

The Integration Process of Non-EU Citizens in Luxembourg: From an Empirical Approach Toward a Theoretical Model

Angela Otero, Chrysoula Karathanasi, Michèle Baumann

Abstract—Integration of foreign communities has been a forefront issue in Luxembourg for some time now. The country's continued progress depends largely on the successful integration of immigrants. The aim of our study was to analyze factors which intervene in the course of integration of Non-EU citizens through the discourse of Non-EU citizens residing in Luxembourg, who have signed the Welcome and Integration Contract (CAI). The two-year contract offers integration services to assist foreigners in getting settled in the country. Semi-structured focus group discussions with 50 volunteers were held in English, French, Spanish, Serbo-Croatian or Chinese. Participants were asked to talk about their integration experiences. Recorded then transcribed, the transcriptions were analyzed with the help of NVivo 10, a qualitative analysis software. A systematic and reiterative analysis of decomposing and reconstituting was realized through (1) the identification of predetermined categories (difficulties, challenges and integration needs) (2) initial coding – the grouping together of similar ideas (3) axial coding – the regrouping of items from the initial coding in new ways in order to create sub-categories and identify other core dimensions. Our results show that intervening factors include language acquisition, professional career and socio-cultural activities or events. Each of these factors constitutes different components whose weight shifts from person to person and from situation to situation. Connecting these three emergent factors are two elements essential to the success of the immigrant's integration – the role of time and deliberate effort from the immigrants, the community, and the formal institutions charged with helping immigrants integrate. We propose a theoretical model where the factors described may be classified in terms of how they predispose, facilitate, and / or reinforce the process towards a successful integration. Measures currently in place propose one size fits all programs yet integrative measures which target the family unit and those customized to target groups based on their needs would work best.

Keywords—Integration, Integration Services, Non-EU citizens, Qualitative Analysis, Third Country Nationals.

I. INTRODUCTION

WITH a population of approximately 563,000 in January of 2015, Luxembourg is a kaleidoscope of cultures,

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comprising over 166 nationalities [1]. Third Country Nationals (TCN i.e. Not from EU or EEA citizens) represented approximately 6.5% of the total population in Luxembourg and 14.1% of the total foreign population [1]. Immigrants made up approximately 71% of the total number of employees in the country in 2014 [2], which highlights the necessity of efficient integration measures.

In most OECD countries permanent immigration is on a sharp increase with 2014 data showing highs (of 4.3 million entries) only seen during the pre-crisis period. As such a number of OECD countries have fundamentally revised their migration legislation in the past few years with trends towards restrictions [3]. In Luxembourg, integration measures include: (1) A Welcome and Integration Contract (CAI) implemented in September 2011. The CAI is proposed to any foreigner 16 years and over legally residing in the country and intent on staying long-term. It includes integration services that target country language(s) acquisition, citizenship training courses and an orientation to institutions that are considered pertinent to successful integration. Signatories of the CAI have 24 months to fulfill the conditions of the contract which means attending citizenship training courses, an orientation day and at least one introductory language class in any of Luxembourg's three languages (French, German or Luxembourgish) [4]. The EU blue card also known as a Highly Qualified Workers Residence Permit was introduced in the Free Movement of Persons and Immigration Bill of 29 August 2008. The economically oriented bill aims to attract highly qualified non-EU nationals to live and work in the EU and to minimize brain drain in developing and middle income countries [5]. Residence permits are also granted to family members of the blue card recipient for the same duration as the primary recipient. The blue card directive was introduced into Luxembourgish law on 8 December 2011 and entered into force on 3 February 2012. In Luxembourg the criteria for receiving the blue card residence permit includes: possession of a university degree or training to certify the competences required for the respective position or a minimum of 5 years of work experience in the pertinent profession or domain; a salary threshold that is 1.5 times the average annual gross salary in Luxembourg, or a salary of 1.2 times for positions in which the need of a non-EU national is recognized by the government [6]. Luxembourg did not implement the optional prerequisite of proof that the position cannot be filled by a domestic or EU worker before hiring a Non-EU citizen. This could in part explain the attractiveness of Luxembourg as a

