail.”</i></p>	<p>SP11: “و الله بدون الاندماج انت ما تقدر تعيش في هذا المجتمع. انت ما تقدر تعيش في معزل عن أصدقائك, جيرانك, عن البيئة إلي حولك, انت مو في, حتى لو شخص كان في سجن محتاج إنه يتعرف على زملائه في السجن, فما بالك في مجتمع مدني, انت تعمل, انت تعيش, انت عندك أطفال يروحون مدرسة, تلتقي بأطفالك و تتعرف على ناس جدد, إلي يعيش و هو خصوصا اللاجئ, و هو معزول عن المجتمع, راح يفشل.</p>
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Interview quote 1

The speaker was still living in one of the foyers at the moment of the interview, even though he had already received the residence permit and refugee status of international protection

in Luxembourg. Due to the current situation, the term (jail) existed in his terminology when he described a society.

Interaction: Integration and local support

The new arrivals, especially those with asylum cases, will need help and support. In addition to this regular need in dealing with a new host culture, there is the specific Luxembourgish complexity of different languages. There is a need to have support from the local community. This local support is either from people who share the cultural or linguistic background with the newcomers or the local native community in the host country society.

In the following excerpt, SP4 explains how interactions with colleagues in the school worked, with acceptance and not acceptance, and how having a host community matters to support the integration process in the host country.

SP4 244 – 226

<p>SP4: <i>I felt lucky in the first period. I was with my younger brother, and we registered him in a French class, my brother is shy, but I translated for him to make the process faster. We were speaking English, and she introduced me the school to me. It was our third month in Luxembourg. I was already in school back in Syria and did not have to repeat any grades here. I continued where I left off. I stopped at Baccalaureate in Syria. However, I did not take it. I did not finish my high school diploma, but I continued without repeating my school years when I came here. The teachers were very kind.</i></p>	<p>SP4: أنا شوية حسيت أنه رافقتي الحظ في أول فترة كنت أنا مع أخي الأصغر مني رايعين نسلجوا هو بصف بمدرسة فرنسية ؛ فأخي خجول أنا بس كنت عم بترجم له بس من شان نسرع العملية بس أنه حكينا كنا بنحكي إنجليزي وهي عرفتنني على المدرسة كان تالت شهر من وجودنا بلوكسمبورج كنت ألردي already بالمدرسة وما رجعت صفوف يعني كملت من محل ماكنت واقفة. أنا وقفت بالبالكالوريا مثلا بسوريا قدمت وما أخذتها يعني بس جيت لهون كملت من بكالوريا يعني ما رجعت لتحت ولارجعت. الأساتذة جدا لطيفين يعني ولا شوية حسيت أني ممكن حسيت حالي غريبة وكثير ساعدوني بصراحة ، شوية طلاب لأن يمكن أن قصة اللاجئين يمكن جديدة عليهم كان في شوية هيك يعني أول سنة كانت سيئة جداً بالنسبة إلي من ناحية التجربة لأنه يعني تيجي من مكان اجتماعي مثل سوريا وكذا وتيجي على أختلاف ثقافات من هون للسما يعني وما كان عندي أصدقاء قشويه من هونا أنا شخص اجتماعي جداً كثير بحب أنه هيك يالا أنه بكفي حالي راح نروح على المدرسة ويصير عندي شله يعني نصير جروب بس ما كان ها الشيء ، في ناس صادفت مع الأسف في ناس عنصرين شباب صغيرين؟</p>
<p><i>Moreover, maybe I felt a little bit like a stranger, but they helped me a lot. There were issues with some of the students at the beginning of the first year because the story of refugees was new to them. It was an awful experience because when you come from a place like Syria to here, it's a different culture, and I didn't have friends, although I'm very social. I tried to go to school and have a group of friends, but it was not easy. Unfortunately, I met racist people.</i></p>	<p>SP4: أيه من جبلي صادفت نوعا ما من جبلي كانوا ، أنا لأنه بلشت تقريبا بالتمناش فهنا كانوا بالتمناش او التسعاتش كمان يعني مانوا صغار اذا بدنا نقول ، بس الحمد لله السنة الثانية كثير اتحسن الوضع؛ يمكن كان لأن عدد اللاجئين زاد بالمدرسة فصار عندهم شوية وعي أكثر أنه لا خلاص مثلنا بالنهاية من الأشخاص فتغير هيك الفكرة صارت أحسن.</p>
<p>- Young people? SP4: <i>From my generation, I somehow met people who were racist because I started school around 18. They were 18 or 19, so they were not young. However, thanks to God, the situation improved in</i></p>	<p>SP3: نفس الأشخاص صاروا أصدقاء فيما بعد SP4: في منوا الأصدقاء اللي ماكننا صحبه مع بعض صاروا أصدقاء وفي منوا أنقطعنا علاقتنا نهائياً بس، بس بشكل عام يعني من ناحية الدراسة وهيك شوية كان.</p>

<p><i>the second year, maybe because the number of refugees increased in school. So they started to understand and be aware. It is over, many people changed their minds, and it became much better.</i></p> <p><i>SP 3: yeah, the same people became friends after that</i></p> <p><i>SP4: Some did not become friends but became colleagues, and some did not have any relationship with them. Nevertheless, generally, education studies it was a bit hard. But it worked.</i></p>	
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Interview quote 2

In quote 2, SP4 describes her situation in joining the schooling system in Luxembourg and how the local support from the school allowed her to join her class without losing any academic year, as she continued from the same stage that she left back in Syria. This was very important for her educational path and did not create an extra barrier for her to go back to schooling and lose more years to get a secondary school diploma. Also, she mentioned how her interaction with her peers changed from the beginning until later. In the beginning, there were few refugees, and she experienced some racism from peers and adolescents in the same age group as she was in the school. Nevertheless, later on, when the flow of refugees started to come more to Luxembourg, it became a regular thing in the school community, and this kind of racism disappeared. In the beginning, her colleagues who acted this way became friends with her later.

This quote can indicate how people create their prejudice even if they do not have prior interaction with someone from the “other” culture and react to it or have a kind of racism toward the other person. It can also show how the change in this small school community creates local support within a small community of young students in the same school and helps transform racism into friendly attitudes. This interaction can be essential in integrating a young person into secondary school while starting a new life in Luxembourg.

About the help of the local community, SP1 mentions in the following excerpt that it is imperative to know someone from the host country working as a guide and mentor to learn about Luxembourg or how to behave. For example, having supportive friends or people in Luxembourg at the municipality or the doctor’s surgery is vital for life outside the foyer. Finding a job opportunity through social

connections might also be more accessible, which is always extremely helpful for the integration process.

SP1: 616

<p><i>Yes, the first step that will enable you to live in this country is to have someone from the country open his door for you.</i></p>	<p>SP1: ابيه ابيه, انا برأبي أول خطوة حتى تقدر تعيش ف هالبلد أحد من البلد بفتحك بابيه.</p>
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Interview quote 3

In quote 3, SP1 says the way to know the country is to have someone from the host society who can act as a door opener. It is evident in this excerpt and will also be seen in the next section that having welcoming support is essential; a welcome from somebody who lives in the country will guide the first steps.

This support might be found in personal interaction with locals or foreigners who live in the country and Arabs who live in Luxembourg.

In the next section, the speakers compare the situation of different communities in Luxembourg concerning having someone close to their culture, either from the same country or language group, creating a host incubator, helping the new arrival to learn the knowledge and acquire the skills needed to survive and integrate into the hosting country.

Interaction: Integration and interaction with other groups

In Luxembourg, it is crucial to understand how interactions happen between the refugees and Luxembourgish society, the refugees and foreign residents, the refugees and the Arab community in general, and refugees and other refugees.

SP2-6: 458: 483

<p><i>Sp4: There is something that I will be frank about; I will not talk around. Most of the Arabs came from our region. They get the idea that they should not mingle with other Arabs. Maybe they are different from you, so let us stay away from them. We do not know what they say or where they come from, so let us talk with the Luxembourgers, and that is it.</i></p> <p><i>Nevertheless, I feel that you should not avoid meeting someone from Syria who might be lost or have questions. Maybe you are older than him here. You can help him if he does not have something, but no! Let us treat Syrians as if they were all less educated. Maybe someone thinks he is more open-minded, so let us not talk with narrow-minded</i></p>	<p>SP4: في شغله خليني أقول راح أكون جداً صريحة ما راح أخذ يعني ما راح ألف وأدور راح أكون فوراً ديركت direct, أغلب العرب اللي من مناطقنا بيجي لهون بيصير عنده فكرة لا تختلط مع العرب ممكن يكونوا متخلفين اللي جابوا؛ عرفت! فاببيعدوا عن بعض ، هذا بيقول ابيه هادي ندري من وين فخلاص روح نحكي مع لوكسمبورجيه أو كذا ، يعني ما حسيت أنه نحنا المفروض انك تلاقى حدى سوري وهيك انه يجوز يكون ضايح يجوز يكون عنده أسئلة أنت أقدم منه ممكن تساعده ما عنده ها الشيء بيصير أنه خلاص السوريين متخلفين ، في واحد بي فكر أنه أنا أكثر واحد متفتح هون فما بود ياخذ ويعطي مع السوريين اللي هون اللي عقلهم مسكر بي فكرون أن عقله مسكر ؛ عرفت كيف! فشوية العلاقات مع العرب يتقل بس بصراحة يعني من قلة العقل ما أنه .مافي سبب مقنع عرفت كيف! مع هيك عندي..</p> <p>SP3: مافي سبب مقنع لأنه هي في كثير أسباب ، كل شخص بيكون عنده آراءه ؛ في عندك أشخاص بيقولوا أنا ما عاد بدي أسير مع العادات المتشددة، أنا بدي اسير حره فيبعد عن الأشخاص قدر ما كان ، أنا بدي</p>
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Syrians. They will believe that you are narrow-minded as well. So, that is how relations between Arabs shrink. There is no sense about that. There is no good reason for that.

Sp3: There is no convincing reason because there are many reasons. Everyone has his own opinions. Some say I do not want to follow radical habits anymore, and I want to be free. So he gets far from people as much as he can. He says I want to be integrated into the European community with their habits. I want to forget everything. The second reason we know it from our friends, Mr Haythem, is that they say they want to deal with foreigners to learn the language if we stay with each other, we will speak Arabic and not learn a new language. Hence, they get far from each other and talk with foreigners to understand the language faster. This thing makes them get far from each other. I know some friends like this. For sure, each one has its reason.

Sp4: I speak from the point of view of the youth who come here. Some say it. It is over; we do not want anything to do with them anymore. Say someone comes to school, I go to him, I tell him to let us introduce you to the other Syrian students in the school to exchange with them. He asked me where they come from. I told him from Syria and maybe Iran, so he told me no, no, I do not want to thank you immediately. I told him why not they could help him. You do not have any friends; why be arrogant at the end of the day? that I do not want to know Syrians. He said I do not want Syrian friends; I want to speak directly to Luxembourgish. I told him good luck with that. I do not have Luxembourgish friends

to help you. Maybe I have some friends, but they are not so close. I do not know their nature and if they will be helpful. Maybe the Luxembourgish will not help you. If you need something, maybe they will not come to you, and they tell you we will come to help you. Let us do this. Let us do that. If you want help finding a job, let us do this or let us do that. This

اندمج مع المجتمع الأوروبي كعادته ، أنا بدي أنسى كل شيء. السبب الثاني أستاذ هيثم من أصدقاءنا بنعرف ها الشيء طبعاً ، السبب الثاني ببقلوا بدنا نتعاطى مع الأجانب عشان نتعلم اللغة ؛ إذا ضلينا نحكي مع عرب عرب ما راح نتعلم لغة فيبياعدوا بيبلشوا يتخاطبوا مع الأجانب حتى يتعلموا اللغة أسرع. هذا الشيء بيخليهم كمان بياعدوا شوي. ففي منهم هاي أنا بعرفهم من أصدقائي مثلاً. أكيد كل واحد إله أسباب .

SP4: أنا بحكي من جهة نظر الشباب. الشباب اللي بييجوا لهون ، مثلاً اللي بييجنا بيقلوا لا خلاص تحتنا ماعاد بدنا هادول بشكل واضح بيقلوا لك. في ناس مثلاً في أول شخص إيجه عل المدرسة ، أنا رحلت لعنده، قلت له تعالى أعرّفك علي بقية الشباب السوريين بالمدرسة وكذا عشان تاخذ وتعطي معهم ، قال لي من وين الشباب، قلت له من سوريا ومثلاً يمكن في من إيران وكذا قال لي لا لا لا مابدي شكرأ، فوراً فأنا قلت له يعني لييش لأ ، حيساعدوك أول شيء ماعندك أصدقاء بالنهاية مافي داعي تكابر! يحكي أنه لا ما بدي أتعرف على سوريين بدي أفوت على الخاص أنه عنده لوكسمبورجين قلت له أوكي أوكي جود لاك good luck أنا مع عندي أصدقاء لوكسمبورجين فما بقدر أساعدك بهذا الخصوص، مع العلم أنه يمكن عندي كام صديق بس لأنهم ما هم قراب لأنني بعرف طبيعتهم مثل طبيعتنا مثلاً خدمين ، يمكن اللوكسمبورجية ماراح يساعدوك مثل إذا ما احتاجت شيء مثلاً ما راح يجوا لعندك ويقولوا لك بالا راح نساعدك نعمل هيك ، إذا بديك نساعدك بوظيفة اعمل لك كذا. من هاي القصة يمكن شوية الشباب عقلهم مانوا بها النضح اللي مثلاً الكبار يكون في سبب مقنع لحتى ما راح يعملوا هيك. لأ الشباب بيعملوها من مبدأ أنه كول خيلنا نكون مع شلة كول اللوكسمبورجية، عرفت كيف!

<p><i>story tells us that some young people do not have an idea and do not have maturity like the older generations. Maybe there is a convincing reason for their behaviour. Because young people do it from the principle that it is fantastic to join a Luxembourgish group.</i></p>	
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Interview quote 4

In quote 4, the speakers mention some of the people who arrived in Luxembourg and try to remain distant from anyone with a common heritage, like the Arabs who come to Luxembourg and try not to be in touch or have any connection with other Arab people living here, to be integrated and being part of the society. Some people think that this can help them be more integrated, which can develop into a situation where they build a higher-level trust with 'others', not trusting people with a common background. This may be linked to the background of the Arab population in Luxembourg, particularly in the last wave because of political transformations in Arab countries and civil wars and violence, which does not help them to interact with people of the same community from which they escaped from in the first place.

SP2: 488 – 493

<p><i>SP2: I think there are not many Arabs who are naturalised like Portuguese, Italians, or any other eastern European country. They are very few, and we need more time to be like them.</i></p> <p><i>SP3: more support?</i></p> <p><i>SP2: we can be active in society, the Luxembourgish government, or the municipalities, but much work still needs to be done.</i></p>	<p><i>SP2: أظن ما في كمية كبيرة من العرب المجنسين مثل البرتغاليين أو الأيطاليين أو أي دولة تاني بدول شرق أوروبا الموجودين هنا، في عدد قليل جدا استاذ، بس ماشغنا حالنا مثلاً فينا نكون مثلاً مثلهم، عم بدنا وقت أكثر من هيك</i></p> <p><i>SP3: داعم يعني</i></p> <p><i>SP2: نقدر نكون مثلاً فعالين ضمن المجتمع أو ضمن الحكومة اللوكسمبورجية أو ضمن البلديات اللوكسمبورجية ، لسه بدنا شغل أكثر بكتير.</i></p>
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Interview quote 5

In quote 5, the interviewees' Arabic-speaking community in Luxembourg with other communities in the country, saying that there are not so many Arab people who have acquired Luxembourgish nationality. This sentence shows how acquiring nationality could present an essential step in the integration process for the individual and give them the possibility of helping other people.

The second point is that SP2 connects the ability to support fellow refugees and asylum seekers with the number of people living in the county. Indeed, the Portuguese community is the biggest in Luxembourg, but this does not mean that the support mechanism within

the society functions or not. It might be that another community with a smaller number of people has robust support mechanisms.

Finally, the last point is that SP2 mentions a significant indication of integration and the ability to help others, which is part of the authorities like the government or municipalities. In that case, the official structure's civic, political and administrative participation is an essential indication of how the community is integrated and the ability to help each other.

SP2: 370 – 402

<p>SP2: <i>We have Luxembourgish friends who are originally Luxembourgish and other Luxembourgish, but from Iranian, Algerian, Egyptian or Portuguese origins, they hold the Luxembourgish nationality, but they are initially from other nationalities from different countries.</i></p>	<p>SP2: <i>لنا أصدقاء الأصل لوكسمبورجيين، يعني جنساتهم لوكسمبورجيين من الأصل لوكسمبورجيين، وفي كمان لوكسمبورجيين بس الأصل ما لوكسمبورجيين ، مثلاً في الأصل إيرانيين في جزائرين في مصريين برتغاليين ، هم مواطنين لوكسمبورجيين معهم جنسية لوكسمبورجية بس في الأصل هم جنسيات مختلفة يعني من دول مختلفة.</i></p>
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Interview quote 6

In quote 6, SP2 says that they have (as a family) Luxembourgish friends. However, at this moment, with the term Luxembourgish, we can understand that he means the people who hold Luxembourgish nationality because he said that some are (Luxembourgish national and origin). This means that their origin is Luxembourg, while others are (Luxembourgish but not Luxembourgish). He further clarifies that they have another country of origin but holds Luxembourgish nationality, like being from Iran, Algeria, Egypt or Portugal.

This distinction between the different origins of Luxembourgish nationals might add to the complexity of understanding who the Luxembourgish person is and can add more questions than answers. For example: what identifies a person as Luxembourgish or not? Does the (status) of being Luxembourgish mean that the person has become integrated into the society or not?

In the translation, I used the term 'nationality', and I need to clarify that there can be different understandings of nationality. In this text, the speaker means by nationality 'citizenship', or the term mentioned in the passport, and does not refer to an ethnic group or other understanding used in the country of origin.

This was one of the complexities I had in the research design, i.e., understanding what a Luxembourgish person is and who the Arab person is. For example, the interviewees are from Arab states. However, they are not ethnically Arab, like being Kurdish from Iraq or Syria.

Contradictory conceptions of integration

The other point we might have made from these quotes concerns the perception of what is integration in the first place or how the refugees perceive the public discourse toward integration. They might understand integration or assimilation in different ways, as is shown by these contrasting definitions

SP7 52 – 92 :

SP7: “ you mean that in integration, it is not needed that I become like them, or they become like me.	SP7: “ الاندماج مو مطلوب لا أنا أصير مثلن و لا هما يصيروا مثلي “
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Interview quote 7

SP23: 102:

“To be the way you want, you need to redesign me”	“لانا أصير مثل بدكم بترسموني رسم”
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Interview quote 8

SP7 defines integration as meaning that he/she does not need to be like them or them to be like him/her, whereas SP23 clearly states that integration means that people want to redesign him/her. These contrasting definitions of understanding what integration might be are due to many reasons. SP7 can speak English fluently and has many local connections. He managed to have an internship for his field of work and used his experience and connections to find this internship. He is having difficulty learning French but keeps on trying. Furthermore, he does not live in a foyer, which gives him more opportunity to experience a higher level of integration. He perceives integration as not a matter of changing his identity or the society around him changing to be like him.

SP7 also refers to another point of the integration process (“*in integration, it is not needed that I become like them, or they become like me, but to have a certain near level*”) by trying to differentiate it from assimilation. He does not need to become like the others or change them to become like himself but to be close to them. This also indicates that he understands integration as working in two directions and that he is not just positioning himself as a recipient of what integration is.

The contrast is clear from repeating the point made by SP23 and considering the Arabic original:

“بترسموني رسم”

“*redesign me*”

In Arabic, he uses terminology that can be translated as “*you want to draw me from scratch*”. This drawing or redesigning could be another understanding of integration, i.e., more like assimilation. This pessimistic conception might be due to his experiences in

Luxembourg, interactions with officials in different institutions, or discussions with other peers. This perception might affect how he perceives what is involved in integrating into society. Although the public discourse is focused on integration, he perceives it as assimilation. This personal or subjective interpretation or misconception might negatively affect this individual's integration path.

The perception and definition of integration need to be more apparent to the refugees, as this will help them understand their situation. Moreover, if we had a more precise definition of the integration process and outcomes in public discourses and if this definition were shared among the recipients of integration policies and regulations. This enhanced clarity might be a way to prevent people from perceiving integration as an attack on their identity, from selecting self-exclusion as a defensive method to protect their identity and from opting for isolation from society by choice.

5.1.2 Language Learning

Language learning is one of the main topics mentioned in detail by all the participants. It directly affects job and educational opportunities, future perspectives, family situation, communication with society and much more. It was the most discussed topic in the interviews, and its weighted importance can change the life of people in Luxembourg.

To have an overview of the ideas the speakers had concerning language learning:

Inter-view	Code	Main ideas about Language Learning	Link to
1	SP1	There is a lack of language learning-intensive language courses in Luxembourg, and this is not helping the integration	Mechanisms and opportunities
2	SP2	Not active in learning French	Priorities and age
2	SP3	Trying to learn French in order to be integrated	Personal aims
2	SP4	Within the school system, it is hard at this age to fulfil all the languages needed, so continued studies in English	Education system requirements
2	SP5	Language learning is a barrier to fulfilling the educational and career path	Education system requirements
2	SP6	It is ok to learn languages; being young is helpful	Age
3	SP7	Speaking fluent English was not helping to learn French	Community
3	SP8	Living alone was an encouragement to learn French, but still having the English language fluent made it easier to use	Community

4	SP9	Speaking English and Spanish made it easier to learn French. I needed to learn to fill time and meet people	Community, free time
5	SP10	Speaking English before, and managed to learn German, French and Luxembourgish. I needed to learn to fill time and join the university	Community, free time Education system requirements
6	SP11	Language learning is vital for integration but does not help find a suitable job opportunity. within challenging conditions, learning French and Luxembourg while speaking English fluently	Job market
7	SP12	The language will facilitate entry into the society, and in Luxembourg, you need multiple languages	Community
8	SP13	Speaking English and French facilitated the first steps but needs improvements to integration	community
9	SP14	Speaking English did not help to learn French	Community
10	SP15	Learning French is essential for interaction, and need to make efforts in addition to courses	Community, learning
11	SP16	Even by speaking English fluently, there is a need for fluent French in the field of work	Employment
11	SP17	Speaking English helped communication, but not pushing to learn French	Learning
12	SP18	Learning the mentality (through language) helps more than just learning the language	community
13	SP19	English was more important due to the field of work	employment
14	SP20	Lack of intensive courses, multiple languages are needed in Luxembourg	community
15	SP21	Language learning needs practice in the community	Community
15	SP22	Language learning created challenges for the children's future perspectives	Education system requirements
16	SP23	Living in the foyer is not helping to learn languages and study. The living conditions affect a lot of language learning and the consequences of not being able to find a job opportunity that can help in finding private housing.	The job market, housing
17	SP24	It is recommended not to have Arab people together in the same classroom to learn a language cause the time will be wasted without learning anything	Learning methods
18	SP25	Learning a language is the only path to independence and employment	Employment
19	SP26	Language learning is essential for integration and employment	Employment
20	SP27	Language is essential in all sides of life	communication

Table 15: Overview of the main ideas about Language Learning

From this, we can see that language learning is one of the essential axes mentioned by all the interviewees as an essential part of the integration. Without it, the person cannot achieve anything. Existing linguistic competencies play an essential role and either facilitate or become a barrier to the person's language learning path, as some knowledge of a European language is helpful. For other people, the knowledge of a language - especially English - could be a barrier because it is easy to communicate in English, which means that people do not need to learn French. However, others were enthusiastic about learning a language to start their desired studies or have a better opportunity in the job market.

Without repeating all the detail of table 9, it is clear that all participants mentioned that they need to learn the Luxembourgish language to acquire Luxembourgish nationality, and acquiring the nationality had particular purposes relating to family, and future perspectives will be addressed below.

In the following excerpt, SP8 describes how important it is to learn the language even in challenging conditions concerning accommodation:

SP8: 17 – 22

<p><i>Yes, of course, I started to learn the language and learn about the country simultaneously, but maybe I had an idea about how the situation is complicated with housing and the whole story. In the beginning, it was very hard. In order to try, I had more interest that I go to work to kill time, I had a long time but nothing to do. Yes, there were 2 hours of study, 3 or 4 days a week, but my goal was to find any work to kill time, so I started working in a restaurant.</i></p>	<p>SP8: إيه أكيد، بلشت إتعلم لغة و يعني، و كنت عم اتعرف عالبلد بهالأثناء، بس يمكن كان عندك فكرة قديش ظرف كان صعب إنه بظرف السكن و القصة كلياتها بالبداية كان صعب كتير، فحتى يعني جرب إنه كان بيهمني أكثر شي إنه إطلع أشتغل حتى أقتل هذا الوقت، كان عندي وقت طويل كتير و ما في شي أعمله، أو كيه كان فيه مدرسة ساعتين باليوم ٣ أيام أو ٤ أيام بالأسبوع بس كان هدفي إنه بس بلش أي شغل شو ما كان، بس حتى إنه أقتل هذا الوقت، ففعلا بلشت شغل بمطعم يعني.</p>
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Interview quote 7

It was important for SP8 to get to work to kill time, and we note that free time is an essential point because some manage to use it well, while others fail to do so. In case SP8 managed to learn the language and find a job opportunity in a restaurant later on.

Interaction: Successful Additional language learning in a multilingual country

Language learning and choosing the path of which language to learn first in Luxembourg is a highly complex topic. Some interviewees mentioned that knowing English (mainly) before arriving in Luxembourg, it was much easier for them to learn a second language (French) in most cases, or German, as one of the interviewees reported.

SP11 presents his experience of learning languages as follows. He spoke already English fluently before coming to Luxembourg, so for him, the first step was to learn additional

languages. While waiting to get refugee status, he managed to learn French. Through learning French, he also managed to learn Luxembourgish. The interview mentions that he learned Luxembourgish after receiving a residency permit. In the interview later, he also mentions trying to integrate into the Luxembourgish society and learn about it.

SP11: 17-43

<p><i>SP11: In the period before receiving the residency, I spent it learning languages, I started with French, reached level B1, and I felt it was enough; after residency, I am learning intensively Luxembourgish, and I reached the level of B1, and I will probably continue to learn Luxembourgish,... I am still in the stage of searching for work and accommodation</i></p> <p><i>SP11: I spoke English fluently, and in Luxembourg, I learned French and Luxembourgish.</i></p> <p><i>SP11: In reality, English helped me learn French, then French helped me learn Luxembourgish.</i></p> <p><i>SP11: Yes, it is the language of communication. I learned French because I was speaking with the teacher in English sometimes. After a while, I managed the French language, so the language of learning became only, and I depended on the French language to learn Luxembourgish. There are a lot of similarities in conjugation, some of the grammar, so I depended on languages to learn any new language.”</i></p>	<p>SP11: نعم، في الفترة قبل الإقامة قضيتها في تعلم اللغة، بدأت بالفرنسية، و وصلت لمرحلة B1 و أشوف نفسي اكتفيت باللغة الفرنسية، بعد الإقامة بدأت تعلم اللغة اللوكسمبورجية بشكل مكثف و بالفعل وصلت لمرحلة B1 و احتمال اني اكمل باللغة اللوكسمبورجية . من الامور الأخرى الي عملتها بلوكسمبورج، مازلت في طور اني أبحث عن عمل و أبحث عن سكن.</p> <p>SP11: كنت أتكلم الإنجليزية.</p> <p>SP11: بتكلمها (الانجليزية) بطلاقة، و في لوكسمبورج اتعلمت الفرنسي و اللوكسمبورجي.</p> <p>SP11: حقيقة الإنجليزي ساعدني في تعلم اللغة الفرنسية نعم، بعدها الفرنسي ساعدني في تعلم اللوكسمبورجي.</p> <p>SP11: نعم هي لغة التخاطب أنا كيف تعلمت اللغة الفرنسية، اني كنت أتخاطب مع المدرس باللغة الإنجليزية في بعض الأحيان، إلى أن مع مرور الوقت تمكنت من اللغة الفرنسية، فكانت لغة التعلم هي فقط اللغة الفرنسية و بالنسبة للغة اللوكسمبورجية بدأت أتعلمها اعتمدت على اللغة الفرنسية، تقريبا فيه أمور كثيرة مشابهة، تكوين الأفعال، بعض القواعد، فاعتمدت على اللغات في تعلم أي لغة جديدة.</p>
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Interview quote 8

Even though SP11 was living in the foyer at the time of the interview, he still found the motivation, the will and the passion for learning two additional languages in a period when he did not know what his future would look like, i.e., whether his asylum request would be accepted or not.

Interaction: unsuccessful additional language learning in a multilingual country

In contrast to these examples, many others had trouble learning a new language in Luxembourg. We find contrasting views mentioned by the speakers in the following excerpt (SP7 & SP8) compared to the previous one (SP11). The speakers (SP7 &8) also came as English speakers to Luxembourg, but they feel that English became a barrier to learning a new language. Even though they studied French, they could not use it in everyday life, such as in the supermarket.

<p>SP7: <i>The country's languages are French and Luxembourgish, but we depend on English in all life issues.</i></p>	<p>SP7: لغات البلد الفرنسي و اللوكسمبورجي لأنه احنا معتمدين بالإنجليزي بكل شي بالحياة.</p>
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Interview quote 9

SP7 clarifies that they deal with everything using the English language. Even if English is sufficient, there are two languages in Luxembourg that they feel belong to the country, i.e., French and Luxembourgish. It seems to them that even if they can communicate with the people using their English language competencies, they still need to feel they belong to the “country languages”, French and Luxembourgish

In the following quote, SP8 continues his comments on linguistic communication in the social structure and how it affects their ability to acquire new linguistic skills.

<p>SP8:..... <i>The nice thing in Luxembourg is that you can speak English, it helps a lot because we speak English, but it seems that later it was the reason to be late in learning another language, because...</i></p>	<p>SP8:، الحلو بلوكسمبورج انك تقدر تحكي إنجليزي، فكثير كثير ساعد يعني إنه كونه نحكي إنجليزي بس لإدام لبعدين كان هو السبب بتأخيرنا بإنه نتعلم لغة ثانية لأنه صار....</p>
<p>SP8: <i>I have been going to school daily to learn French for a year now, but still, my brain does not understand that when I go to the supermarket, I should speak French, but I cannot.</i></p>	<p>SP8: أنا صارلي هلا سنة بشكل يومي بروح على المدرسة عم اتعلم فرنسي، مخي لسه ما هم عم يفهم انه إذا قنت ع السوبر ماركت لازم إحكي فرنسي، ما عم بقدر.</p>
<p>SP8: <i>So I speak English, and everybody interacts with me and answers me in English, and that's why I feel that it delays learning another language.</i></p>	<p>SP8: تمام، خلاص بحكي إنجليزي و الكل بيتفاعل معك و بيتجاوبك بالإنجليزي و كذا و هدا شي عم حس انه بياخرنني إنه أتعلم لغة ثانية.</p>
<p>SP8: <i>Maybe if I were in Germany, nobody would answer you in English even if they speak it, but here they are dealing with you in an amicable and usual way about this matter, and by the time I felt that it made me very late in learning the original language of the country.</i></p>	<p>SP8: تمام إيه. يمكن مثلا لو كنت بألمانيا، ما كل العالم بيتجاوبوا معاك بالإنجليزي حتى لو بيعرفوا، فهون لا بيتعاملوا بلطافة بهالخصوص و عادي، فهدا الشي مع الوقت صرت حسه إنه عم بيخليني أتأخر شوية باللغة الأصلية تبع البلد.</p>

Interview quote 10

Here again, we see that speaking fluent English helps him to communicate. However, it became a barrier to learning the new language needed (French) since he can already communicate with others using English, which creates a delay in sensing the urgency of learning French, despite having French classes.

The speaker also compares the multilingual situation of Luxembourg with the linguistic situation in a neighbouring country like Germany and claims that if he lived in Germany. It

would be urgent to acquire the German language faster because people do not respond in any other language except German, even if they understand it. By contrast, it is customary in Luxembourg to use multiple languages in daily activities.

These quotes show us the complexity of learning an additional language, even if the person speaks English. It might be a helpful factor in learning another language like French or a barrier because people can only manage their daily lives using English in a multilingual country.

Another point in comparing both excerpts is the **motivation** to learn languages to integrate the society successfully. For SP11, he needed to speak French to join the Luxembourg society, and he experienced it as a solid motivation to attend Luxembourgish classes. Getting familiar with one of the official languages in Luxembourg (French) worked as a bridge for him to learn the country's national language (Luxembourgish). He needs the language to find a job, get out of the foyer, and live independently. Learning the language might be the object or the mediational means (instrument) to achieve integration via work opportunities.

Interaction: Language learning and Housing

On the other hand, as interviewees SP7 and SP8 live in a private house and not in a foyer, we might raise the question of whether being in better private living conditions might help, or will this aim of living in private accommodation be the unique goal. Why would people living in private housing experience less progress learning an additional language?

Since both speakers are from the same age group, we might assume that there is not much difference in language learning capacity. What other reasons might impact this process? We will look at further data in the following excerpt from SP23, where we can see that the living environment and the **living conditions** play an essential role in language learning. SP23 describes how hard it is to learn languages while living in the foyer compared to the case of SP11 above.

SP23: 10 – 180

<p>SP23: <i>Speaking about the foyer, I said I have a language course, and I need to study, I need another room, give me a room and I will pay the rent. I have no problem, raise the rent on me, they said it was illegal according to the rules of the foyer unless you have another child. Have another child get another room. This is sarcasm. In the foyer, you feel as if you are in jail.</i></p>	<p>SP23: أتكلمك foyer بطيب حكينا مع ال foyer إنه يا جماعة انا عندي لغة و عندي دراسة, محتاج إنه غرفة تانية تدوني غرفة, إيجار حعطيكو إيجار ما عندي إشكالية. زيديوا الإيجار, قالوا لأ قانون ال foyer ممنوع إنت لازم يكون عندك ولد تاني, خلف ولد تاني بندي غرفة, هي مسخرة هي, هي مسخرة, إنت ال foyer بتحس حاللك بسجن.</p>
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Interview quote 11

SP23 says he has language courses and needs to study, but life in the foyer obstructs his study conditions. He could not get another room to study in silence or support progress in the language learning process. SP23 did not speak English or any other European language fluently before arriving in Luxembourg. In this case, having a language that could facilitate communication in Luxembourg did not exist, and he needed to learn at least French to be able to live independently

This case is different from the previous cases in learning languages.

- SP11 lived in the foyer and managed to study additional languages.
- SP23 has his family and children in the foyer but does not support the foyer.
- SP7 & SP8 live in private accommodation but do not manage to learn any new language although they speak English.

Therefore, there is no strong connection between living accommodation and language learning.

Interaction: Language learning and Regulations

SP23 considers that the public discourse or the regulations push everybody towards learning the French language. However, the available language learning courses and the methodology of learning the language are taking much time and not being beneficial for the integration process.

SP23: 10 – 180

<p><i>SP23: I consider that the government is trying to push you to learn the French language, ok you pushed me since I arrived, and I reached a level where I can speak a bit of French. The next step is to get courses, to train on the language and have the certificate, ok this needs 3 to 4 years, to be the way you want, you need to redesign me, but I have a problem with staying for four years in the foyer, living in the foyer is like being detained, ok there is safety and food, but this is not life. We are eating, drinking and sleeping, but the next step is to have an everyday life. In this case, I will need 4 or 5 years since I arrived as a refugee, and this is very hard.</i></p>	<p>SP23: فيعتبرها الحكومة عم بتحاول, هي بتحاول تدفعك ع الفرنسي دفع, طب حلو انتم دفعتوني ع الفرنسي من يومها وصلت مرحلة صرت احكي شوية فرنسي, الخطوة إلى بعده شو بقلك لازم تعمل كورسات, لازم تعمل لغة و تكوين, و تصير عندك certificate, طب حلو, هذا الشئ محتاج ٣ سنين للأربعة لانا أصير مثل بكم بترسموني رسم, لكن انا عندي مشكلة السكن بضل ٤ سنين بالfoyer, الfoyer مثل إلى حاطط إنسان بمعتقل, او كيه فيه امان و اكل و لكن هادي ما هي حياة, أكلنا و شربنا و نومنا, فيه الخطوة الي بعده, إلي هيه الحياة الطبيعية, أنا محتاج ٤,٥ سنين كواصل الكلام هنا, هذا صعب كتير بالنسبة إلي. النقطة الأهم,</p>
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Interview quote 12

This quote shows that SP23 lists need displaying in the Maslow triangle. Basic physiological needs were needed when they arrived and got shelter and safety. He also mentions components that can fit into these categories, such as having

language courses or legal residency status in Luxembourg. Nevertheless, they need to take further steps as they do not consider their current situation as everyday life. Above all, he feels to improve his linguistic skills to have private accommodation and work opportunities.

