

STANDARD FRONTPAGE FOR EXAMINATION PAPERS

To be filled in by the student(s). Please use capital letters.

Subjects: (tick box)	Project	Synopsis	Portfolio	Thesis x	Written Assignment
----------------------	---------	----------	-----------	----------	--------------------

Study programme:	CCG	
Semester:	10th Semester	
Exam Title:	Master Thesis	
Name and CPR No/ Names and CPR Nos of group members:	Name(s)	CPR No(s)
	Friederike Raabe	20151443
Hand in date:	30.05.2017	
Project title /Synopsis Title/Thesis Title	The Labor Market Integration of well-educated Refugees in Germany	
According to the study regulations, the maximum number of keystrokes of the paper is:	192000	
Number of keystrokes (one standard page = 2400 keystrokes, including spaces) (table of contents, bibliography and appendix do not count)*	190368	
Supervisor (project/synopsis/thesis):	Jochen Hoffmann	

I/we hereby declare that the work submitted is my/our own work. I/we understand that plagiarism is defined as presenting someone else's work as one's own without crediting the original source. I/we are aware that plagiarism is a serious offense, and that anyone committing it is liable to academic sanctions.

Rules regarding Disciplinary Measures towards Students at Aalborg University:

<http://www.plagiarism.aau.dk/Rules+and+Regulations/>

Date and signature(s):

30.05.2017 F. Raabe

* Please note that you are not allowed to hand in the paper if it exceeds the maximum number of keystrokes indicated in the study regulations. Handing in the paper means using an exam attempt.

Aalborg University
Culture, Communication and Globalization
Master Thesis



The Integration of well-educated Refugees into the German Labor Market



Student: Friederike Raabe

Student Number: 20151443

Semester: Spring 2017

Email: fraabe15@student.aau.dk

Supervisor: Jochen Hoffmann

Censor: Erik Ernø-Kjølhede

Table of Contents

1. Problem Formulation.....	3
2. Theoretical Framework	5
2.1 Different Concepts of Integration	5
2.2 Domains of Social Integration	7
2.3 Different Concepts of Multiculturalism.....	9
2.4 Working in Multicultural Teams	10
2.4.1 The Advantages of Multicultural Teamwork.....	11
2.4.2 The Disadvantages of Multicultural Teamwork	12
2.5 The Multicultural Organizational Culture	13
2.6 Political, Legal and Media Context	14
2.7 The Matter of Human Capital and the Acknowledgement of Foreign Credentials....	17
2.8 The Matter of Social Capital and a strong Network	18
2.9 Language as a Key Integration Factor	19
2.10 Theoretical Conclusion.....	21
3. Methodology	22
3.1 Research Design	22
3.2 Data Collection	24
3.3 Delimitation	25
3.4 Methodology Criticism.....	26
4. Laws and Regulations for Refugees in Germany.....	26
5. Analysis	27
5.1 Legal and Administrative Barriers	27
5.2 Discrimination and Stereotyping	31
5.3 The Level of Integration of the Refugees	34

5.4 Multicultural Teamwork	40
5.5 The Multicultural Organizational Culture	45
5.6 The Relationship between Integration and Multiculturalism	49
5.7 Human Capital and the Acknowledgement of Foreign Credentials	54
5.8 The Matter of Social Capital.....	59
5.9 Language as Key Integration Factor	62
5.10 The Role of the Media	67
5.11 Recommendations of the Refugees	72
6. Conclusion.....	73
6.1 Further Research Area	76
6.2 Practical Implications	76
7. Bibliography.....	79

1. Problem Formulation

The arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees is one of the biggest challenges the EU had to face in decades. Many people need to leave their home country due to war or persecution because of their race, religion or political conviction and now seek shelter and security in Europe. The Geneva Convention, which was determined in 1967, obliges the EU member states to grant asylum to these people and imposed the challenge to integrate them into their societies (Bamf a, 2017, Genfer Flüchtlingskonvention). The member states are struggling with the accommodation and integration of the refugees and the EU tries to find ways to restrict the arrival of more asylum seekers. However, there is no clear prospect on how the situation is going to evolve in the future, and experts predict that the number of asylum seekers, who arrive at the Italian coast, will increase again in the summer of 2017 (Becker, 2017).