career destination. Yet despite issuing 306 blue cards in 2013, second only to Germany which issued the most (14,197) [5], the unemployment rate among Non-EU nationals in Luxembourg remains high (15%) [7] compared to unemployment among the general resident population (6.8%) [1]. The same trend is witnessed in most EU countries [8]. This could indicate that a high number of Non-EU residents do not move to Luxembourg as primary recipients of the blue card. The aim of these integration measures is to facilitate the integration process for the immigrants through the promotion of family reunification and through offering support to legally residing immigrants who wish to settle in the country long term. Although these are positive steps in the right direction, an exploration recognizing the complexity and multifaceted nature of the integration process is required to determine the efficiency of these measures and their suitability to the needs of the immigrants they are supposed to aid. This study was aimed at exploring factors which mediate in the integration process in order to determine gaps and successes in the system. Focus group discussions offered the opportunity to examine opinions and ideas that emerge when immigrants interact as well as the possibility to involve them in establishing whether the measures in place are well suited for them.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. Recruitment and Ethical Aspects

Eleven focus group discussions with 50 volunteers (32 women, 18 men) recruited from among 233 Non-EU beneficiaries of the CAI were held. Everyone was offered a gift voucher of 50 euros in compensation for their time. The audio recordings, transcripts and the identities of the participants were kept anonymous.

B. Facilitation Guide

Semi-structured discussions (4 to 8 people) were facilitated in English, French, Spanish, Serbo-Croatian or Chinese and typically lasted between 1.5 to 2.5 hours. Participants were encouraged to delve into detailed explanations of the difficulties and challenges they face as immigrants, their expectations upon arrival, the differences between these expectations and the reality and their specific requirements for a successful integration.

C. Analysis

The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and verified before analysis. All transcripts that were in languages other than English and French were translated and verified by a native speaker. The transcripts were analyzed by the three authors. A consensus was used to categorize the ideas where views differed. The analysis was conducted by following three main steps with the aid of N-Vivo 10 qualitative analysis software. In the identification of emergent dimensions, the transcriptions were read through in order to identify predetermined categories (difficulties, challenges and integration needs). In the initial coding, transcriptions were systematically re-read and verbatim regrouped to form items –

each item representing a summary of a category. In the axial coding the items resulting from the initial coding were reconstituted in order to identify dimensions. The findings were compared with existing literature leading us to categorize our findings in terms of factors which predispose, facilitate and / or reinforce immigrants towards integration.

III. RESULTS

Three main dimensions emerged as essential towards successful integration, after regrouping various factors together. These include language acquisition, professional integration and socio-cultural integration. Although presented as direct quotes from individual participants, each focus group was identified as a unit*.

The volunteers mean age was 43 years [26-58; SD 7.8], they consisted of 64% women, and 70% living in a couple. 74.4% were university graduates, and 56% of them were active (34% worked in intellectual or scientific professions, 20.7% in public administration and defense, education, health; 20.3% in service and sales personnel and 19% in finance and insurance).

IV. THE THREE EMERGENT THEMES

A. Language Acquisition

1) Multilingualism

Luxembourg has three administrative and judicial languages (French, German and Luxembourgish). Luxembourgish is the national language, French the legislative language [9] and German is the language of instruction in public schools. Taking work life into consideration raises that number to four (English) languages, given that several international companies are headquartered in Luxembourg. Although host country language(s) acquisition is fundamental to the process, learning one language has been for several immigrants in Luxembourg reportedly insufficient to successful integration. A problem common to multilingual countries is that proficiency in one language may not guarantee employment or integration in a desired domain. Certain jobs for instance, require multiple languages, meaning that the immigrants could be forced to decide between changing careers, or accepting long periods of stagnation, as they acquire the language skills necessary to pursue their desired careers.