Most of the interviewees mentioned this criticism of not having enough language courses. It takes a very long time to get integrated or reach a higher level of integration. Participants sometimes compare the Luxembourg situation with neighbouring countries and how the other countries managed language learning, housing and job opportunities.

SP7: 34 – 41

<p><i>SP7: yes, after I took the residency, I wasted three months, four months, six months, and a year in many stories, so I arrived about two years ago, two years and a month, until now, the language is a problem, but there is no support, there is a lot of government support There are language courses, but there are no density courses, and there is no robust methodology. I am staying for a year searching and suggesting to the Social Worker and ADEM to make a 3-month intensive course on the language of school attendance every day. There is nothing like this. Nobody dares to do that, I said at least a month, in summer, Luxembourgish month, French month, it is daily 8 hours for a month, it will be more efficient than going every day. However, we have only two hours, three times a week, you go back and forget what you learned, You return and forget. Language is a complex problem because we have difficulty learning at this age. It is not like learning while you are still young.</i></p>	<p>SP7: إبيه, بعد ما خدت الإقامة بعنت وراي إنه عملي و الوقت و ضايع الوقت ٣ شهور, ٤ شهور, ٦ شهور, سنة و ضل قصص, فوصلت لهون من سنتين تقريبا, سنتين و شهر, لحد هالأ, اللغة, هي إشكالية و ما فيه دعم, فيه دعم حكومي كبير كورسات اللغة, بس ما فيه كثافة, ما فيه منهجية قوية, انا صاؤلي سنة عم بدور, و عم يقترح عال Social Worker و ADEM إنه يعملونا كورس ٣ شهور لغة دوام مدرسي يوميا, ما حدا, ما فيه هيك شي و ما فيه حدا اشتجع يعمل, قلتنن شهر, إنه بالصيفية, شهر لوكسمبورجي, شهر فرنسي, إنه يوميا ٨ ساعات لمدة شهر, تطور أكثر من إنك تروح كل يوم بس ساعتين, ٣ مرات بالأسبوع, بترجع و بتتسي, بترجع بتتسي, فالغة هي إشكالية صعبة بالنسبة لإلنا صعبة التعلم عالمر إنه إحنا متعلمين و احنا صغار.</p>
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Interview quote 13

SP7 complains about not having enough intensive courses, which is a big problem that faces everyone I met because there are not enough courses that will make better use of their time. They say people do not progress in learning through the standard courses three times a week for only 2 hours. This was not enough to learn and progress. Unfortunately, not having intensive courses while people are still in the waiting process was a lost opportunity, even after receiving refugee status and entering the labour market. The language learning system in Luxembourg was designed to serve people who are already working but were not

ready for this massive flow of refugees and asylum seekers who arrived in Luxembourg with different needs than those already working in the country.

The same suggestion was mentioned by many of the interviews

SP1 434 – 524

<p><i>SP1: I think that this issue needs to be reconsidered, if we compare it with a neighbour country like Germany, they have courses for refugees, a system of 600 hours in 6 months to learn daily, so after six months you will have the basics of the German language, and you will be able to speak simple sentences, but in Luxembourg, you will need two years to learn to say “moien” and “addi”, the lessons are prolonged, you will be lucky if you find a course for three times a week which is on great demand, and not everyone manages to get it, ADEM or INL should make intensive courses five times a week to help refugees and Arabs learn languages.</i></p>	<p>SP1: انا رأيتي لازم إعادة النظر بهالموضوع. لأنه إذا نفاين ويا بلد جيران زي ألمانيا، عندهم دروس لاجئين، عندهم نظام 600 ساعة خلال 6 شهور تتعلم بشكل يومي اللغة الألمانية فانت بعد 6 شهور يكون عندك مبادئ اللغة الألمانية و تبدي تحكي جمل بسيطة، بلوكسمبورج نحتاج سنتين، فسننتين حتى تتعلم تقول صباح الخير و مع سلامة فالدروس بطيئة جدا، احنا محظوظين نلاقي درس 3 مرات بالأسبوع الي عليه طلب كبير و مو كل واحد يحصله فللازم إعادة النظره يسون دروس ADEM أو المعهد الوطني لتعليم اللغات يسوي دروس مكثفة خمس مرات بالأسبوع حتى يساعد اللاجئين و العرب يتعلموا اللغة.</p>
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Interview quote 14

Like SP1, many other interviewees compared with neighbouring countries on many issues, especially language learning programs. How can other refugees progress in learning the host country's language while in Luxembourg? Does it take a much longer time? The multilingualism of Luxembourg complicates the learning process for the refugees. The adult refugee will need to learn several languages he uses daily. In Germany, for example, he would learn German in language courses, use it in everyday life, and be qualified for a job opportunity because he speaks German.

SP23 also expresses other major issues: living in the foyer represents a significant challenge he is facing in Luxembourg and not being able to learn a language, find a job, or get out to private accommodation. We can identify the same problem and interconnected triad (language, work, accommodation) mentioned by most interviewees.

However, the person needs a job and an independent income to access a private housing opportunity. This also requires proficiency in one of the official languages, even if the person might have excellent prior experience in a working field. The language issue is consequently a significant struggle.

In short, unfortunately, not enough intensive courses are offered to the refugees, so they stay in the same living conditions for more extended periods than they are supposed to, and these circumstances affect their integration process negatively.

As was mentioned by SP1, in comparison with neighbouring countries on language learning, there are also comparisons about the regulation of residencies and acquiring nationality. SP12 says:

SP12: 267 – 268

<p><i>SP12: Here is different from Germany; in Luxembourg, you can get housing and financial support from the state, learn a language at the State's expense, and in the end acquire the Luxembourgish nationality, while in Germany, if you do not work, you do not acquire the nationality.</i></p>	<p><i>SP12: هون لأ, يكون قاعد فى البيت و عم ياخد م الدولة و بدرس لغة ع حساب الدولة و ياخد الجنسية بألمانيا إذا ما عنده شغل ما بيعطوه الجنسية.</i></p>
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Interview quote 15

SP12 clearly states that there is a need to have a job opportunity in Germany to be a citizen, while the system in Luxembourg is not pushing the people to be independent nor facilitating the language learning mechanism to have a job opportunity.

In summary, the complexity of fulfilling the needs, facilitating language learning, and providing more intensive courses, can play an essential role in shaping the integration process of all.

5.1.3 Living conditions/Housing/ Lifestyle /Family status

The lifestyle affects the integration process of the refugees. Matters of living conditions are essential: living still in the foyer or in private accommodation, having their family living with them or trying hard to bring them here or even being a single person without a family.

Other factors include having a driving licence and a car that can help in mobility and open the scope for exploring more, travelling, or having job opportunities that would hinder the longer time on public transportation. These issues were mentioned in all the interviews as the main integration component. It might help or support the progress in achieving a higher level of integration or facilitating the integration path.

Interview	Code	Main ideas about Living conditions / Housing /Lifestyle / Family status	Link to
1	SP1	Housing is a significant issue that can improve the living conditions and the family lifestyle. Many people are suffering from not being able to find private housing, which cannot help their integration into society by staying longer in the foyers.	Regulations and support measures
2	SP2	Family status creates a support mechanism for the family members	Family status

2	SP3	Mental status is vital for the family to integrate	Housing, living conditions
2	SP4	Family can get integrated easily	Family status
2	SP5	A single person is easier to get integrated into the society	Family status
2	SP6	Feels that Luxembourg is home and visiting other countries makes the person miss Luxembourg	sense of belonging/lifestyle
6	SP11	It is tough to have private housing, especially for single individuals. It is not fair if a person is trying to integrate and learn languages but didn't find job opportunities or is a priority for social housing.	Language learning, job market
9	SP14	In some conservative societies, women seek divorce to have freedom due to the new lifestyle	Intercultural education
11	SP16	Housing concerning RMG/Revis regulations needed to be reviewed, as it creates more pressure on the housing market. Furthermore, it is not fair at the same time for individuals who did not manage to find a house.	regulations
11	SP17	Housing prices in the free market is not allowing the refugees to have decent housing easily for families	Housing market
14	SP20	The first period of living in the single women camp was very hard and created barriers to integration	Housing and location
16	SP23	The lifestyle and family conditions while living in the foyer are terrible and unsuitable for the children's education and a better future perspective or integration path.	Education
17	SP24	A misconception that the money paid for allocating a room in the foyer is rent, and it should have rights as the relation between the landlord and tenant in private housing	Misconception
19	SP26	The location of the house could be a barrier to integration with a lack of transportation or space for parking a private car	Location
20	SP27	Living in the camp is the main barrier to integration as the person cannot study or have the typical lifestyle that makes them not part of the society.	Housing

Table 16: Overview of the main ideas about Living conditions / Housing /Lifestyle / Family status

In the previous section, in quote 14, SP23 mentions that providing protection and accommodation is needed as the family was fleeing from a war zone but living in safety only and providing the basic needs of nutrition and having shelter is not

everyday life for him. The long path to integration affects the integration process negatively and pushes many people to accept the status quo as the only way to live in this country.

Moreover, SP23 also described the foyer as a jail, a joint representation in most interviews. For example, it was or still is a challenging period for people struggling to escape it, as mentioned by SP1 in the following excerpt.

SP1: 15 – 23

<p><i>SP1: No, I waited a year and a half until I received the total residency. I left the camp after two years, it was a challenging period because it was a women's camp, and it was terrible in the north of Luxembourg. I struggled from the beginning till the end, and I am still struggling because, as you know, Luxembourg is a complex country. There is support for a mother and two children, but I needed to learn a language. I had to register my daughters in a Maison relais. There was a system to register the children, but as a mother and two children in the camp, it was tough. There were many rules, the people responsible for the security in the camp were like jailers, and there was no consideration of the two children. The rules stated that children should not run nor play in the place they live in, I had massive pressure as a mother, and it was a challenging period.</i></p>	<p>SP1: لأ، انتظرت الإقامة سنة و نص، واخذتها بعد سنة ونص، و طلعت من الكامب بعد سنتين. كانت مرحلة صعبة جدا لإن الكامب إلي كنت موجودة فيه كان للنساء، كان الوضع سيء جدا، بمنطقة بشمال Luxembourg اسمها XXXX ناضلت جدا من البداية إلى النهاية لحد هي اللحظة أناضل طبعاً لإن مثل ما تعرف Luxembourg بلد صعب، إكو مساعدات خاصاً كأم و أطفال اثنين. منحيت أتعلم لغة أ قدر أسجل بناتي Maison relais عندهم نظام نسجل الأطفال بال Maison relais بس يبقى انه أم و أطفال اثنين بالكامب فكان شئ جداً صعب فيه قوانين كثيرة فيه security بالكامب اللي هو أ قدر أشبههم تقريباً بالسجانين ما في مراعاة إن فيه أطفال إثنين، عندهم قوانين الأطفال ما يركض ما يلعب ما يسوي بالمكان إلي ساكن بيه، عندي ضغط نفسي هائل كأم فكانت مرحلة صعبة.</p>
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Interview quote 16

SP1 said that staying in the camp was very hard and that she waited for the residency for one year and a half. There was support for mothers with children, e.g., to be able to learn a language or to register the children in the Maison relais. SP1 perceived the foyer as a jail and the security guards in the foyer like jail keepers, who did not consider the needs of the children, i.e., the need to move and play. This period represents a challenging psychological life phase and tension

Based on different quotes from the interview transcripts, we try to understand better how the current lifestyle and living conditions affect integration.

Interaction: Housing and habits/lifestyle

In the following excerpts, SP23 give details about the living and interactions in the foyers.

SP23: 10 – 180

<p><i>SP23: Exactly, everyone (residents in the foyer) has their way of thinking. If you drink, I have no problem but do not cause me trouble, I get out in the morning from the foyer and return by the end of the day, I do not want to see or speak about problems. My brain is tired. Moreover, I found that they speak about someone gossiping about someone who spoke with the wife of this person, or someone became friends with the wife of another person, this is not my interest, and I have no time for it. There are many problems in the camp, especially that people do not have any culture, where are the associations?</i></p>	<p>SP23: بالضبط بالضبط واحد تفكيره يشرب، يشرب ما عندي إشكالية بس ما تعملي مشاكل، أنا بطلع من الصبح من الfoyer برجع آخر النهار، مش عايز أشوف حدا مش عايز أتكلم في مشاكل أو اتعب مخي في مشاكل، واحد اتكلم مع مرة فلان واحد صاحب مرة فلان، الأمور هي مشانة، ما عندي وقت إليها، فمشاكل الكامب كتيرة كتير، وخاصة الناس إستاذ هيثم ثقافة معدومة، وبين الجمعيات.</p>
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Interview quote 17

Here he is talking about the habits that people have to live in the foyer for a more extended period and how they start to interact with others because they do not have any other things to do.

SP23 mentions that people have different habits and create trouble for their neighbours in the foyer. It is not easy for those trying to find a job or take courses not to dive deeper into the foyer's problems.

SP23: 10 – 180

<p><i>SP23: They (in the foyer) are sleeping, a few of them are trying to work, and the one that wants to work you will not see. Once I had a problem, I did not want to talk about it, but I will.</i></p> <p><i>SP23: I have no problem, there is someone, but I do not want to mention his name. He does not have residency (refugee status) for 2 or 3 years now in Luxembourg, and he's just gossiping about people who went where and did what, brother, I do not have interest in these topics.</i></p> <p><i>SP23: It is a lot of stories, one day, he came to tell me</i></p>	<p>SP23: ناس نائمة إستاذ فيه ناس بتحاول تشتغل ولكن قليلة عم تحاول تشتغل إنت ما بتشوفه، أنا أهد الأيام صارلي مشكلة ما بحب أحكيها بس راح أحكيها.</p> <p>SP23: ما عندي إشكالية، أنا حاليا فيه شخص ما حب أنكر اسمه، ما عنده إقامة إله سنتين أو ثلاث سنين بلوكسمبورج، أخي متقضي على مرة فلان طلعت، و فلان راح و علان راح، طب أخي أنا مالي و مال الكلام هدا.</p> <p>SP23: كتير، كتير، في يوم واحد جه يقلي مرة، مرتك ليش حكيت علي إن أنا وفلانة كنا مع بعض مع زوجة شخص ثاني، قلناه عفوا، مرتي عم تتكلم الكلام هاد و بعدين إنت راجل واعي و متقف و كبير عيب تجي تقلي الكلام هاد، إذا فيه ماشيها ابعت مرتك لحد من النسوان يتكلموا مع بعض لأن ما عندي وقت</p>
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why your wife telling others that another woman and I were together with another person's wife? I told him to excuse me. Do you mean my wife saying this? Furthermore, you are an educated person it is not polite to come and tell me these stories, I do not have time for women's talks. The discussion became hot between us, and we hit each other and fought together. Thank God I just calmed down because I could have ended him on that day, considering that my wife is not having a relationship with anyone, and we tried to fix this situation. However, you can never finish all the daily problems in the camp.

SP23: It is many problems in the foyer because people do not have work or anything to do, some do not have residency and are ready to do problems with anyone, a woman comes and says that this person harassed me, others do something else, I do not want to lose my life on these issues that's why I want to get out from the camp but how? The situation is like a circle you are making around yourself, language, housing, and work. One is fulfilling the other, you want to fulfil one of them to reach the other, the problem is that you can't reach the first step, I need a language, so I need a house to be able to study, and how I can get the house because I will need a job, and the job needs language, everything is depending on the other.

لكلام النسوان وقالوا انه, قال لأ و ما يعرف ايش , فمن كلمة لكلمة كبرت الامور سخنا على بعض و صرنا نضارب, ضرب مضبوط, انا لو وقته الله سبحانه و تعالى ما مسكني كنت هنيهه, مشكلة كبيرة مع العلم ان مررتي قاطعة الطريق عن الكل, فجمعت الناس طب قدام مين اتكلمت قالوا واحدة طب واجه الشخص بالشخص فيه شي واجهني و أنا ما عندي إشكالية, إذا زوجتي متكلمة بأي موضوع أو كيه مع العلم انها قاطعة الطريق عن كل شي, لكن ما بتخلص بالكامب.

SP23: كثير, بس الناس فى ال foyer ما عنده و لا شغلة و لا عملة, ما عندو إقامة مستعد يعمل أي مشكلة مع شخص, هاديك XXXX ما عنده إقامة بتجي تقول فلان اتحرش فيني, هداك الثاني مش عارف ايه الثالث, ماني مستعد أضيع حياتي في هي الامور هي, فانا عايز اطلع م الكامب, ازاي. الامور انت بتدور استاذ هيثم, دوار. بتدور حول نفسك لغة سكن عمل. واحدة تكمل الثانية عايز توصل لواحدة مشان توصل للتانية, انت الأولى مش قادر توصل بيمعنى, انا عايز لغة طب عايز سكن مشان أفدر أذاكر, طب السكن اجيبه ازاي , عايز عمل طب العمل اجيبه ازاي عايز لغة, فالامور بتدور على بعضه.

Interview quote 18

Here SP23 goes into more detail about the kind of problems that they experience in the foyer: that people are sleeping in the foyer. By that, he means that they do not wake up or try to start something new in their life in Luxembourg and do not want to move or learn or do anything that can get them out of their situation or improve their living conditions or spur their integration process. These problems can reach a level of violence within the community inside the same foyer because of the free time. As they do not achieve anything significant, they start creating barriers for others by intervening in their lives to create tense or unexpected situations.

SP3: 925 – 928

SP3: I would like to mention that the Psychological comfort, the refugee family, mainly the father and the

SP3: أنا كنت حابه أحكي عن شغلة الراحة النفسية أستاذ هيثم, أنه دائماً في عند اللاجئين يمكن الأب والأم بشكل خاص يعني

mother, lack the feeling of stability due to the housing conditions and the new regulations, that is why we are missing calmness and stability.

عندهم هل عدم الاستقرار، أحساس عدم الاستقرار بسبب السكن، بسبب القوانين اللي عم تطلع جديد يمكن؛ فيمكن مقتدين شوية للراحة النفسية والاستقرار.

Interview quote 19

Here SP3 mentions that mental stability is crucial. Suppose the person (especially the parents in the family) worries about the family they bear responsibility for. In that case, they are not allowed to provide decent housing for external reasons that they cannot control. This situation makes them not calm and feeling not stable. Moreover, this can affect the integration process of the whole family, not just one person.

Interaction: Housing and policies

The other issue that SP23 mentions concern the delays people experience in receiving their residence permit with refugee status. While some people received their residence permits, others living in the same foyer did not receive their refugee status. They might even stay in Luxembourg for an extended period of several years without this status recognition. They have no clear idea about their future life without an answer to their asylum request.

There is a long list of complaints about staying in the foyer. Interviewees express that they are caught in a loop with many struggles, subsequently running in the same circle repeatedly while trying to escape from it. This never-ending loop of the problematic triad, involving housing, work and language, was faced by everybody I met.

Another issue is the housing policies and how they affect the market for housing. The refugees are not all able to receive social housing or housing through state agencies, so they go to the market, and with the current market prices for rent, it is very hard for them in a free market:

SP16: 415 – 425

SP16: they would like to help (the friends), but it is out of their hands. I mean the landlords, as they have a system if you have a work contract, it is ok, without a work contract you will not have an appointment for a visit even the Luxembourgers have the same problem if a Luxembourgish does not have a work contract nobody will rent for him.

SP17: Now we pay 1200 euros for 55 meters, one-room apartment, we will pay the 1200 euros, but we need the state to give us a more prominent place, we

SP16: يحبون يساعدوك, بس الموضوع مو بايدهم, الموضوع مو بايدهم, يعني الملاك, ملاك العقار هما عندهم سيستم عندك عقد عمل أو كيه ما عندك عقد عمل حتى لا تاخذ موعد ما تسوي Visit حتى اللوكسمبورجيين نفسهم عندهم مشكلة, هو اللوكسمبورجي إذا ما يمتلك عقد عمل ما حدا بؤجرله.

SP17: يعني الإيجار إلي ندفعه حاليا ١٢٠٠ يورو على ٥٥ متر, على غرفة وصاله, خلي الدولة تأجر لنا ب ١٢٠٠ هابندفع بس كون المكان يعني... أكبر, انت بكل الاحاول بنك تدفع فلوس, بس ما تدفع فلوس عالشي الي يناسبك انت تدفع فلوس كونك مجبور, هذا المكان لندفع عليه ١٢٠٠

<p><i>pay the money anyway, but we do not pay for what is suitable for us we are obliged to, we are paying in our place 1200, we are forced for it, it is not suitable not in terms of size or health conditions, it is a small house in a ground floor, with humidity and so many details.</i></p>	<p>بورور، يعني مجبورين. مو مناسبنا لا كمساحة و لا كحالة صحية يعني، كله أفراد إنه بيت صغير طابق أرضي، رطوبة و هيك تفاصيل معينة.</p>
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Interview quote 20

In this previous excerpt, SP16 and SP17 talk about the free market for renting houses and how it is tough for them to compete and rent something decent since the landlords insist on having a work contract to pay rent. Since most refugees have problems finding job opportunities, they depend on the social support they receive in the form of RMG or Revis. Landlords do not accept tenants who do not have work contracts. SP16 recognises, however, that Luxembourgish people have the same problem. At the same time, SP17 mentioned that what is available for them in the market is not suitable quality housing.

Interaction: Family

The family status of the refugee might have a direct effect on his /her integration process or might create pressure to follow a specific path for integration, as well as open gates to interact with other people in the local community who have the same family status and conditions, for example connecting with other parents in the schools for their children.

Some of the refugees managed to move as a family together, but the most considerable percentage of the participants in the interviews came alone. Subsequently, they brought other family members to Luxembourg (wife, husband, children). In addition, several single parents or single young people came alone to Luxembourg, and I tried to understand their point of view, too, as they might have more opportunities to integrate and find integration easier.

Sp4 compares being alone or with a family:

SP4: 718 – 757

<p><i>SP5: I think the single person has more ability for integration because he is free.</i></p> <p><i>SP4: I felt that when it comes to integration on the educational level and in studies, I would not be able to study or do anything if I did not have my family with me. You might feel disappointed and frustrated in these periods if you do not have a family that supports you and gives you the push you would not get if you</i></p>	<p>SP5: أنا بقول الشاب العزاب..... الأعراب. أنا بعقد عنده قابليه أكثر..... بسبب أنه بيكون حر.</p> <p>SP4: أنا حسيت من ناحية الإندماج إذا دراسياً وتعليمياً، لو أهلي مامعي لأنه بفترةxxxxxxني قلت لك ما عندي أدرس ماراح أقدر أعمل شيء ولا ، بتحس ان انت هيك يانس جداً بهالفترات لو ما هلك بتشجعك بيعطوك ها البوش push اللي يمكن لو كنت بحالك ماراح تكون موجودة،، فحسيت أنه لو جيت لحالي صعب من أول مشكلة معي بالدراسة كنت قعدت بالبيت، كنت قعدت وخالص حظيت ببالي يالا بدي أشتغل ماعاد أن</p>
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were on your own. I felt that if I were alone, I would stay at home from the first challenge I faced at studying. I would have decided to work; studying is not working for me.

الدراسة خلاص ماعاد تضبط معي.

Interview quote 21

SP4 says it was essential to get support from family; it created a support mechanism for him to face any challenges in schooling and to study. While SP5, a member of the same family, thinks the opposite: the single person might be able to get integrated easily into Luxembourg because of the ability to move freely. This is an example of how different individuals in the same family perceive family status differently.

Concerning the family itself, in some cases, refugees came from conservative societies, as mentioned by SP14

SP14: 556 – 564

SP14: I heard that the people from religious or rural backgrounds don't allow their women to go or work, and it started to be the case with the high divorce rate. Arab women now ask for a divorce after they realise that they have more civil rights and have fair opportunities to get a fair life and equality or decent status. They were under pressure, so they asked for a divorce. Also, a lot of conservative men started to oppose that their wives go to organizations or to go for meetings. The idea started to spread in the Arab conservative gatherings: families who are a bit conservative or veiled are advised not to allow their wives to go to these places, or they will learn something and complain against their husbands. Men of this type with this educational and cultural level become a barrier for their women to integrate because it is a threat.

SP14: اسمع إنه بصير إيه. الي جايبين من خلفيات دينية شوية أو قروية أحيانا, يمنعون و بدت هدي تنتشر مع انتشار ظاهرة الطلاق لأنه, انتشرت ظاهرة طلب الطلاق من النساء العربيات بعد ما صارت عندهم حقوق أكثر, حقوق مدنية أكثر و صار عندهم يعني فرص عادلة يقدرن يحصلون على حياة عادلة و وضع متساوي أو بوضع مريح, كانوا تحا ضغوطات فطلبوا الطلاق, هذا أيضا سبب أنه كتير من المحافظين, بدأ يمانع إنه مرته تروح منظمات او تطلع أو تلتقي أو كذا, بدأت تنتشر فكرة بالمجالس العربية المحافظة بأن العوائل الشوي متشددين و المحجبات و الكذا فكرة أنه لا تخليها تروح, يطلعوا عندهم, يعلموهم شلون يشتكون ع الرجل, فهذا كمان كمان مانع يعني بصير الرجل بهي الحالة بهي النوعية, بهذا المستوى من التعليم و الثقافة بصير يمانع إنه تندمج إنه يهدده.

Interview quote 22

S14 refers to people who do not allow their wives to go out, learn about the country, and be active in any of the activities because the awareness that the women might achieve will threaten the gender role and make them aware of their rights. He mentioned that some cases have led to divorce within the community.

One of the barriers I had in my research is the gender misbalance, which I could view as a result of the gender misbalance for participants in the project Choukrane. It was not

directed only to women or men; most of the participants engaged in it were men. I did not succeed in including more women despite many attempts. I cannot claim that the men prohibited women from participating in the initiative but this issue that men are prohibiting their wives from participating needs further research on how the cultural background can affect integration and how the gender roles within families may be a factor. I cannot generalise just from what is mentioned in one interview to the whole population. There is also a need for more data about the number of divorce cases among the refugees and how this can be represented within this target group.

SP24 talked about the question of divorce:

SP24: 698 – 732

<p>SP24: <i>I tell you why there is divorce among Arabs here?</i></p> <p>Researcher: <i>is there divorce among Arabs here?</i></p> <p>SP24: <i>of course, there is a camp only for divorced women.</i></p> <p>Researcher: <i>here in Luxembourg?</i></p> <p>SP24: <i>Sure, I know a couple who got divorced due to suspicion, he was despicable to his wife, and in the end, if you get a bird to put in the cage, the bird will keep flapping his wings in the cage, trying to escape, the same for women who are flesh and blood, the best thing in life to give trust to your partner, then he will keep your dignity, but if you get too strict it means that you do not have any trust, but the family fragmentation that is happening here is due to only one thing "suspicion", he is afraid that his wife greets me so it means there is something between us, you understand how this person can live here, in a society where the wife can greet and kiss the other friends in front of her husband without a problem, and then comes the dictionary of treason.</i></p>	<p>SP24: <i>أستاذ تلك شغلة إيش فيه طلاق هون عند العرب؟</i></p> <p>Researcher: <i>فيه طلاق هنا عند العرب؟</i></p> <p>SP24: <i>لكان فيه كامب مطلقات .</i></p> <p>Researcher: <i>هنا بلوكسمبورج؟</i></p> <p>SP24: <i>لكان, أنا أعرف عيلة اتطلقت نتيجة الشك, لأنه كان حافر زوجته, كمان بالنهاية انت لما تجيب عصفور تحطه بقفص, العصفور ظله يرفرف بالقفص يدور يطلع كمان المرأة من لحم و دم, أفضل شي بالحياة إنك تعطي الثقة لمقابيلك, لأنه راح يحافظ على كرامتك, بس لما انت تشدد عليه دليل ان انت ما عندك ثقة فيه, كويس , التفنت الأسري الى عم يحصل هون, شغلته مبدأ واحد هو الشك, يخاف زوجته اذا سلمت علي خلاص فيه بيني وبينها شي, فهمت علي, هذا شلون هذا يعيش, مع مجتمع اتصافح زوجته و تبوسها قدامه, ما عنده مشكلة, و بعدين قاموس الخيانة</i></p>
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Interview quote 23

In addition to husbands prohibiting their wives from engaging with other activities, some divorce cases happened due to the mistrust between the couple, caused by different cultural and social habits in Luxembourg. The simple example of how women and men greet each other differently from the country of origin makes a strong impression. SP24 also mentions that there is a camp for women who are divorced. I do not know this camp. It

might be for single or divorced women with special conditions as they have children, for example, and need more care. Those women could be divorced prior to arriving in Luxembourg or after. However, this indicates how a society can function in a different country and the problems that arise due to cultural differences and social habits.

One of the participants in the interviews stayed in a camp for women, and she said:

SP20:90 – 98

<p><i>SP20: I stayed for a while in a women's camp. It was one of the worst camps I have ever seen. First, its geographical location does not allow any human to be integrated, it was in Redange at the end of the world, and all the people are old. Nobody asks about what is going on or cares about any integration. How would you know what is happening in life in Luxembourg? How do you speak about women's rights, and you are isolating them at the end of the world? She might be a single mother or in a bad psychological condition. It is known that if a woman came alone asking for asylum, it means there is a reason for that. That is why I see that it should be prohibited to be outside the capital because all the regulations are happening in Luxembourg city and she will need a bus that takes one hour and comes each half an hour.</i></p>	<p>SP20: أنا عشت فترة في كامب للنساء السيدات كان من أسوأ الكامبات إلي شفتن بحياتي، اول حاجة موقعه الجغرافي لا يؤهل اي بني آدم إنها تندمج، كان موجود في Redange و آخر الدنيا الناس، كلهم هناك كبار السن محدش بيسأل علي بيصير أي نوع من الاندماج، شو بده تعرف شو الي بيصير بالحياة هون.....كيف انت بتحكي عن حقوق النساء و انت عازلها لحالها آخر الدنيا ليه؟ المفروض هي لأنها يا إما بتكون single mother يا إيما في في حالة نفسية يعني معروف ايش الي بيخليك مرأة لحالك جاية لجوء، يعني فيه سبب معين، لهيك أنا في رأيي ممنوع منعا باتا تكون بره العاصمة لأن كل الإجراءات كانت جوه في لوكسمبورج و بدها بالباص تقعد تقريبا ساعة و يجي كل نص ساعة</p>
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Interview quote 24

Other female participants in the interviews who came alone or with their children only, without their partner, mentioned that they stayed in this single women's camp. It might be the one that SP24 mentioned that it is a camp for divorced women, but it is clear from SP20 that it is a camp for single women.

5.1.4 Income: Employment / Entrepreneurship / Certification

Language and work are always connected within all the interviews, and both play an important role in the living conditions. The following table lists essential points made on this topic:

Interview	Code	Main ideas about Income: Employment / Entrepreneurship / Certification	Link to
1	SP1	There is an empty cycle where work is connected to language learning, and language learning is connected to housing, and without solving any of the problems, the others will not be solved by themselves, and without work, people will not become independent and improve their lifestyles It is not clear to the people that receiving RMG/REVIS is a form of loan, that the people mix and do not know that one day they have to return, and they do not fully own it	Regulations, policies and languages
2	SP2	Certification is essential to start a business, while it needs to be speaking the language fluently	Language learning
2	SP3	Need several languages to compete in the job market, and complicated regulations for education	Language learning
2	SP4	The complication to finding suitable graduate studies, and it is a must to speak French to have a job	Language learning
3	SP7	Having an employment opportunity plays a significant role in facilitating the integration process of the individual	Social interaction
3	SP8	Bureaucracy and facing troubles in registration with ADEM	administration
6	SP11	Comparing with others who are not trying to integrate creates a barrier to integration. Like others who are not following the regulations of paying (rent) for staying in the foyer	Regulations and community
7	SP12	Having the certificate recognized, being able to work in English was a critical relief to be able to find job opportunities in the field of experience	regulations
10	SP15	The refugee who arrived needs help, and income is essential to support him in the beginning, learn a language and find a job. As well as, housing problems should be fixed concerning the income received by the refugee	regulations
16	SP23	Trying to establish a company, but there are many complications concerning certification that as well have a relation with the language learning Receiving REVIS/RMG mechanism could be modified so that the state directly can guarantee the rent payment, and this will facilitate the housing problem for refugees	Language learning Regulations housing
18	SP25	Receiving REVIS/RMG is not helping the people to integrate, as they used to receive and not move to learn or find a job	Regulations
19	SP26	Certification accreditation is not easy for some	Language

	fields as well as language learning is not supporting to learn fast to reach the level needed for employment And the RMG is not helping to have a decent life even with living in the foyer	learning/regulations
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Table 17: Overview of the main ideas about Income: Employment / Entrepreneurship / Certification

In the following excerpt, SP7 identifies what integration is and how it represents different levels that the person might experience with a hierarchy. The speaker said that this is according to his cultural background and that having a job opportunity is essential to living anywhere. This job will help the person to get integrated.

SP 7: 52 – 92:

<p>SP7: “for me, integration has several levels. The primary level for me and my background culture is to find a real job opportunity, and when you have this job, you will have friends at work. You will be in touch with people every day, and the barriers will be broken. You start the second level of integration which is not just a materialistic thing. It would help if you worked on the social level to have relations at work. There are big and small companies. Some companies have 4 or 5 thousand people working there. You will have a mix. Mainly is to find a job, speak the language, and be involved. Integration does not mean that I become like them, or they become like me, but to have a near at a specific level, to be close enough to speak the same language and communicate as neighbours, at work, in the street or in the supermarket, even if we live in the north. Fewer people can speak the English language”.</p>	<p>هأأ أنا بالنسبة لإلي اندماج هو على عدة مستويات, المستوى الأساسي بالنسبة لإلي و بالنسبة لثقافتي Background تبقي إنك تلاقى شغل بشكل حقيقي, و لما يصير شغل و يصير عندك أصدقاء بالشغل و ناس عم touch معن كل يوم هذا بيكسر ال... , بتبلىش بالجزء الثاني من ال integration الي هو مو بس الشئ الفعلي المادي, بذك تروح على الشئ الاجتماعي بيصير عندك علاقات بالشغل, بيصير عندك, فت على شركة فيها موظفين, فيه شركات صغيرة و فيه شركات بيكون فيه ء آلاف ه آلاف موظف بيكون عندك خليط فيس يعني بالأساس هو إيجاد شغل و تحكي اللغة و تقدر يعني تنخرط تحس حالك يعني, الاندماج مو مطلوب لا أنا أصير مثلن و لا هما يصيروا مثلي , نصير قربيين ب level محدد, قراب من بعضنا تقدر نحكي بنفس اللغة و نتفاهم, نتواصل, كانه جيران أو يشغل أو بالشارع أو بسوبر ماركت, حتى لو أحيان مثلا نحنا عايشين بالشمال قلال الي بيحكون إنجليزي.”</p>
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Interview quote 25

According to the speaker, the definition of integration according to the speaker is that you are in touch with work colleagues and have friends at work. Maybe the speaker was busy finding an appropriate job opportunity during the interview that he describes as a (real) job. He might have had unsatisfactory experiences during prior work or internship experiences. A (real) job is essential for SP7 and is currently missing.

SP7 also mentions that barriers will be broken. This job opportunity will help him break those barriers and be more satisfied with the living opportunities or maybe reach even higher levels of integration.

In the second level, he emphasises the social connection with colleagues. It seems that his focus is mainly on building the social context around the work opportunity that he is missing and that this will help in communicating and speaking the language with them.

SP7 spoke English before arriving in Luxembourg, which helped him get in touch with people communicating in English in Luxembourg. However, it seems that the points to another language, which might be French or Luxembourgish, that he is missing because he says that when you are working, you will speak (the language) and then, later on, he complains that he is living in the northern part of Luxembourg where people rarely speak English.

This is an example of how the multilingual landscape of Luxembourg is adding to the barriers of the newly arrived because they need multiple linguistic competencies to integrate or find a job opportunity. Moreover, here again, we see that the language proficiency, the community and the work opportunity build a triangle that the speaker presents as supporting integration from his point of view.

