FOCUS Deliverable 4.3: Cross-site analysis

Project title:	Forced displacement and refugee-host community solidarity (FOCUS)
Funding scheme:	Research and Innovation Action (RIA)
Project ID:	H2020 822401
Project period:	1.1.2019 – 30/06/2022

Coordinator: Sabina Dziadecka Gråbæk sagra@rodekors.dk phone +45 35 25 92 72

EC Project Officer: Luis.GARCIA-DOMINGUEZ@ec.europa.eu phone +32 2 299 1111

Work package	WP4: Field studies in Jordan, Croatia, Germany and Sweden
Deliverable	4.3: Cross-site analysis
Due date of deliverable	31.01.2022
Actual submission date	28.01.2022.

Authors Deliverable 4.3: Jana Kiralj (FFZG), Dean Ajduković (FFZG)

Cross-site survey analysis: Jana Kiralj (FFZG), Dean Ajduković (FFZG), Dragutin Miškić (FFZG), Nahikari Irastorza (MAU), Liliia Korol (MAU)

Cross-site qualitative analysis: Dana Abdel-Fatah (HU/CHAR), Steffen Schödwell (HU/CHAR)

Version	Date	Remark
1	30.11.2021.	First draft completed by FFZG
	24.12.2021.	Internal review by Consortium: DRC, ART, Q4
	21.01.2022.	External review by Alison B. Strang, Dan Chisholm, Guglielmo Schinina, Pascal Becker (members of the FOCUS Advisory Board)
2	28.01.2020.	Final draft

Dissemination Level		
PU	Public	PU
PP	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
RE	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	
CO	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 822401 (FOCUS).

Table of Contents

List of images **3**

List of tables **4**

Glossary **7**

1. Executive summary **8**

2. Introduction to the cross-site analysis **11**

2.1 Cross-site analysis within the structure of the project 11
2.2 Scope of the cross-site analysis 12

3. Report: Cross-site analysis of quantitative (survey) data **16**

3.1 Introduction 16
3.2 Methodology of the cross-site survey study 16
3.2.1 Data collection 16
3.2.2 Data analysis 18
3.2.3 Characteristics of the total sample 18
3.2.4 Limitations of the total survey sample 20
3.3 Results of the cross-site analysis of survey data 22
3.3.1 Socio-economic integration 22
3.3.2 Opinions of the RC on the SE situation of the AC and the impact of migration 32
3.3.3 Socio-psychological integration 37
3.4 Conclusions 67

4. Report: Cross-site analysis of qualitative (focus group) data **72**

4.1 Introduction 72
4.2 Research methodology 72
4.2.1 Data collection 72
4.2.2 Data analysis 73
4.2.3 Sensitizing concepts 74
4.3 Results 78
4.3.1 Perspectives on integration 78
4.3.2 On intergroup relations 86
4.3.3 Avenues for negotiating integration 94
4.3.4 Power, cultural, social and geographical struggles and rapprochements 100
4.4 Conclusion 106

5. Implications for Policy and Practice (Recommendations) **111**

6. General conclusion **115**

7. Bibliography **116**

8. Appendices **120**

8.1 Quantitative study (survey) 120
8.1.1 Socio-demographic data 120
8.1.2 Socio-economic indicators of integration 126
8.1.3 Opinions of the RC on the SE situation of the AC and the impact of migration 136
8.1.4 Socio-psychological indicators of integration 145
8.2 Qualitative study (focus groups) 166

List of images

Figure 2-1. List of FOCUS research-led work packages and deliverables. ... 11

Figure 3-1. Language proficiency of AC respondents from 3, the lowest, to 15, the highest (means and standard deviations)... 23

Figure 3-2. Employment rates of AC and RC men and women(%) ... 24

Figure 3-3. The incidence of overqualification among AC and RC men and women (%). ... 25

Figure 3-4. Cross-country differences in the likelihood of employment (odds ratios). Note: Lined columns represent statistically non-significant coefficients. The reference country is Germany. ... 28

Figure 3-5. Means and standard deviations for the quality of the neighborhood of the AC and RC. ... 29

Figure 3-6. Housing conditions of the AC (%). ... 30

Figure 3-7. Means and standard deviations of the opinions of the RC on the socio-economic impact of migration on their society in four countries. ... 36

Figure 3-8. Means of the attitudes towards the members of the other group for RC and AC samples in four study countries. ... 39

Figure 3-9. Means and standard deviations of RC's support for the rights of the AC and AC's knowledge of their rights and entitlements. ... 41

Figure 3-10. Means of the perception of the realistic and symbolic intergroup threat posed by the members of the other group for RC and AC samples in four study countries. ... 45

Figure 3-11. Means of RC respondents' readiness to assist AC members, and the perception of the AC respondents to the degree to which the RC members are ready to assist them in four study countries. ... 47

Figure 3-12. Size of effect of individual predictors of RC respondents' readiness to assist the AC (hierarchical regression analysis). Non-significant predictors are presented in a lighter colour. The reference country is Germany. N=2721 ... 48

Figure 3-13. Means and standard deviations of the quantity (frequency) and quality (pleasantness) of intergroup contact between the RC and the AC in four countries. ... 51

Figure 3-14. Means and standard deviations of the social proximity of the RC and the AC towards each other in four countries. ... 53

Figure 3-15. Size of effect of individual predictors of RC respondents' social proximity to the AC (hierarchical regression analysis). Non-significant predictors are presented in a lighter colour. The reference country is Germany. (N=2721) ... 54

Figure 3-16. Size of effect of individual predictors of AC respondents' social proximity to the RC (hierarchical regression analysis). Non-significant predictors are presented in a lighter colour. The reference country is Germany. (N=1487) ... 55

Figure 3-18. Percentage of the RC respondents who have none, a few, about a half, most, or all AC members as acquaintances, friends or persons to call for help within their social networks. ... 56

Figure 3-17. Percentage of the AC respondents who have none, a few, about a half, most, or all RC members as acquaintances, friends or persons to call for help within their social networks. ... 56

Figure 3-19. Means of the RC respondents' perception of the frequency in which the AC experience discrimination, and AC respondents' perception of the frequency in which they experience discrimination. ... 59

Figure 3-20. Means of the RC respondents' perception of the degree to which the AC are members of the society, and AC respondents' perception of the degree to which they are a part of the society they live in. ... 61

Figure 3-21. Size of effect of individual predictors of AC respondents' sense of belonging to the community (hierarchical regression analysis). Non-significant predictors are presented in a lighter colour. The reference country is Germany. (N=862) ... 63

Figure 3-22. Visual comparison of the percentage of respondents who chose each of the three types of acculturation strategies of arriving community members. ... 64

List of tables

Table 2-1. Challenges in cross-site research and the decisions implemented in the FOCUS field study. 12

Table 3-1. Criteria for inclusion of the RC and AC respondents in the FOCUS survey field study. 17

Table 3-2. Summary of the data collection procedures used in the four study countries and the impact of COVID-19 on the data collection. 17

Table 3-3. Planned and achieved sample sizes in four study countries. 18

Table 3-4. Summary of analyses of group differences between four study countries in all socio-psychological indicators of integration. All tests of group differences were significant. 66

Table 4-1. Participants' sociodemographics in all sites. 74

Table 4-2. General overview of themes and categories. 79

Table 8-1. **Socio-demographic characteristics of the RC respondents** in four countries: gender, marital status, migration background, level of education, employment status and political orientation (categorical variables). 121

Table 8-2. **Socio-demographic characteristics of the RC respondents** in four countries: age and importance of religion (continuous variables)... 122

Table 8-3. **Psychological wellbeing and physical health of the RC respondents** in four countries. 123

Table 8-4. **Socio-demographic characteristics of the AC respondents** in four countries: gender, marital status, level of education, labour status before migration and current employment status (categorical variables).... 124

Table 8-5. **Socio-demographic characteristics of the AC respondents** in four countries: age, duration of stay in the receiving country and importance of religion (continuous variables). 125

Table 8-6. **Psychological wellbeing and physical health of the AC respondents** in four countries. 126

Table 8-7. Results of the ANOVA test of differences between the AC respondents in four study countries for English and Receiving country language proficiency. 127

Table 8-8. Results of the ANOVA test of differences between the AC respondents in four study countries for the duration of the process of recognition of qualifications and job satisfaction. 127

Table 8-9- Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the AC members in four countries for the recognition of qualifications. 127

Table 8-10. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' English language proficiency. 129

Table 8-11. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' Receiving country language proficiency. 129

Table 8-12. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' duration of the process of recognition of qualifications. 130

Table 8-13. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' job satisfaction. 130

Table 8-14. Occupational level for employment AC and RC men and women across four study countries. 131

Table 8-15. Occupational to educational level match of employed AC and RC men and women across four study countries (2021). 132

Table 8-16. Net earnings in EUR for employed AC and RC men and women across four study countries (2021). 133

Table 8-17. Total income in EUR for employed and non-employed AC and RC men and women across four study sites (2021)... 133

Table 8-18. The number of AC and RC men and women receiving government benefits across four study countries (2021). 134

Table 8-19. The number of AC and RC men and women receiving government allowance across four study countries (2021). 134

Table 8-20. Logistic regression analyses of male and female AC and RC respondents' probability of employment (odd ratios, Standard Error in brackets). 135

Table 8-21. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the AC members in four countries for the characteristics of their housing conditions. 136

Table 8-22. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) test of differences between the **opinions of the RC respondents** in four countries regarding the **AC's level of education**. 137

Table 8-23. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) test of differences between the **opinions of the RC respondents** in four countries regarding **AC's current occupation status**. 137
Table 8-24. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) test of differences between the **opinions of the RC respondents** in four countries regarding the share of **AC members receiving welfare assistance**. 138
Table 8-25. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) test of differences between the **opinions of the RC respondents** in four countries regarding the **AC's living situation**. 138
Table 8-26. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement **'Refugees will increase competition in the labour market in /country/'.** 139
Table 8-27. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Refugees will increase competition in the labour market in /country/'. 139
Table 8-28. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement **'Refugees will reduce the shortages of labour in /country/'**. 140
Table 8-29. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Refugees will reduce the shortages of labour in /country/'. 140
Table 8-30. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement **'Refugees will have a positive impact on the economic growth in /country/'**. 141
Table 8-31. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Refugees will have a positive impact on the economic growth in /country/'. 141
Table 8-32. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement **'Refugees in /country/ will bring more revenues than costs for the government'**.... 142
Table 8-33. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Refugees in /country/ will bring more revenues than costs for the government'. 142
Table 8-34. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement **'Due to the government spending for refugees, my taxes will have to increase'**...... 143
Table 8-35. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Due to the government spending for refugees, my taxes will have to increase. 143
Table 8-36. . Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement **'Due to the government spending for refugees there will be less benefits for the other population'**. 144
Table 8-37. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Due to the government spending for refugees there will be less benefits for the other population'. 144
Table 8-38. Opinion of RC respondents regarding the SE situation of the AC compared to the actual SE situation of the AC respondents. 145
Table 8-39. Results of the ANOVA tests of differences between the **RC respondents** in four study countries for **socio-psychological indicators of integration** (continuous variables). 146
Table 8-40. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' attitudes towards the AC. 147
Table 8-41. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' perception of realistic intergroup threat. 147
Table 8-42. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' perception of symbolic intergroup threat. 148
Table 8-43. Multigroup comparison of scores for RC respondents' support for the rights of the AC. 148
Table 8-44. Multigroup comparison of scores for RC respondents' readiness to assist the AC. 149
Table 8-45. Multigroup comparisons of scores for the quantity (frequency) of contact the RC respondents had with the AC. 149
Table 8-46. Multigroup comparisons of scores for the quality (pleasantness) of contact the RC respondents had with the AC. 150
Table 8-47. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' social proximity towards the AC. 150
Table 8-48. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' perception of discrimination of the AC... 151
Table 8-49. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' perception of the AC's part in the society (society membership). 151
Table 8-50. Results of the ANOVA tests of differences between the **AC respondents** in four study countries for **socio-psychological indicators of integration** (continuous variables). 152

Table 8-51. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' attitudes towards the RC. 153

Table 8-52. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' perception of realistic intergroup threat. 153

Table 8-53. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' perception of symbolic intergroup threat. 154

Table 8-54. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' knowledge of their rights and entitlements. 154

Table 8-55. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' perception of RC's readiness to assist them. 155

Table 8-56. Multigroup comparisons of scores for the quantity (frequency) of contact the AC respondents had with the RC. 155

Table 8-57. Multigroup comparisons of scores for the quality (pleasantness) of contact the AC respondents had with the RC. 156

Table 8-58. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' social proximity towards the RC. 156

Table 8-59. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' experience of discrimination. 157

Table 8-60. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' sense of being a part of the society (society membership). 157

Table 8-61. Hierarchical regression analysis of the **readiness of the RC respondents to assist the AC members** in two steps using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors. 158

Table 8-62. Hierarchical regression analysis of the **social proximity of the RC respondents towards the AC members** in two steps using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors. 159

Table 8-63. Hierarchical regression analysis of **the social proximity of the AC respondents towards the RC members** in two steps using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors. 160

Table 8-64. Hierarchical regression analysis of the **AC respondents' perception of the degree to which they are part of the society they live in** (society membership) in two steps using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors. Model is tested on samples from Croatia, Sweden and Germany. 161

Table 8-65. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the **RC respondents** in four countries regarding structure of a **social network with the AC** (categorical variables). 163

Table 8-66. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the **AC respondents** in four countries regarding the structure of a **social network with the RC** (categorical variables). 164

Table 8-67. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the **RC respondents** across the four countries and the **AC respondents** across the four countries for the **preference of the acculturation strategy** (categorical variable). 166

Table 8-68. Sociodemographic characteristics of focus group participants in Croatia. 167

Table 8-69. Sociodemographic characteristics of focus group participants in Germany. 168

Table 8-70. Sociodemographic characteristics of focus group participnats in Jordan. 169

Table 8-71. Sociodemographic characteristics of focus group participnats in Sweden. 170

Glossary

Abbreviation / acronym	Description
AC	Arriving Community
D	Deliverable
f	Frequency
FGD	Focus group discussion
M	Mean
n	Number
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
p	p-value
r	Correlation coefficient
SD	Standard deviation
SE	Socio-economic
SP	Socio-psychological
RC	Receiving Community
RQ	Research question
RWT	Random Walk Technique
VIF	Variance Inflation Factor
WP	Work Package

Forced migration is not a legal concept, but a term that covers many different types of displacement or involuntary movement – both across international borders and inside a single country. The term has been used to refer to people who have been displaced by environmental disasters, conflict, famine or large-scale development projects (UNHCR, 2017).

Integration is viewed by the European Commission as a two-way dynamic process with a shared responsibility of the arriving/refugee and receiving/host communities and includes the dynamic of arriving community members having the possibility to become receiving community members over time with overcoming the challenges of integration and achieving full participation in the society.

Arriving Community is the community of persons who were forced to migrate and have therefore moved to the receiving country. In the context of FOCUS research, we refer to the refugees who fled from prosecution, war or violence in their home country as arriving community members.

Receiving Community is the community of persons who lived in the country for a longer period, whether they were born in said country or have moved there some time ago. In the context of FOCUS research, we refer to the country nationals in four study countries as receiving community members.

Socio-economic integration is a term describing the economic independence of the arriving community members supported by the receiving community, including attaining work in line with one's qualifications, adequate living conditions, education and access to health and social care.

Socio-psychological integration describes the intergroup relations between the arriving and receiving community members, with particular emphasis on the intergroup thoughts, sentiments and behaviour represented by attitudes, perceptions, social distance, contact and social networks, etc.

1. Executive summary

The scale of forced migration to Europe as a result of the the Syrian civil war, together with the political and economic context in Europe, ensured that the integration of refugees received significantly more attention than before. Many predictions of the likely impact of the migration were made within a frequently highly-polarised discourse. Both the European Union and its member states acknowledged the importance of integration policies. *It is against this background that the FOCUS project has been designed to broaden and deepen understanding of integration dynamics 6-8 years after this major increase in refugees seeking protection in Europe and to link this to aiding more effective integration policy and programme development.*

This report presents key results of the main research strand of FOCUS: quantitative and qualitative field studies in four countries. The research involved:

- Quantitative surveys and focus group discussions in four countries – the two largest destinations of Syrian refugees in the EU (Germany, Sweden), an EU country which has largely been a transit country for Syrian refugees (Croatia), and a non-EU country which has received significant numbers of forced migrants from Syria (Jordan).
- Surveys using the same core research questions undertaken parallelly with both the Receiving Community and Arriving Community.
- In each country an equal or comparable methodology was employed.
- Over 5,000 research participants: Adults 18-65, permanent status granted to refugees after 2015 (2013 in Jordan).
- Regular revision of surveys in light of pandemic restrictions in participating countries.

The studies were developed following a detailed review of current understanding of the nature of integration and factors influencing integration. They investigate both socio-economic and socio-psychological dimensions of integration – including the first such work on a number of key socio-psychological factors.

The reports for the four individual countries have been published previously, with this document representing the next stage of the analysis of these reports on a cross-site basis. Following a complex process to ensure data comparability, a structured investigation of differences and similarities between the study sites has been prepared. The goal of the cross-site analysis is to detect common patterns and interpret them, keeping in mind the context of each study site. It is not a final analysis of the lessons and recommendations arising from the studies. *A subsequent report will involve the triangulation of quantitative, qualitative and secondary data showing the interplay of the findings emerging from different methodologies. In addition, findings will be presented in the format of key learnings and implications for integration policy and practice.*

The body of this report involves a narrative review of the principal similarities and differences between the countries including exploration of possible explanations for these. The quantitative and qualitative surveys are presented in separate chapters and linked where of assistance in explaining specific results. Within each section, the socio-economic and socio-psychological questions beind addressed are described. The main appendix contains tables setting out results for each of the main questions in the survey.

Overall, this report demonstrates significant similarities and differences between countries – reflective of factors which appear to be common in diverse contexts and other factors which appear to relate to national conditions. The integration of this significant cohort of refugees appears to be proceeding within the bound of what previous integration studies would predict. This is, in itself, a significant finding.

When asked to choose between different ***acculturation strategies***, the overwhelming majority of both communities chose integration (defined as both retaining original culture and adopting that of the new country) over assimulation (rejection of original culture and adoption of that of the new country) or the retention of the original culture and rejection of that of the new country.

In relations to ***socio-economic integration***, results include those which show that:

- Differences in employment rates, overall employment situation, including overqualification of the arriving community in comparison to the receiving community, persist.
- About a third of the arriving community members applied for the recognition of their qualifications in destination countries (Sweden and Germany), and an even smaller proportion applied for recognition of qualifications in transit countries (Croatia and Jordan).
- In all countries, the gap in the number of employed arriving and receiving community members is larger among women than men.
- The number of workers overqualified for their current work position amongst the receiving community members remains high and is clearer among men than women.
- In all countries, a large share of the arriving community members live in overcrowded dwellings and report being overburdened with the price of the rent.
- Receiving community members have significantly incorrect perceptions about the socio-economic position of arriving community members.

Across all sites, both ***the receiving and the arriving community members named various legal and institutional barriers to integration,*** such as the limited duration of residence permits, language requirements for vocational training/further education, and family unification in European sites. When discussing the responsibility for integration efforts, the receiving community members shared a rather passive stance, leaving the responsibility to the arriving community and the institutions.

While the ***attitudes*** of the arriving community towards the receiving community are mostly positive, the stance of the receiving community towards the arriving community is mostly neutral to moderately positive. ***Racism and discrimination*** emerged as major barriers to integration for both socio-economic and socio-psychological dimensions, particularly in qualitative research.

In relation to ***intergroup contact,*** a factor strongly influencing attitudes, perceptions and behavioural intentions, it was found to be infrequent**,** with low numbers of close connections**.** Further emphasizing the lack of social relations between the two groups, the arriving community members had proportionally more receiving community members in their social networks than vice-versa, even though that proportion was small in itself.

Levels of ***perception of threat*** are not high, but they do differ between the communities. While the receiving communities perceived more threat to their culture, norms and way of life, the arriving community perceived more threat to their socio-economic wellbeing. The trend was the opposite in Jordan, where the receiving community perceived moderately high levels of threat to their socio-economic resources, probably due to the macro-economic situation in that country. In Croatia, the

receiving community showed moderately high levels of perception of threat to both their culture and socio-economic position.

This report presents results on survey questions and focus group discussions and makes them comparable across four countries. It provides a very detailed picture of the current situation and perceptions of a significant cohort of refugees and the receiving communities they live with. In doing this it illustrates that there are important factors shared between all countries and others which appear to be country-specific. It provides the base for reports which will be published in the coming months which provide a broader analysis and more directly address policy and practice implications.

2. Introduction to the cross-site analysis

This section summarises the steps taken in preparation for the work reported in this document, it's scope, key decisions in relation to methodology, and the overall theoretical approach to integration which has been followed.

2.1 Cross-site analysis within the structure of the project

The research dimension of FOCUS is broad and underpins many elements of it work.. This report follows from earlier steps. These are shown in Figure 2-1.

Work package 2 with Deliverable 2.1: *Mapping of Host-community/Refugee Relations* involved systematic literature reviews of socio-economic integration, socio-psychological integration, comparative analysis of integration policies and a qualitative study of professionals' view of integration practice in Europe. Arising from this, WP3 with Deliverable 3.1: *Research design and methodology* outlines detailed research questions sets out the the methodology to be followed in the FOCUS field study. WP4 with Deliverable 4.1: *Survey of Arriving and Receiving Communities*, Deliverable 4.2: *Qualitative Field Study*, and this document present, in detail, the results of the field study.

Separate to these field studies, WP5, with Deliverable 5.1: *Case study results and findings,* take the earlier learning and use it to inform the development of the FOCUS Approach to dynamic integration which can help to operationalize an evidence and practice-informed conceptual framework addressing social connections as key drivers of dynamic integration. WP6 with Deliverables *6.2 The Living Well Together Resource* and *6.3 Implementation guidance for the FOCUS approach to dynamic integration,* will set out practical guidelines to the implementation of the FOCUS Approach to Dynamic Integration, including recommendations for practitioners and policy-makers on dynamic integration.

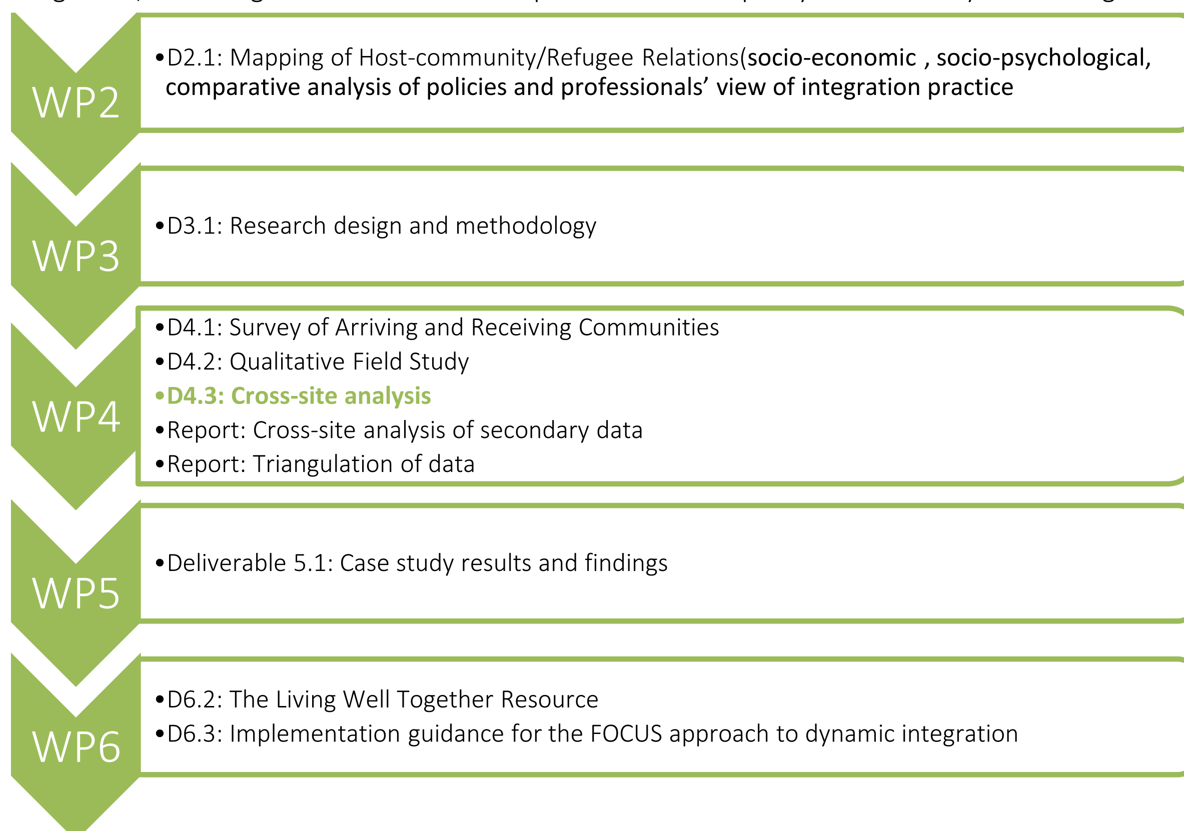


Figure 2-1. List of FOCUS research-led work packages and deliverables.

©FOCUS Consortium

2.2 Scope of the cross-site analysis

A cross-site analysis is a structured investigation of differences and similarities between the study sites. The goal of the cross-site analysis is to detect common patterns and interpret them, keeping in mind the context of each study site.

Several conditions were considered to improve the strength of the cross-site analysis in drawing common conclusions and recommendations. This section (Table 2-1) presents the challenges the study team of the FOCUS project faced throughout the phases of designing and implementing the research methodology, and the solutions we implemented to ensure the feasibility of the cross-site findings.

Table 2-1. Challenges in cross-site research and the decisions implemented in the FOCUS field study.

Challenges	Guiding questions	Decisions
Choice of study countries	Which countries share contextual similarities, but also differ in their approach to the integration and their role in the migration of Syrian refugees in the 2010s?	Jordan, Croatia, Germany and Sweden were chosen based on their role in the migration route, their history of experience with migration and refuge, their integration policies and practices of working with migrants and refugees.
Choice of methodology	What methodology would answer the core question of 'How are different modalities of socio-economic and socio-psychological dimensions of integration interrelated?'	We defined two methodological approaches which complement each other – a survey (quantitative), and a focus group (qualitative). The survey presents a broader view of the indicators of integration in the RC and the AC, while the analysis of focus group data explores the integration process, facilitators and barriers from the perspective of the experiential world of members of both groups.
Choice of relevant dimensions and constructs	What constructs/phenomena serve as socio-economic and socio-psychological indicators of integration, and what socio-demographic characteristics could play a role in the integration process in and between both groups?	The FOCUS project is based on the Indicators of Integration framework (Ager and Strang, 2008; Ndofor-Tah *et al.*, 2019) – a scientifically founded, well-researched model of integration consisting of four dimensions (Means and Markers, Social connections, Facilitators and Foundation). It served as a theoretical ground for the study. An extensive review of existing literature on socio-economic and socio-psychological integration was conducted and helped detect the scientific knowledge on the factors believed to impact integration. The literature review also highlighted the gaps in the current knowledge and methods of research.
Universal operationalization of the constructs	How do we operationalize/define the constructs/ideas to ensure they can be used universally in all study sites?	The questions for the survey and the guide for the focus groups were developed iteratively through discussion between the study partners, keeping in mind the goal of the research and the cultural and language differences between the study countries. The instruments for the survey were chosen based on their metric characteristics, while the focus group guide was developed to provide a sufficient structure, but not to disrupt the flow of the discussion.

		All materials and instruments were translated and piloted in each study country, checking for their validity, credibility and clarity, after which the study partners considered the need for any language alteration.
Choice and implementation of a sampling strategy	What are the inclusion criteria for the respondents of our survey, and the participants of our focus groups? What characteristics of the sample will yield sufficient statistical power and enable the generalisation of findings?	The sampling method was defined universally so that the respondents/participants[1] across countries had the same criteria for inclusion in the study (or comparable criteria in Jordan, due to the earlier arrival of the AC in that country compared to the European study sites). Probabilistic sampling was utilized whenever possible, but as it was challenging to reach the AC, the Snowball technique and contacting through personal social networks were used as alternatives where necessary.
Choice and implementation of a data collection method	How do we approach our participants and respondents, holding high standards of research ethics, while simultaneously ensuring that the sampling strategy in each country yields a sample of sufficient size and planned composition?	Clear ethical guidelines were defined and followed in all countries while approaching the survey respondents/focus group participants, collecting and analysing data. Ethical approval was granted in each country by the respective ethical board[2]. Ethics was thoroughly discussed during the research design phase, with guidance provided by the members of the FOCUS Ethical Advisory Board and ethics partner (AND). The materials, instruments and data collection methods were adapted to follow the highest standards of data protection and ethical science.
Sharing the data	How do we share the qualitative and quantitative data between the partners, respecting all legal and ethical guidelines?	All data were anonymised before any sharing between the partners, following the Data Management Plan. When, due to national restrictions, sharing data was not possible (this was the case of the survey responses in Sweden), all other partners sent their data to Sweden where the cross-country analyses were conducted.
Estimating the comparability of collected data	Staying aware of the language and contextual differences between the countries, how do we estimate the comparability of the collected data?	A series of preliminary analyses were conducted on survey data, including the analysis of descriptive statistics and metric characteristics of the scales. Data were recoded based on the results of the preliminary analyses, striving for the equalization of the metric characteristics (factor structure and reliability) of the scales across the study countries. Focus group data was coded and recoded in several iterations, thus adapting the coding framework when needed, with the coders discussing their understanding of the material

[1] We refer to the respondents of the survey study and the participants of the focus group study.

[2] Croatia: Department of Psychology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. Germany: Charité Universitätsmedizin Berlin. Sweden: National Ethics Authority. Jordan: Deanship of Scientific Research, University of Jordan. Approvals available in the Appendices section of the D4.1: *Survey of Arriving and Receiving communities*, available on FOCUS website: https://www.focus-refugees.eu/

		and the meaning of the codes, agreeing while interpreting the narrative of the participants.
Interpretation and explanation of differences and similarities	How do we analyse the data so that we detect differences and similarities between the study countries, and how do we interpret and explain these differences?	Survey data were analysed using common statistical analyses which compare multiple groups at the same time, detecting statistical differences in their results. Focus group results were analysed by carefully observing the trends in the narratives of the participants from different countries. Because the Indicators of Integration Framework (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019) served as a theoretical basis for the research questions, constructs of interest and measures, together with the systematic review of literature on socio-economic and socio-psychological integration, the results were interpreted considering the existing theoretical and empirical knowledge by drawing links between the commonalities and differences between our findings and previous knowledge. In the interpretation of the results, we particularly considered the contextual differences between the countries.

Theoretical background – Indicators of Integration Framework

The Indicators of Integration Framework was first proposed by Ager and Strang (2008) as a comprehensive model depicting four dimensions of refugee integration. It was developed based on a qualitative study that aimed at identifying the understanding of the experience of integration in two separate localities in the United Kingdom (Ager & Strang, 2004). The Framework was further revised and elaborated by Ndofor-Tah *et al*. (2019) and consists of four dimensions of integration, where neither is more important than the other. These dimensions are interlinked and their interplay is what we consider a dynamic integration. These four dimensions and their respective indicators are:

- ***Markers and Means***: employment, housing, education, health and social care, leisure
- ***Social Connections***: bonds, bridges and links
- ***Facilitators***: language and communication, culture, digital skills, safety and stability
- ***Foundation***: rights and responsibilities

At first glance, Markers and Means and Social Connections represent the socio-economic and socio-psychological integration, respectively. But, all dimensions are related and integration challenges can overlap between the dimensions. For example, social bridges between the arriving and receiving community members could be influenced by the *perceived* differences in culture which could be seen as a barrier in establishing social connections. Or, the lack of digital skills could impact the acquisition of a job, as many job listings are now available online. Knowing their own rights could allow the arriving community members to communicate with the services and institutions easier and help them to understand and acquire the services they are entitled to, thus facilitating the formation of positive social links.

Integration is a complex process whose dimensions are not stand-alone, rigidly defined challenges. Rather, the socio-economic and socio-psychological dimensions encapsulate and broaden the Markers and Means and Social connections, respectively, and closely relate to the indicators from the dimensions of Facilitators and Foundation. Based on the work conducted in WP2, FOCUS research considered additional indicators that were not defined by the Indicators of Integration Framework, such as the perception of intergroup threat or readiness of the receiving community to assist the

arriving community. While not specified, these measures do fit within the Social Connections dimension of Indicators of Integration Framework. In that sense, we are broadening the Framework by studying the impact of additional factors on the integration process within and between the arriving and receiving community.

3. Report: Cross-site analysis of quantitative (survey) data

3.1 Introduction

This cross-site analysis of survey data is an extension of the within-country analyses of survey data in the four study countries (Jordan, Croatia, Sweden, Germany). It goes beyond the analysis of the receiving (RC) and arriving (AC) communities and their comparison for each country separately, and instead compares the results of the SP and SE integration between the AC and the RC across the four countries.

The analysis is organized as follows: we firstly present the methodology of the cross-site analysis. The results of the cross-site analysis of socio-economic survey data will be presented next, followed by the results of the cross-site analysis of opinions of the RC on the impact of the migration and the socio-economic situation of the AC. A cross-site analysis of socio-psychological survey data are then detailed. The conclusions are presented in the last section of this report.

This report addresses those research questions (RQ) which aim to explore differences and similarities between the study sites.

- What is the socio-economic situation of the AC in the four receiving countries as indicated by newly collected survey data?
- What are the main factors correlating with the socio-economic status of the AC?
- How do the RC members perceive the socio-economic situation of the AC in the receiving communities?
- How do RC members perceive the socio-economic impact of refugee migration and integration on receiving communities?
- What is the nature of intergroup relations between the RC and the AC in the four study sites?
- To what extent do the RC and the AC interact and what is the nature of these interactions?
- What are the characteristics of RC members and AC members that hinder or facilitate socio-psychological integration?
- How does socio-psychological integration differ across local communities and participating countries?

3.2 Methodology of the cross-site survey study

3.2.1 Data collection

Survey data were collected in four study countries[3]: Jordan, Croatia, Germany and Sweden. In each country members of the receiving community and the arriving community from Syria were approached.

Research inclusion criteria for all four countries are presented in Table 3-1.

[3] Detailed descriptions of the sampling methods, procedures and impact of COVID-19 on data collection for each country are available in D4.1: *Survey of Arriving and Receiving communities*.

Table 3-1. Criteria for inclusion of the RC and AC respondents in the FOCUS survey field study.

Receiving Community members	Arriving Community members
Between 18 and 65 years of age	Between 18 and 65 years of age
Lived in the country for more than 7 years at the time of data collection	From Syria, with a recognized protection status
Has citizenship or permanent residence	Received their refugee/asylum status after 2015 in Germany, Croatia, and Sweden, and after 2011 In Jordan
/	Not living in a camp or shared accommodation for refugees

The summary of the data collection procedures across the four countries is presented in Table 3-2.

Table 3-2. Summary of the data collection procedures used in the four study countries and the impact of COVID-19 on the data collection.

Country	Receiving community	Arriving Community	Impact of COVID-19 on the data collection
Croatia	Approached using the Random Walk Technique (RWT) and provided answers using the Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing technique (CAPI). Data were collected from November 2019 until the end of January 2020.	Approached through NGOs and other stakeholders using the Snowball Technique and provided answers on a paper questionnaire. Data were collected in two phases, from December 2019 until mid-March 2020 and from June 2020 until mid-November 2020.	Due to the pandemic, data had to be collected in two phases, prolonging the data collection process. Negatively impacted the final size of the AC sample.
Germany	Approached using the Random Walk Technique (RWT) and provided answers using the Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing technique (CAPI). Data were collected in two phases, from mid-December 2019 until mid-March 2020 and from July 2020 to October 2020.	Approached through NGOs and other stakeholders using the Snowball Technique. Provided answers using the Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing technique (CAPI). Data were collected in two phases, from mid-December 2019 until mid-March 2020 and from July 2020 to October 2020.	Due to the pandemic, data had to be collected in two phases, prolonging the data collection process. Negatively impacted the final size of the RC sample.
Sweden	Approached randomly using the national population register, with the postal mailing of questionnaires with respondents answering to the enclosed paper survey or online. Data were collected from June to September 2020.	Approached randomly using the national population register, with the postal mailing of questionnaires with respondents answering to the enclosed paper survey or online. Data were collected from April 2021 to June 2021.	Data were collected by post or online, the probability of COVID-19 influencing the data collection is small. However, the number of responses received from the AC was considerably smaller than expected and, therefore, there is a possibility that COVID-19 might have had a negative effect on the final sample size.
Jordan	Approached using the Random Walk Technique (RWT) and provided	Approached using the Random Walk Technique (RWT) and provided	Data were collected before the outbreak of COVID-19 and were not impacted by it.

	answers using the Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing technique (CAPI). Data were collected in January 2020.	answers using the Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing technique (CAPI). Data were collected in January 2020.	

In each country, the size of the RC sample was planned to be 600. For the AC, it was planned at 600 for Germany, Jordan, and Sweden and 200 for Croatia due to a significantly smaller population of arriving community members. Achieved sample sizes per country are presented in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3. Planned and achieved sample sizes in four study countries.

		Country			
		Croatia	Germany	Sweden	Jordan
Receiving community members	Planned	600	600	1200	600
	Achieved (% of planned)	600 (100%)	524 (87.3%)	1277 (106.4%)	624 (104.0%)
Arriving community members	Planned	200	600	600	600
	Achieved (% of planned)	178 (89.0%)	602 (100.3%)	481 (80.2%)	624 (104.0%)

3.2.2 Data analysis

To be able to analyse group differences between the countries, all data had to be integrated into a single dataset. Study partners shared their anonymized datasets with partner MAU following the procedures for the safe transfer of data and privacy protection defined in Deliverable 1.2: *Data Management Plan*[4]. Descriptive statistics were analysed first, after which the advanced analysis of group differences was conducted. To answer the questions on the dependence of the results on the country of data collection, several types of statistical analyses were used, shortly described here:

ANOVA and **t-test** are tests of differences between groups and belong to the same family of statistical tests. The t-test is a type of ANOVA which tests for differences between two samples, while ANOVA conducts the test of differences for more than two samples simultaneously. After each ANOVA test, so-called post-hoc tests are used to determine the significance of the difference between each pair of groups. In the analyses presented in this report, groups are defined as the study countries. A similar test to ANOVA and t-test is the **$\chi 2$ test** (chi-squared test) which is used to test for the differences between two samples in the frequencies of particular answers.

Regression analysis is used to test the correlation of an independent variable, or a set of independent variables, and a dependent variable. **Binominal logistic regression** explains the probability that the outcome is one or the other value of a categorical dependent variable. In other words, it tests the likelihood of an event happening versus not happening. **Ordinary Least Squares** (linear regression) is used to predict the correlation between a single or a set of independent variables (predictors) and a continuous outcome variable (criterion). A special type of linear regression is **hierarchical regression analysis** that additionally answers the question of how the success of prediction changes if a new set of predictors is added to the analysis beyond the first set of predictor variables.

3.2.3 Characteristics of the total sample

In this section, the socio-demographic characteristics of the total sample are presented. A detailed overview of the total sample across the study countries is presented in the Appendices (Table 8-1 and Table 8-2 for the RC and Table 8-4 and Table 8-5 for the AC).

[4] Deliverable 1.2: *Data Management Plan* was developed as a part of WP1: Project Management.

Almost five thousand respondents participated in the FOCUS survey across four study countries (N_{total}=4910). The number of receiving community respondents constituted 61.6% of the total sample (N_{RC}=3025), while the arriving community respondents made 38.4% of the total sample (N_{AC}=1885).

In the RC sample, gender was balanced with 50.9% of females. The average age of the total RC sample was 42.6 years. The total AC sample had more males than females (58.9%) and the average age of the total AC sample was 35.4 years.

AC respondents have been in their respective receiving country on average 59.09 months (c.5 years), but the range varies very significantly between the countries, with the average duration of stay in Croatia being 31.29 months, 54.36 months in Germany, 68.6 months in Sweden and 82.09 months in Jordan. *These indicate that the surveys were successful in reaching the Syrian refugee population from the highest periods of migration to Jordan, Germany and Sweden, with the Croatian refugee population (in itself relatively small) being later arrivals.* Part of these differences trace to the different periods of data collection (see Table 3-2). Additionally, they could be caused by the role of the countries in the migration route: Croatia was mostly a transit country with very few asylum claims during 2015 and 2016 (Croatian Ministry of Interior, 2021), with the number of claims increasing in 2017 and 2018, explaining how the average duration of stay in Croatia is shorter than in Germany and Sweden. Jordan, as a neighbouring country to Syria, admitted a large number of refugees from Syria in 2015 and 2016 and was pronounced the seventh-largest refugee-hosting country in the world by UNHCR (2017), but the migration to Jordan started earlier than to Europe, with the peak in 2011 and 2012. This explains the difference between the duration of stay of the AC in the four study countries.

Two-thirds of RC respondents reported that they were married (66.9%). Slightly more did not have a migration background (71.7%). Likewise, more AC respondents reported they were married (62.2%) than not married.

More than half of the total RC sample reported having a tertiary level of education (52.9%), followed by the secondary level of education (42.0%). A small number of respondents reported having primary education as their highest achieved level of education ($n_{primary}$=139, 4.6%). Slightly less than half of the total AC sample reported having a secondary level of education (48.9%). Fewer reported having a tertiary or primary level of education ($n_{tertiary}$=447, 24.8%; $n_{primary}$=475, 26.3%). While thepercentage of AC respondents with secondary education was roughly stable among countries (around 40-50%), thepercentage of AC respondents with primary or tertiary levels of education varied. The AC in Jordan had a greater percentage of respondents with a primary level of education (45.7%), while the AC in Sweden had a similarpercentage as the RC respondents with the tertiary education (46.0%). This could be explained by the selection pattern of refugees which shows that AC in Germany, for example, have a higher level of education than those staying in their country of origin or nearby countries. This supports the widespread assumption in migration studies that only certain individuals can afford the relatively high immigration costs required to migrate to Europe (Guichard, 2020; Spörlein et al. 2020).

The majority of the total RC sample consisted of respondents who were employed at the time of data collection (65.4%). There were, however, substantial differences across countries: 28.5% of these respondents were employed in Jordan, while the respective figures were 66.1% in Croatia, 73.3% in Germany and 79.5% in Sweden. For the understanding of these differences, the overall macroeconomic situation of the study countries must be taken into account. Differences in female employment across countries are the main drivers of the disparity in overall employment rates across countries. A third of the total AC sample was employed during the study (32.7%).

In terms of political orientation, the total RC sample had 43.9% of respondents oriented to the left, and a roughly equal number of respondents were oriented to the centre (28.5%) and the right pole (27.6%). In Germany, thepercentage of left-wing oriented respondents was higher than in other countries (61.3%; in Sweden 40.8%; in Croatia 33.1%), with only 6% of the RC in Germany reporting being politically right-oriented (n=27). Migration and forced displacement are polarizing issues in Germany and subject to high profile debate. Because of the nature of the discourse, those who have anti-immigration attitudes may have been reluctant to participate in the survey, especially a face-to-face survey. In Croatia and Sweden, around 30% of the respondents reported being right-wing oriented (31.5% and 34.8%, respectively). This disbalance in the proportions of respondents of each

category of political orientation has the potential to explain some of the findings presented later in the report and the imbalance in the political orientation of RC respondents is addressed where it limits the scope of specific findings. Political orientation was not studied in Jordan due to the specifics of this country, nor in the AC sample due to the specifics of the sample group. These decisions were made based on the expertise of the Jordanian partner, CSS. Further descriptions of the specifics of the Jordanian study site are available in the country report in D4.1.

3.2.4 Limitations of the total survey sample

As outlined above, the surveys succeeded in obtaining broad samples which, in particular, reached the community of Syrian refugees from the period of the largest migration forced by the civil war. As in all studies, the sample collected has some limitations. These are outlined briefly here.

Firstly, the respondents from different samples were selected or approached in different ways: using the Random Walk Technique, Snowball Technique or randomly from a national population register. Three potential issues are related to the sampling methods: the non-representativeness of the snowball samples and self-selection bias, and the potential impact of the difference of data collection method. The Random Walk Technique is a sampling method yielding a probabilistic sample. Still, the self-selection of respondents can have an impact on the characteristics of the total sample but is depends on the selection of the target area and of smaller administrative units where sampling is implemented, as described in D3.1. Methodology (e.g. the proportion of politically left-wing oriented receiving community members in Germany who were more likely to participate in the study than the right-wing oriented persons). Similarly, while the sampling via the national population register also yields a probabilistic sample, it does not eliminate the risk of self-selection among respondents, which probably explains the overrepresentation of persons with a tertiary level of education of the Swedish samples. Finally, the Snowball technique results in a non-probabilistic sample. This sample is not representative of the population, as it was not collected randomly. Instead, potential respondents were approached purposefully due to their key characteristics (in this case, being members of the arriving community from Syria), and invited to participate in the study.

These samples are also prone to self-selection, as potential respondents could refuse to participate due to any number of reasons. It is important to note that the issue of self-selection bias is present in many social science studies, and its impact is reduced by increasing the size of the sample, ensuring heterogeneity of participants, and monitoring the characteristics of the sample during the data collection. Additionally, considering the selection bias and the characteristics of the sample in the interpretation of the findings can mitigate their impact. This was employed in the FOCUS study from the very beginning of the field study by clearly defining a sampling strategy for the survey and focus group participants.

Secondly, the way of data collection differed among the countries: a Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing technique (CAPI) was used in Croatia (for RC), Germany and Jordan, a pen-and-paper method was used in Croatia (for AC) and Sweden, and an online questionnaire was also used in Sweden. In the cases where the interviewers noted the answers for the respondents (in Croatia, Germany and Jordan) they could answer potential clarification questions by the respondents. We don't have a reason to believe this difference is reflected in the choice of respondents' answers. However, the lower response rate among the AC in Sweden might be partly explained by the fact that it was a self-administered questionnaire with no option for immediate clarifications or encouragement by the interviewer to answer particular questions or complete the questionnaire. This might also explain the number of unanswered questions among the AC.

In the process of transferring the answers from the paper questionnaires to the digital database, the data were carefully noted and checked to avoid mistakes. The circumstances in which the respondents were during the survey could be related to their answers. Respondents in Sweden had the chance to answer in private (without the presence of the interviewer), while the respondents in other countries provided the answers which were then noted by the interviewer using the CAPI technique or paper questionnaire. The answers of the respondents to a postal or online survey (Sweden) were perhaps

less under the influence of socially-desirable answering than the responses collected in-vivo by an interviewer, but there was no information if the respondents were the persons who were targeted by the sampling frame. To reduce any pressure for socially-desirable answering, the interviewers were trained to treat with a neutral attitude the answers provided by the respondents. Moreover, the information letter with details on privacy and data protection was handed to and read by the respondent before they granted written consent to partake in the study.

Thirdly, the data were collected at different times largely due to the restrictions imposed in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. In Jordan, the data collection started and ended in January 2020. In Croatia and Germany, the data collection started before the outbreak of COVID-19 (from November 2019 in Croatia and December 2019 in Germany) and ended during the pandemic (November 2020 in Croatia and October 2020 in Germany). In Sweden, the data collection started and ended during the COVID-19 pandemic (from June 2020 until September 2020 for RC and from April 2021 until June 2021 for AC). In cross-site research, strictly aligning the timing of the data collection is improbable due to the specifics of the study site (e.g. the time needed to obtain clearance from the respective institutional ethical boards or to collect the targeted number of questionnaires at different sites).

Upon the outbreak of COVID-19, an additional question on the impact of the pandemic on the employment status was included in the remaining questionnaires administered in Croatia, Germany and Sweden. Since the impact of COVID-19 on the process of integration is not within the scope of FOCUS research, we approached the data as a snapshot of the socio-economic situation and intergroup relations at the moment the data were collected. Therefore, we didn't include the factor of whether the data were collected before or after the COVID-19 outbreak in the analysis.

3.3 Results of the cross-site analysis of survey data

3.3.1 Socio-economic integration

In this section, we compare the socio-economic integration of the AC and RC across the four study countries. This comparison will help us understand potential differences in the correlations between socio-economic and socio-psychological factors presented in the next section.

Employment and housing are two of the four domains of the theme "means and markers" in Ager and Strang's (2004) framework of integration (the other two are education and health, which are addressed in other parts of this report). In this framework, means and markers are key areas for the participation of refugees in the life of communities. In other words, they serve both as indicators and facilitators of integration. Employment, in particular, provides income, financial stability and social status, and it facilitates the development of networks and human capital specific to the receiving country. It is, therefore, considered to be a key factor supporting integration. Housing is not a less important domain as it can provide a sense of security and stability, opportunities for social connections, while it also influences access to healthcare, education and employment. The lack of appropriate housing conditions and the characteristics of the neighbourhood, on the other hand, might hinder all these opportunities and processes.

Country-specific human capital

In standard labour-market supply studies it is hypothesised that the probability of employment, higher earnings and job match is determined by the level of human capital (Becker, 1975). This includes formal education, labour-market experience and skills acquired at work. However, education and skills are not always perfectly transferable between countries (Hatton, 2011). As a result, immigrants find themselves in the need to acquire country-specific human capital such as destination-language proficiency, occupational licences, certifications or credentials.

To learn about the country-specific human capital acquired by the AC at the time of the survey, we asked our AC respondents to indicate their proficiency in the destination language and English, a language of paramount importance when looking for a professional job in most Western countries, as well as the length of the processes for the recognition of their credentials.

Language proficiency was measured as the respondents' assessment of their ability to speak, read and write, from 1 or very poor to 5, very well. The final scores are shown in Table 8-7 and represent the sum of these skills. As expected, the AC in Jordan had the highest proficiency in the receiving-country language among the four countries of study (as they speak the same language and a very similar dialect) but it also reported having the lowest knowledge of English. Despite the fact that being proficient in English is not equally valued in the labour markets of all four countries (for example it is highly valued in middle to high-skilled jobs in Sweden, in Jordan knowledge of English is only required to work at international organizations) it is still an indicator of the human capital of the AC living in each country. Furthermore, in countries like Sweden, it could be regarded as part of the country-specific human capital. In the European countries, differences in local language competence between Sweden and Germany are not remarkable while it is lower in Croatia. The focus on language training in the introduction programmes in Germany and Sweden and the fact that Croatia is not always considered as the final destination country, and therefore, the motivation to learn Croatian is probably lower for the AC, might explain these findings. All the differences are statistically significant except for the knowledge of English between Croatia and Germany and the knowledge of German or Swedish between the corresponding countries.

Humanitarian migrants often have particular difficulties with the **transferability of their credentials** (Irastorza and Bevelander, 2017). There are large and statistically significant differences between the countries ($p < 0.001$) in the number of AC respondents who applied for the recognition of their qualifications: slightly more than half of them did so in Sweden, about one third in Germany, 19% in Croatia (n=32) and only 3% (n=20) in Jordan. The low number of applications in Croatia, on the other

hand, is perhaps an indication of the AC's plans to stay in the country only temporarily or of the conditions under which they had to flee Syria, which may have impacted on their ability to gather required diplomas before or after migration. The latter could also explain why in Sweden and Germany, only about half of the AC respondents or less applied for this process. Among those who applied, 84% in Sweden and 76% in Germany had their credentials fully or partially recognized. In Croatia, where more than half of them were still waiting for an answer, and Jordan, where one fourth (n=5) was in the same situation, the share of people who received the same positive answer was 43% (n=17) and 70% (n=14), respectively. These differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). When asked about how long it took them to have their educational credentials recognized in the country of destination, AC members' average responses varied substantially between countries, from two months in Croatia, four and six in Germany and Sweden and almost 12 in Jordan. The standard deviation, which indicates how far spread or close to the mean data are, however, was also very high in Jordan. Only differences between Jordan and all other countries, and between Croatia and Sweden are statistically significant. Due to the low number of people who applied for the recognition of their certificates in Jordan and Croatia, the findings for these countries need to be read with caution.

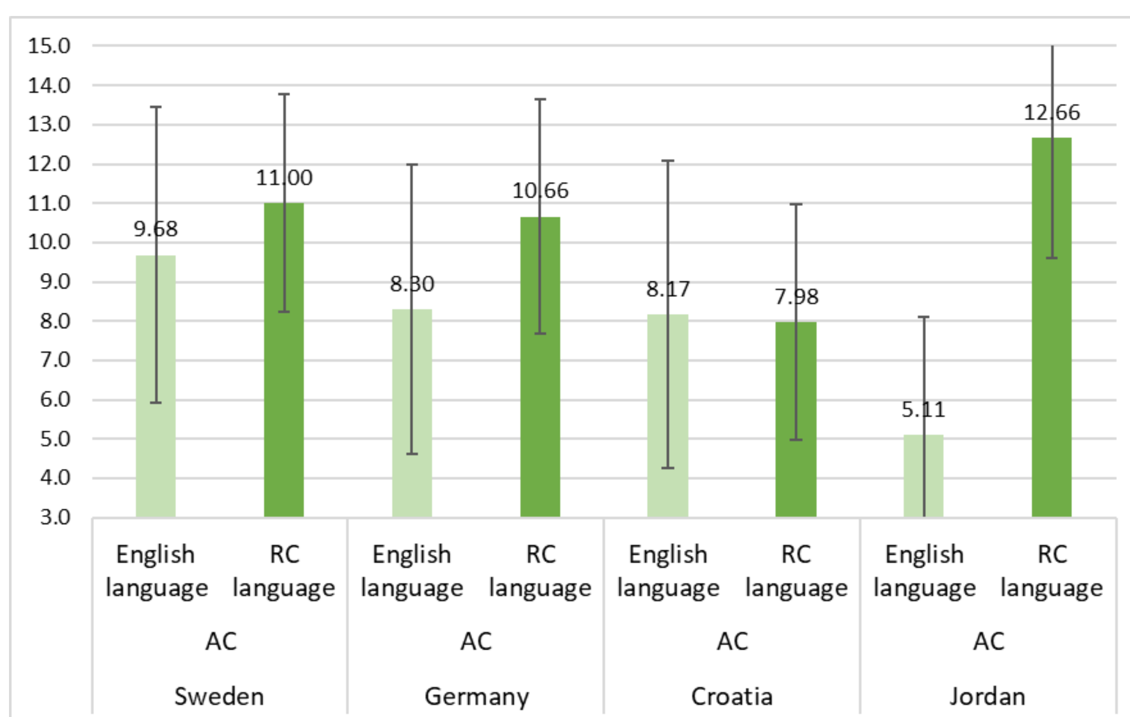


Figure 3-1. Language proficiency of AC respondents from 3, the lowest, to 15, the highest (means and standard deviations).

Employment

The employment situation of immigrants, including refugees, is the most commonly used indicator of their integration into the labour market. Figure 3-2 illustrates the **employment rates** of our AC respondents by gender at the time of data collection while the rates of the RC are also shown as a reference for the general employment situation in each country. It has been well-documented in the literature on immigrant labour market integration that in the EU and other immigrant-receiving countries, immigrant women face a double disadvantage in the labour market due to their gender and foreign origin (Boyd, 1984; Hayfron, 2002). Overall, immigrant women have lower employment rates and a higher rate of overqualification, incidence of jobs in low-skilled occupations and risk of long-term unemployment than immigrant men and native women (Irastorza, 2020). Furthermore, it has been argued that this disadvantage is triple in the case of refugee women, who, additionally, might also experience the struggles of a difficult journey and the stigma related to being a refugee (Liebig and Tronstad, 2018). In line with these studies, when our data allowed for it, we analysed the labour

market situation of AC women and men separately and compared them to that of RC women and men, respectively.