(FG2) my problem was that I have to learn so many languages...that is another thing about the country. If you go to Germany, you speak only German and then you go to France and you speak only French. Here it is a multilingual, multicultural country.

(FG3) The three languages are required for certain jobs. I worked as a primary school teacher for young children and it is difficult to integrate myself because of the problem of the three languages.

(FG11) To integrate, like find work or find your place

* The verbatim were not contextualized, in order to guarantee the anonymity of the volunteers.

here, pay the taxes here is very hard, first of all because of the languages, for me it's even harder because I'm a psychologist and at the National Employment Administration Agency they told me as much.

2) Choice of First Foreign Language Is Not Obvious

Language acquisition requires, time, money and effort, yet there is no set criteria or guidelines that immigrants can use in deciding which language to learn first.

(FG1) What is the main language to be learned? That is the great difficulty

(FG7) It's hard to find a course and decide which language to do first.

(FG1) The Luxembourgers themselves are unable to tell us which language one has to learn when they arrive in the country.

Participants seemed to have gravitated towards a specific language, based on their immediate goals (e.g. finding work, acquiring citizenship, helping their children), the dominant language in their new entourage, advice from friends and acquaintances or making a gamble and hoping for the best.

(FG4) I think of my family, my children ... for me it was the Luxembourgish language would see me assimilate.

(FG3) It is necessary for me to do this through the Luxembourgish language because I want to apply for Luxembourg nationality.

(FG7) When I moved here I found it was French in the city center for the workers, and it was Luxembourgish for the native people, and so I said I have to learn that.

3) Using or Losing the Language Acquired

Although choosing the language to learn first is unclear, the real challenge is seen in the actual language acquisition process. Simply attending language classes was constantly reported as inadequate to impart the required level of skill. The possibility to consistently practice was often missing from the language acquisition experience. For a new immigrant who does not speak the local languages, has not yet made friends, and is unemployed, finding a place to practice is not straight forward. Participants expressed a desire to have a platform which would facilitate the usage of the language being learned, especially in the beginning.

(FG4) I would like to speak Luxembourgish. Now I'm at level B1:1, only twice a week. But where can I speak? Maybe you can arrange something so that we can speak better.

(FG7) I think tandem speaking would be a great activity. You learn Luxembourgish from a Luxembourger and then you teach your language to them.

(FG3) If OLAI organizes a cultural activity, it should be through the Luxembourgish language classes or the citizenship courses. But such activities must be done with Luxembourgers. It would be nice to organize meetings with Luxembourgers, they are very closed and they remain among themselves.

4) Ability to Communicate Means Seizing Opportunities

Being able to communicate is directly tied to language, making it one of the most important ways for us to get what we want. Therefore, an inability to properly communicate and understand could mean ineffectualness in looking for or finding what we want and need. This translates to missing out on opportunities that we would have otherwise seized.

(FG1) It's true that when one does not understand it's rather annoying because you cannot participate in the life of the town.

(FG1) Everything they send us whether the village festivals, town celebrations, everything is in Luxembourgish. There are no translations, and after a while it drives us away a little bit because you do not understand.

5) Integrating with Those in the Same Boat Creates a Sense of Belonging

The inclination for a sense of kinship can sometimes drive immigrants to seek out similar or familiar environments as this provides a sense of security. For these people, initiating the integration process is not necessarily done through host country language acquisition.

(FG10) Creating a group, a cohort of people who have similar backgrounds and going through their integration at the same time.

(FG10) That is a good idea. In the XY we have the same thing. Groups of people who started to work at the same period, to make connections, and make a link. Like support groups.

B. Professional Career

1) Underestimation of Educational Background and Professional Experience

As already reflected, professional career can be either facilitated or impeded by language competences. However, when one migrates to a new country unemployed, they are likely to face other challenges, a strong educational background and work experience notwithstanding. Institutionalized rules sometimes make it difficult to get validation for one's university degree or work experience (acquired from their countries of origin or other). This means that those competences could be undervalued, which poses a problem when it comes to finding employment.