The shame that SP1 experienced triggered searching for a job opportunity, especially when the French language was mastered before arriving in Luxembourg. This linguistic competence helped him find a job opportunity, which again helped him be independent regarding the living conditions and raising the children outside the foyer. SP1 mentioned in the interview that she worked in several jobs, some for a short period and others for a more extended period, but this also improved her qualifications in the job market and helped raise the level of integration.

SP1: 10 – 11

<p><i>SP1: I arrived in Luxembourg in 2013 and am now a Luxembourgish citizen; as you know, I have the right to demand nationality after five years.</i></p>	<p><i>SP1: جيت لوكسمبورج سنة ٢٠١٣ و حاليا أنا مواطنة لوكسمبورجية بعد ٥ سنين الي حق اطلب الجنسية مثل ما تعرف.</i></p>
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Interview quote 26

The case of SP1 gives us evidence that having the attitude to be independent and find work as fast as possible allows people to get out of the foyer. This motive might be why SP1 managed to attain higher levels of integration: arriving as an asylum seeker and facing different challenges and finally becoming a Luxembourgish citizen, being fully independent from any state support and able to help others. This is a very comprehensive example of how integration can be done in different stages, with each stage including other challenges that need to be fulfilled.

Speaking French before arriving in Luxembourg might be an essential factor that allowed SP1's progress. Nevertheless, as we saw in other cases, for example, concerning SP11,

speaking French and Luxembourgish was not helpful for the person to leave the foyer and face new challenges. This means we cannot generalise the same integration method for all refugee cases. However, it points to a **dynamic model of integration** that allows us to understand how integration might work according to a set of standard components and their individualised interplay, operating as an individual mechanism from one person to another.

Another case of a refugee who managed to find a job opportunity but keeps on struggling with the language competencies is SP25

SP25: 93 – 99

<p>SP25: but today if the person finds suitable work that he likes will go to work, if it is not he will stay without work, do not know how important to go to search for a job, my background is working in selling clothes, but one someone asks me about the language he is stopping me, they might say CV. However, the language is essential for me because my interest is my tongue, and here my tongue is cut, as they say. Because I have to talk with the customer to understand what they want, I cannot work in the field of my expertise. I tried with the help of the social worker to find an opportunity. It is all about the language, I am working on myself, but in the foyer, only two people are working out of 60 residents.</p>	<p>SP25: و لكن اليوم أنا إذا بيصحلي الشغل و بروح أشتغل, إذا ما صحلي الشغل يتم بارك هو ما عنده فكرة إن أنا أروح دور على شغل, أنا وقت إلي كنت دور على محلات ألبسة أنا شغلي الأساسي ألبسة. أي حدا بيقل لي لغة فوراً عم بيصدني, أي حدا بيقلك ال CV تبعك بتعرف لغة فاجباري مصلحتي هيه لساني و هون لساني مقطوع مثل ما بيقلوا, لإن مصلحتي بالألبسة إنني أحكي معك, بدك أصغر و لا أكبر و لا غير لون, أنا ما بعرف هادول فمكان فيني إنني ألقى ألبسة, حاولت عن طريق Social إنه تلاقيني, الموضوع لغة, أنا عم بشتغل على حالي الحمد لله رب العالمين بس مثلاً على سبيل المثال بالFoyer اتنين بيشتغلوا من أصل ٦٠ شخص.</p>
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Interview quote 27

SP 25: 47 – 49

<p>SP25: It was an Arab person who was the business owner. He needed someone who could work in electricity, my experience is not a lot, but I am trying to survive on any slight chance. I tried with him, and it worked well, and I proved myself.</p>	<p>SP25: لأ, كان شخص عربي كان صاحب الشغل لازم له حد يفهم بهذا المجال, مجال الكهرباء, خبرتي ما هي كثيرة و لكن بدي اتعلق بقضايا مثل ما بيقله, خليه يجربني إن ضببت معه بكمل, ما ضببت مع ما بكمل, إيه الحمد لله رب العالمين أثبتت وجودي.</p>
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Interview quote 28

SP 25 has a long work experience in selling clothes. In Luxembourg, he found opportunities to work, but as he cannot fluently speak the languages required to serve the customers in the shop, this kind of work is not an option for him. So, he found another opportunity with an employer of Arab origin who needed someone with experience in electric work. SP25 did

not have enough experience in this field, but he managed to prove himself and fulfil the needs of his employer.

It is essential to see that having a job without additional language learning is a significant chance. Working in this multilingual country includes language proficiency that differs from one work area. French is probably the most needed to access the job market, but English can also be helpful or Portuguese or others like German or Luxembourgish. So, it is tough for an adult to manage to learn those languages at once to raise the possibility of finding a suitable job opportunity. However, with a growing number of Arabic-speaking employers, the chance to find a job based on the refugees' native Arabic language might also increase.

On the other hand, we also have to mention that the Arab community in Luxembourg is relatively small and new, as we saw from the statistics of the Arab population in Luxembourg. So, the probability of finding an Arabic-speaking employer is still very rare and not equivalent to the demand for job opportunities from the Arab refugee community.

SP25 mentioned that many people do not undertake any active job search in his foyer because they receive the RMG. Only two people are working out of 60 residents in the foyer where he lives. In other interviews, people expressed their hesitance about looking for a job opportunity, getting some refugees to perceive a work opportunity as strange because the support they receive from the state results in minimised need to work for the person. In this sense, they feel comfortable staying at home or in the foyer and receiving this financial support without having to make any efforts to work.

On the other hand, we notice people such as SP8 who were trying to work even before receiving refugee status.

SP8: 24 – 30

I tried before I found a job and agreed with the work owner. However, when I asked a lawyer, they said that after staying in Luxembourg for six months, you have the right to start work even if you did not receive residency and refugee status. However, in reality, the situation is different. Because when I went to the lawyer with the contract, and I told him I wanted to start working, he advised me not to start work till I received the residency because if we start the paperwork for the work permit, most probably your residency will be ready before the authorisation to work is ready. So I had to wait practically three more months to be able to start working.

SP8: هالأ، حاولت إني قبل ما... شففت شغل و اتفقت مع صاحب الشغل و كذا , بس لما روجت لعند المحامي هالأ بالقانون بيقولولنا إنه بعد وجودي بلوكسمبورج بـ 6 شهور, بيصير بتقدر انت تبلش شغل حتى لو ما أخذت الأوراق تبعك و الإقامة و الكذا, بس على أرض الواقع كان الأمر مختلف تماماً لأنه لما رحيت عند المحامي قائلته هي *contrat* شغل و أنا بدي بلش شغل, قالي بنصحك إنك انتي ما تبلشي لحتى ما تخدي أوراقك لأن إذا بدنا نبلش بهي المعاملة, بتطلع إقامتك قبل بكتير ما تطلع الموافقة على هي ... فاضطريت أنا يعني أنظر كمان, نظرت 3 شهور عمليا لحد ما بلشت شغل.

Interview quote 29

However, the regulations are pretty restrictive. By law, the asylum seeker has the right to work after six months of staying in Luxembourg. However, work authorisation might take longer than the asylum application itself. So, finding a job opportunity is usually hard for everyone. However, suppose someone without a refugee status manages to find a job vacancy. In that case, the labour regulations do not allow him/her to take up this work opportunity and facilitate their integration path. The legal regulation might even deny a person the option to work even after receiving refugee status. So, the current legal regulations create barriers to the integration process as they sustain the dependency on social and financial support measures and deny the option of a salary and paying taxes to the state.

Another complication in Luxembourg is the complexity of the relationship between language learning, certification, and entrepreneurship as an employment path. As SP2 mentions:

SP2: 332 –

<p><i>SP2: You want a diploma? Then you need first to study the language to register in the training course to receive a diploma to start a small business like a restaurant or any other profitable project. This is very hard in Luxembourg, unlike Germany, where our friends who live there can start their own business or shop and start working immediately. Here in Luxembourg, there are many difficulties, and it is very hard.</i></p>	<p>SP2: بدك دبلوم بدك أول شيء تحصل لغة حتى تقدر تسجل بدوره يعطوك فيها الدبلوم مثلاً حتى تقدر تفتح لك مشروع صغير إن كان مطعم أو إن كان أي شيء ثاني أي مشروع يعني تستفاد منه ؛ لأ صعب في كثير صعوبات بالبلد مو مثل ألمانيا. هلا ألمانيا يعني أحنا لبنا قريبين أصحاب بألمانيا أي واحد بيحب يفتح محل بيفتح محل عادي، دوغري بيفتح محل وبيشتغل فيه ، هون عنا في كثير صعوبات يعني صعب.</p>
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Interview quote 30

Here it is essential to notice the comparison with neighbouring countries and how something is problematic in Luxembourg, which is much easier in Germany. However, the general point has been made in an earlier section. However, language learning is essential here because without speaking the language, the person will not be able to join a training course with the hope of receiving a diploma that will allow him to start the business. These regulations' complexity creates frustration among refugees.

SP2: 279 – 290

<p><i>SP4: It depends on the acceptance for admission to the university, but because I studied secondary school in English, I am obliged to apply in the UK. I had some options in Austria or Netherlands</i></p>	<p>SP4: بس على حسب النتائج يا قبول الجامعة بيمشي حال او لأ . طبعاً بما أنه أنا درست بالإنجليزي راح أكمل بالإنجليزي فاضطريت نوعاً ما أسجل ببريطانيا كان عندي خيارات مثل النمسا أو هولندا</p>
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SP3: *Among the challenges, nobody is to guide the refugees through their studies issues. For example, it was tough for SP4 to know if he needed to apply for a visa or not? To come back for vacation or not? We asked the Ministry, and the ministry said to ask the embassy, while the embassy asked us to check with the ministry*

SP4: *the Embassy did not allow me to enter; they said to do everything online. I told them that there are unusual cases which are not mentioned on the internet. Even when I selected that I was applying for a visa from Luxembourg, I did not have the "Luxembourg" option.*

SP3: من ضمن الصعوبات ، ان مافي حدى يرشد اللاجئين ان انت كلاجيء شو لازم تعمل بدراسك. هنا مثلاً SP4 عن كل صعوبة أنه أنا لازم أقدم فيزا ولا ما أقدم ولا أروح؟ مسموح لي أرجع إجازة ولا مش مسموح؟ فرحنا على المينيستري ، المينيستري قال لازم تروحوا على السفارة رحت على السفارة السفارة قال لي لازم تروحي على المينيستري!

SP4: السفارة مداخلتني حتى على الباب ... قالت لي تعلمي كل شيء على الأنترنت. قلت لهم طيب في حالات شاذة مثلاً مامكتوب فيها على الأنترنت يعني حتى لمحاولت احط الخيارات انه راح أعمل من لوكسمبورج الفيزا ماطلع لي خيار لوكسمبورج .

Interview quote 31

SP4 faces many challenges in pursuing higher education after finishing secondary school in Luxembourg. However, because the need is to study in English, in a field that does not exist at the University of Luxembourg, it was necessary to apply to other universities within the EU, which was complicated by having to know if there is a need to apply for a visa or not, and how to proceed on the registration process. This kind of case might be rare for the authorities, so it was not easy to find the answers or to get guidance. There is a need to have a specific administrative body that guides the refugees on how to proceed since the Ministry did not provide them with the precise answer they needed.

Employment and securing income were mentioned in all the interviews as the significant component that helps them achieve more in the integration process and reach higher levels of integration.

Employment or having an independent income gives the person the freedom and pride to be a productive member of society.

SP4 275 – 272

SP4: *I studied for three years and nine months; I just worked a few times, small jobs. Working here is very hard if you do not speak French. It is challenging and even almost impossible except in very few cases. Maybe an institution now needs translation work between English and Arabic, but it is very hard without the French language if you are speaking about a stable job.*

SP4: أنا بحالي يمكن دارسه ثلاث سنين وتسع شهور يمكن ما أشتغلت غير كام مره وهي شغلات بسيطة جداً. يعني العمل هون صعب إذا ماعندك لغة فرنسية جداً صعب، حتى شبه مستحيل إذا بدنا نقول. في حالات نادرة جداً ممكن انه تحتاج أو مثلاً منظمة أو ممكن هلاً انه مثلاً شغل ترجمة بين إنجليزي وعربي بس هيك عمل، بس إذا بدك تحكي عن شغل شغل لا يعني صعب بدون فرنسي صعب

Interview quote 32

As SP4 mentioned, she has been trying to learn and get educated for a long time since she arrived in Luxembourg. She is trying to do any job according to her capacity. As she speaks English, she can help some organizations translate Arabic and English, but she feels that speaking French is necessary to find a real job opportunity.

Interaction: Income and support measures

There are several opportunities for support that a refugee might be eligible to receive like

- the RMG (REVIS)
- the Children's Future Fund (Caisse pour l'avenir des enfants - CAE),
- the cost-of-living benefit (l'allocation de vie chère).

In most cases, refugees receive financial support covering the basic needs of livelihood. This support may be combined with social and employment activation measures and is called the social inclusion income (*revenu d'inclusion sociale - REVIS*). It takes the place of the former "Guaranteed Minimum Income" (*revenu minimum garanti - RMG*), and is designed to help households in the lowest income brackets (Guichet.lu, 2021a). It depends on specific measurements and criteria that allow the person to receive this financial support, e.g., refugee status, being over 25 years old, searching for a job, or registering with National Employment Agency (*Agence pour le développement de l'emploi - ADEM*). In contrast, being student will not allow someone to receive financial support. The living conditions also affect the right to receive this support as we will see from the interviews hereafter.

All of these support mechanisms are supplied through governmental institutions like the National Solidarity Fund - *Fonds national de solidarité (FNS)*, Children's Future Fund - *Caisse pour l'avenir des enfants (CAE)*, National Social Inclusion Office - *Office national d'inclusion sociale (ONIS)*. It is very interesting to point out that all these public institutions are under the Ministry of Family Affairs, Integration and the Greater Region (Ministère de la Famille, de l'Intégration et à la Grande Région). To receive the REVIS, the person might need to be registered with the national employment agency (ADEM) under the Ministry of Labour, Employment and the Social and Solidarity Economy. The language courses should either be approved, supervised or provided by the Ministry of Education, Children and Youth.

A significant part of the integration procedures lies under the responsibility of one ministry only, which might be a way to facilitate the integration process by dealing with one entity. However, in the discussion, we will come back to this point to see how effective the integration policy is working in Luxembourg.

SP15: 66 – 74

SP15: I consider myself lucky. Some people are not so

SP15: بس هلا أنا عينة من إلى كانت محظوظة, بس

we cannot make integration depending on luck. We can have the housing, I was lucky to find a house. For example, my financial support is enough for me. I do not afford everything I want but manage—at least a minimum.

الناس ممكن ما محظوظة يعني فتحنا بدنا ما نحط الاندماج ع الحظ, يعني إذا بدنا نحط موضوع السكن ع الحظ مثل هالأ, فالاندماج بده يوقع الحظ معناته مثل أن ما كنت محظوظ بالسكن فكمان راح يكون محظوظ إلى بده يندمج, نفس الميزان بدنا نزين فيه, هي أهم شي يعني, موضوع المساعدات المالية أنا برأىي إنه كافي يعني, تقريبا بين إيجار البيت, يعني عم بيوصل راس الشهر إنه مكتفى الإنسان يعني بحيث ما يحتاج حدا هالأ هو, ما كل الحاجات عم تتلبي,مائه ملبي لكل الحاجات بس بالحد الأدنى فينا نقول إن هوه يعني

Interview quote 33

In the previous quote, SP15 mentions one issue that cannot be measured: Luck. It cannot be assessed or evaluated. Usually, people complain that others are lucky, but in this case, SP15 mentions himself as the lucky one, and that just having luck is not enough for integration.

SP15 is a single person, he mentions that the income is enough for him, but at the same time he mentioned that he cannot afford everything that he wants. Later he mentions work and recognizes its place for her process of integration as he said:

SP15: 257 – 280

SP15: Exactly, French is the working language, without French you can't get in the job market, the most important thing is housing, financial support, and the language. You cannot ask someone to learn a language while being hungry or living in the street.....

SP15: It is security, housing, and after housing the State should offer support so the refugee can live.

SP15: After settling and feeling secure and comfortable, he needs the financial support to feel that he has money in his pocket to fulfil his needs and those of his children, by doing so you take a load off his mind. He arrived as a refugee, not a tourist after all, he arrived here between life and death, and you should help him with housing issues. In the camp they cram 6 or 7 people in one room, and if it is a family they pile them up. Since the camp is rented, instead of paying the camp from the financial assistance, why don't you offer him legal support to pay rent in a private housing and protect the landlord's rights using the same money? Guarantee for the landlord his money by automatically transferring the money from

SP15: هالأ بالضبط,الفرنسي هو لغة العمل من دون فرنسي ما فيك تفوت بسوق العمل, أهم شغلة هو السكن, المساعدات المالية و يبجي بعده اللغة, ما فيك تقول لواحد تعالي اتعلم لغة و هو جوعان أو تعالي اتعلم لغة و هو قاعد بالشارع.....

SP15:فيه عندك انت أمن و سكن, يسكن بعد السكن بذك تقدمله مساعدات مشان يقدر يعيش

SP15:بعد ما بيسكن و بيرتاح و بيتأمن و بصير هو مثلا ما عاد يحس بحاله إنه محتاج هو صار بجيبته شئ مثلا مادي مساعدات مالية تقدر تخليه يلبي حاجاته أو حاجات ولاده فإنت ريحتله مخه شوي إنت هي هو جايبك لاجئ أساسا مو سياحي يعني, إلي جى لاجئ هو بيكون واصل لهون يعني بين الموت و الحياة أساسا, فإنت بذك تساعد بموضوع السكن, مو بالكامب بيكونوا سنة أو سبعة بالغرفة ستة سبعة و إذا عائلات كامب فوق بعضن و يعني الكمبات عم يدفعوا أجرة أو مأجورين يعني,الكامب مأجور طيب هالأجرة إلى عم يدفعها بالكامب طيب إعطيه صلاحية ضمن القانون يقدر يستأجر و يضمئله حقه للمالك يقدر يطلع يدفع مصاري بره, المصارى عم يدفعها عم يدفعها يعني, مساعدات مالية. عم تنزله هو من المساعدات المالية عم يدفع شي أجرة للكامب. بس عم يدفع أجرة للكامب و عم يقعد و هو مانو مبسوط يعني,ضمن القانون بس اسمحله إنه يطلع يقدر يستأجر و اضمئله حقه للمالك صاحب الملك اضمئله حقه بإنه هاد لاجئ ما يبجي مثلا يعذبه أو ي... راسه, اضمئله حقه بالقانون ببصير المالك إنه بياجرك و هو مطمئن ما بقى مثلا ثقله ماني عاطيك هدا الشهر أو عاطيك هدا الشهر أو

his account to the landlord's account. It will reassure the landlord that the housing problem will be solved.

إنه مثلا إضايق هذا الشهر أو ما تضايق هذا الشهر فخلاص بيصير من حسابه لحساب المالك فورا انتهىت من موضوع السكن هو قانون تفصيل بسيط و بنحل هادي المشكلة.

Interview quote 34

We find that SP15 describes an order of factors in the integration process. It starts by feeling secure if someone comes from a war zone. Then they can be offered shelter or housing. Then, financial support is vital so the person can fulfil all the needs and provide food for the family. After securing these three primary levels, the next step is to have language learning and find a job because the person will not be able to learn a language if they live in the street and are hungry. As SP15 mentioned, French is the language that allows entry into the job market, so employment comes later after fulfilling the first main stages of integration.

It might have been that SP15 described this order as a response from the data collection method using the levels of integration exercise with the blocks. However, the ideas came spontaneously from him as he assessed the situation of the refugees.

Also, SP15 mentioned in this excerpt the issue of the process of how the income offered could solve the problem of housing for the refugees. by suggesting having a legal guarantee that the private landlords will pay the rent.

Interaction: Income and RMG

Receiving the RMG or REVIS is indeed support to survive in Luxembourg, but in some cases, it creates a comfort zone that the person will enjoy staying in, which P25 mentioned in the following excerpt:

SP25: 80 – 81

SP25: People want to receive RMG and sit down. They do not want to work or depend on themselves, especially those with families. If they have a big family, they do not search for a job or do anything

SP25: بسبب انه الناس بدها بس تاخذ ال RMG, و بدها تقعد, و لا بدها تشتغل و لا تعتمد على حاله و خاصا انه ناس عائلة, بس كان عائلة كبيرة, لا بيدور على شغل و لا بيعمل شي.

Interview quote 35

Some people receive the RMG but do not want to work. Instead, they stay in their comfort zone without making any effort to gain income. If they have a big family, they will neither be encouraged to search for a job nor get active in any other way as the family's size positively affects the amount of financial support they receive from the state institutions. Receiving financial support without working (depending on the size of the family) might be more attractive than earning a salary when the person gets a work contract. It negatively impacts a group of people looking for a job, but it also demotivates them to improve their linguistic competencies.

REVIS is a kind of a loan from a public institution, but it seems that many of the recipients don't know this fact. As mentioned by SP1 in the following excerpt

SPI 360 - 364 –

<p><i>SPI: Go back to RMG, and in you did not return to demand RMG and you started to work for some years without having them ask you for money, then you bought a house in Luxembourg that you want to bequeath it to your children, RMG will get a percentage from it.</i></p> <p><i>SPI: it is a loan, and if someone goes to ask in the RMG, they will inform him how much he owes to the state.</i></p> <p><i>SPI: It is information that nobody knows about in Luxembourg (from the refugees).</i></p>	<p><i>SPI: أرجع للـ RMG و إذا ما رجعت إذا ما طلبوا من عندك حاليا أول ما بديت تشتغل اول كم سنة بعدها إذا اشتريت بيت بلوكسمبورج او صار عندك بيت بك تورته لأطفالك فراح ياخذون نسبة من عنده.</i></p> <p><i>SPI: لأ هدا دين و حتى إذا يفوت يسأل الشخص بالـ RMG يقولون اشن قد عليك دين انت للدولة.</i></p> <p><i>SPI: هي مشكلة معلومة محد يعرفها بلوكسمبورج.</i></p>
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Interview quote 36

SP1 mentioned that the RMG (or later REVIS) is what the people receive. In the future, however, a percentage will be paid back from what was received as a part of the RMG if the recipient holds any fixed assets in Luxembourg. So, if the children inherit these assets or if sold, the revenue from this transaction will include a percentage that should be paid back to the state. However, few people knew about that regulation concerning the RMG.

SPI: 365 – 365

<p><i>SP11: in the RMG meeting in the ministry, they informed the people, but I think they did not understand this information clearly. They said that it was mentioned that I did not understand the system then, but if you live here you have to work to earn people's respect.</i></p>	<p><i>SPI: باجتماع الـ RMG تروح بالوزارة تحضر اجتماع يخبرون الناس اعتقد ما وصلت المعلومة, يقولون قالولي اياها معرفها....., ما كنت فهمانة السيستم لسه انه بما انه عايش هنا بك الناس تحترمك لازم تشتغل.</i></p>
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Interview quote 37

Although people do not care about the RMG and its transformation, for SP1, it was essential to work to gain respect from the community. This might remind us of Maslow's need level of self-actualisation of the person. However, it could also indicate that this person targets a higher level of integration while living in Luxembourg.

SPI: 372 - 377

<p><i>SPI: Arabs thought it was strange to go to work because it is a tricky situation; it is hard indeed because I am a single mother with two girls, and I</i></p>	<p><i>SPI: العرب اعتبروني انه غريبة انه شلون تروحي تشتغلين لأنه صعب الوضع. هو فعلا صعب لأنني عندي بنات اتنين وحدي راح اترك بناتي ما محتاجة أسوي هيك لأنني بسوي الـ RMG بس كان عندي شعور بالعار إنني طلبت الـ RMG</i></p>
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<p><i>have to leave them, I did not need to work because I receive RMG. Nevertheless, I felt ashamed to demand the RMG, I do not miss an arm or a leg to demand support from the state, maybe we need the support for a while, but it is tough for me because I can work, I speak French why should I stay at home and not work to support my daughters instead of asking support from the state, as we know this support is coming from the tax paid by others.</i></p>	<p>يعني ما ناقصني إيد أو رجل حتى أقعد أطلب مساعدة الدولة, ممكن نحتاج مساعدة الدولة فترة من الوقت بس صعب اني قادرة أشتغل, عندي لغة فرنسية شو الي يخليني أقعد بالبيت ما أشتغل حتى أعيش بناتي و اطلب مساعدة من الدولة, مثل ما نعرف المساعدة جاية من ضريبة البقية يعني.</p>
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Interview quote 38

Also, SP26 called the RMG a salary, evidence that the monthly financial support received from the state is perceived as a salary. This misconception is fundamental because it is widespread among the refugees that this monthly support is a salary. However, a salary is a self-owned income that the person has the right to choose where to spend and what to do with it. A salary includes different rights and responsibilities concerning this activity and is to be conceived as an exchange value for the effort or time spent doing something which produces benefit or profit for others. In the understanding of the refugees, it is not clear that this financial support from the public institution is not a salary, but they mainly use the salary term (salary – راتب) in most of the interviews. They use the term to represent their understanding of this type of income and speak even of RMG/Revis recipients from the Arab refugee community in this way. This creates another complication that will appear in the following excerpt:

Interaction: Income and rent

SP 26: 283 – 300

<p><i>SP26: According to your salary, you are taking the minimum limit, which is 1400 euros, and from this minimum, they take 650, what is left for you is 700 or 750, is it enough? Even the family takes from you one-third of the salary for the rent, and two-thirds remain with you. Nothing is left at the end of the month, and you have to wait till the next month.</i></p>	<p>SP26: إنت حسب راتبك إستاذي الكريم, انت عم تاخذ الحد الأدنى, الحد الأدنى هو ١٤٠٠ يورو, إنت عم تاخذ الحد الأدنى, عم ياخدوا ٦٥٠ عم يضلك ٧٠٠ و شوي ٧٥٠ طب شو بيكفوا او مثلا هني بشكل عام , حتى العائلة بياخدوا منه ثلث الراتب, ثلث بياخدوه منك ايجار ثلثين بيضل لك, يعني إنت بتجي لآخر الشهر ما عندك شي, ما عندك شي خالص, تستنى ...</p>
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Interview quote 39

SP26 presents the problem of the RMG as an amount of cash (depending on the family conditions and the number of children) that they receive as a salary. They have to pay (rent) for the foyer consuming a significant portion of that income, i.e., 650 euros out of 1400 euros, so the remaining part is not perceived as sufficient for covering the real-life costs.

The official policy is that the state provides free accommodation to the refugee in the foyer as a basic need to have shelter. At the same time, their file is being processed till the decision of receiving the international protection status of refugee is agreed upon. After receiving the refugee status, the refugee has the right to demand the RMG/REVIS. Then he is supposed to pay part of this income as a cost for allocating the accommodation provided for them in the foyer. This is supposed to be presented to the refugees clearly by the social worker in the foyer, but it seems that this differentiation between the allocation cost and the rent is unclear to them. If they paid actual rent, the relationship between the refugee and the association that manages the foyer would be like the tenant - land lord relation. It would also include rights and responsibilities for both sides of this relationship. In reality, it is not a tenant - land lord relation because refugees do not pay an official rent.

This misconception creates many problems in the foyer. As it is a shared living place, they are asked to achieve some typical work to be done as a joint responsibility while living in this shared place, e.g., cleaning the public areas or toilets. However, what happens on the ground is that many refugees refuse to perform these everyday work duties in the foyer. They perceive the payment they make as rent, and the one collecting the rent should hire a company to clean and perform this and other standard work in the foyer.

These multiple complexities of the salary – rent create many social workers' problems. Most refugees also do not speak fluently or read French well enough to understand the subtle difference.

In the following excerpt, SP11 also outlines the amount paid for the foyer accommodation as rent and points to a more complex problem as some residents do not pay what they are supposed to pay for the foyer. She blames the authorities for doing nothing about this.

SP 11: 164 – 218

<p><i>SP11: OLAI did not fail me when it comes to education, but there is the rent issue which they take from me in the camp, the rent is 650 Euros, which is more than one third and it is an immense amount, and what is the idea or the reason behind taking this significant rent from the refugees after they work, and for shared accommodation? Not independent housing or anything?</i></p> <p><i>SP11: In reality, some people do not pay rent, but they are equal in the treatment with us who pay and who do not pay. I know many people, who do not pay anything, and they (the authority) did nothing with them, even though some of them received housing. In</i></p>	<p>SP11: و الله بالنسبة OLAI هما صحيح ما قصرنا معايا من ناحية التعليم لكن فيه مسألة الإيجار إلي كانوا ياخذونه من عندي في الكامب, الإيجار 650 يورو أكثر من الثلث يعني مبلغ كبير جدا و شنو الفكرة, شنو المغزى من أخذ الإيجار هذا المبلغ الكبير من اللاجئ بعد ما يعمل, و من أجل مشترك لا هو سكن مستقل و لا شيء؟</p> <p>SP11: و اله فيه ناس ما يدفعوا الإيجار, بس يتعاملون معنا سواسية, الي يدفع و الي ما يدفع, يعني أنا أعرف ناس ما تدفع شنو إلي عملوه معاهم مازلوا حتى بعض فيهم سكن حصل بينما مثل ما قنالك ليش أنا فيه بعض الاجراءات ما أفهمها, لان ما فيه تشجيع للاجئ إلي يحاول حقا إنه يندمج.</p>
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contrast, others did not. As I told you in the regulations, there are many things I cannot understand because there is no encouragement for the refugee who rallied trying to integrate.

Interview quote 40

This misconception creates a lot of misunderstanding and frustration among refugees, as they live together, speak the same language, and know details about each other's lives. Other residents are massively frustrated when someone receives support for private social housing and leaves the foyer. They perceive all their efforts and the cost they bear as unappreciated. It does not encourage them to strive for a more robust integration. From their perspective, others who do not pay (rent) are lucky to receive the support to find private accommodation and leave the foyer.

Interaction: Income and Housing

As mentioned about the conditions for getting the RMG concerning age limits and housing conditions, in some cases, it hinders refugees from moving to higher levels of integration or independent living in private housing out of the foyer.

SPI 60 – 92

SPI: I had a problem. As you know, once you get refugee status, you demand the support of RMG from the state. It was not allowed for a refugee to be hosted for free in private accommodations, so when I got invited to live in the doctor's house, I demanded to leave the camp. I thought that the camp was like a prison, it was an awful situation, and since I accepted to leave the camp and go to stay in her house, the social support was refused from the Fond National.

SPI: Yes, they said she does not have the right to receive RMG if she lives at your place (the doctor), and her RMG will be stopped, I received RMG for one only month, and the doctor insisted that I leave the foyer and stay at her place, and she told me it was a dirty place to stay in and nobody is taking care of you, collect your stuff and come to stay at my place. However, for RMG, I had no right to receive it, then we had a negotiation between the Fond national and the doctor and me. They gave me special permission, later on they decided that the refugee is accepted to

SPI: و بعدين طبعاً كان عندي مشاكل إنه تعرف لتأخذ لجوء تطلب مساعدة RMG من الدولة , كان ما مسموح للاجئ يسكن عند أحد ببلاش. فبعد ما انه مالطبية إي سكنت عندها قدمت طلب و انا قدمت طلب إنه اطلع من الكامب, اتخيل الكامب كان مثل السجن كان وضع سيء جداً, رضى اطلع من الكامب واسكن في بيتها , رفضت المساعدة الاجتماعية. Fonds national

SPI: ايه قالت مالها حق تستلم RMG إذا سكنت عندك رح بوقف, انا استلمت RMG شهر واحد, الطيبية أصرت قالت هذي مهزلة تجيب اغراض و تجيب, و شي يسون خليهون يسون, إنتي ساكنة بهذا المكان الوسخ ما حدا اهتم بيك بس يقولون بس منتريدين تسكنين عندي يقولون ما عنديش مكان يكفيها, ما عندي مكان مناسب, و هيه رايحة تستلم ال RMG ما من حقها تسكن ببلاش عند أحد, مفاوضات بين ال Fonds National و بين الطيبية و بيني سوا رخصة أعطوني موافقة لأنه حالة استثنائية , بعدها بفترة طلوعوا موافقة للاجئ يسكن سنة ببلاش.

<i>live for one year in private accommodation for free and keep receiving the RMG.</i>	
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Interview quote 41

In this excerpt, the speaker mentions the issues concerning the RMG. As she got an opportunity to move outside the foyer and be hosted in a private house for free, this might be a significant opportunity as she said in the interview that the foyer has very miserable living conditions and is perceived like living in a jail. However, this new freedom and independence will be hard for her to sustain because she is no longer qualified to receive the RMG outside a foyer.

This regulation does not help people get independent and fulfil their needs on their own until they find a job opportunity somewhere. Moreover, if someone hosts a refugee and provides accommodation in a room in his/her house, it will be crucial to keep receiving financial support. The individual host just provides a room in his or her house and does not in charge of further expenses for the hosted refugee. Considering that the financial support for an asylum seeker waiting to get refugee status is only 25 euros per month, this amount is never sufficient for any adult to cover ordinary monthly expenses. He/She will depend totally on the support provided by the authorities. However, staying in this mode while the authorities are processing the application file puts pressure on the person. Once the asylum seeker receives refugee status, the financial support will be more than appreciated after the previous precarious financial position.

SP1 also mentioned that later the regulation changed, allowing the refugees to be hosted for a maximum of one year in private accommodation and keep receiving RMG. This response from the authorities is significant indeed. A number demanded this request of refugees who wanted to live in private accommodations and leave the foyer. In addition, this procedure empties places in the foyers for newcomers who need accommodation. So, launching this initiative might help many of the refugees to become more independent, improve their living conditions, and be able to study languages or find job opportunities.

5.1.5 Intercultural learning

Intercultural learning and intercultural competencies are essential factors that affect the integration process of the individual refugee. It is essential to understand how they learn about the new culture, understand the differences and perceive the integration policies affecting them.

Inter-view	Code	Main ideas about Intercultural learning	Link to
1	SP1	There is a lack of awareness among the Arab population in Luxembourg concerning the culture	Social media, awareness information
2	SP2	Value the importance of active participation in the cultural life of Luxembourg as a tool for integration	Cultural activities
2	SP3	Value the importance of active participation in the cultural life of Luxembourg as a tool for integration	Cultural activities
9	SP14	It was easy to get to interact with the local community in the same field of work and background	Personal experience
10	SP15	Creating an intercultural learning environment through interacting with locals and learning by doing	Lifestyle
11	SP16	Integration requires time. Friends and language are the keys to integration	community
11	SP17	Having a transit country can help in preparation for intercultural learning in the final host country	Personal experience
14	SP20	It needs years to be able to create a personal support community that can replace the family and friends in the country of origin	Community
15	SP22	Intercultural exchange is an essential thing in life	Interaction
16	SP23	Cannot interact with the local community, and staying in the foyer is a barrier to intercultural learning	Housing and community
17	SP24	Language learning barrier can lead to misunderstanding of the means of intercultural exchange in the host country	Language learning
19	SP26	Individual approaches for intercultural exchange can be successful in presenting self to others	Society interaction

Table 18: Overview of the main ideas about Intercultural learning

Intercultural learning can be improved at any moment of an integration path. However, it is essential in the first phase where can help newcomers understand the differences, compare the conditions they experience when reaching Luxembourg, and what they should do to improve their living conditions from the beginning. It also plays an essential role in the decisions taken by refugees concerning the openness and readiness to get involved with the local society, to build a network of supporters that can provide help directly, for example,

finding a job or housing opportunity, or indirectly for example in learning about a new topic or to progress more on one's integration path.

SPI:436-439

<p><i>SP1: They are disconnected from the European Luxembourgish culture. I have a group on Facebook with around 1100 members of, Arabs living in Luxembourg, I know there is a lack of information. They do not have any exciting knowledge of what is happening in the country's culture, which is not good since they are living here. They have to participate in cultural events.</i></p>	<p>SP1: ما إليهم علاقة تماما بالثقافة الاوربية اللوكسمبورجية أنا عندي جروب على الفيسبوك بيه 1100, 100 شخص عربي ساكنين بلوكسمبورج قررت أسويه لإنني اعرف فيه نقص بالمعلومات, ما عندهم اي اهتمام يتعرفون على ثقافة البلد و هي شي مو زين لأنه طالما عايش هنا لازم تشارك بالافتتاحات الثقافية.</p>
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Interview quote 42

SP1 mentions that many refugees in Luxembourg do not have any relation with the others, and they lack the knowledge of life in Luxembourg and its culture, which is very problematic since they are living here and not in their country of origin.