Germany is the EU member state that has taken the largest percentage of refugees and registered over 70,000 asylum seekers in 2015 (“Aktuelle Zahlen zu Asyl,” 2017, p. 3). Germany has experienced the migration of millions of Muslims in the 1970s, who came as guest workers, and most of them never went back to their home country. Through this migration, multiculturalism developed in Germany and the Muslims mostly live in a parallel society among themselves and never adapted to the German culture. This development had negative impacts on the relationship between the cultural groups and encourages stereotypes and populism against foreigners (Lentin, Titley, 2012, p. 126). Therefore, it is important that the government puts a focus on the successful integration of the refugees into the society so that the extension of multiculturalism is prevented. One of the biggest factors of integration into a host society is finding employment. The refugees need to find a job as soon as possible to become a contributing member of society and support the state with their taxes. While there are a lot of uneducated asylum seekers, 38.2% of them have gotten a higher education in their home country (Rich, 2016, p. 5). These well-educated refugees offer potential for the labor market because they can outbalance the shortage in skills present in some sectors. Furthermore, they can repay the costs they caused in the first few months upon their arrival by paying taxes and becoming valuable to the society (Frantzsch, Junker, 2015, p.1084). However, a study of the job agency revealed that only 12.5% of asylum seekers from non-EU countries already started

to work in February 2017 and that shows that the integration of the refugees is progressing very slowly ("Fluchtmigration," 2017, p.8). That poses the question why the well-educated refugees have trouble entering the labor market although they have high qualifications. I want to find out what obstacles the refugees face and what factors of their own behavior facilitate or hinder the job market entry. Therefore, my research question is the following:

How might well-educated refugees experience problems during their labor market integration and what are possible solutions to these problems?

In order to ensure a valid conclusion to the research question, I include the following sub-questions:

- How might the government support the labor market integration of refugees?
- What can the companies do to facilitate the collaboration between refugees and other nationalities at work?
- What factors hinder the job market integration of the refugees?
- How might the refugees improve their chances of finding employment?

In order to examine the problem this thesis is firstly going to establish what administrative barriers the refugees are facing during their integration process and their job search. Furthermore, theories about discrimination and stereotyping towards refugees are applied in order to find out if the refugees are confronted with discrimination and how it influences their integration. Moreover, the theory of the four domains of social integration is used in order to see how advanced the integration level of each refugee is. This is important to establish because their integration level can be taken into account, while analyzing their statements throughout the analysis. In addition, different concepts of integration and multiculturalism are established and used in order to see if the statements suggest that the refugees are in the process of integration or show a tendency to stay among their own culture, which would lead to more multiculturalism. Then the experiences of working in an intercultural team are explored and also the impact of the organizational culture in regards to a multicultural workforce is examined, in order to find out what companies can do to support the successful labor market integration. Moreover, theory about human capital and social capital is applied to investigate how much human capital and social capital the refugees have, and how these factors influence their chances on the job market. In addition, the role of language acquisition in the process of integration is

examined to see how their level of German correlates with their job market success and overall integration into the society. Finally, the influence that the media coverage has on the refugees is investigated and the portrayal of the refugees is compared with the perception that they have of themselves. The analysis is based on semi-structured interviews with well-educated refugees, employees of companies that employ refugees and one employee of the job agency. Furthermore, data from the Federal Agency for Migration and relevant statistics are used for the analysis.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Different Concepts of Integration

The term integration is the most discussed issue when it comes to migrants and asylum seekers and it is seen as the most important task to integrate them into the society of the country they moved to. However, the term integration is very broad and there are different opinions about what integrating into a society really entails. The media uses the term very frequently in their news coverage and so do politicians when they discuss their policies regarding refugees and migrants. The successful integration is the priority but the concept of integration is very complex and can have very different meanings (Ager, Strang, 2008, p. 166). Scholars developed very different definitions of integration, which will be presented in the following section.

The discourse about migration and integration started in the 1960s when many guest workers came to Germany and the question of their rights and citizenship were emerging. Integration was mostly seen in legal terms, by the determination if a foreigner could have the German citizenship and therefore become a legal member of the society. The viewpoints differed from an ethnic one which aimed to exclude immigrants and wanted to deny even their children the citizenship when they were born in the country and a republican viewpoint. The republican perspective viewed citizenship as legal right to the people who live in Germany despite their ethnic background and culture. Migrants should

have free access to community membership without having to assimilate to the culture of the country (Faist, 1994, p. 445-446).