According to our data, the employment gap between the AC and RC respondents in all countries was larger among women than among men. The employment rates of the AC that resemble the rates of the RC more closely were found in Jordan (where the difference in employment between both samples is two% points among men and less than five among women) whereas the biggest gaps between AC and RC men (32% points) and women (60% points) were observed in Germany. In Sweden and Croatia, the difference in employment between the male RC and AC respondents were 22 and 15% points and among women, 34 and 37% points, respectively. The gender gap in employment in European countries among our RC respondents was quite small (below five% points) while in Jordan it is very large (41% points).

Employment rates inform us about the incidence of employment, however, they do not relate to its quality or suitability in relation to the skills of the person employed. It is, therefore, important to investigate additional indicators such as their job income, occupational level or education to job match as well as the level of satisfaction of workers in relation to their job. We next present descriptive statistics on these variables (for actual figures, please refer to Table 8-14 to Table 8-17 in the Appendices).

The vast majority of our male and female respondents from the AC were working on middle-skilled occupations when our survey data was collected. Most of the male RC respondents in Croatia (66%) and Jordan (84%) were also employed in middle-skilled occupations, whereas in Germany and Sweden the majority of RC respondents among men (66% in Germany and 60 in Sweden) and women (58% in Germany and 62 in Sweden) had highly skilled jobs. In Croatia, more than half of female RC respondents (55%) were working in middle-skilled positions and fewer (44%) were employed in highly skilled occupations. Since the occupational level of AC women working in Germany and Sweden was higher than that of AC men, the difference in the occupational level between our AC and RC respondents was larger among men than among women in these countries. The number of employed

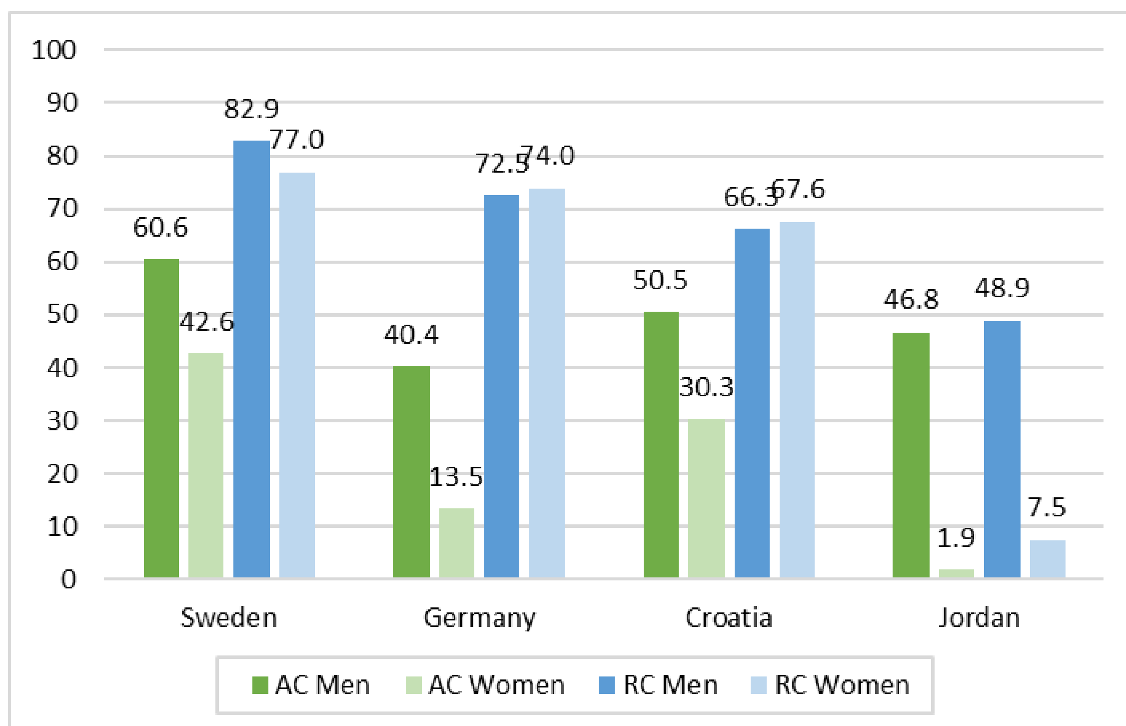


Figure 3-2. Employment rates of AC and RC men and women(%)

women among our AC (n=6) and RC (n=23) respondents in Jordan and that of AC women in Croatia (n=16) was too low to make similar conclusions.

©FOCUS Consortium

Overqualification is another issue immigrants in general, and refugees in particular, often face. As depicted in Figure 3.3, the share of the AC men who had an occupation below their educational level ranged between 10% in Jordan to 37% in Sweden. The corresponding numbers among the RC men varied between 12-13% in Germany and Croatia and 20-21% in Jordan and Sweden. In other words, the share of overqualified men in European countries was 15 to 18% points higher among the AC than among the RC, while in Jordan there were 10% points more overqualified workers among the RC than among the AC. Between 44 and 50% of AC male respondents in all countries – in comparison to 55 to 70 among RC men – reported having an occupation that corresponded to their level of education.

The occupation to educational level match among the RC and AC female respondents in Sweden was

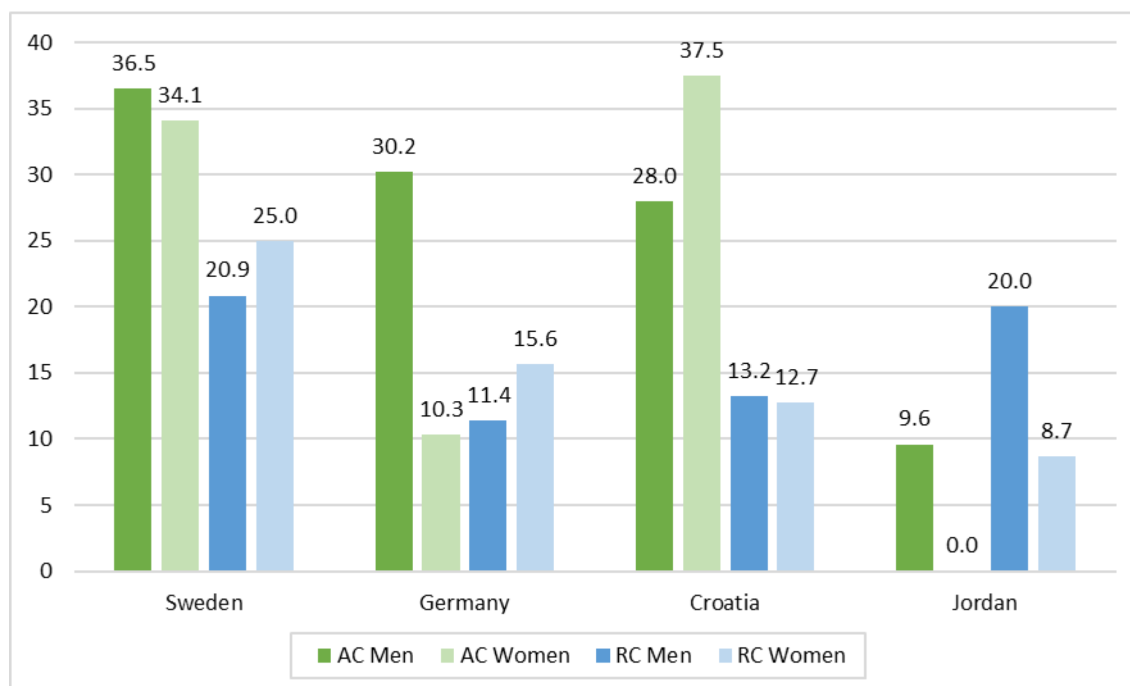


Figure 3-3. The incidence of overqualification among AC and RC men and women (%).

almost identical to that described above for male respondents. In Germany, AC women seemed to be in a better position than men and AC women in Sweden: only 10% (15% in the case of RC women) reported being overqualified for their job while 69% (65% among RC women) declared having an occupation that corresponded to their level of education. Once again, the number of employed women among our AC respondents in Jordan and Croatia was too low to make similar conclusions.

The figures on **job satisfaction**, as reported in Table 8-8, show a substantial difference between the three European countries, where AC members reported an average satisfaction of 3 out of 5, and Jordan, where our AC respondents were less satisfied (M=2.3). In the absence of comparable data for the RC, it is difficult to interpret these findings; however, it is not unreasonable to imagine that general working conditions are better in more advanced economies and welfare states as represented by Croatia, Germany and Sweden than they are in economically less developed countries like Jordan. This difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$).

Job income is another common indicator of labour market outcomes. Due to cross-country differences in the economies of the four countries included in the analysis, we are unable to compare the net earnings or total income of the AC across countries. We can, however, compare the income of the AC men and women to that of the RC men and women. As shown in Table 8-16, RC men earned more than AC men in all four countries analysed. The smallest gap between these two groups was observed for Sweden, where the earnings of RC men were about 1.5 times higher than those of the AC. In Croatia and Jordan, the RC men's salaries were twice as high as their counterparts, whereas in Germany they were three times larger. The fact that two-thirds of the RC male respondents were working in highly skilled occupations in Germany whereas more than 80% of male AC respondents worked in low or middle-skilled occupations probably explains the gap between Germany versus

Croatia and Jordan. However, it is interesting to see how, despite the fact that Germany and Sweden have a very similar occupational distribution both among the AC and the RC, the earnings gap between the AC and RC male respondents was twice as large in Germany as it was in Sweden. Income inequality – measured as household disposable income – is slightly lower in Sweden than it is in Germany (OECD, 2021), which might partially explain these findings. The number of AC women who answered this question was too small in all countries to make a meaningful comparison on gender income differentials.

While earnings are useful to understand the labour market position of employees, they do not reflect the financial situation of those who are unemployed. In order to also capture this, we next present data on total income, computed by dividing the total household income by the number of household members, presented in Table 8-17. Since the figures on total income include employed and non-employed people, they are lower than the individual wages presented in the previous table. Differences in **total income** between RC and AC men were similar for all countries except for Sweden, where the total income of the RC men was 2.5 times higher than that of AC men. The equivalent figures for women were lower in all countries for both groups with the exception of RC women in Croatia and Sweden, among whom it was slightly higher than that of RC men living in the same countries. The gap between the income of RC and AC women in Croatia and Germany was comparable to the gap between RC and AC men, whereas in Jordan and Sweden it was larger (where RC women had an income approximately 2.5 and 3.5 times larger than AC women).

Due to the above-motioned difficulties in finding employment, refugees are among the top groups in need of financial assistance from the government. In Table 8-18 and Table 8-19 included in the Appendices, we present data on the share of AC and RC men and women receiving government benefits and a government allowance. **Government benefits** include provisions like unemployment, old-age and sickness benefits, whereas a government allowance is the funding provided for housing or education. Germany had the largest share of AC respondents (55% among men and 64% among women), followed by Croatia, who were paid government benefits at the time of data collection. Jordan had the lowest share among men (23%) and Sweden among women (29%). There were also large differences in the share of people receiving government benefits among the AC (women and men) compared to the RC (women and men) in Croatia and Germany, where the AC had five to ten times more recipients than the RC. In comparison, the equivalent differences in Jordan and Sweden were not so substantial and ranged between 1.5 among women in Sweden and 3 among women in Jordan. In Germany and Jordan, more women than men reported getting these benefits, while it was the opposite in Croatia. The gender gap in Sweden is negligible.

There is a remarkable difference in the share of the AC respondents who reported being recipients of a **government allowance** between Sweden (where 53 and 65% among men and women, respectively answered "yes" to this question) and the rest of the countries (where numbers varied between 1% in Croatia and 9% in Germany). It is possible that AC members who were participating in the introduction programme or an employment programme did not know whether the stipend they received for participating in such programs was considered to be government benefits or a government allowance. However, based on the higher number of people among the AC who reported receiving a government allowance, it is more likely that they included themselves within this group. Furthermore, refugees are also entitled to a housing allowance in Sweden which would also be included as a government allowance. On the contrary, the number of RC respondents who reported receiving government allowance is surprisingly high in Croatia and Germany but very low in Jordan and Sweden. Low-income families receive a social allowance and child support in Croatia while in Germany all families with children and also students receive financial support from the government. While we would classify general child benefits and the stipend received by the student as government benefits, it is possible that, like in the case of Sweden, some respondents did not know the difference between government benefits and allowance.

Regression analysis on the probability of employment

In this section, we further explore the labour market situation of the AC women and men in comparison to the RC women and men's by presenting the results of our set of logistic regressions on their probability of employment.

Figure 3-4 depicts the odds ratios of the country variables Croatia, Jordan and Sweden relative to Germany after controlling for socio-demographic, human capital, migration-related and health variables and resulting from four sets of regressions analyses that we conducted on the AC and RC women and men separately (please refer to Table 8-20 in the Appendices for full tables). Statistically non-significant coefficients are represented in gradient colours. The AC male and female respondents' who live in Croatia or Sweden were more likely to be employed than those who live in Germany. This difference is particularly large among women: the odds ratios of employment for those living in Croatia or Sweden were about five times higher compared to AC women who live in Germany. The coefficients for the RC men and women in Croatia and RC women in Sweden were not statistically significant while the RC men were 1.5 times more likely to find employment in Sweden than their counterparts in Germany.

While both Germany and Sweden have programmes to promote immigrants and refugee women's participation in the labour market, in Germany, targeted programmes started to be implemented around 2015 whereas the Swedish introduction programme has had special provisions to promote refugee women's employment since its latest reform of 2010. It is possible that the experience gained during those years is being reflected in our findings. Furthermore, beyond the introduction programme, Sweden has employment programmes for people at risk of being left out from the labour market, many of which are refugee women. It is possible that many AC members, particularly females, work in the service industry, where there has been a shortage of workers for a number of years. While the employers have been filling these shortages earlier with foreign seasonal workers from the neighbouring countries, they might fill some of the vacancies with members of the AC. Some other AC members have found jobs in NGOs (Grgas, 2020).

Living in Jordan does not affect the probability of employment of the AC population relative to living in Germany.

The rest of the findings of our regression models on employment are presented in Table 8-20. Compared to the models on the RC (women and men), for whom all the variables included in the models had the expected correlation to the likelihood of employment, what stands out in the AC models is the low number of statistically significant coefficients among women. In other words*, with the exception of two variables describing the number of children and the English proficiency of the respondent, the usual socio-demographic, migration-related, human capital and health-related variables did not explain the AC women's probability to find employment*.

As expected, age, time of residency in the receiving country, having a university education, being employed before migration and having good physical health increased the AC men's likelihood of being employed; whereas the knowledge of the receiving-country language or having a secondary school degree are not statistically significant. Surprisingly, the AC men who can speak better English are less likely to be employed than those who have a worse command of the language. In the absence of multicollinearity between this variable and the one describing tertiary education, a possible explanation to this unexpected finding is that it represents a group of highly educated people who, upon arrival to the receiving countries, chose to invest in further education instead of accepting more accessible but less suitable jobs.

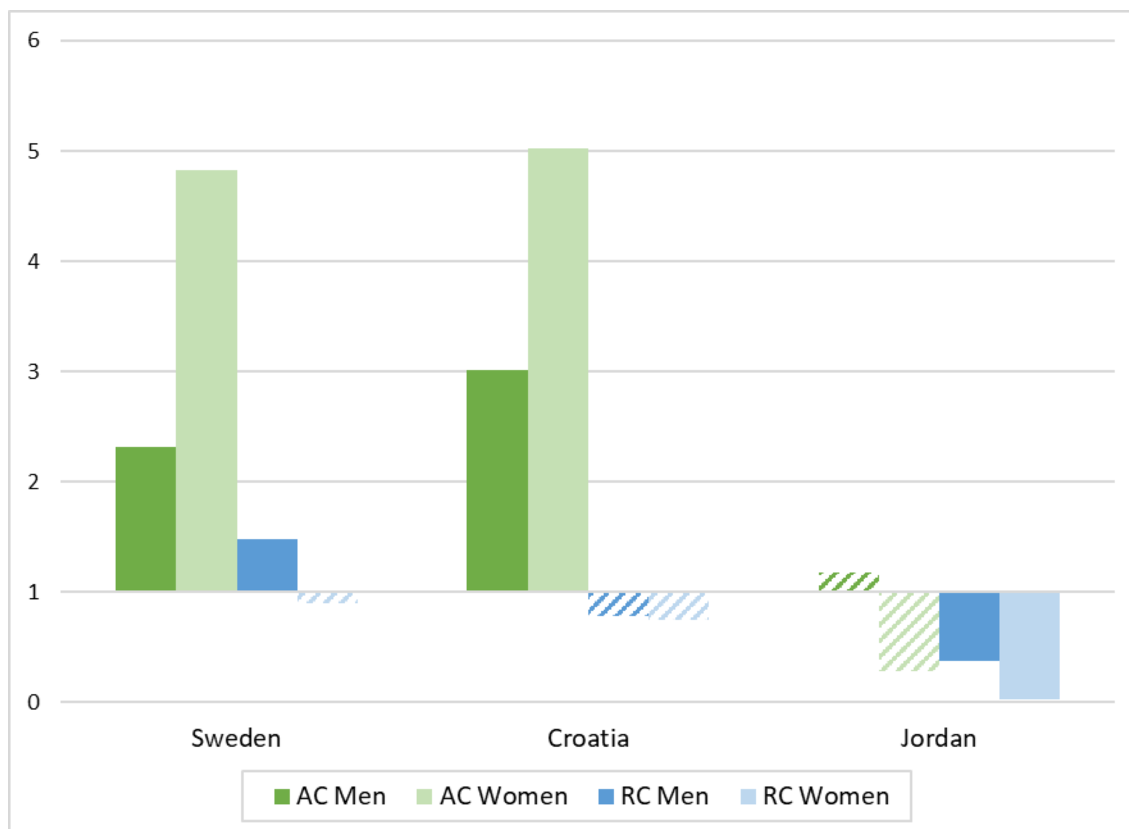


Figure 3-4. Cross-country differences in the likelihood of employment (odds ratios). Note: Lined columns represent statistically non-significant coefficients. The reference country is Germany.

Housing

Access to suitable housing is not only an indicator of socio-economic status for refugees but also a fundamental condition towards their well-being and socio-psychological and socio-economic integration. Some of the most cited themes in the literature on housing that concern immigrants are accessibility, housing conditions, the geographical location of the dwellings and the consequences of these on immigrants' health and integration vs. segregation (Irastorza and Tucker, 2020).

To measure the quality of their neighbourhood, we asked our AC and RC respondents to indicate to what extent (from 1, the lowest, to 5, the highest) the following statements are true: "There are different options of schooling in close proximity or easily accessible by public transport from my home; it is easy to walk to a bus stop, train or subway station from my home; there are different options for doctors in close proximity or easily accessible by pubic transport from my home; there is a green space (park or a walking trail) in close proximity to my home; the area I live in is safe from criminal activities." Figure 3-5 captures cross-country differences in the sum of the mean of each of these questions for the AC and the RC. The most salient differences, at the time of the survey, in the overall score of the quality of the neighbourhood between the AC and the RC are observed for Sweden and Croatia, where the RC reported the highest values along with Germany. The smallest differences in quality of the

neighbourhood between both groups, on the other hand, were found in Germany. Among the AC, this indicator was the lowest in Jordan, followed by Sweden and Croatia.

We further asked the AC to describe their housing conditions in terms of affordability, overcrowding, type of contract and the general condition of the dwelling. Figure 3-6 shows differences between Sweden and Germany (where the AC had more favourable conditions) versus Croatia and Jordan in the share of people who reported overcrowding, owning a permanent contract and living in dwellings that needed a substantial repair. While the share of people who lived in overcrowded dwellings was above 40% in all four countries, this was particularly high in Croatia and Jordan (over 80%). More than half of the AC respondents in Jordan indicated their dwellings needed structural repairs or other major

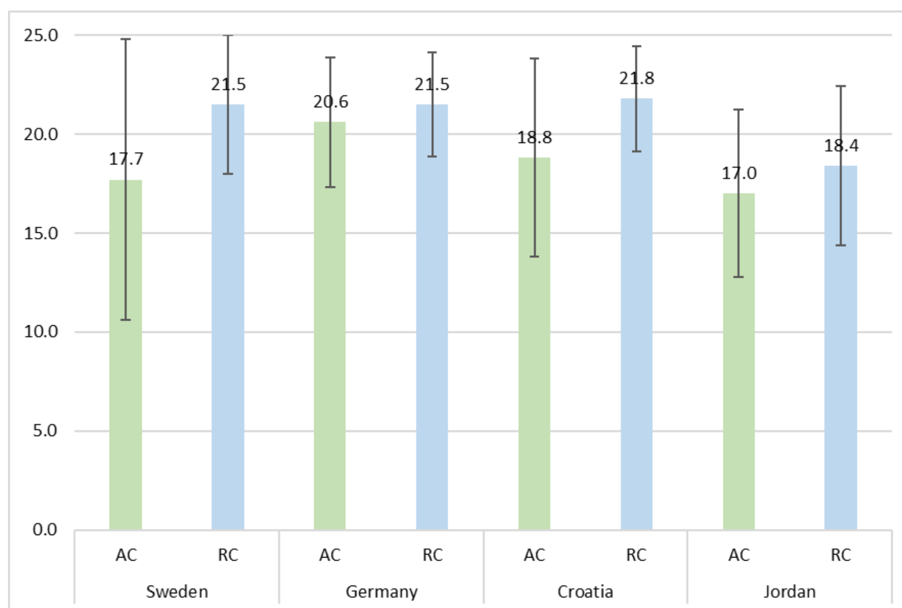


Figure 3-5. Means and standard deviations for the quality of the neighborhood of the AC and RC.

repairs due to defective plumbing or electrical wiring; twice as many as in Croatia and several times more than in Sweden and Germany, where the numbers were very low. The majority of the AC had a permanent contract in Germany and Sweden while only one-fifth of them was in the same situation in Croatia or Jordan. All these differences are statistically significant. Finally, the share of AC respondents who reported being overburdened with the price of their rent is quite high in all countries (between 65 and 73%) and there are no statistically significant differences among them. To see full tables on these indicators, please refer to Table 8-21 in the Appendices.

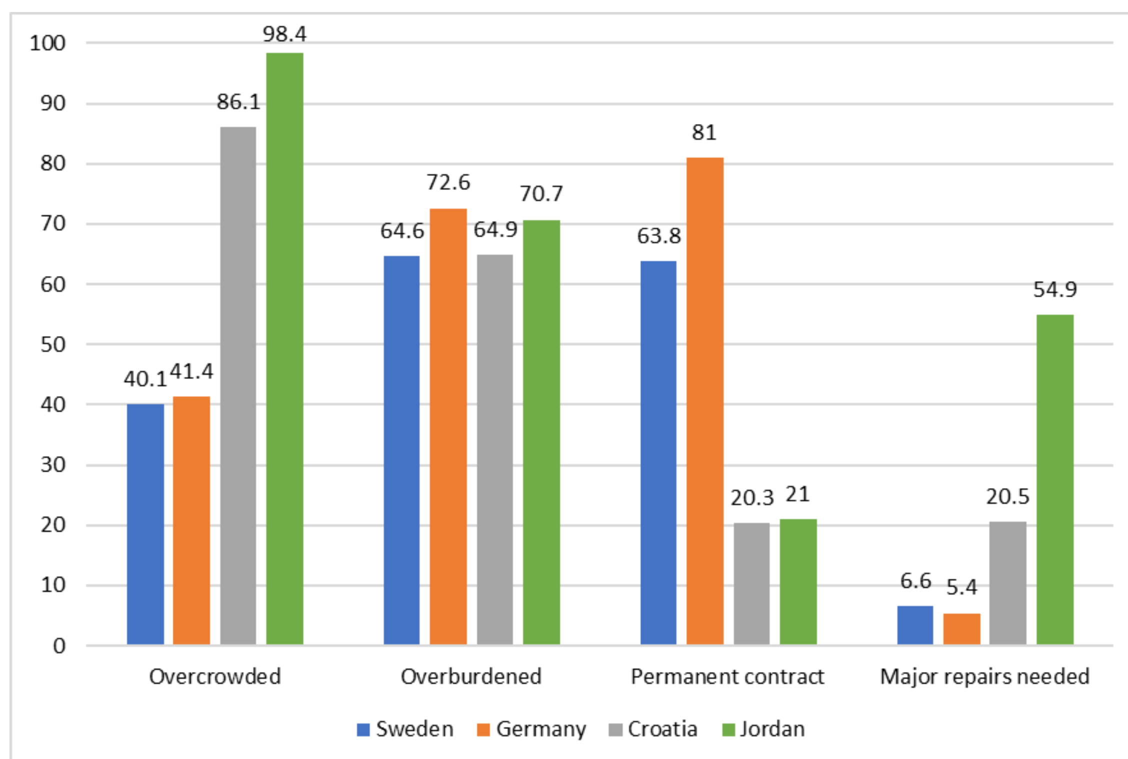


Figure 3-6. Housing conditions of the AC (%).

HIGHLIGHTS

- In all countries, the employment gap between the AC and RC is larger among women than among men. The largest differences in employment rates between male and female AC versus RC members are found in Germany and the smallest in Jordan. Furthermore, as revealed by our regression analysis, living in Croatia or Sweden, compared to living in Germany, increase AC men and, in particular, AC women's likelihood of being employed whereas living in Jordan does not make a statistically significant difference.
- The majority of our male and female respondents from the AC were working in middle-skilled occupations when our survey data was collected. This situation compares to that of the male RC respondents in Croatia and Jordan but not in Germany and Sweden, where most RC respondents had highly skilled jobs. The occupational level of AC women working in Germany and Sweden was higher than that of AC men.
- Employed RC men had between 1.5 times (in Sweden) to three times (in Germany) higher net earnings than AC men in all four countries analysed. The total income, computed by dividing the household income by the number of household members, was twice as high among RC men than AC men in Croatia and Jordan, 2.5 times higher in Sweden and three times higher in Germany. The gap between the income of RC and AC women in Croatia and Germany was comparable to the income difference between RC and AC men, whereas in Jordan and Sweden it was larger.
- There is a high difference in the share of the AC respondents who reported being recipients of a government allowance between Sweden and the other countries, which could explained by the high number of AC members receiving an allowance for participating in the introduction or other employment programs, and for housing.
- With the exception of the number of children and English proficiency, the usual socio-demographic, migration-related, human capital and health-related variables do not explain the AC women's probability to find employment.

©FOCUS Consortium

- While housing conditions were better in Germany and Sweden as compared to Croatia and Jordan, the share of people who lived in overcrowded dwellings and who reported being overburdened with the price of the rent was high in all countries.
- The most salient differences in the overall score of the quality of the neighbourhood between the AC and the RC are observed for Sweden and Croatia, and the smallest in Germany. Among the AC, this indicator was the highest in Germany and the lowest in Jordan.

3.3.2 Opinions of the RC on the SE situation of the AC and the impact of migration

In addition to the actual socio-economic situation of the AC members, their successful integration into local communities largely depends on the RC members' willingness to accept and absorb newcomers. At the same time, this willingness is frequently shaped by the RC members' own opinions on the AC members' SE situation as well as the impact of migration on their societies. Moreover, according to the latest edition of the Indicators of Integration framework, the RC members' perceptions of the AC's socio-economic characteristics and the effects of migration represent important aspects of integration defined as 'Markers and Means', primarily focusing on the socio-economic autonomy of the AC members, as well as 'Social Connections', and in particular in the context of 'Social Bridges' dimension (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019; pp. 17).

Respondents provided their answers to ten questions asking about their opinions on the socio-economic situation of the AC (e.g. 'In your opinion, what is the overall/average education level of refugees in /Country/?') and the impact of the migration on the socio-economic situation of the receiving country (e.g. 'In general, the refugees will have a positive impact on economic growth in /Country/.' Depending on the type of question, the responses were either categorical (e.g. the list of levels of education) or continuous (1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree).

RC's perception of the socio-economic situation of the AC

Public opinion towards refugees have become a major societal issue in refugee-receiving countries and play an important role in influencing policy makers and determining the integration experiences of the AC members (Verkuyten, 2021). Settling into a supportive or rather more hostile environment makes a difference for refugees' adjustment and integration with the RC and has a significant bearing on shaping and maintaining the relationships between the AC and RC.

Presented in this section is the comparative analysis of the RC's perceptions of the AC's socio-economic situation as well as the AC's impact on the receiving country's socio-economic situation between the four countries. We start by comparing the RC respondents' perception of AC's educational level, occupational status, welfare assistance, and housing conditions with the self-reported socio-economic situation of the RC in our sample between the four countries. To test for these differences, the Chi-squares were calculated. All the results are reported in Table 8-22 to Table 8-38 in the Appendices.

The results showed that the members of the RC across all four countries differed in their opinions concerning the **educational level** of the AC members ($\chi^2(6, N=2841) = 391.09, p<.01$). More specifically, about two-thirds of the RC respondents in Germany (72.2%) and Croatia (86.3%) thought that on average the AC completed secondary education as their highest level of education. Likewise, about half of their counterparts in Sweden (57.4%) and Jordan (42.1%) believed that the AC members on average have secondary education. This is pretty much comparable to the self-reported educational level of the AC in our sample in the four countries, considering that approximately half of our AC respondents on average reported that they had completed secondary education as their highest level of education.

However, the RC in Sweden (21.4%), Germany (14.0%), and especially in Croatia (6.4%), underestimate the percentage of the AC members that have accomplished tertiary education (as compared to the self-reported data provided by the AC members in our sample). A possible reason for this is that the highly educated individuals are overrepresented among our AC sample, particularly in Sweden and Germany (in comparison to the national data), which is not fully representative of the actual AC population in these countries (at least concerning their level of education). In addition, the RC in Sweden (21.2%) and Croatia (7.3.%) largely underestimate the number of the AC members who have completed primary education, as compared to the national data of the AC community in Sweden (41%) and self-reported data of our AC respondents in Croatia (27,1%). These inconsistencies between the perceived and actual educational level of the AC members might reflect the lack of the RC

members' knowledge and real information concerning the AC's education, on the one hand, as well as their possible biased perception of the AC's educational background, on the other hand.

With regard to the **current occupation status** of the AC members, the results also showed significant differences among the RC respondents in the four countries ($\chi^2(9, N=2841) = 1586.80, p<.01$). For instance, the RC community members in Sweden (47.5%) and Germany (64.9%) as well as in Croatia (30.0%) and Jordan (30.7%) largely overestimate thepercentage of Syrian refugees having marginal or irregular employment (as compared to the self-reported data provided by our AC respondents). At the same time, the RC in Jordan (1.8%) and to a lower degree in Germany (11.6%) as well as to a much lesser extent in Sweden (36.2%), underestimate the number of the AC members who are unemployed in their respective receiving countries (as opposed to the self-reported data provided by the AC in our sample). In addition, in contrast to the RC in Germany and Jordan, some RC members in Sweden (13.4%) and Croatia (13.3%) largely underestimate thepercentage of the AC members who have permanent or fixed employment contracts (as compared to the self-reported data provided by the AC in our sample).

It is possible that in the case of Croatia, this misperception comes from the poorer macroeconomic situation in the country, leading to a more difficult labour market situation for the RC, which in turn feels like the acquisition of a stable job position is even more difficult for the AC members. On the other hand, this could be due to socio-psychological factors – the RC could underestimate the abilities of the AC, thus approaching them as working marginally or irregularly more than full-time and permanently. Taken together, these gaps between the RC's opinions and the AC's current occupation status might indicate that the RC members lack up-to-date knowledge of the AC's employment situation, which seems to be much more difficult than it is perceived by the RC. Finally, the RC in Jordan (58.8%) greatly overestimate thepercentage of the Syrian refugees who are self-employed in their country – a trend which is not visible in the other three countries. This different finding in Jordan might be explained by the fact that it is generally perceived as relatively easier to open a small business in this country than in the other three countries.

Concerning the perception of the RC members of the number of the AC members receiving **welfare assistance**, the results demonstrated differences among the four countries ($\chi^2(12, N = 2929) = 618.07, p<.01$). The vast majority of the RC members in Jordan (80.2%) as well as more than half of the RC in Sweden (55.5%), Germany (57.7%), and close to half in Croatia (46.5%) believe that more than a half of the AC members receive welfare assistance in their countries. In contrast, as demonstrated by the data provided by the AC, the share of survey respondents receiving government allowances and benefits range from only 2.2% in Jordan to almost one-third of the AC in Sweden (31.3%) and Croatia (28.6%) and finally to 48.6% in Germany. These gaps indicate that the RC members in the four countries, and in particular in Jordan, overestimate thepercentage of the AC members who receive welfare assistance.

As a last indicator of the perception of the AC's socio-economic situation, the RC respondents were asked how they perceive the **overall living situation** of refugees in terms of a space-to-people ratio within their households. The results showed that the members of the RC across all four countries differed in their opinions concerning this indicator as well ($\chi^2(6, N=2924) = 592.982, p<.001$). While the vast majority of the AC respondents in our sample reported that they actually lived in overcrowded households in Croatia (86.1%) and Jordan (98.4%), the RC communities in these two countries greatly underestimate these numbers with only approximately half of the RC members (46.0% and 47.2%, respectively) believing that the AC's overall living situation can be described as overcrowded. Yet, the situation looks a bit different in Sweden and Germany where the RC (86.9% and 84.1%, respectively) largely overestimate a number of the AC members whose situation can be described as overcrowded, as compared to the self-reported data provided by the AC respondents in Sweden (40.1%) and Germany (41.4%). At the same time, 45.6% of the RC members in Jordan and approximately one-third of their counterparts in Croatia (36.7%) think that the AC's households are balanced regarding the housing density (the number of persons in the household does not go over the number of rooms), which actually applies only to a small number of the AC respondents in these countries (1.6% and

12.7%, respectively). In contrast, the RC members in Sweden (10.7%) and Germany (14.7%) underestimate the share of refugees who live in balanced households in their countries (as compared to the self-reported data provided by the AC respondents in our sample (23.7% and 45.7%, respectively). Finally, less than one-fifth of the RC respondents in Croatia (17.3%) and Jordan (7.2%) believe that AC members' households are under-occupied, which corresponds only to the 1.2% and 0% in the data reported by the AC respondents in these countries respectively. In contrast, their Swedish and German counterparts highly underestimate the share of the AC members who they believe live in the under-occupied households (2.4% and 1.2%, respectively), as compared to the self-reportedpercentage of 36.2 among the AC respondents in Sweden and 13.0% among the AC respondents in Germany.

These findings imply that RC respondents in Croatia and Jordan greatly underestimate the housing overcrowdedness in which AC members live. At the same time, their counterparts in Sweden and Germany have more negative perceptions of how crowded the AC members' dwellings are. Yet, it is possible that the idea of overcrowding living situation is differently perceived by the RC vs. AC members in Sweden and Germany (i.e., the living situation that is perceived as overcrowded by the RC in these countries might not be viewed as such by the Syrian refugees). Altogether, these differences between the four countries might indicate that the RC's perception of the AC's overall housing situation does not correspond to the real picture of the refugees' living conditions in their local communities.

RC's perception of the socio-economic impact of the AC

In the following section, we describe the perception of the RC members of the socio-economic impact of the AC based on six indicators: labour market competition, labour shortage, economic growth, state revenues, government spending, and taxes. We conducted a one-way ANOVA to analyse the opinions of the RC respondents across the four countries and carried out post-hoc comparisons between each pair of countries using the Scheffe tests. The results are presented in Table 8-26 to Table 8-38 in the Appendices. Visually, the findings are presented in Figure 3-7.

Concerning the RC members' opinion on the **labour market competition** (with high values indicating more positive perceptions, i.e., lower competition), the results showed significant differences in mean opinions ($F(3,3023)=411.73$, $p<.01$) between Sweden, Germany, Croatia, on the one hand, and Jordan on the other. Specifically, our findings demonstrated that the RC members' perceptions of refugees' impact on the labour market in Sweden, Germany, and Croatia were on the positive side, as compared with Jordan where the RC displayed the most negative position among the four countries. These findings can be explained by the idea that the RC members in Sweden, Germany and Croatia perceive the arrival of the AC as positive for the labour market in their countries where the AC will supply labour for the vacant or less attractive jobs. In contrast, in Jordan, it seems that the AC is perceived as competing for the jobs already held by the RC members and, thus, the perceived risk of the RC workers' displacement is much higher. For instance, according to the national statistics in Jordan, the unemployment rate in 2021 has risen to 24.7% among the entire population, and 50% among youth. This can be related to the idea that since refugees are frequently willing to work for lower payments, they tend to push the locals out of the labour market in Jordan (as supported by the findings of the qualitative part of the report).

Similar to the results of the previous indicator of the AC's impact on the labour market, the RC members' opinions on whether the refugees will reduce **the labour shortage** in their country differed significantly ($F(3,3023)=186.515$, $p<.001$) between the four countries. As these two statements are related, it is not surprising to see that the RC respondents in Jordan had the highest mean values of this indicator implying that they strongly believed the AC will reduce the shortages of labour in Jordan, potentially those related to less-skilled jobs (e.g., construction, agriculture, service industry). At the same time, the mean values of this indicator were significantly lower in Germany and Sweden and especially in Croatia with the lowest mean value across the four countries. This is probably impacted by the size of the AC in Croatia which is very small in comparison to the size of the RC, therefore unable to strongly impact the labour market and reduce shortages.

With regard to the RC's opinions on **the positive impact of refugees on economic growth**, the results demonstrated the following significant differences in mean values between the countries ($F(3,3023)=114.236$, $p<.001$). While the RC's perceptions of the AC's impact on the economic growth were on the positive side in Germany and Sweden, the opinions of their counterparts varied from neutral opinions in Croatia to more negative ones on average in Jordan.

A slightly different pattern of results is observed in relation to the **perceptions of the fiscal burden of refugee migration**. Specifically, even though the mean values of this indicator differed significantly among at least the three countries ($F(3,3023)=29.66$, $p<.01$), the average RC members' opinions of the AC's fiscal effects in Germany, Jordan, and to a lesser extent in Sweden, were slightly more on a positive side than in Croatia. Thus, while the RC respondents in Germany and Sweden have more positive perceptions of the refugees' impact on their economic growth (as compared to Croatia and Jordan), the RC members' opinions on whether refugees will bring more revenues than costs for the government were more heterogenous across the four countries (ranging from more positive in Germany and Jordan to quite neutral in Sweden and more negative in Croatia).

The results related to the question of how the **government spending** will affect benefits for the other population (with high values indicating more positive opinions), the results showed significant differences in opinions between the four countries ($F(3,3023)=219.98$, $p<.01$). Whereas the RC's perceptions of the effects of the government spending on the distribution of benefits were slightly on the positive side in Germany and Sweden, the opinions of their counterparts were neutral in Croatia and more on the negative side in Jordan.

Concerning the last indicator presented in this section, namely related to the question of whether the government's spending on refugees will increase the respondents' **tax payings** (with high values indicating more positive opinions) were quite similar to the findings concerning the RC members' opinions on the labour market competition. In particular, the results showed significant differences in the RC's opinions ($F(3,3023)=175.99$, $p<.01$) between at least three countries. More specifically, while the average opinions of the RC members in Germany, Sweden and Croatia were generally on the positive side, the RC respondents in Jordan held on average much more negative opinions.

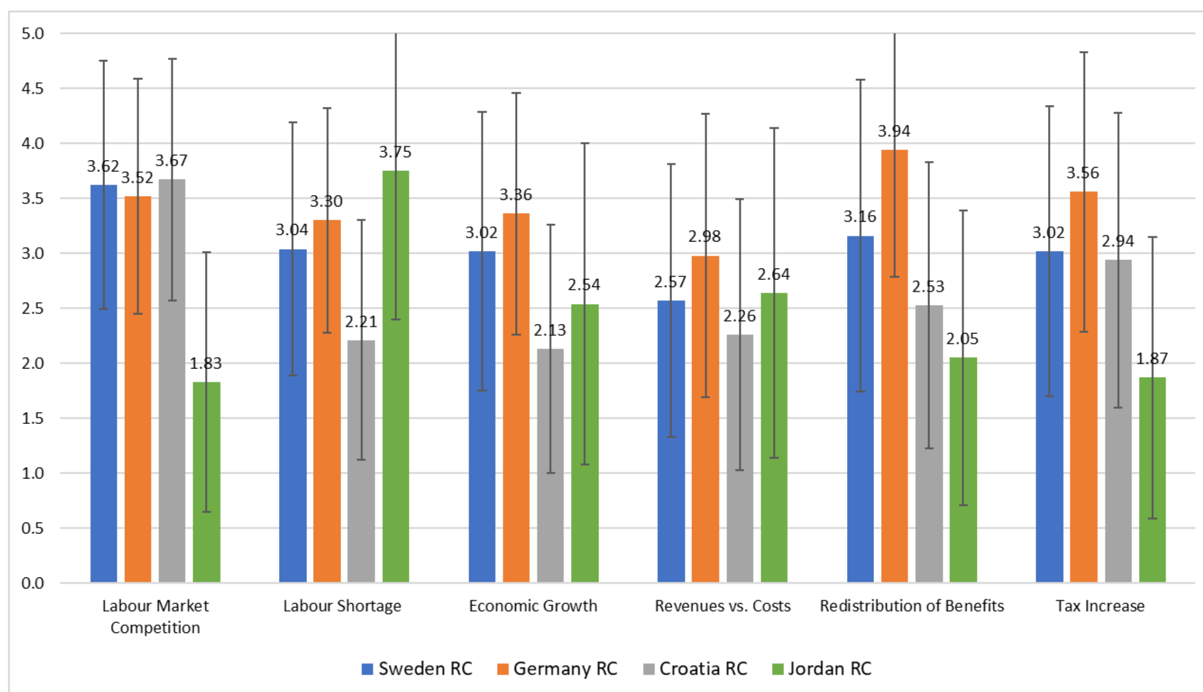


Figure 3-7. Means and standard deviations of the opinions of the RC on the socio-economic impact of migration on their society in four countries.

HIGHLIGHTS

- Most of the RC respondents across the four countries believe that the majority of the AC members have completed secondary level of education, which is pretty much comparable to the self-reported educational level of the AC in our sample. Yet, the RC members in Sweden, Germany, and Croatia largely underestimate the percentage of the AC members with tertiary and primary education (as compared to the self-reported data provided by our AC respondents) and are generally unaware of the heterogeneity within the AC's educational background.
- The majority of the RC members in Germany and Sweden as well as approximately one-third of their counterparts in Croatia and Jordan largely overestimate the percentage of Syrian refugees having marginal or irregular employment (in contrast to the self-reported occupation status of the AC in our sample). In addition, most of the RC members in Jordan greatly overestimate the percentage of the AC members who are self-employed in their country – a trend that is not visible in the other three countries.
- The RC members across the four countries, and particularly in Jordan, largely overestimate the percentage of the AC members who receive welfare assistance (as compared to the self-reported data provided by our AC respondents). At the same time, while the RC respondents in Croatia and Jordan underestimate the housing crowdedness in which AC members live, their counterparts in Sweden and Germany have more negative perceptions of how crowded the AC members' dwellings are (in contrast to the self-reported living situation of the AC respondents in our sample).
- The RC members' perceptions of the AC's impact on the labour market competition and increase in their tax payings are generally on the positive side in Sweden, Germany, and Croatia, as compared with Jordan where the RC respondents display the most negative position among the four countries. At the same time, unlike other countries, the RC members in Jordan strongly believe that the AC will reduce the shortages of labour in their country, potentially those related to less-skilled jobs (e.g., construction, agriculture, service industry).
- The RC members' opinions of the economic growth and redistribution of benefits are on the positive side in Germany and Sweden, and the average opinions of their counterparts vary from neutral perceptions in Croatia to more negative ones in Jordan.
- The RC respondents' perceptions of the fiscal burden of refugee migration can be described as quite neutral in Croatia, Sweden, and Jordan, whereas the opinions of their counterparts in Germany are more on the positive side.

3.3.3 Socio-psychological integration

Receiving and arriving community members face integration challenges, and some of these are related to the socio-psychological dimension of integration: establishing constructive intergroup relations and intergroup contact, mutual respect, relating of social networks, perceiving low levels of intergroup threat, positive attitudes and other outcomes related to the overall social connection of the communities. In the latest edition of the Indicators of Integration framework, this is the dimension of 'Social connections', more specifically 'Bridges' – "connections with people of a different background" (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019; pp. 17).

Attitudes towards the members of the other group

Attitudes are complex organizations of beliefs, emotions and behavioural tendencies directed towards someone or something socially relevant to us (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Attitudes are comprised of three dimensions – the way we think about others (cognitive), feel about others (emotional) and behave or plan to behave towards others (behavioural). They are highly influential in building and maintaining relationships between the members of the receiving and arriving communities.

In the FOCUS study, the emphasis was placed on the intergroup attitudes – attitudes that the members of the AC and RC have towards each other. This is directly related to the dimension of 'Social connections' (Indicators of Integration framework; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019). Positive attitudes on a personal level and the level of the whole group encourage positive interactions, rapprochement and bonding, and are in the very centre of socio-psychological integration. Not only are attitudes important for the openness and facilitating positive interactions on an informal level (neighbourhood, school, workplace, public places), but also in formal settings such as institutions and services. Receiving community members working in these institutions and providing services to the arriving community members approach them based on personal attitudes. Therefore, forming and promoting positive attitudes is beneficial in all areas of life for both groups.

A higher total score on the measure of intergroup attitudes indicates a more positive attitude towards the members of the other group. The questions were posed as claims (e.g. 'If a /country national/ and a refugee do equal work, it is fair that they receive equal pay'). The range of possible answers was from 1 ('Strongly disagree') to 5 ('Strongly agree') for each item. Results of the cross-country analysis of intergroup attitudes are presented in Table 8-39 and Table 8-50 in the Appendices.

RC respondents in the four study countries differed in their attitudes towards the members of the AC ($F(3, 3018)=158.31$, $p<.01$). RC respondents from Germany had the most positive attitudes towards the AC followed by the respondents from Sweden. RC respondents from Croatia reported the lowest scores for attitudes towards AC, being mostly neutral (3='I neither agree nor disagree'). The AC respondents in the four countries also showed statistically significant differences in attitudes towards the RC members ($F(3, 1852)=5.609$, $p<.01$): the AC in Croatia and Germany had more positive attitudes towards the RC than the AC in Jordan had towards the Jordanians.

Figure 3-8 shows the means and the standard deviations of intergroup attitudes for all samples. Two trends are visible. First, in all countries with the exception of Germany, the attitudes of the RC towards the AC were more neutral than positive, while the attitudes of the AC towards the RC were positive. Second, the RC samples showed more variation among the countries than the AC samples did.

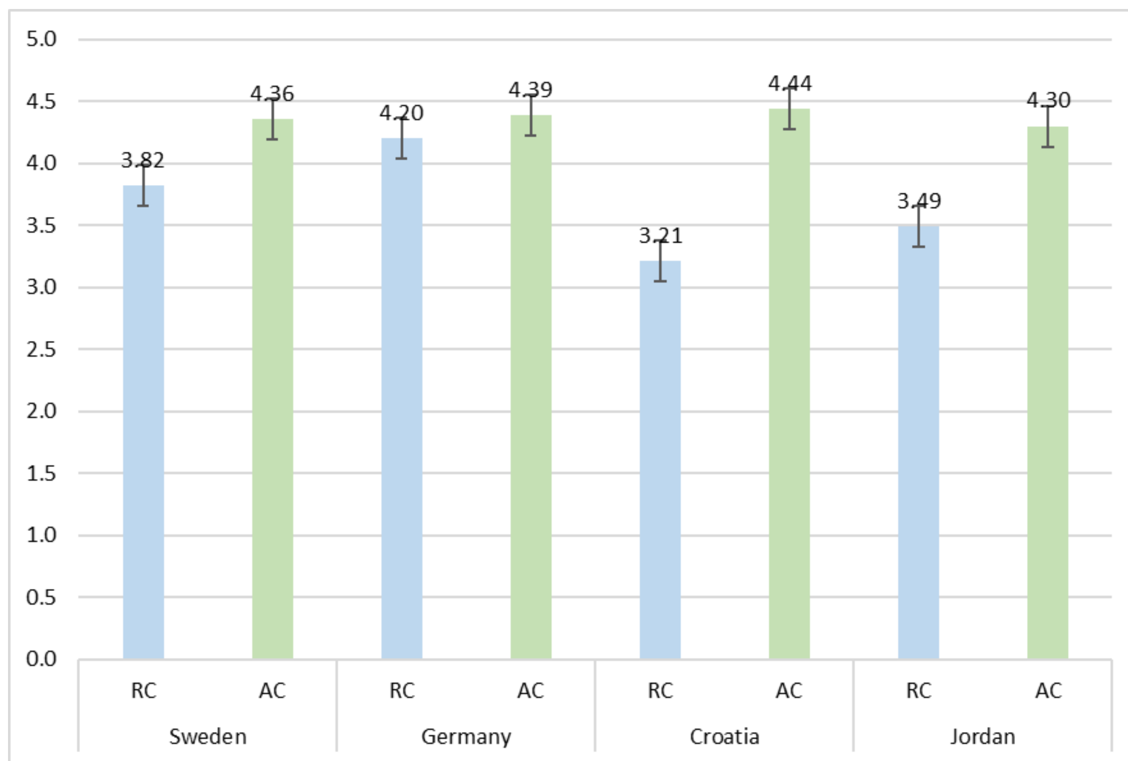


Figure 3-8. Means of the attitudes towards the members of the other group for RC and AC samples in four study countries.

In other words, the AC respondents across the study countries were consistent in their attitudes towards the RC members. RC respondents, on the other hand, showed more variability in their attitudes, with Croatia having the lowest scores, and Germany the highest. Sweden and Jordan were placed in between.

According to the definition underpinning this project, a more integrated community should show a small gap between the attitudes of the RC and AC towards each other, and these attitudes to be overall positive. In Figure 3-8 it is visible that in all cases the attitudes were on the positive side (although in Croatia for the RC only slightly above the neutral position), but not always at a similar level. Germany showed the smallest gap between the attitudes of the two groups, and they were the most positive. Sweden followed, with Jordan approaching the gap displayed in Croatia. In Croatia, the gap between the attitudes of the RC and AC was most obvious. The RC took a neutral stance towards the AC, probably because of the low interest and knowledge of the integration process or the situation of the AC in Croatia informed by the low number of AC in Croatia in comparison to the size of the RC (600[5] in comparison to the 4 million). The finding that the AC reported having positive attitudes towards the RC could imply that the intergroup contact they have with the RC is positive and that the relations are good when existing. But the lack of RC's overall understanding and interest in integration can be a barrier to integration – this explanation is in line with the results of the FOCUS qualitative study showing that the RC in Croatia generally know little about the action plan and policies, and are not particularly interested in the process.

RC's support for AC's rights and AC's knowledge of personal rights

Support of the RC members for the rights of the AC members and the knowledge of the AC of their legally-guaranteed rights was studied in each study country. An RC that is supportive of the rights of the AC shows positive attitudes and perceptions of the AC. This is directly related to the 'Social links' (Indicators of Integration framework; Ndofor-Tah et al.., 2019) – the social connection of the AC to the institutions and services.

[5] Based on the input from the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019.

To exercise their rights, the AC must first know them. By studying the knowledge of the AC of their rights, gaps in this knowledge can be assessed and addressed, aiming to increase this knowledge and, consequently, the welfare of the AC members. This is related to all levels of the Indicators of Integration network, as the rights and entitlements cover a range of socio-economic, legal and cultural aspects.

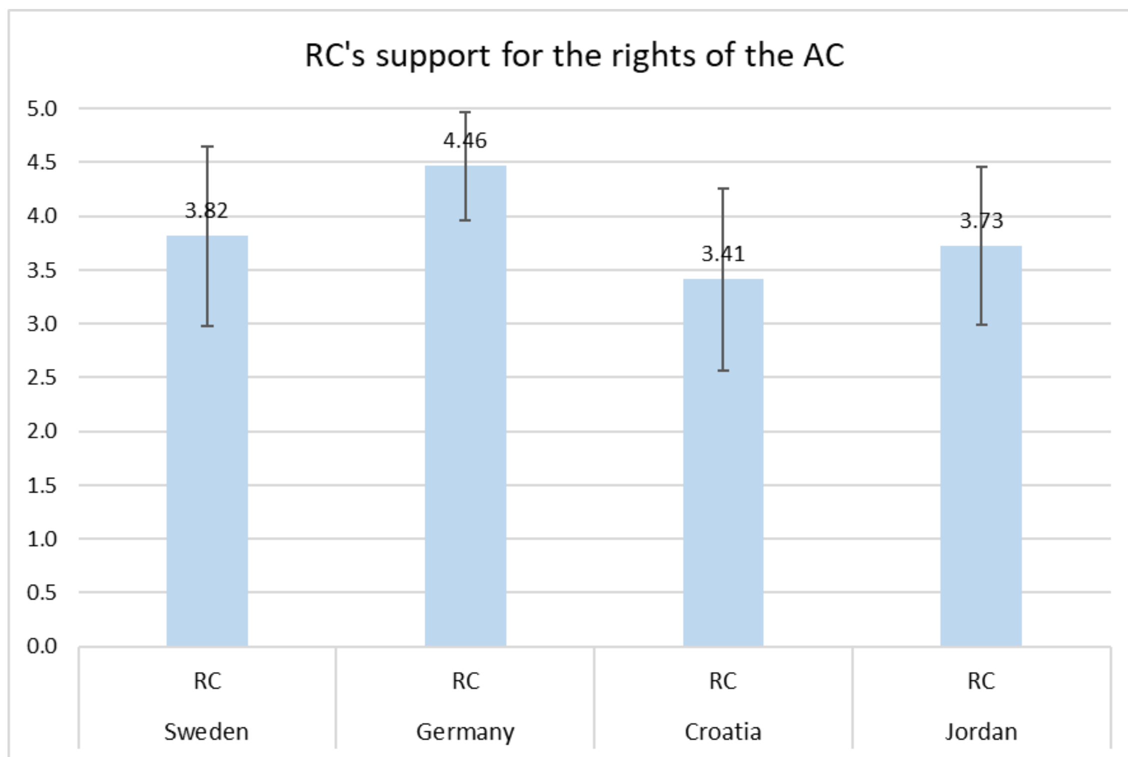
To conduct the cross-site analysis, only the rights that are common in all four countries were joined together to form a total score for each respondent (a total of 11 rights). The RC expressed their agreement with each right (e.g. 'If refugees cannot pay for the legal aid, they should be granted this service for free.'). A higher total score indicates greater support of the RC respondents for the rights of the AC members. The range of possible answers was from 1 ('Strongly disagree') to 5 ('Strongly agree') for each item.

The AC respondents chose 'Yes', 'No' or 'I don't know' for each statement (e.g.' If refugees cannot pay the legal aid, they have the right to be granted this service for free.'), indicating whether they know they have that right or not. Therefore, the total score is computed as the number of 'Yes' answers (range from 0 to 11), and a higher score indicates a greater knowledge of rights the respondent is entitled to. Detailed results are available in Table 8-39 and Table 8-50 in the Appendices and are visually presented in Figure 3-9.