(FG3) I am a lawyer and I asked for the equivalent of my degree ... two years ago I went to the Ministry and the person told me that first I had to find myself a job and an employer, so I could eventually seek recognition for my degree, but who would employ me without recognition of my degree?

(FG5) The other thing besides the language is professional development and recognition of diplomas and qualifications that we already have.

This, coupled with the underestimation of foreign work experience, makes it even more challenging to find work in one's own domain of expertise.

(FG6) Companies like CL, a private consulting

company for education and career... can't provide services to public schools, student fairs because public schools only accept cooperating with public companies.

2) Demoralization and Potential Mental Health Risks

These compounding challenges mean that immigrants are at risk of extended periods of unemployment, which could lead not only to demoralization, but to more complex mental health issues, that are difficult to overcome.

(FG10): There are people who are desperate. And after all of that, my husband has serious health problems, because of psychological stress...now if we go back; we are both jobless, so I am obliged to stay here. So when we talk about integration, we have to talk about jobs, because people need money to eat and pay the bills. My husband has now lost his faith.

C. Socio-Cultural Activities or Events

1) The Initial Step to Building a Network Is Challenging

An interest to participate in socio-cultural activities and events was consistently expressed through the belief that active participation in the social life of the host country is essential. However, a large number of interviewees found that making the initial steps was either too intimidating or overwhelming.

(FG11) It's hard for everyone who comes to a new country...you don't know anything about the culture you don't have friends.

(FG3) OLAI [The Integration office] could organize more cultural activities so that people can integrate more. It is OLAI that should encourage this.

(FG1) There are also the small village festivals, why not organize ourselves in small groups to learn about things from Luxembourg.

(FG9) There are these sports events where they form multicultural sports teams and you come and play...they want teams to have multiple nationalities. The whole point of integration is to make people participate.

2) Finding a Niche Is Key

It is not always easy to know where to start, when one does not have contacts in a new environment. The work place can easily facilitate this by offering a networking platform. When they succeed in joining a network, the process proves satisfactory for the immigrants.

(FG4) I am in a choir. I sing in Luxembourgish and German. It's a plus. It helps me get by, even though I don't speak fluent Luxembourgish. Having a passion ... and getting to make small sentences or small talk, it gives me great pleasure

(FG2) You need to get integrated to the structure of the country. To get to know the politics, the health system how it works and to be able to communicate with people...have discussions about experiences in Luxembourg.

(FG9) when I came here like 2.5 years ago, I didn't know who to reach out to, there were hardly any people.

In a sense my office was kind of nice because they have a lot of people in it, but I know a lot of people who work in offices where there are like 10-15 people and they can't have a proper networking in the office.

3) Lack of Information (or Possibly Too Much Information)

Without work, opportunities for social interactions are automatically reduced meaning individuals have to look for opportunities on their own if they wish to find their place within the community. For these individuals, an avenue through which they could start to interact with others in socio-cultural activities or events is desired for instance by simply making relevant information more readily available to immigrants, in places they often frequent.

(FG6) Provide learning materials related to Luxembourgish culture, history, everyday life...on the bus, in the supermarket, maybe provide a book reading recommendation list etc....We do not get much information on local festivals.

Information availability could lead to increased participation in activities which could then build momentum and becoming self-sustaining once a network has been established.

4) Including Sensitization Activities in the School Curriculum of Children

A large number of the participants moved to Luxembourg as part of a couple (more than 70%), or family with children. As a result, their chosen activities or events were influenced by the family unit dynamic.

(FG1) I work with children...children really are very different to each other and for me the main thing is to try to make a coalition between small children, since they are the new generation of Luxembourg...for me the integration starts at school.

(FG3) Professionally I am a lawyer and I came here for love.