The lack of interest in the current life activities that are happening in Luxembourg is a significant challenge, as they need to have the interest to know what is going on here. Then they might be interested in interacting and being part of them. T this might be a path toward integrating the person into the host community.

Being part of the community and being aware of the cultural sphere in the host country is very important as a path of integration, as was mentioned by SP2, SP3

SP2: 339 – 350

<p><i>SP2: For our activities, we are constantly engaged. Whenever there is an activity, we (as a family) participate. We like these things and these activities, whenever there is an activity we try to be part of it.</i></p> <p><i>SP3: either by volunteering or just participating</i></p> <p><i>SP4: volunteering in anything will help you to feel that you are not a strange person, anything that could mean that I am qualified and I meet with friends.</i></p> <p><i>SP2: Public celebrations, invitations from friends, specific celebrations, parties we are always there, it is part of the integration, we like to be always in any activity when someone asks us to participate, or someone invites us we will be there, this is the nature of our family, we like meeting people and having guests all the time, we like to have many friendships,</i></p>	<p>SP2: بصراحة بالنسبة لنشاطتنا أظن ما بنخلي شيء علينا ماني وقت يكون في نشاط يمكن الشباب وأنا و SP3 كمان بنحب هيك شغلات بنحب النشاطات وبين ماينلاقي نشاط هيك بنحاول نكون موجودين فيه.</p> <p>SP3: إن كان بالعمل أو إن كان مجرد مشاركة.</p> <p>SP4: عمل تطوعي بأي شيء أي شيء يساعدك أنك بتحس حالك أنك ماعاد أنت أنسان غريب ، أي شيء أنه خلاص أنا مؤهل أنه بطلع مع اصدقاء.....</p> <p>SP2: أحتفالات عامة ، مثلاً دعوات من اصدقاء مثلاً سهرات معينة ، احتفالات معينة ؛ دايما بنكون موجودين فيه.</p> <p>SP2: جزء من الإندماج كمان.</p> <p>SP2: يعني بنحب نكون دايماً في كل نشاط بيكون إلنا مثلاً حدى طالبنا او حدى باعت لنا دعوة نكون موجودين فيه، يعني بطبيعتنا نحنا العائلية طبيعة العائلية نحنا بنحب الخلطة بنحب يكون عنا ضيوف دايماً بنحب يكون عنا ضيوف كثير، بنحب يكون عنا صداقات كثيره. هاي طبيعة العائلية من وقت ما كنا في سوريا لحد هلا يعني ما عاد تتغير، الطبع صار فينا صار</p>
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this is the nature of the family since we were in Syria till now nothing changed and it became in our blood.

بدمنا.

Interview quote 43

Here SP2 and SP3 value the importance of being part of the local community cultural activities, being aware of them, participating in them, and even being an active member of society by volunteering.

From both of the interviews of SP1 and SP2/SP3, I found that both are involved in interaction with the local society by helping others and engaging others in the community. This is their tool to be more involved and integrated into society. SP1, by being a multiplier and creating a Facebook page with 1100 members and sharing information, guidance and providing consulting to others is an essential help for the refugees, especially newly arrived ones. Furthermore, SP2 and SP3, by interacting and participating as volunteers in organizing some of these activities, both understand their actions as a tool that can help them in integration and an outstanding representation of how integration can be valued.

In all the interviews. People mentioned that they know some cultural events and activities like the national day, schueberfouer or the international bazaar. However, in the case of SP1, SP2/SP3, they are not just aware of these things. They are helping others to know about them or volunteering in similar activities organized on national or local levels.

SP23: 116 -130

SP23: the camps, you see 20 different societies, each person has his own culture, there are many problems in camps, countless problems. It is full of gossip. People have free time and nothing to do, putting pressure on me.

SP23: الكامبات فيها يتشوف انت ٢٠ مجتمع, بمعنى كل شخص عنه ثقافة ثقافة خاصة, مشاكل الكامبات كتيرة أخي و لا تحصى, واحد حكى على واحد ناس قاضية ناس ما عندها شي ضاغطيني.

Interview quote 44

Here SP23 mentioned that there are about 20 different societies in the camps, and each person has his own culture, plus many problems happen every day due to the free time they all have, creating pressure. Concerning intercultural learning, he says that through these people in the camp, many cultures do not belong to Luxembourg and that different cultures living in the camp might be an excellent opportunity to learn from each other. However, he cannot learn anything except problems or troubles that people make for each other due to their free time with nothing to do; this is not a path for intercultural learning., Because of their free time, they have either waited for their permission or status or cannot find a job opportunity or decent housing. People have extra energy that is not directed in the right direction

for themselves and their communities. This will be clearer in the following quote from the same speaker about the difference between having normal relations and a refugee's, either in the camp or in ordinary life.

SP23: 72 – 83

<p><i>SP23: the Luxembourgish person is not with you, only employees of the state. Ok, thank you for hosting me, but I feel that if I lived in Esch, I would consider myself in Spain, France, with Portugal. When I go to the borders with Germany, I feel I am in a place I do not know. I am in Luxembourg, but where is the Luxembourgish community live in with? In the foyer, I feel I am still in Syria, living with Arabs and Afghans..... I need to leave the foyer to living in a normal society.</i></p> <p><i>If I work in construction, I will live with Portuguese people in the job market. Where is the Luxembourgish culture? Where is the Luxembourgish society? I do not want money I need to stay here, but for one year and a half, I did not meet any human being of Luxembourgish nationality..... When I speak with a Luxembourgish person or live with him, I will take from his culture, and he will take from my culture. This is regular interaction, I do not have a language, but with the interaction, I will get integrated, but the circle is closed on me, and I do not know how to enter. It is very hard.</i></p> <p>....</p>	<p>SP23:: اللوكسمبورجي ما هو موجود معك, موجود كله موظفين دولة, طب يا أخي, مشكور استقبلوني أوكيه بس أنا حاسس حالي مثلا إذا عشت بإيش اعتبر نفسي, بإسبانيا فرنسا مع البرتغال, بروح على حدود ألمانيا بحس نفسي ما بعرف وين. أنا بلوكسمبورج وين المجتمع اللوكسمبورجي أعيش معه, بالfoyer, أنا بسوريا لساتي عايش مع عرب و أفغان بطلع لراه الfoyer, أنا عايز أطلع, بطلع مع مجتمع عادي, سوق العمل البناء أنا عايش مع برتغاليين, وين ثقافة اللوكسمبورجيين بالموضوع, وين المجتمع اللوكسمبورجي, أنا ما بدي يعطوني فلوس, أنا بدي أبرك بس يقالي سنة و نص, ماشفت بني آدم متلي مثله إنسان جنسيته لوكسمبورجية لما أنا اتكلم مع لوكسمبورجي او عيش مع لوكسمبورجي أخذ من ثقافته و ياخذ من ثقافتني, امر طبيعي الاحتكاك هي, ما معي لغة و لكن بالاحتكاك أنا بندمج لكن كل التورتة مسكرة علي, كيف فيني أدخل صعب.</p>
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Interview quote 45

In the last quote, SP23 expresses his need for intercultural learning from the local community. He mentions that he does not meet Luxembourgish people but deals with different people from different nationalities. He says that he is living in the foyer with Arabs and Afghans as if he were still in Syria with the same cultural background he came from and has not met people with different backgrounds.

He also says that he only meets other nationalities, even outside the foyer, depending on the location he visits in Luxembourg. For example, he mentioned Esch sur Alzette, where he feels that he is in Spain or Portugal due to the population in Esch, while when he visits locations near the German borders, he feels that he is in a different country.

Another point he mentions in the excerpt is that he does not meet Luxembourgish people but only deals with staff from governmental institutions. Since they work in the state, he considers them Luxembourgish, not considering that the law allows non-Luxembourgish nationals to work in public institutions. In his understanding, since they are state employees, they should be nationals. Then he adds another point concerning the job market. Since some fields of work may be viewed as being controlled by some of the nationalities living in Luxembourg, he needs maybe to be integrated into this specific nationality. For example, if he wants to work in the construction field, he will need to interact more with people from Portugal who work in this field. This mixture of nationalities and languages is confusing him about what could be the right path for integration or at least to have a decent life when he works.

In these quotes, SP23 presents the situation of intercultural learning in the meaning of meeting people from other countries. Luxembourg's multicultural and multilingual situation is not helping him learn well about Luxembourgish culture because he did not interact enough with Luxembourgish people. He says in the same sentence that he is thankful for being hosted and offered shelter and protection as a refugee, but he is looking for more than that to live in the country and be part of it. This is clear when he says, "I do not want money; I need to stay here, " which shows that the need for integration is a process with steps and levels. From his discourse, I can see that he fulfilled the first levels of arriving in Luxembourg, being offered shelter and support, but now he is aiming to “stay” in the country, which means that he needs to be part of it. Moreover, to be part, he needs to interact with the locals whom he understands are Luxembourgers, which may not be the case.

The demographic situation of Luxembourg of having a diverse society from different backgrounds creates this kind of confusion for the refugees. When they compare themselves in Luxembourg with their peers living in other European countries, they are confused, as people in Germany, for example, use the German language in everyday life, and refugees meet mainly with “German” people in the average daily activities. This shows the need for the refugees in Luxembourg to get to know more about the “Luxembourgish ” society or the native people.

SP14: 42 – 78

<p><i>SP14: I believe that I did not face any problems in my integration path. I do not mean that I got integrated, but I faced challenges, but in the end, I can consider myself integrated. A few minor things helped me. The</i></p>	<p>SP14: قصة الاندماج إلي أنا عملتها, انا أعتقد ما واجهت مشكلة بالاندماج يعني موقصدي, اندمجت بس يعني واجهت تحديات و صعوبات بس بالأخير اعتبر نفسي نوعا ما اندمجت, ساعدني عدة أشياء, بسيطة لكن ساعدت , الموضوع الأول الي ساعدني, أنا ما كان عندي هم و لا فكرات و لا</p>
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first thing that helped me is that I did not have pre-existing ideas that this was a challenge; I was behaving the same way in my own country. Maybe this is due to my travels and being several times in many European countries, so I acted as if it were my own country. I searched for my project without any negative steps of feeling weak or feeling the superiority of the other locals because even in our countries, there are people who are superior to us and others who have fewer opportunities. This psychological state was my way in. I did not have this problem. I think it affects many people to feel that you are psychologically lost due to being taken out of a community and entering another.

In contrast, I think the world is one village, sometimes chaotic. This helped me because I came from a cultural community in my country and Arab countries. My friends are writers, artists, psychologists, and thinkers, and when I came here, I reached the same kind of community because Luxembourg is tiny. Luxembourg is like any other country in the world. This kind of community is minimal, so I managed to reach this community. I believe that they needed my kind of experience in managing cultural programs.

This helped me to be directly engaged in discussions and it became part of our work about integration, and we found out that it is a big problem. I did not have any background in how to make people integrate, not my area of expertise, so I viewed it as a big challenge. Then we discussed it, and I became unaware of one of the people who help others to integrate. This for sure made me integrated because I adopted one of the problems of this country (Luxembourg) and started working with others. So the challenges I face, part of it I have in common with others: I had some financial challenges because being worried about the financial future and not having a budget is something that makes the person unable to be engaged with others and be stable psychologically. If the person does not have stable financial means, it will make him careless about issues like integration or getting to know others and having a role in society. It will give him a

مفترض أنه هذا تحدي يعني انا جئت اتصرفت كاني اتصرف في بلدي و هذا يمكن لكثرة أسفاري بسبب تواجدي عدة مرات بأوروبا بدول مختلفة فاتصرفت على أساس انه بلدي و بحثت عن مشروع في بلدي دون أي مراحل سلبية من الشعور بالضعف أو الدونية أو الشعور بتفوق الآخر ابن البلد ما حسيت بهذا الموضوع. لأنه حتى في بلدانا في ناس متفوقة علينا و فيه ناس أحسن و فيه ناس أسوأ، فدخلت من هالباي نفسي ما كان عندي مشكلة و اعتقد هادي كمان مؤثرة للبعض، الإحساس بالخسارات النفسية جراء اقتلاعه من مجتمع و دخوله لمجتمع في حين انا أفكر أنه العالم واحد و هيه كلها قرية و نوعا ما أحيانا فوضوية يعني، فهذا ساعدني، ساعدني أيضا انه انا جئت من وسط ثقافي في بلدي و بالبلدان العربية، أصدقائي مثقفين و كتاب و متعلمين و علماء نفس و مفكرين جئت هنا قدرت أوصل لهذا الوسط لأن لو كسمبورج صغيرة و لو كسمبورج طبعا كأني بلد بالعالم، هذا الوسط هو صغير جدا فوصلت لهذا الوسط و اعتقد أكدوا ان همه يعني كانوا محتاجين بعض الخبرات إلي عندي الإدارية الثقافية و.. فهذا ساعدني انه ادخل معاهم مباشرة بحوارات و بنقاشات و كان جزء من شغلنا موضوع الاندماج و شوقناه مشكلة كبيرة و ما كان انا عندي أي Background او أي خبرة بموضوع بدمج الناس و كيف ما يندمجوا , مو قصتي نهائيا، فشقتها تحدي كبير و بعدين دخلنا بنقاش حولها و صرت أني بدون ما اشعر واحد م الي يعملون على مساعدة الناس بالاندماج و هذا بالتاكيد خلاني مندمج لغنه تبنيت واحدة من مشاكل البلد و ابتديت أشغل عليها مع آخرين. فالي واجهتني صعوبات أعتقد جزء منها يعني، او يمكن كلها اشترك ويا آخرين، واجهتني صعوبات مادية لأنه الفلق على المستقبل المادي و عدم توفر ميزانية نفس المعتادة مع الشخص تخليه يعني حتى علميا و من الناحية النفسية تخليه مو كثير مستقر و لا كثير مهتم بقضايا مثل من نوع اندماج و تعارف و إيجاد دور و كذا يعني تنطيه شعور سلبية شوية، فكل من يجي هنا يتعرض لزعزعة مادية، هذي يعني تقريبا أعتقد، فهذا تحدي واجهني قلقي و خلاني فترة مشوش، الشي الثاني، اللغة طبعا تحدي اللغة مازال قائم عندي بس ما كان مشكلة كبيرة لأنه كنت محظوظ انه اتكلم الإنجليزية بس تعرف مو مقبولة على كل المستويات و على كل الأصعدة و ع الورق فبعندي على مستوى الورق و الدولة احسن نفسي يعني غير مندمج تمام بسبب حاجز اللغة فقط.

negative feeling, so those who come here will have financial instability. I faced this challenge, which made me a little bit distracted.

The other thing was the language, for sure. Still, I have a language challenge. In the beginning, I did not have a big problem because I speak English, but English is not accepted at all levels and means, and on paper, so on the state level, I feel that I am not integrated due to the language barrier only.

Interview quote 46

In the previous quote, the speaker SP14 presented his integration path and how it was an easy transition due to his previous travels and living in different countries

“maybe this is due to many travels I had and being several times in many European countries, so I acted as if it is my own country.”

Moreover, this helped him to be able to act better and have the state of mind that creates self-confidence in living in a new country (Luxembourg) and acting as if he is in his own native country. There is also the issue of positioning the self concerning others in the new community and not having a pre-existing idea about the new community. These two different points helped him to find what he could do faster and helped him to reach the circles he used to work with.

“Here, I managed to reach the same kind of community because Luxembourg is small.”

So having a small multicultural country was not a barrier for him to interact with the locals, as he works in the cultural /art project management field, a community that usually consists of a majority of local/native people. In his discourse, he mentions the word “Local” and does not distinguish between the Luxembourgish nationals and any other nationalities in Luxembourg.

In the quote, SP14 testified that his integration path managed to reach the local circles. However, he also understands that there is still a language barrier to integrating into society fully. As he uses English as the only language of communication, and since his peers are all speaking English, so he did not find the urgency to learn other local languages

Observing intercultural learning through different lenses

In contrast with (SP23), we can see that there is a different lens for evaluating and having a self-assessment of how integration is functioning. This lens is different from

one person to another according to their background, experience and personal competencies. Furthermore, all of this affects their intercultural learning due to:

- The housing conditions: foyers do not allow the person to interact with the locals
- The field of work and transferable personal experience might facilitate the integration path,
- Having a common language with peers plays a significant role
- Access to the Luxembourgish (local) community
- Language barrier: language competencies are a crucial condition

From a comparison between the previous quotes of SP14 and SP23, we can see clearly that the mentioned points affect directly their intercultural learning, especially the ease of access to interact with the local community and finding a common interest with the locals, as SP23 mentioned:

“the Luxembourgish person does not exist with you I am in Luxembourg, but where is the Luxembourgish community..... I did not meet any human being with Luxembourgish nationality.”

While SP14 mentioned:

“Here, I managed to reach the same kind of community because Luxembourg is small.”

Each of them has had a different kind of interaction with the locals. SP23 has not met any Luxembourgish person, while SP14 has managed to reach the local community in his field of work because Luxembourg is small. Here we can see that community access and having a common means of communication through language and field of work allows the person to interact with the locals.

In the following quote of SP15, we see how the intercultural learning condition might be created through social interaction:

SP15: 733 – 779

<p><i>SP15: The time comes when you learn a language, you work to have a reason to live within this integration, to live with the people, how they spend their night life, going out, how to act or dance, for example, I learnt how to dance by going out at night, in the beginning, some people laughed at me, but I continued my funny moves till it worked in the end bit by bit, I became one of the group and dancing with them moving the same way they do, as sometimes it works while other times I make mistakes.</i></p>	<p>SP15: و بيجي وقت انك تتعلم لغة وتشتغل قادر حتى تعيش ضمن هذه أسباب الحياة إنك إنت تعيش ضمن هذا الاندماج اما بتعيش مع الناس كيف يبسهروا كيف بيطلعوا , كيف بيقدوا كيف بيرقصوا, اتعلمت مثلا ..بروح بسهر بس مشان اتعلم الرقص مثلا, كيف بيرقصوا قوم الناس عم تضحك علي كثير العالم يعني و مع ذلك ضلبيت عم برقص يعني ضلبيت هز و فشكل وخبط و هيك لحد ما ظبطت اخر شي يعني صارت تضبط شوي شوي صارت تضبط صرت ارقص ارقص معاهن و مثل هن عم بيرقصوا احيانا خربط احيانا ضابطة و شويه شويه بتضبط يعني..... باقي التفاصيل Researcher: بتتعلم بالممارسة يعني؟</p>
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Researcher: so you mean that you are learning by doing?

SP15: yes, surely learning by doing, if I go for a private lesson I might not understand what the teacher is telling me, you are not only learning during the course, but you are learning by interacting with people you might learn better the language. That is why I see that the best is to secure housing and to live with the people to have a Luxembourgish or French neighbour so this will create a need to interact and to speak by giving greetings, the life details will be the best teacher.

SP15: بالممارسة طبعاً أكيد، تروح تتعلم ضمن دروس خصوصي شو بده يحكي معي ما افهم عليه فهي كمان شغلة يعني إته انت مو بس بالكورس تتعلم لغة بالاحتكاك ومع الناس بيتعلم لغة فأحسن تخليه يأمن سكن يروح يقعد من ضمن الناس يصير جاره لوكسمبورجي أو فرنسي أو كذا يتضطر يتعامل معه يحكي معه بده يسلم عليه يصبح عليه هو و قايث هو و طالع محتاج شئ... بتصير تفاصيل الحياة لحاله بتعلمك

Interview quote 47

SP15 is presenting another angle of understanding how intercultural learning might work by interacting directly with the locals and creating a learning environment either by having housemates/neighbours from the local community use the language in normal daily activities or engaged voluntarily in some social interaction condition, like what the participation the nightlife activities and dancing with other people. Even if he might not know how to dance, making the same moves even with mistakes is a learning method.

However, going out at night might be a problem as the opportunities can differ from one person to another due to cultural backgrounds or family circumstances. For example, it will be easier for a single person (like SP15) to be free to go out at night than another person who has family responsibilities (like SP23). However, in any case, this approach is not only about dancing, but it can be through any other life activity that creates a means for intercultural learning. In this example, it is through learning by doing.

SP16: 22 – 68

SP16: Honestly, when I arrived in Luxembourg, “integration” was a vague word to me. It is not very easy in the beginning, and I had a hard time cause of each problem you face when you are unstable without papers or residency and decent housing, the response is always “ get integrated”. As you are far from integration, how far you integrate into society becomes very different. In the beginning, one comes from an Arab community where everything is different, one million per cent, even when getting out of the

SP16: و الله بالنسبة إلي بصراحة كانت كلمة مبهمه أول ما وصلت لوكسمبورج, و الاندماج مو سهل جدا بالبداية واجهت صعوبة بالبداية, لأنه كل مشكلة تواجهك لما تكون بعنك مو مستقر و مو ماخذ الأوراق الرسمية و مو محصل على مكان إقامة سكن, كل مشكلة تواجهك يقولوك سوي اندماج, لأنه مدى تندمج بالمجتمع, لأنه مدى تواكب الأحداث بصورة صحيحة لأنه انت بعيد عن الاندماج بصراحة كوضع بالبداية صعب إنه انت رأسا كجاي من مجتمع عربي كل شي يختلف مليون بالمية حتى أوقات من الخروج بالبيت, التسوق الدراسة كله يختلف, يعني واجهت صعوبة بالبداية باللغة كلغة فرنسية, أغلب اللغة المتداولة هيه اللغة الفرنسية, بس الشئ الي يساعد إنه, الكل

house, shopping, studying, everything. Therefore, I faced difficulty in the beginning as everything was in French. Most of the common language is French, but what helps is that everyone is trying to learn another language, which means that the majority speaks English; that thing helps.

English helped me to get to know people and establish simple friendships at the beginning, and then I started to have close friends; for example, I have an Italian friend who works in a bank, another Belgian friend who has a company in Luxembourg, also I have a Dutch friend, and a Luxembourgish friend who works as a journalist in RTL, those friends helped me to get to know the country, its system, till I got to know the nature of the society somehow. I have a good idea and it was not hard because Luxembourg is a multicultural country with many foreigners who live here.

In the beginning, I had problems but after a year I got integrated in society, I know the habits the language, how to make friends, what I need to study and recently we had integration courses that helped us to learn more about the country, history, geography, economy, politics so we had good knowledge about the country. Finally, from my point of view, it is possible to integrate into the society in Luxembourg; it might be even easier than in other countries, I have friends and relatives in other European neighbouring countries, and they are facing difficulties since the society is

SP17: one category.

SP16: one category, one nationality.

SP17: one culture.

SP16: so they are having a hard time, maybe there is a kind of racism, a kind of unfriendliness, but in Luxembourg, I see that people are kind and it is easier to integrate with the society, but we need some time in the beginning. Time plays an essential role at the beginning until you know everything is different.

يتكلم اللغة...يعني الأغلبية يتكلم اللغة الإنجليزية فهذا الشيء ساعد عندي لغة إنجليزية, ساعدني إنه اتعرف أكون صداقات بسيطة بالبداية, بعدين صداقات اتطورت, صار عندي أصدقاء مقربين, موظفين بنك, عندي صديقة إيطالية موظفة بنك, عندي صديقة بلجيكية تمتلك شركة بلوكسمبورج. عندي صديقة هولندية, و عندي صديقة صحفية لوكسمبورجية تشتغل بالRTL فهما الي مثل الي عرفوني بالبلد, اوقات النظام هنا, إلى أن صرت أعرف طبيعة المجتمع نوعا ما , صار عندي فكرة حلوة يعني, بالذات إنه ما شفت صعوبة لأنه لوكسمبورج Multicultural و لأنه الforeigner كثيرين هنا, بالبداية واجهت صعوبة بس بعد سنة تقريبا صرت اندمج بالمجتمع, أعرف تقاليد المجتمع, أعرف اللغة, أعرف تكوين الصداقات أعرف الدراسة و مؤخرا أخذنا دورات إندماج , فتننا دورات Integration, فأخذنا معلومات حلوة أكثر عن البلد, تاريخ, جغرافيا, كإقتصاد, سياسة, فصار عندنا فكرة حلوة, بالنهاية كرايبي انا ممكن انه تندمج بالمجتمع هنا في لوكسمبورج يمكن أسهل من باقي الدول, لإن عندي أصدقاء و أقارب بدول مجاورة, محيطية بأوروبا, يواجهون صعوبة, يعني كون إن المجتمع...

SP17: كون إن المجتمع فئة واحدة.

SP16: فئة واحدة, جنسية واحدة...

SP17: ثقافة واحدة..

SP16: فيواجهون صعوبة, ممكن يكون أكو بعض نوع من العنصرية, نوع من ال يعني عدم الود بين الهاي, هنا أشوفهم بلوكسمبورج أشوفهم لطفاء ممكن تندمج بسهولة بالمجتمع بس أكيد بالبداية تحتاج وقت, إي الوقت بالبداية عامل ضروري جدا حتى تعرف لإن كل شيء يختلف.

Interview quote 48

SP16 presented the situation when she arrived in Luxembourg and how it was hard to be integrated, and it needed time. In the beginning, there were many barriers to

integration due to the asylum procedures of being accepted and granted residency and having decent housing. These are basic needs that should be fulfilled to be able to experience an integration process. Then in the next stage when she managed to have friends. She mentioned their nationalities (Dutch, Luxembourgish and Belgian). She considered them local and learned about the different cultural habits and lifestyles, the country and the community in Luxembourg. Friends play a crucial role in facilitating integration. Since they were kind (as she mentioned), they helped her learn about the new country that she came to. Communicating in English was key in this interaction because she had English language competency before arriving in Luxembourg.

Fulfilling the primary needs such as legal status and housing corresponds to the integration tower model where moving to a higher stage of integration requires stability and certainty of living in the country. Then one can think about integration in the next stage.

Another point that she mentioned is that it was not easy to interact with the local community compared to other European neighbouring countries. Speakers SP16 and 17 also mentioned that other countries have “one nationality, one culture, one group”, while Luxembourg presented as a multicultural and multilingual country, and this fact and having many foreigners facilitate integration because foreigners, in general, do not represent a minority group in the host country, as they do in Germany for example

SP16: 22 – 68

<p><i>SP17: Since we are here, I would like to add one point about me. As I told you some time ago, I lived the “expatriate” experience, or “getting out of one’s country”, before Luxembourg’s experience. I lived about three years in Turkey, so I have experienced since the Turkish society speaks a different language than ours, and somehow there are differences in the habits, lifestyle and system in general. That is why I think having this Turkish experience was helpful. I took the first step in this country to learn a different system that is considered different from the system of the Arab countries. Even with the traffic, I can say it was a preparation before coming to a more organised community than in Turkey.</i></p> <p><i>Now I remember how I got to know the people there and learnt the Turkish language without even studying</i></p>	<p>SP17:..... أني بس أضيف شغلة واحدة, كون احنا مثلا, أحكي عن نفسي, عشت تجربة مثلا نقول نسميها الغربية, او الخروج من الوطن قبل تجربة لوكسمبورج, عشتها قتللك قبل شوي, ٣ سنين عشتها بتركيا, فعندي فكرة نوعا ما كون إن المجتمع التركي يحكي لغة مغايرة عن لغتنا و نوعا ما هم أكو اختلاف بالطباع أو بالحياة أو بالنظام, أو النظام نقدر نقول بصورة عامة, فمن جيت لها أنا, تقريبا التجربة مع تركيا شوية فادنتي, خنقول بديت خطوة أولى بذاك البلد انه تتعلم النظام إلي ما موجود عنا بالدول العربية حتى حركة السير بالسيارات بكذا كل شي, خنقول هي خطوة اولى حتى أجي المجتمع الأكثر نظام حتى هنا من تركيا, اكثر نظام, فحسيت ديتش التجربة الأولى ال٣ سنين إلي عشتها بتركيا فادنتي هنا و قمت أسترجع شلون قمت أتعرف ع الناس هناك, شلوت اتعلمت اللغة التركية هناك, أيضا اتعلمتها من دون ما أدرس, اتعلمتها من الشارع و من الأصدقاء الأتراك إلي صاروا عندي و قدرت أعيدها هنا بنفس الطريقة, قمت أتعرف على ناس, أروح للجيم مثلا, ناس ودودين يعني, بجون يساعدوك, بضحكون وياك, ممكن تبنى</p>
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<p><i>it, but only through street interactions and from Turkish friends. I managed to repeat the same experience here. For example, I meet people in the gym, friendly people that come to help me, we have fun, we laugh, we build a relationship with someone, you can start talking with someone you saw a couple or three times, and exchange numbers, then seeing him outside. So it is not hard to integrate into Luxembourg, but it will take time, and the person should not be an introvert.</i></p> <p><i>For me, in the beginning, I was not stable and felt distracted concerning the papers, housing was rigid, I was voluntarily introverted a bit,..... then I realised that I have no friends except my wife and relatives here and no one else since I started to be stable here, I had a starting point. I decided to study and work. I started to interact and meet people and become integrated into society.</i></p>	<p>علاقة تضحك ويا احد, صار أكو ود شوفه مرة مرتين ثلاثة ممكن تتكلم معاه, ممكن يطلب رقمك, ممكن تشوفه, بره, فطو يعني, مو صعب الاندماج بلوكسمبورج. بس مثل ما قالت حياخد وقت و تحتاج تحاول ما تكون منطوي, لأن أني بالنسبة إلي جريت مو جريت يعني بالبدائية ما مستقر, حابر غنه مشان آخذ الاوراق, سكن كان صعب, فكنت منطوي نوعا ما يعني بارادتي خنقول, لاحظت ما عندي صديق و لا حد أشوفه غير بس مثلا زوجتي و أقاربي إلي هنا, فماكرو احد ثاني يعني.</p> <p>SP17: من استقرت, صار عندي مكان أقدر أنطلق منه, خلاص قررت أدرس, استقرت, قررت أشتغل, قررت كذا, قمت أشوف الناس, قمت أختاط, قمت ألتقي بناس أكثر, و من هنا اندمجت بالمجتمع.</p>
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Interview quote 49

Here, SP16 has a different experience than SP17 because SP16 left his home country and stayed for three years in Turkey, waiting for his wife's asylum procedures of his wife (SP17) in Luxembourg to have a family reunion. Through these three years of living in a transit country (Turkey), he learned the language through street interaction, which cannot work in Luxembourg. This situation of transit, as he presented it, was a middle stage between the cultural background in the home country - as it can be represented in traffic and the lifestyle or system in general - and Turkey and this transit period was a middle step between the origin country, which is less organized than Turkey, towards a more organized country as in Luxembourg.

Living for three years abroad in a foreign country prepared him mentally to be living in a new country and not to come directly and face all of this in Luxembourg.

In the following excerpt, SP16 shares a similar point of view with SP14, that the previous personal experience of living in other countries than the country of origin plays a role in accepting the reality and working towards integration because the person who lives in a different country might face stages of homesickness:

SP16: 81 – 108

<p>SP16: <i>there is one problem with communication. As</i></p>	<p>SP16: اكو مشكلة واحدة بس صعبة بالتواصل احنا كعرب عندنا ثقافة العلاقات تختلف يعني ممكن انا اتصل بصديق</p>
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<p><i>Arabs, we have a different relationship culture, I can call a friend in Iraq and say I would like to meet now, and we meet and do some activities together, or tomorrow,..... yes it is not a problem if you are free to let us meet, it is not complicated, I have a lot of close European friends however I have a problem to meet with them spontaneously. The scarcity of meetings is a problem; we need to know more about each other. Nevertheless, their lifestyle obliges them to have an agenda for appointments, which was a challenge initially.</i></p>	<p>بالعراق أو أقوله مثلا أنني حبه أشوفك هسه يعني حالا احنا نلتقي أو نسوي هالنشاط.....أو ممن باكر.</p> <p>SP16: ابيه ابيه, ما كون ماكو مشكلة عندي إنته فاضي, خلاص نلتقي, الموضوع مو معقد, إهنا أنني عندي صديقاتي هوايا يعني أوربيات.</p> <p>SP16: مقربين و احبهم و يحبوني و أحترمهم جدا, بس عندي مشكلة اللقاء, قلة اللقاءات مشكلة يعني انت تريد تعرف عنا اكثر, نريد نعرف عنك أكثر و هما حابين بس هو كنظام حياة عندهم لازم مواعيد, لازم أجندة و مواعيد شوية هي هم بالبداية هم صعبت الموضوع.</p>
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Interview quote 50

As SP16 says, it is socially accepted in the Arab cultures to have a short notice appointment. People are expected to respond and meet each other whenever possible as a social norm. In Luxembourg, it was a barrier of interaction for her to get used to, i.e., having a pre-determined agenda due. This can be considered as another method of intercultural learning that the person will have to act according to the social norms in the new host country and accept that it is necessary to learn about how the new host culture lifestyle requires that people have tight schedules, which should be respected:

SP20: 13 – 78

<p><i>SP20: Mutual acceptance with others is the most important idea for me regarding integration. To integrate into another society, you need to accept the other thus, if I accept him, I shall learn how to deal with it according to its lifestyle. If the other adapts to me by accepting my culture, he will also be able to adapt with me and learn about me. Therefore there will be integration. However, for me, integration if it is only for my side as a newcomer to the country there will be difficult to accept the other if the other is not accepting me.</i></p> <p><i>Moreover, among the challenges we face is that you are living all your life in a certain culture even in a certain climate. All of a sudden you are living in a different climate, for example, when you have been living all your life in a warm country, and then suddenly it becomes cold most of the time. You need time to accept and not to get depressed because we</i></p>	<p>SP20: هو تقبل الآخر و تقبل الآخر لك, هي هي أهم شغلة عندي بالاندماج, مشان أندمج بالمجتمع, الآخر تقبله و بالتالي إذا تقبلت أنا راح اتعلم أتعامل معه بما يطابق طريقته في الحياة, و هو إذا تأقلم معي و تقبل ثقافتي راح يقدر يتأقلم معي also من ثقافتي يتعلم و بالتالي راح تصير عملية الاندماج. لكن بالنسبة إلي الاندماج إذا كان بس من طرفي أنا كقادم إلي الدولة راح يكون صعب عليه أتقبل الآخر إذا الآخر متقبلنيش فهو هي بالسببة لي الاندماج.</p> <p>كمان من الصعوبات الي بتواجهنا بالإضافة إلي ان انت عابش طول عمرك بثقافة معينة حتى بطقس معين و فجأة انت بتعيش بطقس تمام مختلف, خلييني أحكي على الطقس for example, فلما يكون الجو معتدل دافئ في دولة طول عمرك تيجي فجأة إنه معظم الوقت برد, بدك وقت إن انت تتقبل و ما تكتأبش لأنه هي الشغلة, فكرة الاكتئاب أو فكرة الإحباط رغم المشاكل إلي موجودة في دولنا إحنا فعلا ما عشناهاش, انا معشناهاش بشكل واقع و حقيقي مثل ما عشناها هون, طبعا أنا بعدين لما حاولت أفهم عرفت إنه نقص فيتامين و عدم التعرض الشمس و عدم وجود الحياة النابضة الدفاء العائلي هذا كله مش موجود هون, هي لحالها معاناة بدك إنت تتعود تتأقلم و تبني من اول و جديد ال community الي حواليك أو المجتمع</p>
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<p><i>have not experienced the idea of depression or disappointment despite all the problems in our countries.</i></p> <p><i>Of course, I tried to understand that the vitamin deficiency and not being exposed to the sun and the absence of lively buzzwarm family feelings do not exist here, it is suffering in itself, but you need to adapt and start to build your surrounding and community, and it is not easy to do it in a couple of years,</i></p>	<p>الخاص فيك, و هذا مش بسهولة في خلال سنة و لا سنين.....</p>
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Interview quote 51

In the quote of SP20, there are two main points concerning intercultural learning

- Intercultural learning can happen in both ways, through adapting by accepting the culture of the newcomer as well as the host community
- The newcomer will need years to build a community that can replace the community in the home country.

There are many barriers to a new social structure. Alternatively, even getting used to the climate, missing the sun and suffering from vitamin deficiency affects the perception of the newcomer of how they can survive in the host country. However, SP20 says it needs a two-way integration process as the newcomer exchanges with the local community. She mentioned adaption as a method that should be followed by both the newcomer and the host community, which means that the host community accepts the newcomers and interacts with them to have exchange and intercultural learning.