Results

A statistically significant difference was found between the RC members in four countries in how supportive they were of the rights of the AC members ($F(3,3019)=181.43$, $p<.01$). The RC respondents from Germany demonstrated the highest support for AC's rights, followed by the RC in Sweden and Jordan who showed equal support. RC respondents in Croatia showed the lowest support for AC's rights, though, in terms of the actual answers given, the mean of all Croatian RC respondents indicates a neutral position. It seems that the Croatian RC generally take a natural stand towards the AC, probably due to the lack of knowledge, interest and effect of migration in Croatia***. Results generally show that the support for the rights of the AC and attitudes towards them are in a high positive correlation*** ($r=.773$, $p<.001$, $n=3022$).

AC respondents across the four study sites differed in the level of knowledge they have of their rights and entitlements ($F(3, 1496)=82.95$, $p<.01$). AC respondents in Jordan and Germany had the highest knowledge of their rights as receivers of international protection. AC respondents in Croatia were the least acquainted with their rights among all countries, though their knowledge was also quite high – out of eleven, results across all countries varied between nine and all correct responses.



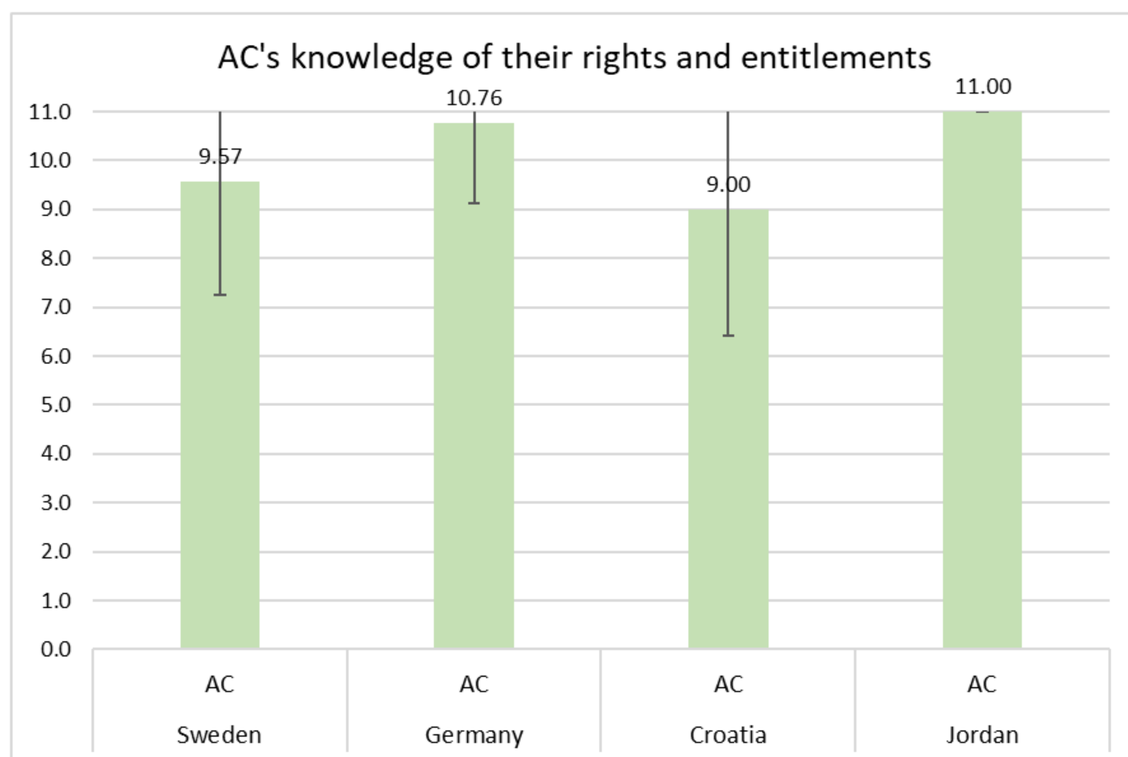


Figure 3-9. Means and standard deviations of RC's support for the rights of the AC and AC's knowledge of their rights and entitlements.

Perception of realistic intergroup threat

Perception of intergroup threat is a set of negative feelings and expectations of the way members of another group behave, plan to behave or influence one's group. In their revised Theory of intergroup threat, Stephan, Ybarra and Rios Morrison (2009) differentiate between the perception of realistic and the perception of symbolic intergroup threat. Authors argue that both minority and majority groups can perceive the threat posed by the other group, that it manifests in the same way, but has a different origin based on the power dynamics.

Perception of intergroup threat is an important socio-psychological indicator of integration because of its relation to the socio-economic and socio-psychological dimension of integration, as well as aspects of integration related to personal safety and stability, culture, religion and language – all of which are defined in the Indicators of Integration Framework (Ndofor-Tah *et al.*, 2019). Greater perception of threat is related to negative attitudes, stereotypes and negative behavioural intentions such as rejection and discrimination. In the minority group, it could lead to separation from the majority (Stephan, Ybarra and Rios Morrison, 2009). *In the current literature on socio-psychological integration, no study before FOCUS has given attention to the perception of intergroup threat in the RC and AC alike*. To our knowledge, FOCUS is the first to acknowledge the role of this indicator of dynamic integration, and to study it as an integration challenge both groups have to bridge. Low levels of intergroup threat indicate a greater acceptance and a potential for positive relations between the members of the two groups, as well as intergroup trust.

For both types of threat, the range of possible answers was from 1 ('Strongly disagree') to 5 ('Strongly agree') for each item and a higher total score indicates a perception of a greater threat posed by the other group. Questions for the RC and AC were comparable in content (e.g. 'Religious and moral beliefs of refugees oppose those of /nationals/'. In the context of integration, the realistic threat is related to the level of socio-economic integrity – personal and group resources such as the chance to find and maintain a job, educational opportunities, adequate housing solutions and personal safety.

Detailed results are presented in Table 8-39 and Table 8-50 in the Appendices.

RC respondents across the four study countries showed different levels of perception of the realistic intergroup threat posed by the AC members ($F(3,3018)=191.51$, $p<.01$). RC respondents in Jordan perceived the AC members to be a greater realistic threat compared to the RC respondents in other countries. This could be explained by the general macroeconomic situation in Jordan: the poor job market and the poor economic situation with a high deficit, high percentage of unemployment and low offer of services. RC respondents in Croatia also exhibited a moderate level of realistic threat perception which is probably due to the poorer socio-economic situation of the country and the issue of unemployment in the labour market. It is important to note that the total scores of the Jordanian and Croatian RC vary around the middle of the scale, but unlike neutral attitudes, moderate levels of perception of threat pose a greater challenge, as even those moderate levels could have a significant impact over time. The RC respondents in Sweden and Germany showed lower levels of realistic threat perception, with the total scores varying around the lower half of the scale. This is not surprising considering that newly arrived refugees do not normally compete for the same jobs as the long-term residents in these countries.

AC respondents also estimated the degree to which they agree the RC members pose a threat in different aspects of socio-economic integrity. The results are statistically significant across countries ($F(3,1841)=84.91$, $p<.01$). The AC respondents in Sweden and Germany reported the highest and similar levels of perceived realistic threat from the RC members. This indicates that the anti-immigrant discourse in Germany is tangible for the AC and some do perceive a threat. However, the scores are around the centre of the scale. The lowest perception of realistic threat by AC respondents was reported in Jordan and Croatia. Their total scores varied on the lower half of the scale. Figure 3-10 visually presents the findings.

Perception of symbolic intergroup threat

In the context of integration, the perception of symbolic threat presents negative feelings and expectations of the influence of the out-group on one's culture, norms, views and way of life. It is, therefore, more closely related to the socio-psychological dimension of integration, particularly the dimension of integration defined as 'Facilitators' and its relation to the dimension of 'Social connections' (Indicators of Integration Framework; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019).

The RC members in four countries showed different levels of symbolic threat perception ($F(3,3018)=72.35$, $p<.01$). RC respondents in Croatia reported perceiving AC members as a greater threat to their culture and customs compared to the other three countries, and their scores were in the upper half of the scale. This could be explained by two factors: firstly, Croatia is a substantively mono-cultural country (a very high proportion of Croats, very high proportion of Christians) with very limited experience of inward migration from other cultures and a small percentage of other minority groups. Secondly, the dominant religion is Catholicism, quite a conservative national variant, which is prominent and influential, and probably perceived by "ordinary" citizens in friction with Islam – the dominant religion of the AC members. These factors could have led to a greater perception of symbolic threat in Croatian RC than in the RC's of other countries, although the size of the overall AC community in Croatia is very, very small.

RC respondents in Sweden and Jordan showed moderate and similar levels of perceived symbolic threat. It is possible that even though the results are similar, the dynamic of the perception of symbolic threat differs between Sweden and Jordan – in Sweden, it could be related to the generally liberal attitudes but, at the same time, the increase in cultural diversity. In Jordan, a traditionally culturally more conservative society, the cultural difference between the RC and AC is smaller, but could still be viewed as threatening. RC respondents in Germany reported the lowest levels of symbolic threat perception. This can be understood in light of the sample, which entails a large proportion of left-wing oriented persons.

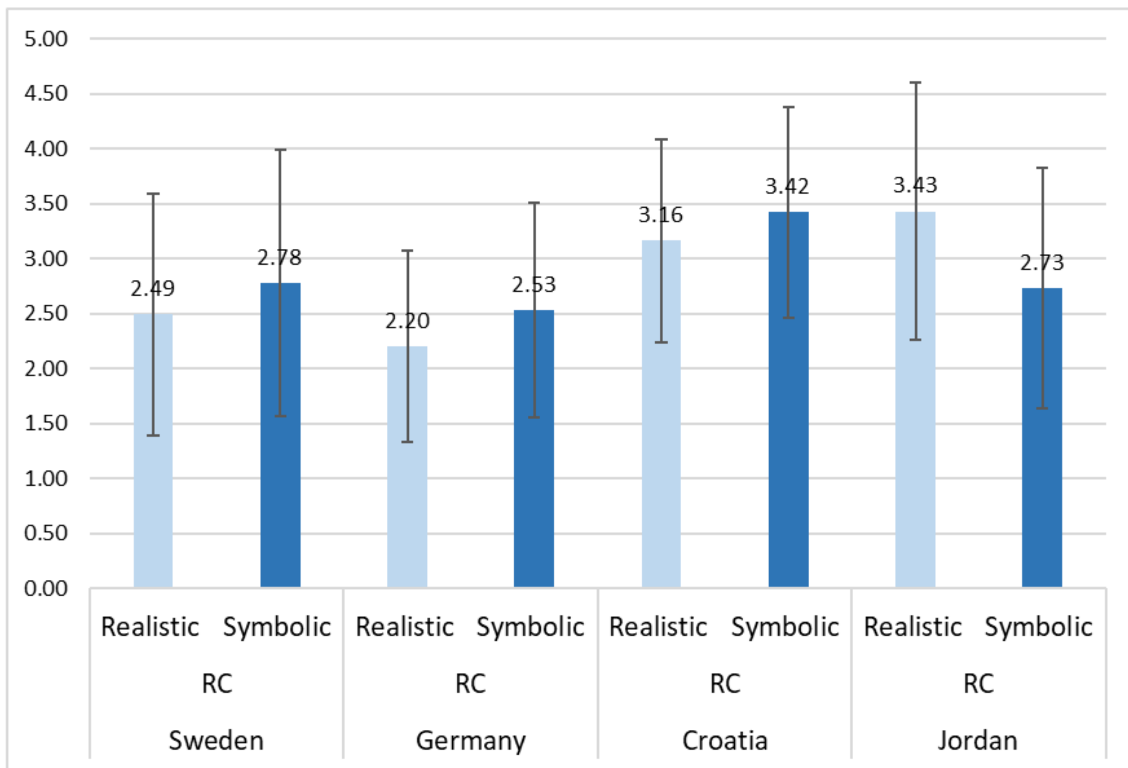
A significant cross-country difference was found in the AC respondents' perception of RC members as a symbolic threat ($F(3, 1840)=217.63$, $p<.01$). All four AC samples show the means of the total score to be below the middle of the scale, in contrast to the RC samples.

While at below the middle of the scale, AC respondents in Germany and Sweden showed the greatest perception of symbolic threat and the difference between these countries was not significant. Here again, the medial discourse is an important factor, in which the narrative of right-wing anti-immigration groups and parties is influential. Additionally, it could be related to a potential suspicion of the RC against the Muslim communities as not being gender-egalitarian or respectful with women. The AC could be aware of these negative sentiments the RC might have towards them, whether or not they are correct. The lowest reported level of symbolic threat perception was reported in Jordan which could be explained by the historic and cultural proximity of the two countries.

Figure 3-10 presents the means and standard deviations of realistic and symbolic threat in all eight study samples in two images: on the left, the results for the RC are shown, and on the right, the results for the AC. In the RC samples, perception of symbolic intergroup threat is slightly more emphasized than the perception of realistic intergroup threat, except in the case of Jordan where the trend is opposite. In the AC samples, the perception of realistic threat is more emphasized than the perception of symbolic threat in all four samples. *Taken together, these results imply that the RC and the AC can feel threatened to a comparable extent, but that the RC mostly feels a threat to their culture and ways of life, while the AC feel a threat to their socio-economic wellbeing. This is in line with the revised Theory of perception of intergroup threat (Stephan, Ybarra and Rios Morrison, 2009) which states that the majority group is likely to have a stronger reaction to the influence of the minority group and have more to lose in case of a power shift.*

The question remains whether we could statistically compare the eights samples to find proof that the differences are significant and not simply at the level of perceived trends. Additionally, the differences in culture are more tangible between the AC from Syria in European countries than in Jordan. At the same time, the RC in Jordan are generally in a poorer socio-economic state than the RC

in Sweden, Germany and Croatia, and therefore could have a stronger reaction to the notion of the AC engaging in the labour market and receiving monetary assistance. The theory of perception of intergroup threat also states that the minority group is more likely to experience threat due to their lower social power and that they are more likely to be impacted socio-economically – the RC makes decisions on the policies, rights and entitlements and benefits of the AC, directly controlling the socio-economic prospect of the AC. It is of no surprise then that the perception of realistic threat was more prominent in the AC sample than the RC sample. It is worth noting that the overall scores for the two types of threat in the two groups were around the middle of the scale, indicating moderate levels of the perceived threat. Still, this finding points to an important trend worth exploring further in future studies.



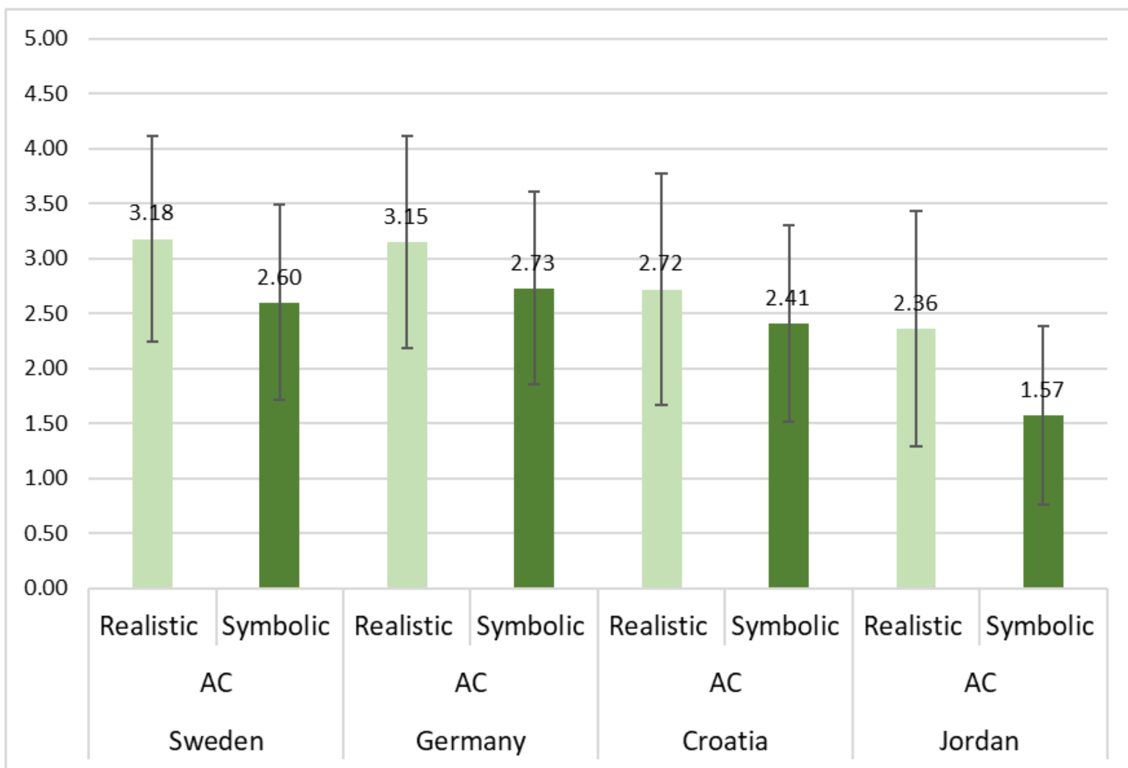


Figure 3-10. Means of the perception of the realistic and symbolic intergroup threat posed by the members of the other group for RC and AC samples in four study countries.

Readiness of the RC members to assist the AC and the perception of the AC of that readiness

The readiness of the RC members to assist the AC is a measure of the intention of pro-social behaviour aimed at assisting the members of the AC group. Based on the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000), behavioural intention directly precedes the behaviour and drives it. Stemming from this theory, we would expect that the persons who express their readiness to assist members of the other group are more likely to provide assistance given the chance. In the context of integration, higher levels of readiness to assist the AC members would indicate more positive relations between the groups. Similarly, the belief of the AC members that the RC would be willing to assist them in case of need could indicate their feeling of being welcomed.

A higher score on this scale indicates a greater readiness of the RC respondents to assist the AC members. The answers ranged from 1='Surely not' to 5='Surely yes' for questions like 'I would be prepared to provide temporary care for an unaccompanied refugee child.'

AC respondents were asked how much they agree the RC would help them if in need. A higher score indicates that the AC respondents held stronger beliefs that the RC would be ready to assist them. The answers ranged from 1='Strongly disagree' to 5='Strongly agree' to statements like '/Country nationals/ would be prepared to provide temporary care for an unaccompanied refugee child.'

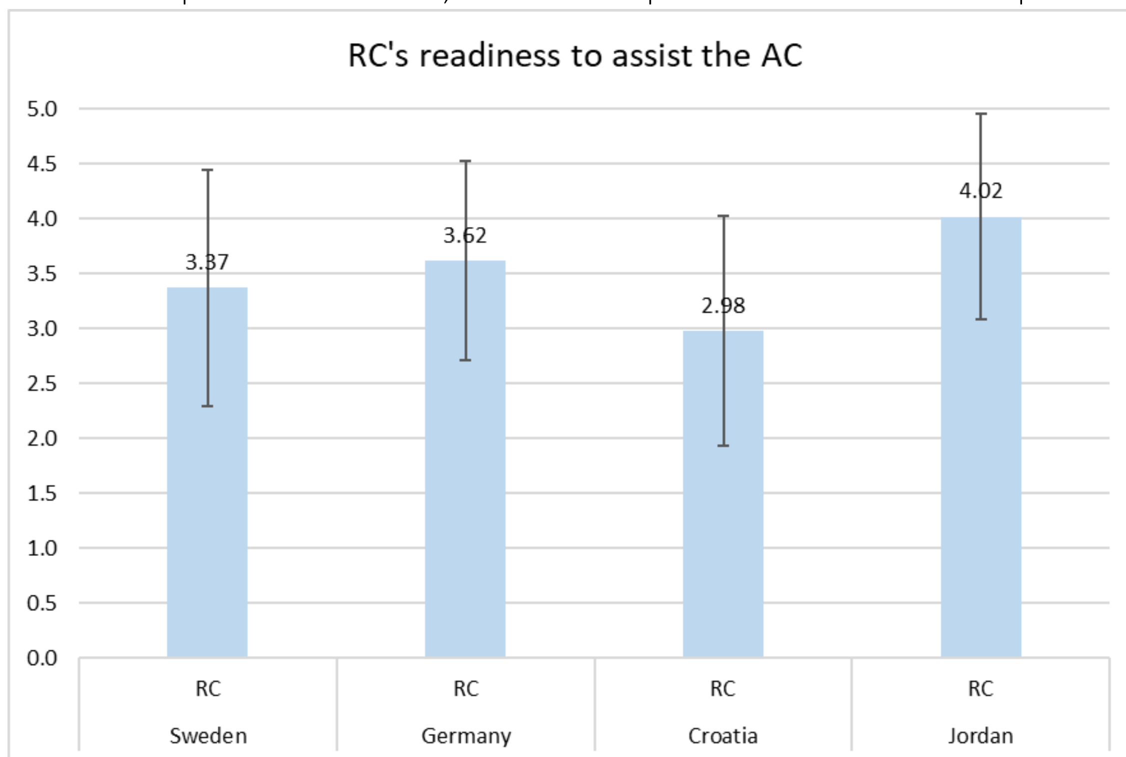
All means and standard deviations are available in Table 8-39 and Table 8-50 in the Appendices.

The readiness of the RC respondents in four countries varied significantly ($F(3, 3016)=113.37$, $p<.01$), and differed from each other. RC respondents in Jordan reported the highest readiness to assist the AC members, followed by the respondents in Germany and Sweden. RC respondents in Croatia were least likely to report they would assist the AC members and on average took a neutral stance, with the mean of the results in the middle of the scale. Even though the differences are statistically significant between the countries, it is worth noting that the average results in all countries fall between the neutral and somewhat positive levels (visually presented in Figure 3-10). Similarly to the attitudes and support for rights of the AC, it is probable that the RC from Croatia simply did not have an opportunity to interact with the AC, form bonds or a strong opinion, staying in a 'neither-nor' area when considering helping the AC, which is supported by the respondents' reports of lack of intergroup contact.

AC respondents estimated how ready would the RC members be to help them, and this estimation, or perception, differed across the countries ($F(3, 1849)=55.56$, $p<.01$). AC respondents in Jordan perceived their RC members to be more willing to offer them help, compared to AC respondents in Germany and Sweden. AC respondents in Germany showed a more positive perception than the AC respondents in Sweden. No statistically significant difference was found between the AC in Croatia and other AC samples.

Figure 3-11 shows the results of all eight samples across the four study countries. Two trends are visible. Firstly, the RC in all countries reported being less ready to offer assistance to the AC than the AC believed them to be. Secondly, the results of the RC samples varied more than those of the AC samples which seem to be more consistent. Again, the gap between the RC and AC is greatest in

Croatia. Even though the attitudes of the RC towards the AC are generally positive, except for the RC in Croatia who reported a neutral stand, the intention to provide assistance if needed is quite neutral.



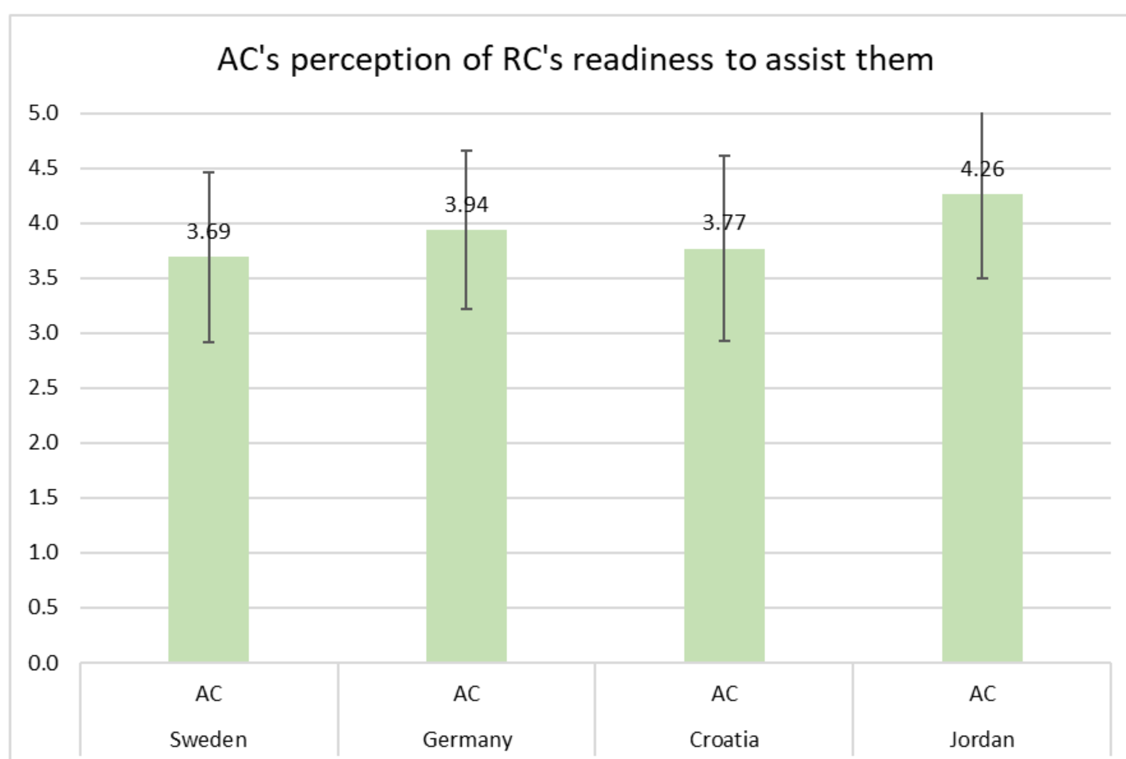


Figure 3-11. Means of RC respondents' readiness to assist AC members, and the perception of the AC respondents to the degree to which the RC members are ready to assist them in four study countries.

Further exploration of the RC's readiness to assist the AC

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to test the model predicting RC respondents' readiness to assist the AC members as one of the criteria of intergroup relations. The model was based on the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of RC respondents in the first step of the regression analysis, while socio-psychological indicators were added in the second step. The results are presented in detail in Table 8-61 in the Appendices and visually in Figure 3-12.

The first step of regression analysis was significant ($F(11, 2720)=39.10$, $p<.01$) with an R^2 of 0.137 showing that socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of RC respondents explained 13.7% of the variance in their readiness to assist the AC members. In the second step including socio-psychological indicators of integration yielded a significant prediction model ($F(17, 2704)=184.81$, $p<.01$) and an improvement over the set of socio-demographic and socio-economic predictors (F change(6, 2704)=390.19, $p<.01$). Socio-psychological indicators accounted for an additional 40% of the variance of RC readiness to assist AC members, leading to a total of 53.7% of the explained variance ($R^2=.537$, adj. $R^2=.535$). The analysis revealed that the RC attitudes towards the AC and support for the AC rights, being female, older and more religious, being aware of the discrimination of the AC, having a larger social network and a migration background are feature so the RC members that increase their readiness to assist members of the AC.

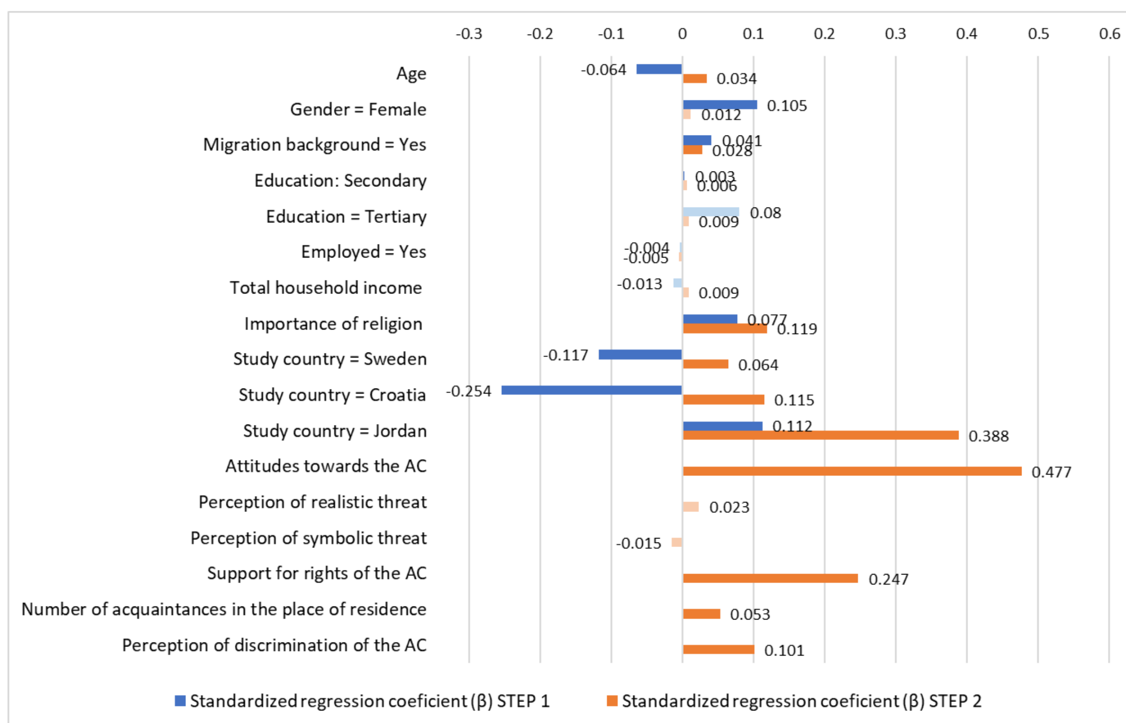


Figure 3-12. Size of effect of individual predictors of RC respondents' readiness to assist the AC (hierarchical regression analysis). Non-significant predictors are presented in a lighter colour. The reference country is Germany. N=2721

Figure 3-12 presents the individual contribution of each predictor variable to the explanation of the level of readiness of RC to assist the AC. Greater contribution is indicated by a larger regression coefficient and, consequently, a larger bar.

A short note on the detected suppressor effect

Variables of 'age' and 'study country = Sweden' and 'Croatia' which were significant in the first step remained significant after the inclusion of SP predictors, but changed the positive sign of their regression coefficients to the negative, indicating a possible suppressor effect of one of the predictors added in the second step. In comparison, 'study country = Jordan' was significant and positive in both steps of the analysis. This is visible from Figure 3-12 where the bars representing the sizes of beta coefficients for 'study country = Sweden' and 'study country = Croatia' are below zero in the first step,

©FOCUS Consortium

but above it in the second step of the analysis. This is the 'suppressor effect' – a situation in which the regression coefficients (betas) change in size (increase) or orientation from the first to the second step of the hierarchical regression analysis. The underlying cause for this change was the addition of 'attitudes' and 'support for rights of the AC' which are correlated significantly with the variables of the country (Sweden and Croatia). Furthermore, the size of the sample (n=2721) facilitates the fine changes in the regression coefficients and renders smaller differences statistically significant, further adding to the suppressor effect present in this regression model. Attitudes towards the AC and support for rights remain very important socio-psychological indicators of integration, so it is not surprising that they correlate with other predictors of the readiness to assist the AC. A decision was made to retain these variables in the second step of the model, and as the Variance Inflation Indices did not point to an issue with multicollinearity between these two variables, they were both included in the analysis.

Quantity (frequency) of intergroup contact

Intergroup contact is a set of interactions between people who perceive themselves to be parts of different groups. In socio-psychological literature, it has proven to be an important factor influencing attitudes, emotions and behavioural intentions of the members of the two groups. Contact hypothesis and Intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954b) argue that pleasant contact with members of the other group has a positive effect on the attitudes towards the members of the other group, and scientific research has confirmed this postulate (Barlow et al., 2012; Healy, Thomas and Pedersen, 2017; Turoy, Kane and Pedersen, 2013). On the contrary, according to the most recent literature superficial contact is not always correlated to attitudes – or might be even negatively associated in particular for individuals with unpleasant contact experiences – while the correlation between closer relationships and attitudes is positive (Rafiqi & Thomsen, 2021). Contact is the basis of the socio-psychological dimension of 'Social connections' (Indicators of Integration Framework; Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), a foundation for 'Social bonds' within the arriving community, 'Social bridges' between the arriving and the receiving community, as well as 'Social links' of the arriving community with the institutions and services provided by the receiving community.

In the FOCUS field study, two characteristics of intergroup contact were measured: the quantity, or frequency, of intergroup contact, and the quality or how pleasant was the intergroup contact with members of the other group in three areas: transport/street/market, neighbourhood and public events. It is important to note that the scope of the places in which the RC and AC meet included educational facilities and workplaces, but due to a high number of missing values in these areas, they were omitted from the overall score. Thus, the contact presented here relates to informal areas in which the contact is less substantive. A higher score for the quantity of intergroup contact indicates more frequent encounters. Answers were given on a scale of 1='Never' to 5='Very often' for the question of 'How often do you meet RC/AC members in these places'.

All data on the quality and quantity of contact is available in the Appendices, in Table 8-39 and Table 8-50.

A statistically significant difference across sites was found between the RC samples in the quantity of contact with the AC ($F(3, 2424)=386.66$, $p<.01$). RC respondents in Sweden reported the most frequent contact with the members of AC, closely followed by the RC in Jordan, with no difference between RC respondents from these two countries. RC respondents from Germany reported having more frequent contact with the AC than did the RC respondents from Croatia. RC in Croatia experienced contact with the AC drastically less than in other countries, on average 'never' or 'sometimes'. This finding is not surprising considering the very low number of AC members in Croatia, but calls for a more active approach in bringing together members of both communities.

The AC respondents also differed across countries in the reported frequency of contact with the RC members ($F(3, 1647)=67.81$, $p<.01$). AC respondents from Jordan reported having the most frequent contact with members of Jordanian RC, followed by the AC respondents in Croatia. AC respondents in Germany and Sweden experienced intergroup contact in a similar frequency, slightly less often than their Jordanian and Croatian counterparts.

Quality (pleasantness) of intergroup contact

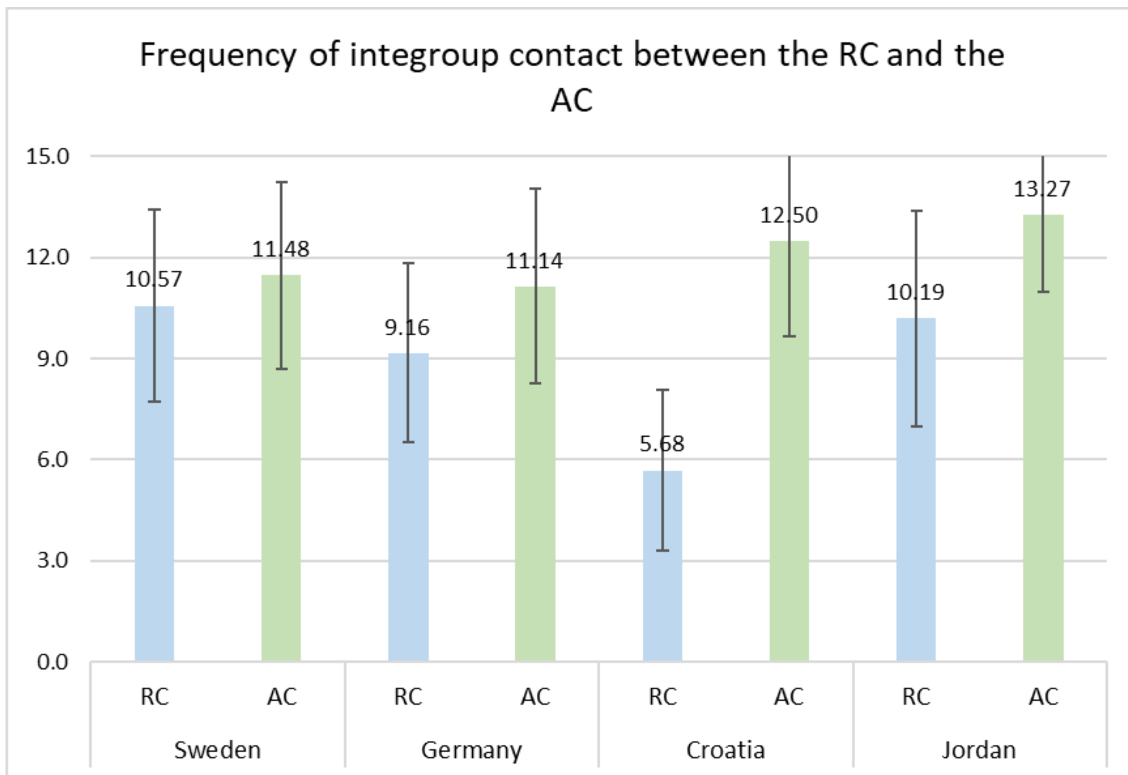
In the systematic literature review, the quality of intergroup contact was found to be a significant factor predicting intergroup attitudes of the RC towards the AC (FOCUS, 2020), having a major role in the overall socio-psychological integration of the two groups. Furthermore, the quality of contact was shown to be more influential for the intergroup attitudes than the quantity of contact, but the interaction between these two aspects had the strongest impact on prejudice towards arriving community members (Barlow et al., 2012). Positive and frequent contact between the AC and RC members has the potential to overcome feelings of threat and insecurity and promote positive attitudes and prosocial behaviour.

The quality was estimated for the same three areas as the quantity (transport/street/market, neighbourhood and public events). Here, a greater score indicates the experience of more pleasant contact with the members of the other group. Answers were given on a scale of 1='Very negative' to 5='Very positive'. Final results are the sum of individual answers to each of the three areas.

RC respondents' from the four study countries differed in their perception of the pleasantness of intergroup contact with the AC members ($F(3, 1670)=97.19$, $p<.01$). RC respondents from Germany reported their contact with members of AC as more pleasant compared to the other countries. RC respondents from Croatia and Sweden follow, with no statistically significant difference between these two countries. RC respondents in Jordan provided the lowest ratings of the quality of intergroup contact with the AC members. This could again be traced back to the socio-economic policies implemented in Jordan, and a possible feeling of mutual discrimination between the AC and RC, as at the beginning of the migration of refugees from Syria to Jordan the majority of international financial support and other forms of assistance were mainly channelled to the AC. At the same time, a lot of the RC members in Jordan were living in poor conditions. Such distribution of resources could encourage feelings of unfairness which in turn impacts the expectations of intergroup contact as negative.

A difference was also found among the AC samples ($F(3, 1590)=1051.76$, $p<.01$). Cross-country analysis revealed no statistically significant difference in contact quality with the RC between Croatia, Sweden and Germany. But the AC respondents in Jordan reported significantly lower quality of contact with the Jordanian RC compared to the other countries. It is possible that the RC in Jordan, impacted by the poor macroeconomic situation and perceived unfairness in the distribution of resources, behaved towards the AC in a way the AC perceived to be negative, potentially discriminatory. Therefore, they could report the intergroup contact as negative.

Figure 3-13 presents the quality and quantity of intergroup contact for AC and RC in four study countries. Generally, the frequency of contact between the groups is the largest in Jordan but is at the same time most negative. The contact is more frequent in Sweden and Germany than in Croatia, but the AC and RC evaluate it similarly when thinking about the degree to which it was pleasant. These results should be interpreted in light of the areas they refer to, mainly informal, public areas where the contact is usually superficial. Still, even this superficial contact has the potential to impact intergroup attitudes and perception of threat (Allport, 1954).



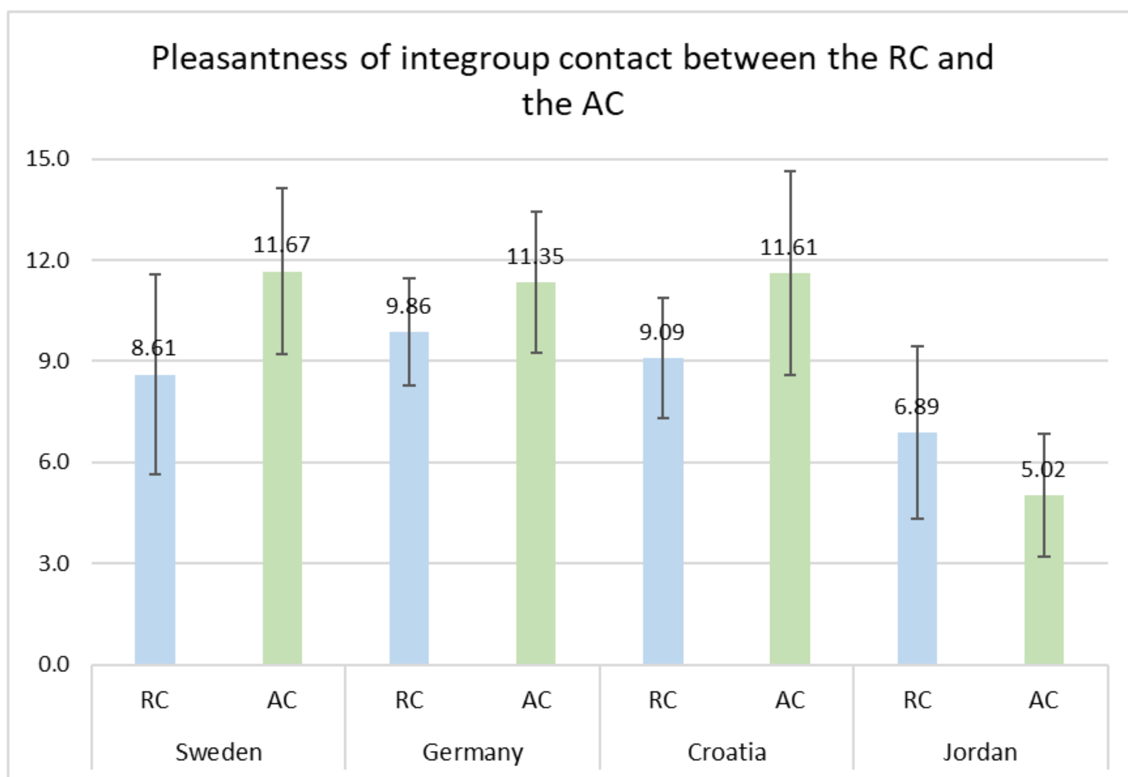


Figure 3-13. Means and standard deviations of the quantity (frequency) and quality (pleasantness) of intergroup contact between the RC and the AC in four countries.

Social proximity

Social proximity is a measure of willingness to engage in different types of relationships with members of the other group. These relationships differ in their level of closeness and people are more likely to be open to those types of relationships they see as less intimate (e.g. neighbour, co-worker) than those they see as more intimate (e.g. family). A person can decide whether they would be willing to engage in each type of relationship with the member of the other group (yes or no). Indicating a

©FOCUS Consortium

willingness to engage in a closer relationship implies that the person would be willing to engage in a more distant relationship as well. For example, it is logical that a person who would agree to a love relationship with a member of the other group would also accept them as a neighbour. This is the logic of the well-known measure of social proximity (or, inversely, social distance; Bogardus, 1933). The preference of the level of closeness with the members of the other group indicates the overall acceptance, tolerance and understanding between the groups. In the integration context, both arriving and receiving community members can estimate the level of closeness with a member of the other group they would be comfortable with. A society in which RC and AC are ready for the closest relationships is one in which the lines between the groups are blurred, and common social networks are encouraged. This is related to the 'Social connections' dimension of integration, particularly the 'Bridges' indicator.

A total of five types of relationships were presented to the respondents who provided a 'Yes' or 'No' answer to the statements 'I would accept an AC/RC member in a love relationship/as a family member/as a friend/as a neighbour/as a fellow worker. Following the logic of the Social distance scale which states that the greater frequency of 'Yes' answers for a particular type of relationship indicates that such a relationship is less intimate (because more people would accept it), it was determined in a previous study on the social proximity of the RC towards the AC that the relations of neighbour and co-workers have exchanged places in comparison to the original Social distance scale (Ajduković et al., 2019).

Thus, the order of the items is slightly different in the case of the Social proximity scale used in the FOCUS research. Moreover, we added an item on the 'love relationship' as it proved important in the understanding of the levels of intimacy with the members of the other group the respondents would be prepared for (Ajduković et al., 2019). In the analysis, each type of relationship was marked by a number corresponding to the frequency of answers 'Yes' for the particular category of relationship (fellow worker = 1, neighbour =2, friend = 3, family member = 4, love relationship = 5[6]). A closer relationship is indicated by a higher score.

Detailed results are available in Table 8-39 and Table 8-50 in the Appendices.

RC respondents differed in their social proximity towards the AC members ($F(3, 3020)=155.32$, $p<.01$) across countries. This difference was statistically significant between all four samples. RC respondents in Germany were ready to accept closer relationships with members of the AC than RC respondents in Sweden and Jordan. The frequencies of answers per country indicate that in Germany, the respondents were on average ready for a love relationship, in Sweden for a family bond, and in Jordan for a friendship. Even though the averages across countries imply that all respondents were open to friendship or family relations, the RC respondents in Croatia showed statistically lowest scores among all four countries. It is possible that due to the lack of history and experience of immigration to Croatia, perception of intercultural differences and the emphasis on the importance of family in Croatian narrative, the respondents were more open to friendships than for more intimate relations such as romantic involvement or being members of the same family.

The AC samples also differed across countries in their social proximity towards the RC ($F(3, 1902)=31.06$, $p<.01$). The AC members in Jordan, Croatia, and Germany were more likely to accept closer relationships with members of RC, on average family and love relationships, than AC respondents in Sweden who were willing to accept the RC member mostly as a friend.

The AC in Jordan, Croatia and Germany did not differ in social proximity towards the RC.

[6] In the case of Jordan, 'family member' and 'love interest' had the opposite trend of answers in comparison to the European countries with more respondents choosing 'love interest' than 'family member' as a level of closeness they were ready for. We therefore decided that in the case of Jordan the answers should be labeled as love/marriage relationship = 4 and family member = 5. But, due to the nature of th Social distance scale, this does not pose a problem for the comparison with other countries. It is the perceived level of intimacy, not the category of the relationship itself, the construct we wish to measure and understand.

Figure 3-14 illustrates the results of the described analysis.

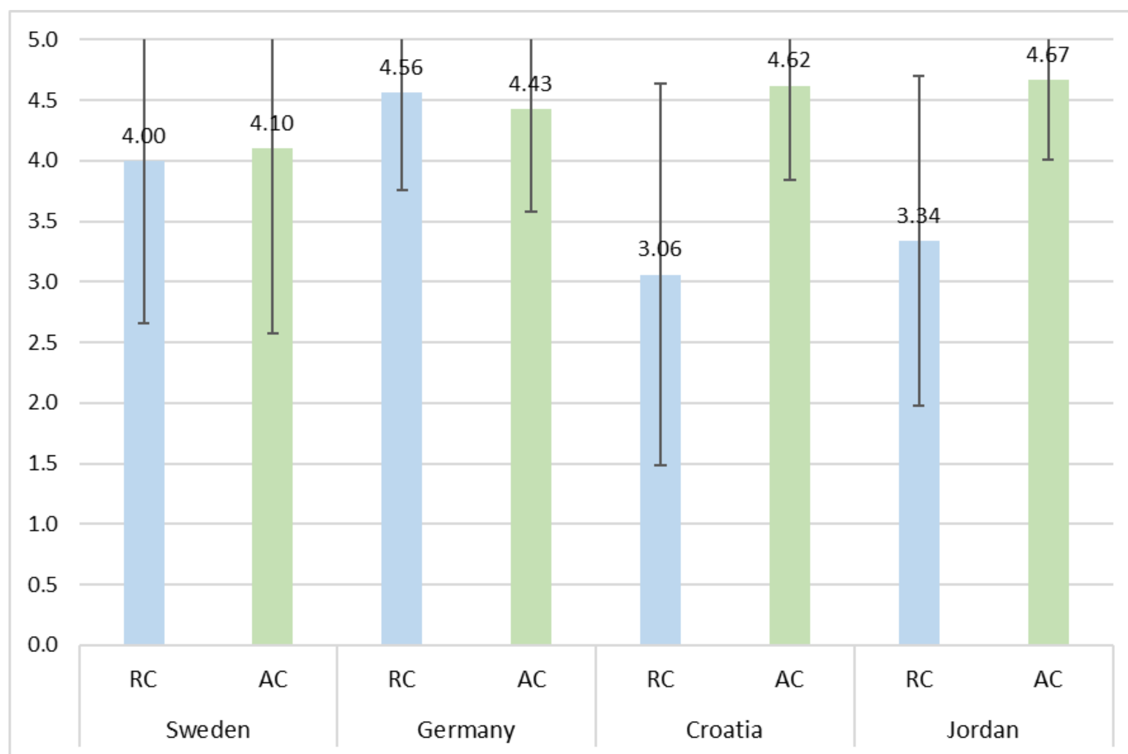


Figure 3-14. Means and standard deviations of the social proximity of the RC and the AC towards each other in four countries.

Further exploration of the social proximity of the RC and AC members towards each other

The second criterion indicating intergroup relations was social proximity and a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to test the model predicting RC respondents' level of social proximity towards the AC members. A set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological variables was used as predictors in a two-step model. The summary of the model is presented in Table 8-62 and visually in Figure 3-15

Socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics included in the first step explained 18.7% of the variance of social proximity of the RC respondents to the AC members. This step was statistically significant ($F(11, 2710)=56.58$, $p<.01$). Adding socio-psychological indicators of integration in the second regression step resulted in a significantly improved model (F change$(6, 2704)=89.37$, $p<.01$) and explained an additional 13.5% of the variance. This model ($R^2=.321$, adj. $R^2=.135$) explained the total of 32.1% of the variance in social proximity of the RC to the AC members. Being younger, a female, residing in Sweden, Croatia or Jordan in comparison to Germany, having positive attitudes towards the AC and low levels of a realistic threat, as well as supporting the rights of the AC are the characteristics of the RC which are related to closer social proximity to the AC.

Figure 3-15 presents the individual contribution of each predictor to the explanation of the level of social proximity of RC towards the AC. Greater contribution is indicated by a larger regression coefficient and, consequently, a larger bar. Cross-country differences were found, with respondents from Germany reporting closer social proximity to the AC in comparison to the other countries. In comparison to Germany, respondents in Croatia indicated the lowest levels of social proximity towards the AC, which was previously shown by the ANOVA.

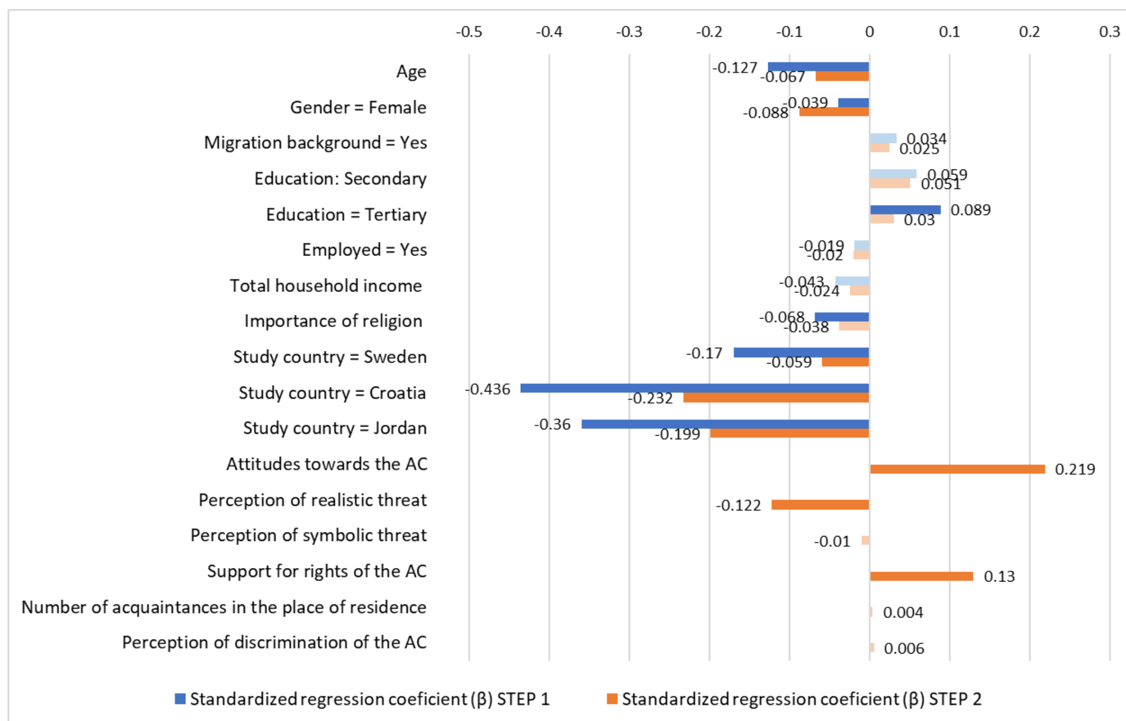


Figure 3-15. Size of effect of individual predictors of RC respondents' social proximity to the AC (hierarchical regression analysis). Non-significant predictors are presented in a lighter colour. The reference country is Germany. (N=2721)

A similar hierarchical regression model was tested for the AC respondents. The summary of the model is presented in Table 8-63 and visually in Figure 3-16. The first step was statistically significant (F(14, 1473)=10.95, p<.01) and explained 9.4% of the variance in the social proximity of the AC respondents to the RC.

Adding a set of socio-psychological indicators of integration, was statistically significant as well (F(19, 1468)=10.32, p<.01) and significantly improved the model (F change(5, 1468)=7.85, p<.01). This final model accounted for an additional 2.4% of the total variance and in total explained 11.8% of the variance in AC's social proximity to the RC members (R^2=.118, adj. R^2=.024). In summary, younger, male, single and less religious AC respondents who were in the receiving country for a longer period and more fluent in the receiving country language, those who live in Croatia or Jordan (compared to Germany), as well as those who had positive attitudes towards RC members and did not perceive them as a symbolic threat were willing to bond with the RC members on a more intimate level.

Figure 3-16 presents the individual contribution of the predictor variables to explain the social proximity of the AC towards the RC. The size of the bar indicates the individual strength of the predictor (standardized regression coefficient).

This regression model explained only slightly more than a tenth of the variance of the social proximity of the AC towards the RC. Furthermore, the socio-economic indicators and socio-demographic characteristics accounted for more variance than the socio-psychological indicators. It would seem that the social proximity of the AC towards the RC relies more on the socio-economic dimension of integration, or other, unmeasured variables. Findings of this regression point to another source of variability of the social proximity of AC respondents which should be further explored in future studies.