(FG4) I am Mexican ... first love. I had a French boyfriend for years, when I was 16, we stayed friends reconnected ten years later, and now are now married.

(FG4) I did not come to Luxembourg because I made a choice that is in Luxembourg where I wanted to live. It is through marriage ties and love that I am here. So I am forced to accept the conditions of life, all that happens

(FG10) ...in our case [a couple] it was not integration it was one job; we came here just for one job.

5) Prejudiced Attitudes, Discrimination and Cultural Differences

Socio cultural integration is a two way street and therefore cannot be achieved solely through immigrant efforts. It is a process requiring participation by the local communities which could be encouraged through sensitization and awareness programs. This could help reduce negative experiences that hinder migrants from finding their place and being integrated preventing prejudiced attitudes, suspicion, mistrust, discrimination, competence undervaluing and rejection by the Luxembourgish community. A cultural

distance seems to remain between the immigrants and the host society.

(FG1) When I go to some ministries here, I feel I'm treated as if I was going to visit prisoners in my country, so I hate it and I prefer not to go.

(FG1) In Peru on the streets one greets you and talks, that's all this is not to make a move on you, but here men believe that if you talk to them it is to make a move on them. The women if you talk to them, they hold their bag as if I was going to steal it...

(FG1) I am from Panama ... maybe because we come from a region that for us it is normal that when you arrive in a country you get to know your neighbor...when we came here it was a shock ... here in winter it's cold and people lock themselves at home.

(FG1) Most important is at school, because in Luxembourgish schools there is too much racism and it comes from all sides not just teachers

Immigrants of a more advanced age face more discrimination and sometimes difficulties in general, compared to their younger counterparts. This could be due extensive professional experience, which could ironically work against them, or even due to greater difficulty experienced by immigrants in their prime

(FG4) My age may have played a big role; because I am elderly and with the crisis...to make things easier, opportunities are given to young people...I was also stuck with languages because as it turns out, everything is more difficult at a certain age.

(FG10) I had a very unpleasant situation with National Employment Administration. The first question they asked me was, how old I am... Our conversation ended with him telling me that I don't have any chance to find a job here, because of my age and previous experience, since employers don't want someone who will ask for a bigger salary, and that people who are younger than me and without experience have greater chance.

V. A PROCESS REQUIRING TIME AND EFFORT

A. Time

Although eager to get on with their lives and establish a rhythm, participants realized that integration is a process that cannot be rushed, no matter how hard they tried.

(FG11) Now I feel I'm maybe 50% integrated ... I think integration is a process...you need some time for yourself...at the beginning when I came here I tried with all my strength to get into a lot of things...but then I forgot where I had seen this or that and that was really frustrating, and so I told myself "you need time to know the country, to know the city, the places you have to go to get some papers, to pay bills it takes time"

B. Effort

Getting settled and finding ones' place calls for deliberate effort on the part of the immigrant and the host country alike.

(FG7) It depends on you, to go and find information about your municipality. You can't stay at home.

(FG11) I think that there are two sides to it. The two sides should invest in that. We should not just expect of Luxembourg to integrate me into society. I have to give my piece to integrate. I think that the problem is that people expect from society to receive them, but they don't give anything of themselves. I think it's a little problem.

Formal institutions charged with the responsibility of helping the immigrants integrate should, in addition to providing services to the immigrants, mediate and encourage interactions between local communities and immigrants. For instance, through sensitizing the local communities to the importance of a cohesive society and the multilateral nature of the integration process.

(FG2) I learned well French and Luxembourgish, I know how to write and speak but when I go out and I speak to the people...the attitude is a bit... People try to switch language. Once I tried to speak Luxembourgish to some people, I know it was not perfect, but at the end they told me "I like your Deutsche."

(FG7) If OLAI reached out to Luxembourgers and asked who wants to help, then gave them a channel through which they can meet us and for us to meet them. I would like to see after we get the certificate, regular activities to meet Luxembourgers or practice Luxembourgish, so I can continue to integrate.