However, the discourse of integration goes beyond legal rights and also revolves around the culture and behavior of the migrants. Integration is often associated with the process of assimilation to the culture of the majority group in the country the migrants immigrated to. According to this concept the migrants need to adapt the cultural patterns of the society in order to integrate into the society. Assimilation entails first of all the acquisition of the language and then the adaption of the dressing style and the expression of emotions to the way it is common in the majority culture. (Gordon, 1964, p. 72). To achieve full assimilation, an immigrant's personal values need to be adjusted to fit to the value system which is dominant in the country. This view on integration perceives the concept as a one way street where the migrants give up their inherited culture in order to integrate into a society. The members of the majority culture are supposed to accept them as one of their own since the migrants adapted their behavior and cultural values to fit in. The members of the receiving society are however not expected to change their behavior and adapt to the migrants in any form (ibid. p. 100).

This form of assimilation as requirement for integration has often been criticized as too homogenous and uniliteral. The concept disregards that the populations of countries are more mixed and cannot be described with one set of values that foreigners can adopt. There are always minority cultures which influence the behavior of the majority by expanding what are considered normative customs. Furthermore, the perception of integration changed to a process which involves the migrants as well as the receiving society. The refugees need to adapt and make connections in the receiving society but the society also needs to create conditions which make the integration possible. It is not enough to give the refugees certain rights, the host country needs to support the refugees in order for them to be able to take advantage of the rights they are given (Strang, Ager, 2010, p. 601-602). They need to adapt their institutions and be open to include the migrants into their social circles. This enables the refugees to learn the language and also a lot about the culture of the host society. Through the contact, both sides can benefit. The locals cannot only educate the migrant about their culture but also broaden their horizon and learn about the migrant's culture. This way both the migrants and the host society evolve during the migration process and the

migrants get to keep their cultural heritage and become bicultural by using both cultures in everyday life (ibid.).

2.2 Domains of Social Integration

In the section above different concepts of the term integration are illustrated. What all concepts have in common is that integration is always seen as a process of incorporating migrants to the structures and the society of the host country. It consists of interactions between the immigrant and members of the local majority group in order to achieve successful integration. Since the process is usually long and depends on many factors Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) created the four different dimensions, structural integration, cultural integration, social integration and identificational integration to measure how integrated a refugee is into a host society (p.9). The four dimensions are further illustrated in the following section.

Structural Integration

The structural integration is determined by the basic variables highest completed level of education, employment status and legal status. These variables determine what stand the immigrant has in the host country and if he can be a part of the society. The highest level of education which is achieved is closely connected to the opportunities the migrant has on the job market. The job market position is measured by taking into account the consistency and the occupational position. The legal integration is determined by the current citizenship status, its kind and approximate length (ibid.).

Cultural Integration

The cultural integration is most and foremost determined by the knowledge of the predominant language in the host country. Only when migrants speak the language they can take part in the daily life of the society and they also need it to talk to locals and learn about their culture and adapt to it. Then they can acquire the competencies and cultural codes of

the society and adapt their behavior and attitude to what is acceptable in the host country's culture. However, it is important to note that the immigrants do not need to give up their old culture in order to adapt to the new one. They can become so-called bicultural and use both cultures in everyday life. This way they get to preserve their own culture and also teach their host country about their culture so the citizens can broaden their horizon and learn to adapt to relate to immigrants (Bosswick, Heckmann, 2006, p.10).

Social Integration

Social integration of an immigrant means that he or she is accepted by members of the host society and integrated into institutions and relationships in the host society. Integration cannot work if the effort only comes from one side. It is an interactive process since both the immigrants and the local of the host country must take steps towards each other and work on building a good relationship. The refugees need to learn about the culture in the society and need to find their place in it in order to gain a good position and social status and find a sense of belonging in the country they moved to. The members of the host society need to open their institutions for the immigrants to enter and granting them the same rights and opportunities that the other citizens have (ibid. p. 11).