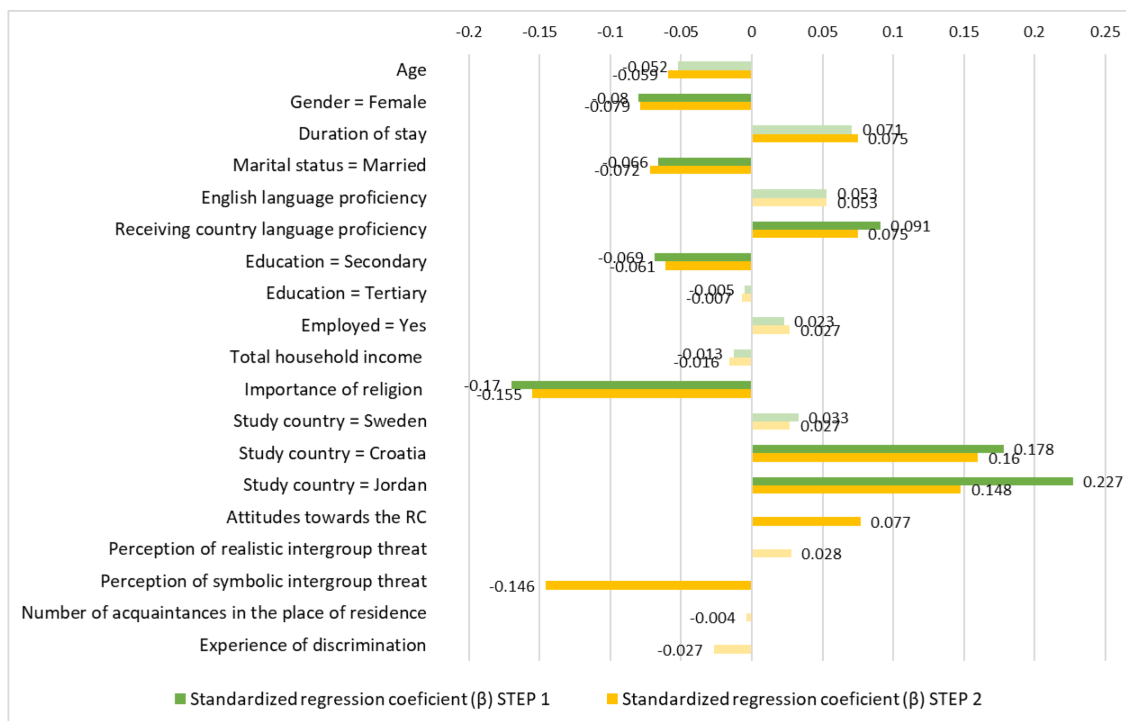


Figure 3-16. Size of effect of individual predictors of AC respondents' social proximity to the RC (hierarchical regression analysis). Non-significant predictors are presented in a lighter colour. The reference country is Germany. (N=1487)

Social network

A social network is the number of persons we know personally (size) and the type of relationship we have with them (composition). Composition, generally speaking, refers to the characteristics of the network, and in ethnic and migration studies, in particular, it relates to the background of the network. Social networks are very important in the context of integration for two reasons: firstly, the AC members aim to preserve their social network upon arrival to the receiving country, but also to broaden it by including RC members – their neighbours, coworkers, school teachers of their children, volunteers and members of the civil society working with the AC, etc. Secondly, overlapping and intertwining of social networks of the AC and RC members is both the means of facilitating integration and the end goal of socio-psychological integration – a society in which the relationships between the AC and the RC are well represented in their social networks. This is the manifestation of the 'Social connections' dimension of the Indicators of Integration Framework (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019).

The network composition included different types of relationships that can be broadly seen as less close (acquaintances) and closer (friends and persons to rely on for help if needed). Respondents estimated how many acquaintances/friends/persons to call for help they had in their network, after which they estimated how many of these were members of the other group (e.g. for the RC: 'How many of these friends are refugees?').

In this section, the emphasis is on the composition of the network rather than its size. In other words, the analysis was conducted to test the differences between the proportions of the members of the other group within each segment of the social networks of the respondents.

The frequencies of individual answers per country are presented in Table 8-65 and Table 8-66 in the Appendices.

RC respondents from four countries differed in the proportion of the AC members in their pool of acquaintances ($\chi^2(12, N=2861)=395.78, p<.01$), friends ($\chi^2(12, N=2841)=211.63, p<.01$), and persons to call for help ($\chi^2(12, N=2841)=167.70, p<.01$). The Chi-square test is very sensitive to the sample size, so this result should be interpreted with caution, as the RC sample from Sweden was twice the size of other RC samples. The same analysis was conducted on the AC samples. The AC in the four countries

also differed significantly in the number of RC members they had as acquaintances (χ^2(12, N=1829)=250.738, p<.01), friends (χ^2(12, N=1829)=155.092, p<.01) or persons to call in a need for help (χ^2(12, N=1826)=201.729, p<.01).

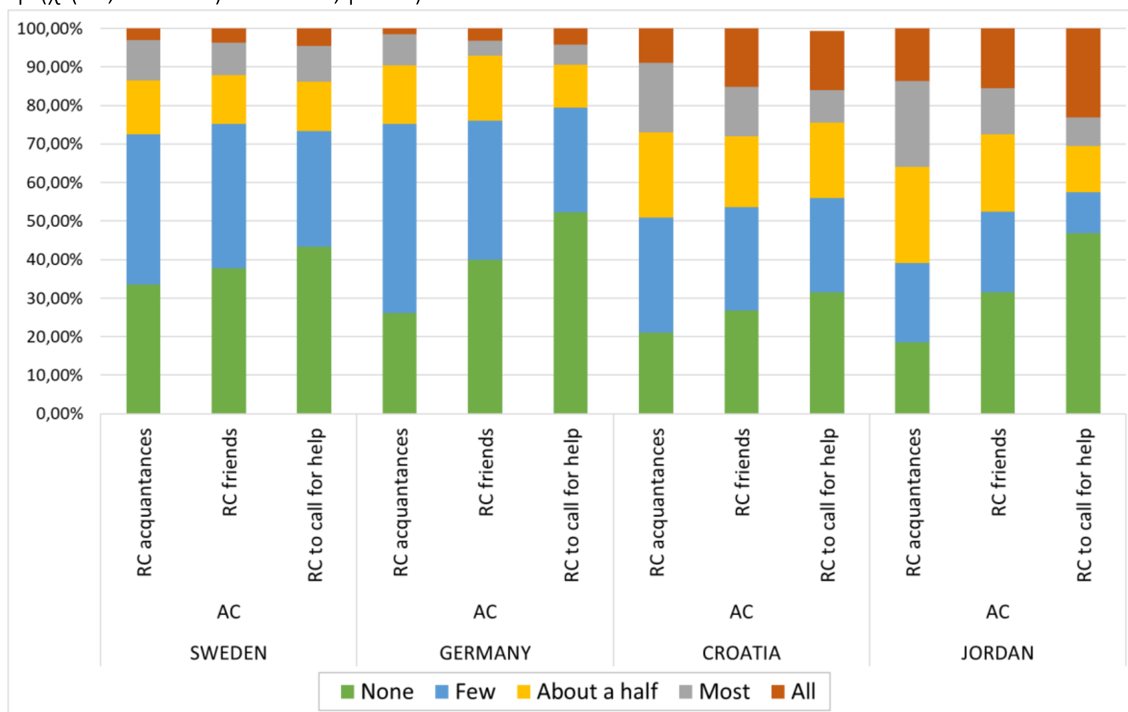


Figure 3-17. Percentage of the AC respondents who have none, a few, about a half, most, or all RC members as acquaintances, friends or persons to call for help within their social networks.

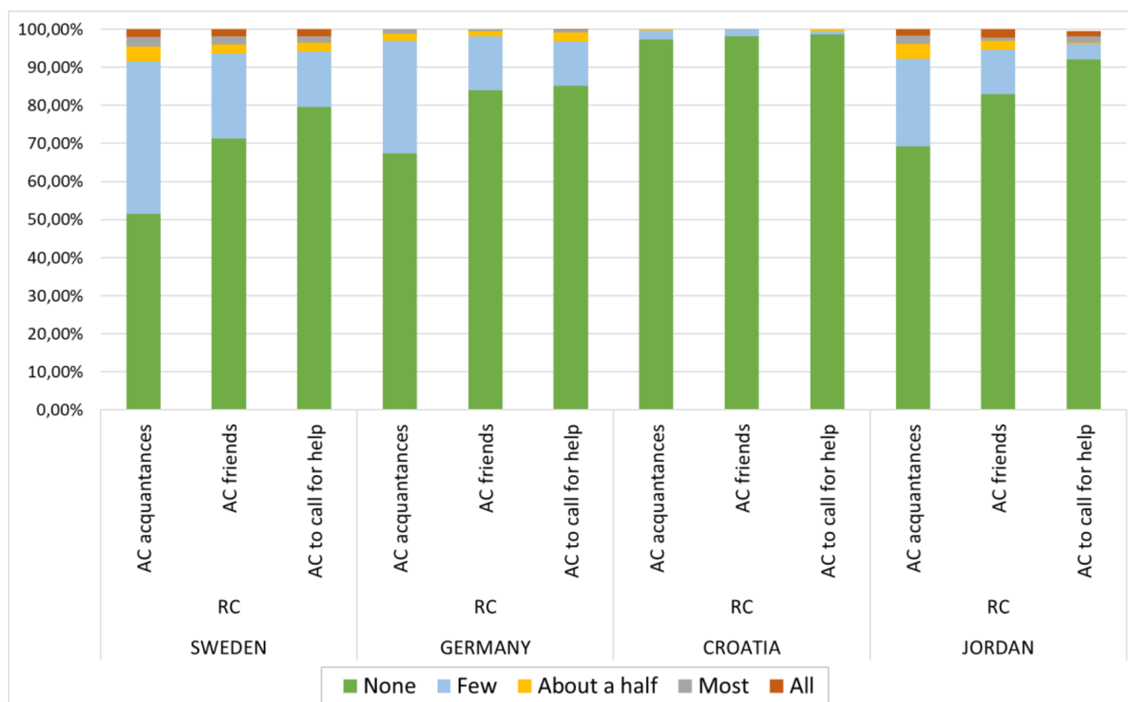


Figure 3-18. Percentage of the RC respondents who have none, a few, about a half, most, or all AC members as acquaintances, friends or persons to call for help within their social networks.

Visual presentation of the proportions of members of the other group within the social networks of the respondents is shown in Figure 3-17 for the AC and Figure 3-18 for the RC. The RC have significantly fewer AC members in their social networks than vice-versa. This is most evident in the case of Croatia where the RC respondents reported having almost no AC acquaintances, friends or persons they could call for help. This is not surprising considering the probabilistic sampling method of the RC and the

small number of AC residing in Croatia. A majority of the RC respondents from Germany, Sweden and Jordan also reported having no AC in their social networks, but still between 48% and 30% reported having at least a few AC members in their social networks. The AC respondents in all countries had more RC members in their social networks, with mostly a few or half of the persons they know being RC members. These differences in the proportion of members of the other group in one's social circle are not surprising. The ratio of the RC to AC in each of these countries impacts the number of possible intergroup relationships, which is most evident in the case of Croatia where, as referenced earlier, there is a very small AC population.

The overlapping of the social networks is important for integration, as it implies that the RC and AC formed relationships that can, over time, become firmer and more intimate (friendships, family). This is especially important for the AC members who generally have a smaller social network in comparison to the one they had in Syria. Social networks can be important for the integration of the AC into the labour market, as social capital plays a role in getting information on job positions and recommendations.

RC's perception of AC's discrimination and AC's experience of discrimination

Intergroup discrimination is behaviour by which members of one group deny a right, an opportunity or a service to members of another group because they belong to the out-group, or favour members of their group although these persons may be less qualified or entitled to such a right or service (Bagci & Canpolat, 2019; Cheah et al., 2013; Haase et al., 2019).

In the Indicators of Integration Framework, the 'Foundation' is described as follows: 'This domain explicitly combines responsibilities and rights, recognizing that both must be measured from the perspective of group such as migrants as well as the receiving communities' (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019, pp.18). Discrimination is present in all dimensions of society and related to socio-economic and socio-psychological areas of integration.

In the FOCUS study, the aim was to investigate the frequency with which the AC experiences discrimination and in what areas of life. They were asked to indicate the extent to which they experience unequal treatment in comparison to the RC on a scale from 1=never to 5=very often and in the following areas: in a store, bank or restaurant, when applying for a job or promotion, when dealing with the police or courts, in school or classes, when looking for a place to live, in sports or recreational activities, in hospitals or by healthcare workers. The higher score indicates a more frequent experience of discrimination.

The RC is overwhelmingly not in a position to be discriminated against by the AC. Because of the power inequality between them, the RC can deny a right or a service to the AC, but not the other way around. Measures of the tendency of the respondent to discriminate members of the other group are often biased, as the respondents are likely to answer in a socially desirable way. Here, the RC respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they believe that the refugees experience unequal treatment in comparison to the RC on a scale from 1=never to 5=very often in the same formerly listed areas of life. A higher score indicates a belief that AC is more exposed to discrimination.

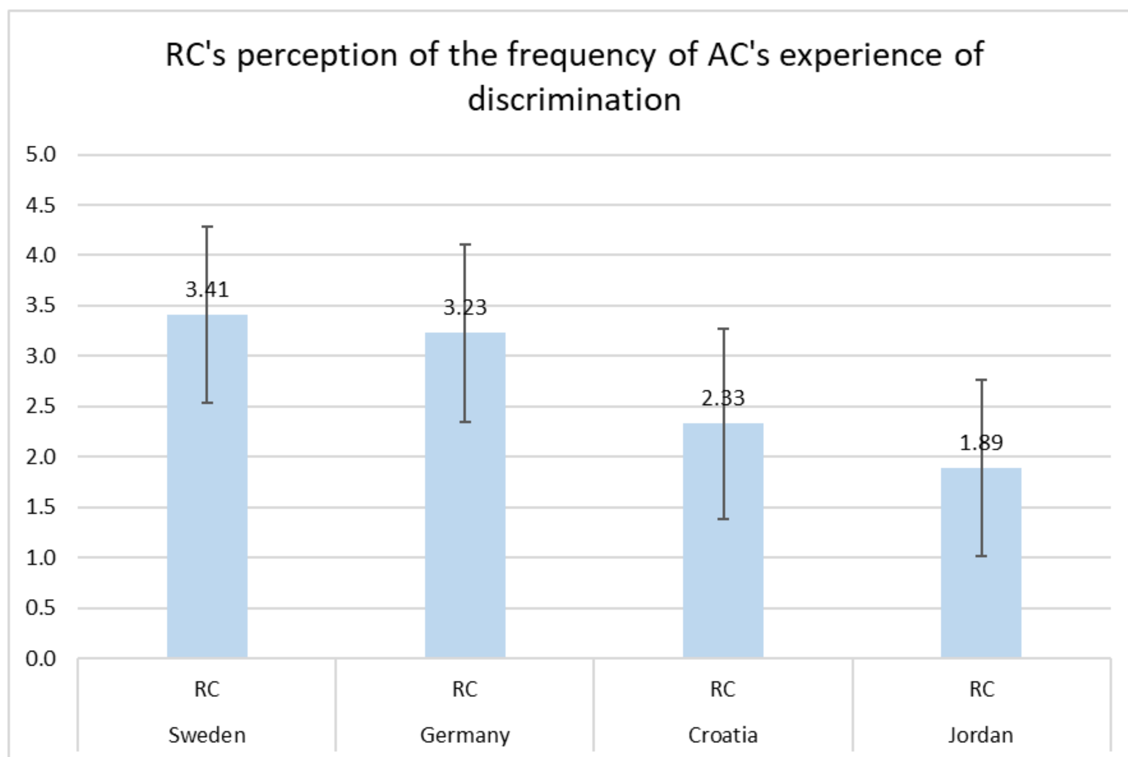
The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8-39 and Table 8-50 in the Appendices.

A statistically significant difference was found in the frequency of the reported discrimination of the AC respondents across the four countries ($F(3, 1845)=45.32$, $p<.01$). The AC respondents in Jordan reported experiencing less discrimination compared to the AC respondents from the other three countries. Additionally, the AC respondents in Croatia reported rarer experiences of discrimination compared to the respondents from Germany. No difference was found between the respondents in Croatia and Sweden, nor Sweden and Germany – which shows that the actual differences between these countries are small.

The RC respondents differed across the study countries in their belief about the frequency in which the AC experiences discrimination ($F(3, 3007)=543.67$, $p<.01$). Swedish and German RC respondents perceived members of AC in their countries to experience more discrimination compared to RC respondents from Croatia and Jordan. Characteristics of the sample need to be taken into account in

the interpretation of these findings. Specifically, RC respondents from Germany were disproportionately politically oriented to the left (Table 8-1), and the RC in Sweden was mostly highly educated. Furthermore, these countries have integration policies developed and implemented on a higher level, which could impact the awareness of the RC of a higher probability of discrimination.

Figure 3-19 visually presents the means and standard deviations for all eight samples. A trend is visible in the data: the RC perceives that the AC, in particular in Sweden and Germany experiences more discrimination than the AC reported. Perhaps the AC 'toned down' their responses, perceiving that 'Never' or 'Sometimes' are the socially desirable answers which led to the means of the total scores falling below the middle of the measurement scale. This downplay of experiences of discrimination was previously empirically presented (Parker, 2008).



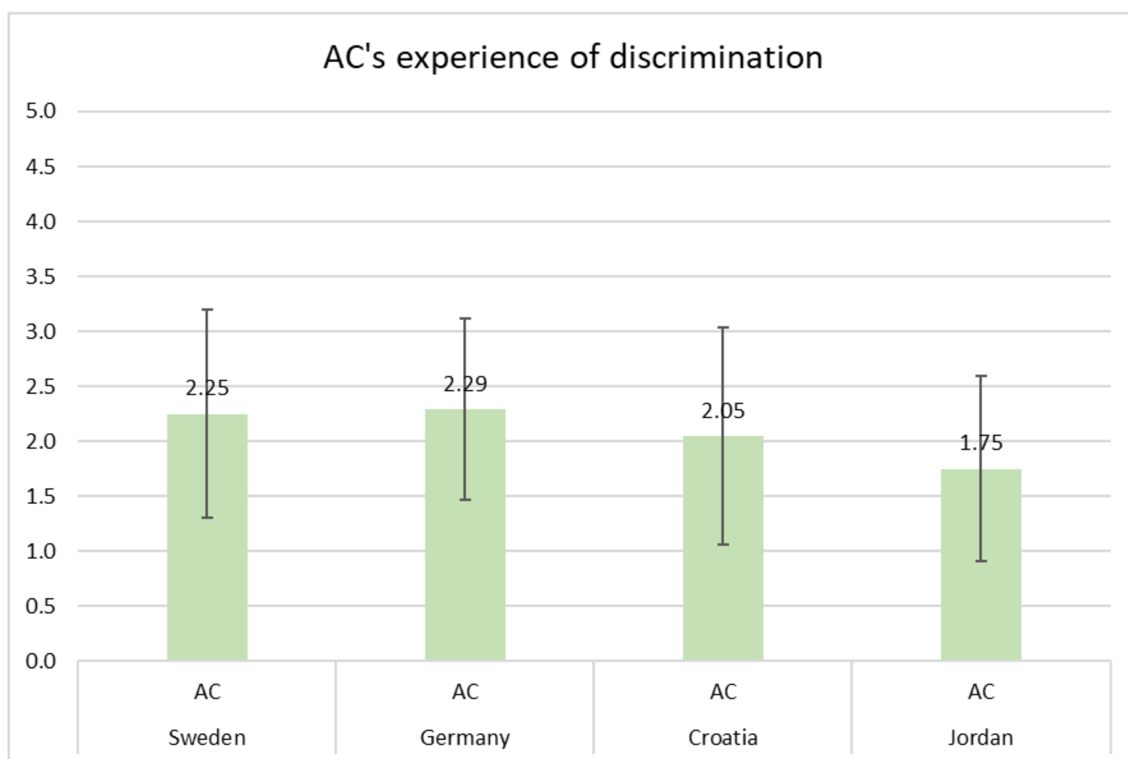


Figure 3-19. Means of the RC respondents' perception of the frequency in which the AC experience discrimination, and AC respondents' perception of the frequency in which they experience discrimination.

RC's perception of AC's membership in the society and AC's perception of own membership in the society

The sense of being a part of the society one lives in is an indicator of integration related to all aspects of life, as it can stem from the socio-economic integration and intergroup relations the person has with others. The AC can estimate how much they feel a part of the society they live in, and this feeling is related to the desired integration outcomes (Di Saint Pierre et al, 2015). We could theorize that a person who has a better socio-economic situation (adequate housing, employment, children's education), more social relations and is more active in the local community (educational activities, local events, sports and recreational activities) is more likely to feel a part of the community they live in. The factors related to the sense of 'society membership' of the AC were studied and the results will be presented in this section.

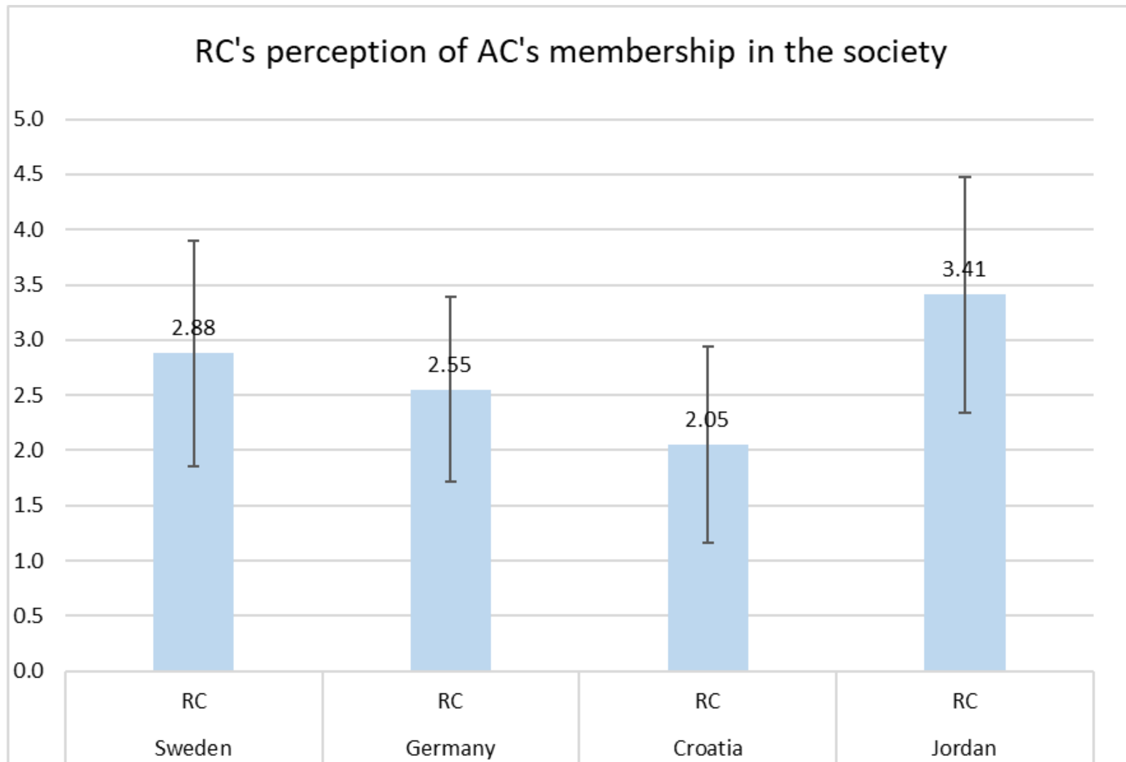
The RC can also estimate the degree to which they feel a part of the society, but this would probably not be affected by the presence of the AC or the process of dynamic integration. Therefore, the RC respondents were asked how much they believe the AC are part of the society they live in (the AC respondents were asked how much they feel a part of the society they live in). In other words, both groups estimated the degree to which the AC are part of the society.

In both groups, a higher result indicates a sense of a greater part of the society. Detailed results are presented in Table 8-39 and Table 8-50 in the Appendices.

The AC respondents differed across countries ($F(3, 1844)=170.64$, $p<.01$) in their feeling of being a part of the society they live in. In Sweden, they reported the highest sense of society membership, while the AC respondents from Jordan reported the lowest level of society membership compared to the other study countries. In Sweden, and Germany, the AC are actively participating in the integration program, learning the language, and have a relatively easy path towards citizenship acquisition for refugees. Germany and Sweden are 'destination countries' which could also explain the difference to Jordan, a first stop in the migration. The difference between AC respondents from Croatia and Germany was not statistically significant, and these results fall in between the results from Sweden and Jordan.

RC respondents from four countries differed in their estimation of the degree to which the AC are part of their respective society ($F(3, 3006)=211.17$, $p<.01$). RC respondents from Jordan perceived the AC in their country to be a bigger part of the Jordanian community than the RC respondents from Sweden, Germany and Croatia. In Croatia, the RC perception of AC membership in society was the lowest. Again, it is possible that this view is caused by the low number of AC members in Croatia, that the migration is not seen as impactful for society and that most of the AC members wish to move on to the West European countries, and that intergroup contact is generally rare. Additionally, this perception could be a consequence of the mono-cultural tradition of the Croatian RC believing that, the AC will hardly become a part of Croatian society. The post-hoc analysis showed that the differences between all four countries were statistically significant.

Figure 3-20 shows the means and standard deviations of the eight samples with the RC samples in four countries presented on top, and the AC samples on the bottom. A society in which both groups agree similarly and to a high~~er~~ degree that the AC are a part of the society is the desired integration outcome. In other words, we would expect that in a society in which the desired integration outcomes are met, both groups show high results on this measure. Figure 3-20 shows an interesting trend: for the European countries, the estimates of the RC are lower than the estimates of the AC. For Jordan, the picture is the opposite – Jordanian RC perceives the AC to be a part of society, but the AC does not feel the same way.



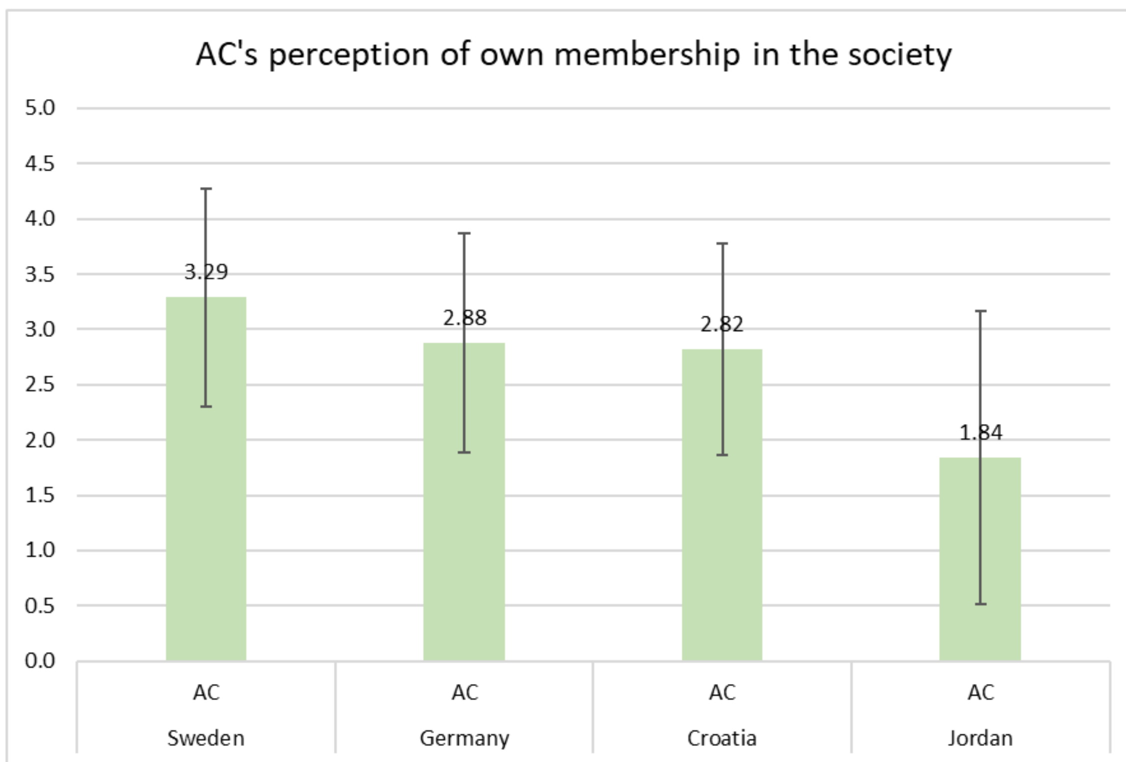


Figure 3-20. Means of the RC respondents' perception of the degree to which the AC are members of the society, and AC respondents' perception of the degree to which they are a part of the society they live in.

Further exploration of the 'sense of society membership' in AC members

Understanding the factors predicting the AC's sense of being a part of the society is important for policies and work in practice. To determine these factors, a two-step regression analysis was conducted using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological factors. Originally, this analysis was conducted on all four AC samples but resulted in counterintuitive results relating the predictor experience of discrimination and the criterion 'sense of society membership' ($\beta=0.265$, $t=10.993$, $p<.001$). Upon closer inspection of the results, it was determined that this positive relationship is caused by the characteristics of these variables in the sample of AC collected in Jordan – both variables were heavily positively asymmetric. In this sample, the respondents answered that they mostly do not experience discrimination, but also that they do not feel a part of the society they live in, which led to a positive and significant correlation.

Because the inclusion of the AC sample collected in Jordan impacted the regression coefficients significantly, especially in the relation of this important predictor and the criterion, an alternative model was tested on a total sample of the AC respondents in Sweden, Germany and Croatia. These results will be described here, are presented in Table 8-64 in the Appendices and visually in Figure 3-21.

Socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the AC respondents were entered in the first step of the analysis, which was significant ($F(13, 849)=10.98$, $p<.01$). A total of 14.4% of the variance of AC sense of society membership was explained with this step.

Socio-psychological indicators of integration were included in the second step of the regression, and this model was statistically better than the model tested in the first step ($F(18, 848)=13.27$, $p<.01$; F change $(5, 848)=11.04$, $p<.01$). Socio-psychological predictors explained an additional 9.4% of the total variance of the sense of society membership. The whole model explained the total of 23.8% of AC respondents' feelings of society membership.

In summary, older AC respondents, those who have stayed in the receiving country longer, those who were more fluent in English and the receiving country language, those who had a higher household income and those who stayed in Croatia (as opposed to Germany) reported they felt like a part of the society they live in more than their counterparts. Furthermore, those who had positive attitudes towards the RC, did not perceive the RC as a threat to their socio-economic wellbeing and personal safety, as well as those who had more acquaintances in the place they live in, were more likely to report that they feel society membership. Experience of discrimination was the strongest socio-psychological predictor, showing intuitive results – respondents who reported that they experience discrimination less were also more likely to report they felt a part of the society.

It is important to note that this set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors accounted for a total of 23.8% of the criterion, around a fourth of the total variance. Other factors influence AC's sense of society membership. One possible factor could be the desire to return to the home country, which could impact the feeling of belonging/being a part of the society in which the AC currently lives. Some previous studies showed that the experience of discrimination, the most prominent predictor in our analysis, is influential, but not the sole variable, in explaining the return wishes of refugees (Di Saint Pierre et al., 2015) and expatriates (Wilson et al., 2017). Another could be the quality of relationships with one's group (social bonds), whether their family is with them (family reunification), etc.

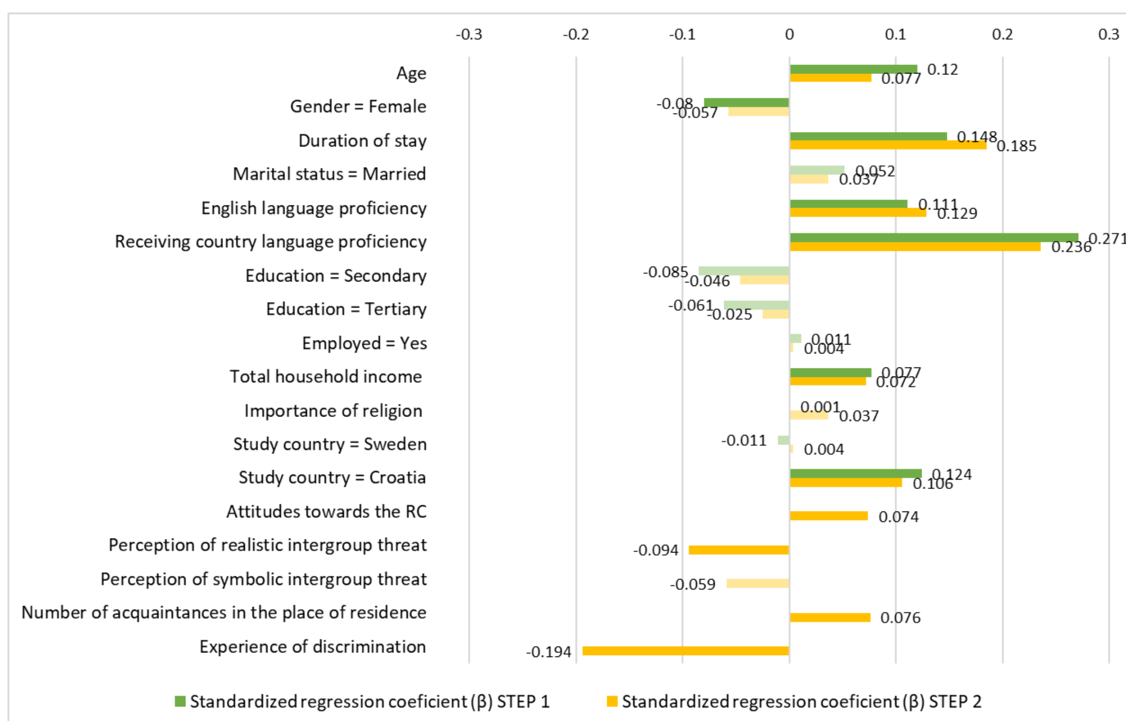


Figure 3-21. Size of effect of individual predictors of AC respondents' sense of belonging to the community (hierarchical regression analysis). Non-significant predictors are presented in a lighter colour. The reference country is Germany. (N=862)

Acculturation preference

Integration is one of the forms of acculturation – a process of change and adaptation of two culturally different groups when they come into close contact. Acculturation applies to both migrant and receiving groups (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Dynamic integration is a two-way process in which both groups adapt and face challenges that are in part common, and in part group-specific. In the earlier understanding of acculturation, integration was defined as maintaining home culture and relating to the dominant culture and seeing integration as a strategy related to least acculturative stress (Berry et al., 1987). However, integration often competes with a receiving communities' emphasis on assimilation (Hogg & Vaughan, 2005). Other types of acculturation – assimilation and separation, imply that the RC is static, while the AC is active. Assimilation is a process in which the AC disowns their culture and ways of life to fully adapt to RC's ways of functioning. In the process of separation, the AC preserves their culture but is forced to separate from the majority to do so. Neither of these two forms of acculturation leads to positive outcomes for both groups.

The RC and the AC respondents were asked to choose one of three statements describing different types of acculturation, with the RC choosing the strategy the AC should take, and the AC choosing the strategy they as a group should take: 'Refugees/We should: relinquish original and adopt /country/ culture', 'Refugees/We should: maintain original and adopt /country/ culture' or 'Refugees/We should: maintain original and not adopt /country/ culture'. For each study country, '/country/' was replaced with the respective country, e.g. 'Croatian'.

Frequencies are presented in Table 8-67 in the Appendices.

In both communities and in all four countries the approach of maintaining the original culture and adopting the RC's national culture was the dominant choice, reflecting an extremely high acceptance of this as the preferred type of acculturation.

A difference was found between the RC respondents in Croatia, Germany, Sweden and Jordan in the acculturation strategies they believe the AC members should adopt ($\chi^2(6, 3004)=248.68$, $p<.01$). The same result was found for the AC respondents in the four countries ($\chi^2(6, 1839)=41.54$, $p<.01$).

A visual presentation of thepercentage of each choice is shown in Figure 3-22. A great majority of respondents in all samples prefer the integration strategy to the other two. Around 10% of the RC respondents in Croatia and Sweden chose the assimilation strategy. Around 15% of the RC respondents from Jordan supported that the AC maintain their culture and does not adopt Jordanian culture, but this result should be interpreted in the light of the cultural similarity between Syrians and Jordanians.

Even though the AC also preferred maintaining their own and adopting the receiving community culture, more respondents in Jordan, Croatia and Germany thought they should maintain their original culture and not adopt the receiving country culture than those who believed they should relinquish their original culture. This trend was more prominent in Croatia, Germany and Jordan than in Sweden. Still, the differences are small and visible in Figure 3-22.

In summary, the RC and the AC agree on integration being the most desirable outcome and a great majority of the respondents chose this type of acculturation strategy as one the AC should adopt. In the process of dynamic integration, these results are promising but do little if the reality does not accompany them. Because our findings point to a complex nature of the socio-psychological integration, with some findings confirming the existing research and theory, and some adding new insights, it is important to view integration from different disciplinary and methodological perspectives. FOCUS follows up on that through the qualitative cross-site study presented in this report.

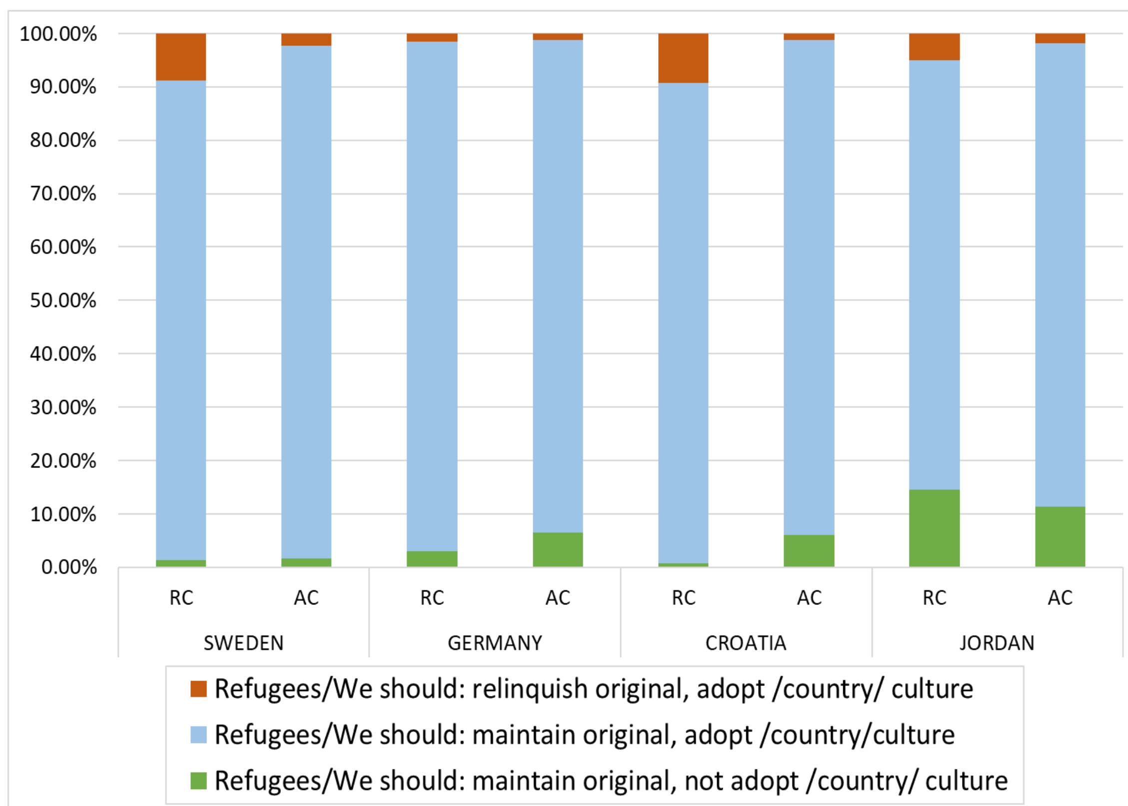


Figure 3-22. Visual comparison of the percentage of respondents who chose each of the three types of acculturation strategies of arriving community members.

HIGHLIGHTS

- While AC respondents in all countries showed positive attitudes towards the RC, RC respondents tended to have a more neutral stance in Croatia and Jordan, to a moderately positive stance in Germany and Sweden.
- The RC respondents from Sweden, Germany and Croatia did not believe that the AC is a part of their societies to a great degree, even though the AC in those countries felt like they did belong and were a part of the society they now live in. Interestingly, even though the RC in Jordan believed that the AC are a great part of their society, the AC reported lower levels of sense of social membership in comparison to other study countries.
- The RC and AC in Sweden, Germany and Croatia statistically significantly differed in the levels of perceived threat, with the RC reporting higher levels of threat to their culture, customs and way of life (perception of symbolic threat), and AC feeling that their socio-economic wellbeing might be at risk (perception of realistic threat). In Jordan, a country in which the cultural differences between the RC and AC are smaller in comparison to the European countries, the trend was shown to be the opposite, with the perception of socio-economic threat more salient to the RC than the AC.
- As expected, the AC had more frequent contact with the RC than the other way around and had proportionally more RC in their social networks than vice-versa. The intergroup contact reported by the RC was generally rare and was statistically significantly least frequent in Croatia.
- The AC respondents reported they experience discrimination quite rarely, while the RC in all countries estimated that the AC experience discrimination more often than the AC reported. These results must be interpreted with caution, as they might reflect the unwillingness of the AC to report unpleasant encounters with the RC, thus downplaying the severity of these experiences.
- The findings of characteristics of the RC and AC that hinder or facilitate socio-psychological integration supports previous empirical findings and theoretical postulates.

Table 3-4 summarises the analyses of group differences across four study sites for all socio-psychological indicators of integration.

Table 3-4. Summary of analyses of group differences between four study countries in all socio-psychological indicators of integration. All tests of group differences were significant.

Integration indicator	Samples	Statistical differences among countries	Meaning of the higher score
Attitudes towards the other group	RC	Germany > Sweden > Jordan > Croatia	More positive attitudes towards the AC.
	AC	Croatia > Jordan Germany > Jordan Sweden = Germany, Croatia, Jordan	More positive attitudes towards the RC.
Support for rights of the AC	RC	Germany > Sweden = Jordan > Croatia	Grater support for the rights of the AC.
Knowledge of personal rights	AC	Germany = Jordan > Sweden > Croatia	Greater knowledge of personal rights and entitlements as AC members.
Perception of realistic intergroup threat	RC	Jordan > Croatia > Sweden > Germany	Greater perception of the realistic threat.
	AC	Sweden = Germany > Croatia > Jordan	Greater perception of the realistic threat.
Perception of symbolic intergroup threat	RC	Croatia > Sweden = Jordan > Germany	Greater perception of the symbolic threat.
	AC	Sweden = Germany, Croatia Germany > Croatia > Jordan Sweden > Jordan	Greater perception of the symbolic threat.
Readiness to assist the AC	RC	Jordan > Germany > Sweden > Croatia	Greater readiness to assist the AC.
Perception of RC's readiness to assist the AC	AC	Jordan > Germany > Sweden Croatia = Sweden, Germany, Jordan	Perception of RC being more willing to assist the AC.
Quantity of intergroup contact	RC	Sweden = Jordan > Germany > Croatia	More frequent contact with the AC.
	AC	Jordan > Croatia > Sweden = Germany	More frequent contact with the RC.
Quality of intergroup contact	RC	Germany = Croatia Croatia = Sweden Germany > Sweden > Jordan Croatia > Jordan	More pleasant contact with the AC.
	AC	Sweden = Croatia = Germany > Jordan	More pleasant contact with the RC.
Social proximity towards the members of the other group	RC	Germany > Sweden > Jordan > Croatia	Closer social proximity towards the AC.
	AC	Jordan = Croatia > Sweden Jordan > Germany Croatia = Germany > Sweden	Closer social proximity towards the RC.
Perception of discrimination of the AC	RC	Sweden = Germany > Croatia > Jordan	Perception of AC being more discriminated against.
Experience of discrimination	AC	Germany, Sweden, Croatia > Jordan Germany > Croatia	Experiencing more discrimination.
Perception of society membership of the AC	RC	Jordan > Sweden > Germany > Croatia	Perception of AC being a greater part of the society.

Perception of personal society membership	AC	Sweden > Croatia = Germany > Jordan Sweden > Germany	Feeling like a part of the society to a greater degree.
Number of members of the other group as acquaintances	RC	The non-parametric test is biased against the difference in sample size between the countries.	More AC acquaintances within the social network.
	AC		More RC acquaintances within the social network.
Number of members of the other group as friends	RC		More AC friends within the social network.
	AC		More RC friends within the social network.
Number of members of the other group as people to call for help	RC		More AC members to count on for help.
	AC		More RC members to count on for help.
Preference of acculturation type	RC		1 – maintain original, not accept RC culture 2 – maintain original, accept RC culture 3 – disown original, accept RC culture
	AC		
Prediction of integration of selected indicators		Significant predictors in Step 1	Significant predictors in Step 2
Readiness to assist the AC	RC	Age (-), Female (+), Migration background (+), Importance of religion (+), Sweden (-), Croatia (-), Jordan (+)	Age (+), Migration background (+), Importance of religion (+), Sweden (+), Croatia (+), Jordan (+), Attitudes (+), Support for rights (+), Number of acquaintances (+), Perception of discrimination (+)
Social proximity towards the AC	RC	Age (-), Female (-), Tertiary education (+), Importance of religion (-), Sweden (-), Croatia (-), Jordan (-)	Age (-), Female (-), Sweden (-), Croatia (-), Jordan (-), Attitudes (+), Realistic threat (-), Support for rights (+)
Social proximity towards the RC	AC	Female (-), Marital status (-), Host country language proficiency (+), Secondary education (-), Importance of religion (-), Croatia (+), Jordan (+)	Age (-), Female (-), Duration of stay (+), Marital status (-), Host country language proficiency (+), Importance of religion (-), Croatia (+), Jordan (+), Attitudes (+), Symbolic threat (-)
Perception of own society membership	AC	Age (+), Female (-), Duration of stay (+), English language proficiency (+), Host country language proficiency (+), Total household income (+), Croatia (+)	Age (+), Duration of stay (+), English language proficiency (+), Host country language proficiency (+), Total household income (+), Croatia (+), Attitudes (+), Realistic threat (-), Number of acquaintances (+), Experience of discrimination (-)

Legend: RC – receiving community, AC – arriving community, ‘>’ – statistically greater than, ‘<’ – statistically lesser than, ‘=’ statistically equal to, ‘+’ – positive significant predictor, ‘-’ – negative significant predictor

3.4 Conclusions

The goal of the cross-site analysis of the survey study conducted in Croatia, Germany, Jordan and Sweden was to identify differences and similarities in the socio-economic and socio-psychological dimensions of the integration process. Below we summarize and discuss the main findings of the study by answering each of those questions.

Research questions defined in the D3.1 related to both within-country and between-country analyses, as well as survey, focus group and secondary data. Some questions were related strictly to the within-country analysis and are answered in detail in Deliverable 4.1: Survey of Receiving and Arriving Community and Deliverable 4.2: Qualitative Field Study. The research questions presented and answered in this deliverable are related to cross-country analysis.

What is the socio-economic situation of the AC in the four receiving countries as indicated by newly collected survey data?

We analysed the socio-economic integration of the AC, relative to that of the RC, by looking at their destination country-specific human capital, employment and housing conditions. While the employment situation of our AC respondents, relative to that of the RC respondents, was less favourable in Germany and Sweden than in Croatia and Jordan, the AC in Germany and Sweden indicated living in better housing conditions compared to the AC in the other two countries.

As expected, AC members in Jordan had the highest proficiency in the receiving-country language among the four countries of study but they also reported having the lowest knowledge of English. The means in the command of the local language were also higher in Sweden and Germany than in Croatia. The share of AC respondents who applied for credential recognition and the number of those who got them recognized was considerably higher in Sweden and Germany than in Croatia and Jordan. The fact that Sweden and Germany are considered as final destination countries for many refugees while Croatia is not might explain the higher number of applicants among these countries. Having educational credentials recognized, on the other hand, took longer in Jordan than in the European countries, among which the AC living in Croatia reported the shortest time.

In all countries, the employment gap between the AC and RC at the time of data collection was larger among women than among men. The largest differences in employment rates between AC and RC members, among men and women, were found in Germany and the smallest in Jordan.

The majority of our male and female respondents from the AC were working in middle-skilled occupations when our survey data were collected. This situation compares to that of the male RC respondents in Croatia and Jordan, but not in Germany nor Sweden, where most RC respondents had highly skilled jobs. The occupational level of AC women working in Germany and Sweden was higher than that of AC men. As expected, more men reported being overqualified for their jobs among the AC than among the RC in all countries except for Jordan. Among women the situation was more diverse: the share of AC female respondents in Croatia and Sweden who defined themselves as overqualified for their jobs was larger than among the female RC, while in Germany it was the opposite.

AC members were more satisfied with their jobs in the three European countries than in Jordan, which is probably explained by the existence of better general working conditions in such countries as compared to Jordan.

As expected, employed RC men had higher net earnings and total income than AC men in all four countries analysed. Germany had the largest share of AC respondents, followed by Croatia, being paid government benefits at the time of data collection; Jordan had the lowest share among men and Sweden among women. There is a remarkable difference in the share of the AC respondents who reported being recipients of a government allowance between Sweden and the rest of the countries, which is probably explained by the high number of AC members receiving an allowance for participating in the introduction or other employment programmes, and for housing.

©FOCUS Consortium

The main conclusion of this study regarding the labour market participation of the AC is that differences in employment rates and overall employment situation, including overqualification, between the RC and the AC remain a few years after migration. Limited country-specific human capital, lack of networks including RC members and discrimination are commonly associated with a disadvantageous labour market position among immigrants (Behtoui, 2007; Carlsson, 2007; Irastorza and Bevelander 2021). Policy initiatives fighting discrimination and increasing the interrelations between the RC and the AC are needed to reduce these gaps.

The most salient differences, at the time of the survey, in the overall score of the quality of the neighbourhood between the AC and the RC are observed for Sweden and Croatia and the smallest in Germany. Regarding the housing conditions of the AC, the largest cross-country differences are as follows: the share of people who lived in overcrowded dwellings was high in all countries but particularly in Croatia and Jordan; more than half of the AC respondents in Jordan indicated their dwellings needed major repairs; the majority of the AC had a permanent housing contract in Germany and Sweden, while only one-fifth of them was in the same situation in Croatia or Jordan; finally, the share of AC respondents who reported being overburdened with the price of their rent is quite high in all countries. Considering that some of them live in housing provided by the state, greater efforts should be made to offer more affordable and suitable solutions to AC individuals and families with different needs.

What are the main factors correlating with the socio-economic status of the AC?

As revealed by our regression analysis, living in Croatia or Sweden, compared to living in Germany, increase AC men and, in particular, AC women's likelihood of being employed whereas living in Jordan does not make a statistically significant difference.

With some exceptions, the usual socio-demographic, migration-related, human capital and health-related variables do not explain the AC women's probability to find employment. Despite the increasing number of public and private initiatives implemented in the last few years to improve immigrant women's disadvantaged position in receiving countries, women's employment, earnings and occupational status remain lower than those of male migrants and native men and women (Irastorza, 2020). Considering that migration and integration take place in a family context, several voices have suggested that integration policies should adopt a whole of a family perspective (Burkert, 2020; Cashaback, 2020; Liebig, 2020; Schröder, 2020). This approach includes considerations on migrant women's family situation and obligations and the possibility of designing more individualised integration programmes beyond the first few years after migration.

How do the RC members perceive the socio-economic situation of the AC in the receiving communities?

Our findings have shown that the RC members across the four countries in most cases might not be well-informed about the real socio-economic situation of the AC members and, therefore, have a rather distorted perception of the refugees' educational level, occupational status, welfare assistance and housing conditions (as compared to the self-reported data provided by the AC respondents in our sample). In particular, RC members in Sweden, Germany and Croatia largely underestimate the educational level of the AC in their countries and are generally unaware of the heterogeneity within the AC's educational background. Likewise, the RC's opinions concerning the AC's current occupation status in the four countries do not correspond to the self-reported employment situation of the refugees and tend to reflect more negative perceptions of their situation among the RC. In a similar vein, the RC members across the four countries largely overestimate the percentage of the AC members who receive welfare assistance. Finally, while the RC respondents in Croatia greatly underestimate the housing crowdedness in which AC members live, their counterparts in Sweden and Germany overestimate the crowdedness of AC members' dwellings.

Taken together, our data have revealed that the RC members might not always be well-informed about the socio-economic situation of the AC, and, thus, might have inaccurate knowledge of their socio-economic background. These findings are in line with prior research indicating that only a small number of the EU citizens perceive themselves as well-informed about immigration and integration-

related matters (European Commission, 2018). Alternatively, this could also be related to the fact that only a minor proportion of the RC members in both EU and non-EU countries report having frequent interactions with immigrant-origin individuals (European Commission, 2018). Our findings should be informative in the context of interventions in the refugee-receiving countries which could lead to the RC' better understanding of the socio-economic situation of the AC members and the underlying causes that have led to this situation.

How do RC members perceive the socio-economic impact of refugee migration and integration on receiving communities?

The cross-country comparisons of the RC members' perceptions of the socio-economic impact of the AC have revealed some similarities and differences among the four countries. More specifically, the RC respondents' perceptions of the refugees' impact on labour market competition, labour shortage, economic growth, state revenues, government spending and taxes were generally on the positive side in Germany and Sweden. These findings might be explained by a generally good macroeconomic situation in these countries and relatively high living standards. As suggested by recent research (Heizmann & Huth, 2021), perceiving immigrants as an economic threat tends to be less pronounced in wealthier countries (e.g., Germany, Sweden) with higher GDP per capita as well as better labour markets and financial conditions. At the same time, the opinions on the socio-economic impact of the AC among their counterparts in Croatia and Jordan varied significantly depending on the analysed indicator. In particular, while the RC respondents' perceptions of the refugees' impact on the labour market competition and increase in their tax payings were generally positive in Croatia, the opinions of the RC members in Jordan were more on the negative side. In addition, their average opinions concerning the economic growth and redistribution of benefits varied from neutral perceptions in Croatia to more negative ones in Jordan. Finally, whereas the RC members' opinions concerning labour shortage and fiscal burden of refugee migration can be described as positive in Jordan, the RC members in Croatia hold more neutral opinions regarding these indicators.

Taken together, high unemployment rates and fragile economic situation in lower-middle-income countries (such as Jordan and Croatia) might have an important role to play in explaining the RC's perceptions of the socio-economic impact of the AC in these counties (Heizmann & Huth, 2021). These findings could also imply that the RC in Croatia and Jordan lack information on the ways the government supports refugees and the sources of funding for integration programmes. Thus, the RC in these countries may also misperceive refugees' positive socio-economic impact on the development of their countries.

What is the nature of intergroup relations between the RC and AC members in the four study sites?

The RC and the AC view their intergroup relations differently. While AC members had positive attitudes towards the RC, RC members tended to have a more neutral stance in Croatia and Jordan, to a moderately positive stance in Germany and Sweden, the countries with a history of inward immigration. The reason behind this ambivalence of the RC in Croatia could be the lack of experience with AC, low knowledge and interest in the AC, and the overall negligible impact of a small number of AC members living in the country. Additionally, the AC is seen as wishing to reach West European countries, considering Croatia is only a transit country. Conversely, AC members held a very positive stance towards the RC and believed that the RC would help them if needed. Still, the RC members from European countries did not believe that the AC is a part of their society to a great degree, even though their AC members feel like they do belong to and are a part of the society they now live in. Interestingly, although the RC in Jordan stood out from RC's in Croatia, Germany and Sweden and believed the AC to be a part of their society to a greater degree, the AC in Jordan reported the lowest sense of belonging to the society in Jordan.

The findings implied that the RC and AC members in all four countries would prefer the AC to maintain their original culture, but adopt some aspects of the receiving country's culture. Integration is a dynamic two-way process for both RC and AC, and allowing the AC to adapt but also to retain their culture will lead to positive outcomes for both groups.

Perception of intergroup threat is an important barrier to socio-psychological integration because of its relation to socio-economic (realistic intergroup threat) and socio-psychological (symbolic intergroup threat) aspects of integration. Both communities felt moderately threatened by each other, although the nature of the perceived threat is different for these two communities. The two groups differed in the dominant type of threat they perceived: the RC members felt their culture, customs, and way of life might be under a threat by AC, and AC members felt their socio-economic wellbeing might be at risk. This trend was observed in European countries. However, in a socio-economically less prosperous country like Jordan, the perception of socio-economic threat was even more salient to the RC than the perception of threat to the customs and way of life. Probably, the circumstances of the increasing pressure of finding and retaining a job affect the RC's reaction to the AC competing in the same labour market segment.