In addition, any measures in place would be made more effective if their scope was clear to the targeted immigrant population.

(FG9) For me, it's a little confusing what exactly OLAI wants to do through this process. It's not very clear...

(FG9) The thing is that you get this certificate but then you don't know what's next, what I'm I supposed to do? How can I contribute? This certificate doesn't usually help me in any way. I think the benefit I can really think of is that if you decide to stay here and you want to apply for citizenship, you are exempt from certain tests... What one doesn't understand is what the actual benefit of having this is. Does it give you any benefits?

Some signatories reported that the CAI did not help them be better integrated since at the end they were not better off than at the beginning.

(FG1) The question is after 24 months are we really integrated? No, you are not integrated.

VI. THE IMPACT OF SUPPORT MEASURES ON THE SOCIAL LIVES OF IMMIGRANTS

Support measures that are not associated with added value to the life of an immigrant, are not considered useful. For instance, if the immigrant would have taken similar steps alone, they don't hold the support in equal esteem. Likewise, immigrants who were more actively engaged with their local communities needed less additional support compared to those who had not made contacts or had fewer networks.

(FG2): *Personally CAI did not help me to get integrated but you cannot take me as a rule because I have only Luxembourgish friends here and I know a lot. We speak only Luxembourgish and they take me to everything they take part in and we talk about politics.*

(FG2): *I am doing the language courses but that is all for me. The language I would do it anyway, with or without the CAI. So there is nothing for me to say "Hey I am proud of being part of OLAI". This is it for me.*

(FG9) *What is it that I would need that would make me go back to the [CAI] website? To check what? If they're maybe organizing sessions like where people can come and talk to people who are in the same situation or have had similar problems...then yes, I would say that then it would make sense to go back to the site.*

In the same vein at the end of an integration program, perceived contributions of the measures in place were seen in terms of their capacities to help immigrants establish a connection with a group. When the program ended without having achieved this, the disappointment was obvious and the sudden realization that what they expected from the program had not been achieved left immigrants feeling rather discontent.

(FG9) *I was thinking how do you keep people engaged? They come, they sign up they do these two courses and then they take the language courses and then they go away. But then what does the government intend to do with these people? Do they really go back and check that they are integrating well? There's no kind of like reconnect stuff. There's no connection with this kind of stuff...so the re-engagement is actually missing.*

(FG10): *Madam Minister was present, and she made a nice speech, so there were important people talking to us, they give us their time and had the will to talk with us. And now I am wondering are they interested to hear more about us?*

VII. DISCUSSION

Our study highlights three main factors i.e. language acquisition, professional career and socio-cultural activities or events that intervene in the integration process, as well their interaction with each other. These three identified factors interact in a process which requires time and deliberate effort to manage. We further propose a theoretical model which explains these factors in terms of their ability to predispose immigrant behavior, facilitate the integration process and finally those that reinforce the process.

Our findings highlight linguistic competences as the central factor which predisposes immigrant behaviors' towards immigration. This could explain why on the one hand, primary immigrants often prefer destinations which speak a language they already speak or those that exhibit linguistic proximity to their mother tongue, hence facilitating the language learning process. On the other hand, unemployed immigrants who do not speak the host country language upon arrival tend to start with language acquisition since linguistic competences are known to have a positive effect on an immigrant's job

prospects and on their labor productivity at the workplace. Languages competences, therefore can be said to predispose behavior towards integration, whereas the lack thereof, or poor skills can be a severe obstacle to career success, as language level has been shown to mediate disparities in both employment and earnings [8]. That is, immigrants who speak the host country language(s) are more likely to be employed and to earn more. Further, language skills prompt immigrants' to not only pursue professional opportunities in their fields of study and expertise, but to also seek participation in sociocultural activities and events. These professional and social networks could be viewed as avenues through which individuals seek to find their place among people of like mind. One study argues that low-skilled immigrants are predisposed to settle within their own ethnic enclaves as this offers them important opportunities and facilitates coping with the new environment. Contrarily, this may also promote segregation and delay their integration in equal measure. This is especially seen when an immigrant's native culture and language are broadly represented in his or her new country [10]. Therefore, settling in an area with a high number of natives and spending a lot time among them would lead to faster integration, as language acquisition is faster where the immigrant share is smallest [11].