Also, the newcomer might face several other issues, such as living in a different climate, not having the community in which the one was raised, and missing family and lifetime friends. It will need many years to fulfil the need for a social circle and a community that can replace the original community in the country of origin.

SP21: 690 – 715

<p><i>SP22: We need the people, we need the world, we have to present our culture and get to know other people's cultures because the most crucial thing in life is multiculturalism to learn from it.</i></p>	<p>SP22: لأنه بحاجة نحنا للناس بحاجة للعالم. بحاجة لنعرف العالم ثقافتنا و نتعرف عثقافات, لأنه اهم شي انت بالحياة الثقافات المتعددة انت تتعلم منها.</p>
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Interview quote 52

SP22 sees that intercultural learning is an essential thing in life. This might be due to our discussion about integration in the interview. She mentioned in the interview

other needs about schooling or housing like others. However, when the point of culture and meeting other people was discussed, she viewed it as most important to learn from others and to teach others about her own culture as a kind of duty while living in a new country not to be a closed person but to interact with others.

Comparing her with SP20 shows that both think integration should be in the form of exchange and that it is a two-way road: it is not only the responsibility of the newcomer to learn and integrate. At the same time, the other side does not make the same efforts to learn about the newcomer's culture. Nevertheless, with SP22, the difference is that it is represented as a most important duty to learn and teach others about culture.

In the following quote, SP24 looks at the issue of the two ways integration from a different perspective. It still can be viewed from the angle of intercultural learning but in a more holistic approach:

SP24: 790 – 808

<p><i>SP24: It is the government's responsibility. They insist on one main principle, which is to learn the language. Ok, what if I do not have a language? Should I die? Ok, if I do not speak your language, but I speak the language of the Arab community that is living here, I have the right to have an annual festival to present Arab artwork, it is my right that you provide me with translators, so I can organize for you a cultural festival to educate you about the culture of my country which is thousands of kilometres far from you by. Most Luxembourgers do not know anything about Syria or Egypt, Do not ask me to get integrated on my own. You, too, should get integrated with our civilisation; we are people of civilisation and history. When you see that the other does not accept you, you will not be able to get integrated with him. Moreover, the Luxembourgish state should take responsibility.</i></p>	<p>SP24: مسؤولية الحكومة، هما راكضين ورا مبد- واحد ما عم يتنازلوا إنه اللغة طيب يا أخي إذا ما كان عندي لغة أموت مثلاً طيب ما عندي لغة إلك وصلك اللغة بس فيه عندي لغة لجالية عربية موجودة هون، من حقي أنا إنه يكون عندي مهرجان سنوي. أقدم فيه لوحة فنية عربية. من حقي انت إنك تأمنلي مترجمين وأعملك مهرجان ثقافي أعرفك فيه على ثقافة بلدي. إلي تبعد عنك آلاف الكيلومترات ثلاث تريباع اللوكسمبورجيين ما يعرفون سوريا شو، و لا يعرفون مصر مين. كمان مثل ما تقولونا انه نندمج كمان انت المفروض تندمجوا مع حضارتنا، إحنا اهل حضارة، إحنا أهل تاريخ، لما تشوف الطرف الأخر ما عم يقبل إن انت تندمج. ما راح تندمج معه، يحمل الحكومة اللوكسمبورجية، هيه إلى تتحمل المسؤولية.</p>
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Interview quote 53

SP24 thinks it is more responsibility of the local side to make efforts to have the newcomer culture presented. I tried to translate the words literally to make clear the wordings of the speaker in this quote, because there is a clear misunderstanding of the responsibilities of institutions in Luxembourg. In the country of origin - either in Syria or in most of the Arab states - the term (State) represents a different entity

than what could be understood by the term 'state' in Europe. In the Arab region, the state might mean the governing body, the regime, the government, or even a representation of the president. There is a lack of understanding of the diverse institutions that can act on some issues, like in Luxembourg, where there are different institutions that deal with the refugee, from the national administration like a ministry to a local administration like the municipalities, as well as the civil society organizations that primarily deal with them in daily life. However, for many of them, all these entities represent the exact term they used in their country of origin, the 'state'.

In this case, SP24 blames the state for not organizing an Arab cultural festival and supporting it financially, logistically, and in human resources to organize and translate this kind of festival or interaction and present the Arab culture. This statement is problematic in the integration process of the speaker concerning evaluating the situation in the host country. There is a generalisation of the role of the state in comparison to the situation in the country of origin and a misunderstanding of the different roles that the civil society organizations in Luxembourg can play. This might be due to personal experience from the situation in the country of origin or an inability to learn about the current situation in the host country and the difference.

Personal experience and expectation play an essential role in this case. LSP14 mentioned that he initiated cultural exchange to present the Arab culture in Luxembourg in cooperation with public and civil society institutes. He did not blame or demand the "state" do this kind of effort. It is also a matter of lack of competencies in being willing to learn and maintaining the sense of self in the early stages of integration since there is a stiff challenge that the speaker SP24 is facing in learning the language, as he said:

"SP24: so, if I do not have a language, what will happen to me? Am I going to die?"

So, language learning became an issue of survival, and he was resisting this need to learn the language, and trying to maintain the self in a protected comfort zone, dealing only using the Arabic language as the main mean of communication and having support from other peers. After several years the linguistic competencies still did not develop much as the speaker mentioned:

SP24: 71-77

<p><i>SP24: I learned, thank god, almost more than 40% of my English through speaking with the people either I say correct or wrong, there is no other way to</i></p>	<p><i>SP24: و أنا على فكرة أخذت تقريبا الحمد لله أكثر من ٤٠% من الإنجليزى من خلال إنه أنا احكي مع الناس بسواء أنا أخطأت أو أصبت ما في غير هي طريقة إنه أتعلم.</i></p>
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learn..... it is improving due to what? I did not go to school, but I learned one word from here and there. It is now more substantial than the one I could have learned at school.

..... عم بتحسن نتيجة ايش ما رحنت أنا ع المدرسة, بس أنا اتعلمت هون, كلمة من هون كلمة من هون هسي أقوى من المدرسة

Interview quote 54

SP24 evaluate his English language competency as 40% from learning from daily activity, and it is better than going to school. The case of SP24 shows that there are multiple barriers and challenges to intercultural learning due to misunderstanding of the means of intercultural exchange in the host country, due to personal experiences and expectations, as well as the personal barriers in language learning, which might lead to creating a self-protective comfort zone in which the person can interpret the situation in the host country according to their experience from the country of origin.

Other speakers that face the same struggle with language and intercultural learning try to raise their intercultural competencies and try to build their local networks in Luxembourg:

SP26: 698 – 734

SP26: I do not have any interactions, I am sorry, but in Syria, we are known for being good at cooking, one time we prepared a meal, and we gave it to our Luxembourgish neighbours, and they were astonished because they are not used to have something like this, they tasted it, and the next day they said *parfait, tip-top*, it means that your wife cooks very good and they do not have this kind of food and interaction. Sometimes the social assistant from OLAI visits me, and we present some sweets we make at home. He was surprised that the food is delicious and that we presented food to guests or neighbours. So I made him understand that when someone visits us as Arabs, we should be generous. The visitor must eat and drink and should not refuse the invitation. So now they know about it, and when they come they know that we should eat at this person's place if we do not eat he will be sad, of course, we make coffee, it is problematic that someone come to your place and goes without presenting any food even in Egypt you have the same habit it is a must.

SP26: ما عندي أي اختلاط بعنذر, لكن إحدى المرات جاري لوكسمبورجي فاجنا السوريين مشهورين بالأكل فطبخنا أكلة هيك فعطيناهن استغربوا انه ما عندن هالشني ها تعمل أكل بيبيك و تضيف جارك يعني, فداقوا الأكل تاني نهار أوووو *tip top parfait* يعني انه زوجتك طبخها كويس يعني ما عندهم هيك أكل فاغلبية الاكل بيزوروني مرات السوسيال كنت عندهم بال OLAI فندوقهم من اكلنا من الحلو إلي بنعمله بيستغرب غايه طيب أول شي و تاني شي ما فيه يعني مثلا بيبيك ضيف مش ضيف يعني جار أو شخص تحطه, فأنا فهمتناو لما يجونا احنا العرب لازم يجي عندنا واحد لازم نكرمه لازم ياكل لازم يشرب, ما تيجوا تقولولي لأ ما بننا, أنا بقولكم أنا صاحب العلاقة صاحب البيت لازم تاكلوا عندي, بس صار بيعرفوا بيجوا بيعرفوا, الشخص هذا بننا ناكل عنده ما بناكل عنده بده يزعل مننا. طبعاً بنسويلهم قهوة. صعب يجي واحد لعدك و يروح و ما يعملك أي حاجة حتى في مصر عندكم لازم هذا الشني.

SP26, in this quote, shared his experience interacting with others in Luxembourg. The discussion was about interaction with the locals. However, he presented something specific about the cultural habits of inviting guests for food or drinks. He also said that this habit is for us, "The Arabs", by generalising this activity to all the Arab people and informing me that it is in Egypt, not just his country of origin (Syria). So, the speaker spoke about a tool from the cultural background that can be used for intercultural interaction: inviting the guest. This habit does not exist in the culture of the "others", either the Luxembourgish neighbour or the social assistant.

In this case, the speaker is saying that there might be tools that the person can use and try to communicate with others to interact, present his culture and let the others know about the habits of the newcomer to the host society. In comparison with SP24, there is a difference in perspective. SP24 views the intercultural exchange from a holistic macro approach, and the responsibility of the host governmental institutions, while SP26 used an individual micro approach in interacting with a small circle around him and inviting them for sweets and coffee as a tool of cultural presentation.

The individual attitude towards intercultural learning and how to interact with other people in the host community can play a significant role in helping the person to overcome the barriers of interaction, either in overcoming the language barriers or building a social network, even if it was with neighbours. It will help to achieve essential steps in reaching the subsequent integration stages.

5.1.6 Personal competencies / Self-fulfilment

Inter-view	Code	Main ideas about Personal competencies	Link to
1	SP1	feeling self-fulfilment by helping others and facilitating the integration with others	Integration and civic participation
2	SP2	Being active in society and helping others as a method for integration	community
3	SP7	Integration can be achieved through having a job opportunity by having the needed education.	certification and employment
3	SP8	Working can be achieved by having craft and language knowledge, and this will help in the integration	Language learning and employment
4	SP9	Experience in regulation to get admission to the university, and the different contexts between the education system in Luxembourg and the country of origin	Education and certification
14	SP20	Work experience and competition with EU citizens in the job market. Mentioning the difference in age with younger people	Work and background
16	SP23	The self-competency of being independent, having an independent source of income, and struggling with the official regulations	Work and employment
19	SP26	Need to work as was the case back in their home country, staying without work creates frustration	Work and employment

Table 19: Overview of the main ideas about Personal competencies

As mentioned by the participants, personal competencies play an essential role in their integration path, especially the competencies developed before they arrived in Luxembourg. This pre-existing experience plays an essential role in the integration path of the individual, as mentioned in some of the interviews,

SP23 described a work-related situation he is suffering from, as he mentions in the following excerpt:

SP23: 10 – 180

<p>SP23: I need to be able to live in Luxembourg, to depend on myself, but I do not know how? Furthermore, who will help me to be self-dependent? Since I arrived in Europe as a refugee, I did not know about Luxembourg and had not heard about it at all, I needed only one thing, the papers and the protection.</p>	<p>SP23: انا عايز اعيش قادر اعيش على نفسي اعتمد على نفسي، كيف؟ مين يساعدني كأعتمد على نفسي، أنا يوم جيت لجوء على أوروبا مابعرف لوكمبورج و لا سمعت عن لوكمبورج أبدا، كنت عايز شغلة واحدة: الورق و الحماية طبعاً الأمان أكيد عايزه، عايز الامان اخدت الامان لقيته، عايز ورقة عايز..... عايز أعتمد على نفسي، عايزهم يساعدوني سنة واحدة و لا سنتين بس، أعتمد على نفسي، انا</p>
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Of course, I need protection. Now that I have got protection, I need the papers, but I need to depend on myself, I need them to help me for one year or a maximum of two years then I can depend on myself. I might stay in Luxembourg for ten years, but I will not be able to depend on myself if I follow their plan, I tried to establish a company, I was shocked by the certificates and the qualifications needed, I found an opportunity that does not require a certificate which is general trade, I made a company, I submitted my papers to have a work contract I am trying in all directions, I am trying.

هون بلوكسمبورج بيجوز ١٠ سنين ما أقدر أعتد على نفسي إذا بدي أمشي على الخطة إلى هنا ماشيين عليها, لا. أنا روحت حاولت اعمل شركة, اصدمت بموضوع ال certificate و انت محتاج كفاءة, لقيت شغلة ما بده certificate إلى هيه تجارة عامة, عملت شركة قدمت اوراقي ببصير عندي عقد عمل بحاول أشتغل من هون و من هون بحاول.

Interview quote 56

When he arrived and asked for asylum, he first needed protection and refugee status, as one of the basic needs of newcomers and one of the main components of an initial level of integration. However, he realised that it would take up to 10 years to get independent work or establish a company and depend only on himself. In the meantime, he keeps searching for opportunities and getting the requested certifications for this activity.

SP 26: 233 -248

SP26: I told them that I wanted to work, I am not used to staying without work. In Syria, the child being six years old works in the summer vacation with his father to learn the importance of work, and if the child wants to go to school and study it is fine, but if you want to quit school, you must work, you do not stay home. It is my first time sitting for two years without work. I used to go out in the morning and come back by night. I am telling my friends that the first time that I had belly fat is in Luxembourg, I was eating and doing nothing, I went to the social worker and asked them to work in the gardens in the municipality, any work, I am ready, some people have conditions about what to work, but I do not have a problem, I can work anything with respect, I do not want to stay dependent on the RMG, and to receive the salary without doing anything, the RMG is for people who do not have anything, but we are not like this. For example, many Syrians started to open shops and restaurants in Luxembourg. Nobody accepts staying at home, if you do not work, study..... even women work at

SP26: قتلنا انا بدي شغل, مئي متعود, إستاذي عندنا بسورية الطفل عمره ست سنوات بس يخلص من المدرسة بالصيف, بده يروح عالشغل مع أبوه مشان يعرف إنه هدا الشغل و هي مدرسة, بك تكفي الدراسة أوكيه ما عندنا مشكلة, إدرس ذاكر ما عندنا أي مشكلة لكن إذا بك تترك الدراسة مصيرك الشغل ما يصير تقعد بالبيت, فأنا اول مرة بحياتي أفعد صارلي سنتين ماتي متعود, كنت نطلع الصبح نرجع المسا من الشغل, بقلن للشباب أصحابي // ماصارلي كرش إلا بلوكسمبورج, أكل و مرعي, تاكل و قاعد ما فيه شغل, أنا رحت على السوسيال إلى عندي و قتلنا يا أخي شغلوني بالحدائق, بالبلدية, أي شغلة أي شغلة, بتجيكم وظيفة عمل أنا جاهز, يعني فيه ناس تتشرط لأ أنا بشتغل هي انا ما بشتغل هي لا أنا ما عندي مشكلة انا بشتغل أي شغلة المهم شغلة باحترامي ما بدي ضل عائلة عال RMG بينزلك راتب, نزل ما نزل, ال RMG لناس إلى ما عندها شي, نحنا مو هيك, نحنا باعكس, على سبيل المثال أغلبية السوريين الموجودين كلها صارت تفتح محلات و مطاعم بلوكسمبورج هنا, ما حدا بيرضي يقعد بالبيت نحنا عندنا فيه شي لازم تشتغل, ما تشتغل, أدرس..... حتى النساء تشتغل ما تشتغل برا, تشتغل بالبيوت, كخياطة كأني شي و يصدروا بضاعة لمعامل و المعامل بتصدر لبرا.

<i>home, sewing for example and selling to factories and factories export their products.</i>	
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Interview quote 57

SP26 mentions that he used to work in Syria from a young age and has been staying in Luxembourg for two years without any job. He is also suffering to find an appropriate job as he cannot accept staying at home. He compares his situation with others who managed to open restaurants or shops in Luxembourg. He presents a gender issue that even women used to work at home in Syria.

The comparison between how it was in the country of origin and being here in Luxembourg also appears in the SP2 interview

SP2: 339 – 350

<i>SP2: public celebrations, invitations from friends, celebrations, parties we are always there, it is part of the integration, if someone asks us to participate or invite us we will be there, this is the nature of our family, as a family, we love to mingle we like, and to guests all the time, we like to have many friendships, this is the nature of the family since we were in Syria till now we did not change, and it became a habit.</i>	
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SP2: يعني بنحب نكون دائماً في كل نشاط بيكون إلنا مثلاً حدى طالبنا أو حدى باعت لنا دعوة نكون موجودين فيه، يعني بطبيعتنا نحنا العائلية طبيعة العائلية نحنا بنحب الخلطة بنحب يكون عنا ضيوف دائماً بنحب يكون عنا ضيوف كثير، بنحب يكون عنا صداقات كثيره. هاي طبيعة العائلية من وقت ما كنا في سوريا لحد هلا يعني ما عاد تتغير، الطبع صار فينا صار بدمنا.
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Interview quote 58

SP2 mentions that it was a habit for the family members to be active participants in society in Luxembourg because it is the same personal competencies as the family back in Syria. In this situation, the personal competencies did not need approval from authorities or certification, but to interact with society and be friendly, participate in activities, volunteer and help others. Since this action does not need certification, it is clear and a helpful path toward integration.

In a question about integration and how education level affects integration, two speakers (SP7 and SP8) focused only on employment opportunities as a means for integration

SP7: 657 – 664

<i>SP7: Yes, the more the person is educated and open to learning, the faster they are to integrate and work. When someone shows his certificate, he will find a job quickly, and some specialities are demanded more</i>	
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SP7: إييه، كل ما الواحد كان متعلم أكثر و منفتح أكثر للتعليم بيكون أسرع للاندماج للشغل، لما الواحد يعرّف شهادته بيلقي شغل ببساطة و فيه انواع اختصاصات هو محبذة زيادة عن اللزوم، بيلقي شغل أسهل و أسرع. SP8: و فينا نقول مو بالضرورة يكون متعلم، إذا كان حدا

than others, he will find work easily and faster.

SP8: *And he does not necessarily have to be educated, but if he is speaking at least English, and he has a handicraft and is ready to start working, he will have the same opportunity as the educated person. I know a blacksmith. Once people saw his work, they were blown away, and he got hired immediately. He showed his work to several companies. They liked it so much. The educated person is equal to the craftsman who is good at what he does and ready to start working.*

بيحكي لغة على الاقل انجليزي و فيه حرفة جاهز انه يبيلش يشتغلها هلا هو بيجطى بنفس فرصة المتعلم, يعني مثلا بعرف حدا ببشتغل حداد, و رجعت بس على شغله طار مخن فيه و دغري بلش شغل و كذا عرفت, يعني ورا شغلة على كام شركة فكتير حيوا فهي المتعلم مثل الي الي عنده حرفة و متمكن منها و جاهز حقيقي هلا ليبيلش.

Interview quote 59

They only presented the idea of education as a means of integration in the job market, and how having a handicraft could help a person to have a job opportunity and how it affects their integration, either by having a certificate that proves educational level or even being with experience on a handicraft.

That having a job opportunity is the key to self-fulfilment and integrating into society was evident in most of the interviews, as it shows a direct measure or a landmark in the integration of the person if they can be independent and working. It is not just about having an income but also about the social status in the community and being considered as part of the community in Luxembourg

SP9: 601 – 668

SP9: *That is the idea, I had a university degree, but when I applied to the Ministry of Education, they accepted it as a typical high school diploma because it was not complete. They considered that I should retake the lessons that I studied in Arabic in English or French, so when I applied to the university, they considered the issue of experience, so they accepted me with 90 CTS, so I had to finish three semesters. They did not consider that I came from a very different place in education and in everything. At the same time, I also did not consider that this place was different and that there would be many different things here that I would be unable to do. I had not studied for ten years. Suddenly, I found myself in the final year of university, and there were a lot of hardships and things that I did not know. I am wrong because I initially did not attend as a listening student (external student). It affected me a lot. I had much pressure at*

SP9 هي الفكرة كان معي شهادة جامعية من قبل ولكن المشكلة كانت أن هون لما قدمت على وزارة التعليم قبلوها كابلوريا لأن أنا ماكان مكتملة الشهادة تبغي، وأعتبروا أن في دروس بالعربي أنا لازم أخذها بالفرنسي أو الأنجليزي ، فلما قدمت عل الجامعة أخذوا بعين الاعتبار موضوع الخبرة الل عندي فقبلوني بتسعين cts فأنا بقي عليا ان اعمل تلاته semesters ، هنا ما أخذوا بعين لأعتبار أنني أنا جاية من مكان جداً مختلف بالدراسة بكل شيء، وأنا بنفس الوقت ما أخذت بعين الاعتبار كمان ان هذا المكان مختلف وأنه حيكون كتير في أشياء مختلفة كمان أنا مو أقدر أنني أعملها، صار لي عشر سنين ما درست ، فوراً لقيت حالي بأخر سنة من الدراسة فكان في كتير صعوبات كتير كان في أشياء ما بعرفها، أعتبرت حالي أنني أنا غلطت أنني ما دخلت كطالب مستمع بالبدائية كا student external فهذا الموضوع كمان أثر على نفسي، لأنه كتير أنضغطت بها الوقت وهلا مثل ما بيقولوا عم حاول أتفهم الشيء باللي مرقت فيه بالنسبة لموضوع الجامعة والأشياء اللي يقدر عليها والأشياء اللي ما يقدر عليها فممكن يتأخر تخرجي فصل زيادة ولكن أنا بحاجة أن يكون عندي سعة جهد للأشياء أكثر؛ فأوكي الصعوبة اللي عانيتها كانت الاعتراف

that time, and now, as they say, I am trying to understand what I experienced concerning the university: things I can and cannot do which might affect and delay my graduation one more semester, but I need to exert more effort. Ok, the tricky thing I faced was the recognition or the equation of my certificate and understanding of their requirements. They are dealing with us as if we were European students, not as students from a place unlike here. I had never taken an open book exam before, and I did not know what it was, and suddenly I discovered that I would have one. What does it mean to have a book with me inside an exam and to copy from? I had many shocks during my first semester.

بالشهادة أو معادلتها وبالنسبة لهون هو فهم شو الأشياء المطلوبة، عم يتم التعامل معنا على أساس نحنا طلاب أوروبيين ما يتم التعامل معنا على أساس نحنا جايين من مكان ما بيثبه نفس الشيء أنا بحياتي ما عملت exam book open وما بعرف شو يعني وفجأة أنا لقيت حالي بنص الفحص أن فيه exam book open شو يعني أنا كيف بيكون معي الكتاب اللي أنا بكتب منه فكان فيه كثير صدمات متكررة كانت خلال الفصل الأول باللي عملته.

Interview quote 60

In this quote, SP9 presents what happened to her while finalising her education at the university since she did not graduate. Not having a graduation certificate from their country of origin when she came to Luxembourg, she needed to have a certificate for graduation. However, the Ministry of Education managed to accept the experience. It required her to join in the middle of a course and not to attend all the semesters needed to fulfil the bachelor's degree. So, the university accepted her midway. However, it was tough to fulfil the different requirements for a university education because it was different from what she used to have back in her country of origin. For example, having an issue with an open book exam was something that she had never experienced before. It was a shock to go to an exam having the book and being able to write some information from the book directly, not having to memorise the learning outcome and answer the exam questions that from what she had memorised.

There is also the issue that in the period of applying for asylum, the university can accept some students to attend as listening students. She said that this was a lost opportunity because she did not attend as a listening student in order to be able to learn about the university system and to be used to the university environment. This may be because people waiting for the asylum application initially do not want to be distracted from the primary goal of having legal status in Luxembourg. If there were a guide for young people to join the university during that time, she might have received a recommendation that she could attend as a listening student and be able to learn more. Her education at the university would be much easier afterwards. The difference is not just learning in a different language but also the environment and having different students who are primarily used to

the European style of education and for them, it is not a shock for them to attend a European university, but for her, it was a repeated shock faced in the university education. Concerning having a job opportunity after graduation, there is an issue of the self-fulfilment with personal competence that could be faced in this example

SP20: 351 – 363

<p>SP20: <i>The first thing they are telling you is that he is a European citizen, then they tell you that his certificate is higher, it is from this x university, or he had a work experience for a year, even if you had ten years work experience against his one-year work experience in Europe it means he is more experienced in marketing than you so many loopholes could be used to make the priority.....</i></p>	<p>SP20: أول شغلة بيقولك إن هو European Citizen تاني شغلة بيقولك عن الشهادة بتاعة عالية, شهادته من الجامعة الفلانية و لا عنده خبرة, انه اشتغل سنة, حتى لو إلك عشر سنوات بس هو سنة اشتغل بأوروبا يعني خبرة بالmarketing أكثر منك, يعني فيه كتير ثغرات الي ممكن تستخدم و تخلي الأولوية.....</p>
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Interview quote 61

Here, SP20 is comparing her competence with other peers who could be graduating with her or might have previous experience in the job market, but because the person is a European citizen, or graduated from a kind of elite university or had a better graduation certificate for a bachelor degree in comparison to her, or maybe working just one year in European markets in comparison to her ten years of experience this one year in Europe will be much more valued. Such people have the priority to be hired. This kind of challenge is due to the comparative advantage over someone who just came to the country compared to other people who live in this country or even from a similar geographical location that has many similarities with the conditions of education and job market.

This issue could be considered a competition between the migrants and the locals. It can show the speaker's level of integration, that the challenges she presents are more of a migrant than a refugee since the first barrier of having legal status and residency in Luxembourg was fulfilled. The next step will be to have a decent job opportunity and maybe to compete in the job market with the locals. This can be considered in the next stage of being a migrant who faces challenges to be integrated into society.

In the following quote, SP20 is comparing the personal competencies among different generations, and she mentions that the younger generations can learn much more quickly than the eldest ones due to the responsibilities of the older generations and also because the younger generations are growing up in Luxembourg and it is happening naturally.

SP20: 506 – 541

<p>SP20: <i>I see that the younger person is like a sponge,</i></p>	<p>SP20: الأصغر مثل السفنجة بنعرف, عم يمتصوا بسهولة</p>
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you know, they are grabbing everything quickly, for example, you need to learn about the other and speak their language, while he will absorb the language, younger persons do not think a lot about many things and responsibilities, problems do not burden them, nothing, they go to play..... I mean by typically dealing even it might be hard in the beginning. However, it's easier for the younger person to learn to benefit from the educational opportunities scholarships, so there is many opportunities to integrate and be successful,..... and it's a kind of integration, a kind of acceptance. Because the state is offering an opportunity, and he is accepting it, because he knows that he will evolve in this country that gave him security and opportunities and projects, not like the one who is older and coming to a new country.

يعني بدك تتعرف على الآخر و تتكلم لغته, ببساطة راح يمتص لغته, الاصغر ما يفكر بأشياء كثير و مسئولية , ما عى كاهلة كثير مشاكل يفكر فيها, ما في شيه, بيطلع بيلعب خلاص.
 SP20: بيتعامل بشكل طبيعي , رغم غنه ممكن يكون صعب بالبداي, بس إنه أسهل على الصغار إنهم يتعلموا, يستفيد من فرص التعليم المنح الأشياء هي كلها, يعني بيكون فيه عنده فرصة أكبر إنه يندمج و يحقق نجاحاتو هذا نوع من الاندماج نوع من التقبل. لأن الدولة بتعطيك و هو بيصير يتقبله لأنه بيعرف إن هو عم يتطور في هدي الدولة إلي هيه منحه الأمان و الفرص و المشاريع, مو مثل الكبير الي بيحي.

Interview quote 62

This point of view was shared among all the interviewees: the younger the person is, the easier it will be for their intercultural education, integration and acceptance to be part of the society in Luxembourg. The older ones face more barriers and challenges due to their personal experience and how hard they find to learn languages or change habits in the new host country.

From all the previous quotes, we can clearly understand how the interviewees mention their personal competencies and self-fulfilments within their life in Luxembourg.

5.1.7 Awareness/communication

As listed in the table below, awareness of what is happening in the host society is essential.

Interview	Code	Main ideas about Awareness / Communication	Link to
1	SP1	Knowing what is happening in Luxembourg through official resources and helping others be aware of events and activities is essential. However, the Arab community are not interested to learn.	Networking and community
4	SP9	Having personal incentives to learn about history, following events and newspapers, and learning from social media as a tool for employment	Local events and community
6	SP11	Perceive awareness of political issues in the country, which is not engaging in the first stage as seeking the residence permit, learning, housing, and employment then comes following stages of being more stable	Not interested in focusing on personal needs
9	SP14	The Arabs were not aware, I knew news from Luxembourgish people only.	community
10	SP15	Listening to news as a tool for language learning	Language learning
15	SP21	Not interested in the news but focus only on day-to-day life.	Not interested in focusing on personal needs
17	SP24	Following news through Salam show (Arabic Radio)	Media

Table 20: Overview of the main ideas about awareness/communication

Following the news and knowing what is happening in Luxembourg is essential for integration.

Many interviewees mentioned that they know about the national day or the Christmas market, but very few mentioned that they follow the news regularly. Language also plays a role in this case.

SP1: 617 – 630

SP1: I read news on “ L’essentiel” in French, and there is a Luxembourgish group called moienu from where I get news. I listen to the RTL radio, and L’Essentiel radio, and when anyone asks me about	SP1: بقراها عن طريق ال <i>essentiel</i> لغة فرنسية و فيه جروب اسمه <i>Moienu</i> لوكسمبورجي أخذ من عنده أخبار. SP1: راديو <i>RTL</i> أسمع و <i>Radio Essentiel</i> و افوت أكثر شي لما حد يسألني شي ما أعرفه أو أني أحتاج طلع
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<p><i>something I don't know I go to check on guichet.lu, also there is an office for guichet.lu in the city center, called information center and technology, when I need help I go to them , and they inform me where to find in the website, and guide me with the answers I need, also I go to the municipality when I need information.</i></p>	<p>معلومة Guichet.lu SP1: و فيه كمان مكتب بالسنتر Guichet.lu هو مركز المعلومات و التكنولوجيا اسمه من احتاج مساعدة او معلومة أروحلين. SP1: بس كمان بيدلك على الأسئلة الي تحتاجها, أنا كذا مرة سألت سؤال يقولي أكو بتلقيه Guichet.lu بس إذا محتاجة هي المعلومة خليني أقولك عليها. و كمان البلدية أسألهم كل ما احتاج معلومات.</p>
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Interview quote 63

Here SP1 is describing how she follows the news through local news agencies. When she needs information about current regulations in Luxembourg, she visits guichet.lu or the municipality information centre. It was already mentioned that she helps others get acquainted with relevant information. This is a significant indication of integration when a person knows the information for personal benefit, shares the knowledge among the refugee community, and helps others. To be an active member in society is a significant dimension of integration.

Concerning how a person is learning about the host country and how to become aware of things happening in Luxembourg, SP9 says:

SP9: 426 – 588

<p><i>SP9: I tried a lot to learn about the history of Luxembourg I went to the tour guide in the first period I came, I took civil course that is related to vivre ensemble, so I learned many things about the origin of festivals, why they celebrated on this date? what happened here what happened there, it's how I understand how people think because it's is exciting to know a lot of things about them.</i></p> <p><i>I follow the News in general. I try to read newspapers here and see the cultural events and activities they are organizing in general. It is a very peaceful country, So the news about it is really few.</i></p> <p><i>I do not watch TV this option is cancelled for me somehow, for the radio I do not listen a lot because for me I cannot understand Luxembourgish, I cannot deal with it clearly, I read newspapers sometimes I read L'essentiel I read the English Wort, maybe some people whom I know try to speak to interact with each other about what they heard, in general, my interaction with things that I can learn by</i></p>	<p>حاولت كثير أني أعرف عن التاريخ تبعهم فأنا طلعت ب tour guided بالفترة الأولى لما جيت، أخذت cour civil تبع الفيف إنساميل فتعرفت عليها أكثر الأشياء باللي من وين أجه هاد العيد ليش هذا العيد بهذا التاريخ، شو المقصود من بالفراج وشو هون وشو هونيك ، كمان هذا جزء من فهم الناس كيف بتفكر لأ كان مثير كثير معرفة ها الأشياء عنهن. بتابع الأخبار بشكل عام بحاول أقرأ بالجراید الموجودة هون بحاول أشوف الأنشطة الثقافية أو ال events باللي بيعملوها، إجمالاً هي بلد مسالم جداً في الأخبار اللي بتطلع عنها قليلة كثير يعني. أنا مابشوف تلفزيون فا هادا ال option ملغي عندي نوعاً ما، راديو كمان ما بسمع كثير لأن انا لحد الآن بالنسبة لإلي اللكسمبورجي يفهم كلمات ما بقدر لسه أتعامل فيه بشكل واضح، بقرأ جرايد ممكن بقرأ L'essentiel بقرأ Wort English ، ممكن أنه من الأشخاص اللي يعرفهن ممكن يكون تتواصل مع بعض أنه سمعت في هيك سمعت في هيك بس إجمالاً لأ تواصلني أكثر بالأشياء باللي ممكن بالصدف أني ألقطها اني لازم أعرف شو صار بس مثلاً على feed news عندي على الجوجل فرضاً بنزل كل شيء عن لوكسمبورج أي شيء بيطلع عن لوكسمبورج بيطلع عندي. فيس بوك شويه فيما يخص ال events والأنشطة الثقافية ولكن ما فيني أعتد عليها كثير بالنسبة لموضوع الأخبار،</p>
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coincidence.... I should know what happened, but on the news feed in Google, everything that happens in Luxembourg appears to me.

Facebook also shows events and cultural activities but I cannot depend on it for news

LinkedIn, in the beginning, was beneficial I managed to know people what they like what kind of style they are following to present their CV where they are working how the profile photo could look like If a large number of people are working in this company, it means that this company is hiring and I can work with, or they work overseas. So when I'm trying to find a job opportunity or people I could know from where I could get a job opportunity. LinkedIn helped me a lot to see how Luxembourg sees finance. Like any European I meet outside of Luxembourg, they think I live here to do business when they ask me about Luxembourg. This country is the land of business. I want to understand why it became the land of business.....

What sort of projects are Luxembourg involved in? What is the main focus of Luxembourg for the future that could receive support like start-ups? For example, Luxembourg has focused on digital marketing start-ups and climate change. LinkedIn is the best source for this kind of information.

For the Arab Facebook pages, I followed in the beginning. However, then I found that it is very much more about complaining than about participating or sharing the ideas like there is a shop open supermarket open there are some offers for bread. There are groups of friends who are controlling the page. It is not for everyone. Till now, I have not seen a helpful Arabic Facebook page for an Arabic community living here in Luxembourg with a clear goal, not the Syrian or Iraqi or Palestinians oppressed Indians are more stick together Iraqi too between each other the urge communicate and concentrate and things between each other. However, for Syrians, there is some different groups that have different

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linkedin في البداية كان مفيد أكثر أنني أقدرت تعرف بالأشخاص شو بتفضل أو شو السنايل اللي عم يتبعوه، كيف الطريقة cv تبعهم، وبين عم يشتغلوا أكثر ، كيف شكل photo profile، في كثير في أعداد كبيرة يشتغلوا بهاي الشركة معناتها هاي الشركة في عندها منفتحة كثير أو إليها شغل حتى بره لو كسمبورج أو غيره، وحتى لما أنا عم دور على فرص عمل أو على أشخاص أنا أكون على معرفة فيهن أقدر أحصل على فرص عمل، linkedin ساعدني كثير، ساعدني كمان اني أشوف نظرة لو كسمبورج لل finance يعني دائماً اي شخص أوروبي بتعرف عليه بره لو كسمبورج، لما يسألوني عن لكسمبورج أه أنتي ساكنة للبيزنس أنه هاي أرض البيزنس؛ فأنا بدي أفهم أنا ليش تسمت أرض البيزنس يعني..... ، بشو لو كسمبورج عم تتخرط هلا، شو الشيء اللي لو كسمبورج عم تركز عليه بالمستقبل بحيث أنه بيصير إله دعم أكثر ك startup مثلاً بهاي الفترة كثير كان تركيز لو كسمبورج على startups تركيزها كثير على الديجيتال market digital تركيز كثير على موضوع أوكي، مدى إنخراطها على موضوع cliamte change مثلاً، فهاي الأشياء كلياتها اللينكدان هو أفضل شبكة للمعلومات هايد.