The AC respondents reported they experience discrimination but not constantly. Conversely, the RC in all countries estimated that the AC experience discrimination more than the AC participants in the current study reported. The RC from Sweden, compared to other countries, believed that the AC in Sweden experiences more discrimination, which is in line with the finding that AC in Sweden had the most frequent experiences of discrimination out of four countries. It is possible that AC downplayed their experience of discrimination in the receiving countries by choosing, consciously or unconsciously, socially desirable answers. Since the questionnaire was self-administered in Sweden, it is also possible that this was less often the case than in the other three countries. Moreover, the RC might perceive AC members as the ‘vulnerable refugee’. Either way, it is certain that AC members experience discrimination and that the RC is aware of this to some extent.

To what extent do the RC and the AC interact and what is the nature of these interactions?

As expected based on the size of the groups, the AC reported having more frequent contact with members of the majority group, the RC than vice-versa. AC members interact with the RC from the moment they arrive in the receiving country and continue to do so through different institutions, NGOs, while looking for a job, accommodation, school, etc. The results showed the least intergroup contact in Croatia. Taken together with the RC’s neutral position regarding attitudes towards the AC, support for the AC rights and readiness to assist the AC, indicate that a lack of repeated, consistent and meaningful encounters might result in the RC taking a passive and non-engaging approach to the AC. Broadening and overlapping RC and AC members' social networks is another important aspect of integration. The majority of RC members from all countries reported having none or only a few AC members in their social circle, in comparison to the AC members who had at least a few or even about a half RC members in their social network. Based on exploring the composition of the social networks, their relationships with the AC, if at all, did not go deeper than acquaintanceship.

What are the characteristics of the RC and AC members that hinder or facilitate socio-psychological integration?

We studied the individual characteristics of RC and AC members which could facilitate or hinder socio-psychological integration, to understand what is important for the readiness of the RC to assist the AC, RC’s and AC’s social proximity, and AC’s sense of being a part of the society.

When looking at the factors explaining the differences between RC members’ readiness to assist the AC, several individual characteristics emerged as important. Those RC respondents who had positive attitudes towards the AC, the ones who supported their rights more strongly, and those who believed the AC are exposed to discrimination were more likely to be prepared to offer the AC help if needed. Likewise, older and more religious RC members that have a migration background, and a wider social network, were more likely to say they would reach out to AC members who are in need.

Among individual characteristics predictive of social proximity of the RC towards the AC, findings showed that young people, male respondents, those who lived in Germany, those who had positive attitudes towards the AC, supported their rights and did not believe that AC represent a socio-economic threat to them, were more likely to accept closer types of relationships with members of the AC.

The characteristics of RC members that facilitate socio-psychological integration included generally positive attitudes towards the AC and support for their rights. It is known from the literature that attitudes are influenced primarily by the intergroup contact (e.g. Allport, 1954b; Barlow et al, 2012; Healey et al, 2017), which supports the importance of bringing the RC and the AC together frequently, in an informal, pleasant setting.

Similarly, the factors explaining the differences among the AC members in their social proximity towards the RC members were explored. Factors related to AC members' preference for closed social proximity with members of RC were being younger, male, single, being less religious, staying in the receiving country longer and being fluent in the receiving country's language. Additionally, positive attitudes towards RC members and perceiving the receiving country as a place where one can freely practice own culture and customs were predictive of the willingness of AC respondents to engage in closer, more intimate types of relationships with members of the RC, such as romantic interest or family membership.

Finally, we studied the factors predicting the sense of being a part of the society in the AC members across four countries. Findings show that staying in the receiving country for a longer period, speaking both English and receiving country's language more fluently, being older, having a higher income and more acquaintances are all important factors that could promote a sense of belonging – being a part of the society, in AC members. Likewise, those AC members that had migrated to Croatia, in comparison to the AC in Germany, Sweden and Jordan, felt more like a part of the society they now live in. Having positive attitudes towards the RC and the absence of threat to socio-economic wellbeing and personal safety were also related to the sense of being a part of the community. Experience of discrimination had a strong negative relation to the AC's feelings of society membership, which is especially concerning as the findings may indicate that the AC downplayed their experiences of discrimination by indicating that they occur less frequently than we would expect based on the input of the AC in our focus group (see the following report: Cross-site analysis of qualitative data), or previous data (FOCUS, 2020).

 ©FOCUS Consortium

4. Report: Cross-site analysis of qualitative (focus group) data

4.1 Introduction

This report presents the findings of the cross-site analysis of qualitative field research conducted in Jordan, Croatia, Germany and Sweden. It builds on the country-level results published previously (D4.2 Qualitative field study). The aims of the qualitative research in FOCUS was to supplement, deepen as well as enable triangulation of the findings of the project's quantitative survey and secondary data analysis.

The following research questions (defined in D3.1 Research design and methodology) were linked to the qualitative field study:

- What is the nature of intergroup relations between RC and AC in four study sites?
- To what extent do RC and AC interact and what is the nature of these interactions?
- What are the characteristics of RC and AC that hinder or facilitate socio-psychological integration?
- How is the RC's perception of socio-economic integration of the AC and their perception of the impact of AC migration related to RCs' socio-psychological relations with AC?
- How is the socio-economic situation of the AC related to their socio-psychological integration?

This report is structured into three sections: research methodology, results and conclusion.

4.2 Research methodology

The research questions and methodology were outlined in D3.1 *Research design and methodology*. General and country-specific procedures and challenges have been described in detail in D4.2 *Qualitative field study*. In this report, the methodology will be briefly summarized again as it sets the background of the cross-site analysis which is the subject of this report.

4.2.1 Data collection

Six focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted in each country, three with each community (AC and RC) with the exception of Croatia where only two AC FGDs were realized due to COVID-19 restrictions. Their length was set to a maximum of 120 minutes including a short break with four to eight participants of mixed-gender in each group. In Jordan, Germany and Sweden, an Arabic speaking moderator facilitated the FGDs with the AC, whereas in Croatia an Arabic interpreter was included. As a mitigation measure required because of the COVID-19 pandemic, the FGDs in Sweden were conducted virtually.

In each site, participants were recruited with the primary aim of achieving a heterogeneous group rather than a representative one, as heterogeneity in qualitative research is essential to grasp all significant phenomena regardless of the frequency of a certain phenomenon. As research contexts varied between the sites, recruitment strategies had to be adjusted accordingly. Sample sizes differed from one site to another, which was anticipated considering the different circumstances and contexts of each site. . Table 4-1 entails information on the gender and number of participants in each site. Information regarding participants' socio-demographics is attached as an appendix to the report (see Appendices). For reflections on the sampling limitations, please refer to D4.2.

Table 4-1. Participants' sociodemographics in all sites.

Country		Croatia		Germany		Jordan		Sweden	
Community		RC	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC
Participants	Total	21	11	12	19	26	22	12	12
	Male	8	5	6	12	12	8	5	7
	Female	13	6	6	7	14	14	7	5
	Diverse	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

After the participants gave their informed consent, the moderator opened the discussion by posing the following introductory questions:

- For the RC, e.g. 'For you personally, how did with the integration of host- and refugee community from Syria in (city name) and (country name) evolve?'
- For the AC, e.g. 'How integrated do you feel in (city name) and (country name)?'

Furthermore, the following guiding questions were formulated to keep the focus on the relevant topics:

- 'To you, what does "integration" mean?'
- 'What would it look like if it was working perfectly?'
- 'What do you think are the biggest barriers to this?'
- 'You can go ahead and elaborate on any ideas, even if they seem illusory.'
- 'For you personally and for the city/country as a whole, what impact do you think that the integration of refugees from Syria will have?'

The role of the moderator was defined to remain in an inquisitive, yet non-judgmental stance using specific techniques of 'the pause'; waiting before intervening, and 'the probe'; a request for further information in case the discussion started to stagnate.

It is important to note at this stage, that the usage of language is a sensitive issue. In general, Jordan does not operate within the same framework of objectives and responsibilities for migration. From a legal policy perspective, Jordan's official policy guiding the conditions of migrants residing in Jordan is defined by its government as an 'empowerment' approach as detailed in D3.1 *Research design and methodology*. However, in this research 'integration' is used as a term that is both relevant and understandable in the Jordanian context. In the focus groups, participants actively engaged with discussions about 'integration' and, as the data gathered in the discussions shows, there was a high level of comparability with themes that emerged in the FGDs held in the three EU countries.

4.2.2 Data analysis

The recorded FGDs were transcribed, translated into English and these verbatim transcripts were analysed using 'Thematic Analysis' (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Terry, Hayfield, Clarke, & Braun, (2017) with the support of the software NVivo 12 (QSR International, 2019) or MAXQDA (VERBI Software, 2019/20). A taxonomy that defines the elements of analysis on different levels of abstraction structured the analysis and is presented here:

- Unit of analysis – empirical anchor in the material capturing a clear thought.
- Code – comprehensible representation of the unit of analysis.
- Category – aggregation of single codes
- Theme – structuring of several categories.
- Coding frame – a hierarchical structure of themes, categories and codes
- Memo - A note from the researcher, description to guide all researchers.

During the coding procedure on the country level, the following steps were implemented:

- *Step 1:* Units of analysis were determined and their meanings were captured by a unique code. Units of analysis reflecting the same meaning were represented by the same code. Novel thoughts and concepts were grasped by new codes, that added further information to the coding frame.

  FFZG provided a sample coding of their first two transcripts including the preliminary codes and categories. HU/CHAR coded their material with these preliminary codes adding further codes and suggesting minor changes to the existing codes in meaning and/or structure. Both codes and categories were clearly described in memos and shared with all partners. Each partner coded two FGDs and sent them to HU/CHAR for data integration including their suggestions for changes to the coding frame.
- *Step 2:* In a first coding workshop in September, all involved partners shared their experience with the preliminary coding frame. After that, individual codings were discussed in the group to align the understanding of the codes and the individual researchers' coding styles. Furthermore, the researchers had the chance to present difficult passages of their material for mutual coding. As a result of the workshop, new codes were added to the preliminary coding frame. Subsequently, each partner recoded one FGD and coded one new FGD to test the new coding frame. The results were then sent to HU/CHAR for data integration.
- *Step 3:* In a second follow-up virtual workshop, the further need to add codes was discussed. When a new code was proposed, the group carefully looked into individual codings to evaluate if new distinct information was grasped by the code. As a next step, a hierarchical structure developed by HU/CHAR was debated and commented on by all partners. Following the workshop, each partner coded two more transcripts for a further test of the coding frame. HU/CHAR integrated the data of all partners.
- *Step 4:* The final coding frame with minimal adjustments on the definition of codes and revision of the structure was fixed in a third coding workshop. Thereafter, all partners (re-)coded all their material.
- *Step 5:* As a last measure, all researchers joined to revisit codings that were identified as requiring clarification at a later stage of analysis. This resulted in no further changes to the coding frame as the information could be captured by existing codes or was identified to be irrelevant.

For the purpose of the cross-site analysis, HU/CHAR researchers started a process of oscillating between the information as presented in the country chapters of D4.2 and delving into the units of analysis of the respective code. By doing so, common patterns and site-specific aspects were differentiated and drafted in text form. After completion, each theme was circulated among the research partners for review purposes. Comments and feedback were incorporated and if needed researchers engaged in further discussion until a consensus was reached.

During data analysis, academic concepts were used to explore and structure the data. These sensitizing concepts will be briefly summarized below.

4.2.3 Sensitizing concepts

Within qualitative research, sensitizing concepts have been introduced in demarcation to definitive concepts (Blumer, 1954). They serve as guiding notions to facilitate the exploration process without limiting the analysis to a rigid theoretical and conceptual framework. In the following section, prominent definitions and central empirical findings related to the sensitizing concepts used are presented.

Integration

The definition of integration is highly contested. The term is commonly used to describe what is actually assimilation (e.g., Bowskill, Lyons, & Coyle, 2007), i.e., a one-way process by which newcomers adapt to receiving societies. A primary critical concern with this approach is that it shifts responsibility to the newcomers (Castles, Korac, Vasta et al. 2002; Goodman & Kirkwood, 2019) without considering societal factors that might facilitate or hinder integration. This approach implies that newcomers should discard their own culture while assuming that of the receiving society to be homogeneously mono-cultural.

The European Union's official definition sees integration as a two-way process (e.g., European Commission, 2020), however it is believed that projects funded by the EU's AMIF fund tend to to focus primarily on the AC's adaptation to the RC, which is an example of the factor that dynamic integration is often not translated into practice (Sebastiani & Martín-Godoy, 2020). In a more holistic and multidimensional definition, integration is a complex two-way process in which both AC and RC members must adapt to each other (Bakker, Dagevos, & Engbersen, 2014; Castles et al., 2002). In their 'Indicators of Integration framework', Ager, Strang and colleagues (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019, see also Ager & Strang, 2008) identify four dimensions organizing 14 key domains, which they find central to assessing the status and progress of integration, as explained earlier:

I. Foundation contains the core domain of 'Rights and responsibilities', which refers to expectations, obligations and entitlements from the perspective of both RC and AC as well as national residence and citizenship rights.
II. Facilitators include the five core domains or competencies and factors of 'Language and communication', 'Culture', 'Digital skills', 'Safety' and 'Stability' that enable the integration process.
III. Social connections entail the three different domains or forms of relationship and social connection that are central to integration:
    a. 'Social bonds' acknowledge the benefits of building relationships with others that share a sense of identity.
    b. 'Social bridges' connect people of different backgrounds.
    c. 'Social links' explore access and interaction with institutions, local and government services.
IV. Means and markers summarize the domains of 'Work', 'Housing', 'Education', 'Health and social services' and 'Leisure' in their functions to both constitute a measure as well as enable integration.

In addition to the multi-dimensionality, the authors defined three key principles of integration, namely the multi-directionality, context-specificity and the shared responsibility of integration. A concise operationalization of the approach would require an assessment of these indicators in the RC and AC on an equal basis.

Culture

The concept of culture has undergone several re-definitions over time and across disciplines. A conventional approach conceptualizes culture as learned behaviour transmitted from one generation to the next, with the function of adapting to given socio-economic contexts (Samovar & Porter, 2004; Keller, 2007). Another common understanding is that culture implies both external/material aspects like activities, artefacts and institutions, and internal/symbolic representations such as values, beliefs, and interpretations (Triandis & Brislin, 1984; Samovar & Porter, 2004; Keller, 2007). The concepts of *Habitus* and cultural capital presented by Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 2021) combine both perspectives and emphasize the significance of culture in the reproduction of social structure and inequality.

In the context of migration, the prolonged process by which a group of individuals comes into contact with a new culture is referred to as acculturation (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovtis, 1936). Berry's (1997) conceptualization of acculturation moves beyond the simplistic dichotomy of either retaining the original culture or assimilating to the RC's culture. It involves four acculturation strategies: assimilation

(immersion in the new culture, detachment from the original culture), separation (adherence to one's original culture, rejection of the new culture), integration (seeking to balance both cultures), and marginalization (rejecting both cultures).

The literature identifies cultural distance as a critical factor influencing acculturation. The greater the perceived gap between the original and receiving cultures, the more difficult it is for AC members to adjust to the new environment, often resulting in higher levels of psychological distress (Galchenko & Van de Vijver, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009). Also important is the RC's approach to acculturation. When the RC's mainstream culture attempts to adopt aspects of the migrants' culture, it tends to result in more favourable attitudes and behaviour towards AC members (Geschke, Mummendey, Kessler et al., 2010).

Religion

In the past, scholars defined religion as the relationship with God, the belief in supernatural forces, or as a personification of natural forces (Pivovarov, 2015). Recent research, however, aimed to define religion more holistically. Pivovarov (2015) provides a compact definition of religion "as a form of individual and public consciousness which sacralizes the human relationship with the Absolute" (p. 52).

The association between religion/religious piety and social participation has been prominent in research long before the discussion on integration and migration became a coveted topic. It can be traced back to Max Weber's writings on the protestant work ethic (Weber, 2016 [1904-1920]). Religion, and Islam in particular (Buijs and Rath, 2006), has been increasingly studied as a marker of social identity (e.g., Safak, Kunuroglu, van de Vijver et al., 2020) and as a predictor of integration trajectory (Beek & Fleischmann, 2020; Connor & Koenig, 2013, 2015; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012; Lindley, 2002). The social context appears to mediate this association: In North America, religion tends to be viewed as a facilitator of integration, while the role of religion, especially Islam, as a source of conflict that undermines integration efforts is emphasized in research in European contexts (Foner & Alba, 2008).

There are various explanations for these discrepancies, including differences in the meaning attributed to religion in these places due to different historical processes. In Western Europe, secularization is often mentioned as an explanatory factor (ibid.). The role that religion plays in perpetuating social boundaries has been compared by Foner (2015) to the role race plays in deepening social cleavages in the US.

Perception of threat

Perception of threat is an extensively studied construct as a potential predictor of negative attitudes and behaviour towards outgroup members in intergroup relations.

Researchers of socio-psychological integration are particularly interested in two types of perceived threat: perception of realistic threat (related to socio-economic resources) and perception of symbolic threat (related to culture and religion). Perception of realistic threat is the sense of danger to political/economic power and physical wellbeing posed by outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Perception of symbolic threat implies that differences in morals, values, norms, and beliefs are seen as detrimental to one's own group's wellbeing (ibid.). The symbolic threat emerged as a better predictor of attitudes towards outgroup members in a study conducted by Schweitzer et al. (2005). However, when both types interact, they are found to be strongly associated with negative attitudes.

Other studies have further highlighted realistic threat perception as being influenced by local/regional events (see Braithwaite, Chu, Curtis et al., 2019), and that threat perception may differ according to the group in mind (e.g., higher towards irregular migrants) (Murray & Marx, 2013). Nevertheless, research has focused more on explaining the manifestation of this construct in majority groups (i.e., RC). Its relevance to understanding attitudes and behaviour of minority groups is being researched in FOCUS for the first time.

Racism and discrimination

The concept of racism allows for the inclusion of psycho-historical and power dimensions in one's understanding of intergroup relations. In its early definitions, social scientists viewed racism as an ideological phenomenon. Later, the development of alternative institutionalist and racial formation perspectives facilitated an understanding of racism as a systemic feature of the social order of states and societies (Bonilla-Silva, 1997).

Embedded in social structures at all levels (economic, political, social, and ideological), racial categories and inequalities are rationalized and naturalized (i.e., become understood as natural rather than stemming from power structures and racial domination). Bonilla-Silva (2015: p.74) also described several characteristics of racism including its organization around material reality and the existence of a perceived "racial order" expressed through overt, covert, and normative behaviours. According to this approach, race should be understood as a social and relational construct with no biological or genetic basis.

Balibar (1991: p.21) proposed a framework of "racism without race", demonstrating that the characterization and hierarchization of social groups may stem from social boundary markers that go beyond race to include culture and religion. In other words, this type of racism is inscribed in practices, discourses and representations that revolve around the ideation of "preserving one's own or ´our´ identity" (p.17–18) and rests on beliefs such as "the insurmountably of cultural differences", "the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions", and the "harmfulness of abolishing frontiers" (p.21).

It becomes apparent that there is an interplay to be considered between the perception of threat and racism. It is important to note as well, that much of the theoretical debate about racism is confined to the Western context and there is a dearth of theoretical work on how racism functions outside the Western world. Based on Bonilla-Silva conceptualisation of racism, the historical perspective is a prerequisite when talking about racism. Considering the distinct historical context of Jordan, we choose to use the term discrimination rather than racism, when talking about the unequal legal rights granted to Syrian refugees in comparison to Jordanians. This does not imply that we negate the existence of racism in the Jordanian context, but rather that we decide to be conscious about the usage of the term racism outside the Western context without a theoretical foundation.

Language

Language is central to the discourse on integration. Although governmental institutions advocate bilingual competence as a relevant and desired factor for educational and professional success (Esser, 2006), some social scientists see conceptual problems in European language policies.

In Germany, for example, political discourses support "emancipatory liberalism", an approach that requires immigrants to learn German to exercise their political rights and become autonomous individuals (Oers, Ersbøll, & Kostakopoulou, 2010: p. 72). It has been argued that this approach assumes the RC to be linguistically homogeneous and makes monolingualism a salient normative ideology necessary for identity construction (Hogan-Brun, Mar-Molinero, & Stevenson, 2009).

Furthermore, there seems to be a hierarchy of languages. For instance, the M+2 principle (mother tongue + two other languages) advocated by the EU (Council of the European Union, 2012) seems to function differently in the case of migrants for whom 'M' mainly refers to the national language rather than their mother tongue (Hogan-Brun et al., 2009). Significantly, the term 'language deficit' applies to national language skills without considering the knowledge of other languages.

Researchers have thus argued that language regimes have become powerful instruments for migration control, preventing migrants from accessing vital and emancipatory resources (see Oers et al., 2010).

4.3 Results

In the following section, we describe the results of cross-site analysis of the qualitative field study starting with the theme "perspectives on integration" followed by the themes "on intergroup relations", "avenues for integration: barriers & facilitators" and "power, cultural, social and geographical struggles and rapprochements". Table 4-2 provides an overview of the themes and categories (for a representation of the coding frame including the level of codes see D4.2 Qualitative Field Study: p. 18/19).

Under each theme and its respective categories, main comparisons, common patterns and core contradictions are summarized (see green boxes) before country-specific information is presented and incorporated into a concluding hypothesis, in case of data saturation. Given the relevance of the Ager and Strang model (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019) for the overall FOCUS project, converging and diverging factors with this model will be explored.

Table 4-2. General overview of themes and categories.

Theme	Category
Perspectives on integration	How integration evolved so far
	Feeling integrated
	Understandings of ideal integration
	Responsible actors
	Future effects
On intergroup relations	Attitudes and perceptions towards the out-group
	Perception of threat
	Self-perception of one's own group
	Intergroup contact
	Partnerships
	Intergroup feelings
	Intragroup relations
	Behaviour and behavioural intentions
Avenues for negotiating integration	Barriers to integration
	Facilitators of integration
	Legal and institutional barriers
	Individual, social and economic resources
Power, cultural, social and geographical struggles and rapprochements	Racism and discrimination
	Culture
	Religion
	Language
	Locality

4.3.1 Perspectives on integration

The first theme "perspectives on integration" contains perceptions and reflections on the term and process of integration in general. It entails five different categories: "how integration has evolved so far", "feeling integrated", "understandings of ideal integration" and respective "responsible actors". The theme ends with the code "future effects".

Compared to the Ager and Strang model, this theme organizes the participants' abstract reflections covering broad assessments on all dimensions and domains of integration with a focus on "Rights and responsibilities".

How integration evolved so far

In reaction to the opening questions, many AC participants made broad statements about how integration developed in the last years. The results indicate a gap or a need not only for information on the status of integration but also for dialogue between both communities on how integration has evolved so far and why it unfolded the way it did.

In the Croatian FGDs, some RC participants held a positive view on the status of the integration processes, but the further detail in the discussions demonstrated the continued need for improving important social links and participation in certain markers and means. They linked this to the low number of AC members residing in Croatia. AC members' accounts were very limited, with the main underlying message being that integration has improved over time.

In Germany, RC members described the integration process as initially chaotic and overstraining. Those with a migratory background expressed discontent and disappointment that Germany, as a country with decades of (flight) migration, did not learn from preceding migration movements and did not develop better procedures and programmes ('Social links') to prevent social segregation. The RC participants also voiced their strong concerns about rising anti-immigrant sentiments and the popularity of right-wing extremist political parties. The AC participants, in contrast, described a process of habituation and experiences of rejection and acceptance and assessed their adaptation efforts in everyday life based on personal examples and experiences.

RC participants in Sweden problematized what they perceived to be the increasing polarization and segregation between the RC and AC, a situation which they felt has been deteriorating since 2015. The impact of this societal and political 'climate change' was found not to be limited to the AC from Syria but to include all migrant groups. AC members highlighted their struggles to integrate with the somewhat hesitant and reserved RC and explained how this posed a barrier to their integration.

In Jordan, RC participants voiced contradictory views regarding the course of the integration process. On the one hand, they said that they have overcome their initial hesitations and developed strong intergroup relationships ('Social bridges), facilitated by a shared religious and cultural background. On the other hand, participants from Zarqa and Irbid stated how their attitudes had changed after the reallocation of international aid towards the AC and the rise in economic competition. In contrast, AC members emphasized how initial rejection and discrimination by the RC had ceased, showing appreciation and gratitude for the RC's support. The positive perception of the quality of contact with the RC was reflected in their use of family metaphors.

Feeling integrated

Different from the previous category, this one informs about the affective representation of feeling integrated. The following aspects were identified as contributing to the feeling of being integrated: language skills/proficiency in the official language of the receiving country, having a job, and being embedded in a social network. Though not as evident as in Jordan's FGDs, developing a sense of belonging seemed to be a delicate tipping point in feeling integrated for ACs in Europe, as only the RC seemed to feel entitled to claim a sense of belonging.

Across all sites, some AC participants quantified the extent to which they feel integrated by speaking in terms ofpercentages. For example, "100%" for some participants meant being like the RC in some aspects, for others, this indication seemed to demand being fully assimilated into the RC. Assimilation in this context means giving up one's own culture and way of life and adopting those of the RC.

In Croatia, AC participants identified economic autonomy as the basis for feeling integrated but joked about being like 'Croats' because of their similar desire to migrate to an economically more prosperous European country. In Germany, AC and RC participants with migration backgrounds stated that feeling integrated goes beyond mere socio-economic integration. Their accounts alluded to what is known as a 'sense of belonging'. They stressed the fragile nature of this feeling is as it may be easily denied by those who claim themselves native and thus entitled to determine who belongs to their society. AC members in Sweden discussed different levels of feeling integrated as different stages of

adaptation or transformation. For some participants, this resulted in a tension between their pre-migratory and new social identity in Sweden, which undermined their feeling of being integrated.

The discussions around the notion of mutual integration and a sense of belonging seemed to be way more complex in Jordan. Some AC members explicitly mentioned having developed a sense of belonging. Others were more hesitant or claimed that this feeling was stronger among their children. At the same time, others highlighted how the legal discrimination against refugees limited their ability to integrate and/or feel integrated. RC members voiced contradictory views; some claimed to feel a family-like bond, while others saw a clear division between the two communities, with the 'Jordanians' claiming a sense of ownership over Jordan.

Especially when it comes to developing a sense of belonging, some challenges arise with regards to the question of how to align the asymmetry arising from the unequal social positioning of the RC and AC, with the concept of dynamic integration.

Understandings of ideal integration

Different ways of understanding integration emerged without reaching the level of characterizing a shared typology of distinct definitions of integration. Participants' statements highlighted one aspect or characteristic feeding into a certain way of conceptualizing integration on a more abstract level. The different forms emphasize various core ideas and assign different levels of responsibility to the actors. In the terminology of Ager and Strang, this category explores the `Dimensions' or 'Domains of integration' participants perceived as most important and the responsibilities they inferred from this understanding.

Certain ways of understanding integration seemed to be more dominant in different sites. In German FGDs, participants from both communities repeatedly rejected the term integration or at least demanded a clear definition of it.

Socio-economic Integration

In this conceptualization, integration has been defined along the lines of the classical parameters, synonymous with 'Markers and means' and including some core 'Facilitators': provision of housing, integration in the educational system or labour market as well as language acquisition and safety. From this perspective, integration is achieved when socio-economic equity between the two communities is achieved. Governments and/or NGOs are held responsible to provide aid to the AC, which must make genuine efforts to integrate.

This form of understanding integration was highly evident in all European FGDs within both communities. In Croatia, RC members expressed their appreciation of AC members who showed efforts to get into work as fast as possible. AC participants asserted how some AC members' desire to migrate to other European states undermines their efforts to achieve socio-economic integration. In Germany, participants from both communities debated whether unemployed German citizens would be considered unintegrated as well. In Sweden, RC participants highlighted labour market integration as a significant benchmark, while AC members emphasized emotional needs such as feeling safe ('Safety'), being embedded in a social network (referring to both 'Social bonds' and 'Social bridges)', and having chances for personal development. The importance of socio-economic integration seemed self-evident in Jordan, even though it was not explicitly named. In contrast to the European sites, RC members in Jordan problematized the increasing socio-economic problems. They clearly demanded to include both communities' needs into INGO programmes.

Integration as a state-administered legal process

Another line of understanding integration emphasized legal processes like residence, work permits, citizenship rights, and deportation procedures. This view requested the AC to fulfil the legal requirements and abide by the national laws. The final stage of this integration process is attaining citizenship. Governments hold the responsibility to monitor and ensure these processes. This understanding can be considered identical to Ager and Strang's dimension of 'Foundation' or the 'Rights and responsibilities' domain.

In the European sites, RC participants requested a universally coordinated, state- and/or EU-administered process, that treated all AC members equally. In Croatia, RC participants demanded a fixed EU-administered policy. In Germany, RC participants discussed it from a legal perspective: Should all residents who violate the law repeatedly be considered disintegrated? Is it a state responsibility to deport AC members with criminal records? In both Sweden and Germany, participants discussed how legal and administrative structures form a barrier to integration. In Jordan, RC members demanded legal protection of their economic privileges, while the AC participants complained that they are legally excluded from certain job opportunities and civil rights.

Integration as a two-way process or assimilation

The ideal understanding of integration as a two-way process advocates for mutual respect, acceptance, and interest, i.e., for both communities to engage and integrate with the other community's demands. As part of this, diverse religious and cultural practices and different ways of life ought to be respected to allow individuals to preserve their social identities in the process of integration. Governments and/or NGOs should facilitate this process by fostering mutual intergroup relationships. Following the idea of mutual integration efforts, the question of who is to be considered integrated thus depends on their individual engagement or (self-) exclusion. But it remains unclear, whether this demand fully applies to RC members. In terms of Ager and Strang model, this understanding highlights the need for ‘Social bridges’, defines who is responsible to build them and refers to important domains of ‘Facilitators’, mostly ‘Culture’, in this process.

Participants in all FGDs envisioned ideal integration as a two-way process. Throughout the discussion, though, it became clear that many RC members understood integration rather as a process of assimilation to socio-cultural norms of the RC or at least demanded the AC to take the first step to build intergroup contact. The AC at large identified with the RC’s demand, though few participants tried to challeng the notion of them bearing the main responsibility of integration .

In the Croatian FGDs, some participants requested that AC members confine their religious or cultural practices to their homes which conflicted with other participants’ views on freedom of cultural and religious expression. The AC, in contrast, stressed the importance of positive relations on an equal footing with the RC. In Germany, the idea of assimilation included an adaptation to so-called ‘European values’. A moral fit of AC members is ought to be examined prior to integration according to some RC members. Some AC members rejected the concept of integration, denouncing it as anti-democratic and criticizing the assimilative pressure in the public integration discourse. In Sweden, participants from both communities argued that integration ought to be a two-way process but that this ideal understanding is impaired in reality by the reserved nature of the ‘Swedes’. Interestingly, in Jordan, both RC and AC reasoned that integration was easy for them because they shared the same religion, culture, and ethnicity. However, when exploring participants’ statements at a later part towards the end of FGDs, this mutual integration seemed to be understood as leaning towards the assimilation into the culture of the ‘Jordanian’ majority, especially among the younger generations of the AC.

In summary, whereas the idea of integration as a two-way process on a theoretical level seemed clear to many participants, ambivalence and contradictions were observed. A closer look at the data points to the following pattern: RC participants who focused on socio-economic aspects seemed to demand assimilation as well as a strict and well-coordinated asylum procedure. With these demands, RC responses indicate an expectation of the two-way process as a responsibility falling on the RC institutions, and not on the RC individuals, who seemed to be less willing to contribute to integration on an individual level. This is in contradiction to the AC, which is being held responsible on an individual level.

Responsible Actors

Both AC and RC participants discussed who they think is responsible for integration, in which way, and to what extent. Besides the communities themselves, they mentioned governments, NGOs, INGOs,

the private sector, and the media. The way participants understand integration is connected to whom they assign the integration efforts.

Referring again to Ager and Strang's model, this category gives insights on how participants view the principles of multi-directionality and shared responsibilities regarding 'Social bridges', access to certain 'Markers and means' as well as 'Rights and responsibilities'.

AC and RC

With an understanding of integration as a two-way process, both communities are assigned responsibilities for integration. *Even though this idea was present across all sites, there was a general tendency to hold the AC responsible for the integration process*. Especially those participants who highlighted the socio-economic aspects of integration and those who understood integration as assimilation argued in favor of integration work being done primarily by the AC. The AC seemed to agree to the assigned responsibility. Interestingly, both communities tended to shift their integration responsibilities to the younger generation. This code subsumes participants' negotiation of the question of who is responsible for building 'social bridges'

Speaking about the AC's responsibilities, Croatian RC participants expected the AC to demonstrate good will and gratitude. On a similar note, RC participants in Germany explicitly stated that as "guests", AC members are expected "to do more". As a sign of their identification with this demand, AC participants discussed their obligation to fill "gaps" in the German job market. In the Swedish FGDs, both communities agreed that despite the idea of mutual integration, the overall burden should be taken by the AC. In line with the similar expectation of the RC, AC members in Jordan talked about their efforts to help their children develop a sense of belonging to their new environment.

In terms of thoughts on the responsibilities assigned to the RC, both communities in Croatia believed that the most important step is for the RC to approach the AC with openness and acceptance. Interestingly, RC participants with a migration background in Germany advocated that it is the responsibility of the RC to inform themselves and get involved with the AC if integration is to be achieved. The AC remained very reluctant to openly refer to the RC's responsibility and counterbalanced their statements immediately. On a theoretical level, the RC participants in Sweden held themselves as responsible as the AC but admitted the limitation to this stance born out of the 'Swedes' reserved nature'. This limitation was clearly felt and openly addressed by the AC participants. Similar to the other sites, RC members in Jordan thought they should actively approach the AC. This demand was not echoed among the AC participants, who decided to place the responsibility upon themselves to approach the RC.

Both communities at all sites asserted the notion that young people were more capable of investing time and personal resources to engage with the outgroup. Accordingly, the responsibility of integration was shifted to the youth.

It became evident that some RC members struggle to translate their ideal understanding of integration as a two-way process into tangible responsibilities and commitments, whereas other RC participants struggle to see any responsibility on their behalf to foster mutual integration.

Governments, NGOs and INGOs

Across all sites, it was mostly the RC participants who were concerned with the role of governments in integration. They addressed governments' responsibilities to organize, monitor, administer and finance the integration of the AC on a legal ('Rights and responsibilities') and socio-economic level (access to 'Markers and means'). With regards to intergroup relations ('Social bridges'), governments were held responsible to facilitate intergroup contact. Participants seemed to agree that governments failed to meet their obligations. Participants requested governments to coordinate decisive actions, reduce structural barriers, allocate sufficient resources, and maintain national stability. Even though in general NGOs were assigned a significant responsibility in the European sites, in Jordan INGOs were found to play a pivotal, yet, very ambivalent role in integration.

In Croatia, some RC members demanded that the Croatian government provide support, while others feared that such support might overwhelm the national budget and called upon Western European nations, and most importantly the US as perceived to be responsible for the Syrian crisis, to take responsibility for financing the integration process. Others demanded a uniform EU-based programme and Croatia as an EU-member state to participate. NGOs were named as important actors to support the AC when it comes to basic needs, navigating bureaucracy as well as access to education and the labour market. AC participants nonetheless stressed that the two-year period of financial support from the government as well as NGO programmes does not sufficiently match their needs.

In the FGDs conducted with RC members in Germany, there was criticism of the German government and a perceived lack of solidarity and cooperation among EU-member states. Participants perceived the state authorities and processes to be a barrier for integration efforts by both communities. They demanded a centralized, well-organized and rapid approach to managing asylum and integration processes. The AC though remained rather vague about the role of the German government in their integration process. They protested against the certificate recognition processes and how it impacts their access to the labour market. The role of NGOs was hardly discussed by both communities.

Similar to Germany, participants in Sweden complained about the lack of solidarity and coordination among the EU-member states, which they believed left Sweden with a relatively high number of AC members in comparison to its population size. They also discussed the housing regulations and city planning as a way for the government to positively influence and facilitate mutual integration. Participants held the government and its current residence policy to be responsible for blocking AC members' attempts to proceed in their integration efforts. Moreover, they were very concerned about the changing political climate and the challenges posed on integration as a result of the increasing numbers of ring-wing populist candidates being elected into office at all levels of government.

On the one hand, both groups in Jordanian FGDs requested that the government treat all residents on an equal basis as a precondition for integration, but on the other hand RC members expressed their belief that government should safeguard or even prioritize their livelihood needs over those of AC members. AC members instead believed that the pre-existing legal constraints perpetuate the societal division between the RC and AC. Participants pointed to the role of INGOs in exacerbating inequality in Jordan. RC participants demanded that international aid should be redirected to address the needs of both communities, instead of prioritizing the AC.

Private sector

Despite holding a major share of job opportunities and thus access to work as an important 'Marker and means' of integration, the private sector was hardly mentioned. The responsibility of actors within the private section was not addressed by any of the communities at the respective sites.

In the FGDs conducted in Germany and Sweden, participants pointed to the existence of racism and discrimination in the employment practices of the private sector, e.g. in considering if employees speaking the official language with an accent or women wearing a hijab would impact business. In Jordan, RC participants requested the private sector to employ on the basis of equal and fair payments so as not to fuel intergroup tensions resulting from economic competition.

Media

In the European sites, RC participants named the media as a major source of information about the AC and the integration process in general, especially for those lacking direct intergroup contact. They also problematized how media contributes to societal polarization and negative stereotypes. The narratives that were brought up as examples from the media seemed to depict AC members as either vulnerable or potential criminals and a source of burden. These narratives and images were found to influence the RC's attitudes towards the AC or refugees in general. Participants attributed this type of journalism to the need of media agencies to sell their stories as well as the political orientation of some media agencies. Participants demanded the media play a more constructive role by helping to build 'social bridges'. In contrast, AC members hardly referred to the media, which, amongst other possible explanations canpoint to the lack of access or representation of their perspectives. In Jordan, there was no mention of the media within the AC FGD.

In Croatia, RC participants made a clear distinction between right-wing and mainstream news portals and thought that right-wing portals foster negative attitudes towards the AC. In the FGDs conducted in Germany, only dramatic and often exaggerated media reports about refugees were brought up including group rapes, clan formation or starving children at the Greek borders. Participants believed that the media should inform them about the process of integration accurately and on an on-going basis. Participants in Sweden discussed how media reports exaggerated immigration problems, which in turn fuelled negative attitudes. In Jordan, RC participants argued that media should provide accurate information, e.g. on AC population size or aid expenditures, as a means to reduce rumours and foster integration.

Future effects

AC and RC participants envisioned future relations between the two groups and reflected on the possible effects integration could have on their respective communities. Across all sites, RC participants tended to be more negative in their views, whereas AC members had more positive outlooks. This category entails brief projections about the progress of integration based on the current evaluation regarding important domains of integration.

Croatian RC members highlighted how the macroeconomic development in the country will determine future relations. Given the current low number of AC members, they doubted that the migration of AC members would have any major influence on them. On a similar note, AC participants thought that future relations will depend on the regular immigration flow and the overall behaviour of fellow AC members. It was also thought to be contingent on whether there will be any future rise in threat perception within the RC. In the German FGDs, RC participants' views on the future varied to a great extent. For some, it evoked associations of drastic threat perceptions due to failed integration that has the potential to start a third world war, while for others the future entailed slightly more hopeful views on possible changes within the conservative parties regarding integration policies. AC members expressed optimistic views and referred to their economic independence and ability to pay back a perceived debt owed to the RC. RC participants in Sweden were concerned about increasing challenges in integration due to the rise of right-wing populist political agendas. In Jordan, the RC held rather pessimistic outlooks into the future and reasoned this with their concerns over the increasing socio-economic hardships. In contrast to the RC and similar to the case in Germany, the AC voiced optimism, especially with regard to the younger generations.

How the future is envisioned seems to depend on various factors, including the level of threat perception, understanding of integration and assigned responsibilities as well as (economic) possibilities. Whereas the RC seems to fear possible loss, AC members hope for a better future and an improvement of their living situation.

©FOCUS Consortium

HIGHLIGHTS

- AC members at the European sites differentiated between the feeling of integration and the sense of belonging. While certain elements such as language proficiency and labour market participation could help in fostering the feeling of integration, a sense of belonging seemed to be hard to attain.
- While RC participants envisioned ideal integration as a two-way process, a closer look at the data shows that there is a gap between this and the reality of how the RC sees integration being attained. The RC's emphasis on the socio-economic aspects of integration with the main responsibility being attributed to the AC and the RC's demand for a stronger role in the integration process on behalf of the state implies a lack of a sense of personal involvement in integration which is more in line with with assimilation or at most with a two way-process that involves RC institutions and AC individuals. Their understanding of integration as a two-way process assigns the RC individual marginal or in some cases even no direct responsibility in the process.
- The AC identified in large part with the assigned responsibilities of integration, emphasizing its responsibility to perform and fulfil its tasks so that it can contribute to the host-state's welfare. This is despite the AC's demand of conceptualizing integration as a two-way process, which again indicates a contradiction or confusion in their understanding of integration, as was the case among the RC.
- Within the RC's institutional landscape, the state and in the case of Jordan the INGOs were assigned responsibility in the integration process. The private sector was not identified as an important stakeholder. RC participants in the European sites problematized the role of media in polarizing the discourse on integration, especially being the main source of information for the RC on issues related to integration.

4.3.2 On intergroup relations

This theme subsumes descriptions, lived experiences, and attitudes towards the intergroup relations between RC and AC. The impact of racism and discrimination and their manifestation in attitudes and other aspects of intergroup relations will be addressed separately (see 4.4.1).

It consists of five different categories: “attitudes and perceptions towards the outgroup”, “perception of threat and other intergroup feelings”, “intergroup contact and intragroup relations”, “self-perception of one’s own group” and “behaviours and behavioural intentions”.

Compared to the model of Ager and Strang, this theme constitutes a deeper exploration of the dimension of ‘Social connections’, especially within the domains ‘Social bonds’ and ‘Social links’.

Attitudes and perceptions towards the outgroup

The way in which both communities perceive one another varied across sites. Two polarized narratives about refugees in general underlined RC’s attitudes: (1) the vulnerable and traumatized refugee seeking shelter and expected to be grateful and (2) the parasitical and potentially criminal refugee. The narratives of ‘the vulnerable refugee’ as well as ‘refugees as a threat’ were most explicit in Germany and Jordan, though similar nuances emerged in the Croatian and Swedish FGDs too. Against these narratives, refugees from Syria were perceived as the “better refugees”. Although there were critical attitudes towards the RCs as well, accounts of gratitude and emphasis on their positive qualities dominated the discussions among the AC across the four sites. Attitudes influence but also derive from the nature of ‘Social bridges’ among both communities.

Participants from both AC and RC perceived Croatia as a transit country due to limited economic possibilities and macroeconomic hardships. Only a relatively small number of the overall AC was expected to stay permanently in Croatia. RC participants made clear that the relatively small number helped to develop indifferent or accepting attitudes towards the AC. Other RC participants perceived a clear societal division with respect to this question. In particular, they observed that older RC members, as well as people living in rural areas, and people with right-wing political orientations are more likely to hold negative views. Interestingly, both the AC and RC saw in their common experience of war and refuge-seeking in other countries potential for both empathy and understanding. Some RC members also mentioned this as a source of negative attitudes and feelings towards the AC due to the nature of the war Croatia experienced in the 1990s’ (a war of three national identities: Serbs, Bosnians and Croats, and involving three religious groups: Orthodox, Muslim and Catholic). It was not explained under which circumstances this experience either evolves into acceptance and empathy or intensifies rejection, racism and discrimination. The RC in Croatia seemed to be able to focus their accounts on Syrian refugees, making distinctions between the refugees from Syria and refugees and migrants from other countries.

In contrast, the RC participants from Germany and Sweden – countries with a much higher influx of AC members – did not distinguish between the AC from Syria and other forced migrants, but instead referred to refugees in general. In the German FGDs, distinct narratives about the AC emerged, revealing a quite polarized image of the situation. The above-mentioned narrative of the ‘vulnerable and traumatized refugee’, who seeks shelter but is also expected to adapt and express gratitude was very evident in the RC discussions. Deviations from the role defined in this narrative seemed to provoke anger and strong rejection by some RC participants. Sometimes members of the RC seemed to ‘jump’ to a narrative of ‘the parasitical and potentially criminal refugee’ in which refugees were seen as inferior in terms of education, work ethic and/or culture, unfamiliar with liberal values, and/or more prone to criminal behaviour. Both attitudes appeared to be pre-reflexive, which became apparent when contested by other participants or confronted with new information over the course of the discussions. Against the background of these two narratives, Syrian refugees were generally perceived as more educated and well-mannered in comparison to other refugees.

In the Swedish FGDs, participants remained general but rather positive in their accounts by acknowledging the AC’s efforts to integrate. Like in Croatia and Germany, they perceived Syrians as better educated than other groups and alluded to their potential traumatization. They also stressed

the psychological impact of insecure residency permits. The only negative attitudes that arose had to do with the perceived views of the AC on women's rights. Gender equality was repeatedly noted as the only non-negotiable part of being accepted in Sweden, something that was seen by the RC to be in tension with some of the AC's views.

In the case of Jordan, the RC perceived the AC as hard-working and well-educated on the one hand, but on the other hand, they also depicted them as opportunistic, if not openly exploitative, ungrateful, and with a superior attitude. They recalled how at the onset of the Syrian crisis, they feared that the AC would include criminals. Despite these initial fears, the narrative of the AC's traumatization and vulnerability after displacement was still dominant. As in Germany, the RC's dissatisfaction seemed to be linked to the implicit expectations towards the AC to behave in accordance with the narrative of the 'vulnerable and traumatized refugee'. Dissatisfaction and resentment started growing when members of the AC started to be perceived as emerging as their economic competitors. Negative attitudes seemed to be particularly pronounced among RC participants in Zarqa and to a lesser extent in Irbid.

In the European sites, AC participants seemed to address 'Croats', 'Germans', and 'Swedes' as respectively homogenous groups that do not include members with migration backgrounds. In the Croatian FGDs, accounts on how the AC perceives the RC remained limited. Some participants emphasized that 'Croats' are "better" than other European nationals. AC participants in Germany expressed controversial views of 'Germans' and Germany. While AC members praised law and order as well as the helpfulness of Germans, they also criticized the arbitrary implementation of laws and regulations as well as 'Germans' short-lived interest in mutual relationships. Strikingly, any form of critique of 'Germans' was counterbalanced by praises of their good qualities, as well as expressions of gratitude and self-critiques. In Sweden, the narratives of the AC were much more homogenous, mainly emphasizing the 'Swedes' to be polite but individualistic and reserved, as well as following rather rigid and ritualized interaction patterns, e.g. meeting for 'fika' (coffee breaks). In Jordan, AC members saw 'Jordanians' as kind, welcoming and well-mannered. However, the working members of the AC attributed their 'opportunistic behaviour' in the job market to the RC's lack of discipline in the working field, fastidious view about 'inferior jobs', and generally lower skills in jobs requiring hand crafts.

It may be hypothesized that the way and the clarity in which the above-outlined narratives emerged depends on the size of the AC population as well as on the socio-historical, geographical, and economic specifics of each site. For instance, in the accounts of Croatian and Jordanian RC members' negative attitudes were often linked to marking the macro-economic hardship in the respective country. Perception of threat will be the subject of the next code.

Perception of threat and other intergroup feelings

Where they existed, feelings of threat were predominantly voiced by members of the RC across all sites. The objects and quality varied in relation to country specifics. In terms of other intergroup feelings, sympathy and empathy from the RC appeared as well, but these emotions were far more pronounced among AC members. Their discussions often contained a strong emphasis on the expression of gratitude. Perceptions of threat have the potential to cause division instead of building 'Social bridges' between the two communities.

In Croatia, RC members were concerned about the potential economic threat as well as symbolic threat and, in some instances, a threat to personal safety or rising risk of theft by members of the AC. They highlighted rising job market competition, especially in areas with pre-existing economic hardship. Accordingly, they requested social aid to be provided for both communities without any prioritization to the AC. The symbolic threat seemed to predominantly derive from anti-Muslim sentiments, which according to some participants, dates back to the occupation during the Ottoman rule. As stated above, people's personal experience with the recent war was seen as a potential facilitator of sympathy and understanding by both the RC and AC.

Perception of threat in the German FGDs was tangible through the description of what was described as a sudden and uncontrollable "wave of refugees" entering the country. This was clearly illustrated by an example of a neighbourhood in Leipzig, which protested the building of a refugee shelter. In Berlin, the discussion revolved around claims of rising crime rates or loss of personal safety due to alleged delinquent migrant groups. On a similar note, participants raised concerns over the potential dilution of cultural norms or Christian values, e.g. as reflected in German marital law, when confronted with the question of whether polygamous marriages within the AC should be legally accepted. While participants saw some economic benefit from the arrival of refugees due to the shortage of workforce in certain fields, the discussion got very heated over the question of whether the rising number of AC members will jeopardize the German social welfare system. Interestingly, the AC members expressed their feelings of gratitude and obligation to contribute to society, e.g., by paying taxes. AC members expressed their intention to protect their children from engaging in criminal behaviours as well as the loss of their social identity.

In the Swedish data, perception of threat only became a prominent issue in the Malmö FGD. Participants referred to the public discourse on the relationship between higher rates of criminality in neighbourhoods to the large presence of migrants, but they were quick to interpret this as a symptom of lack of integration. On a more profound level, RC participants also identified fears among the RC on how the "white Swedish ethnicity" may be endangered with the influx of more immigrants. Accounts of the AC members hinted at the stress felt by them due to this perceived threat and the resultant political climate prevalent among the RC.

Perception of threat was most pronounced among the Jordanian RC participants and seemed to be growing over time. Participants expressed their initial caution and fears about the potential violent or criminal nature of the AC, which they feared might jeopardize Jordan's internal safety. Yet, the notion of economic threat was more dominant within the discussion than fear related to criminality and violence. Participants, especially from Zarqa, complained about their economic hardship and the externalities resulting from AC members' acceptance of lower payments. AC members had a more positive image of the RC, perceiving the economic threat perception on behalf of the RC to be in decline and overtly stating feelings of connectedness and sympathy.

Adding to the hypothesis proposed in the previous code "attitudes and perception towards the outgroup" and apart of the historical, socio-cultural and geographical factors, the macroeconomic situation seemed to also influence the narrative on the "parasitical and potentially criminal refugee". RC participants in Jordan and Croatia and to a lesser extent in Germany demanded financial security to be guaranteed to them first before offering financial support to AC members.

In the European sites, RC participants attributed threat perception and negatively biased views and feelings among their community to a general lack of information and intergroup contact as well as the

resulting reliance on the media. Insights into intergroup contact will be detailed in the following category.

Intergroup contact and intragroup relations

The importance of meaningful personal contact and relationships was acknowledged by both communities across all sites. The possibility and nature of intergroup contact seemed to have an impact on how intragroup relations evolved in the post-migration context. In the European sites, RC participants reported limited direct contact with the AC. In many cases, the contact was rather indirect and mediated for example through their children's social contexts, or as part of their professional roles. Both communities described a certain hesitation when it comes to getting involved in intergroup contact, leaving the AC with the responsibility to take the first step. RC participants highlighted their reliance on, often inaccurate, information from the media due to lack of contact. Obviously, those involved in relationships with the AC were able to describe a more differentiated picture of the AC and their needs.

Living in proximity, sharing an educational or work environment or engaging in leisure activities were identified as facilitators of intergroup contact. Of course, programmes tailored specifically for refugee aid, like language cafés were also reported as avenues for intergroup contact. Though building a social network that involved meaningful relationships with members from both communities emerged as an important facilitator to integration, it still seemed to constitute a huge challenge for the AC. In Jordan, participants from both communities described extensive interactions in all realms of life as the new 'normality'.

This category explores both 'Social bridges' and 'Social bonds' and includes experiences that refer to 'Social links' as well as the interplay between these indicators.

In the Croatian FGDs, RC participants pointed out that their experience of receiving Syrian students in the 1970s formed a resource for building intergroup contact ('Social bridges') with the AC members. Accounts on hostile or conflictual intergroup contact emerged among both communities alongside statements of meaningful relations like friendships. Though there was a rather positive tone with regard to intergroup contact, this was contrasted with reports of criminal behaviour or interactions that involved racism and/or discrimination. Due to the qualitative nature of the data, a conclusion on the frequency of these forms of conflictual intergroup contact cannot be drawn. The AC participants reported negative experiences, especially in the realm of governmental services ('Social links'). RC members stated that intergroup partnerships were most likely to be rejected by one's family, hinting towards a limitation of intergroup contact. In Croatia, there was no data available in relation to partnerships. Intragroup relations ('Social bonds'), too, were not thoroughly discussed in Croatian FGDs.

Aside from the general observation presented above, RC participants in Germany also debated how one's views may be biased if encounters were limited to the professional role e.g., as a police officer. Despite the lack of intergroup contact ('Social bridges') which felt 'natural' for most, RC participants stressed that contact with AC members is possible if the will and desire were there. Participants with a migration background underlined the responsibility of the RC to engage in mutual relationships. Nevertheless, some male RC participants clearly voiced their concern about females' safety by referring to the sexual crimes reported by the media. Berlin RC participants expressed their concerns about the observation of increasing segregation among both communities in the city, and voiced fears about the development of a 'parallel society'. Interestingly, AC members described how they had to overcome their personal hesitation when approaching and initiating contact with the RC. AC participants in Hamburg and Leipzig imagined intergroup contact to be easier in Berlin. Contrary to the findings in Croatia, it was some AC members in Germany who openly objected to intergroup partnerships. They stressed how they felt obliged to protect their children, especially their daughters, in the new environment and how they felt obliged to remind them of their social identity. In terms of intragroup relations ('Social bonds'), RC participants were worried about an observed recent rise in right-wing extremist movements in Germany. The AC acknowledged the self-organization of its own

community, and in contrast to the RC, they did not perceive it as self-exclusion or segregation but as a positive resource.

In Sweden, RC participants agreed on the importance of intergroup contact ('Social bridges') and the positive influence of growing diversity in society. With only a few participants reporting personal intergroup contacts with the AC, this seemed to operate on the level of intellectual discourse. AC members emphasized the difficulty to develop meaningful relationships with 'Swedes' that exceed the superficial interaction in certain spaces, times, and rituals. Interestingly, the RC participants perceived the further establishment of such spaces as a facilitator of intergroup contact. In line with this thought, both communities highlighted the impact of housing and its locality on intergroup relations. The city, neighbourhood, and type of housing define the extent of intergroup contact in quantity and quality. Given the reported challenges to engage with RC members, AC participants emphasized the importance of intragroup relations ('Social bonds') with other 'Arabs'. A clear distinction between 'Arabs' including other migrant communities in demarcation to 'Swedes' became evident, which may point to an orientation towards intragroup relations as a response to unfruitful or challenging contact with the RC. In Sweden, gender equality evolved as a source of conflict, with the RC identifying gender equality as an undebatable social norm that the AC must adapt to.

In Jordan, both communities highlighted the benefits of mutual enfolding integration ('Social bridges'). Yet, the RC related the economic pressure to growing tensions and resentments towards the AC. Some RC participants openly called for limiting AC members to camps. The ambiguities and complexity of the intergroup relations were reflected in the RC communities' accounts on intergroup marriages. They witnessed a rise in Jordanian men seeking marriage with Syrian women due to lower dowries (also known as Mahr in Islam, which is, in contrast to other traditions, paid by the groom's family), making the RC assume that this is the main reason for the perceived higher rates of unmarried Jordanian women. In contrast, male RC members expressed a need to protect Jordanian females. This may be interpreted either as a manifestation of a symbolic threat to masculine norms prevalent in the RC or as a sign of complex changes in power relations among and within both communities. Notions of superiority and inferiority of one community over the other also seemed to be evaluated and negotiated over the dowry prices. In terms of intragroup relations ('Social bonds') among AC members, participants expressed concerns over unfair aid distribution triggering envy and dissatisfaction within their community. This seemed to add further struggles that accentuated the loss of pre-migration social status and alluded to changes in intragroup (power) relations over the course of displacement.