Among factors that facilitate the integration process are, employment possibility as already seen and good language skills. Principal immigrants who migrate for employment will often already possess the linguistic and professional competences required to integrate into the host country. The same however, cannot be said of their spouses or partners who despite being dependent immigrants intend to pursue careers as they had done in their home countries. They therefore often plan to enter the host country labor market upon migration. However, having to start the language acquisition process from scratch often translates to longer periods of adjustment, creating career gaps that are unlikely to close over time [12]. This can have a long term negative impact as work has been shown to play a central role in the development, expression and maintenance of psychological health [13]. So much so that individuals who lose their jobs or find themselves without employment for extended periods of time often struggle with mental health problems and stress. In Luxembourg primary immigrants are mostly men who come for professional reasons whereas women migrate predominantly for family reasons [14]. The same was mirrored in our findings where 64% of the volunteers were women and 70% highlighted relationship (being part of a couple) as their reason for moving. As a result, these secondary immigrants were unemployed and mostly had no social networks upon arrival and therefore had to start from scratch. Traditionally, the dependent immigrant is often the woman which could explain why females with less than acceptable language skills are more likely to stay unemployed or work in jobs below their competence levels [8], [15], [11]. Additionally, poor language skills could be misconstrued as lower competences biasing employment opportunities in favor of those who have mastered language(s) even where their skills are inferior. Often times when young children are

involved traditional gender roles tend to dominate meaning that the woman will more frequently become the home maker or settle for part time employment despite having a strong educational and professional background [15]. This shows that the greatest difficulty to achieving professional integration based on educational background and professional experience is faced by the dependent spouses [12] who are mostly women.

About 15% of the TCNs in Luxembourg with a tertiary education were unemployed compared to 6.8% of the general resident population. This could be attributed to a number of reasons which could have a compounding effect. For instance, difficulty in mastering the official languages of the country [16], the devaluing of foreign work experience and education related competences, a lack of support networks [7] among others. Although Luxembourg's recent emphasis on attracting highly skilled Non-EU experts has been more or less successful, it has not been without shortcomings. For instance, family members are left to manage their integration on their own. Non-EU nationals who are employed tend to occupy, either top (legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals) or elementary occupations (service, sales, craft, agricultural workers, operators, assemblers) regardless of gender. This most likely represents the primary and the dependent immigrants respectively. The middle professions (technicians, associate professionals and clerks) tend to be occupied by EU migrants. This could explain why Non-EU female migrants are more frequently found in lower-level occupations than their male counterparts who move for employment. The same gender differences are less pronounced among EU migrants. These discriminatory practices do nothing to reinforce integration, and instead propagate the continued exclusion of these minorities. These practices, coupled with prejudiced attitudes and stereotypes that generalize Non-EU immigrants as being on a lower cultural level has pushed them to accept work below their competences due to their limited options [17]. The high level of education of the immigrants in our sample (over 74% have a university degree) proves that these attitudes are misguided. One study attempts to explain this predicament in terms of the skills paradox where more skilled and qualified immigrants are less likely to find employment relative to their local counterparts [18]. Citing the Canadian job market, the authors argue that despite the employability of immigrants increasing with the possession of more advanced skills, it decreases in relative terms compared to locals. The opposite is true for immigrants who do not hold a degree, certificate, or diploma. The skills paradox could in part shed light not only on why some highly qualified immigrants from our study remain unemployed, but also explain why they were prepared to enter the job market first as volunteers in order to prove their competences and alleviate the prejudiced attitudes against them which could in turn lead to employment opportunities. Finding ways to identify and explain such biases would reinforce the integration process by reducing the underutilization of immigrants' skills which causes economic loss to the host country and which is equally detrimental to the