Identificational Integration

The identificational integration is achieved when the immigrants identify themselves completely with the host country and have a feeling of belonging like they had in their home country. The feeling of identification and belonging usually takes a long time to develop and therefore the identificational integration is therefore the last step in the integration process (ibid. p. 10). The immigrants need to participate in the local life and also feel accepted by the members of the host society. If the refugees only identify themselves with a sub-culture in the host society based on shared culture, language or religion that is called "segmented assimilation". This segmented assimilation hinders the migrants from real integration because they do not interact with natives and so no full integration into the host country can be achieved (ibid.).

2.3 Different Concepts of Multiculturalism

Humanity consists of many different cultures and ethnicities. As the world is becoming more and more globalized and the people are mobile, the cultures and ethnicities are mixing and multicultural societies are created. These kinds of societies have always existed but they are still subject of debates about whether it is a blessing or a problem for society. The celebration of multiculturalism as a positive attribute for society came up as a counter reaction to the process of assimilation as a way to integrate foreigners into a society (Verkuyten, 2005, p. 121). While the concept of assimilation puts the focus on the culture of the majority group which needs to be adopted by the migrants, multiculturalism appreciates the different cultural identities of groups in a society. There was a shift of perception and a realization about the advantages of different cultures living together and learning from each other. This approach underlines the value of all cultures and tries to foster mutual respect and appreciation for different ethnicities and cultures. No culture should be superior and therefore multiculturalism is supposed to lead to positive intergroup relations in a society (ibid.).

Multiculturalism is supposed to have a positive impact on group relations because every group is valued equally. However, this effect could not be proven and the impact might not be as great as expected. Individuals always find their identity in a membership of a certain group of people who they share language, race and culture with. In a multicultural society there are many different groups who live together and stand in different relations to each other. Each of the group has its own cultural identity but also adapts to the basic values of the receiving society. In return the receiving society acknowledges the value of cultural diversity and does not have many prejudices towards them. All of these groups should exist among each other and have the same level of value and acceptance for each other (Berry, 2001, p. 619). However, studies showed that often there is a competition about the level of acceptance of the majority group in the country because they still have the dominant role in the society. That is because the immigrant groups are often rated less favorable due to their level of familiarity to the receiving society and therefore not all groups are respected equally. This fosters conflict and prejudices between the groups and interrupts the intergroup relations (ibid. p. 622).

Multiculturalism has long been seen as a great achievement which enriches the society's lives but other scholars rather see it as a failed experiment and point out the negative effects. They argue that parallel societies have emerged all across Europe which do not engage with the other cultural groups and live like they would do in their home country without adapting to the cultural values of the receiving society. This development causes disruption and separation between the cultural groups because they have no common ground anymore. If the values and the behavior of the members of the group are too different from the majority group then they can also be perceived as a threatening to the values and norms of the society they live in (Lentin, Titley, 2012, p. 125-126). This perception can lead to a sense of betrayed trust because the majority group can feel that the minority group has taken advantage of their liberal stance towards multiculturalism and now influences the society in a negative way. A good example of that is the current European stance towards the Muslim communities which mostly live in parallel societies and often is set as an example of failed multiculturalism. Since 9/11 and other terror attacks in Europe the prejudices against Muslims have increased and the possibility of a political reorientation away from multiculturalism is discussed. This perception of multiculturalism can lead to a shift to nationalism and the reversion to an assimilation approach in regards to migration. (ibid. p. 127)

2.4 Working in Multicultural Teams

In the modern, globalized world, the workforce of organizations is becoming more and more diverse. This development has great potential as well as pitfalls and therefore the companies need to take the right measures in order to cope with the diverse workforce (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 117). Scholars have very different opinions about the value of diversity for organizations. Some praise it as a great business advantage due to its new perspectives on issues, but other scholars are more skeptical of it because the interaction of different cultures can lead to problems. In the following section the advantages and disadvantages of multicultural teamwork are further explained.

2.4.1 The Advantages of Multicultural Teamwork

As mentioned above, diversity holds a great potential for a company, if it is approached and managed in the right way. It is important that diversity is understood as a resource that can be fostered to build each individual employee's strengths while creating a positive organizational culture for everyone. Diverse teams can cultivate an atmosphere of mutual respect and an openness and willingness to learn from each other (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 118). Furthermore, diversity increases the creativity of a group because the members perceive issues differently due to their different experiences and cognitive assessment of issues and situations. Therefore, problem-solving is much more thorough because it is more discussed due to the different perspectives. Monocultural groups often develop something called "group-thinking" where there is one accepted perspective or opinion in the group and this is never challenged. Multicultural groups are much less likely this type of "group-thinking" and therefore have a much more creative and motivate each other to challenge their ideas (Stahl et al., 2010, p. 442-443).