Interestingly, in intergroup relations, a special role assigned to women in defining the boundaries of inter- and intragroup contact seemed to emerge with the exception of the Croatian FGDs. Apparently, besides the battle over socio-economic resources discussed earlier, boundaries and tensions of intergroup relation seemed to emerge around the question of intergroup partnerships, in particular females engaging in such relationships.

Self-perception of one's own group

Although they were not directly asked, both RC and AC participants gave explicit as well as implicit insights that describe how they perceive their own groups. Participants of the RC took quite critical views towards their community, often pointing out reservations as well as overt racism and discrimination towards the AC. A latent perceived sense of entitlement on the part of the RC was most evident in Germany and Jordan. Now a minority, the AC seemed to struggle to reconsolidate its shaken social identity and self-esteem after war and displacement. This category can be understood as an elaboration on 'Social bonds' and 'Culture' as conceptualized in the Ager and Strang model, precisely focusing on the effect migration had on both RC and AC regarding their social identity.

RC participants in Croatia displayed very contradictory accounts on how they perceive their own community. On the one hand, 'Croats' and Croatia as a notion were perceived as very homogenous and therefore rather unacquainted with fellow residents of other religious, national or racial backgrounds. On the other hand and as described earlier, the 'Croats' own experiences of war and displacement as well as migration for causes of economic hardship were mentioned as factors that

would allow the RC to empathize with the AC - but there again, they were sometimes grounds for rejection as well. Some participants stressed 'Croats' general interest in engaging with an outgroup through cultural events attended on a voluntary basis. AC members in the Croatian FGDs discussed that their fellow community members should accept staying in Croatia instead of planning to migrate to other European nations. Moreover, they argued that refugees behaving 'badly' could hinder the chances of integration for those willing to integrate in Croatia.

In Germany, an ostensible sense of entitlement derived from residing in the country over various generations was addressed by the RC participants. On a more latent level, this sense of superiority of the 'Germans' or with regards to Germany as a country was associated with cultural and socio-political values, as well as socio-economic privileges and achievements. When associations to the Nazi history of Germany were made, they seemed to form a barrier hindering further development and in-depth exploration of the discussion. The AC FGDs in Germany and especially in Berlin alluded to a deep shaking of their social identity and self-esteem. One argument revolved around the questions of whether Syrians are religiously more tolerant than 'Germans', whether the Syrian identity is built on being Muslim, and if 'Syrians' are different from other 'Arabs'. Industriousness and rich cultural heritages were named as core characteristics of 'Syrians'. Claims of being superior to 'Germans' in one aspect were immediately followed by harsh self-critique of having turned their home into a war zone. A sense of guilt and shame was present in all discussions.

The RC in Sweden engaged in a detailed discussion about the polarization which in their perception divides 'Swedes' into pro-immigration/anti-racism and anti-immigration/racist camps. Identifying themselves as part of the pro-immigration camp, RC respondents emphasized the importance of solidarity with the AC. In their opinion, the years 2015-2016 marked a change in the socio-political climate as it strengthened anti-immigrant sentiments in the country. Participants understood racist views and behaviour as illogical and thus incompatible with the rational and logical mindset that defines 'Swedishness'. In a similar line of thought, when referring to people they knew, participants seemed to separate these from other positively valued personal traits. Generally, the RC members also saw themselves as being socially reserved, but not to the extent to which AC perceived them. Nonetheless, they questioned whether this behaviour could ever be overcome. In contrast to the 'Swedes', the AC perceived themselves as very sociable and communicative. Similar to the case in Germany, a tension emerged that seemed to derive from the questions of which traditions are central to Syrian identity and how to preserve them. Becoming 'too Swedish' was seen critically – a risk more attributed to the young. Adding to the above-mentioned narrative of the 'vulnerable and traumatized refugee', some participants expressed the negative psychological impact of this attribution, as it also denotes a loss of one's pre-migration social status and identity.

The RC in Jordan emphasized their own hospitality, openness, tolerance, and high level of education, as well as their long history of welcoming migrants from other countries. RC members reflected on a sense of superiority or entitlement prevalent among 'Jordanians', who tended to look down on the AC. This was found to form a barrier to building strong mutual relationships. Similarly, AC members residing in Jordan viewed themselves as hard-working, well-educated, and willing to integrate with the RC. Similar to the German FGDs, AC participants seemed to perceive themselves as morally inferior to the RC, especially with regard to the Syrian civil war.

It may also be argued that the perception of threat expressed by the AC is more likely interlinked with the questioning of its own social identity. This also included the notion that members of their own community not adhering to the social and legal norms of the receiving country have negative implications on how the RC perceives them as a whole.

Behaviour and behavioural intentions

Within the intergroup relations or building 'Social bridges', several different behaviour and behavioural intentions were recognized and organized such as acceptance; reservation, rejection and (self-) exclusion; empathy and taking perspective as well as help.

Across all sites, the focus tended to lean on behaviour that addressed the AC as 'the recipient' adding to the latent narrative of the 'vulnerable and traumatized refugee'. In many cases, this behaviour

navigated the AC's access to important 'Markers and means' like 'Education', 'Housing' and 'Work' as well as 'Facilitators', mostly 'Language and communication'. This pattern seemed to be particularly pronounced in Jordan and least evident in the Swedish FGDs.

Acceptance

In all European sites, there was the notion that younger members of the RC are more open to new experiences and more likely to accept diversity in general and engage with members of the AC. Education was seen as a major means to raise acceptance among the RC. Acceptance, in general, seemed to depend on the number of AC. The AC discussed their limitations to accepting the social norms of the RC. In Jordan, participants of both communities with the exception of Zarqa perceived acceptance to be high. Acceptance clearly fosters access to 'Markers and means', 'Facilitators' and the building of 'Social bridges'.

Croatian RC participants highlighted the important role of schools in fostering acceptance. In Germany, members of the RC saw education in general and classes on colonialism and racism as important allies to raise acceptance. From the perspective of some RC members, acceptance depended on the number of AC members entering the country in the future. To them, the ones already residing in Germany could be granted permanent residency. Both in AC and RC discussions, the question arose if acceptance towards the AC ought to be unconditional or contingent on their progress in socio-economic integration. From a socio-economic perspective, young AC members thus seemed to be in a better position than older individuals. It is noteworthy that in Sweden it was the AC members who discussed whether they would accept Swedish social norms. This negotiation seemed important for them in their efforts to preserve their own social and cultural identity. In Jordan, both communities testified that the AC was accepted in Jordan – with the exception of the RC of the FGD in Zarqa, where rejection dominated the discussion. Interestingly, Jordan's older AC members were seen as more likely to be accepted by the RC because they pose less economic competition. Acceptance, at least from the views of some AC members, was described as easily based on the perception of shared religion and ethnicity.

Reservation, rejection & (self-)exclusion

In the European sites, older generations of members from the RC were perceived as more reserved and more likely to reject AC members in the European sites. Individual reports of rejection experiences in the realm of health care, housing and access to labour markets hint at important structural barriers. Women wearing hijab emerged as the most vulnerable group for rejection and intergroup aggression, especially in Germany.

In Jordan rejection was most prevalent within RC participants in Zarqa and to a lesser extent in Irbid and justified by the growing economic tensions. The behaviours summarized under this code negatively impact building 'Social bridges' as well as access to 'Markers and means'.

While evident in all discussions, older generations' proneness to reject the AC was most clearly addressed in the Croatian FGDs. AC participants in Croatia reported experiences of discrimination and rejection by health care professionals and landlords. These individual experiences hint at important mechanisms as to the way in which the individual behaviour of stakeholders, in their function to regulate access to housing or health care, build structural barriers for the AC. Another form of rejection on the part of some participants from the Croatian RC consisted of wishing that members of the AC limit their cultural and religious practices to their private spheres.

Though present in the other European sites as well, in German FGDs women wearing hijab emerged as most vulnerable to rejection and overt aggression as manifestations of racism and discrimination in the German RC. Individual experiences of rejection in access to job opportunities based on anti-Muslim racism show how this element constitutes a barrier of structural nature. A sense of rejection was also very evident when participants from the Berlin RC FGD discussed deportation and other legal means to sanction AC members they thought were unwilling to integrate. As already stated, some participants in the same discussion clearly objected to further influx of migrant populations as well as to share the social benefits they perceived to be the privilege created by the efforts of their ancestors. Both the RC and AC in Germany reflected on the interplay of rejection and reservation and (self-

)exclusion. In this way, they were highlighting the responsibilities of both communities but stressing the special impact of rejection towards the AC.

In Sweden, reservation and (self-)exclusion were associated with the AC, whereas reservation, as described above, was seen as a central characteristic of the 'Swedes'. Participants from both communities acknowledged that the major burden to overcome the reserved nature of 'Swedes' and adapt to the norms of social interaction in Sweden was currently on the shoulders of the AC. Overwhelmed by this, it was described how some withdrew from contact with the RC and rather orientated themselves towards 'non-Swedes'.

In Jordan, the RC participants revealed overt rejection towards the AC, most evident in the FGD in Zarqa. This resentment revolved around two arguments. Firstly, the AC's gratitude was not sufficient in the perception of the RC. Secondly, due to the lack of sufficient job opportunities, the resulting high economic competition seemed to accelerate rejection, leaving the RC to demand their own prioritization. In the FGDs, this rejection mounted to overt requests to limit the AC to living in refugee camps, as well as calls for their deportation back to Syria. Strikingly, the AC members depicted an initial rejection and overt discrimination that evolved into mutual rapprochements and integration over the course of the last five years.

Empathy and taking perspective

In all sites, both communities showed efforts to understand the other group's challenges and obstacles. The RC participants empathized with the impact of pre-migration trauma, displacement and the burden of integration into the new contexts. Interestingly the AC made efforts to understand not only the perception of economic threat but also RCs' motives for rejection, discrimination and racism. Obviously, empathy and taking perspectives are beneficial for building 'Social bridges'.

As mentioned earlier, in Croatia both communities referred to the RC's own experience of war and displacement as a basis for empathy toward the AC. The AC members signalled that they were aware of the threat perception present among the RC and justified experiences of rejection based on their own history.

In Germany, members of the RC showed overall empathy for the AC's effort to learn the German language and the general emotional burden of displacement. Participants with direct contact with the AC brought up the psychological impact of the precarious living conditions in Germany, especially when dealing with the barriers imposed on them by authorities. This also included testimonies in which individuals showed understanding towards the reasons why some AC members might withdraw and exclude themselves as a reaction to experiences of discrimination and racism. Just as they did in places like Croatia, AC participants made efforts to understand their experiences of discrimination and racism in Germany.

In Sweden, mostly in the FGDs of Gothenburg and Stockholm, members of the RC were concerned about the impact of displacement and various challenges of seeking refuge in Sweden, e.g., securing their rights and dealing with authorities alongside potential pre-migration traumatization.

With rejection being very prominent in Zarqa, only RC participants from Amman and Irbid expressed their empathy. The AC – as in the European sites – tried to understand the perspective of those rejecting them. In doing so, they referred to fears of the potential influx of terrorists with the arrival of AC members. As stated above, the AC had a different perception, as it felt that the overall intergroup relations were, in general, improving over time.

Help

Across all sites, participants from the RCs expressed a basic obligation to help the AC. This obligation seemed to be associated with the narrative of the 'vulnerable refugee'. Various kinds of helping behaviours were described and extended to the realms of housing, finance, work, language as well as authorities and governmental services. Examples of individual spontaneous help incidences were reported as well as more organized forms of support such as one's engagement in civil society initiatives, INGO/NGO work or occupation. At all sites, governments and NGOs/INGOs were urged to support civil society's effort in helping the AC. This code mainly refers to improving access to what is

conceptualized under 'Markers and means' and certain domains of 'Facilitators' in the Ager and Strang model.

AC members in the German FGDs referenced what they felt to be the ephemerality of the RC's intentions to help regardless of it being informal or part of their job. On a similar note, the RC both in Sweden and Germany demanded the respective governments take more responsibility and ensure the longevity of civil society initiatives, which were perceived as hard to maintain over time. AC participants in Sweden perceived their socio-economic needs as largely met by state agencies or other organizations, emphasizing the benefit they receive from interpersonal contact through civil society initiatives. RC members in the Jordanian FGDs remarked that individual, as well as collective resources, were exhausted and pointed to the need for international aid addressing both communities.

HIGHLIGHTS

- Apart from a few critical stances on behalf of the AC towards the RC, the overall attitude of the AC could be summed up as very positive. The AC was aware of the asymmetries in social positioning and seemed hence very cautious about criticizing the RC so as not to be perceived as "ungrateful".
- The RC's attitudes at all sites were mixed, with some having rather positive perceptions and others demonstrating negative and sometimes hostile attitudes towards the AC. Two polarized narratives shaped RC's attitudes and behaviours, especially in Germany and Jordan: the vulnerable and traumatized refugee vs. the parasitical and potentially criminal refugee.
- At the European sites, refugees from Syria were perceived as the "better refugee".
- RC participants at the European sites reported indirect and limited contact to the AC, which was seen to have the main responsibility to take the first step in establishing contact. Members of the RC with more direct contact with the AC had more differentiated opinions about the AC.
- The intensity of conflicts between both communities seemed to be mediated by the number of AC members and the economic hardship prevailing in the country. For example, despite the frequent contact between AC and RC members in Zarqa and Irbid, the intergroup-relation were most tense at these sites. This can be attributed to the high rates of poverty and unemployment, which resulted in increasing competition over resources and a higher perception of threat.
- A latent sense of entitlement was most evident among the RC in Germany and Jordan. There were, however, RC participants at all sites, who were critical of their own communities, especially in terms of what they felt to be growing racism and discrimination.
- At the European sites, the harsh critique of the AC communities towards themselves points at a shaken social identity and self-esteem. This was mainly triggered by the war and displacement the AC had to go through.

4.3.3 Avenues for negotiating integration

The aim of this section is to explore what Ager and Strang call 'Markers and means' or 'Facilitators' in the integration process. A specific focus will be put on the 'Social connections', especially 'Social bridges' and 'Social links', that are relevant to participation in these social networks.

Barriers to integration

Barriers to integration refer to the factors identified by both communities across four sites as unconducive and disruptive to integration. This section addresses the individual as well as institutional, legal and structural barriers manifested in various realms of integration such as labour market, housing, education ('Markers and means) as well as social networking, intra- and inter-group relations/'Social bonds' and 'Social bridges'.

Legal residence status and its implications

The entitlements and rights attached to the legal status granted to members of the AC varied across the four sites and had in turn different implications to the integration process. This topic was particularly pronounced in Sweden and Jordan, and to a lesser extent and intensity in Croatia and Germany. Limitations in the AC's rights and entitlements seem to impact the process of integration in various ways. This code overlaps strongly with Ager and Strang's domain 'Rights and responsibilities'.

The insecurity and fear triggered by short-term residence permits and the uncertainty about being granted a long-term residence in Germany were identified by the RC as factors that can prevent AC members from intensifying their efforts in establishing the foundations for their integration in the country. This was less an issue for the AC, which might be explained by the fact that refugees from Syria have higher chances of being granted long-term residence permits in comparison to other migrant groups. The RC might have conflated the legal status of Syrian refugees with other groups of asylum seekers and refugees. Associated with the legal status of refugees in Germany, family separation was addressed as an aspect obstructing integration in terms of its adverse impact on psychological wellbeing. This was also mentioned on the fringes of the discussion among the AC in Croatia, which perceived the strict family reunification regulation as a burden for the AC in both countries.

In Sweden, much of the discussion on barriers to integration among both communities focused on the change in the issuance of legal permits, which used to be permanent and were substituted by temporary permits, which can later be made permanent if certain criteria are met. The RC reflected on how the temporariness and uncertainty resulting from these permits can undermine integration efforts and result in more mental health issues. This was in line with the testimonies provided by the AC on the implications temporary permits had on their mental health and access to the labour market.

The legal and institutional framework in Jordan associated with the legal status provided to Syrian refugees varies greatly from the other study sites and can be considered the most restrictive. The FGDs among the AC have demonstrated that the disparities between both communities are large, with members of the AC being deprived of basic rights related to housing, work and financial services. These restrictions exacerbate the feeling of unequal treatment and were reported to impair the integration process and diminish the future prospects of young people in the country. Participants reflected as well on how the residence status regulations are restrictive as well for certain legal statuses in terms of freedom of movement and travelling out of the country.

Governmental and NGO services

Administrative and bureaucratic barriers especially in terms of interaction with governmental staff were addressed in Croatia and Germany. In Jordan, the discussion focused on NGO services as the main actor in the integration landscape in Jordan. Lack of information as well as racism and discrimination were found to form structural barriers to the AC's integration efforts. This code can be subsumed under what Ager and Strang call 'Social links'.

In Croatia, members of the AC complained about the challenges they face when interacting with governmental staff. The AC reported negative encounters with service representatives and to some extent with health providers, who seemed not to be informed about the rights and entitlements of asylum beneficiaries to health services, which implied that the healthcare system in Croatia was not prepared nor adequately responsive to the arrival and needs of refugees. RC members feel, however, that ACs experience similar problems with bureaucracy as themselves. Further to this, the RC levied criticism at the state-driven integration procedures and programmes, which they considered to be not well planned and implemented, creating additional hurdles for the refugee integration.

Governmental services and bureaucracies took a central role in the discussion among the AC in Germany as well, as participants complained about racism and inconsistency in the application of the law when dealing with authorities. As in Croatia, the RC in Germany perceived the state as the main actor responsible for hampering ACs from fully integrating into society. The criticism of the state apparatus extended to the asylum-seeking system and the residence regulations, which suppress the genuine efforts of the AC to integrate into society.

Contrary to other European countries, service provision for refugees in Jordan is largely assigned to NGOs and INGOs. This seemed to create a source of conflict between both communities as the RC felt neglected by these institutions which prioritized refugees over them, despite their own difficult economic situation. Furthermore, members of the RC criticized the accusations addressed by the AC in social media on how the Jordanian government is misusing the international funds allocated to Syrian refugees for projects merely dedicated to its nationals. The AC expressed discontent with NGO/INGO services as well due to the non-transparent distribution of aid among refugees and the cutting off of health insurance coverage from the AC members registered with the UNHCR.

Employment

Access to the labour market as one of the core 'Markers and means' of integration proved to be a major barrier to integration across all sites. The underlying legal, institutional and socio-economic barriers related to labour-market integration varied between countries. Though the three European sites seemed to have in general more inclusive labour market integration policies than their Jordanian counterpart, the results of the discussion allude to the persistence of various structural issues. Beyond or sometimes combined with lack of language abilities as the core 'Facilitator', these barriers prevent members of the AC from setting foot in labour markets whether in Croatia, Germany or Sweden.

The legal framework inherent in governmental policies regulating employment, including recognition of certificates, proved to be less of an issue in Croatia when discussing barriers to integration. Nevertheless, the AC reported increasing difficulties in finding a job that corresponded to their qualification. The experience shared by members of the AC indicated that although individual determinants such as host country language proficiency play a role in facilitating access to the labour market, they do not suffice to determine the final outcome, as employment is bound by other structural and institutional factors. Structural racism manifested in anti-Muslim racism was one of the identified structural barriers to employment addressed throughout the discussion by the AC. Closely related to this issue is the perception of threat, which was evident throughout the FGD with the RC expressing concerns about an increase in competition in the job market (see "on intergroup relations"). This is interconnected with the challenging macroeconomic situation in Croatia, which has adverse implications for all aspects of socio-economic integration. A major issue that proved to be only confined to the Croatian context with implication to the socio-economic integration is the transfer of refugees back to Croatia. For members of the AC, Croatia is a transit country and many attempt to migrate to other Western European countries with a better economic situation and more prospects. However, in many cases, other European countries end up rejecting their applications for asylum and return them to Croatia. The process of integration, which started in one country, is disrupted and the deported person has to begin again from scratch in Croatia.

In Germany, the addressed barriers to labour market integration were structural in nature and partially inherent in the legal framework. Contrary to Croatia, the recognition of certificates was named as a major legal and institutional barrier to employment, especially for highly qualified persons in the field of medicine or teaching. Rejection of certificates seemed to interact negatively with other individual parameters such as German language proficiency, leading to situations in which members of the AC were involuntarily unemployed or obliged to take on jobs that are far below their qualification level. For the AC, involuntary unemployment had an adverse impact on integration as it threatened their identity, their feeling of self-esteem and hence their subjective wellbeing. Similar to Croatia, racism was identified as a structural barrier that impeded access of AC members to the labour market, particularly for women wearing a hijab. Important links to employment such as integration courses were described as inefficient and not tailored to the needs of highly qualified professionals. There were also complaints about racist encounters and content in language courses.

Setting foot in the labour market was also seen as a major factor hindering integration in Sweden. The lack of personal contacts and social networks, as well as insufficient language knowledge, were identified as the main underlying reasons for not finding a job.

The discussion in Jordan underlined the results of existing literature and reports on the restrictive Jordanian legal framework for labour market integration of refugees. Participants of the AC discussed

how the policies pertaining to work permit issuance have systematically excluded all those with qualifications beyond the service industry from the labour market. This led some to resort to other practices to secure a job in their field of qualification as working without a formal contract or having a contract under someone's else name, all of which meant that their rights were legally not protected. To provide for their families, some members of the AC had to endure exploitative working environments, and there were cases in which children were obliged to work as well since the wages of their caregivers did not suffice. Apart from legal barriers, there were other structural barriers identified, which were strongly interconnected with the deteriorating economic situation in the country. The RC felt jeopardized by the large presence of refugees from Syria who in their opinion were saturating the market and replacing them by approving to work under less favourable conditions than Jordanian nationals. The RC called for stricter measures by implementing restrictive quotas to reduce the number of Syrian refugees in the labour market, not aware that such a quota already existed.

Education

As a further element of core 'Markers and means' of integration, barriers in the realm of education only evolved as a minor issue among most of the FGDs and there was not much reference on how integration is being disrupted in this specific realm. Barriers related to education were briefly addressed in Croatia and Jordan.

In the Croatian context, the main barriers addressed by the AC were confined to general difficulties in learning due to language barriers and accessing university due to insufficient language knowledge and high costs of admission. Indeed, insufficient language knowledge was perceived as an important barrier by both AC and RC.

The conflict over resources in Jordan was noticeable in the realm of education as well. The 'special treatment' of Syrian students by INGOs/ NGOs and the allocation of certain material to them were perceived by the RC as factors that further perpetuated conflicts and envy among the students from both communities. Though the perception that integration was working very well in the realm of education was uttered within the AC FGD, the experience reported by AC participants points to the existence of significant challenges and the prevalence of a discriminatory system. It was argued that the late school shifts assigned for Syrian students reduced the educational quality for Syrian students, as teachers were exhausted from the earlier shifts for Jordanian students. Furthermore, some Syrian students were not able to register at any local school, compelling them to travel a long distance to reach a school they were allowed to enrol at. Such factors contributed to making the AC participants feel like outcasts. Not being able to afford universities was a further issue addressed by the AC.

Housing

With the exception of Sweden, housing as another important 'Marker and means' of integration, emerged as a crucial topic across all sites when discussing integration barriers. Racism and structural discrimination were particularly relevant to this strand of discussion.

The experiences reported in the AC FGDs in Croatia clearly show that racism and discrimination are evident in the housing realm, diminishing the chances of the AC finding appropriate accommodation as many landlords refuse to rent their houses to refugees. Housing adequacy due to family size was another problem reported in the FGDs. The short term housing subsidies, which amount to two years, seemed to exacerbate the housing situation of refugees in Croatia.

Incidences of racism on the housing market were reported in Germany as well. Racism was manifested in the reported testimonies of landlords rejecting the application of other foreigners and refugees and in racist and exclusionary encounters in their neighbourhoods (see also the category "Racism and discrimination"). Similar images of rejection and opposition by neighbourhood residents to having refugees living in their neighbourhood were addressed throughout the discussion among members of the RC. Fenced buildings, camps and barracks were some of the terms used to describe the reception centres of refugees and asylum seekers, all of which allude to the isolation and segregation of refugees and asylum seekers. There was a recognition by the RC for the need for affirmative quotas in favour of refugees to end the discriminatory and exclusive practices in the realm of housing.

Similar to the dynamic observed in the job market, RC members, especially in cities with higher poverty rates as in Zarqa, felt threatened and negatively affected by the presence of Syrian refugees. They attributed inflation in rental prices to the refugees and members of the AC and reported inadequate and poor housing conditions.

Socio-psychological integration

Research has shown that all four countries remain to be confronted with some challenges and problems in relation to socio-psychological integration manifested in the conflictual relations between both communities. The nature and intensity of conflicts seemed to be mediated by the number of AC members and the economic hardship prevailing in the country. Information under this code focuses on the barriers in the scope of what Ager and Strang define as "Social bridges".

In Croatia, the RC considered the lack of tolerance of Croatians towards other people in general as "typical Croatian problems" that could further impede integration. Along the same lines, the AC in Germany and Sweden addressed the introversion of the receiving societies and hence their lack of access to members of the RC as one of the factors impeding socio-psychological integration. The negative attitudes of society towards immigrants and the increasing racism within the Swedish society exacerbated by the perceived shift in the mainstream political discourse to the right constituted further barriers to the integration process as perceived by the RC.

Intergroup conflicts seemed to be most pronounced in the Jordanian context. The perception of threat which is highly interconnected with the destabilized economic situation in Jordan seemed to have an adverse impact on the attitude and behaviour of the RC towards the AC and hence on the overall socio-psychological integration. Jordanians complained about soaring prices and overall deteriorating economy and higher unemployment, which they mainly attributed to the large influx of refugees from Syria. In Zarqa, members of the RC reported that this situation had a negative effect on their psychological wellbeing, which in turn has reportedly led to higher instances of domestic violence. The AC also complained about distress due to the declining living standards in the country and the financial difficulties they were encountering. For the RC, refugees were not only responsible for the economic hardship, but they were also to be blamed for the conflictual intergroup relations as they were perceived to display undesirable behaviours and characteristics that hindered integration. The service provision structure to ACs in Jordan deepened the conflicts as it resulted in feelings of injustice and envy on behalf of the RC. All these factors put together impeded intergroup relations and led to more conflicts than in the other three sites.

Facilitators of integration

Facilitators of integration are understood as factors that foster the integration process and improve the intergroup relations between AC and RC members. Such facilitators can entail individual, social, psychological and economic resources but also institutional and legal frameworks. Thus the category 'facilitators of integration' as understood in this research go beyond Ager and Strang's dimension 'Facilitators' as it also entails domains conceptualized as 'Means and markers' as well as 'Social bridges' and 'Social links' in their 'Indicators of integration framework'.

Classical parameters: Age, work and language

Almost across all sites, the discussion on facilitators included some of the classical parameters of integration such as employment/work or education, proficiency of the official language of the receiving country and young age. The Jordanian context reveals a certain deviation from the European context in terms of the impact of these attributes on the integration process, which is mainly due to the difficult macroeconomic situation in the country. Here the overlap with Ager and Strang's domains 'Work' and 'Education', as well as 'Language', is very evident but this section goes beyond the proposed model of Ager and Strang as it demonstrates the interplay of these indicators with the macroeconomic situation of the receiving country. It is evident that these parameters supplement one another, seemingly accelerating the integration progress whenever more than one factor is fulfilled.

Various individual and socio-economic resources were identified as facilitators to integration in Croatia and Germany. Work, for example, was considered by both communities in both countries

crucial for integration not only from a socio-economic perspective but also from a socio-psychological view. In Germany, the benefit of work went far beyond material and monetary benefits and extended to the individual's psychological wellbeing and feelings of personal independence, especially since the discussion among the AC has shown that being a diligent worker is part of the self-perception of being Syrian.

Language was a further identified issue considered a key for obtaining a job and facilitating a good life across all European countries. As for age, there was a common understanding in Germany and Croatia that younger people had an advantage over older people in learning the national language, finding a job, being accepted by the RC and hence accessing their society. In Croatia, education evolved as a central theme as well considering its importance in acquiring competencies and qualifications for the job market and was perceived by the RC as an important indicator of integration. In addition to this and similar as in the case of Germany, education was discussed in relation to socio-psychological integration as schools were seen as an important social avenue for establishing social relations between both communities across different generations. RC in both countries perceived education as essential to raise a generation that is tolerant and open to other cultures and nationalities, an issue which participants felt needs to be more cultivated in both societies.

Interestingly, the discussion on the facilitators of integration in Jordan took a slightly different trajectory, as it entailed elements aimed at improving the socio-economic situation of Jordanians instead of the AC members from Syria. This is explained by the poor macro-economic situation in the country, which had a seemingly adverse impact on all aspects of integration in Jordan. Within this context, members of the RC argued that the provision of a source of living and the improvement of employment opportunities for Jordanians will improve the relations between both communities and hence support integration. Yet, it is important to note that some members of the RC recognized the importance of work as a socio-psychological resource bringing both communities closer together and as an economic resource that revives the market, by introducing new professions and skills to the market. It seemed that those with better living standards were more welcoming to the idea of the AC accessing the labour market. In contrary to all other countries, being older was perceived as an advantage and a facilitator for being accepted by the RC as it meant that elder persons were more likely to be retired/ uninvolved in the labour market, thus leading to fewer conflicts and frictions with the RC. Similar to the European context, both communities identified schools as a potential place for improving relations, emphasizing the importance of mixing students from both communities together.

Other facilitators to socio-psychological integration

The establishment of social networks and positive inter-group relations, 'Social bonds' and 'Social bridges', were a recurring issue across all sites. In this context, both communities at all sites discussed the meaning of such networks on their integration process and reflected on ways and avenues that could foster such relations.

Though it may sound tautological, positive relations with the RC was seen as a crucial factor to ease the stay of the AC in Croatia. AC members perceived similarity between the Croatian and Syrian lifestyle ('Culture'), which they considered as a facilitator for socio-psychological integration. It is, however, important to note that this notion was not shared by the RC members, as they referred often to significant differences between both cultures. (See theme "Power, cultural, social and geographical struggles"). Finally, psychological health was directly referenced in the RC focus groups, in which it was argued that offering psychological support ('Health and social services') was important for the integration of ACs, who were perceived as having experienced a difficult past.

In Germany, the RC reflected upon potential avenues for intergroup contact. The organisation of social activities was seen by the RC as an important way to foster the relations between both communities. These could range from social to sports activities and can even extend to events on the history of displacement as a potential common theme that could be particularly relevant for the older generation in Germany. Such activities can create bridges and deepen understanding.

In the FGDs in Sweden with the AC, the importance of social networks was not limited to intergroup contact ('Social bridges'), but entailed intra-group contact ('Social bonds') as well. In a matter of fact, there was more focus on contact with other "Arabs" or other newly arrived immigrants as a crucial

facilitator to integration rather than with “Swedes”. Family as an important resource of a social network was relevant for the discussion on integration enablers. Having children for example was perceived as a factor that could facilitate intergroup contact with others parents by attending schools and other related activities. Having children was also seen to generate socio-economic advantage, as the state would provide more social support and assistance, as argued by the AC. The RC in Sweden on the other hand underlined the importance of intergroup contact (‘Social bridges’) as an important factor fostering integration. Suggestions for potential ways to achieve this included activity by organisations that would match individuals with similar interests or age. Though there were some references for organising these activities on equal terms and footing where both communities can learn from each other, some propositions took a rather hierarchal format with the sole objective being that RC members could explain “how the society works” to members of the AC.

In Jordan, the RC also welcomed the notion of more platforms for both communities to interact more and get to know the customs and traditions of each other (‘Culture’). Psychosocial support (‘Health and social services’) for AC members was a further important aspect for socio-psychological integration. Taking into consideration the difficult circumstances of the living situation of the AC, the RC suggested the provision of psychosocial support and a safe environment (‘Safety’) for the AC as important aspects.

HIGHLIGHTS

- There are large discrepancies in the legal framework for refugees and asylum seekers between Jordan and the European site. While RC members in Croatia, Germany and Sweden enjoy many basic rights that are on par with nations, AC members in Jordan are denied basic rights related to housing, labour market and financial services. In Germany and Croatia, family reunification was considered a salient barrier, while in Sweden short residencies were more of a problem for the AC members.
- Access to the labour market proved to be a major barrier to integration across all sites. The three European countries have more inclusive labour market integration policies in comparison to their Jordanian counterpart, which provides the AC with limited rights to access to employment. Certain structural barriers continue to persist in the European sites, including racism. The recognition of certificates was a salient barrier especially for those with high qualifications, who also complained about the lack of targeted programmes that address their needs.
- In Germany, Jordan and Croatia, racism and structural discrimination were particularly relevant to the discussion on housing, where AC members reported difficulties in accessing housing.
- At the European sites, the discussion on facilitators of integration included some of the classical parameters such as employment/work or education, proficiency of the official language of the RC and young age. Due to the difficult macro-economic situation in Jordan, work was not considered a facilitator of integration as it constituted the main source of conflict between both communities. Against this background, older people were less likely to be perceived as a threat to RC members and enjoyed better relations with the RC.

4.3.4 Power, cultural, social and geographical struggles and rapprochements

The codes under this theme represent different societal and institutionalized organizing principles that operate on different levels in the integration process in a defined locality. They relate to power dynamics and their manifestation in negotiating hegemony, e.g. over local cultural and/or religious practices and symbols. The underlying question is who has the upper hand to define who is “integrated” and what are the criteria to qualify as such. Accordingly, language, religion and culture in this code are not simply understood as facilitators as presented in the Ager and Strang model, but merely as venues to negotiate power. The codes also elaborate extensively on racism and discrimination which are not explicitly mentioned in the Ager and Strang model.

Racism and Discrimination

Among all four research sites, racism and discrimination were evident in reports of direct experience, perception of others, self-perception and explicitly in the discussion between participants. As posited in the theoretical framework of “racism without racists” or so-called “neo-racism”(Balibar, 1991), racism and discrimination seemed to be predominantly reproduced based on the social boundary of culture, and to a lesser extent religion, though both are difficult to disentangle as they have been often used interchangeably by the participants. The findings suggest that the main mechanism upon which racism rested is the emphasis on the incompatibility of cultures, which in the view of RC members constituted a significant source of conflict. As for the AC, participants in all sites reported about their own encounters and experiences of racism and discrimination in the receiving countries. It seemed though that AC members were reluctant to emphasise the implications of these experiences on their relations with RC members and stressed instead the positive encounters.

In Croatia, overt racism and anti-immigrant sentiment were evident in the comments provided by some participants. Demands for the exclusion of refugees from lively urban centres and the imposition of higher taxes on them, normalization and trivialization of racist employment practices as well as essentialized notions about refugees are examples of overt racism observed in the discussions with the RC. The culture and to some extent religious “otherness” (see the theme on culture and religion) were a recurrent issue in the FGDs. The RC saw the necessity to draw firmer boundaries between “us” and AC members. These notions are suggestive of a further articulation of racist attitudes. However, participants criticized the racist discourse in Croatia revolving around refugees, whenever a crime is committed by a refugee. AC members in Croatia reported various incidences, in which they experienced exclusion and racism so that racism and discrimination seemed to be systemic and enshrined in different realms of life such as work, housing and health services. At no point in the discussion did the AC, however, label these incidences as racism or describe them as discriminatory. There was also an overall tendency for the AC to emphasise the accounts of the positive aspects of the Croatian receiving society. It can be discussed whether this cautionary stance of the AC has to do with the reluctance to criticize the RC so as not to be perceived as ungrateful.

Racism and discrimination in the German FGDs with the RC were manifested in the sense of supremacy inherent in the language, uttered notions and attitudes. Among those RC members, who seemed to be more sensitized about the issue of racism, a rather individualistic approach to racism seemed to prevail in the discussion. This prompted participants to situate themselves outside the system of racism, making them deny having any racist thoughts, impulses or behaviours. The experiences reported by AC members, on the other hand, alluded to the existence of racism on a structural and systemic level, as manifested in institutional processes, interactions with institutional officers, housing, education as well as employment realms. Women with hijab seemed to be particularly subject to experiences of racism, which extended in some cases to physical attacks. Here again, participants from the AC relativized and contested their own accounts of experienced racism in Germany and to some extent even downplayed these experiences. This has to be understood in relation to the observed tendency of some of the AC members to highlight positive accounts of Germans after articulating any sort of critique towards them.

In contrast to the case in Germany, the RC members in Sweden acknowledged the existence of covert racism, which they perceived to be deeply rooted in the society and to be taking place at a structural level. Racism was even incorporated in the RC’s approach to measuring the ‘success’ of integration, according to which a society without racism is one where integration is complete. Despite this, it is noteworthy to point out that the participants’ essentialist construction of a majority ‘Swedish’ culture as an opposing pole to the AC’s ‘homogenous’ culture was in itself an articulation of a racist attitude (see the section on culture). The culture was an essentialized social category in Sweden that prompted stereotyping and the RC did not consider how this discourse can contribute to cementing racism. As for the AC members, some reported having racist encounters at work and during language courses provided as part of the Introduction Programme. There was, however the perception that racism does not exist in Sweden. The reference point hereby was the experience in other countries such as Lebanon before migrating to Sweden. This notion appears to be a result of internalizing an

understanding of racism as overt and visible actions including harassment, insult and inhumane accommodation.

The discriminatory attitude of the RC in Jordan was tangible at different points of the discussion, especially in Zarqa and Irbid where people felt economically threatened by the large presence of AC members from Syria. This discriminatory attitude was manifested in the characteristics and traits attributed to the AC and the exclusionary demands in the realm of employment and housing. The RC in Amman reflected upon the discriminatory sentiments in Jordan against Syrians and labelled these as racism, which they perceived to be permeating inter-group relations and dividing society. In Jordan as well, this division was being reproduced on the basis of essentializing cultural notions. The testimonies reported by the AC corroborate growing anti-refugee sentiments in Jordanian society. Some participants reported how "You Syrians" started to be utilized as an insult and indicative of undesirable traits in Jordan. The reported experience also alluded to institutional discrimination, e.g. separate schooling hours between RC and AC. Yet, AC members seemed to rather stress the positive experience and attitude towards the RC, avoiding any type of direct criticism.

Religion

In Croatia and Jordan, religion was a salient social boundary that defined the perception and relation with the AC, facilitating contact and good relations with those AC members from the same religion or sect and inducing tension and widening the gap with those affiliated with another religion or sect. In Germany and Sweden, on the other hand, religion did not constitute a significant part of the social identity of the RC and had no implication on intergroup relations. Culture seemed though to function as a broader concept that subsumes religion as well. For the AC in Germany and Croatia, religion was highly related to the anti-Muslim racism that they themselves have experienced.

Among the European research sites, religion as a source of social identity was only evident in the Croatian context. The salience of religious group identification for the RC as adherents of Catholicism could be detected based on the use of terms such as "We Catholics" and the recurring reference to Catholicism as the main religion for Croats. The participants were aware of the potential for discrimination on the basis of religion and were criticizing the discriminatory practices and views towards Muslims which they attributed as a characteristic of the Catholic Church. In relation to attitudes towards immigrants and refugees, the Catholic social identity seemed to function as a salient social boundary that induces rejection towards other immigrants from different cultures and religions. Strong demarcation lines were drawn between Muslims and Catholics, whose relationship seemed to be dominated by fear and tensions. The conflicting relations between both groups were partially attributed to the historical developments embedded in the invasions of the Balkan regions by the Ottoman empire and the Homeland war in 1992-1995. Despite the prevalence of a narrative which distinguished Muslim Syrians from Muslims of other countries by portraying them as less orthodox, RC members could not conceal their scepticism towards Muslim AC members in Croatia. The subtle notion that Islam constitutes a source of conflict with Croatian practices was reiterated on different occasions, with explicit reference to how it is difficult for employers to accept that Muslims have to pray several times during working hours or that female Muslims have to wear the veil in public.

Yet, religion did not always function as a marker for the social divide between the receiving and AC in Croatia. In the specific context of refugees from Syria, religion engendered positive attitudes as well. This is closely related to the (mis)perception that a large share of the Syrian population is affiliated with the Catholic church. The AC, on the other hand, seemed to perceive less of the religious differences articulated by the RC. In a matter of fact, AC members considered Croats to be accepting in terms of religion. This, however, stood in contradiction with the experiences shared by some female participants regarding their experiences of racism due to wearing hijab in public places.

In the German and Swedish FGDs with the RC, there is no indication of religion constituting any sort of social identity. In fact, there wasn't any sort of reference to Christianity as the dominant religion of the RC in any of the two countries. This might be related to the secular nature of these societies and the widespread of atheism among the populations as well as the selection bias of the study sites. It was also interesting to observe that there is no strong reference to Muslims or Islam in both countries

as was the case in the Croatian context. Though the reference to polygamous marriages in the German context is a clear indication of reducing the culture of the AC to Islam, there is a general tendency to frame these differences under the label of culture and not religion. This illustrates the difficulty of disentangling religion from culture, as culture seems to subsume Islamic practices and values in the case of the AC. For the AC in Germany, the debate on religion took a different trajectory and was mainly situated in the larger theme of racism and discrimination. Hijab or women's clothing emerged as a central field of aggressive negotiations. Within this context, female Muslim participants shared their recurrent experiences of being subjected to racism due to their wearing of the hijab. The AC also debated the question of who was more tolerant towards other religions: Syrians or Germans. A lively debate prevailed among the AC participants, with some arguing that Syrians before the war were much more tolerant than Germany and an opposing camp considering religious coexistence to be functioning better in Germany.

The FGDs among the RC in Jordan revealed that religion constituted an important source of social identity for Jordanians. The effect of the religious identity on the relations with the AC seemed to be mediated by the sectarian and religious affiliation of the AC. The Sunni Muslim group identification of Jordanians was seen to breed solidarity and engender welcoming attitudes towards Sunnite Syrians, as both communities were perceived as one nation - the Muslim nation. Religious coexistence was, however, not limited to Sunnite Muslims from Syria and extended to other minorities such as Christians and Yazidis. However, religion in Jordan was not always perceived as a bonding factor; its potential to deepen social cleavages became evident when it came to Shiite Muslims from Syria at least for some parts of the RC. In this case, religious differences between both groups were perceived to be too large, to the extent of constituting a source of symbolic threat in the perception of RC members. This notion was uttered despite the fact that Shiites in Jordan constitute a very small minority. Such fears should be understood in the geopolitical context of Western Asia, which plays a role in deepening the division along the sectarian lines of Islam.

Culture

The cultural "otherness" of the AC members emerged as a central theme in all European sites. Culture functioned as a fundamental marker for social division between the receiving and AC. One of the central questions revolving around culture within the three sites was on the compatibility of the AC's culture with that of the RC. The discussion was based on a simplistic understanding of culture that was viewed as a fixed unidimensional entity instead of perceiving it as a dynamic, fluid and multi-layered system. This understanding seemed to promote stereotypes and racist attitudes among the RC in all European sites.

In the Croatian context, the RC perceived the cultural gap between both communities to be too large to bridge. The discourse on culture revealed an exclusionary attitude towards the outgroup and a heightened tendency toward protectiveness of Croatian culture as a result of a perceived threat posed by the cultural practices of the AC. The discussion also revealed a subtle expectation and demand of assimilation of AC members as many of their cultural practices were perceived to be incompatible with the Croatian lifestyle and hence bearing the potential of constituting a source of conflict in the near future. As newcomers to Croatia, the main responsibility of learning about Croatian culture was perceived to lie exclusively upon the AC. Some RC members mentioned explicitly that they were not inclined to learn about the culture of the AC. This stance was, however, not shared by all participants; the importance of being able to maintain one's own cultural identity and the willingness to learn about the AC's culture was briefly mentioned by the RC. The AC in Croatia presented a different stance regarding cultural differences. In contrary to the dominating opinion among the RC, Syrian culture was not seen to be largely distinct from the Croatian culture and was hence perceived as having the potential of facilitating integration. Hereby, food was considered to play an important role in creating bridges between both communities. The AC participants strongly advocated for mutual tolerance between the cultures.

In German FGDs, the boundaries between "them" and "us" were negotiated by the RC based on cultural notions by alluding to the distinct "morals", "ideas", "opinions", "expectations", "customs",

"traditions" and "work ethics" among both communities. Hereby, the tendency of homogenising and essentialising AC members was particularly evident. German culture was portrayed as being threatened, as it was not inscribed into laws that could shield it from the influence of ACs. Perception of the threat became more tangible when discussing polygamous marriage, which was perceived to endanger German culture by overriding German law. This called for the necessity to educate members of the AC about cultural practices and everyday behaviour and to expose them to the "new" culture gradually and slowly. This points to the internalized notion among the RC that the values and practices of the AC have to be altered so that integration functions. AC members were also convinced of the cultural gap between both communities. For them as well, culture functioned as a salient social boundary. The participants from the AC expressed pride in 'Syrian culture' which entailed the claim to be more hospitable than the German culture. The importance of maintaining one's own culture was stressed, yet at no point did participants denounce the German culture or refuse to adapt certain practices. Yet, there prevailed a fear that their cultural identity and practices, especially in terms of family norms might be jeopardized by German law. As the case in Croatia, the role of food was mentioned as a central cultural practice and means of transcultural encounter and exchange.

A similar pattern as the one described in Croatia and Germany was also evident in Sweden. The RC's tendency to respectively homogenise the 'Swedish' and the 'AC's' culture, as well as the resulting perceived cultural gap between both entities, constituted the foundation for the reproduction of racism and discrimination. Gender equality and women's rights was for instance one of the topics raised to highlight the tension and irreconcilable nature of both cultures. Those RC members with a more fluid and holistic understanding of culture seemed to appreciate the cultural richness and heterogeneity that come along with the AC. The homogenisation of culture was by no means confined to the RC, as it was also observed in the discourse prevailing among AC members. Yet, the AC members did not present these differences to be incompatible or in a "clash" as described by the RC. The AC negotiated the cultural differences and decided what to acquire from the Swedish culture and what to maintain from their own, a process of cultural adaptation that was not evident among the RC members.

The cultural boundaries and "othering" were pronounced in Jordan as well, despite the geographical proximity and the common religion. Yet, here again, the large cultural gap was predominately emphasised by the RC and not the AC. The latter considered Jordanians and Syrians to share common customs and traditions. Those AC members who saw certain differences believed that they had already learned from each other in the last years and thus had come closer to one another. The idea of assimilation was, however, rejected by the AC as it was seen as degrading to their own culture.

Language

The theme of language and language acquisition was central to all discussions at the European sites and was mentioned as a crucial aspect of both socio-economic and socio-psychological integration. Participants shared their understanding of the role of language in the integration process and its consequent implication in defining the responsibility of integration. In Jordan, language was less of an issue, which was anticipated given that both communities share the same language.

In Croatia, learning the Croatian language was seen as a prerequisite to integration and there was a clear demand for the AC to learn the language. The notion of "productive citizenship" was mentioned, with the language being noted as a key factor in entering the labour market and becoming a productive being as expected by neoliberal societies. Acknowledging the importance of language in relation to "productive citizenship", the RC recognized and affirmed its responsibility along with the state in assisting the AC to learn the language. There was, however, the notion that from the moment the AC members started speaking Croatian, they had to start relying on themselves and the state was no longer responsible for providing any type of assistance. Still, the main responsibility in learning the language was perceived to rely on the AC members, whose good will to integrate is partially judged by their readiness to learn the language. AC members stressed as well the importance of learning the language in facilitating employment and inclusion in society. They did, however, point out the unorganised and unsatisfactory quality of the language courses in Croatia.

Across all FGD sites, the RC agreed on the clear demand for the AC to learn the German language, which was perceived as a milestone for integration. Hereby, the distinction between integration and "existence" was essential – while one can exist and be present in Germany without knowledge of the German language, integration cannot take place without the AC members speaking the language. There was hence a general lack of understanding towards those AC members not willing or able to learn the language. There was even scepticism towards the state offering services and translating documents in multiple languages as it was seen as a factor that could deter AC members from learning the German language. Nevertheless, there was a critical reflection on defining language as a prerequisite for integration; participants raised the question of whether not mastering the German language would disqualify elderly people, who encounter more problems to learn a new language, from being integrated. Some also pointed out the double standards within the discussion on the language, as international students living in Germany would never be considered as not "integrated" for not having German language proficiency. The AC stressed the difficulty of learning German, especially at an older age and in the case of vulnerable groups. Highly qualified members of the AC reported language to be a major barrier as well and demanded specialized language courses in their professional field and/or learning the language of the job.

As part of an overall discourse on how migrants not speaking Swedish are seen as a burden and not integrated into the society, language was often emphasised as a precondition for integration. In fact, the RC considered Swedish proficiency as an indicator for measuring the 'success' or 'failure' of integration with those not speaking Swedish perceived to have failed at integration. A pressure for assimilation was also evident in the discussion on language and was reflected in the notion about the necessity of mastering a local Swedish accent so as not to be labelled a 'migrant'. This notion was not only addressed by the RC but by the AC members as well. The AC's stance towards language and integration differed however from that of the RC. Though they did emphasise the importance of language in the integration process, they did not define it as an indicator to measure the progress in the integration process. The state's and society's expectation to learn the Swedish language was seen as a burden by the AC.

In Jordan, language was mentioned briefly on the fringes of the discussion. Nonetheless, many AC participants considered speaking the Jordanian dialect as a means to strengthen the sense of belonging or connectedness to the RC. The RC participants did not mention this at all or express admiration for the Syrian dialect.

Locality

Differences between the geographical sites have emerged throughout the FGDs among all research locations. This is anticipated considering the historical, economic and social variations among different cities within the same country.

In Croatia, the main differentiation was along the lines of rural vs. urban areas, with a specific emphasis on the urban centre of Zagreb, which was depicted as more welcoming and accepting of migrants when compared to other areas in Croatia.

Similar to the case of Croatia, Berlin as the capital city was also romanticized by the AC members, who tended to underline the cosmopolitan and multicultural nature of the city. References to intolerance, arrogance and Neo-Nazism emerged in relation to Leipzig on the other hand. Though in comparison to Leipzig tension in Hamburg was not that explicit, the relations between the RC and AC were not perceived to be smooth. The AC perceived the population of Hamburg to be very reserved and hard to get into contact with. The allocation of migrants to less central areas was also mentioned as an issue in Hamburg.

In Jordan, the overall dynamic and the perception of the status of integration varied between Zarqa and Irbid on one hand, and in Amman on the other. Negative intergroup feelings and perceptions of economic threat were pronounced in the RC groups of Irbid and Zarqa. This can be mainly attributed to the lower development indices in these governorates when compared to the capital Amman, where people enjoy a more secure living standard in general. The citizens of Irbid and Zarqa reported being

largely affected by the presence of AC members, especially in the realm of employment and housing as has been mentioned earlier in the report.

In general, there was limited variation on the perceived avenues for negotiating integration, intergroup relations or perceptions on integration in the three research sites in Sweden (Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm). Perception of threat was only raised by the RC in Malmö. This was in reference, and to contest, the narrative in the media that the city is an example of the failure of the integration system and or an example of the danger of having too many migrants. While segregation is an acknowledged problem in Sweden, this was only raised by the RC in Stockholm. This was attributed to the cities' geography, which, unlike Gothenburg or Malmö, is a series of islands that makes moving across the city more problematic.

HIGHLIGHTS

- Among all research sites, racism and discrimination were evident in reports of direct experience, perception of others, self-perception and explicitly in the discussion between participants.
- Culture and to a lesser extent religion functioned as social boundaries that facilitated the reproduction of racism and discrimination. The incompatibility of cultures, with culture being understood as a broader concept subsuming religion, was emphasized by the RC as the main source of conflict and division. In Jordan (Sunni vs. Shia) and Croatia (Catholics vs. Muslims) religion in the narrower sense played more of an important role in the discussion than in Germany or Sweden. The effect of the religious identity on intergroup relations was mediated by the religious and sectarian affiliation of the AC.
- Though AC members reported incidences of racism and discrimination at all sites, there was reluctance to refer to the RC's behaviour as racist. The AC stressed the positive sides of the AC and attempted to downplay racism.
- Language at the European sites constituted a venue for negotiating power and belonging. At the European, language was defined as an indicator of the "success" or "failure" of integration and functioned as an exclusionary criterion, especially among AC elderly members who were not capable to learn the language. Hence, language was determinant in defining who is being qualified as integrated or not.

4.4 Conclusion

The qualitative field study explored RC and AC participants' views on the current status of integration in the respective sites. Four different aspects were examined: how participants experience intergroup relations; which aspects they consider as most important in integration; what they consider to be barriers and facilitators to integration; and how they conceptualize ideal integration and the responsibilities involved. Unlike the survey and the secondary data analysis, the qualitative field research did not rely on predefined indicators of integration but used the "Indicators of Integration Framework" by Ager and Strang as well as other academic constructs as sensitizing concepts to explore and organize the data. We found that participants referred to several core domains of integration defined by Ager and Strang when discussing integration.

Our qualitative research does not and cannot aim to measure the current status or progress of the integration process. It contextualises and supplements the Ager and Strang indicators and compares phenomena observed across the different sites.

In the following section, the most important findings of the cross-site qualitative research will be discussed. The conclusion is structured based on the research questions that the qualitative research was designed to address.

The nature of intergroup relations and interactions between the RC and AC

As suggested by the qualitative data, RC members in the European sites struggle to assess the current state of dynamic integration and intergroup relations. As in Jordan, growing tension between both communities could be observed: resentment against the AC was explicitly expressed by RC members who considered an aid to go predominantly to the AC which was said to fuel tension between communities. INGOs as main providers of such aid can therefore be considered as important 'Social links'.

When asked how integrated they feel, AC members at all sites showed a tendency to claim high levels of integration. For some of them, assimilation to the RC was a precondition for feeling fully integrated even though it implied giving up important markers of social identity. Language skills ('Language'/'Facilitators'), employment status ('Work'/'Markers and means') and being part of a larger social network involving both communities ('Social bonds' & 'Social bridges'/'Social connections') were identified as major factors for a high level of feeling integrated.

Developing a sense of belonging, on the other hand, seemed to go beyond these socio-economic parameters. Both AC and RC agreed that governmental integration services ('Social links'/'Social connections'), legal regulations ('Rights and responsibilities'/'Foundation') and the engagement of the RC ('Social bridges'/'Social connections') needed to be improved. In the European sites, AC participants only implicitly touched upon the question of a sense of belonging. In Jordan, however, both AC and RC members made contradictory statements: some participants claimed family-like bonds between communities while others described a growing division.

Data on the extent of interaction suggested limited individual helping experiences and involvement in initiatives related to refugees. More importantly, it showed the lack of contact and the unwillingness of the RC to engage in interactions with the AC ('Social bridges'/'Social connections'). This unwillingness makes the AC responsible for approaching the RC. Neighbourhoods ('Housing'/'Markers and means'), educational institutions ('Education'/'Markers and means'), workplace ('Work/'Markers and means') and recreational activities ('Leisure'/'Facilitators') emerged as major venues for intergroup contact. A different dynamic was observed in the Jordanian sites of Zarqa and Irbid, which host the largest number of AC members in Jordan. In these sites, daily interactions seemed to be more frequent.

Building intergroup relations with the RC ('Social bonds'/'Social connections') was perceived to be particularly challenging in Sweden. Intimate relationships such as partnerships were considered the litmus test for intergroup relations, but in all sites with the exception of Sweden, participants from both communities expressed reservation, rejection or conflicting attitudes towards intergroup marriage or partnerships. The readiness for social proximity thus seems to end for some when it comes to intimate relationships and marriage.