employers as well the immigrants quality of life [18]. To raise awareness about these biases more countries are placing particular emphasis on the recognition of foreign qualifications and on lifelong learning [3]. To improve its qualifications recognition process, Luxembourg implemented the Accreditation of Prior Learning (VAE) procedure in the spring of 2010. The aim of the VAE is to both facilitate access to professions such as craftsmanship, trade, industrialists and certain liberal professions and to place higher value on professional experience (for migrants without recognized qualifications) than has been done in the past [14]. The process has however not been without challenges given how young the University of Luxembourg is (10 years old) hence the limited number of degrees it offers despite the substantial strides it has made. As a result, many degrees exist abroad that are not offered locally or that are offered in other languages making equivalents difficult or impossible to establish. This could negatively impact the possibility of finding work in specific domains of study. These kinds of employment differentials could be explained in terms of the social identity theory (SIT) which posits that individuals are motivated to acquire and maintain a positive self-concept including a positive social self [19]. In the same vein, since employers and the national employment administration agency (ADEM) are largely European [18], they would tend to promote the image of their own social group (ingroup) to the detriment of other (Non-EU / outgroup) groups. This could explain why a higher percentage of TCNs are unemployed compared to their EU counterparts. Understanding such biases could inform policies and improve procedures' in order to reduce discrimination thus reinforcing integration. Other factors that could strengthen the process include the encouragement of active participation by local communities with the aim of changing prejudiced attitudes through sensitization programs that create positive interactions between the groups and exchanges which highlight the contributions of immigrants in the economy and society. Sensitization programs are especially necessary since the value of integration is greater to an individual from a smaller minority (such as Non-EU immigrants) than to one from a larger minority group (such as EU immigrants) [10]. In addition to both sides benefitting from economic and social integration, language acquisition also benefits the society at large since a shared language is a necessary condition for social cohesiveness among individuals [10]. Further, it in part mediates social outcomes such as whether or not an immigrant is accepted by the local community [20]. This brings us back full circle to language as the most common starting point for integration while at the same time highlighting the interaction among the different factors which cannot be mutually exclusive and should therefore be considered collectively. For instance in Canada the immigrants selection process is based on a human capital points system which admits immigrants' based on several factors i.e. language ability, level of education, work experience, age, occupation, arranged employment in Canada and 'adaptability', assessed as social ties [15]. This demonstrates that the more the number of factors included in the support measures developed, the more

likely we are to see measures suitable to the different needs. This would benefit both the country's economy, as well as increase the life satisfaction of the immigrant. Two main disadvantages of the integration measures currently in place are that they focus primarily on the principal immigrant while ignoring the dependents all together, and they propose a one size fits all program whilst the immigrants, their skills and their situations are varied and dynamic.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The Luxembourgish government has made efforts to help and support immigrants integrate into the country through the CAI. These measures are clearly a step in the right direction. However, more research should be conducted to check the efficiency of the program and to highlight gaps in the system in order to improve on their suitability in actual situations. Further, the measures should include an integrative approach which actively includes the integration of other family members [15] based on their competences as well as the participation of the local communities. The sensitization of local communities to the contributions of immigrants as well as the bilateral or multilateral nature of immigration could encourage their participation which is missing from the process. It is after all not possible to integrate two or more communities together when only one party is actively involved.

Our theoretical model proposes an approach which focuses on different factors and a process which involves an interactive system of integration. Further, the collective nature of the action plans should include already settled immigrants in their implementation as this group best understands their own integration requirements and have furthermore expressed a desire to be part of the integration process. This could be leveraged to ease the process for new comers while offering volunteer and professional opportunities to already settled immigrants who clearly understand the challenges involved. Our findings point towards the multifaceted nature of integration and its expansion beyond the individual to the family and the local community.

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