According to Stahl et al. (2010) it very much depends on what kind of diversity it is. The term can be used for different diverse traits such as gender, age, disability and also race and ethnicity. They believe that cultural diversity has a deeper impact on the group members than other forms of diversity. While culture is a prominent source of prejudice and stereotyping the differences between cultures can be unconsciously perceived and the effects are not recognized (p. 441). Furthermore, the encounter with intercultural challenges can be turned into a positive experience for the team members. When the team notices that their cultural differences cause problems they need to find a way to solve this problem to work together effectively. When they manage to overcome it they strengthen their bond and the feeling of overcoming a challenge can be very satisfying for the members. In this process they can learn from each other and broaden their horizon with concepts and experiences that they never had before. This way they can make personal gains instead of just professional gains, which result in more motivation and a stronger team process (ibid. p. 443).

2.4.2 The Disadvantages of Multicultural Teamwork

As mentioned in the section above, there are many positive side effects of multicultural teamwork but there are also downsides to it, which can occur when they are not managed well. Research has proven that group members are mostly attracted to other members who are similar to them and rate them as more intelligent and well-adjusted. So they are more inclined to closely work with people who are similar to them and that can split the team because subgroups are likely to build (Mannix, Neala, 2005, p.40). Another issue in multicultural teams is communication. Even if all members want to productively work together it is not given that everyone will understand each other correctly. First of all there is the matter of language in an intercultural group. When the group members do not use their mother tongue, they might experience difficulties expressing themselves and that can be frustrating. Furthermore, even if they express themselves correctly they cannot be sure if the recipients understand them correctly if the language is not their mother tongue. This can cause misunderstandings and distrusts in the group (Harzig, Feely, 2008, p.10). Poor communication also has an effect on the productivity of a team. If a person cannot communicate properly, other employees need to support him or her and take time for that instead of concentrating on their tasks. As a result productivity is decreased because there is a time loss due to communication problems which would not be there with a native speaker. In certain industries that can not only become an efficiency problem but also a security risk. Some types of work can bare risks on the workers and if the communication is not clear they can make mistakes, which can endanger themselves and their colleagues (Harzig, Feely, 2002, p.7).

Language barriers are only one of the possible communication problems between different cultures, and the other even more important problem is nonverbal communication. Different cultures use different non-verbal codes such as touch, facial expression, gestures and use of time. They use them habitually because they are part of their cultural expression and therefore they are not even aware of them. People from another culture are often not familiar with the meaning of these non-verbal expressions and therefore easily misinterpret them (Glinow, Shapiro, Brett, 2004, p.583-584). So it can happen that culturally diverse people in a group get the wrong impression of each other because they cannot decode their nonverbal behavior and that can cause friction and demotivation. Therefore, it is important to raise awareness for non-verbal communication problems in an intercultural team so that

people become more aware of the signals they are sending and are less afraid to ask if they cannot decode other people's facial expressions. This way conflict and confusion can be avoided (ibid.).

2.5 The Multicultural Organizational Culture

Since there are pitfalls in multicultural teamwork, a positive relationship between the employees of different cultures usually needs to be supported by the company and does not naturally develop in many cases. Therefore, the company needs to take a proactive approach to create good intercultural communication between the employees (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 119). There are different approaches to fostering good intercultural teamwork. There is the colorblind approach, which creates an overall company identity, which all employees comply with and that erases all differences between the employees and makes sure that they are all treated the same way. This approach hinders the creativity of intercultural groups because the employees are discouraged from using their unique perspectives on issues because they need to subordinate to the organizational culture (ibid.).

Another approach to manage a diverse workforce is the so-called multicultural approach. In contrast to the colorblind approach it promotes the differences of the employees and promotes them as advantage for the company. This approach focuses on the minority group among the staff and creates special diversity days and implements trainings about diversity for all employees (ibid. p. 121). While these measures are good, they can create scepticism among the majority group because they might feel excluded. If this is the case it can lead to a further separation between the majority group and the minorities and it can reinforce prejudices and stereotypes. Therefore it is important that a form of diversity management is chosen which includes all employees and does not focus on specific demographic criteria as the multicultural approach does (ibid. p. 122).