Attitudes are important factors that influence the nature of intergroup relations ('Social bridges'/'Social connections'). Among the RC, we observed a mixture of both positive and negative attitudes towards the AC. Nevertheless, two narratives, most prevalent in Jordan and Germany, seemed to shape the RC's attitudes:

- The image of vulnerable, traumatized refugees (see also Fassin & Rechtman, 2009) seeking shelter and expected to behave like guests and be grateful to the receiving community; or
- The image of parasitical and potentially criminal refugees who threaten the physical, socio-cultural or economic safety of the receiving society.

Whenever AC members would behave differently from the expectations expressed in the first narrative, the RC member would show frustration or rejection and shift to the second narrative. Syrians were considered by many RC members as "better refugees" as they were perceived to be better educated, more liberal or less strict in interpreting Islam. Country-specific historical experience with intergroup contact such as the presence of Syrian students in the 1970s in Croatia or own experience of war and displacement seemed to influence attitudes towards refugees in general and Syrians in particular.

Many AC participants addressed negative experiences and qualities of the RC with caution and preferred emphasizing positive aspects. Criticism was expressed only of the Jordanians' and Germans' perceived sense of supremacy and the reserved nature of the Swedes and the Germans, all of which were considered as barriers to intergroup relations. Interestingly, RC members in Jordan, Germany and Sweden mentioned the same aspects when reflecting on their own social group. AC participants in Germany and Jordan further expressed feelings of guilt and shame because of the civil war in Syria and a shaken identity after displacement.

Economic perception of threat can negatively influence intergroup relationships ('Social bridges'/'Social connections'). This was most evident in Jordan and Croatia where RC members feared further economic competition or hardship. In Germany, this included fears of losing economic privileges in the mid- or long-term. Muslim religious practices in the public sphere (Croatia), rising criminal rates (Germany, Jordan) and fears of losing one's ethnic identity (Sweden) were important aspects of threat perception on the symbolic level. RC members associated them with an increased arrival of the AC. In the European sites, RC participants acknowledged the negative role of certain mainstream media in polarising views about the AC or refugees. In their view, such a polarisation undermined intergroup relations ('Social bridges'/'Social connections'). Accordingly, RC members called for accurate information about the current status of the integration process.

The following behaviours and behavioural intentions could be identified in the discussions on intergroup relations: "acceptance"; "reservation, rejection & (self-)exclusion"; "empathy and taking perspective" or "help". In line with the narrative of the 'vulnerable, traumatized refugee', the AC was often considered as 'recipient' . Rejection was most prevalent within RC members in Zarqa and to a lesser extent in Irbid, despite the more frequent contact between both communities, a result that can be understood in light of the fragile economic situation in this area and the scarcity of resources. In the European sites, but in particular in Germany, women wearing hijab emerged as the group more prone to rejection and intergroup aggression.

Power dynamics should not be neglected when exploring intergroup relations, interactions or social links to institutions. In the European sites, the RC participants reported and demonstrated attitudes and behaviours shaped by racism and discrimination. As suggested by the data, racism and discrimination can manifest in individual subtle attitudes, but also in the group and individual behaviour in the public sphere – especially by limiting the AC's access to 'Markers and means' such as 'Work' and 'Housing'. Hereby, culture and religion seemed to have a double function: as social boundary (set mostly by the RC) perpetuating racism when perceived to be different; or as an avenue for rapprochement when perceived to be similar or common.

Anti-Muslim sentiment was an important issue in Croatia and Germany. The RC could be observed to (re-)claim their hegemony when negotiating cultural and religious questions. This could imply, for example, defining which cultural and religious practices were to be considered part of the public sphere, which languages were to be used or which localities belonged to whom. Given the qualitative nature of this data, it remains open as to what extent AC members are facing racism and discrimination or power struggles in these realms. Research addressing power dynamics and issues of trust through a different lens and approach, such as anthropological field studies, might be more suitable to explore the AC's views on the RC.

Characteristics of RC and AC members that influence socio-psychological integration

This research has shown how racist and discriminatory attitudes and behaviour, the perception of threat and the strong orientation towards the two narratives of refugees as either vulnerable or parasitical impair socio-psychological integration efforts. Their understanding of ideal integration also makes RC members more or less likely to accept AC members and to engage in intergroup relations ('Social bridges'/'Social connections'). Understanding integration as equivalent to (cultural) assimilation, and focusing on socio-economic aspects and administrative procedures seem to negatively affect the RC's attitudes, behaviours or efforts to engage in integration. According to RC members in the European sites, old age, residence in rural areas and right-wing political orientation made their own community members more prone to negative views towards the AC. RC members in

Croatia, Jordan and Germany feeling threatened by higher economic competition seemed more prone to reservation or rejection towards AC members.

The unwillingness of RC members to actively build intergroup relationships stood out as a major barrier to integration in the European sites. According to the data from Germany, having a migration background seemed to help RC members to take perspective and recognize the need for RC involvement in integration efforts. In line with this, in Croatia, both RC and AC participants referred to the Croatians' own experience of displacement and war as a potential resource for positive intergroup relations. The Germans' and Jordanians' perceived sense of supremacy was named as a barrier for socio-psychological integration by both AC and RC participants. In Sweden, the perceived social reservation of the RC was stated to impair building 'Social bridges'. The relation between RC's socio-economic safety or wealth and their passiveness may be a valuable starting point for future research.

Exploring the AC's attitudes on integration, especially in terms of negative views about the RC proved to be difficult due to two factors: first, a high level of social desirability and second, the AC's own identification with the narrative of the vulnerable refugee that needs to strive for integration and show gratitude to the RC. The AC seemed to clearly sense the pressure for socio-economic integration and assimilation described above. Some AC members even appeared to identify with this demand but struggled to align it with their social identity. Others, however, seemed to object and resist adhering to it. Further aspects were perceived as obstacles to socio-psychological integration: in Germany, AC members were perceived to exploit the social benefits system whereas, in Croatia, they were perceived to aspire to migrate on to other economically prosperous European countries.

Young age was identified by participants from both communities as another important facilitator for socio-psychological integration. Participants perceived advantage for young people when compared to the elderly. Furthermore, language proficiency was mentioned as a decisive factor in defining the integration trajectory, especially in interaction with other domains and sources. Younger AC members involved in educational, recreational or work contexts and proficient in the receiving country's official language seem to differ not only quantitatively but also qualitatively in their level of socio-psychological integration. They are more likely to be welcomed and accepted by the RC given their higher chances of contributing to the national economy.

A low level of participation and a lack of language skills impair individuals' socio-psychological integration and undermine the self-esteem and social identity of the AC. Those that are considered 'old and vulnerable' seem to challenge both prevalent understandings of integration and narratives about refugees. As the group least likely to contribute economically to the receiving country, the elderly seem to correspond best to the narrative of the vulnerable, traumatized refugee as they instil a perception of threat to economic stability and social privileges. This dynamic reveals the contradiction within the 'traumatized refugee narrative': those that need help most are the ones least wanted given their limited capacities to contribute to the economic and social system. Jordan, however, presents an interesting contrast: as a country lacking the extensive social security systems of the European sites, elder AC members were more likely to be accepted there probably because they represent less economic competition in the labour market than younger members.

Attitudes towards the outgroup, perception of threat and understandings of integration influence socio-psychological integration of RC and AC. As anticipated, high levels of participation in the core domains of 'Markers and means', more precisely 'Work', 'Education' and 'Housing', appeared to support a higher level of socio-psychological integration for both RC and AC members. This was mirrored in stronger 'Social bridges' and better skills to navigate through 'Social links'.

The RC's perception of socio-economic integration and impact of the AC and its implications for socio-psychological integration

The RC's perception of the AC is influenced by certain narratives. These narratives are mediated by the expectation for the AC to make integration efforts to avoid being perceived as a burden. Research also showed that the RC focussed very much on socio-economic indicators when defining how they understand integration. Refugees from Syria were perceived to be more likely to 'tick this box' and hence emerged as the most desirable community among all refugee groups. It, therefore, seems that

when the RC perceives the AC as capable of fulfilling such demands and making progress towards socio-economic integration, this motivates them to build positive socio-psychological relations with the AC.

Yet, the economic context of the receiving country is decisive in this equation: the labour-market participation of AC members in countries with a fragile maco-economic situation can negatively influence intergroup relations and hence invalidate the above-mentioned hypothesis. As seen in the context of Croatia and Jordan, the more AC members enter the job market, the higher the perception of economic threat by the RC. This can result in tension and hostilities. In Germany, RC members perceived the loss of social benefits as a threat. The extent of the perception of threat is mediated by the number of refugees entering the country. Data from Jordan suggests that the rise in economic competition in Zarqa and to a lesser extent in Irbid has already negatively impacted the relations as some RC participants called for a stronger separation between the two communities. In Sweden, RC participants raised concerns about the change in the political climate.

In terms of future effects, RC members were found to be a pessimistic and fearing loss, while AC members expressed optimistic views about the future and hopes of improving their living conditions. In Croatia, RC participants assumed that intergroup relations ('Social bridges'/'Social connections') depended on the development of the macroeconomic situation of the country. As argued earlier, the desire to secure one's social position was reflected in how racism and discrimination were reproduced to determine the RC's right to power and access to important resources such as dominance over certain localities, languages spoken and cultural and religious practice permitted in the public sphere.

While most RC members demand newly arrived AC members to integrate socio-economically so as not to burden the social system, many of them feared for the AC to jeopardize the RC's economic and social benefits.

The relation of the socio-economic situation of AC members to their socio-psychological integration

Failed access to the labour market, to education, to secure housing as well as the rejection of certificates and diplomas impact the AC sense of self-efficacy, self-esteem and overall psychological wellbeing. This became apparent in the discussions. Participation in these 'Markers and means' enables the AC to build 'Social bridges' to an otherwise hard-to-reach RC. Again, young age and a sufficient level of language proficiency facilitate participation and socio-psychological integration. Barriers to family reunification were named as another factor with a strong negative impact on psychological wellbeing and socio-psychological integration of the AC.

In summary, this research emphasises that access and participation to 'Social means and markers' such as 'Work', 'Education' and 'Housing' are fundamental pathways to socio-psychological integration. Moreover, it shows how the socio-economic and socio-psychological integration of the RC interplays with their ability to receive and integrate with the AC. Those feeling threatened in their access to resources seemed more likely to reject the AC. Structural barriers such as legal regulations must be addressed directly. But beyond that, any intervention seeking to address individual needs, competencies and resources should enable a person to navigate through such barriers (in particular AC members). A stronger focus on the RC is also needed, including targeted information and training on how RC members may consciously and unconsciously perpetuate barriers to integration, and how they can, in turn, contribute to reducing such barriers.

5. Implications for Policy and Practice (Recommendations)

This section presents some of the possible implications for integration policy and practice arising from the findings of this research. They will be elaborated further in other project publications.

They are organized according to the dimensions of the Integration Framework (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019), with added recommendations emerging from the interdependency of the socio-economic and socio-psychological dimensions. A short paragraph summarizing the key findings of this study, which the following recommendations are derived from, introduces each section.

Means and Markers – Work, Housing, Education, Health and Social Care, Leisure

Our findings show that differences in employment rates and overall employment situation, including overqualification, between the RC and the AC remain a few years after migration. The number of AC respondents who applied for the recognition of their qualifications is relatively low even in destination countries like Sweden and Germany, were about half and one third, respectively, of AC respondents, had applied. In all countries, the employment gap between the AC and RC is larger among women than among men. Furthermore, the usual socio-demographic, migration-related, human capital and health-related variables do not explain the AC women's probability to find employment. As expected, the number of overqualified workers was higher among the AC than among the RC, with this pattern being more clear across countries among men. As for the housing situation of the AC, the share of people who lived in overcrowded dwellings and who reported being overburdened with the price of the rent was high in all countries.

Based on these findings for the largest group of forced migrants in recent years, policy and practice initiatives designed to improve the AC's access to **employment** and their job conditions should include:

- o The facilitation of the recognition of the credentials of refugees is both a significant issue and directly linked to a range of integration-related factors. The development of faster and more flexible approaches would most likely have a significant positive impact for refugees struggling to find employment or employment at a level appropriate to their skills.
- o There are distinct need for different groups within the refugee community which need to be considered in integration and employment programmes. These should be responsive to the needs, qualifications and family situation of distinct groups; in particular, elder AC members, skilled workers and AC women. Among others, these programs should include initiatives to reach and engage AC women in such programs.
- o Engaging employers, including private sector employers, in introduction and employment programs so that they provide training and suitable employment opportunities according to the qualifications of AC members.
- o Initial reception programmes have a positive, indeed key, impact but it is clear that a longer-term commitment to integration support is essential to aiding integration. This is particularly relevant for those with lower or unrecognised qualifications, women and those with lower language competence in English and/or the language of the receiving country.

- Housing remains a critical factor for the AC. Policies which affordability and suitability are important for a range of outcomes..

Social connections – Bonds, Bridges, Links

With regard to the socio-psychological dimension of integration, our findings suggest that the RC members across the four countries are not correctly aware of the AC members' actual socio-economic background and situation, as compared to the data provided by the AC members in our sample. The findings also show that while the RC members' perceptions of the socio-economic impact of the AC members were generally on the positive side in Germany and Sweden, the opinions of their

counterparts varied from generally neutral in Croatia to quite neutral and more on the negative side in Jordan. It is possible that high unemployment rates and fragile economic situation in Jordan and Croatia might explain more neutral and negative perceptions of the socio-economic impact of the AC. The findings could also indicate that the RC in Croatia and Jordan lack information on the ways the government supports refugees and the sources of funding for integration programmes.

Moreover, our findings show that the intergroup attitudes of the RC towards the AC are neutral to moderately positive, while the attitudes of the AC towards the RC are positive in all countries. The intergroup contact between the AC and RC was shown to be quite rare and sometimes related to AC's experiences of discrimination. Social networks of the AC had proportionally more RC than vice-versa, further showing the lack of intergroup relations and contact on the side of the RC. While the perception of threat to socio-economic resources was more prominent in the AC samples, the RC felt more threat to their culture, norms and way of life. The trend was opposite in Jordan, probably due to the nature of the cultural similarities between the RC and AC, and the overall poorer macro-economic situation of the country. Alongside Jordan, the RC in Croatia also reported moderate to moderately high levels of perception of realistic intergroup threat, but the perception of symbolic threat was further emphasized, probably due to the perceived cultural and religious differences between the RC and AC.

Based on these findings for the largest group of forced migrants in recent years, policy and practice initiatives, including stakeholder actions, designed to encourage **positive intergroup relations** should include the following:

- Support of community-level groups which can organize activities which bring RC and AC members together and encourage **close interactions and intergroup contact**. The key aspect of such events is to ensure that the AC and RC members can participate and interact on equal terms by:
    - overcoming language barriers by involving bilingual facilitators.
    - setting common goals in shared activities
    - having both groups equally contribute to the activities
    - ensuring that the social status of both groups is equal
    - encouraging encounters between the AC and RC around the common interest (e.g sports, crafts, first aid courses, film clubs etc.) where the similarities are embraced rather than differences and participants starting from equal positions are sharing the same experience.
- Address incorrect RC conceptions and **perception of threat to economic resources and cultural identity** by providing access to transparent and up-to-date information on the integration policies, practices and allocation of resources supporting the integration of the AC members (particularly in middle-income countries).
- Work on providing sense of socio-economic security of the AC by implementing policy initiatives supporting their employment, adequate housing and education.

Facilitators – Language and Communication, Culture, Digital Skills, Safety, Stability

In the Ager and Strang model, language, communication and culture were conceptualized as competencies and facilitators that enable the integration process. While our AC survey respondents reported having a relatively high proficiency in the language of the receiving country in all countries except for Croatia, the regression analyses showed that, other things equal, those who indicated having a better command of that language were not more likely to be employed than AC respondents who perceived their host country language ability as being poorer. Based on this, we believe the role of language as a facilitator of integration in certain domains needs to be problematized and extended to include to the power dynamics and manifestations of racism and discrimination involved (e.g. biased selection processes in job application based on names or foreign accents discriminating the AC). Furthermore, in many European countries, language proficiency is a prerequisite for many rights and foundations including citizenship. Similarly, the participants in our focus groups perceived culture as being a source of conflict and division, rather than a facilitator of integration. Cultural differences often justified racist or discriminatory opinions. Based on these and other findings presented in this report, we conclude that perceiving some of these indicators solely as facilitators can obscure the complexity of the mechanisms through which these competences and attributes facilitate or hinder the AC's participation in different spheres of society.

Since our findings did not show any clear evidence that some of the indicators included as facilitators in the Ager and Strang's model promoted the AC's socio-economic integration but our data rather emphasises the cross-cutting nature of these domains, no specific recommendations were included in this part.

Foundation – Rights and Responsibilities

Across all sites, both RC and AC named various legal and institutional barriers to integration. At the European sites, the limited duration of residence permits, language requirements for vocational training/further education and family unification were some of the major issues discussed. The RC demanded a fast and consequent asylum process following common guidelines and responsibilities among the EU member states. In Jordan's restrictive legal landscape, the AC strongly criticized the legal limitations to certain professions. When it comes to the question of who is responsible for the integration efforts, the activation of a rather passive RC remains a major challenge. The burden of integration was mainly shouldered by the individual AC, who was perceived by the RC as the main responsible actor for integration. The AC internalized this notion as well. Within the RC, mainly governmental institutions were seen as part of the two-way integration process. The private sector was not assigned any responsibility. Media was found to contribute negatively to the polarized discourse on integration.

To reduce legal barriers to integrations and address the critical issue of lack of RC engagement, the following starting points for interventions emerged from the research:

In relation to legal standards and guidelines developed at EU and national levels, they should include:

- o Faster and more flexible approaches to recognition of qualifications,
- o Introduction of more flexibility in the language requirements for vocational training/further education,
- o Providing of longer residence permits,
- o Facilitation of family unification,
- o Extensionsof the period for integration supports beyond the reception period.

- A comprehensive and transparent approach to disseminating timely and contextualized information. While this is substantially a state function, it also involves all stakeholders.
- Embedding the engagement of the RC in more active roles in integration, both in terms of public awareness of its importance and as an element in programme development.
- Incentivising volunteerism within both the RC and AC in the private and public sectors.

Cross-cutting topics

As mentioned earlier, there are certain themes or indicators in the Ager and Strang model which cannot be solely understood as horizontal, which is why this section was included as a further domain of the Ager and Strang model. Dimensions related to the power dynamics among both communities are vertically interlinked to the other domains. Our findings suggest that the conflictual nature of these issues is manifested in racism and discrimination, which are being produced along the lines of religion and culture. At the European sites, language also functioned as an exclusionary criterion, on the basis of which AC members were defined as "integrated" or not. According to the AC, the extent of racism and discrimination regulate the access to or exclusion from 'Markers and Means' as well as 'Social connections' and pose a threat to their safety.

To address **racism and discrimination,** interventions on various levels are needed. The research points to the importance of the following aspects:

- Providing **systematic training and disseminating information** about the role and mechanisms of racism and discrimination. Though such training is most relevant for system stakeholders (e.g. officers in governmental and NGO services, landlords, employers), it should be implemented as an integral part of employment and educational contexts. In terms of content these interventions may include:
    - How to understand racism and discrimination and the risks that emerge from them;
    - Raising awareness on how racism and discrimination can manifest in one's own behaviours and attitudes including subtler ones like a general reservation to engage in contact or sense of entitlement or supremacy.
- Providing **language and cultural interpreters** in a broader range of institutions. These measures are important to ensure a better flow of communication and reduce the likelihood of rejection and discrimination.
- Reducing the institutional barriers that **women with Hijab** encounter when accessing the domains of the labour market and housing.
- Facilitating narratives that offer **alternative images to the common victimization or criminalization** of the AC.

6. General conclusion

Deliverable D4.3: *Cross-site analysis* is the final deliverable in the FOCUS Work Package 4, bringing together quantitative and qualitative data collected in four study countries and comparing those using statistical multigroup methods of quantitative data analysis, and thematic exploration of qualitative data. Alongside the policy and practice significance, this research is first and foremost a scientific exploration of multidimensional integration of arriving and receiving community in a way it has not, as far as the systematic review on literature conducted as a part of WP2 has shown, been investigated before.

FOCUS study combines interdisciplinary, multi-methodological and multi-analytical approaches to view integration from different angles. Moreover, we challenged the existing Indicators of Integration Framework (Ndofor-Tah et al., 2019) by testing the indicators through socio-economic and socio-psychological paradigms in the quantitative study, adding additional measures and indicators based on the systematic literature review, and studying the notion of 'what is important for integration' in the qualitative study, allowing for the narrative around integration to flow freely and point to the facilitators and barriers perceived by the RC and AC.

The study concludes with a brief set of recommendations for policy and practice that are empirically founded through a series of scientific methods and procedures, starting from the systematic literature review, followed by the development and implementation of a qualitative and quantitative study, and derived from the findings across four distinct integration contexts.

During the final phase of the work of the FOCUS project further analyses will be prepared based on this research, including triangulation with a wider range of data, a focus on specific practical policy responses and input to the project's work on effective integration practices.

7. Bibliography

Ager, A. & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding Integration: A conceptual framework, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21 (2), 166–191.

Ajduković, D., Čorkalo Biruški, D., Gregurović, M., Matić Bojić, J., & Župarić Iljić, D. (2019). Izazovi integracije izbjeglica u hrvatsko društvo: stavovi građana i pripremljenost lokalnih zajednica. [Challenges of integration of refugees into Croatian society: Attitudes of citizens and the readiness of local communities]. Zagreb: Ured za ljudska prava i prava nacionalnih manjina.

Ajzen, I. & Fishbein, M. (2000). Attitudes and the Attitude-Behavior Relation: Reasoned and Automatic Processes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 11, 1-33.

Allport, G. W. (1954b). *The nature of prejudice*. Adison-Wesley.

Bagci, S. C., & Canpolat, E. (2019). Group efficacy as a moderator on the associations between perceived discrimination, acculturation orientations, and psychological well-being. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 30(1), 45-58.

Bakker, L., Dagevos, J., & Engbersen, G. (2014). The Importance of Resources and Security in the Socio-Economic Integration of Refugees. A Study on the Impact of Length of Stay in Asylum Accommodation and Residence Status on Socio-Economic Integration for the Four Largest Refugee Groups in the Netherlands. *Int. Migration & Integration*, 15, 431–448.

Balibar, É. (1991). Is there a 'neo-racism'? In: Balibar, É., Wallerstein, I.: *Race, Nation, Class. Ambigious Identities*. Verso, 17-28.

Barlow, F. K., Paolini, S., Pedersen, A., Hornsey, M. J., Radke, H. R. M., Harwood, J., … Sibley, C. G. (2012). The contact caveat: Negative contact predicts increased prejudice more than positive contact predicts reduced prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(12), 1629-1643.

Beek, M. & Fleischmann F. (2020) Religion and integration: does immigrant generation matter? The case of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(17), 3655-3676.

Becker, G.S. (1975) Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education, Cambridge 1975, National Bureau of Economic Research. Available at http://EconPapers.repec.org/RePEc:nbr:nberbk:beck75-1

Behtoui, A. (2007) The distribution and return on social capital: Evidence from Sweden. *Eur. Soc*. 9, 383–407.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation. *International Association of Applied Psychology*, 46(1), 5–68.

Berry, J. W., Kim, U., Minde, T. & Mok, D. (1987). Comparative studies of acculturative stress. *International Migration Review*, 21, 491-511.

Blumer, H. (1954). What is wrong with social theory? *American Sociological Review*, 18, 3–10.

Bogardus, E. S. (1933). A social distance scale. *Social Research*, 17, 265-271.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation. *American Sociological Review*, 62(3), 465-480.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2015). More than Prejudice: Restatement, Reflections, and New Directions in Critical Race Theory. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(1), 73-87.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Kegan & Paul.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Policy Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2021). Forms of Capital: General Sociology, Volume 3: Lectures at the Collège de France 1983 - 84. Vereinigtes Königreich: Wiley.

Bowskill, M., Lyons, E., & Coyle, A. (2007). The rhetoric of acculturation: When integration means assimilation. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 46, 793–813.

Boyd, M. (1984). At a Disadvantage: The Occupational Attainments of Foreign Born Women in Canada. *International Migration Review*, 18(4), 109–119.

Braithwaite, A., Chu, T. S., Curtis, J., & Ghosn, F. (2019). Violence and the perception of risk associated with hosting refugees. *Public Choice*, 178(3-4), 473-492.

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2),77-101.

Buijs, F. J., & Rath, J. C. (2006). Muslims in Europe. The state of research. IMISCOE Working paper.Universiteit van Amsterdam. Retrieved from: http://www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers/documents/MuslimsinEurope-Thestateofresearch.pdf (Accessed 21/1/2021)

Burkert, C. (2020) Presentation at the CAN-EU Migration Platform event on Integration of Migrant Women, 13 November. Webminar available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/watch-now-supporting-successful-labour-market-integration-migrant-women_en (accessed 30.11.2021)

Cashaback (2020) Presentation at the CAN-EU Migration Platform event on Integration of Migrant Women, 13 November. Webminar available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/watch-now-supporting-successful-labour-market-integration-migrant-women_en (accessed 30/11/2021)

Carlsson, M.; Rooth, D. (2007) Evidence of ethnic discrimination in the Swedish labour market using experimental data. *Labour Econ*. 14, 716–729.

Castles, S., Korac, M., Vasta, E., & Vertovec, S. (2002). Integration: Mapping the field. Ndofor-Tah et al. online report, 29(3), 115-118.

Cheah, W. H., Karamehic-Muratovic, A., & Matsuo, H. (2013). Ethnic-Group Strength Among Bosnian Refugees in St. Louis, Missouri, and Host Receptivity and Conformity Pressure. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 11(4), 401–415.

Connor, P., & Koenig, M. (2013). Bridges and Barriers: Religion and Immigrant Occupational Attainment across Integration Contexts. International Migration Review, 47(1), 3–38.

Connor, P., & Koenig, M. (2015). Explaining the Muslim employment gap in Western Europe: Individual-level effects and ethno-religious penalties. Social Science Research, 49, 191–201.

Council of the European Union (20.5.2012). Conclusions on multilingualism and the development of language competences. Retrieved from: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/educ/142692.pdf (accessed 23/12/2020)

Di Saint Pierre, F., Martinovic, B., & De Vroome, T. (2015). Return Wishes of Refugees in the Netherlands: The Role of Integration, Host National Identification and Perceived Discrimination. *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, 41(11), 1836–1857.

Esser, H. (2006). Migration, Sprache und Integration. (AKI-Forschungsbilanz, 4). Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, Arbeitsstelle Interkulturelle Konflikte und gesellschaftliche Integration.

European Commission (24.11.2020). Action plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027. Retrieved from: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/system/files_en?file=2020-11/action_plan_on_integration_and_inclusion_2021-2027.pdf (acessed 1/1/2021)

European Commission (2018). Integration of immigrants in the European Union - Report. Special Eurobarometer 469 – Wave EB88.2 – TNS opinion & social. http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion.

Fassin, D., & Rechtman, R. (2009). *The empire of trauma: An inquiry into the condition of victimhood*. (R. Gomme, Trans.). University Press.

Fleischmann, F. & Phalet, K. (2012). Integration and Religiosity among the Turkish second generation in Europe: A comparative analysis across four capital cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(2), 320-341.

FOCUS (2019). Deliverable 3.1: Research design and methodology. Project FOCUS (H2020 822401). https://www.focus-refugees.eu/ (accessed 5.11.2021.)

FOCUS (2020). Systematic literature review on socio-psychological integration of refugees and host communities. Project FOCUS (H2020 822401). https://www.focus-refugees.eu/ (accessed 5.11.2021.)

Foner, N. (2015). Is Islam in Western Europe like Race in the United States? *Sociological Forum*, 30(4), 885-899.

Foner, N., & Alba, R. (2008). Immigrant Religion in the U.S. and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to Inclusion? *International Migration Review*, 42(2), 360–392.

Galchenko, I., & van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2007). The role of perceived cultural distance in the acculturation of exchange students in Russia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 31(2), 181–197.

Geschke D., Mummendey A., Kessler T., Funke F. (2010). Majority members' acculturation goals as predictors and effects of attitudes and behaviours towards migrants. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 49(3), 489-506.

Goodman, S., & Kirkwood, S. (2019). Political and Media Discourses about Integrating Refugees in the UK. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 49, 1456-1470.

Grgas, G. (2020), Unatoč 122.813 nezaposlenih, mi ne možemo naći radnike, [Despite 122.13 unemployed, we can't find workers]. Retreived from: https://novac.jutarnji.hr/novac/aktualno/unatoc-122-813-nezaposlenih-mi-ne-mozemo-naci-radnike-15033440 (accessed 30.12.2021.)

Haase, A., Rohmann, A., & Hallmann, K. (2019). An ecological approach to psychological adjustment: A field survey among refugees in Germany. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 68, pp. 44–54.

Hatton, T. J. (2011). Seeking asylum, trends and policies in the OECD. Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR), London.

Hayfron, J.E. (2002). Panel estimates of the earnings gap in Norway: do female immigrants experience a double earnings penalty?. *Applied Economics*, 34(11), 1441–1452.

Healy, E., Thomas, E., & Pedersen, A. (2017). Prejudice, polyculturalism, and the influence of contact and moral exclusion: A comparison of responses toward LGBI, TI, and refugee groups. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 47(7), 389–399.

Heizmann, B., & Huth, N. (2021). Economic conditions and perceptions of immigrants as an economic threat in Europe: Temporal dynamics and mediating processes. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 62(1), 56–82. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715221993529

Hogan-Brun, G., Mar-Molinero, C., & Stevenson, P. (2009). Discourses on language and integration: Critical perspectives on language testing regimes in Europe. Amsterdam [u.a.]: Benjamins.

Hogg, M. A. & Vaughan, G. M. (2005). *Social Psychology*. Prentice-Hall.

Ndofor-Tah et al. (2019). Ndofor-Tah et al. Indicators of Integration framework, 3rd edition. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/835573/home-office-indicators-of-integration-framework-2019-horr109.pdf (accessed 5.11.2021.).

https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/pdf/action_plan_on_integration_and_inclusion_2021-2027.pdf (accessed 23/12/2020)

Irastorza, N. (2020). The labour market integration of Migrant Women. Ad-hoc request by the Canada-EU Migration Platform. European Commission. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/outcomes-report-canada-eu-migration-platform-integration-migrant-women_en (accessed 30/11/2021)

Irastorza, N. & Bevelander, P. (2017) "The Labour Market Participation of Humanitarian Migrants in Sweden: An Overview", *Intereconomics* 52(5), 270-277. https://doi.org/10.1007/ s10272-017-0689-0

Irastorza,N. & Bevelander,P. (2021) Skilled Migrants in the Swedish Labour Market: An Analysis of Employment, Income and Occupational Status. *Sustainability* 13, 3428. https://doi.org/ 10.3390/su13063428

Irastorza, N. & Tucker, J. (2020) "Socio-economic dimension of integration: What does the literature say?". FOCUS Integration Brief #3. Available at: https://www.focus-refugees.eu/wp-content/uploads/FOCUS_Brief-3_Socio-economic-factors_Oct2020.pdf (accessed 30.11.2021)

Liebig (2020). Presentation at the CAN-EU Migration Platform event on Integration of Migrant Women, 13 November. Webminar available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/watch-now-supporting-successful-labour-market-integration-migrant-women_en (accessed 30.11.2021)

Keller, H. (2007). *Cultures of infancy*. Mahwah, Erlbaum.

Liebig, T. and Tronstad, R. (2018). Triple Disadvantage? A first Overview of the Integration of Refugee Women. OECD Social, Employment and Migration Papers 216. OECD Publishing, Paris. Available at: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/employment/triple-disadvantage_3f3a9612-en (accessed 16/11/2021).

Lindley, J. (2002). Race or Religion? The impact of religion on the employment and earnings of Britian's ethnic communities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(3), 427-442.

Murray, K. E., & Marx, D. M. (2013). Attitudes toward unauthorized immigrants, authorized immigrants, and refugees. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(3), 332–341. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030812

OECD (2021), Income inequality (indicator). doi: 10.1787/459aa7f1-en (accessed 22 December 2021).

Oers, R v., Ersbøll, E., & Kostakopoulou, T. (2010). A re-definition of belonging?: Language and integration tests in Europe. Leiden [u.a.]: Nijhoff.

Pivovarov, D. V. (2015). On Universal Definition of Religion. Journal of Siberian Federal University. *Humanities & Social Sciences*, 1, 52-63.

QSR International (2019). NVivo 12 [computer software]. London, United Kingdom: QSR International (UK) Limited. Available from qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/home

Rafiqi, A., & Thomsen, J. P. F. (2021). Group discrimination, intergroup contact, and ethnic minority members' reactions towards the majority. *Ethnicities*, 21(1), 3 – 22.

Redfield R., Linton R., & Herskovtis M. (1936). Memorandum on the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, 38, 149-152.

Republic of Croatia, Ministry of the Interior (2021). *Statistical indicators of persons granted international protection in the Republic of Croatia concluded with 30.09.2021*. Available at: https://mup.gov.hr/pristup-informacijama-16/statistika-228/statistika-trazitelji-medjunarodne-zastite/283234 (accessed 1.12.2021.)

Safak, A., Kunuroglu, F. K., van de Vijver, F., & Yagmur, K. (2020). Acculturation of Syrian refugees in the Netherlands: Religion as social identity and boundary marker. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 1. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feaa020

Samovar, L. A. & Porter, R. E. (2004). *Communication between Cultures*. 5th Edition. Belmont: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

Schröder (2020). Presentation at the CAN-EU Migration Platform event on Integration of Migrant Women, 13 November. Webinar available at: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/watch-now-supporting-successful-labour-market-integration-migrant-women_en (accessed 30/11/2021)

Schweitzer, R., Perkoulidis, S., Krome, S., Ludlow, C., & Ryan, M. (2005). Attitudes towards refugees: The dark side of prejudice in Australia. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 57(3), 170–179.

Sebastiani, L. & Martín-Godoy, P. (2020). Elective affinities between racism and immigrant integration policies: a dialogue between two studies carried out across the European Union and Spain, Identities, DOI: 10.1080/1070289X.2020.1831780

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), The Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology Reducing prejudice and discrimination, 23-45.

Stephan, W.G., Ybarra, O. & Riek Morrison, K. (2009). Intergroup Threat Theory. In: T. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination,* 43-59. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Suanet, I., & van De Vijver, F. J. R. (2009). Perceived cultural distance and acculturation among exchange students in Russia. Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 19(3), 182–197.

Terry, G., Hayfield, N., Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. In W. Stainton Rogers, & C. Willig (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology*, (17-37). London: SAGE Publications DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781526405555.n2

Triandis, H.C. & Brislin, R. W. (1984). Cross-Cultural Psychology. *American Psychologist*, 39(9), 1006-1016.

Turoy, S. K. M., Kane, R., & Pedersen, A. (2013). The willingness of a society to act on behalf of Indigenous Australians and refugees: The role of contact, intergroup anxiety, prejudice, and support for legislative change. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 43(Suppl 2), 179–195.

UNHCR (2017): Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016. Retrieved from: http://www.unhcr.org/5943e8a34

VERBI Software. (2019). MAXQDA 2020 [computer software]. Berlin, Germany: VERBI Software. Available from maxqda.com.

Verkuyten M. (2021). Public attitudes towards migrants: understanding cross-national and individual differences. *World Psychiatry, 20*(1), 132-133. doi:10.1002/wps.20819.

Weber, M (2016 [1904-1920]) Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus. Die protestantischen Sekten und der Geist des Kapitalismus. Schriften 1904-1920. Mohrsiebeck: Tübingen.

Wilson, J., Ward, C., Fetvadjiev, V. H., & Bethel, A. (2017). Measuring cultural competencies: The development and validation of a revised measure of sociocultural adaptation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 48(10), 1475–1506.

8. Appendices

8.1 Quantitative study (survey)

8.1.1 Socio-demographic data

Table 8-1. ***Socio-demographic characteristics of the RC respondents*** *in four countries: gender, marital status, migration background, level of education, employment status and political orientation (categorical variables).*

Receiving community		Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		Total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Gender	Male	666	52.2	232	44.4	269	44.8	307	49.2	1501	49.6
	Female	602	47.2	290	55.4	331	55.2	317	50.8	1540	50.9
	Other	8	0.6	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0	9	0.3
Marital status	Not married	335	26.3	220	42.1	246	41.2	194	31.1	995	32.9
	Married	940	73.7	303	57.9	351	58.8	430	68.9	2024	66.9
Migration background	None	805	65.9	397	76.1	497	83.0	471	75.5	2170	71.7
	Yes	416	34.1	125	23.9	102	17.0	153	24.5	796	26.3
Level of education	Primary	17	1.3	5	1.0	2	0.3	115	18.4	139	4.6
	Secondary	310	24.5	211	40.3	394	66.1	355	56.9	1270	42.0

	Tertiary	940	74.2	307	58.7	200	33.6	154	24.7	1601	52.9
Employment status	Employed	993	79.8	382	73.3	398	66.1	178	28.5	1951	65.4
	Unemployed	251	20.2	139	26.7	196	32.7	446	71.5	1032	34,6
Political orientation	Left	464	40.8	274	61.3	128	33.1	Not studied in Jordan.		866	43.9
	Centre	278	24.4	146	32.7	137	35.4			561	28.5
	Right	396	34.8	27	6.0	122	31.5			545	27.6
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS		1277		524		600		624		3025	
Legend: n – number of respondents, % - the percentage of the valid sample											

*Table 8-2. **Socio-demographic characteristics of the RC respondents** in four countries: age and importance of religion (continuous variables).*

Receiving Community	Sweden				Germany				Croatia				Jordan			
	n	M	SD	Min-Max	n	M	SD	Min-Max	n	M	SD	Min-Max	n	M	SD	Min-Max
Age (in years)	1277	43.5	12.882	18-65	523	43.65	13.688	18-65	600	44.11	13.440	20-65	624	39.09	12.947	18-65
Importance of religion	1250	1.69	1.192	1-5	521	1.77	1.219	1-5	597	2.75	1.227	1-5	622	4.19	0.883	1-5

Legend: n – number of respondents, M – mean, SD – standard deviation, Min-Max – minimum and maximum result

Table 8-3. ***Psychological wellbeing and physical health of the RC respondents*** *in four countries.*

Receiving community	Sweden			Germany			Croatia			Jordan			F	df
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
Psychological wellbeing	11.81	4.624	1277	13.10	4.540	523	11.48	3.404	600	16.63	6.114	624	168.205**	3, 3020
Difficulty of problems impacting psychological wellbeing	1.41	0.622	964	1.41	0.677	522	1.54	0.621	380	1.65	0.804	624	18.454**	3, 2486
Physical health	1.83	0.791	1256	1.97	0.792	518	1.95	0.811	599	1.93	0.973	624	4.743**	3, 2993

Legend: In *Psychological wellbeing,* a higher result indicates worse wellbeing. In *Difficulty of problems impacting psychological wellbeing*, a higher result indicates greater difficulty. In *Physical health*, a higher result indicates worse health in general.

M – mean, SD – standard deviation, n – number of respondents, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-4. ***Socio-demographic characteristics of the AC respondents*** *in four countries: gender, marital status, level of education, labour status before migration and current employment status (categorical variables).*

Arriving community		Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		TOTAL	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Gender	Male	315	63.6	379	63.0	105	59.7	312	50.0	1111	58.9
	Female	176	35.6	223	37.0	71	40.3	312	50.0	782	41.5
	Other	4	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.2
Marital status	Not married	163	36.1	329	54.7	73	41.7	115	18.4	680	36.1
	Married	289	63.9	273	45.3	102	58.3	509	81.6	1173	62.2
Level of education	Primary	51	12.3	93	15.6	46	27.1	285	45.7	475	26.3
	Secondary	173	41.7	326	54.7	87	51.2	295	47.3	881	48.9
	Tertiary	191	46.0	177	29.7	37	21.8	42	6.7	447	24.8
Labour status before migration	Employed	96	22.8	193	32.2	58	34.9	326	52.2	673	37.2
	Unemployed	325	77.2	407	67.8	108	65.1	298	47.8	1138	62.8
Current employment status	Employed	178	45.3	183	30.4	72	42.6	152	24.4	585	32.7
	Unemployed	215	54.7	419	69.6	97	57.4	472	75.6	1203	67.3
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS		481		602		178		624		1885	

Legend: n – number of respondents, % - the percentage of the valid sample

Table 8-5. ***Socio-demographic characteristics of the AC respondents*** *in four countries: age, duration of stay in the receiving country and importance of religion (continuous variables).*

Arriving community	Sweden				Germany				Croatia				Jordan			
	n	M	SD	Min-Max	n	M	SD	Min-Max	n	M	SD	Min-Max	n	M	SD	Min-Max
Age (in years)	495	38.70	11.374	18-65	602	32.66	11.095	18-65	178	33.78	10.624	18-64	624	36.55	12.023	18-65
Duration of stay in the receiving country (in months)	331	68.62	36.803	16-399	602	54.36	11.597	13-93	167	31.29	16.780	3-66	624	82.09	11.248	17-118
Importance of religion	409	3.14	1.136	1-5	587	2.89	1.171	1-5	163	3.66	1.015	1-5	623	4.14	0.867	1-5

Legend: n – number of respondents, M – mean, SD – standard deviation, Min-Max – minimum and maximum result

Table 8-6. ***Psychological wellbeing and physical health of the AC respondents*** *in four countries.*

Arriving community	Sweden			Germany			Croatia			Jordan			F	df
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
Psychological wellbeing	16.30	6.672	398	16.66	5.917	592	16.41	6.153	158	17.48	6.296	624	3.614*	3, 1768
Difficulty of problems impacting psychological wellbeing	1.74	0.753	424	1.81	0.789	602	1.74	0.723	164	1.68	0.769	624	2.554	3, 1810
Physical health	2.09	0.886	447	2.11	0.941	601	2.32	0.945	173	2.32	1.007	623	8.268**	3, 1840

Legend: In *Psychological wellbeing,* a higher result indicates worse wellbeing. In *Difficulty of problems impacting psychological wellbeing*, a higher result indicates greater difficulty. In *Physical health*, a higher result indicates worse health in general.

M – mean, SD – standard deviation, n – number of respondents, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

8.1.2 Socio-economic indicators of integration

Table 8-7. Results of the ANOVA test of differences between the AC respondents in four study countries for English and Receiving country language proficiency.

Arriving community	Sweden			Germany			Croatia			Jordan			F	df
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
English language proficiency	9.68	3.761	435	8.30	3.677	602	8.17	3.896	173	5.11	3.000	624	165.481**	3, 1830
Receiving country language proficiency	11.00	2.779	559	10.66	2.988	602	7.98	2.999	169	12.66	3.057	624	124.467**	3, 1839

Legend: M – mean, SD – standard deviation, n – number of respondents, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at p < 0.05, ** – significant at p < 0.01.

Table 8-8. Results of the ANOVA test of differences between the AC respondents in four study countries for the duration of the process of recognition of qualifications and job satisfaction.

Arriving community	Sweden			Germany			Croatia			Jordan			F	df
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
Recognition of qualifications – duration of the process (in months)	6.18	4.681	111	4.07	4.809	162	2.24	1.381	59	11.80	29.929	20	8.290**	3, 348
Job satisfaction	3.09	1.298	206	2.92	1.080	182	2.77	1.087	77	2.28	1.199	158	15.007**	3, 619

Legend: M – mean, SD – standard deviation, n – number of respondents, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at p < 0.05, ** – significant at p < 0.01.

Table 8-9- Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the AC members in four countries for the recognition of qualifications.

Did you apply for recognition of your qualifications in /country/?							
Arriving community	Sweden	Germany	Croatia	Jordan	N	χ^2	df
	f	f	f	f			
Yes	216 (52.0%)	190 (31.8%)	32 (18.9%)	20 (3.2%)	1086	334.645**	3
No	119 (48.0%)	408 (68.2%)	137 (81.1%)	604 (96.8%)			
Have you already received notification of either recognition or rejection of your qualifications?							
	Sweden	Germany	Croatia	Jordan	N	χ^2	df
	f	f	f	f			

Yes, the qualifications were recognized as equal	93 (47.0%)	98 (52.4%)	16 (40.0%)	12 (60.0%)	445	69.947**	9
Yes, the qualifications were recognized as partly equivalent	73 (36.0%)	44 (23.5%)	1 (2.5%)	2 (10.0%)			
Yes, but the qualifications were not recognized	18 (9.1%)	19 (10.2%)	2 (5.0%)	1 (5.0%)			
No, I haven't received any notification	14 (7.1%)	26 (13.9%)	21 (52.5%)	5 (25.0%)			

Legend: f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-10. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' English language proficiency.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	1.375*	.221	.000	.76	1.99
	Croatia	1.502*	.315	.000	.62	2.38
	Jordan	4.570*	.219	.000	3.96	5.18
Germany	Sweden	-1.375*	.221	.000	-1.99	-.76
	Croatia	.127	.302	.981	-.72	.97
	Jordan	3.195*	.200	.000	2.63	3.76
Croatia	Sweden	-1.502*	.315	.000	-2.38	-.62
	Germany	-.127	.302	.981	-.97	.72
	Jordan	3.068*	.301	.000	2.22	3.91
Jordan	Sweden	-4.570*	.219	.000	-5.18	-3.96
	Germany	-3.195*	.200	.000	-3.76	-2.63
	Croatia	-3.068*	.301	.000	-3.91	-2.22
Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01						

Table 8-11. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' Receiving country language proficiency.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	.342	.185	.331	-.18	.86
	Croatia	3.018*	.268	.000	2.27	3.77
	Jordan	-1.663*	.184	.000	-2.18	-1.15
Germany	Sweden	-.342	.185	.331	-.86	.18
	Croatia	2.676*	.258	.000	1.95	3.40
	Jordan	-2.006*	.169	.000	-2.48	-1.53
Croatia	Sweden	-3.018*	.268	.000	-3.77	-2.27
	Germany	-2.676*	.258	.000	-3.40	-1.95
	Jordan	-4.681*	.257	.000	-5.40	-3.96
Jordan	Sweden	1.663*	.184	.000	1.15	2.18
	Germany	2.006*	.169	.000	1.53	2.48
	Croatia	4.681*	.257	.000	3.96	5.40
Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01						

Table 8-12. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' duration of the process of recognition of qualifications.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	2.106	1.007	.226	-.72	4.94
	Croatia	3.943*	1.317	.031	.24	7.64
	Jordan	-5.620*	1.986	.048	-11.20	-.04
Germany	Sweden	-2.106	1.007	.226	-4.94	.72
	Croatia	1.837	1.243	.536	-1.66	5.33
	Jordan	-7.726*	1.938	.001	-13.17	-2.28
Croatia	Sweden	-3.943*	1.317	.031	-7.64	-.24
	Germany	-1.837	1.243	.536	-5.33	1.66
	Jordan	-9.563*	2.116	.000	-15.51	-3.62
Jordan	Sweden	5.620*	1.986	.048	.04	11.20
	Germany	7.726*	1.938	.001	2.28	13.17
	Croatia	9.563*	2.116	.000	3.62	15.51
Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01						

Table 8-13. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' job satisfaction.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	.169	.121	.580	-.17	.51
	Croatia	.326	.159	.239	-.12	.77
	Jordan	.814*	.125	.000	.46	1.17
Germany	Sweden	-.169	.121	.580	-.51	.17
	Croatia	.157	.161	.815	-.30	.61
	Jordan	.645*	.129	.000	.28	1.01
Croatia	Sweden	-.326	.159	.239	-.77	.12
	Germany	-.157	.161	.815	-.61	.30
	Jordan	.488*	.165	.034	.03	.95
Jordan	Sweden	-.814*	.125	.000	-1.17	-.46
	Germany	-.645*	.129	.000	-1.01	-.28
	Croatia	-.488*	.165	.034	-.95	-.03
Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01						

Table 8-14. Occupational level for employment AC and RC men and women across four study countries.

	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan	
	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC
Men (frequency)								
Low	7	14	25	3	5	9	3	0
Middle	112	188	103	54	43	116	141	131
High	27	292	22	110	6	50	2	24
Total	146	494	150	167	54	175	146	155
%								
Low	4.8	2.8	16.7	1.8	9.3	5.1	2.1	0.0
Middle	76.7	38.1	68.7	32.3	79.6	66.3	96.6	84.5
High	18.5	59.1	14.7	65.9	11.1	28.6	1.4	15.5
Women (frequency)								
Low	1	5	2	7	2	3	0	0
Middle	35	189	15	81	14	125	6	8
High	14	322	12	123	0	100	0	15
Total	50	516	29	211	16	228	6	23
%								
Low	2.0	1.0	6.9	3.3	12.5	1.3	0.0	0.0
Middle	70.0	36.6	51.7	38.4	87.5	54.8	100.0	34.8
High	28.0	62.4	41.4	58.3	0.0	43.9	0.0	65.2

Legend: AC – arriving community, RC – receiving community, % - percentage.

Table 8-15. Occupational to educational level match of employed AC and RC men and women across four study countries (2021).

	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan	
	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC
Men (frequency)								
Occupation below education	46	103	45	19	14	23	14	31
Occupation corresponding to education	55	270	74	109	23	118	70	109
Occupation above education	25	121	30	39	13	33	62	15
Total	126	494	149	167	50	174	146	155
%								
Occupation below education	36.5	20.9	30.2	11.4	28.0	13.2	9.6	20.0
Occupation corresponding to education	43.7	54.7	49.7	65.3	46.0	67.8	48.0	70.3
Occupation above education	19.8	24.5	20.1	23.4	26.0	19.0	42.5	9.7
Women (frequency)								
Occupation below education	15	129	3	33	6	29	0	2
Occupation corresponding to education	20	292	20	138	10	138	3	20
Occupation above education	9	95	6	40	0	61	3	1
Total	44	516	29	211	16	228	6	23
%								
Occupation below education	34.1	25.0	10.3	15.6	37.5	12.7	0.0	8.7
Occupation corresponding to education	45.5	56.6	69.0	65.4	62.5	60.5	50.0	87.0
Occupation above education	20.5	18.4	20.7	19.0	0.0	26.8	50.0	4.4

Legend: AC – arriving community, RC – receiving community, % - percentage.

Table 8-16. Net earnings in EUR for employed AC and RC men and women across four study countries (2021).

		Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan	
		AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC
Men	Mean	2617.70	3529.27	1011.34	2859.81	473.57	720.04	296.55	414.24
	SD	1595.099	4012.020	470.664	1863.597	123.296	225.630	94.928	180.995
	N	39	244	151	158	7	58	146	155
Women	Mean	5005.20	3238.93	937.07	2222.26	520.00	753.97	300.00	421.72
	SD	6938.525	4633.094	574.291	1543.789	130.000	284.570	160.997	205.429
	N	10	226	29	197	3	187	6	23

Legend: AC – arriving community, RC – receiving community, SD – standard deviation, N – sample size.

Table 8-17. Total income in EUR for employed and non-employed AC and RC men and women across four study sites (2021).

		Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan	
		AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC
Men	Mean	1001.08	2687.23	616.55	1990.93	240.41	419.09	59.43	132.76
	SD	972.665	1952.837	413.681	3489.515	352.158	402.924	58.080	136.378
	N	175	587	370	206	47	202	312	317
Women	Mean	682.37	2700.75	459.20	1624.39	284.80	579.73	48.80	101.27
	SD	583.057	1940.866	297.630	889.939	176.812	400.382	31.104	81.400
	N	99	643	217	254	69	331	312	307

Legend: AC – arriving community, RC – receiving community, SD – standard deviation, N – sample size.

Table 8-18. The number of AC and RC men and women receiving government benefits across four study countries (2021).

	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan	
	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC
Frequencies								
Men	77	98	206	24	42	9	73	28
Women	38	115	140	35	20	17	99	32
Total	115	213	346	59	62	26	172	60
%								
Men	30.0	16.3	55.2	10.3	43.8	3.4	23.4	8.9
Women	29.2	17.6	64.2	12.2	31.3	5.2	31.7	10.4
Legend: AC – arriving community, RC – receiving community, % - percentage.								

Table 8-19. The number of AC and RC men and women receiving government allowance across four study countries (2021).

	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan	
	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC	AC	RC
Frequencies								
Men	139	76	255	21	42	2	21	24
Women	93	94	159	12	25	5	25	13
Total	232	170	414	33	67	7	46	37
%								
Men	53.3	12.8	9.1	68.2	0.8	44.2	7.6	6.7
Women	65.0	14.8	4.2	72.9	1.5	39.7	4.2	8.1
Legend: AC – arriving community, RC – receiving community, % - percentage.								

Table 8-20. Logistic regression analyses of male and female AC and RC respondents' probability of employment (odd ratios, Standard Error in brackets).

	AC women	AC men	RC women	RC men
Age	1.114	1.099**	1.572***	1.614***
	(.085)	(.045)	(.043)	(.039)
Age2	.999	.998***	.995***	.994***
	(.001)	(.001)	(.000)	(.000)
Duration of stay (months)	1.009	1.015**	-	-
	(.006)	(.006)	-	-
Married	.856	1.318	.810	1.291
	(.308)	(.183)	(.154)	(.167)
Number of Children in Household	.704***	.919	.849**	.962
	(.105)	(.053)	(.078)	(.067)
Host country language proficiency	.982	1.047	-	-
	(.055)	(.028)	-	-
English Language Proficiency	1.078*	.941**	-	-
	(.041)	(.024)		-
Secondary education	1.303	1.344	3.369**	2.356***
	(.441)	(.191)	(.611)	(.300)
Tertiary education	1.381	2.094***	7.789***	3.357***
	(.493)	(.243)	(.610)	(.311)
Employed before migration	1.306	1.982***	-	-
	(.303)	(.208)	-	-
Physical health	1.192	1.172**	1.360***	1.378***
	(.152)	(.073)	(.085)	(.083)
Sweden	4.826***	2.316***	.899	1.483*
	(.326)	(.205)	(.189)	(.206)
Croatia	5.027***	3.014***	.747	.776
	(.399)	(.294)	(.202)	(.227)
Jordan	.286	1.180	.027***	.374***
	(.572)	(.279)	(.288)	(.238)
Constant	.005***	.019***	.000***	.000***
	(1.690)	(.933)	(1.106)	(.925)
Observations	700	999	1,553	1,399

Note: Reference categories are Male, Single, Primary education, Not employed before migration and Germany. Significant at *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 levels.

Table 8-21. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the AC members in four countries for the characteristics of their housing conditions.