.....
بالبداية أيه وبعدين صرت هايدا كمان عم تكون كثير للنقد أكثر من أنه لمشاركة الفكرة يعني، أن ما صارت أنه محل تجاري أنا فاتح سوبر ماركت هون بتبجي مثلاً عاملين عرض خمس ريبات خبز مثلاً أو صار فيها لأ هادول أنه الأدمن مثلاً إله شلة شلة معه بالبيج يعني ما عايد مفتوحة يعني، أنا لحد الآن أنا ماشفت أنه في صفحة عربية لجالية عربية موجودة هون وهادفه بشكل واضح يعني لا العراقي ولا السورية ولا فلسطينية، الفلسطينيين كثير together stick العراقيين كمان بين بعضهم ببعضهم بيركزون بأمورهن لبعضهم يعني، السوريين صار في شيء شلاليه يعني، هاي الشئلة هون هاي الشئلة اللي هون، هادول عندون صفحة هذا عنده صفحة وإذا أنا ما يتفق مع الأدمن للصفحة أنا ببطل أفوت بالصفحة كلها.

<p><i>alliances group with here this group there they do not have one page the I have too many pages for each group, and if I disagree with the admin of one page, I stop visiting the whole page.</i></p>	
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Interview quote 64

In this quote, SP9 says that he has tried to learn about the history and to learn about the country by any possible means, like participating in guided tours (that are usually organized by the Luxembourg City tourist office) and in the 'Vivre Ensemble' course which is part of the requirements for acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality. This was one method to learn about the country, and another was to participate in events, read newspapers to be aware of the news in Luxembourg, use electronic tools, receive news feed from Google about everything happening in Luxembourg, or learn things from 'Linked-in' and also using it to find a job opportunity. On the other hand, using Facebook and social networks with the Arabic-speaking community was not so helpful as the information was not so much value for integration and the community interaction took other patterns, creating some subgroups that were not helping to have the sense of community for all the Arabs living in Luxembourg.

SP1: 436 – 439

<p><i>SP1: They are totally disconnected from the European Luxembourgish culture. I have a group on Facebook with around 1100 members of, Arabs living in Luxembourg, I know there is a lack of information. They do not have any interest in knowledge of what is going on in the country's culture, which is not good since they are living here. They have to participate in cultural events.</i></p>	<p><i>SP1: ما إليهم علاقة تماما بالثقافة الاوربية اللوكسمبورجية أنا عندي جروب على الفيسبوك بيه 1100, 100 شخص عربي ساكنين بلوكسمبورج قررت أسويه لإنني اعرف فيه نقص بالمعلومات, ما عندهم اي اهتمام يتعرفون على ثقافة البلد و هي شي مو زين لأنه طالما عايش هنا لازم تشارك بالافتتاحات الثقافية.</i></p>
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Interview quote 65

In the previous quote, SP1 mentioned that she tried to help other people by creating a Facebook group for Arabs living in Luxembourg; there are around 1000 – 1100 members. She thinks there is a problem within the Arab community, namely that a lot do not know anything about what happens in Luxembourg, or they do not have any interest in the events and the culture of the country they live in. She, therefore, felt a responsibility to help others through this Facebook group.

The previous two quotes (SP1, and SP7) showed that they had different perspectives on how the community functions, how they perceive information, and how they react to the same issue. Both mentioned that they managed to get information about life in Luxembourg

from official sources. For example, SP1 mentioned in quote 67 that she managed to create awareness by following the news or information from official resources like Guichet.lu, or mainstream media. And then, in the following quote, SP1 shows how she managed to play a multiplier role and promote first-hand information to the public Arab community in Luxembourg through the group she manages on Facebook. This proactive approach was to fill the knowledge gap among the Arab population in Luxembourg.

While SP9 managed to be aware of information and news in Luxembourg through official institutes, mainstream media, and online tools, feeling the information gap among the population. It did not ask whether they felt a responsibility for helping the unaware population. It is not an obligation to share such information; they did not spontaneously do so. However, this suggests different views about how the Arab population functions, interacts with and becomes aware of life in Luxembourg.

SP11: 230 – 289

<p><i>SP11: At this stage, I have more important things to care about than politics, like work and housing. The political issues affect me as a refugee and a migrant, but I am currently worrying and waiting. Currently, I am supposed to start to integrate..... in the beginning. It would help if you had your legal status by receiving the residency, then comes education and then working and then housing, at the end it's all factors for stability, stages after that are all factors of stability in this country like acquiring the nationality, trying and working, for example, to buy house to have a suitable job, that's my point of view.</i></p>	<p>SP11: أنا في مرحلة عندي أمور أكثر أهمية من الامور السياسية بالوقت الحالي العمل السكن. صحيح إنه الامور السياسية كلاجئ كمهاجر, تأثر علي بس بالوقت الحالي عدت مرحلة القلق و الانتظار بالوقت الحالي أنا المفروض أبداً بالاندماج.</p> <p>.....: بالبدائية لازم يكون موقفك قانوني عن طريق الحصول على الإقامة بعدها التعليم و العمل و السكن, كلها بالنهاية عوامل استقرار.</p> <p>.....: المراحل الي بعد كده أغلبها تكون عوامل استقرار أكثر في هذا البلد كمثلاً الحصول على الجنسية السعي و العمل , مثلاً شراء مسكن, الحصول على وظيفة مناسبة, أنا هادي أفكاري.</p>
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Interview quote 66

In the last quote, SP11 refers to awareness of issues, life, culture, or political events in Luxembourg and how a person might interact with them. The speaker says there are more important priorities to take care of in this stage than political matters. However, even considering the personal needs to secure a job opportunity and housing, the speaker is aware that being a migrant or refugee will directly affect the political discourse. There might be a responsibility to participate or follow what is going on. Nonetheless, due to personal needs it comes in second place.

The second important thing the speaker SP11 said is that there are stages for integration. As he said in the beginning legal status is the most important thing, and since he received this legal status, he passed the period of being worried, afraid, and uncertain about the future.

The early stages of integration can create a barrier to integration because of the unclear future or the potential status that the person will receive. While the administration checks the asylum applications, it takes administrative time to study the file and decide. This is logical, but on the other hand, the person is waiting without any way to know the decision in the future. There might be opportunities to learn the language or participate in activities, but this will be according to personal competencies. That is why it is clear and essential that SP11 mentioned that the first stage is the period of not knowing and worrying.

SP11 also mentioned that there are further stages after receiving refugee status when the person needs to stabilize his life by finding a job, housing and education. Then comes a later stage which can be represented as acquiring the nationality or the ability to buy a house.

All the points mentioned by SP11 were focused on stability, which may be due to the speaker's status in the interview period and their concern about receiving refugee status and trying to focus on stability and living a decent life in Luxembourg. We can see that awareness of the country, interaction or participation was not mentioned at all by SP11 as there are other priorities for the person to achieve integration.

The contrast between the point of view and action between SP1, SP9 and SP11 is fascinating. It shows how the integration process might involve different components that can fit the individual needs, rather than having a static representation as a 'one size fits all'. Among three different speakers, their point of view varies between extreme interaction and sharing information with others, acting as a multiplier, or in a middle position of having interaction and awareness on the personal level, but feeling that the Arab society is not interacting towards integration, and at the other extreme view that a person should focus on personal needs, work hard, learn languages, find a job and have decent housing in order to have stability in life in Luxembourg.

In the following excerpt, the speaker SP14 confirms some of the previous points mentioned and views them differently.

SP14: 816 – 832

<p><i>SP14: No, I do not know if all the Arabs are like me, but in my life I never heard News from an Arab. Usually I know the news from the Luxembourgish people. I have a friend who is following media outlets and he told me some useful information one day, something about big events that happened concerning a problem between the minister of foreign affairs and his Italian counterpart like news at the level of Luxembourg, some accidents here and there, trains, I always hear it from Luxembourgish</i></p>	<p>SP14: لا والله، ما أدري إذا كل العرب مثلي، بس أنا بحياتي ما سمعت من واحد عربي قالني على خبر، دائما الإخبار عرفها من اللوكسمبورجيين. فيه حد من جماعتي متابع وسائل الإعلام فاندني بمعلومة في يوم من الأيام، صارت أحداث كبيرة يعني، مشكلة وزير الخارجية مع وزير الخارجية الإيطالي، يعني أخبار على مستوى لوكسمبورج، حوادث تصير هنا و هنا قطارات، دائما أسمعها من لوكسمبورجيين، العرب ما عندهم أي فكرة عنهم....</p>
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people, Arabs don't have any idea about them.

Interview quote 67

SP14 says that he usually knew the news from Luxembourgish people, that it was very rare to know about news and information from Arabs in Luxembourg, and that the Arab population is usually unaware of what is happening in Luxembourg. SP14 is not sure if all Arab people are like that, but this can indicate and confirm some of the information mentioned by the previous speakers, namely that Arabs, in general, are not aware of the news and actions happening in Luxembourg. These examples also reveal that the different sources of information used do not include the Arab community in Luxembourg.

In the next excerpt SP15 show a different angle concerning following the news in Luxembourg

SP15: 651 – 683

SP15: Yes I hear the news in the French language to learn French, I do not listen to know the news because I will not understand everything but for example, when the same word repeats several times it becomes much easier for me to pronounce it how the author speaking in French so this word be repeated in front of me and by repeated I know how to pronounce it but I don't know what does it mean so I know how to pronounce it till it be repeated in front of me so I ask someone what does it mean they tell me like this they explain it to me so this language is like building blocks in your brain so unblock from here and one block from there and then you will find yourself building the language bit by bit

SP15: أي اخبار باللغة الفرنسية بسمعها لأتعلم فرنسي ما بسمع لأعرف اخبار لأنه أساسا ما راح إفهم عليها بس أنا مثلا كلمة بتكرر كتير قدامي بيصير لفظه عندي أسهل. بصير اسمع مثلا عم يحكوا عم يحكوا عم يحكوا بالفرنسي يعني فيه كلمة عم تنعاد فكثر الإعادة بصير انا أعرف ألفظه بس ما بعرف شو معناته بس أنا بعرف ألفظه بيصير إذا حدا مثلا نكرها قدامي بقله شو هي مثلا بيقلني كذا. يعني اللغة مثل بناء بلوكات بمحك يعني بلوكة من هون بلوكة من هون كلمة من هون كلمة من هون تلاقيك عم تبني اللغة شوي شوي.

Interview quote 68

SP15 says that listening to the news in French is a tool for improving language proficiency. Listening to the same terminology repeatedly can help one to remember it, and repeating it will make it easier to know how to pronounce it and what it means.

SP15 also used the examples of 'blocks' in his description of how language learning can work, as he said that learning a language is like building blocks from different resources to have more blocks in the brain. Even if the person does not understand the words, gathering the blocks in mind will help build the language construction. Using this example, the blocks might have been affected by the data collection tool I used to discuss integration.

Using news as a language learning is an exciting point, even if he mentioned that he does not understand and does not aim to know the news in Luxembourg. Just listening can be a way of practising the language.

The next excerpt from SP21 has many similarities with what was mentioned before from SP11:

SP21: 366 -373

<p><i>SP21: No, I do not follow politics in general since I was in my country, I am not interested in it at all, and I do not follow its news. I only care about the citizen. What is he getting at the end? Is having a decent life? is there enough salaries that they are receiving for the monthly life expenditure?, which is essential for me. I don't care if the right-wing party has the power or the left-wing party I do not care, I care about living here with dignity to have the minimum life needs available. What do I need? I need to live safely, and for my children to be safe in their schools, I need clean streets, I need to see immaculate gardens that entertain children or old people.</i></p>	<p>SP21: لأ، الحقيقة لأ، يعني أنا السياسة كليتها من وقت لوقت كنت ببلدي، ماني مهتم فيها نهائياً، و لا يتابع أخبارها نهائياً أنا بيهمني المواطن شو عم يحصل بالنهاية، هل هو عايش حياة كريمة؟ هل هو الرواتب الي عم يتقاضاها عم تكون كافية من أجل لمعيشتك الشهرية، أنا هذا إلي بيهمني. أنا ما بيهمني اذا استلم الحزب اليميني و لا الحزب اليساري، أنا ما بيهمني، أنا بيهمني أعيش هون بكرامتي. يكون أدنى أساليب الحياة تكون متوفرة، أنا شو بدي، بدي أعيش بأمان بدي ولادي يكونوا بمدارسهم مأمنتلهم، بدي شوارع نظيفة بدي شوف حدائق نظيفة بها كل وسائل الرفاهية بالنسبة للأطفال، أو بالنسبة لكبار العمر.</p>
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Interview quote 69

SP21 says that he does not follow politics at all since he was in his country of origin, as he focuses on what is happening directly affects the lifestyle of the individual and that he doesn't care who takes the power from which political party but just wants to live in Luxembourg with dignity and have all people's needs fulfilled.

This point of view can be seen from different directions. This speaker seeks a stable and decent life in Luxembourg and does not care about the decision-making process. On the other hand, SP21 translated the term 'news' as only political interactions that appeared in the news. I can understand what SP21 means is that the previous life experience in the country of origin lacks peaceful political actions. Politics led to all the instability that happened in the country of origin, which led the speaker to escape from there in the first place to seek security and asylum in another country. This can give us an understanding that even daily life news in Luxembourg can be perceived through the same lens the newcomer used to perceive the news in the country of origin. It shows how personal experience can affect the integration path and how the individual might interact with the community and the hosting country. How perceiving the news could be via the same state of mind that the person used to have on the public issues.

The last excerpt from SP24 shows one main source of the news and information about Luxembourg

SP24: 770

SP24: I follow the Salam Show news.	SP24: أتابع أخبار تبع سلام شو
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Interview quote 70

SP24 follows Salam Show's news, which is a weekly program on radio ARA in Arabic. This program usually presents news and information about Luxembourg, its institutions, and its activities, which can help integrate the Arabic-speaking population in Luxembourg. The program has been broadcast since 2016 till now on the radio station and online. Also, they have a Facebook page where they share their episode after having them on air so that people can listen to them online anytime. SP24 mentions only this one source of news, and maybe he doesn't know about other sources, or maybe the language barrier plays a role in following the news, or maybe because the show programs are shared on the social media platforms and Facebook pages that are used mainly by the Arab population in Luxembourg.

5.1.8 Future perspectives / perception for improvement

It can be considered as an axis of integration when a person sees his future in Luxembourg and, of course, will do everything to consider himself at home and to be committed to providing better living conditions and a future for their children, as indicated in the following table:

Interview	Code	Main ideas about Future perspectives / perception for improvement	Link to
1	SP1	Consider that the old generations are living in the past, and more connected with their country of origin while considering their children as belonging already to Luxembourg as their home country	Family
9	SP14	Due to lack of job opportunities, some might leave Luxembourg after acquiring the nationality	Employment
10	SP15	The plan al consists of language learning, French for job market, and Luxembourgish to get the nationality	
11	SP17	Acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality is a goal for stabilising their life in Luxembourg and for the	Nationality

		future of their children	
15	SP21	Feeling satisfied to be in Luxembourg, with hope of integration	Sense of belonging
15	SP22	Future is for the children, and the parents are learning language and trying to integrate to fill their time	Family
17	SP24	Feeling frustrated because the son's future has been determined according to French language competency, he did not have enough time to study it. So not feel satisfied with unfair treatment.	family
19	SP26	Sense of belonging to Luxembourg due to comparison with the country of origin	Active citizenship

Table 21: Overview of the main ideas about Future perspectives/perceptions for improvement

Some of the participants mentioned their own future or their children's future in Luxembourg. It allows them to clarify their attitudes towards different issues happening in Luxembourg, either for themselves or their family. How do they perceive their social responsibility towards the local community in case they feel being a part of it or not? In case of acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality, are they going to use it for mobility and travel to live in other EU member states or do they plan their future in Luxembourg? What do they intend to do if the situation in their countries of origin might improve? Are they going to return? Or did they already adapt to the living conditions in Luxembourg?

The speaker SP1 presents the situation of the people who are not living in their current situation. They keep their lifestyle as if they are still in their countries, and living in their memories, separate from the reality they are living here in Luxembourg.

SP1 : 456 – 466

<p><i>SP1: Most people are still living inside their memories, trapped in their past, as they came from countries with different social conditions, everyone wishes to go back and live in an era that will never come back Because I have daughters, and I do not want to make them live in a double standard (schizophrenia). If I will live in the past and my daughters are living here, they became Luxembourgers, either I accept or not, Luxembourg belongs to them and they belong to Luxembourg.</i></p>	<p>SP1: أغلبهم، عايشين في ذكرايتهم محاصرين بالماضي، لأنهم جايين من دول الوضع مختلف إجتماعيا، فالكل يتمنى لو يقدر يرجع و يعيش بذاك الزمان الي ما راح يرجع</p> <p>....</p> <p>ايه و بسبب انه عندي بنات ما ابغى أعيشهم بانفصام، لأن لو حعيش بالماضي و بناتي عايشين هنا، بناتي صاروا لوكسمبورجيين شئت أم أبيت كل شي لوكسمبورجي يخصهم، تحس انهم منتمين لهذا البلد</p>
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Interview quote 71

The speaker feels clear importance that their children and the next generation are living here. They are already Luxembourgish, being part of the society and getting an education in the Luxembourgish school system. So, there will be a 'double standard', and the speaker used a word that could have a meaning of schizophrenia, which represents how it feels to be living in two different societies and in between different cultures and not accepting reality. He also talks about how some of the parents might pressure their children to keep controlling them to be part of their previous life back in their country, which cannot fit with how the society functions in Luxembourg.

In the following excerpt, SP1 describes some of the problems encountered:

“SP1: 542 – 615

<p>“SP1: 542 – 615: a lot of problems, political, religious because they have free time, they have nothing to do, they are just focusing on which sector religious group others belong to, or which political figures the others follow or support, many problems in the camps as I saw”</p>	<p>كثير, كثير, مشاكل كثير, سياسية و دينية, بسبب فراغهم لأنهم ما يشتغلون و ما عندهم شي يسويه نو مركزين على أشياء ان انت من هي الملة, انت متابع هذا الشخص السياسي, انت داعم هذا الشخص, فيه مشاكل كثيرة..... هدي في الكامبات اني حسب ما شفقتها.”</p>
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Interview quote 72

SP1 mentions problems in the foyer that people co-create due to the amount of free time they have. According to this logic, many stay in their original fields of concern from their country of origin and deal with other residents. They do not explore elements outside their ethnic and cultural background comfort zone, do not learn about the host country they live in, and do not focus on their potential future but on the issues in their country of origin that pushed them to come to Luxembourg in the first place. They escaped from a war zone regarding tensions mainly due to political, religious and sectarian tensions.

This separation and the pressure can create this schizophrenia as the speaker mentioned. It shows how the speaker is aware of the future problems that can face the coming generation, who might not have even lived the realities back in their parents' country of origin, being very young when they left, or even it might be that they are born in Luxembourg. However, their parents are still living in their nostalgia.

SP16: 910 – 945

<p>Sp17: Our focus now is on acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality, it gives us a sense of stability to hold the nationality of the country where we live, and where our children are getting educated. If you intend to have a stable life in it, it is very</p>	<p>SP17: أهم نقطة مركزين عليها, ناخذ الجنسية اللوكسمبورجية, يعني هم نوع من الاستقرار, ان انت تحمل جنسية هادي البلد الي انت ساكن بيه, و طفلك أو أطفالك ديردرسون بيه, انت ناوي تستقر فيه فضروري تحمل جنسية هذا البلد, و اعتقد من تتجنس و تحمل اللغة حيحمل عندك أفلق</p>
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important to acquire a nationality. I believe once you acquire the nationality and have a language, you will have much more perspective to work and integrate. Since you speak Luxembourgish, you will be able to speak with most people. Even the employment issue will be easier. It is easier to apply with Luxembourgish and English than just with English.

أكثر العمل الاندماج, كون انت حتحمل اللغة اللوكسمبورجية, تقدر تحكي مع أغلب الناس, حتى موضوع الشغل أسهل حينكون, أسهل ما تقدم بس باللغة الإنجليزية حتقدر تقدم باللغة الإنجليزية و اللغة اللوكسمبورجية .

Interview quote 73

In quote 75 above, the speaker SP17 mentions that they are focusing on acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality, which will help them feel stability. Then there will be other perspectives for integration and finding job opportunities. In this case, we can see that acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality will be a goal for stability and to make sure that if any changes happen in the Luxembourgish political context, or if it becomes safer in the countries of origin there will be security. If anything changes in the future, refugee status might not be enough security to stay in Luxembourg, especially with children. It will be much easier for their children to grow up in Luxembourg and hold the Luxembourgish nationality, having the same opportunities as any national and not being treated as a third country national or a refugee for the rest of their lives.

This insurance mechanism makes the people try to learn the Luxembourgish language enough to pass the language exam, and not to focus on other languages needed to access the job market. We have here to evaluate the conditions concerning Luxembourg's linguistic landscape and how it differs from other European countries where you can use one official language in everything. However, these multilingual conditions in Luxembourg make people choose to find a job by improving or learning French or learning the minimum requirement of the Luxembourgish language to acquire the Luxembourgish nationality and secure the family's future and stability.

SP 26: 672 – 693

SP26: : The richest country, for Kuwait, it is considered in billions of dollars. This surplus is good for Saudi Arabia, or Bahrain, or the Emirates. I mean, there is a mistake about those people, not Luxembourg, it is my country. Of course, my mother country is Syria, and my second country is Luxembourg definitely, and whoever wants to oppose me on something, let him confront me.

SP26: أغنى دولة, بالنسبة للكويت يعتبر بالمليارات الدولار هذا الفائض طيب السعودية و لا البحرين و لا الإمارات يعني فيه غلط بالموضوع بالنسبة للناس دول لا بالنسبة للوكسمبورج هيه بلدي, طبعاً بلدي الام سوريا بلدي الثاني لوكسمبورج قولاً واحداً, و الي بده يعارضني على شي خليه يواجهني, انا بلدي هجرني و لوكسمبورج أوتني انا راح يصير ميولي أكيد للوكسمبورج يعني لوكسمبورج عطتني أوراق , او كيه قاعد بفوييه ما فيه مشكلة بس بالأخير قاعد تحت سقف أنا, عطتني راتب عم بتدر سني ببلاش, عم تعطيني مواصلاتي كل سنة مجاناً أنا ضمن لوكسمبورج مواصلاتي مجاناً انا كنت بلدي إذا بدي اطلع بدي ارفع, طيب بده يصير ولائي لمي

My country deserted me, and Luxembourg hosted me.

It will definitely become my inclination to Luxembourg. I mean, Luxembourg gave me papers.

Ok, I stay in a foyer. There is no problem, but at least, I sit under a roof. Luxembourg gave me a salary, and taught me for free. And give me transportation annually for free.

If I want to go anywhere, I have to pay in my country. Ok, so which country should I be loyal t? I want to be loyal to the country that hosted me and protected my children.

For example, my children have a special bus that takes them back to school. They take care of them and educate them. For example, they write notes in his notebook to let us know what the child did at school, the thing is, I mean, it takes care of children, My country kills children. Children are dying under the bombing under the beating, while Luxembourg is keeping my children safe. I want to be 100% loyal to Luxembourg in one word.

ن؟ بدي بصير ولاني للبلد الي اواني و الي حضني و الي
حضان اولادي,

هأأ مثلاً اولادي فيه باص خاص بيحي بيأخدم بيرجعهم
للمدرسة و عم بيدرسوهم و اهتمام، اليوم شو عمل الطفل
بيكتبولي ملاحظات بدقتره انه عمل كذا، الشغلة الفلانية، يعني
فيه اهتمام بالأطفال، انا بلدي عم بيقتل الاطفال. الاطفال عم
بتموت تحت القصف تحت الضرب و لوكسمبورج بتحافظلي
على اولادي انا بده بصير ولاني ١٠٠% للوكسمبورج قولاً
واحداً.

Interview quote 74

Considering Luxembourg as a home country is an emotional choice, it can be achieved by the sense of belonging or through the protection of children. However, it also creates future perspectives for the person himself or herself and their children. In this quote we can see the issue of loyalty to the first country and second country.

Acquiring the nationality might be a controversial issue because it may not be linked to a wish to stay forever in Luxembourg

SP14: 425 – 431

SP14: The Arabs who came here, it will be hard to stay here forever after acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality, a big percentage of them will think of leaving, may be many of them have children in schools that's why they do not leave, but even they still might leave after their children graduate from school, there is a strong force pushing the people to leave which is hard to resist. like shortage in job opportunities unless we exclude the finance, but for others job opportunities are not easy, and business opportunities

SP14: العرب إلي جابيين هنا صعب بيبقون دائماً بعد الحصول
على الجنسية فيه نسبة كبيرة منهم راح تفكر بالمغادرة. المانع
الوحيد هسه الي عندك كثير منهم انه أبنائهم بالمدرسة و كمان
أبناء بالمدرسة هدا مو حل دائم يعني، يعني إلي ابنه مدرسة،
مثلاً صف ثالث و لا رابع بعدلها ١٠، ١٢ سنة. فيه قوة كبيرة
تدفع للمغادرة، هادي صعب مقاومتها..... يعني ضعف فرص
العمل ما فيها فرص عمل يعني إذا استثنينا ال finance
للآخرين، فرص عمل ما مغرية، فرص ال business صعبة
جدا و معقدة

are challenging and complicated

Interview quote 75

As SP14 mentioned, some people will leave Luxembourg once they acquire the Luxembourgish nationality because of the lack of job opportunities in Luxembourg or because it is complicated compared to other European countries. So, they might go to other European countries since being an EU citizen will remove the barrier of being able to live and work in any of the other EU member states.

This issue has several sides: the lack of opportunities, or it can represent failing the integration process of this person who will leave the country after becoming a citizen.

SP15 : 810 – 878

SP15: I am thinking that I should finish the issue of the French learning language because this is to have a job do not work in French means that you are improving to work and to speak, the issue of work and anything as a key for job opportunity here called French language, after the French language you need some criteria's you need that to have here five years, QR obligated to stay here for five years to be able to apply for nationality, so I have a goal for myself that in the coming two years it is for French and two years after eat it is for Luxembourgers, so I could finish the issue of work with French on this two years after his for Luxembourg so after five years I finish the topic of French and work and then it comes to the issue of nationality and then after two years I could apply for nationality, and I don't know this is how I'm thinking and planning for

SP15: أنا بفكر بدي إنهي موضوع اللغة الفرنسية لأنه هيه موضوع العمل باللغة الفرنسية يعني انك تحسن تشتغل وتحكي موضوع الشغل واي شيء مفتاح عملي هوني اسمه اللغة الفرنسية بعد اللغة الفرنسية انت بدك شروط بدك شروط انه يكون فيه إلك خمس سنين هون يعني انت اجباري بدك تضل خمس سنين لحتى تروح تقدم على جنسيه فأنا حاطط إنه مثلا هادول السنيتين الجايين هادول للفرنسي و السنيتين الى بعدن للوكسمبورجي فهيك يكون عم خلصت موضوع العمل بالفرنسي و هادوك السنيتين اللي بعدن للغة اللكسمبورجية يعني بيجي بعد ٥ سنين بيتهي موضوع الفرنسي و العمل و بيجي على موضوع الجنسية يعني بعد السنيتين قدم ع الجنسية و ما بعرف هيك عم بفكر و عم خطط يعني.

Interview quote 76

In the previous excerpt, SP15 talks about his plans, where language learning is significant, as he needs to finish learning French to work; French is the key to the job market. Another main point mentioned by most interviewees, i.e., acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality, means that learning the Luxembourgish language is the next step to applying for the nationality after five years of living in Luxembourg.

After acquiring Luxembourgish nationality, the plans stop in his explanation about the perspectives for the future. This might mean several things: either there is no plan, or the

only main plan is to come here, get the nationality, and live in Luxembourg in a stable life without thinking about a residence permit or refugee status.

This also indicates how the country of origin plays a role or not in the speaker's plan. I did not meet anyone who mentioned that returning to the country of origin is part of the plan in their plan. This probably means that no one from those I met is thinking of returning after the war finished, or, because the whole discussion in the interview was on integration, speakers had the impression that we should focus only on the integration in Luxembourg and nothing else.

This point is interesting because it might show how policymaking toward this target group should occur. As the situation in the Middle East is getting more and more complicated, there is no indication that the refugees will be able to return to their country of origin. Or it may show how the public discourse of integration is happening among the population of the Arab refugees as they get the news from their social networks that someone has succeeded in the language exam and managed to receive Luxembourgish nationality, which gives the person stability in Luxembourg, and also mobility for work, study, or even for tourism whereas just holding the refugee status gives them the right only to live in Luxembourg and nothing more.

The issue of mobility in Europe using Luxembourgish citizenship is another point. Due to the linguistic complexity in finding a job opportunity in Luxembourg, in addition to the size of the country and the job market, and the kind of available job opportunities in Luxembourg, it becomes challenging to secure a decent life and future perspective in Luxembourg with only the refugee status. Adding to this complexity is the housing prices and how hard it is to find a house. On the other hand, just acquiring Luxembourgish nationality opens up a wide range of options and opportunities for education, work, and even cheaper housing prices in other countries compared with the housing market of Luxembourg.

That's why all the discussions I had presented nationality as a goal. It is considered an achievement to manage to succeed in the language exam and receive a passport.

But it is worth mentioning as well that the topic of discussion in the data collection period might lead to this result in the data, as we were discussing integration in Luxembourg, and this can be a reason that people might think that holding the nationality of the host country can be the final step of integration.

For SP21 in the following excerpt, there is another direction of thought concerning the future perspectives

SP21: 687 – 745

SP22: *Of course now the future is for children, I can*

SP22: *طبعاً, هلا المستقبل للاولاد, هالأ إلي شيفاه هون الاولاد*

<p><i>see now for children here there are many opportunities in the future, anyway whatever they do or whatever they study even for us I say I mean the age but now for the language, I go, and I work and I'm trying to fill my time I integrate with the people but I cannot do anything till I have something missing in language but there is a future for everybody here</i></p> <p><i>SP21: yes I hope the coming days to be better than the previous days and to be fast integration in the Luxembourgish community and this is our hope but what the future is hiding for us we never know but we are happy in this beautiful country and we hope for it more of prosperities and good and Success, prosperity, urban development, industrial development, intellectual development and technical development. In fact, this is something that make the person proud.</i></p>	<p>كثير البن مستقبل, أي طريق لو شو ما مشوا و لا شو ما درسوا, حتى لإلنا نحنا, انا بحكي بقول العُمر بس, انا هلا بس اللغة أنا هلا بروح و بشتغل و بالعكس بعبي وقتي بدمج مع العالم بس ما قدرة أعمل شي طول ما انا فيف عندي نقص باللغة. بس فيه مستقبل لكل هون.</p> <p>SP21: و الله انا بتمنى الأيام الي جاية تكون احلى من الأيام الي عدت و تكون مسرعين بالاندماج بالوسط اللوكسمبورجي و هذا أملنا و لكن المستقبل شو مخيبنا ما حدا بيعرف, بس نحنا مبسوطين بهالبند الحلوة و نتمناها المزيد كل الخير و التوفيق و الازدهار و التطور العمراني و التطور الصناعي و التطور الفكري و التطور الفني, الحقيقة هذا شي بيرفع الراس يعني.</p>
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Interview quote 77

SP22 focuses on the future perspective of their children and that everything concerning the future perspective is just for the children in whatever they decide concerning study or work. SP22 also mentions that all the activities they do - learning the language or attempting integration – are not the same as children who can achieve things more easily due to age. SP2 sees this as a hope for the children to have a better future.

The speakers in this excerpt just focus on their children's future, and this was the situation of many of the speakers with a family. However, it was so specific in the case of SP22 and SP21 due to the age of their children, as they mentioned because their children are at the age of finishing school and might start in some years their own families or have their independent life.

The age limitation on language learning is a major issue facing many people. It is obvious to parents and increases with age. Younger parents might have hopes of fulfilling themselves, but if people are retired or closer to retirement age, their future perspectives will be very different.

The same issue is mentioned by SP24 who has younger age children

SP24: 154 – 191

<p><i>SP24: I want to tell you about the injustice done to my son XXX. When we moved from the foyer to XXX, we transmitted his paper from one school to another.</i></p>	<p>SP24: أنا احكيك عن الظلم الي وقع على XXXX ابني, لما انتقلنا من السكن على XXXX راح انتقلنا بأوراقه, بعد ما انتقل من المدرسة هانيم بتلات شهور, عملولون الاختبار الوطني, هذا اختبار مشان يشوفوا قدرة الطالب على الانتقال من مرحلة</p>
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Three months after he moved from the other school, they gave him the national exam to test the student's ability to move from one grade to another. There are three levels. The least one is preparatory so he had to take an exam, and he took the minimum grades because he did not know French and he was already weak in mathematics. He did not study. This was unfair to the boy, you determined his future through just one exam and you did not allow him to improve his French in one or two years or a year and a half.

Today it is a stage that will determine the destiny of the students, so you made him feel disappointed for a mistake that he never made. They didn't accept that he repeats the year now he is in the preparatory stage; we are back as if he never studied anything.

My son is now deprived from joining three branches: Medicine, engineering and law He said that the grade he is in is exclusively vocational In Syria he only studied in Arabic and he was getting high grades, but when he came here you determined his future on the wrong basis and you know that. You should give him one year before the exam, you were unjust to my son when you determined his future through this exam because it's wrong.

لمرحلة, طبعا هي ثلاث مراحل, أدنى مرحلة فيها بالإعدادي هي التحضيرية, راح عمل اختبار وأخذ أدنى شيء. لأنه ما يعرف فرنسي ولأنه بالرياضيات ضعيف, فعليا هو ما درس.

انت هون انظلم الولد, أنت حكمت على مستقبل الولد كم من خلال اختبار, و ما عطيت فرصة للولد يكزن أتقن الفرنسي بسنتين أو بسنة و نص.

.....: على ما أظن, فانت اليوم هي المرحلة هي تحدد مصير الطالب, ماشي انت خليت xxxxxx يحبط, على غلط هوه ما ارتكبه.....: إبيه, ما رضىوا(يعيد السنه), هالأ صار إعدادي, يس صار رجعنا كانه ما درس,....., ثلاث فروع انحرم منها بيني, إلى هيه الطب و الهندسة و الحقوق,حصل و قال إن المرحلة إلى هو فيها مرحلة مهنية حصرا..... بسوريا ما كان يدرس غير العربي فقط, و كان XXXX من المتفوقين هو و XXXX من الأوائل. لما انت جيت حددت مستقبلهم على شيء انت تعرف إنه خطأ, إنت المفروض تعطيه سنة كاملة بعد الاختبار كمان, و تيجي تختبره. فانت جيت ظلمت ابني, انت ما بصير تحكم على مستقبل ابني من خلال هي الاختبار, لأنه هذا خطأ.

Interview quote 78

In this excerpt, SP24 is talking about the case of injustice that he felt happened to his son when the child's competencies were evaluated. He says that it might determine his future by being selected to join one kind of educational path that does not fulfil the parents' hopes. The speaker feels that this treatment was bad for determining the future path of education for the child while he was learning only previously in the Arabic language, and this exam was not just treatment. That poor results may be due to the age of the child and in which class he started.

The education system in Luxembourg is complex due to the multilingual structure, which can add more challenges for integration for the child himself and the family as a whole. This issue can be viewed from two different sides:

Firstly, the speaker mentioned his feeling of being treated unjustly because the child would not be able to study law, medicine or engineering, which (in my understanding) is perceived

in the Arab region as a successful educational path. All the parents would like to have their children working on one field.

Secondly, Keeping the mentality of social constraints from the country of origin can be a barrier to integration in the host country. This mentality might be transferred to the second generation from the same household.