Housing overcrowded status							
Arriving community	Sweden	Germany	Croatia	Jordan	N	χ^2	df
	f	f	f	f			
Overcrowded	171 (40.1%)	249 (41.4%)	143 (86.1%)	614 (98.4%)	1818	762.479**	6
Balanced	101 (23.7%)	275 (45.7%)	21 (12.7%)	10 (1.6%)			
Underoccupied	154 (36.2%)	78 (13.0%)	2 (1.2%)	0 (0.0%)			
Affordability of housing							
	Sweden	Germany	Croatia	Jordan	N	χ^2	df
	f	f	f	f			
Overburdened	155 (64.6%)	413 (72.6%)	50 (64.9%)	399 (70.7%)	1450	6.225**	3
Affordable	85 (35.4%)	156 (27.4%)	27 (35.1%)	165 (29.3%)			
Length of the housing contract							
	Sweden	Germany	Croatia	Jordan	N	χ^2	df
	f	f	f	f			
No contract	18 (5.3%)	11 (1.9%)	6 (3.9%)	239 (40.7%)	1653	1253.442**	9
Temporary	0 (0.0%)	98 (17.1%)	116 (75.8%)	225 (38.3%)			
Permanent contract	217 (63.8%)	464 (81.0%)	31 (20.3%)	123 (21.0%)			
Condition of the dwelling							
	Sweden	Germany	Croatia	Jordan	N	χ^2	df
	f	f	f	f			
No repairs needed	300 (78.7%)	477 (80.3%)	81 (51.9%)	156 (29.5%)	1659	519.620**	6
Minor repairs needed	56 (14.7%)	85 (14.3%)	43 (27.6%)	82 (15.5%)			

Major repairs needed	25 (6.6%)	32 (5.4%)	32 (20.5%)	290 (54.9%)			

Legend: f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

8.1.3 Opinions of the RC on the SE situation of the AC and the impact of migration

Table 8-22. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) test of differences between the ***opinions of the RC respondents*** *in four countries regarding the* ***AC's level of education****.*

Receiving community	Primary Education		Secondary Education		Tertiary Education		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N			
Sweden	261	21.2	706	57.4	264	21.4	1248	391.087^{**}	6
Germany	67	12.8	350	67.0	68	14.0%			
Croatia	41	7.3	483	86.3	36	6.4%			
Jordan	264	46.7	238	42.1	63	11.2			
Total	633	22.3	1777	62.5	431	15.2			

Legend: RC – receiving community, AC – arriving community, f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-23. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) test of differences between the ***opinions of the RC respondents*** *in four countries regarding* ***AC's current occupation status****.*

Receiving community	No Employment		Marginal or Irregular Employment		Self-Employed		Permanent / Fixed Contracts		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N			
Sweden	427	36.2	560	47.5	34	2.9	158	13.4	2841	1586.797^{**}	9
Germany	58	11.6	324	65.9	9	1.8	108	21.6			
Croatia	314	55.80	169	30.0	5	0.9	75	13.3			
Jordan	11	1.8	184	30.7	353	58.8	52	8.7			
Total	810	28.5	1237	43.5	401	14.1	393	13.8			

Legend: RC – receiving community, AC – arriving community, f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-24. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) test of differences between the ***opinions of the RC respondents*** *in four countries regarding the share of* ***AC members receiving welfare assistance****.*

Receiving community	Almost none		Few/very little		About half of them		More than a half		Almost all		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N			
Sweden	2	0.2	168	13.4	387	30.9	414	33.0	282	22.5	2929	618.068**	12
Germany	3	0.6	50	9.7	164	32.0	173	33.7	123	24.0			
Croatia	71	12.5	155	27.2	79	13.9	85	14.9	180	31.6			
Jordan	1	0.2	18	3.0	98	16.5	187	31.5	289	48.7			
Total	77	2.6	391	13.3	728	24.9	859	29.3	874	29.8			

Legend: RC – receiving community, AC – arriving community, f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-25. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) test of differences between the ***opinions of the RC respondents*** *in four countries regarding the* ***AC's living situation****.*

Receiving community	Overcrowded		Balanced		Under-Occupied		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N			
Sweden	1099	86.9	135	10.7	30	2.4	2922	592.982**	6
Germany	430	84.1	75	14.7	6	1.2			
Croatia	252	46.0	201	36.7	95	17.3			
Jordan	283	47.2	273	45.6	43	7.2			
Total	1687	57.7	773	26.4	464	15.9			

Legend: RC – receiving community, AC – arriving community, f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-26. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement ***'Refugees will increase competition in the labour market in /country/'.***

Receiving community	N	M	SD	SE	95% CI		F	df
					LL	UL		
Sweden	1277	3.62	1.130	.032	3.55	3.68	411.732**	3, 3020
Germany	523	3.52	1.074	.047	3.43	3.61		
Croatia	600	3.67	1.104	.045	3.58	3.76		
Jordan	624	1.83	1.182	.047	1.74	1.93		
Total	3024	3.24	1.337	.024	3.19	3.29		

Legend: N – number of respondents, M – mean, SD – standard deviation, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-27. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Refugees will increase competition in the labour market in /country/'.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.097	.058	.429	-0.07	0.26
	Croatia	-0.058	.056	.783	-0.21	.010
	Jordan	1.782*	.055	.000	1.63	1.94
Germany	Sweden	-0.097	.058	.429	-0.26	0.07
	Croatia	-0.155	.067	.151	-0.34	0.03
	Jordan	1.685*	.067	.000	1.50	1.87
Croatia	Sweden	0.058	.056	.783	-0.10	0.21
	Germany	0.155	.067	.151	-0.03	0.34
	Jordan	1.840*	.064	.000	1.66	2.02
Jordan	Sweden	-1.782*	.055	.000	-1.94	-1.63
	Germany	-1.685*	.067	.000	-1.87	-1.50
	Croatia	-1.840*	.064	.000	-2.02	-1.66

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 8-28. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement ***'Refugees will reduce the shortages of labour in /country/'****.*

Receiving community	N	M	SD	SE	95% CI		F	df
					LL	UL		
Sweden	1277	3.04	1.152	.032	2.98	3.11	186.515**	3, 3020
Germany	523	3.30	1.015	.044	3.21	3.39		
Croatia	600	2.21	1.094	.045	2.13	2.30		
Jordan	624	3.75	1.348	.054	3.64	3.85		
Total	3024	3.07	1.265	.023	3.02	3.11		

Legend: N – number of respondents, M – mean, SD – standard deviation, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at p < 0.05, ** – significant at p < 0.01.

Table 8-29. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Refugees will reduce the shortages of labour in /country/'.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-.256*	.060	.000	-0.42	-0.09
	Croatia	.831*	.058	.000	0.67	0.99
	Jordan	-.704*	.057	.000	-0.86	-0.54
Germany	Sweden	.256*	.060	.000	0.09	0.42
	Croatia	1.087*	.070	.000	0.89	1.28
	Jordan	-.448*	.069	.000	-0.64	-0.26
Croatia	Sweden	-.831*	.058	.000	-0.99	-0.67
	Germany	-1.087*	.070	.000	-1.28	-0.89
	Jordan	-1.535*	.066	.000	-1.72	-1.35
Jordan	Sweden	.704*	.057	.000	0.54	0.86
	Germany	.448*	.069	.000	0.26	0.64
	Croatia	1.535*	.066	.000	1.35	1.72

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-30. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement ***'Refugees will have a positive impact on the economic growth in /country/'****.*

Receiving community	N	M	SD	SE	95% CI		F	df
					LL	UL		
Sweden	1277	3.02	1.267	.035	2.95	3.09	114.236**	3, 3020
Germany	523	3.36	1.096	.048	3.27	3.46		
Croatia	600	2.13	1.132	.046	2.04	2.22		
Jordan	624	2.54	1.463	.059	2.43	2.66		
Total	3024	2.81	1.326	.024	2.76	2.85		

Legend: N – number of respondents, M – mean, SD – standard deviation, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at p < 0.05, ** – significant at p < 0.01.

Table 8-31. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Refugees will have a positive impact on the economic growth in /country/'.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-.339*	.065	.000	-0.52	-0.16
	Croatia	.896*	.062	.000	0.72	1.07
	Jordan	.481*	.061	.000	0.31	0.65
Germany	Sweden	.339*	.065	.000	0.16	0.52
	Croatia	1.235*	.075	.000	1.02	1.45
	Jordan	.820*	.075	.000	0.61	1.03
Croatia	Sweden	-.896*	.062	.000	-1.07	-0.72
	Germany	-1.235*	.075	.000	-1.45	-1.02
	Jordan	-.415*	.072	.000	-0.62	-0.21
Jordan	Sweden	-.481*	.061	.000	-0.65	-0.31
	Germany	-.820*	.075	.000	-1.03	-0.61
	Croatia	.415*	.072	.000	0.21	0.62

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-32. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement ***'Refugees in /country/ will bring more revenues than costs for the government'****.*

Receiving community	N	M	SD	SE	95% CI		F	df
					LL	UL		
Sweden	1277	2.57	1.237	.035	2.50	2.64	29.663**	3, 3020
Germany	523	2.98	1.286	.056	2.87	3.10		
Croatia	600	2.26	1.231	.050	2.16	2.35		
Jordan	624	2.64	1.498	.060	2.52	2.76		
Total	3024	2.59	1.321	.024	2.55	2.64		

Legend: N – number of respondents, M – mean, SD – standard deviation, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at p < 0.05, ** – significant at p < 0.01.

Table 8-33. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Refugees in /country/ will bring more revenues than costs for the government'.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-.415*	.068	.000	-0.60	-0.23
	Croatia	.314*	.064	.000	0.13	0.49
	Jordan	-.072	.064	.736	-0.25	0.11
Germany	Sweden	.415*	.068	.000	0.23	0.60
	Croatia	.730*	.078	.000	0.51	0.95
	Jordan	.344*	.077	.000	0.13	0.56
Croatia	Sweden	-.314*	.064	.000	-0.49	-0.13
	Germany	-.730*	.078	.000	-0.95	-0.51
	Jordan	-.386*	.074	.000	-0.59	-0.18
Jordan	Sweden	.072	.064	.736	-0.11	0.25
	Germany	-.344*	.077	.000	-0.56	-0.13
	Croatia	.386*	.074	.000	0.18	0.59

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

*Table 8-34. Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement **'Due to the government spending for refugees, my taxes will have to increase'**.*

Receiving community	N	M	SD	SE	95% CI		F	df
					LL	UL		
Sweden	1277	3.02	1.316	.037	2.95	3.09	175.985**	3, 3020
Germany	523	3.56	1.271	.056	3.45	3.67		
Croatia	600	2.94	1.338	.055	2.83	3.05		
Jordan	624	1.87	1.276	.051	1.77	1.97		
Total	3024	2.86	1.414	.026	2.81	2.91		

Legend: N – number of respondents, M – mean, SD – standard deviation, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at p < 0.05, ** – significant at p < 0.01.

Table 8-35. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Due to the government spending for refugees, my taxes will have to increase.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-.538*	.068	.000	-0.73	-0.35
	Croatia	.082	.065	.656	-0.10	0.26
	Jordan	1.147*	.064	.000	0.97	1.33
Germany	Sweden	.538*	.068	.000	0.35	0.73
	Croatia	.620*	.078	.000	0.40	0.84
	Jordan	1.685*	.077	.000	1.47	1.90
Croatia	Sweden	-.082	.065	.656	-0.26	0.10
	Germany	-.620*	.078	.000	-0.84	-0.40
	Jordan	1.065*	.075	.000	0.86	1.27
Jordan	Sweden	-1.147*	.064	.000	-1.33	-0.97
	Germany	-1.685*	.077	.000	-1.90	-1.47
	Croatia	-1.065*	.075	.000	-1.27	-0.86

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

*Table 8-36. . Results of ANOVA test of differences between the opinion of the RC respondents in four countries regarding the statement **'Due to the government spending for refugees there will be less benefits for the other population'**.*

Receiving community	N	M	SD	SE	95% CI		F	df
					LL	UL		
Sweden	1277	3.16	1.423	.040	3.08	3.24	219.983**	3, 3020
Germany	523	3.94	1.147	.050	3.84	4.04		
Croatia	600	2.53	1.294	.053	2.43	2.64		
Jordan	624	2.05	1.340	.054	1.95	2.16		
Total	3024	2.94	1.474	.027	2.89	3.00		

Legend: N – number of respondents, M – mean, SD – standard deviation, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at p < 0.05, ** – significant at p < 0.01.

Table 8-37. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' opinion on the statement 'Due to the government spending for refugees there will be less benefits for the other population'.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-.778*	.069	.000	-.97	-.58
	Croatia	.631*	.066	.000	.45	.82
	Jordan	1.110*	.065	.000	.93	1.29
Germany	Sweden	.778*	.069	.000	.58	.97
	Croatia	1.409*	.080	.000	1.19	1.63
	Jordan	1.888*	.079	.000	1.67	2.11
Croatia	Sweden	-.631*	.066	.000	-.82	-.45
	Germany	-1.409*	.080	.000	-1.63	-1.19
	Jordan	.479*	.076	.000	.27	.69
Jordan	Sweden	-1.110*	.065	.000	-1.29	-.93
	Germany	-1.888*	.079	.000	-2.11	-1.67
	Croatia	-.479*	.076	.000	-.69	-.27

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-38. Opinion of RC respondents regarding the SE situation of the AC compared to the actual SE situation of the AC respondents.

Socio-Economic Indicator		Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan	
		RC opinion	AC situation	RC opinion	AC situation	RC opinion	AC situation	RC opinion	AC situation
Education	Primary	21.2%	12.3%	13.8%	15.6%	7.3%	27.1%	46.7%	45.8%
	Secondary	57.4%	41.7%	72.2%	54.7%	86.3%	51.2%	42.1%	47.4%
	Tertiary	21.4%	46.0%	14.0%	29.7%	6.4%	21.8%	11.2%	6.8%
	n	**1231**	**415**	**485**	**596**	**560**	**170**	**565**	**622**
Employment	No Employment	36.2%	55.1%	11.6%	70.4%	55.8%	57.6%	1.8%	75.4%
	Marginal or irregular	47.5%	1.7%	64.9%	1.8%	30.0%	1.2%	30.7%	6.1%
	Self-employed	2.9%	2.6%	1.8%	1.5%	0.9%	3.5%	58.8%	7.1%
	Employed (permanent and fixed contract)	13.4%	40.6%	21.6%	26.2%	13.3%	37.6%	8.7%	11.4%
	n	**1179**	**502**	**499**	**602**	**563**	**170**	**600**	**622**
Welfare Assistance	The proportion of AC receiving government benefits and allowance	-	31.3%	-	48.6%	-	28.6%	-	2.2%
	Less than half	13.6%	-	10.3%	-	39.7%	-	3.2%	-
	About half of them	30.9%	-	32.0%	-	13.9%	-	16.5%	-
	More than half	55.5%	-	57.7%	-	46.5%	-	80.2%	-
	n	**1253**	**428**	**513**	**595**	**570**	**168**	**593**	**624**
Housing Situation	Overcrowded	86.9%	40.1%	10.3%	41.4%	46.0%	86.1%	47.2%	98.4%
	Balanced	10.7%	23.7%	32.0%	45.7%	36.7%	12.7%	45.6%	1.6%
	Under-occupied	2.4%	36.2%	57.7%	13.0%	17.3%	1.2%	7.2%	0.0%
	n	**1264**	**426**	**513**	**602**	**548**	**166**	**599**	**624**

Legend: RC – receiving community, AC – arriving community, n –number of respondents.

8.1.4 Socio-psychological indicators of integration

Table 8-39. Results of the ANOVA tests of differences between the ***RC respondents*** *in four study countries for* ***socio-psychological indicators of integration*** *(continuous variables).*

Receiving community	Sweden			Germany			Croatia			Jordan			F	df
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
Attitudes towards the AC	3.82	0.858	1275	4.20	0.667	523	3.21	0.873	600	3.49	0.844	624	158.314**	3, 3018
Perception of realistic intergroup threat	2.49	1.100	1275	2.20	0.876	523	3.16	0.928	600	3.43	1.171	624	191.506**	3, 3018
Perception of symbolic intergroup threat	2.78	1.212	1275	2.53	0.977	523	3.42	0.960	600	2.73	1.100	624	72.350**	3, 3018
Support for the rights of the AC's	3.82	0.836	1276	4.46	0.502	523	3.41	0.845	600	3.73	0.733	624	181.428**	3, 3019
Readiness to assist AC members	3.37	1.083	1274	3.62	0.909	522	2.98	1.045	600	4.02	0.937	624	113.367**	3, 3016
Quantity of intergroup contact	10.57	2.844	872	9.16	2.658	455	5.68	2.396	558	10.19	3.190	543	386.657**	3, 2424
Quality of intergroup contact	8.61	2.973	704	9.86	1.595	334	9.09	1.785	181	6.89	2.562	455	97.185**	3, 1670
Social proximity	4.00	1.345	1277	4.56	0.800	520	3.06	1.577	600	3.34	1.363	624	155.324**	3, 3020
Perception of discrimination of the AC	3.41	0.882	1265	3.23	0.882	522	2.33	0.941	600	1.89	0.871	624	543.666**	3, 3007
Perception of society membership of the AC	2.88	1.021	1263	2.55	0.835	523	2.05	0.893	600	3.41	1.071	624	211.173**	3, 3006

Legend: M – mean, SD – standard deviation, n – number of respondents, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-40. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' attitudes towards the AC.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.380**	0.043	0.000	-0.50	-0.26
	Croatia	0.615**	0.041	0.000	0.50	0.73
	Jordan	0.339**	0.040	0.000	0.23	0.45
Germany	Sweden	0.339**	0.043	0.000	0.26	0.50
	Croatia	0.995**	0.050	0.000	0.86	1.13
	Jordan	0.719**	0.049	0.000	0.58	0.86
Croatia	Sweden	-0.615**	0.041	0.000	-0.73	-0.50
	Germany	-0.995**	0.050	0.000	-1.13	-0.86
	Jordan	-0.276**	0.047	0.000	-0.41	-0.14
Jordan	Sweden	-0.339**	0.040	0.000	-0.45	-0.23
	Germany	-0.719**	0.049	0.000	-0.86	-0.58
	Croatia	0.276**	0.047	0.000	0.14	0.41

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, * – mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 8-41. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' perception of realistic intergroup threat.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.285**	0.054	0.000	0.13	0.44
	Croatia	-0.675**	0.052	0.000	-0.82	-0.53
	Jordan	-0.939**	0.051	0.000	-1.08	-0.80
Germany	Sweden	-0.285**	0.054	0.000	-0.44	-0.13
	Croatia	-0.959**	0.063	0.000	-1.14	-0.78
	Jordan	-1.223**	0.062	0.000	-1.40	-1.05
Croatia	Sweden	0.675**	0.052	0.000	0.53	0.82
	Germany	0.959**	0.063	0.000	0.78	1.14
	Jordan	-0.264**	0.060	0.000	-0.43	-0.10
Jordan	Sweden	0.939**	0.051	0.000	0.80	1.08
	Germany	1.223**	0.062	0.000	1.05	1.40
	Croatia	0.264**	0.060	0.000	0.10	0.43

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, * – mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 8-42. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' perception of symbolic intergroup threat.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.2430**	0.05731	0.000	0.08	0.40
	Croatia	-0.645**	0.05464	0.000	-0.80	-0.49
	Jordan	0.048	0.05392	0.850	-0.10	0.20
Germany	Sweden	-0.243**	0.05731	0.000	-0.40	-0.08
	Croatia	-0.888**	0.06602	0.000	-1.07	-0.70
	Jordan	-0.195*	0.06543	0.031	-0.38	-0.01
Croatia	Sweden	0.645**	0.05464	0.000	0.49	0.80
	Germany	0.888**	0.06602	0.000	0.70	1.07
	Jordan	0.693**	0.06310	0.000	0.52	0.87
Jordan	Sweden	-0.048	0.05392	0.850	-0.20	0.10
	Germany	0.195*	0.06543	0.031	0.01	0.38
	Croatia	-0.693**	0.06310	0.000	-0.87	-0.52

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-43. Multigroup comparison of scores for RC respondents' support for the rights of the AC.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.649**	0.040	0.000	-0.76	-0.54
	Croatia	0.403**	0.038	0.000	0.30	0.51
	Jordan	0.089	0.038	0.133	-0.02	0.19
Germany	Sweden	0.649**	0.040	0.000	0.54	0.76
	Croatia	1.051**	0.046	0.000	0.92	1.18
	Jordan	0.738**	0.046	0.000	0.61	0.87
Croatia	Sweden	-0.403**	0.038	0.000	-0.51	-0.30
	Germany	-1.051**	0.046	0.000	-1.18	-0.92
	Jordan	-0.314**	0.044	0.000	-0.44	-0.19
Jordan	Sweden	-0.089	0.038	0.133	-0.19	0.02
	Germany	-0.738**	0.046	0.000	-0.87	-0.61
	Croatia	0.314**	0.044	0.000	0.19	0.44

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-44. Multigroup comparison of scores for RC respondents' readiness to assist the AC.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.249**	0.053	0.000	-0.40	-0.10
	Croatia	0.385**	0.050	0.000	0.25	0.53
	Jordan	-0.647**	0.050	0.000	-0.79	-0.51
Germany	Sweden	0.249**	0.053	0.000	0.10	0.40
	Croatia	0.634**	0.061	0.000	0.46	0.81
	Jordan	-0.398**	0.060	0.000	-0.57	-0.23
Croatia	Sweden	-0.385**	0.050	0.000	-0.53	-0.25
	Germany	-0.634**	0.061	0.000	-0.81	-0.46
	Jordan	-1.032**	0.058	0.000	-1.20	-0.87
Jordan	Sweden	0.647**	0.050	0.000	0.51	0.79
	Germany	0.398**	0.060	0.000	0.23	0.57
	Croatia	1.032**	0.058	0.000	0.87	1.20
Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$						

Table 8-45. Multigroup comparisons of scores for the quantity (frequency) of contact the RC respondents had with the AC.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	1.41**	0.162	0.000	0.96	1.87
	Croatia	4.90**	0.152	0.000	4.47	5.32
	Jordan	0.38	0.153	0.103	-0.05	0.81
Germany	Sweden	-1.41**	0.162	0.000	-1.87	-0.96
	Croatia	3.48**	0.177	0.000	2.99	3.98
	Jordan	-1.03**	0.178	0.000	-1.53	-0.54
Croatia	Sweden	-4.90**	0.152	0.000	-5.32	-4.47
	Germany	-3.48**	0.177	0.000	-3.98	-2.99
	Jordan	-4.51**	0.169	0.000	-4.99	-4.04
Jordan	Sweden	-0.38	0.153	0.103	-0.81	0.05
	Germany	1.03**	0.178	0.000	0.54	1.53
	Croatia	4.51**	0.169	0.000	4.04	4.99
Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$						

Table 8-46. Multigroup comparisons of scores for the quality (pleasantness) of contact the RC respondents had with the AC.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-1.25**	0.168	0.000	-1.72	-0.78
	Croatia	-0.49	0.210	0.144	-1.08	0.10
	Jordan	1.71**	0.152	0.000	1.29	2.13
Germany	Sweden	1.25**	0.168	0.000	0.78	1.72
	Croatia	0.76*	0.233	0.013	0.11	1.41
	Jordan	2.96**	0.182	0.000	2.45	3.47
Croatia	Sweden	0.49	0.210	0.144	-0.10	1.08
	Germany	-0.76*	0.233	0.013	-1.41	-0.11
	Jordan	2.20**	0.222	0.000	1.58	2.82
Jordan	Sweden	-1.71**	0.152	0.000	-2.13	-1.29
	Germany	-2.96**	0.182	0.000	-3.47	-2.45
	Croatia	-2.20**	0.222	0.000	-2.82	-1.58

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, * – mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 8-47. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' social proximity towards the AC.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.55**	0.069	0.000	-0.75	-0.36
	Croatia	0.95**	0.065	0.000	0.76	1.13
	Jordan	0.67**	0.065	0.000	0.49	0.85
Germany	Sweden	0.55**	0.069	0.000	0.36	0.75
	Croatia	1.50**	0.079	0.000	1.28	1.72
	Jordan	1.22**	0.078	0.000	1.00	1.44
Croatia	Sweden	-0.95**	0.065	0.000	-1.13	-0.76
	Germany	-1.50**	0.079	0.000	-1.72	-1.28
	Jordan	-0.28**	0.076	0.004	-0.49	-0.07
Jordan	Sweden	-0.67**	0.065	0.000	-0.85	-0.49
	Germany	-1.22**	0.078	0.000	-1.44	-1.00
	Croatia	0.28**	0.076	0.004	0.07	0.49

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, * – mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 8-48. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' perception of discrimination of the AC.

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.12	0.045	0.055	0.00	0.25
	Croatia	1.09**	0.043	0.000	0.97	1.21
	Jordan	1.52**	0.043	0.000	1.40	1.64
Germany	Sweden	-0.12	0.045	0.055	-0.25	0.00
	Croatia	0.96**	0.052	0.000	0.82	1.11
	Jordan	1.39**	0.052	0.000	1.25	1.54
Croatia	Sweden	-1.09**	0.043	0.000	-1.21	-0.97
	Germany	-0.96**	0.052	0.000	-1.11	-0.82
	Jordan	0.43**	0.050	0.000	0.29	0.57
Jordan	Sweden	-1.52**	0.043	0.000	-1.64	-1.40
	Germany	-1.39**	0.052	0.000	-1.54	-1.25
	Croatia	-0.43**	0.050	0.000	-0.57	-0.29
Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01						

Table 8-49. Multigroup comparisons of scores for RC respondents' perception of the AC's part in the society (society membership).

Receiving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.34**	0.051	0.000	0.19	0.48
	Croatia	0.83**	0.048	0.000	0.70	0.97
	Jordan	-0.52**	0.048	0.000	-0.66	-0.39
Germany	Sweden	-0.34**	0.051	0.000	-0.48	-0.19
	Croatia	0.50**	0.058	0.000	0.33	0.66
	Jordan	-0.86**	0.058	0.000	-1.02	-0.70
Croatia	Sweden	-0.83**	0.048	0.000	-0.97	-0.70
	Germany	-0.50**	0.058	0.000	-0.66	-0.33
	Jordan	-1.36**	0.056	0.000	-1.51	-1.20
Jordan	Sweden	0.52**	0.048	0.000	0.39	0.66
	Germany	0.86**	0.058	0.000	0.70	1.02
	Croatia	1.36**	0.056	0.000	1.20	1.51
Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01						

Table 8-50. Results of the ANOVA tests of differences between the ***AC respondents*** *in four study countries for* ***socio-psychological indicators of integration*** *(continuous variables).*

Arriving community	Sweden			Germany			Croatia			Jordan			F	df
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n		
Attitudes towards the RC	4.36	0.440	452	4.39	0.445	602	4.44	0.554	178	4.30	0.469	624	5.609**	3, 1852
Perception of realistic intergroup threat	3.18	0.938	444	3.15	0.967	602	2.72	1.049	175	2.36	1.073	624	84.909**	3, 1841
Perception of symbolic intergroup threat	2.60	0.888	444	2.73	0.876	602	2.41	0.899	174	1.57	0.813	624	217.627**	3, 1840
Knowledge of personal rights	9.57	2.318	375	10.76	1.634	602	9.00	2.570	163	11.00	0.00	360	82.948**	3, 1496
Perception of RC's readiness to assist AC members	3.69	0.777	451	3.94	0.716	602	3.77	0.847	176	4.26	0.757	624	55.562**	3, 1849
Quantity of intergroup contact	11.48	2.774	399	11.14	2.884	559	12.50	2.835	140	13.27	2.272	553	67.809**	3, 1647
Quality of intergroup contact	11.67	2.460	364	11.35	2.093	546	11.61	3.021	132	5.02	1.835	552	1051.763**	3, 1590
Social proximity	4.10	1.524	502	4.43	0.855	602	4.62	0.773	178	4.67	0.658	624	31.055**	3, 1902
Experience of discrimination	2.25	0.948	447	2.29	0.828	602	2.05	0.987	176	1.75	0.841	624	45.316**	3, 1845
Perception of own membership in the society	3.29	0.985	449	2.88	0.989	601	2.82	0.960	174	1.84	1.317	624	170.637**	3, 1844

Legend: M – mean, SD – standard deviation, n – number of respondents, F – F-test results, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-51. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' attitudes towards the RC.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.03	0.029	0.731	-0.11	0.05
	Croatia	-0.08	0.041	0.325	-0.19	0.04
	Jordan	0.06	0.029	0.288	-0.03	0.14
Germany	Sweden	0.03	0.029	0.731	-0.05	0.11
	Croatia	-0.04	0.040	0.749	-0.15	0.07
	Jordan	0.09*	0.026	0.011	0.01	0.16
Croatia	Sweden	0.08	0.041	0.325	-0.04	0.19
	Germany	0.04	0.040	0.749	-0.07	0.15
	Jordan	0.13*	0.040	0.011	0.02	0.24
Jordan	Sweden	-0.06	0.029	0.288	-0.14	0.03
	Germany	-0.09*	0.026	0.011	-0.16	-0.01
	Croatia	-0.13*	0.039	0.011	-0.24	-0.02

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 8-52. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' perception of realistic intergroup threat.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.03	0.063	0.967	-0.14	0.21
	Croatia	0.46**	0.090	0.000	0.21	0.71
	Jordan	0.82**	0.062	0.000	0.65	1.00
Germany	Sweden	-0.03	0.063	0.967	-0.21	0.14
	Croatia	0.43**	0.086	0.000	0.19	0.67
	Jordan	0.79**	0.057	0.000	0.63	0.95
Croatia	Sweden	-0.46**	0.090	0.000	-0.71	-0.21
	Germany	-0.43**	0.086	0.000	-0.67	-0.19
	Jordan	0.36**	0.086	0.000	0.12	0.60
Jordan	Sweden	-0.82**	0.062	0.000	-1.00	-0.65
	Germany	-0.79**	0.057	0.000	-0.95	-0.63
	Croatia	-0.36**	0.086	0.000	-0.60	-0.12

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

©FOCUS Consortium

Table 8-53. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' perception of symbolic intergroup threat.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.13	0.054	0.100	-0.29	0.02
	Croatia	0.18	0.077	0.132	-0.03	0.40
	Jordan	1.02**	0.053	0.000	0.88	1.17
Germany	Sweden	0.13	0.054	0.100	-0.02	0.29
	Croatia	0.32**	0.074	0.000	0.11	0.52
	Jordan	1.16**	0.049	0.000	1.02	1.30
Croatia	Sweden	-0.18	0.077	0.132	-0.40	0.03
	Germany	-0.32**	0.074	0.000	-0.52	-0.11
	Jordan	0.84**	0.074	0.000	0.64	1.05
Jordan	Sweden	-1.02**	0.053	0.000	-1.17	-0.88
	Germany	-1.16**	0.049	0.000	-1.30	-1.02
	Croatia	-0.84**	0.074	0.000	-1.05	-0.64

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 8-54. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' knowledge of their rights and entitlements.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-1.19**	0.116	0.000	-1.52	-0.87
	Croatia	0.57**	0.166	0.009	0.10	1.03
	Jordan	-1.43**	0.131	0.000	-1.80	-1.07
Germany	Sweden	1.19**	0.116	0.000	0.87	1.52
	Croatia	1.76**	0.156	0.000	1.32	2.20
	Jordan	-0.24	0.118	0.250	-0.57	0.09
Croatia	Sweden	-0.57**	0.166	0.009	-1.03	-0.10
	Germany	-1.76**	0.156	0.000	-2.20	-1.32
	Jordan	-2.00**	0.167	0.000	-2.47	-1.53
Jordan	Sweden	1.43**	0.131	0.000	1.07	1.80
	Germany	0.24	0.118	0.250	-0.09	0.57
	Croatia	2.00**	0.167	0.000	1.53	2.47

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – mean difference significant at $p < 0.01$

Table 8-55. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' perception of RC's readiness to assist them.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.25**	0.047	0.000	-0.38	-0.11
	Croatia	-0.08	0.067	0.703	-0.27	0.11
	Jordan	-0.57**	0.047	0.000	-0.70	-0.44
Germany	Sweden	0.25**	0.047	0.000	0.11	0.38
	Croatia	0.17	0.065	0.089	-0.02	0.35
	Jordan	-0.32**	0.043	0.000	-0.45	-0.20
Croatia	Sweden	0.08	0.067	0.703	-0.11	0.27
	Germany	-0.17	0.065	0.089	-0.35	0.02
	Jordan	-0.49**	0.065	0.000	-0.67	-0.31
Jordan	Sweden	0.57**	0.047	0.000	0.44	0.70
	Germany	0.32**	0.043	0.000	0.20	0.45
	Croatia	0.49**	0.065	0.000	0.31	0.67

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-56. Multigroup comparisons of scores for the quantity (frequency) of contact the AC respondents had with the RC.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.34	0.174	0.285	-0.15	0.83
	Croatia	-1.02**	0.261	0.002	-1.75	-0.29
	Jordan	-1.79**	0.175	0.000	-2.28	-1.3
Germany	Sweden	-0.34	0.174	0.285	-0.83	0.15
	Croatia	-1.36**	0.252	0.000	-2.06	-0.65
	Jordan	-2.13**	0.160	0.000	-2.57	-1.68
Croatia	Sweden	1.02**	0.261	0.002	0.29	1.75
	Germany	1.36**	0.252	0.000	0.65	2.06
	Jordan	-0.77*	0.252	0.025	-1.47	-0.06
Jordan	Sweden	1.79**	0.175	0.000	1.3	2.28
	Germany	2.13**	0.160	0.000	1.68	2.57
	Croatia	0.77*	0.252	0.025	0.06	1.47

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-57. Multigroup comparisons of scores for the quality (pleasantness) of contact the AC respondents had with the RC.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.32	0.148	0.196	-0.09	0.74
	Croatia	0.06	0.223	0.995	-0.56	0.68
	Jordan	6.65**	0.148	0.000	6.24	7.06
Germany	Sweden	-0.32	0.148	0.196	-0.74	0.09
	Croatia	-0.26	0.213	0.678	-0.86	0.33
	Jordan	6.33**	0.132	0.000	5.96	6.70
Croatia	Sweden	-0.06	0.223	0.995	-0.68	0.56
	Germany	0.26	0.213	0.678	-0.33	0.86
	Jordan	6.59**	0.212	0.000	6.00	7.18
Jordan	Sweden	-6.65**	0.148	0.000	-7.06	-6.24
	Germany	-6.33**	0.132	0.000	-6.70	-5.96
	Croatia	-6.59**	0.212	0.000	-7.18	-6.00

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-58. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' social proximity towards the RC.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.33**	0.062	0.000	-0.50	-0.16
	Croatia	-0.52**	0.089	0.000	-0.77	-0.27
	Jordan	-0.57**	0.061	0.000	-0.74	-0.4
Germany	Sweden	0.33**	0.062	0.000	0.16	0.50
	Croatia	-0.19	0.087	0.190	-0.43	0.05
	Jordan	-0.24**	0.058	0.001	-0.40	-0.07
Croatia	Sweden	0.52**	0.089	0.000	0.27	0.77
	Germany	0.19	0.087	0.190	-0.05	0.43
	Jordan	-0.05	0.087	0.959	-0.29	0.19
Jordan	Sweden	0.57**	0.061	0.000	0.40	0.74
	Germany	0.24**	0.058	0.001	0.07	0.40
	Croatia	0.05	0.087	0.959	-0.19	0.29

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-59. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' experience of discrimination.

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	-0.04	0.055	0.898	-0.20	0.11
	Croatia	0.20	0.078	0.094	-0.02	0.42
	Jordan	0.49**	0.054	0.000	0.34	0.65
Germany	Sweden	0.04	0.055	0.898	-0.11	0.20
	Croatia	0.24*	0.075	0.017	0.03	0.45
	Jordan	0.53**	0.050	0.000	0.39	0.68
Croatia	Sweden	-0.20	0.078	0.094	-0.42	0.02
	Germany	-0.24*	0.075	0.017	-0.45	-0.03
	Jordan	0.29**	0.075	0.002	0.09	0.50
Jordan	Sweden	-0.49**	0.054	0.000	-0.65	-0.34
	Germany	-0.53**	0.050	0.000	-0.68	-0.39
	Croatia	-0.29**	0.075	0.002	-0.50	-0.09

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-60. Multigroup comparisons of scores for AC respondents' sense of being a part of the society (society membership).

Arriving community		Mean Difference	SE	p-level	95% CI	
					LL	UL
Sweden	Germany	0.41**	0.069	0.000	0.21	0.6
	Croatia	0.47**	0.099	0.000	0.19	0.74
	Jordan	1.45**	0.069	0.000	1.26	1.64
Germany	Sweden	-0.41**	0.069	0.000	-0.6	-0.21
	Croatia	0.06	0.095	0.941	-0.21	0.33
	Jordan	1.04**	0.063	0.000	0.86	1.22
Croatia	Sweden	-0.47**	0.099	0.000	-0.74	-0.19
	Germany	-0.06	0.095	0.941	-0.33	0.21
	Jordan	0.98**	0.095	0.000	0.71	1.25
Jordan	Sweden	-1.45**	0.069	0.000	-1.64	-1.26
	Germany	-1.04**	0.063	0.000	-1.22	-0.86
	Croatia	-0.98**	0.095	0.000	-1.25	-0.71

Legend: N – number of respondents, SE – standard error, CI – confidence interval, LL – lower bound, UL – upper bound, *– mean difference significant at p < 0.05, ** – mean difference significant at p < 0.01

Table 8-61. Hierarchical regression analysis of the ***readiness of the RC respondents to assist the AC members*** *in two steps using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors.*

Receiving community					
Step 1 predictors	B	β	t	P	Model summary
Age	-0.005	-.064	-3.443	.001**	R^2 = .137 Adj. R^2 = .133 F (11, 2720) = 39.095** n = 2721
Female	0.224	.105	5.797	.000**	
Migration background	0.099	.041	2.226	.026*	
Secondary education	0.007	.003	.071	.943	
Tertiary education	0.170	.080	1.715	.086	
Employed	-0.008	-.004	-.183	.855	
Total household income	-0.022	-.013	-.574	.566	
Importance of religion	0.054	.077	3.147	.002**	
Sweden	-0.259	-.117	-4.424	.000**	
Croatia	-0.657	-.254	-9.886	.000**	
Jordan	0.284	.112	3.481	.001**	
Step 2 predictors	B	β	t	p	Model summary
Age	0.003	.034	2.471	.014*	R^2 = .537 Adj. R^2 = .535 F (17, 2704) = 184.810** ΔR^2 = .400 F change =390.193** n = 2721
Female	0.025	.012	0.874	.382	
Migration background	0.068	.028	2.074	.038*	
Secondary education	0.014	.006	0.192	.848	
Tertiary education	0.019	.009	0.266	.790	
Employed	-0.010	-.005	-0.292	.771	
Total household income	-0.021	.009	0.547	.584	
Importance of religion	0.084	.119	6.622	.000**	
Sweden	0.141	.064	3.114	.002**	
Croatia	0.298	.115	5.560	.000**	
Jordan	0.985	.388	14.842	.000**	
Attitudes towards the AC	0.574	.477	21.324	.000**	
Perception of realistic threat	0.021	.023	1.108	.268	
Perception of symbolic threat	-0.014	-.015	-0.768	.442	
Support for rights of the AC	0.317	.247	10.892	.000**	
Number of acquaintances in the place of residence	0.001	.053	3.877	.000**	
Perception of discrimination of the AC	0.101	.101	5.821	.000**	

Legend: AC – arriving community, B – unstandardized regression coefficient, β – standardized regression coefficient, t – t-test results, p – probability, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$, R^2 – coefficient of determination, Adj. R^2 – adjusted coefficient of determination, F – F-test results, ΔR^2 – change in the coefficient of determination after including another set of variables, F change – change in F-test results after including another set of variables, n – number of respondents. Reference groups: Male, No migration background, Primary education, Not employed, Germany.

Table 8-62. Hierarchical regression analysis of the ***social proximity of the RC respondents towards the AC members*** *in two steps using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors.*

Receiving community					
Step 1 predictors	**B**	**β**	**t**	**p**	**Model summary**
Age	-0.013	-.127	-7.098	.000**	R^2 = .187 Adj. R^2 = .183 F (11, 2710) = 56.580** n = 2721
Female	-0.108	-.039	-2.198	.028*	
Migration background	0.107	.034	1.901	.057	
Secondary education	0.165	.059	1.346	.178	
Tertiary education	0.250	.089	1.976	.048*	
Employed	-0.047	-.019	-0.824	.410	
Total household income	-0.197	-.043	-1.938	.053	
Importance of religion	-0.063	-.068	-2.851	.004**	
Sweden	-0.493	-.170	-6.619	.000**	
Croatia	-1.482	-.436	-17.513	.000**	
Jordan	-1.197	-.360	-11.512	.000**	
Step 2 predictors	**B**	**β**	**t**	**p**	**Model summary**
Age	-0.007	-.067	-3.995	.000**	R^2 = .321 Adj. R^2 = .317 F (17, 2704) = 75.317** ΔR^2 = .135 F change = 89.373** n = 2721
Female	-0.246	-.088	-5.376	.000**	
Migration background	0.081	.025	1.559	.119	
Secondary education	.0143	.051	1.271	.204	
Tertiary education	0.085	.030	0.735	.463	
Employed	-0.051	-.020	-0.974	.330	
Total household income	-0.181	-.024	-1.206	.228	
Importance of religion	-0.035	-.038	-1.761	.078	
Sweden	-0.172	-.059	-2.401	.016*	
Croatia	-0.788	-.232	-9.255	.000**	
Jordan	-0.662	-.199	-6.286	.000**	
Attitudes towards the AC	0.346	.219	8.081	.000**	
Perception of realistic threat	-0.150	-.122	-4.952	.000**	
Perception of symbolic threat	-0.013	-.010	-0.433	.665	
Support for rights of the AC	0.218	.130	4.716	.000**	
Number of acquaintances in the place of residence	0.090	.004	0.244	.808	
Perception of discrimination of the AC	0.008	.006	0.282	.778	

Legend: AC – arriving community, B – unstandardized regression coefficient, β – standardized regression coefficient, t – t-test results, p – probability, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$, R^2 – coefficient of determination, Adj. R^2 – adjusted coefficient of determination, F – F-test results, ΔR^2 – change in the coefficient of determination after including another set of variables, F change – change in F-test results after including another set of variables, n – number of respondents. Reference groups: Male, No migration background, Primary education, Not employed, Germany.

Table 8-63. Hierarchical regression analysis of ***the social proximity of the AC respondents towards the RC members*** *in two steps using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors.*

Arriving community					
Step 1 predictors	**B**	**β**	**t**	**p**	**Model summary**
Age	-0.003	-.052	-1.855	.064	R^2 = .094 Adj. R^2 =.086 F (14, 1473) = 10.945** n = 1487
Female	-0.123	-.080	-2.920	.004**	
Duration of stay	0.003	.071	1.827	.068	
Married	-0.104	-.066	-2.311	.021*	
English language proficiency	0.010	.053	1.522	.128	
Receiving country language proficiency	0.021	.091	2.793	.005**	
Secondary education	-0.104	-.069	-1.972	.049*	
Tertiary education	-0.008	-.005	-0.122	.903	
Employed	0.038	.023	0.834	.404	
Total household income	-0.084	-.013	-0.351	.726	
Importance of religion	-0.109	-.170	-5.932	.000**	
Sweden	0.079	.033	1.111	.267	
Croatia	0.496	.178	5.939	.000**	
Jordan	0.349	.227	4.358	.000**	
Step 2 predictors	**B**	**β**	**t**	**p**	**Model summary**
Age	-.0004	-.059	-2.121	.034*	R^2 = .118 Adj. R^2 = .106 F (19, 1468) = 10.318** ΔR^2 = .024 F change = 7.852** n = 1487
Female	-0.122	-.079	-2.900	.004**	
Duration of stay	0.003	.075	1.962	.050*	
Marital status	-0.113	-.072	-2.539	.011*	
English language proficiency	0.010	.053	1.561	.119	
Receiving country language proficiency	0.017	.075	2.306	.021*	
Secondary education	-0.093	-.061	-1.777	.076	
Tertiary education	-0.013	-.007	-0.191	.848	
Employed	0.044	.027	0.980	.327	
Total household income	-0.078	-.016	-0.432	.666	
Importance of religion	-0.098	-.155	-5.394	.000**	
Sweden	0.064	.027	0.904	.366	
Croatia	0.446	.160	5.349	.000**	
Jordan	0.228	.148	2.679	.007**	
Attitudes towards the RC	0.127	.077	3.030	.002**	
Perception of realistic intergroup threat	0.019	.028	0.958	.338	
Perception of symbolic intergroup threat	-0.111	-.146	-4.610	.000**	
Number of acquaintances in the place of residence	-0.007	-.004	-0.148	.882	

Experience of discrimination	-0.023	-.027	-0.996	.319	

Legend: AC – arriving community, RC – receiving community, B – unstandardized regression coefficient, β – standardized regression coefficient, t – t-test results, p – probability, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$, R^2 – coefficient of determination, Adj. R^2 – adjusted coefficient of determination, F – F-test results, ΔR^2 – change in the coefficient of determination after including another set of variables, F change – change in F-test results after including another set of variables, n – number of respondents. Reference groups: Male, Not married, Primary education, Not employed, Germany.

Table 8-64. Hierarchical regression analysis of the ***AC respondents' perception of the degree to which they are part of the society they live in*** *(society membership) in two steps using a set of socio-demographic, socio-economic and socio-psychological predictors. Model is tested on samples from Croatia, Sweden and Germany.*

Arriving community					
Step 1 predictors	B	β	t	p	**Model summary**
Age	0.011	.120	3.075	.002**	R^2 = .144 Adj. R^2 = .131 F (13, 849) = 10.980** n = 862
Female	-0.167	-.080	-2.349	.019*	
Duration of stay	0.008	.148	3.738	.000**	
Married	0.105	.052	1.424	.155	
English language proficiency	0.030	.111	2.811	.005**	
Receiving country language proficiency	0.089	.271	6.406	.000**	
Secondary education	-0.171	-.085	-1.651	.099	
Tertiary education	-0.128	-.061	-1.096	.273	
Employed	0.022	.011	0.304	.761	
Total household income	0.287	.077	2.087	.037*	
Importance of religion	0.001	.001	0.038	.970	
Sweden	-0.028	-.011	-0.297	.766	
Croatia	0.364	.124	3.163	.002**	
Step 2 predictors	B	β	t	p	**Model summary**
Age	0.007	.077	2.043	.041*	R^2 = .238 Adj. R^2 = .222 F (18, 844) = 14.672** ΔR^2 = .094 F change (5, 844) = 20.921** n = 862
Female	-0.120	-.057	-1.754	.080	
Duration of stay	0.010	.185	4.875	.000**	
Marital status	0.075	.037	1.076	.282	
English language proficiency	0.035	.129	3.437	.001**	
Host country language proficiency	0.077	.236	5.867	.000**	
Secondary education	-0.092	-.046	-0.935	.350	
Tertiary education	-0.053	-.025	-0.477	.634	
Employed	0.008	.004	0.119	.906	
Total household income	0.269	.072	2.042	.041*	
Importance of religion	0.032	.037	1.171	.242	
Sweden	0.009	.004	0.099	.921	
Croatia	0.311	.106	2.792	.005**	
Attitudes towards RC	0.167	.074	2.319	.021*	

Perception of realistic threat	-0.098	-.094	-2.640	.008**	
Perception of symbolic threat	-0.067	-.059	-1.701	.089	
Number of acquaintances in the place of residence	0.155	.076	2.311	.021*	
Experience of discrimination of AC	-0.226	-.194	-5.476	.000**	

Legend: AC – arriving community, RC – receiving community, B – unstandardized regression coefficient, β – standardized regression coefficient, t – t-test results, p – probability, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$, R2 – coefficient of determination, Adj. R2 – adjusted coefficient of determination, F – F-test results, ΔR2 – change in the coefficient of determination after including another set of variables, F change – change in F-test results after including another set of variables, n – number of respondents. Reference groups: Male, Not married, Primary education, Not employed, Germany.

Table 8-65. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the ***RC respondents*** *in four countries regarding structure of a* ***social network with the AC*** *(categorical variables).*

How many of your acquaintances are members of the AC?											
Receiving community	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	2861	395.775**	12
All of them	22	2.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	10	1.6%			
Most of them	28	2.5%	6	1.2%	0	0.0%	14	2.2%			
About a half of them	45	4.0%	10	1.34%	2	0.3%	24	3.9%			
Few of them	446	40.0%	155	14.15%	14	2.3%	144	23.1%			
None of them	573	51.44%	352	83.94%	584	97.3%	432	69.2%			
Total N	1114		523		600		624				

Out of your friends, how many are members of the AC?											
	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	2841	211.629**	12
All of them	20	1.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	14	2.2%			
Most of them	24	2.2%	3	0.6%	1	0.2%	5	0.8%			
About a half of them	27	2.5%	7	1.3%	0	0.0%	15	2.4%			
Few of them	244	22.3%	74	14.2%	10	1.7%	73	11.7%			
None of them	779	71.2%	439	83.9%	589	98.2%	517	82.9%			
Total N	1094		523		600		624				

Out of people you can count on to help you, how many are members of the AC?											
	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N			
All of them	20	1.8%	1	0.2%	0	0.0%	9	1.4%			
Most of them	18	1.7%	3	0.6%	0	0.0%	10	1.6%			
About a half of them	27	2.5%	13	2.5%	3	0.5%	2	0.3%	2841	167.704**	12
Few of them	159	14.5%	61	11.7%	5	0.8%	28	4.0%			
None of them	870	79.5%	445	85.1%	592	98.7%	575	92.2%			
Total N	1094		523		600		624				

Legend: AC – arriving community, f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

Table 8-66. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the ***AC respondents*** *in four countries regarding the structure of a* ***social network with the RC*** *(categorical variables).*

How many of your acquaintances are members of the RC?											
Arriving community	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N			
All of them	13	3%	9	1.5%	15	9.0%	85	13.6%			
Most of them	46	10.6%	49	8.1%	30	18.0%	139	22.3%			
About a half of them	61	14.0%	91	15.1%	37	22.2%	156	25.0%	1829	250.738**	12
Few of them	170	39.0%	296	49.2%	50	30.0%	129	20.7%			
None of them	146	33.5%	157	26.1%	35	21.0%	115	18.4%			
Total N	436		602		167		624				

Out of your friends, how many are members of the RC?											
	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	1829	155.092**	12
All of them	16	3.6%	19	3.2%	25	15.2%	97	15.5%			
Most of them	37	8.4%	24	4.0%	21	12.8%	75	12.0%			
About a half of them	56	12.8%	101	17.0%	30	18.3%	125	20.0%			
Few of them	164	37.4%	218	36.2%	44	26.8%	130	20.8%			
None of them	166	37.8%	240	40.0%	44	26.8%	197	31.6%			
Total N	439		602		164		624				
Out of people you can count on to help you, how many are members of the RC?											
	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	1826	201.729**	12
All of them	20	4.6%	25	4.2%	26	15.5%	144	23.1%			
Most of them	40	9.3%	32	5.3%	14	8.3%	46	7.4%			
About a half of them	55	12.7%	67	11.1%	33	19.6%	75	12.0%			
Few of them	130	30.1%	163	27.1%	42	24.4%	67	10.7%			
None of them	187	43.3%	315	52.3%	53	31.6%	292	46.8%			
Total N	432		602		168		624				

Legend: RC – receiving community, f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

*Table 8-67. Results of the Chi-square (χ^2) tests of differences between the **RC respondents** across the four countries and the **AC respondents** across the four countries for the **preference of the acculturation strategy** (categorical variable).*

Receiving community	Sweden		Germany		Croatia		Jordan		N	χ^2	df
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N			
Refugees should maintain original and not adopt /country/culture.	16	1.3%	16	3.1%	4	0.7%	91	14.6%	3004	248.684**	6
Refugees should maintain original and adopt /country/culture.	1131	90.0%	499	95.4%	540	90.0%	502	80.5%			
Refugees should relinquish original and adopt /country/ culture.	110	8.8%	8	1.5%	56	9.3%	31	5.0%			
Total N	1257		523		600		624				
Arriving community	**Sweden**		**Germany**		**Croatia**		**Jordan**		**N**	**χ^2**	**df**
	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N	f	% of valid N			
We should maintain original and not adopt /country/culture.	7	1.6%	39	6.5%	10	6.0%	71	11.4%	1839	41.537**	6
We should maintain original and adopt /country/culture.	429	96.2%	556	92.4%	155	92.8%	542	87.0%			
We should relinquish original and adopt /country/ culture.	10	2.2%	7	1.5%	2	1.2%	11	1.8%			
Total N	446		602		167		624				

Legend: f – frequencies, N – sample size, χ^2 – Chi-square test result, df – degrees of freedom, * – significant at $p < 0.05$, ** – significant at $p < 0.01$.

8.2 Qualitative study (focus groups)

Table 8-68. Sociodemographic characteristics of focus group participants in Croatia.

Community		Receiving	Arriving
Participants	Total	21	11
Gender	Male	8	5
	Female	13	6
	Diverse	0	0
Residential duration (years)	Range	-	9 m – 4 y
Migration background	/	0	-
Place of residence	Zagreb	21	11
Education	Primary	1	
	Lower secondary	1	
	Upper secondary	2	
	Bachelor's or equivalent level	6	
	Master's/ doctoral or equivalent level	10	3
	Unknown	1	8
Labour status	Employed	13	4
	Unemployed	0	5
	Pupil, student, further training, unpaid work experience	5	5
	In retirement or early retirement	1	0
	No answer	2	0

Table 8-69. Sociodemographic characteristics of focus group participants in Germany.

Community		Receiving	Arriving
Participants	Total	12	19
	Male	6	12
	Female	6	7
	Diverse	0	0
Age range (years)	Range	23 – 67	21 - 63
	18-29	3	4
	30-49	8	9
	50-67	1	6
Residential duration (years)	Range	8 – 46	3 - 5
Migration background		5	-
Place of residence	Berlin	4	8
	Hamburg	4	6
	Leipzig	4	5
Marital status	Single	9	7
	Married	3	12
Education	Lower secondary	1	
	Upper/secondary	3	4
	Short cycle tertiary education		1
	Bachelor's or equivalent level	6	10
	Master's/ doctoral or equivalent level	2	4
Labour status	Employed full time	3	2
	Employed part time	3	
	Unemployed	1	8
	Pupil, student, further training, unpaid work experience	4	5
	Apprenticeship		2
	Fulfilling domestic tasks		8
	In retirement or early retirement	1	

©FOCUS Consortium

Table 8-70. Sociodemographic characteristics of focus group participnats in Jordan.

Community		Receiving	Arriving
Participants	Total	26	22
	Male	12	8
	Female	14	14
	Diverse	0	0
Age range (years)	Range	20-58	21-61
	18-29	11	6
	30-49	12	14
	50-67	3	2
Residential duration (years)	Range	20-58	5-9
Migratory background		7	-
Place of residence	Amman	9	7
	Irbid	8	8
	Zarqa	9	7
Marital status	Single	7	2
	Married	18	16
	Divorced	1	1
	Widowed	0	3
Education	No formal education	3	1
	Primary education	3	9
	Lower secondary	3	6
	Upper/ post-secondary	7	2
	Short cycle tertiary education	2	0
	Bachelor's or equivalent level	7	4
	Master's/ doctoral or Equivalent level	1	0
Labour status	Employed full time	3	1
	Employed part time	2	1
	Unemployed	7	9
	Pupil, student, further training, unpaid work experience	3	0
	Self-employed	7	3
	Fulfilling domestic tasks	2	5
	In marginal or irregular employment	0	1
	No Answer	2	2

Table 8-71. Sociodemographic characteristics of focus group participnats in Sweden.

Community		Receiving	Arriving
Participants	Total	12	12
	Male	5	7
	Female	7	5
	Diverse	0	0
Age range (years)	Range	22 -55	32-62
	18-29	2	1
	30-49	1	5
	50-67	1	1
Residential duration (years)	Range	10-life	
Migration background		6	-
Place of residence	Stockholm	4	5
	Gothenburg	4	3
	Malmö	4	4
Marital status	single	3	4
	Married	1	3
Education	Lower Secondary		1
	Upper/ post-secondary	1	1
	Short cycle tertiary education		
	Bachelor's or equivalent level	1	3
	Master's/ doctoral or Equivalent level		2
Labour status	Employed full-time	2	3
	Employed part-time		1
	Parental leave	1	
	Unemployed		2
	Pupil, student, further training, unpaid work experience	1	1
	Apprenticeship		
	Fulfilling domestic tasks		
	In retirement or early retirement		