In the following quote, there is also mentions of the children as the main component for future perspectives

SP26: 651 – 667

<p><i>SP26: In the beginning, stability is crucial because we cannot go back, the situation is tough and the war and fighting are still going on. My children are here and I'm here already so today if the war finishes after five years the education system will need 20 years and 30 years to be improved. The child will be much older by then. While here the education is perfect. Tomorrow I will find work and I will no longer receive what is called RMG, the company will give me social security which means that I will not make the state lose anything. I feel guilty for the loss of the state, and I want to be responsible for myself and my family.</i></p>	<p>SP26: و الله ميدنيا, أكيد الاستقرار لأنه صعب الرجعة كثير مو شوي, الوضع صعب كثير و الحرب لساتها شغالة , و الضرب.</p> <p>SP26: يعني انا أطفالي هنا و انا هنا خلاص يعني, اليوم إذا انتهت الحرب بعد خمس ست سنين, التعليم بده ٢٠ سنة ٣٠ سنة يتحسن يكون الطفل صار اختيار لبين ما يتحسن التعليم. بينما هنا التعليم tip top , و كمان غذا بلاقي شغل و بطلع عن شي اسمه RMG و بطلع يعني بطلع عن التأمين الشركة هيه بتامن معناته ماني مخسر الدولة بأي شي , عندي مضاعفات لخسارة الدولة اكون أنا شايل نفسي شايل عائلتي. أكيد.</p>
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Interview quote 79

SP26 mentions that stability - meaning staying in Luxembourg with a stable and permanent life - is the only option they have because the war is not over in the country of origin. He has a different view because even if the war stopped, the country would need many years to be reconstructed and many more years to improve the education system. So, it might need 20 or 30 years more till the country of origin is ready for them to return, and till that moment, his children will be already adults. So, staying in Luxembourg and having better education opportunities and security for the family is a crucial step in the future. Finding a job and stopping being dependent on the RMG and social support will be crucial steps in future perspectives.

So, this case, due to the age of the children and the speaker's age, shows how he perceives the future for him is to be independent, taking into consideration the future of his children.

5.2 Levels of Integration

In this section, I analyse the interviewees' ideas about potential levels of integration that can serve to distinguish different levels of integration. As the level borders might be sometimes hard to set in some cases, I will focus more on the characteristics of each level and integration stage.

From all the previous examples of the complications the refugees face through their life experience in Luxembourg during their attempts at integration, I found that there are patterns or levels that the refugees need to pass through to reach the integration level aimed. These patterns, I found from the data collected, gave me the idea of categorizing them into the following characteristics to formulate different levels. Each level of integration needs its components to understand how the mechanisms are working and when the person might decide to move to the next level. There is no need for a generalised time interval to apply to all people, as it is a highly individualised process to be analysed according to the characteristics of the individual and the specific interplay of factors.

As I mentioned in chapter 4, I found that some of the components that the participants in my project "Initiative Choukrane" mentioned could be clustered to form different levels. I finally grouped them into four different levels of integration the refugees can pass through, starting at their arrival in Luxembourg and during their life in the country.

The result is a dynamic model of integration I previously mentioned already as the tower model of integration. Now, we can define it more precisely as follows:

- Components are extracted from the data collected from the research interviewees according to the participants' beliefs and reflections mentioned in the interviews.
- I extracted the time spans of the sequence from their descriptions, situating their experiences either at an early stage of the integration process or a later, generally more advanced stage.

The following figure visualises how the model can look by building the tower with blocks where each block represents a component that supports integration. Those components can create different clusters, each representing a stage or a level toward the integration. I would like to clarify that the titles of the stages were not mentioned to the speakers in the interviews, and there was no mention that integration might have stages or different clusters. The blocks were presented to interviewees without indicating any specific terminology for the components. However, they were to use the blocks to facilitate discussion and come up with ideas.

The title of the stages/levels mentioned in the figure below is an attempt from my side to have a name for each stage that can represent its characteristics.

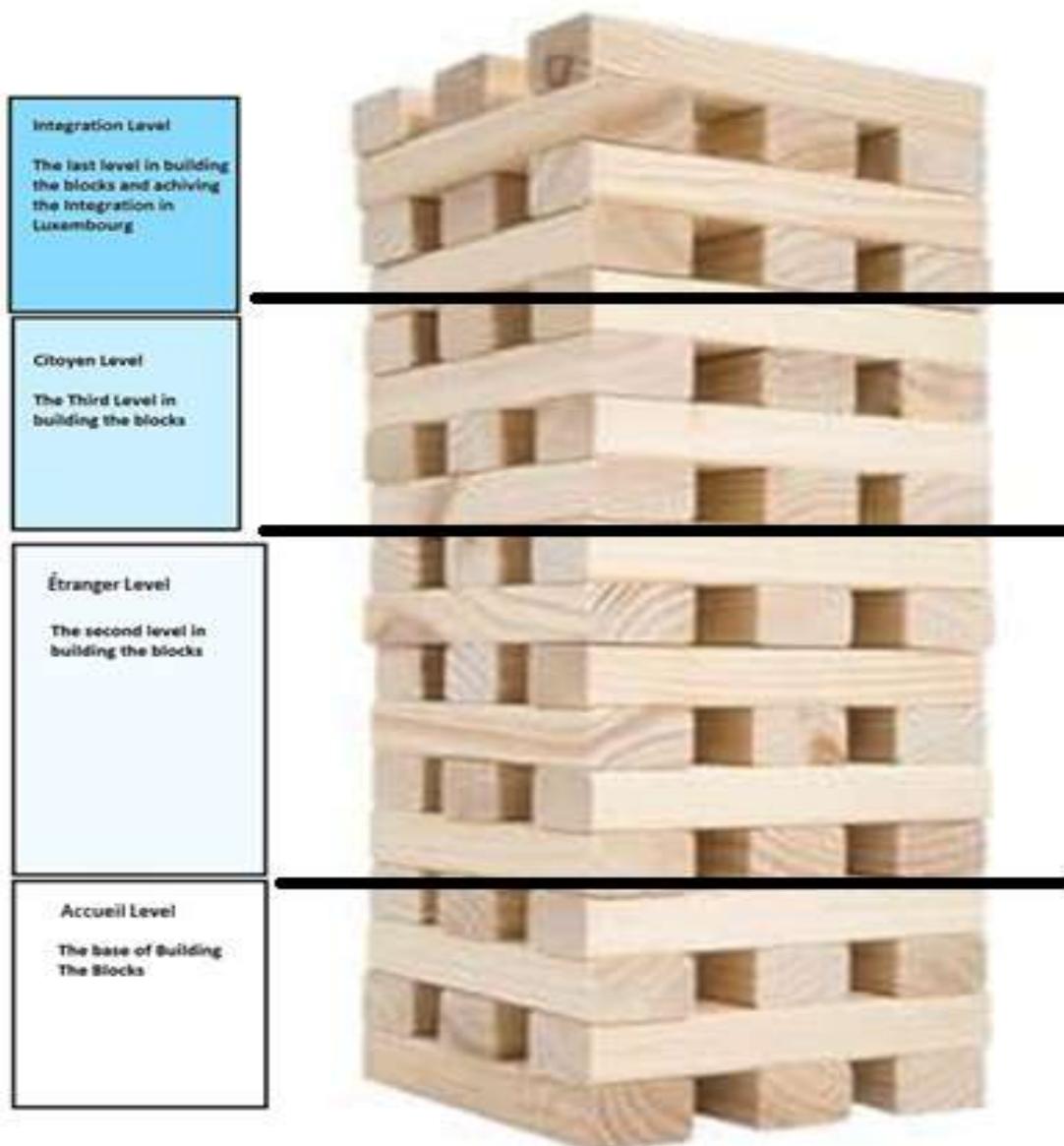


Figure 12: Visualisation of the building blocks suggesting levels/stages of integration

The four labels displayed on the left side of Figure 12 suggest the clusters of factors or stages of integration. They make it possible to follow and characterize a person’s integration path from the moment they first arrive in Luxembourg until they think they have reached a satisfactory level of integration. For the labels, I used French terms identical to those used by the official entities in Luxembourg. Moreover, the meaning of the French terminology represents well the targeted definition.

The period from one level to another is not rigidly fixed and equal for all participants. The time frame or interval that a person needs to move from one level to a higher level is different from one person to another. As mentioned, for example, in the previous section, I

noticed from my interviews that some asylum seekers, while living in a foyer and waiting for the decision on their asylum application, managed to learn one or more official languages of Luxembourg. In contrast, others did not accomplish a similar learning effort even though they received residency permission, managed to make a family reunion and managed to have private accommodation. Individual differences, competencies and motivation play an essential role in this developmental hierarchy. We will learn more about this from specific examples extracted from the interviews.

Classifying individual refugees into four levels of integration is not an easy and univocal task as their particular conditions might be quite different. For example, a person might be able to learn multiple languages but lacks employment opportunities and the opportunity to generate an independent income. This shows the complexity of the refugees' situations. That is also why the tower model cannot be used as a tool for self-assessment, as we will see later on. However, the tower model allows us to understand the specificities of each integration level and identify gaps in people's competencies, weakening and threatening the structure of the entire tower construction.

5.2.1 Level 1: Accueil

The first level, labelled "*Accueil*" (which means welcoming or reception in French), consists of two different stages within the same initial level of integration: dependence and perseverance. I will describe each of them in this section

This is the first stage when a person arrives in Luxembourg and targets the basic needs to be able to live in the country. The title chosen (*Accueil*) is the same as used by the public institutions, i.e., the *OLAI (Office Luxembourgoise d'Accueil et d'Integration)* as part of the Ministry of Family and Integration, which has been transformed into the *ONA agency (Office National d'Accueil)* under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by keeping some of its initial missions. Once they arrive in Luxembourg, the asylum seeker will be taken into charge by this agency (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) through the asylum application and the welcoming process.

5.2.1.1 Level 1: Accueil (a. dependent)

I call this sub-stage "dependent" because the asylum seeker will need help on multiple issues, from accommodation to facilitating communication. Furthermore, the person's official status plays an essential role in contrast to the members of the next stage. The components to be mentioned are more or less identical to the primary support features offered to the asylum seeker (*Demandeur de protection internationale*) by the Luxembourg authorities, for example, health insurance, shelter and accommodation in a foyer. Even the

mobility issue might be included in this package of factors as asylum seekers receive a voucher that allows them to use public transportation, even before public transportation turned free for everyone in March 2020. The components within this stage are an essential starting point after the arrival in Luxembourg.

At this level the person is still dependent on support either from the state or other entities. It starts from the moment of arriving in Luxembourg, but the time interval depends on the person's qualifications and capacity. Receiving refugee status can help the person move to higher levels, but it is not the main reason for shifting to independency as many factors will be required, not just the person's legal status.

One of the main criteria of this level is the life in the foyer. Typically, the foyer's function would be to host the newly arrived asylum seekers for a short time only, but due to the country's housing problems, this period might extend much longer than it should be. Staying in the foyer affects the interaction between the residents and creates many problems among them. It also becomes a barrier to education, language learning, and job opportunities. As long as the person stays in the foyer, the integration process is slowed down as they feel isolated from society.

While staying on this level, staying in the foyer can be a barrier to successful integration and a source of problems with other inhabitants, as mentioned in the previous section.

This shows us that many refugees are still very connected to their country of origin, the news and details about changes there. They keep on living a day-to-day lifestyle as they know it from earlier times, isolating themselves from trying to understand Luxembourg's current situation and context. Apart from discussing the problems they faced in their countries of origin, they tackle no further challenges and endeavours that would make them busy or productive members of society. While some residents try to succeed on this path, they face barriers from co-residents, who are not interested in becoming integrated into the Luxembourgish society, as we will see in the next level (Accueil: perseverance).

The refugees still live in the foyer on this level, complaining about not finding accommodation. Some might not try to solve the situation effectively or need to put more effort into building local connections outside the foyer and learning about Luxembourg and Luxembourgish society.

Some of the refugees on this level do not try to learn many languages, so it becomes much harder to find a job opportunity. Furthermore, they have a wrong understanding of the RMG / REVIS as their 'salary' and their right and do not perceive this as support from the state in Luxembourg,

Some of the refugees are still thinking about returning or at least are comparing their situation in Luxembourg to their previous lifestyle in their country of origin even if their life in Luxembourg currently takes place under much better conditions than before, for example, concerning the security or the better opportunities for their children's future.

Refugees on this level are mainly dependent on translators to communicate with all the institutions or associations. In addition to that, they fail to be independent for several reasons, mainly as mentioned above: weak language learning, poor housing, and job opportunities.

Of all the refugees I talked to in my interview sessions, this group represents a minority only. However, I believe that this group needs further research about how residents perceive the newly arrived refugees and how residents perceive refugees within other, more evolved levels of integration.

5.2.1.2 Level 1: *Accueil (b. perseverance)*

The second stage of our initial level of integration is called “perseverance”. The refugees may be characterized as persistent and tenacious, steadily striving to overcome the challenges they face with firmness, rigidity and stability. They uphold a solid hope to overcome all the barriers that constrain them to remain in the dependence status of the initial “Accueil” level.

The core difference with the members of the first stage consists of the legal status of a recognised refugee (*bénéficiaire de protection internationale*) and the residency in Luxembourg they have already been granted. Among the main components at this stage is a) the status of international protection in Luxembourg and b) the certificate that permits them to work or travel (within specific constraints). The main dependency features are accommodation/housing and state support, mainly financial.

The period of staying within this stage varies from one person to another. It is affected by different personal and external factors, such as language proficiency, i.e., being able to speak at least one language common in Luxembourg. There is no need to speak one of the country's official languages, such as French, German or Luxembourgish, as even using English might help a refugee get out from the bubble of the Arabic-speaking-only community. Parallel to communicating with the English-speaking community, English also allows a person to attend some civic courses or even find a job opportunity. Other European languages might work as a facilitating tool in this process.

On this level, refugees strive to go out of the foyer, find a job, learn a language and have independent private housing. They are struggling through the problematic and interconnected triad (language, work, accommodation) mentioned by most interviewees in the above sections. The refugees on this level might also experience pressure from peers who are still on the dependent level, especially if their attempts to get independency have failed so far. They might also feel injustice due to the complexity of the regulations and the different categories of residents of the same foyer with different paths and opportunities. Often, this creates a feeling of perceived inequality in the procedures and the treatment of refugees, especially when they perceive that some succeed in leaving the foyer before them and move to private housing, i.e., people who get private housing without any particular effort. In contrast, they still suffer from the foyer's living conditions.

The refugees on this level represent the majority of the people whom I met in my talks. They strive to achieve a more independent life but very often struggle due to the complexity of finding a private housing opportunity. The housing market in Luxembourg is very competitive, and the prices are constantly rising due to the annual net increase of the

Luxembourg population, mainly from commuters or expats who come to live and work in Luxembourg. Usually, the private housing agencies ask for an existing working contract and do not rely on financial support from the state. Some refugees might get support from institutions to find private housing or have a guarantee that the refugee will be paying the rent.

I did not call this level 'independent' in contrast to the first level 'dependent' because in this period, the person is not independent and needs support from the institutions. Once the person reaches more independency, they may pass to the next level (*Étranger*)

5.2.2 *Level 2: Étranger*

The refugees on this level usually manage to speak English or French or try to improve their linguistic capacities. They are trying to learn about the local community contexts, find a training, an internship or a job, or are on the way to doing so and manage to have private housing. These are the main characteristics of the refugees that reached this level. It is tough to do so due to the complexities they face in either learning new languages, finding a job, or being able to have private accommodation, as evidenced in the section above and labelled as the **problematic triad (language, work, accommodation)**.

I use the French term "*Étranger*", which the authorities use for all non-Luxembourgish residents in Luxembourg, whether EU citizens or non-EU citizens. On this level, we perceive similarities with other foreigners joining Luxembourg not through asylum-seeking but for family reasons, job offers, study opportunities, etc. They face similar difficulties and learning challenges about organising their life in the new environment. They might even receive the RMG/REVIS if they fulfil the conditions. Luxembourgish nationals are also eligible to receive the same support if they fulfil specific conditions. On this level, the refugees will be facing almost the same experiences as any other foreign resident in Luxembourg.

In other words, through the REVIS, many might remain dependent on the state or local commune support despite living outside of a foyer. Although the state support component is still shaping life at this level, a self-generated income will be a forceful indicator of integration.

Language proficiency is another important indicator of integration. At this level, speaking at least one language that is widely spread in daily life is a must-have. Any additional official language, such as French and/or English, is a beneficial element supporting integration.

Additional language courses might also be imposed by ADEM, where refugees have to register when receiving their status, such as applying for jobs. However, how this process occurs in practice and how learning an additional language is experienced needs further

research. Language learning and proficiency are the main issues facilitating and sustaining integration in Luxembourg.

Usually, refugees have their families with them. They all came together when they applied for asylum, or a family member received refugee status. Then, they made a family reunion application so the rest of the family could join Luxembourg later. Gender does not matter in this case, as I met female participants in the interviews who arrived in Luxembourg and then made a family reunion application for the husband and/or the children. In other cases, men arrived earlier and applied for family reunions (for the wife and /or children) after receiving refugee status. The common factor among them is trying to secure their life in Luxembourg. A private accommodation outside of the foyer is a core component at this level. A life in private accommodation, disconnected from the organized system of a foyer, allows the refugee to experience everyday life in a new way, e.g., to be responsible for housing bills, rent, recycling, etc.

5.2.3 Level 3: *Citoyen*

I use the French term "*Citoyen*" as the French terminology of "*citoyenneté*" which means in English "active citizenship". In comparison, citizenship in English means "nationality" or the kind of passport the person holds. I believe that the Luxembourg authorities also use the same terminology to promote active citizenship for residents and consider them all as "*citoyens*".

People on this level display strong engagement and active participation in society. They might participate in activities and cultural events and have an active role in them, being involved in the municipality or the local municipal committee and expanding their social network.

This might be described as an awareness of current issues and news, knowledge of cultural and social activities, participation in local initiatives and events, and extended networks of people who share a similar cultural or linguistic background. In addition to these features, we consider the incentive of helping others and supporting others who require support as a significant indicator.

Persons at this level consider Luxembourg as their home country. Being fluent in Luxembourgish is not a must, but being aware of the local culture, food and traditions are shared.

At this 3rd level, the refugee has more access to the local communities. She/he participates in activities, speaks the country's official languages, learns Luxembourgish, has private housing accommodation, a job, and is maybe searching for another.

In two interviews, it was mentioned that some of the refugees might choose to withdraw from the Arabic-speaking community and engage less in refugees' online communities or gatherings as a strategy of independence. The rationale is to increase integration into the society or practice the local language to get better job opportunities.

5.2.4 Level 4: Integration

This level of integration does not mean that the integration process has reached its term and the person achieved all the integration goals. I believe the integration process is a lifelong learning path that needs to be continued as long as the person lives in the same host context here in Luxembourg. However, it can provide a more substantial base for the integration process.

It is not easy to claim that a person has reached the highest level of integration, especially after discussing with interviewees. Integration has to be seen as an ongoing process that will never really come to a halt. At this level, I met people who fulfilled many of the components needed to reach this level and carry on this lifelong learning process. In a dynamic and culturally diverse country like Luxembourg, it is impossible to predict what kind of behaviour would qualify a person at the highest level of an integration model. Many of them mentioned that they keep learning something new every day.

Another point to mention here is whether holding Luxembourgish nationality can be considered one of the main components supporting the integration process. Due to the modifications of the nationality law in Luxembourg in 2017, many refugees decided to pass the nationality exam or received already Luxembourgish nationality. Among the interviewees, at least one had already received a Luxembourgish passport, whereas others were preparing for the nationality exam. Holding a Luxembourgish passport means being an EU citizen and finding, whenever needed, more convenient opportunities in other EU member states. So, do we consider the Luxembourgish nationality as an indication of integration? Or is it a tool for mobility and emigration?

SP14: 425 - 431

<p><i>SP14: The Arabs who came here believe it will be hard for them to stay in Luxembourg after acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality. A significant percentage of them will think of leaving for other countries.</i></p>	<p>SP14: العرب إلى جابيين هنا صعب يبقون دائما بعد الحصول على الجنسية فيه نسبة كبيرة منهم راح تفكر بالمغادرة</p>
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Interview quote 802

As mentioned clearly by SP14, acquiring nationality might not indicate integration. However, it could be a goal that the refugees might work for to study and succeed in the Luxembourgish language exam. Then after acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality, it will be a tool to search for other opportunities in another EU country. In this case, nationality is not a measurement tool for integration but a tool for emigration. Their residence permit is international protection, they have different rights concerning mobility in Europe. However, holding their nationality will be a factor instability for them and their children in Luxembourg. At the same time, travelling or living in another country might be a solution to having a job opportunity or having cheaper housing.

Opting for the Luxembourgish nationality as part of this ultimate integration level is unnecessary. However, it is an essential indication that the person worked hard to learn the Luxembourgish language and pass the nationality language exam to hold the Luxembourgish passport afterwards. This also comes along with the obligation to participate in elections and, by electing politicians, be more involved in the decision-making process in the country. This is a significant difference compared to a refugee at stage one, who can deal with public institutions that provide support to newcomers after arrival.

However, at this point, I would also raise several questions concerning the integration process that we will return to in more detail in the discussion section as well:

- Whom can we consider part of the Luxembourgish society to start with, and who needs to get integrated?
- Is integration a mono-directional process, i.e., is it the foreign population only that needs to integrate into the Luxembourgish society?
- What about the people born and raised in Luxembourg? What about those born and raised in the country but with a migrant background?
- Who is allowed to define whether a person is integrated or not?

5.3 Discussion of the findings

In this section, I will review the overall findings and connect them with the research's main object to emphasise this study's findings and draw solid conclusions.

Therefore, I start by repeating the research questions:

1. How do Arab refugees conceptualise, describe and analyse their integration process in Luxembourg?
2. Do refugees perceive whether age, gender, religion, education and professional experience affect their integration process?
3. How does the support from national stakeholders (e.g., government agencies, civil society organizations) help the refugees in their integration processes?

5.3.1 The conceptualisation of the integration process

The first research question refers to the conceptualisation of the integration process through the eyes of the concerned and the ways they described their feelings and experiences. The data reveal how the interviewees conceptualise their integration process and view the path of their integration process in Luxembourg so far, starting from the moment of arriving in Luxembourg, through the challenges or difficulties they faced till receiving the refugee status up to gaining a kind of stability in the new environment.

5.3.1.1 Aspects of participants' integration experiences

When speaking about their integration path in Luxembourg, they mentioned the following significant points and benchmarks of components that are salient to climb from one integration stage to another:

- **Prejudgment before arrival**

Some of them had an idea about what they might expect in Luxembourg. In most cases, they had an idea about life in Europe, but not specifically in Luxembourg. As some did not choose Luxembourg on purpose but came here by luck, very few refugees in my study had a precise idea about the country. They chose it intentionally following advice or comments from others who arrived before them. Previous precise knowledge might help imagine a more realistic picture of the new environment and avoid major disappointments later on.

- **Applying for asylum and waiting period in the foyer**

The first period after arrival is marked by newcomers' time in the foyers. This affected their integration process massively and their initial perception of the new society they were living in. The period of living in the foyer was very dreadful. All interviewees mentioned their frustrations, either because of not finding a private accommodation or the complex communication processes with the administration of the foyer and the security guards and the relation with the other residents of the same foyer. Many of them (at the moment of the interview) were still living in the foyer. This fact is difficult to comprehend because it is far beyond expected. This stay under frustrating conditions impacts negatively on their integration process and self-perception.

- **Housing**

Some refugees, who managed to find private accommodation, were not satisfied with their living conditions due to the housing conditions or location. Moreover, finding accommodation or being accepted for private housing while receiving the RMG/REVIS was complicated.

- **Family status**

This waiting period was difficult for those who came alone and later applied for a family reunion because they faced an unfamiliar situation and did not know their future. This negatively affected their integration process because their emotions and thoughts focused on their family and bringing them as soon as possible to Luxembourg. This object did not leave time and space to engage more strongly in the local society.

- **Language learning**

The linguistic landscape of Luxembourg is particular in Europe. It constitutes a complex mix within society with three official and two other widespread languages. This multilingual context requires refugees to learn several languages to achieve goals such as improving their living conditions or finding a job opportunity.

In other European countries, the newcomers typically have to learn just one language, even those with more than one official language. When there are geographical considerations, the person needs to learn the region's language to communicate with institutions and residents.

The other challenge in Luxembourg is to find intensive language learning opportunities for any of the requested languages, a point mentioned by all interviewees. They also felt that the period of waiting to get refugee status was a phase of lost time as most of them did not achieve their language learning goals during this time. This might negatively affect their integration path. In only one interview, I met a participant who managed to learn French and Luxembourgish while waiting for the status.

- **Job market/family conditions/language learning**

Many participants mentioned that mastery of an official language is needed to get a job opportunity, find a decent house, and live independently with the family out of the foyer. Being in the foyer does not support any language learning. The refugee and his family are caught in this vicious circle, which is not beneficial and challenging them to leave. Most interviewees mentioned that this problematic and interconnected triad (language, work, accommodation) directly affected their integration path.

- **Feeling at home**

Having the state of mind of living in the country, feeling at home, and experiencing the need to get integrated are essential components of integration. This might be stimulated through personal incentives as well as a supportive environment.

These components are significant mediators of integration that play a positive and essential role in the interviewees' integration path. The participants conceptualised, described and analysed their integration process in Luxembourg through these means.

5.3.2 Factors supporting a successful integration path

Some of the refugees I met reached higher stages on our tower model of integration than others due to age, gender, religion, education and professional experience, which can answer the second research question. Specifically, the education and professional experience were a clear advantage over peers.

All the participants considered young **age** as a favourable point that supports integration. The younger the person is, the easier it will be to integrate into Luxembourgish society. The age factor is connected to their answers to the learning competencies. How do the younger generations learn languages more quickly and adapt to the cultural circumstances they will experience in Luxembourg. They do not bring along the same degree of impediments from life experiences in countries abroad that can be hard to get out from and inhibit the rapid adaptation to the new conditions and circumstances they encounter in Luxembourg.

Some participants talked about birth in Luxembourg and described the perception that their babies will join the public education system one day and be Luxembourgish by nature. These will be the primary concerns they are thinking about. For others, the children, who attend the public schools in Luxembourg, do have more opportunities to learn, especially languages, life skills, as well as the lifestyle of the country. Learning a language gets more complicated as the age of their children increases, also when they attend specific language courses.

They mentioned four different age groups with a specific perception for each.

- The babies and children they considered, as already mentioned, as automatically grow into the new society.
- Adolescents have to switch the school system. Since they did not graduate from secondary school in their country of origin, they have to join the public secondary schools in Luxembourg to get their higher education certificate. Some of them experience difficulties due to the amount of language learning, the different teaching methods and complicated interactions with their peers and teachers.
- The youths, who hold their secondary school diploma and eventually graduate from a university, might have good opportunities to learn at least one language and join a university in Luxembourg or other countries. Their education helped them get support from CEDIES as they are too young to receive the RMG/REVIS.
- Adults who cannot join the education system anymore must find their position in society based on their prior qualifications and experiences. Some of them learned languages, but it is a tough challenge that many face.

The interviewees perceived the characteristics of the age groups, i.e., how parents could be different from their children, how young people perceive their future, or how the older generations face different challenges in the new conditions compared to the younger ones. We see here that the age factor plays an important role.

Concerning **gender**, we did not get any evidence that it plays a role in integration. Interviewees, either male or female participants, did not focus so much on this issue in their descriptions. As most of the interview participants were males, I did not get so many voices from women. I think that this is one of the limitations of this research. Most people who came to “Initiative Choukrane” project activities were males. In the foyers I visited, it was also challenging to get women participants as their husbands attended the meetings in the foyer. However, all the women interviewees can be considered successful examples, either professional or educational or involved in the family's decision-making process. All were able to express themselves and articulate their point of view successfully. I think that this is a cultural issue that needs further investigation.

In addition to that, it was tough to get into contact with LGBTQ participants even though I tried to contact and interview some of them. These attempts were unsuccessful, so this is another limitation in the present research, i.e., collecting the views from specific minority groups that are hard to reach or whose size is unknown.

Religion is a hot topic in Arab countries with primarily Muslim populations. I had most Muslim participants from both Sunni and Shia in the research. However, I was very keen to have participants

from other religions co-exist in the Middle East, especially with the diversity in Syria and Iraq. Several Christian and Druz participants joined the interview sessions. The ME region hosts even more religious groups, but religion was not a core focus of the research. Following this logic, I did not make more substantial efforts to collect the voices from other groups like Yezidi, Assyrian, Baha`i, Aleviets or other religious groups from the region.

The other issue is that we do not have precise statistics about the size of these groups living in Luxembourg. The most prominent religious group from the Arab countries could be Muslims, but the exact number of followers is not documented, nor are followers from other religious groups. I think that it is essential to know these numbers. Some follow and practice their religion every day; others have little or no practice but are believers, as there are atheists or agnostics. I did not dive deep into the participants' beliefs and level of practice as I know all of them and their religious engagement. However, I did not want to explore the participants' belief systems.

They all mentioned that religion does not play a role in the integration process. As Luxembourg is a secular state, all religious groups can practice their religion freely without fear. However, in a few utterances, some interviewees mentioned that being a Muslim can be a barrier to integration. One of the Christian participants emphasised that Muslim people do not drink alcohol or eat pork or prefer to eat only (Halal) labelled food. These uncommon habits in the country and the dominant local culture of the Luxembourg people could create barriers to the integration of Muslim people.

Concerning **education**, everybody mentioned that this factor strongly affects the integration process of the individual. The education level differs from one person to another, mainly in language competencies. In the interviews, I found that all the participants who spoke at least one European language (mainly English) managed to get to know the society faster. Compared to others who do not speak a European language or even read the Latin alphabet, this facilitated their integration process. The most impressive experience was related to the participant who spoke French and English before arriving in Luxembourg. He/She managed much faster to find a job opportunity and get in touch with society. Even speaking Luxembourgish and German later meant progressing faster than others towards a situation that can be qualified as integration.

The education system does not always facilitate the conditions for integration, as related by one of the participants. Unfortunately, with a master's in law, he could not find a real job opportunity without any European language skills. A higher educational level is not a guarantee to facilitate integration.

Professional experience can also play an important role in integration with education. For example, education was an asset when the authorities recognised the certificate so that the concerned people could work in their profession directly. One of the participants had his education and professional

experience recognized in Luxembourg and spoke English fluently. He managed to work directly in his field of work drawing upon his many years of prior experience. Other participants had a professional experience in a field that does not exist in Luxembourg or requires different linguistic competencies. For others, the professional experience needs certification that does not exist in the country of origin. In that case, the refugees' prior professional experience does not play a facilitating role in the integration process but can obstruct successful integration.

Literacy is a factor, too, as some participants, who could not read the Latin alphabet, struggled to read names, addresses, etc. or to understand the importance of letters and messages they received. These are severe conditions for those who had never learned the Latin alphabet and that I recorded for many of my participants.

Other people I met through "Initiative Choukrane" did not even attend school in their country of origin, so they did not know how to read the Arabic alphabet. Language learning turns into an absolute nightmare for these people, who are over 40 years old and never attended school. They have to sit in class to learn French to be at least able to find a job in Luxembourg, although they will barely use this language to communicate in everyday life.

5.3.3 Potential advantages from the support offered by national stakeholders

Concerning the last research question about taking advantage of the **support offered by national stakeholders** (e.g., government agencies, civil society organizations), the interviews focused more on the support received from the government agencies, especially the ones with whom they directly interacted. For example, it was unclear which agency belonged to which ministry, and sometimes they articulated clear misconceptions of regulations and support measures. For example, most of the participants referred to the RMG/REVIS as a salary, which implicates different rights and responsibilities and can directly affect the perception of their integration path (as described in section 5.1.).

Also, while living in the foyer and receiving the refugee status and the RMG/REVIS, the regulation is precise that they should pay an amount of money in return for the accommodation usage. This is not rent, while almost everybody refers to this payment as rent—the relationship between tenant and landlord based on paying a rent results in different rights and responsibilities.

Very few participants understood the segregation between the role and support offered by the government agencies and civil society organizations. For example, it was unclear to them the difference between the Luxembourg Employment Agency ADEM as a governmental agency and LISKO

(Luxembourg Centre for Integration and Social Cohesion), a civil society project spurred by the Red Cross.

Knowing and being aware of governmental or civil society entities might impact how they interact with those institutions. Showing no awareness of those programs or initiatives might obstruct a successful integration. Language and communication skills might be a reason for this lack because the information and how it is shared matter. While speaking with other civil society actors, I found a lack of participation among the refugees in events organised by governmental or civil society entities. Although these agencies are flexible and sometimes accept many people to attend an event, refugees do not show up. It can be a lack of interest and rigour, and seriousness. The cause is that the information was not spread correctly. While visiting foyers, I usually saw advertisements for events, brochures and booklets, magazines, etc. However, the information was not always understood correctly or at least successfully.

Moreover, it might not raise people's interest to participate even when it was. One of the participants in the interviews mentioned that the same group usually participates in nearly everything. In contrast, others do not take care of these initiatives (for different reasons, as mentioned).

Another point that could spur these misconceptions is the people's background from their countries of origin, where civil society does not exist compared to Luxembourg. Freedom of association is questionable in their countries, especially when their countries are experiencing a time of crisis and civil war. That could be another reason why refugees perceive all the initiatives should be done and managed by the government.

6 Chapter 6: Conclusions and reflections

The following conclusions can be drawn from the previous answers to the research questions.

6.1 Conclusions

6.1.1 *What is integration for these specific profiles of Arab-speaking refugees?*

Participants perceive the situation in their countries of origin as not improving so that they would be able to return and live in their former home countries again. They consider Luxembourg a new home country they must adapt to live in. They mentioned significant issues: learning languages and getting acquainted with habits, traditions and cultural beliefs. Also, evolving towards more active participation in Luxembourg society was a core target.

From the different answers, we can conclude that they conceive the aim of belonging to the host community as integration. This is an ongoing complex process to define and identify with high precision.

Through their answers and discussions with the participants, I further developed the idea of a dynamic integration mode, which I labelled “the tower model of integration”. The model considers different components and their interplay for each individual, helping the person to augment and develop his/her integration level.

6.1.2 *Integration characteristics*

Integration components can be categorised in two different ways

- The levels of integration,
 - o The newcomer is an asylum seeker,
 - o The refugee has a recognised legal status,
 - o A Luxembourg resident acting like any other immigrant,
 - o An active member of the society
 - o They are considered to have all the means and components needed for integration.
- The characteristics that must be fulfilled in all the different levels or stages:
 - o Being able to speak and communicate by using the languages of Luxembourg,
 - o Having an income or employment opportunity to be independent and live a decent life,
 - o Sharing the living and housing conditions with their family,
 - o Having future perspectives and optimistic hopes for improving their life in Luxembourg

- Being part of the society and the community in Luxembourg,
- Being aware of activities and initiatives taking place in Luxembourg
- Achieve intercultural learning and learn from the resources of multicultural Luxembourg
- Develop personal competencies further to achieve all the previous characteristics.

6.1.3 *Does the integration process function in Luxembourg? Moreover, who needs integration?*

The integration process is very complex in Luxembourg. It is tough to say who is integrated and the relevant criteria to measure whether a person is integrated or not. My suggestion is to ground the ability to achieve integration on the capacities of the individual. The reason for this is that:

- Different definitions exist of what integration is about without a clear and precise consensus, not just in the area of academia but also in the areas of policymakers and ordinary people
- Integration is achieved and facilitated by different actors, and there is a need to improve the coordination among these actors to build on others' efforts.
- Quality measures and assurance of integration programs are needed to evaluate if and how the goals are achieved and whether support measures reach the right target groups
- Luxembourg is a diverse, multilingual, and multicultural country with nationals from all over the world and their native languages that are widespread without any geographical segregation in this small geographic zone. This structural complexity can be considered both positive and negative for achieving integration. It is easy to find your place in Luxembourg, but it is hard to learn about others.
- This multiculturalism results in different bubbles of migrant communities, which are segregated mainly by languages. Various language groups interact successfully within a migrant community. The participants in the interviews described how many of them just received information using their social networks of other Arab speakers or through Facebook pages of Arab communities in Luxembourg.
- All interviewees emphasised that integration is essential. However, the question immediately pops up and needs to be answered: Who needs integration in Luxembourg? Is it only the Arab refugees who do not speak French (yet)? Or the foreign residents who immigrated to the country for work opportunities? Or the cross-border workers who just come daily to work and return to their homes outside Luxembourg in the evening?
Or let us put it the opposite way: Do the Luxembourgish nationals themselves need to be integrated into society since they do not represent the majority of the residents in Luxembourg and are only a minority of the workforce?

How can official policies be designed to help all the different parties, i.e., the national citizens and international migrants, integrate into Luxembourg's multicultural society? This question might need further research to analyse the development of the Luxembourgish native population in Luxembourg more thoroughly, e.g., how it functions, the percentage of native Luxembourgish pupils in the public education system or taking into consideration naturalisation due to the nationality law of 2017.

As we see in the interviews, refugees consider that their children in the public school system or born in Luxembourg will be Luxembourgish. Speaking the Luxembourgish language fluently could be the way to become a Luxembourgish national. This topic is significant for further research and cannot be covered by the present one.

6.1.4 Does the model represent the integration in Luxembourg?

The participants in my interviews presented different components of integration that could be tools for conceiving, visualising or evaluating integration. I suggest that the “tower model of integration” gives space to individual dynamics so that every person can build his/her tower of integration. It offers a structured framework of different levels that need to be fulfilled to reach the next level. To reach this next level, the person must acquire as many components as possible.

The “tower model of integration” could be used as a self- or co-evaluating tool where individuals evaluate what kind of components they have already acquired and which ones are missing and may be needed in the next step. It would look like the Scouts’ system of badges, where the Scout learns a skill or achieves a goal and then receives a badge. And then, this badge can help him climb further the steps to leadership within the system. Such a model has the potential to conceptualise and represent integration in Luxembourg, as the dynamic and interconnected individual conditions make it very hard to construct a generic model that fits all the needs of the different migrant groups living in Luxembourg.

6.1.5 A model for Refugees only? Or a model for all?

Currently, the “tower model of integration” includes a specific initial level for asylum seekers, as it is essential for them to receive refugee status in order to be able to move to the second level. So currently, this model is only for refugees.

There is a need to examine and analyse whether this model also functions with different migrant groups, not just with refugees. While starting, for example, from the second level, it could be a model

for all immigrants in Luxembourg, either refugees, migrants or expats. It could be a means to understand the integration process of those who are not native Luxembourgish nationals.

In this sense, the model needs to be investigated with a broader population who came to Luxembourg to seek refuge or for other reasons such as work or study. From such inquiries, there will be opportunities for structuring the tower to be more general, including all the components that need to be considered or more specific, mapping the needs of a specific group. Therefore, further research is needed to clarify these options and build a versatile integration model that can fit the Luxembourgish multilingual and multicultural situation.

6.1.6 How could this study be improved and recommendations for future research?

This study attempts to a) give a voice to Arab refugees living in Luxembourg regarding their integration process and b) conceive a dynamic integration model for these people and their pathways.

An enhanced version of the tower model could identify more systemic and interconnected integration features in further research. It could also be used for longitudinal studies of the integration process and changes in the perception of the concerned people, for example, collecting data at the beginning of a person's stay and then in recurrent periods. This would, for example, allow comparing a person's intentions and plans to achieve in the future and what later on he/she realised, including all the barriers and contradictions that might get identified.

In addition to improving and applying an enhanced version of the "tower model of integration", there is a need to translate the radar chart analysis tool into a kind of questionnaire and collect data from a significant percentage of the population. This allows at a more fine-grained level to examine how people perceive their integration and to understand how the integration policies create certain practices in real life.

6.1.7 What are the practical applications of the research?

The research can help understand the issues facing the Arab refugees in Luxembourg. We can extract several policy recommendations and ideas to improve their conditions, facilitate the regulations, and better understand how the integration path can be improved.

I can mention some of the concrete recommendations concerning the Migrant integration policy index (MIPX) since it can play a role in connecting the practical applications of the research is a tool that is used in measurement for integration in Luxembourg, which evaluates the policymaking towards integration, and which can fulfil the missing information on how individuals are affected by these policies. With suggestions for improvements based on their personal experiences.

1. Labour market mobility

Access to the labour market is challenging for the newcomers, especially without the needed linguistic competencies or certification and accreditation of their practical experience.

2. Family reunion

The law allows the refugees to have their families with them as part of international protection. However, there is a need to consider the family lifestyle and housing conditions since these are connected with employment. Language learning, otherwise the family reunion will be a barrier to integration, not a supportive one.

3. Education

The education system in Luxembourg is complex due to the country's linguistic landscape. There is a need to review the system concerning adolescents and young people who join it in their later school years, not just for the children for whom the language is used; the acquisition will be easier.

The other fundamental direct recommendation can be to have available intensive language courses for everybody who lives in the country, as it is an ongoing process, with particular focus on the refugees who can wait for one or two years for residence status while in this period if there are intensive courses, they might be able to acquire at least one language fluently, and this will have an enormous role in facilitating their integration process and improving their living conditions

4. Health

Awareness of the health system and how it functions is needed, and how the health insurance system works: what could be covered, and how to have check-ups and have a healthy lifestyle that will help refugees improve their health and be active members of society.

5. Political participation

Raising the interest in political participation is vital to promoting political discussion in multilingual publications. In Luxembourg, most political discussions are published only in the Luxembourgish language, which does not encourage foreigners to be involved in this political scene.

It is imperative to raise awareness that political participation can directly affect refugees' lives and their children's future, considering that the Arab refugees came from countries with political oppression. It is even risky to be involved in any political participation.

6. Permanent residence

The legal frame of providing five years of residency in Luxembourg for refugees is a positive point, but having a clear vision that after this period, they will have the right to live

permanently in the country will make them have more sense of belonging and have a clear vision for their future.

7. Access to nationality

The modification of the nationality law in 2017 allowed more people to acquire Luxembourgish nationality by facilitating the process and examination. There is a need to study what happens after becoming Luxembourgish. This is for everyone who acquires the nationality, not just the refugees or residents in Luxembourg who have lived in the country for five years or more.

For example, after acquiring the Luxembourgish nationality and passing the language test, a person may lose all the connection with the Luxembourgish language and not use it in life interactions, making the person lose contact with the local society and being involved in the public discourse. Citizens who are excluded linguistically might have negative results in the future, and this needs to be studied carefully. It is crucial to have programs on how to fulfil the engagement and keep the Luxembourgish language alive and interactive among the new Luxembourgers.

Another example that is not precisely the case of refugees, but within the nationality law, is that anyone who can prove that having Luxembourgish ancestors can receive the Luxembourgish nationality without even living in the country or knowing anything about it. In addition to that, they have the right to vote and can be registered in the Ville de Luxembourg. Several new Luxembourgers who were never part of the country might register for elections in the capital. They can substantially affect the results in the central region, the formation of the parliament in general, and the government formation. This case can also happen for refugees because due to the expensive housing conditions and lack of employment opportunities, refugees who will acquire the Luxembourgish nationality will search for job opportunities all over the EU as EU citizens and then do not live in Luxembourg anymore. Alternatively, they may live in the border regions in a neighbouring country because they might afford to house there even if they find a job opportunity in Luxembourg and become a *frontier*.

8. Anti-Discrimination

There is a need for more interaction among different groups to overcome stereotypes and generalization of the other image, which can tackle discrimination. Nevertheless, having different linguistic bubbles is not helping this.

6.1.8 Recommendations for policymakers and NGOs

It is essential to mention some of the recommendations based on the practical application of the research, which was clear from the data collected and its analysis.

1- Language learning

From day one of the application, the refugees need a clear path for language learning. The newcomer to Luxembourg needs a minimum of 2 languages to integrate and find a position in society.

It will be constructive to direct them and provide them with an intensive French language course (as a beginning) to communicate with society and feel independent without needing help from the social workers in the foyer for every single simple step. Finding intensive language courses for all the languages in Luxembourg is difficult.

The language courses (eco-system) in Luxembourg are designed for people working days and need only once or twice a class per week to improve their linguistic skills and only language courses at night. While the refugees and asylum seekers are mainly free and just waiting, this waiting period can be over two years. This time lost will add a barrier to their integration process if it was not used and invested well in the first period while their file is being examined with the authorities in Luxembourg.

This language course's availability will allow them at least to be on the first step for integration once they receive their residency and refugee status.

Other languages can also be helpful, as some of the fields of work might need English or Portuguese. However, from the interviewees' experience, everybody is seeking to learn the Luxembourgish language to apply for and acquire the Luxembourgish nationality. So I can see that the Luxembourgish language must have more available classes for people, and to have a target that they do not just pass the needed level for the nationality "Sproochentest", but also to be able to communicate with the civil servants in the municipalities or even to be able to follow the news on the first hand. Speaking Luxembourgish fluently will be an essential step for integration in Luxembourg.

2- Housing

Housing is a problem for everyone in Luxembourg, whatever the background is. However, it is much more complicated for refugees because they can stay in the refugee camps (*foyers*) for a very long period.

If they stay in the foyer for an extended period even after receiving the status, it is not helping for integration. However, even it is creating a barrier to their integration and being able to understand how an average household manages their daily life.

Housing projects are expensive and not easy to finish in a short period; some experiences of projects targeted the housing problem like (*neie ufank* – of the Caritas Luxembourg), but still, there is a significant need for the housing market for everybody, not just refugees.

Refugees are having a problem that receiving *REVIS* is not so much welcomed by the owners of the houses, and they prefer the person to have a working contract (*CDI*). Furthermore, this circular problem of language-job-house is not helping the people to come out of the foyer and the bubble of the refugee community.

A legal regulation could secure the rent to be paid to the landlord through the *REVIS*. It will be mentioned in the next finance point.

3- Finance and support

The law allows the refugees to receive the social inclusion income (*REVIS*), but there is a need that the refugees could have financial mentorship and support to understand how to use this money.

Sometimes, the recipient does not know how to manage the income, buying goods and services that are not needed or luxury items (as was mentioned in an interview), not saving from it to be able to pay down rent payment, and not having the right priorities in their financial plans.

Also, another challenge that some of the refugees just used to be dependent on that social support and lose the will to find a job, especially when the minimum salary that could be received by work after taxes might be of the same value or less than the social support the refugee might receive.

Managing finances has a direct relation to the housing problems; some of the refugees are staying in the foyer without paying the allocated fees for them to stay (as was mentioned in the interviews) as they perceive it as rent and expect to have the rights of a tenant in the foyer while it is not the case.

Some social initiatives were working on mentoring the refugees towards their finances; many had debts and failed to pay their invoices on time, which accumulated more penalties for them. There should be legal coverage for having this financial management support on the macro-level, especially for the new recipients of the refugee statutes; these legal regulations could include:

- Having direct allocations for rent, the rent should be paid directly to the landlord, which will make the house owners accept to rent housing to the REVIS recipients'
- Having financial mentorship to help the refugees manage their income, help them save or invest, or start their project more thoughtfully and not spend it on consuming items.
- Guiding the refugees not to be dependent on REVIS, as having a job opportunity will be better for them and their families in the long run and recognising their experience and better income.

4- Job market / employment / entrepreneurship

Accessing the job market is always problematic for many refugees due to the linguistic competencies, certification and qualifications recognition.

There should be a way to have direct training that could be provided for candidates for specific positions that do not need language learning. This training can be done in different languages to cover their linguistic competencies.

Also, there should be a method of recognition of qualifications or an exam in some employment fields that need technical knowledge. However, there is no need for linguistic communication because some of the refugees have experience in working in a kind of technical work in a family business without any certification, so there could be an exam to assess their qualifications and a course that can cover any needed requirements to do this work in Luxembourg, like training on safety for example.

Facilitating entrepreneurship can be a method of independence for the refugees, one of the interviewees lacked a clear path on how to start a business. He had some guidance from an NGO. However, the whole mechanism is confusing and not supportive for all cases.

5- Education

The education system in Luxembourg is different from other countries; due to the multilingual educational context, it might be confusing for some and not welcoming for others, depending on the age that pupil arrived in Luxembourg.

For example, suppose a child arrives with a family in age for early primary education. It might not be as complicated as other adolescents who arrived in Luxembourg at the age of +10 or 12, as language acquisition becomes a question determining the pupils' future educational path.

There is a need for personalisation of the welcoming class, more input on language, and having it for a more extended period. Because in some cases, families arrive in the middle of the school year, and their young one finds him/her self in a position of evaluation of something that he did not study before, or maybe known but in a different language, or maybe due to escaping from a war zone. That schooling system was not working correctly in the country of origin.

6- Civic participation

Engaging the target population to play an active role in society will raise their sense of belonging to the host community and support their integration path. Moreover, to encourage them to participate, there must be available knowledge to make them aware of what is happening on the local and national levels in Luxembourg. When they are aware, their interest will increase in playing an active role and being part of the community.

Media can play an essential role in raising awareness, but local engagement on the municipal level could also be effective. There is a need for more support to raise awareness about all the current situations in Luxembourg in more languages. Currently, there is one radio station with one program per week in Arabic and other multiple languages, but there is still a need for more. Now it is better than before, but when I started the research, the publications in Luxembourgish had much more details than in other languages. Sometimes other language publications do not cover as much as news and events covered in the Luxembourgish one.

Most political debates and first-hand information (like in the case of Covid-19) are available mainly in the Luxembourgish language, then some summaries in other languages (mainly French). Recently several media entities have more publications in English and Portuguese. Also, political parties need to direct their programs to a multilingual audience. For example, it was sporadic in the last municipal elections to have publications from the political parties in a language other than Luxembourgish; many had in French, and very rare in English. While the law allows residents to participate in the municipal elections after five years, information that can help the multilingual public decide which political party they might vote for is lacking. This recommendation is directly beneficial for the political parties, considering that many refugees

have lived in Luxembourg for more than five years, and many of them have already received Luxembourgish nationality.

6.2 Critical reflections about the study and experienced difficulties

I like to briefly present the limitations of the study and mention some issues that affected this research and the results

6.2.1 *Critical reflections*

- **My position as a multicultural researcher**

My position as a researcher is similar to the target research group's cultural and linguistic background. This might have positively and negatively influenced the analysis and understanding of the inputs and how the data was selected and analysed. I cannot avoid this fact, so I admit that a subjectivist epistemological stance might influence my research. I have some personal points of view on the topic due to my background and life experience that I cannot simply turn off.

Also, my role in coordinating the “Initiative Choukrane”, i.e., dealing with refugees personally and facilitating some challenges they were facing prior to the data collection period, might be qualified as affecting my perception of the participants’ responses. Being a migrant myself, my position could have affected how the participants in the research perceived me as one of their groups, not as a researcher.

I was considering my position as a migrant myself, as I came to Luxembourg as a student from an Arabic-speaking country. I also experienced different challenges and barriers to achieving my integration process.

I tried to take this position as a positive asset that helped me better interact with my interviewees and understand what they said in the interviews. At the same time, I tried to be as neutral and objective as possible in analysing and presenting the data collected from the interviews and not intentionally impacting the research process and results due to my background.

- **Availability of scientific literature**

It was hard to find international literature covering the specific research topic of refugees from Arab countries or refugees in Luxembourg as the phenomenon is new and not abundantly covered in the literature yet. The articles available cover mainly migration and integration, not specific research on refugees from Arab countries. Moreover, the choice of existing models of integration that can be directly linked to the focus area was also limited.

Meanwhile, there were rich resources concerning the other aspects of integration, acculturation, migration, refugees, language learning, religion, employment, family, and social and political engagements. These resources were helpful to have an overview understanding of the topic components and in building upon it the structure of the research

- **Sample Size**

I am satisfied with the sample of interview candidates I achieved. Nevertheless, since I have close access to the community I was investigating, it might have been favourable to have more interviews. A larger sample size might have indicated a more differentiated point of view.

The total population of Arabs who received refugee status from 2011 – to 2020 is 2825. Among this group, we count 2112 people who fled the region after political unrest and received their refugee status between 2015 and 2018, when I started interviews in 2019. Within this group of 2112 people, the sample size of my interviewees (27 participants) equals 1.27% of the target population.

- **Sample Profile**

Concerning the profile of participants, as I already mentioned within the gender section above, I would have appreciated welcoming more women participants in the interviews. Moreover, interviews with stakeholders from governmental and non-governmental institutes, who work in integration, would have brought different views to the data corpus. The plan was to get the results from the leading target group (the refugees) analysed first and then discuss the findings with other stakeholders. However, unfortunately, the difficult period of the covid-19 pandemic and lockdown did not ease these kinds of exchanges.

- **Research method**

Drawing upon semi-structured interviews, I focused closely on the interviewee's perception and their point of view. However, the complete picture of integration in Luxembourg is broader. Some of the participants mentioned important points only after the tape-recorded session ended. They did not want to be recorded while mentioning specific issues related to persons who might be known or might read the research. As they informed me about these topics only after the interview session, I could not include these data as quotes in the official manuscript.

- **Data Collection Process**

The data collection process was done in quite private areas, either in my office at the university or in the participants' accommodation. Both places were quiet and accurate for doing the recordings. They also respected the privacy issue to keep the participants' identities protected.

I used Arabic as the only communication tool with the participants to allow them to exchange their ideas without any linguistic limitations freely. Many of them are only fluent in Arabic.

However, this choice required me to translate all the selected excerpts from Arabic to English afterwards. For the (non-Arabic speaker) reader, this has to be regarded as a limitation as reading the excerpts in the context of the whole interview might generate a better understanding of the discussion.

- **Equipment used during the interviews**

I had in mind to use the wooden Jenga blocks in the interviews with the participants, on which they could write the different components and organize them to form a tower construction. This procedure took place in the early interviews. However, later on, I used only printed paper figures of the tower blocks on which the participants could write directly the components they wanted to express their ideas easily.

Using the physical blocks was very helpful for the participants to describe and visualise the components needed to achieve the integration process. However, this was also very time-consuming. It would have been better to do video recordings of the interview sessions and analyse how they interact with the building blocks afterwards. This might have changed the methodology, moving more to multimodal video ethnography. It would have allowed the analysis of their reactions and physical actions in addition to just recording their voice.

- **Timing of the study**

The present study investigated a phenomenon while it is occurring in real life. The topic is new as the main flow of refugees came to Europe in 2015. While I started my PhD in 2016, many things were still unknown initially or did not occur yet. Many policies, laws, and regulations were modified while I was writing, and I had to be up to date by following the news to avoid missing any new issue that might directly affect the phenomena under inquiry. For example, during the PhD research time, the RMG changed into *REVIS* and the agency in charge from *OLAI* to *ONA* with different responsibilities and attributions.

The discussions in the media and on social networks were thematising the integration of refugees and their impact on the country and Europe as a hot topic. Other political events even amplified the tensions in these discussions, such as the results of the Brexit referendum in the UK, the election of Donald Trump in the US, and the rise of the right-wing parties in the EU. These hot topics and their impacts on the local discourse were essential to consider while designing and implementing the research data collection.

6.3 Personal difficulties experienced

- **Time management and personal constraints**

While doing the research, I was responsible for a project that facilitates the integration of refugees titled: Initiative Choukrane in cooperation with the Association des Egyptiens au Luxembourg. It helped a lot in the research and guaranteed access to the target group and knowledge of all the professional practitioners in Luxembourg. It even facilitated access to the advocacy work and discussions with governmental agencies representatives and all the other civil society institutions working in the field of integration and precisely the integration of refugees in Luxembourg. Also, managing a project with support from the call MATENEEN of the charity fund "Oeuvre Nationale Grand-Duchesse Josephine Charlotte" allowed me to have an inside vision of the relationship with the main funding instrument for all the other initiatives took place.

Despite all the positive support, I had a real challenge in time management in order to be able to fulfil my coordinating role as project manager of the "Initiative Choukrane", as well as a full-time student for my PhD research. It was not an easy task.

In addition, I was directly involved and wanted to help participants in the project "Initiative Choukrane" solve different problems concerning education, language learning, family reunion applications, and meeting with lawyers and government agencies to facilitate communication and communication be an interpreter if needed. This helped to build trust with potential interview participants, but it was a real challenge for the overall time management. This added the responsibility to try to have a double role, one role as someone who actively facilitates their integration process and the other role is being a researcher. It can help to have a kind of an emic and etic perspective to an extent, but at the same time, to be sure that roles be segregated and identified.

Unfortunately, the pandemic of covid-19 and the lockdown negatively affected workflow and added more time constraints to the research.

6.4 Closing

In the end, it was a long journey to understand how the integration of Arab refugees takes place in Luxembourg, keeping in mind that this specific group of people might stay in Luxembourg for a long time because of the complexities going on still in their countries of origin. I felt the importance of studying this topic, especially with my cultural heritage that is very close to this specific group of people geographically and linguistically and how the integration can be improved for the future.

7 References

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8 ANNEX I: Participants' consent form

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

نموذج موافقة المشارك في البحث

Title of Research Project:

Refugees' integration process in Luxembourg:

The case of Arab speakers post the political transformations in the MENA region.

Acronym of Research Project:

Integration of the Arab refugees in Luxembourg

I have been informed by ...Haythem Kamel BADAUWY..... orally and in writing (see pages 2 and following) on the nature as well as the potential consequences and risks of the study within the scope of the above-mentioned project, and I had sufficient opportunity to clarify any questions.

I have been informed that I am entitled to withdraw my consent at any time without giving reasons and without negative consequences to myself. Furthermore, I can object to further processing of my data and samples, as well as request these to be deleted.

I agree that data concerning my person collected within the scope of the study are used for scientific purposes only, and are treated as strictly confidential according to the regulations of the Data Protection Act.

Translation the text to Arabic:

لقد تم إخباري من قبل: هيثم كامل بدوي .. شفويًا وكتابيًا (انظر صفحة ٢ والتي تليها) علي طبيعة البحث والعواقب او المخاطر المحتمله للدراسة ضمن نطاق المشروع المذكور أعلاه، وكان لدي فرصة كافية لتوضيح أي استفسارات لدي. لقد تم إخباري بأنه يحق لي سحب موافقتي في أي وقت دون إبداء الأسباب ودون عواقب سلبية على نفسي. علاوة على ذلك ، يمكنني الاعتراض على إجراء مزيد من المعالجة لبياناتي وعينتي ، بالإضافة إلى طلب حذف هذه البيانات. أوافق على أن البيانات الخاصة بشخصي والتي تم جمعها ضمن نطاق الدراسة يتم استخدامها للأغراض العلمية فقط ، ويتم التعامل معها على أنها سرية للغاية وفقًا للوائح الخاصة بقانون حماية البيانات.

PARTICIPANT

المشارك

Family name: _____ First name: _____

اسم العائلة الاسم الأول

Date of birth: _____

تاريخ الميلاد

Place & date: _____

المكان والتاريخ

Signature of the participant: _____

امضاء المشارك

RESEARCHER

الباحث

I have informed the above-mentioned participant orally and in writing (see pages 1 and following) on the nature as well as the potential consequences and risks of the study, and that I have given the participant the opportunity to ask any questions.

لقد قمت بإعلام المشارك المذكور اعلاه بشكل شفوي وكتابي (انظر الصفحة الاولى والتي تليها) حول طبيعة البحث والمخاطر والتبعات المتوقعة حول الدراسة، وقد اعطيت المشارك الفرصة للاستعلام عن اي اسئلة مطلوبه.

In addition, the participant received a copy of the information sheet and of this consent form.

بالاضافه الي ان المشارك قد استلم نسخة من معلومات الخاصة بالبحث المرفقه بنموذج موافقته كمشارك فى البحث

Name: __Haythem Kamel BADAWEY_____

Place & date: __Belval - _____

Signature of the researcher: _____

INFORMATION SHEET

معلومات

Title of Research Project:

Refugees' integration process in Luxembourg:
The case of Arab speakers post the political transformations in the MENA region.

عنوان البحث

اللاجئين، عملية الاندماج في لوكسمبورج
حالة متحدثي اللغة العربية في ما بعد التغيرات السياسية في منطقة الشرق الأوسط وشمال افريقيا.

Acronym of Research Project:

Integration of the Arab refugees in Luxembourg

مشروع البحث المختصر

اندماج اللاجئين العرب في لوكسمبورج

Description of the study:

This research is aiming on understanding how the integration process happens to the refugees from Arab speaking backgrounds who arrived to Luxembourg post the Arab political transformations, with special focus on the asylum seekers who already received their refugee status and residency in Luxembourg.

شرح البحث

يهدف هذا البحث لفهم كيفية حدوث عملية الاندماج للاجئين من متحدثي اللغة العربية ، والذين وصلوا الى دولة لوكسمبورج بعد التغيرات السياسية العربية، مع التركيز على طالبي الحماية الدولية من الذين حصلوا بالفعل على حق الحماية الدولية والإقامة في لوكسمبورج.

Contact person for further questions

بيانات الاتصال في حالة وجود اي استفسارات اضافيه

Name: Haythem Kamel BADAWEY..... الاسم: هيثم كامل بدوي

Position: PhD Candidate

المنصب: طالب دكتوراه

Tel: ...46 66 44-5922..... Email:

...Haythem.Badawy@uni.lu.....

If you have a concern about any aspect of your participation, please raise this with the researcher

اذا لديك اي مخاوف بخصوص اي شيء له علاقة بمشاركتك في البحث، برجاء اخبارها للباحث

8.1 Annex II: Interviews guiding questions:

Guiding headlines for the interviews

- 1- Presentation of self
- 2- Ask participants to brainstorm for different components, and list them
- 3- Try to organize them in the ladder
- 4- Describe why they order these components
- 5- How they evaluate themselves, in shadow of the blocks what is missing.
- 6- Discussion about their own experience on integration
- 7- Using the main lines in the discussion, hardship, pitfall, efforts, supports, motivations

الخطوط الرئيسية للمقابلة

- ١ - فهم ماهية الاندماج
- ٢ - مصاعب ، مزالتق، مجهودات، دعم، دوافع
- ٣ - ثقافته، أنشطة، تطوع، لغة، عمل، إقامة، سكن،
- ٤ - الآخرين وأنا، من الأفضل، هل انا افضل، من هو الأفضل في الاندماج
- ٥ - هل نحتاج اندماج؟ هل نعتبر اقامتنا في لوكسمبورج دائمه؟ هل لوكسمبورج وطني
- ٦ - العمر، النوع، الحالة الاجتماعية، الدين، العمل ، السكن، المستوى التعليمي، العلاقات الاسرية
- ٧ - الثقافة اللوكسمبورجية
- ٨ - العلاقات مع الاخرين، العرب، الأجانب، اللوكسمبورجيين
- ٩ - مصادر الدعم المؤسسي، المبادرات، فيسيوك
- ١٠ - العلاقة مع المؤسسات الحكومية، القانون، النظام

Interview guiding questions and themes

Interviews for Refugees:

General:

1. Presentation of self, social, family situation professional, educational & personal background and Description of the trip to Luxembourg, and Why choosing Luxembourg?
- 2- How do you order the blocks, how to build your integration structure? + reflection.
 - a. Which blocks represent higher level of importance for your life in Luxembourg
 - b. How do you formulate your personal structure, what blocks do you think are missing.
- 3- Do you feel there is a need to integrate in Luxembourgish society?
- 4- When you can say that a person is integrated?

Additional

- 1- Understanding Integration
 - a. What pitfalls of your Integration
 - b. What motivates you to continue
 - c. What/who helped you
 - d. What PIA is or any elements
- 2- Degree of integration
 - a. What different they see between them and others

- b. which degree of integration you see yourself/ you see others
 - c. what key elements of successful integration
- 3- The Integrated not integrated one
- a. Imagine a concrete person who has not go as far as you in the integration
 - i. What advice you give to this person
 - b. Imagine a concrete person who has become more integrated
 - c. What do you think makes the difference:
 - i. Family situation,
 - ii. Age
 - iii. Gender
 - iv. Education
- 4- Active citizenship
- a. Did you volunteer?
- 5- Missing points / needs
- a. What else would you need now to be integrated

Other points to use in the discussions

Individual:

- 1- Personal perspective
 - Do you consider Luxembourg as your home: How the person position him/herself about living in Luxembourg, do you plan to settle in Luxembourg or return?
 - Do you feel that your culture and identity respected?
 - Do you manage to practice your religion and habits as you wish?
- 2- Living in Luxembourg
 - How do you spend your time? Searching for job? Volunteering? Learning languages? Vocational training? Education? Recognition of certificates?
 - How the Housing situation in Luxembourg? Find house? Searching? Still in foyer?
- 3- Family situation:
 - How do you vision yourself and family In the future? How you expect your children form a family? Did family relations changed in Luxembourg or it is the same as before?
 - Do you think that there is challenge in raising your children? What kind? How do you communicate with the school? Do you feel that your children need some help or they are doing well in the education?
- 4- Luxembourgish culture/ lifestyle:
 - What are the Luxembourgish habits, celebrations, special days you know? Do you participate in any of them?
- 5- Stability: Employment, Housing, education

- Did you found private housing? How the process was? If not, what you are doing?
- Did you found a job? How searching for job? Do you need certification or recognition of skills?
- Did you manage to find job? Permission to work? How was the process?

Social

1- Social Incubation

- Did you met other Arabs in Luxembourg? Are they refugees or not? How long are they living in Luxembourg?
- Did you help each other within Arab speaking community?
- Did you manage to find a job through connections? How this happened? Did someone or groups gave you a hand of support and help?
- Have you observed national groups that cooperate among each other's in Luxembourg? What do you think about the Arab speaking community in Luxembourg?

2- Connection with Luxembourgish / residents

- Do you feel that people look to you differently in the streets?
- Do you interact with other nationalities in Luxembourg?
- Do you have relations with Luxembourgish natives?
- From which shops you do your shopping. Do you search for special authentic products? Do you miss any of products that you usually have? Do you search for Halal food only?
- How is your interaction with different groups in Luxembourg? Arab speakers? Portuguese? Any specific group?

3- Participation Vie associative/ volunteering

- Do you know any Associations? Did you participated in any social initiatives? Yes/no/why/which ones? Do you have time to volunteer? What do you do in the spare time?
- Do you think that volunteering could help you? Or it is losing time and efforts?
- Did you heard about 'MATENEEN'? do you know any of the projects?

4- Help/ assistance/ cooperation

- Did any group offered help or activities in the foyer? Do you receive information after living in your private home? Did anyone/institution helped you to know about Luxembourg? Who approached the other? When you need help, where do you go?

5- Social media / Media

- Do you use Facebook? Other social media platforms?
- What pages you follow? Which websites you check? How do you receive your news?
- Do you use technology to learn languages?

- Are there enough information in Arabic? Do you understand well other languages to use online? Do you know 'You are welcome' platform?

6- Connection with Luxembourg vs Home

- Do you follow l'essentiel? Do you buy newspapers? Do you read newspapers online? Is there any websites you check to know information in Luxembourg? Do you follow the news back home? How frequent? Do you follow the news in Luxembourg? How frequent?
- Do you follow events for your children to participate in?

7- Leisure time / Participation in social life

- Do you play any sport? Do you support or follow any team? In your home country or Luxembourg? Do you follow international teams? Where do watch matches?
- Do you know about cultural pass? Do you go to cultural events?

Official

1- Relation with structures:

- How was the process of paper work, residency, status, family reunion?
- How to evaluate the services from the official structure, does it covered all the needs?
- Do you receive state support? For you? Your family and children? Is it enough?
- How do you communicate with the civil servants? Was they helpful?
- What kind of difficulties you find in your communication with officials?
- Did you lived in a foyer managed by OLAI? Croix Rouge? Caritas? How is the relation with the foyer management staff? Was they helpful? Is there still relation after leaving the foyer?
- How is the communication with OLAI?

2- Knowledge about structures/ services

- CNS, how do you go to doctor? Do you understand how the health system in Luxembourg function?
- ADEM, how is searching for employment? Did you registered with ADEM?
- How do you search about official paperwork? Do you know Guichet.lu?
- Was it easy to receive information about regulations and paperwork? Was it complicated?
- How did you learn about regulations for official paperwork in Luxembourg? Was it hard? Or clear? Do you find all what you need easily?
- Which ministries you interacted with? Which entities? Ministries: Education, Health, Family, Foreign affairs, Labor
- Do you know about institutions in Luxembourg? Which ones? Did you dealt with any?
- What do you know about the following official structures: CMCM, OLAI, CASNA, SNHBM, fond de Logement, LISKO, Ombudsman, SNCT, SNCA, Maison de Orientation?

- What do you know about the following NGOs: CLAE, ASTI, Croix Rouge, Caritas, any other NGOs?
- 3- Awareness/ rights/ responsibilities
- Have you thought about your rights and responsibilities?
 - Did you signed the CAI? Did you participated in any event for integration with OLAI?
 - Do you have idea about the laws in Luxembourg? Tax system? Social security system?
- 4- Civic participation
- Do you know about the political system in Luxembourg? Political parties? What do you think about them?
 - Do you know about the municipal council? Do you follow the news on local level? Do you want to participate in municipal elections? Did you or want to join any political party?

8.2 Annex III: List of codes

Below is the list of codes that were used in analysing the data from the interviews.

I tried categorising and labelling them into main and sub-categories, while there is overlap between the different categories and sub-categories.

Main category	Subcategory	Key terms
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social connection - Interactions - Psychological status - Peers - Social interaction - Communications - Support - Community building - Involvement in social activities - Lifestyle - Attitudes - Society - Friends - Job market - Housing - Family 	Arabs/ Foreigners/ Europeans/ Luxembourgish / connections/ regulations / sense of belonging / Jail/ foyer/ new people / refugee/ isolation/ Luck/ school/ University/ friendship/ groups/ generation / relations/ doors/ European society/ classes/ youth/ young people/ old generations/ back home/ habits/ customs/ traditions/ homogeneous/ helping each other's/ different nationalities/ events
Language learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language Courses - Language voucher - Language learning group - Practicing - Job market - Integration - Children perspectives - Acquiring Nationality - Learning methods 	Classes/ French/ Language/ requirements/ German/ Luxembourgish / Arabic/ English/ Bon/ Voucher/ barrier/ communication/ Age/ learning group/ Spanish/ Italian/ Turkish/ practicing languages/ learning/ aims/ mentality/ culture/ Intensive courses/ classroom interactions/ learning space/ getting to know the country/ difficulties / house conditions/ ADEM/ State support/ OLAI
Living conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Housing - Life style 	Foyer/ Private house/ commune/ sense of belonging/ family reunion/ receiving the status/ LISKO/ housing

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Family status - Regulations - Life style 	market/ prices/ rent/ education/ misconceptions / allocations/ parking/ car/ transportation/ travelling / location/ Camp/ Jail/ habits/ sleeping/ noise/ psychological status/ laws/ stability/ land lord/ owners/ agencies/ guarantee/ commissions/ family / single/ religious background/ divorce/ luck
Income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Employment - Entrepreneurship - Certification - Regulations and policies - Support measures - Job market - Rent 	Salary/ REVIS/ RMG/ <i>Chomage</i> / work/ opportunity/ company creation/ training courses/ workshops/ recognition of competencies/ learning languages/ housing/ ADEM/ English language/ French language/ barriers/ certificate /accreditation/ recognition/ graduation/ experience/ linguistic competencies/ Education/ fairness/ interviews/ meetings/ Housing/ <i>Logement</i> / Tax/ bank/ post/ money
Intercultural learning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Awareness - Intercultural sensitivity - Intercultural competencies - Education - Personal experience - Community - Language learning - Culture - Social media 	Country of origin/ interactions/ society/ events/ activities/ festivals/ Facebook pages/ invitations/ celebrations/ societies/ camps/ freetime/ Luxembourgish people/ Europeans/ foreigners/ Arabs/ Afghans/ Portuguese/ Language learning/ barriers/ Housing conditions/ accessibility/ size of the country/ communications/ friendship/ relations/ accepting others/ respect/ exchange/ food sharing/
Personal competencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self fulfilment - Civic participation - Certifications - Work and background - Language learning 	Proof of experience/ schools / university/education / courses/ classes/ job market/ motivation/ open minded/ learning to learn/ linguistic competencies/ work experiences/ examination/ French / English / age/
Awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Communication - Social media - News - Politics - Civic participation - Community - Culture 	Facebook/ <i>Salam show</i> / RTL/ <i>L`essential</i> / newspapers/ online news/ TV/ language learning/ community interactions/ society/ interest/ Radio/ LinkedIn/ Arab Facebook pages in Luxembourg/ lack of knowledge/ Interest

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Events - Networking and community opportunities 	
Future perspectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perception for improvement - Family - Children - Stability - Nationality - Employment 	Language learning/ generations/ job opportunity/ establishing the life in Luxembourg/ Sense of belonging/ Active citizenship/ comparison with past and present/ Luxembourgish language/ opportunities/ step by step plannings

8.3 Annexe IV: Interviews

The interview transcripts were accessible to the jury members of the dissertation only.

They are no longer disclosed to protect the study participants' privacy and confidentiality.

Whenever there is a scientific reason to get access to this data, please contact the author:

Haythem Badawy

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