It is important that the organizational culture positively affirms the belongingness of all employees to the organization on one hand but on the other hand gives them the freedom to use their cultural differences. Stevens and Plaut (2008) argue that the best approach to achieve this is the AIM approach which focuses on the inclusion of all employees because it views diversity as all inclusive. It recognizes the importance of acknowledging and

appreciating the cultural differences and therefore focuses on the support of the cultural minorities. However, the approach also recognizes the importance of including the majority group in the workplace diversity because it views every employee as diverse (p.122-123). The employees need to have a close bond to each other which encourages an ongoing learning process from each others strengths and “the capacity for individuals to engage, challenge, and support one another with clarity and confidence” (ibid. p. 123). The AIM approach celebrates the differences and the open dialogue about the employee’s differences so that they can learn from each other and overcome prejudices. A good way to celebrate each other’s cultures is to share cultural traditions and recipes so that all employees can learn something new and maybe adapt things from other cultures and broaden their horizon (ibid. p. 125).

2.6 Political, Legal and Media Context

Many of the refugees are not uneducated and have a good potential to move up in the labor market. As mentioned before, they still have to struggle a lot more to be employed in a job which fits their qualification than the local citizens of the country. The main reason for this difference is discrimination and the stereotyping of people from other cultures. First of all, they are often discriminated because the companies are not sure about the quality of their education if they obtained it in another country. They think that it is safer to employ a local person because then they can be more trusting of their competence (Esser, 2006, p.9). A study in Sweden showed that even the immigrants who were educated in Sweden had a lower rate of employment and that shows that there is also the issue of racial discrimination involved.

The employer often have a stereotypical view on groups of immigrants and base their decision making on these stereotypes when they decide who they want to hire. This type of thinking is rooted in the concept that it is easier for people to categorize people on basis of certain attributes instead of viewing every person as an individual independently from race, class or sex (Rydgren, 2004, p. 708). This stereotyping has a very negative influence on the refugees because they are not seen in an objective way and many people meet them with a set of beliefs about them without even getting to know them. The

attributes which are appointed to a group are often based on false beliefs and are circulated among people and therefore accepted as common knowledge. Furthermore, when one person of a certain stereotyped group does something the negative view spills on the whole group instead of just one individual person (ibid. p. 707).

Another distinction one can make in regards to labor market discrimination is the visible discrimination. The refugees come from different countries and are more or less visibly different from the people in the country they immigrate to and that also influences their chances on the job market. Studies show that the more different they look to the other citizens, the more they stick out and are discriminated in the job market (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007, p. 61). Refugees from Eastern Europe can only be recognized by their name and their accent and therefore it is easier for them to blend in since the difference is not visible. For people from other regions it is much harder and they often face also stereotypical attitudes towards their religion and ethnic identity. People from the Middle East face much more discrimination since 9/11, because people associate the Muslim religion with terrorism and that further fuels the distrust against Muslim refugees. Therefore they are much more successful when they apply without a picture and only with the initials of their name because their ethnicity is not revealed (ibid. p.71).

The labor market discrimination of immigrants is evident. And it is not only the employers but also other people in the society who have a stereotypical view on refugees and see them as threatening to their country. This public perception is influenced through the narration about the refugees in politics and in the media. In order to push a certain agenda towards the refugees symbolic words are used to stir emotion and make an impact on the recipient. In the refugee context good example for that are the words crisis, wave and flood. They suggest that refugees are something which is intruding and threatening the country and which needs to be repelled (Mulvey, 2010, p. 444-445). The media has a lot of power in that sense since they can influence the public perception so much that they can even have an influence on politics.

An analysis of the media coverage by Hemmelman and Wegner (2016) shows how the content has changed in the last two years. In the summer of 2015 the coverage was mostly very positive and focused on the humanitarian aspects of helping the people in need. The media reported mainly about success stories and well-educated refugees and painted a

very optimistic picture about the integration of the refugees. The coverage is overall very one-sided and many viewers and readers are not satisfied with the biased reporting (p.24-26). However, later that year the media coverage is drastically changing and starts to focus on the problems with the refugees. The terror attack in Paris marks the point where the media goes back to their old patterns of portraying Muslims in a stereotypical way and the populist voices which are against Muslims become louder. Since then, the media tries to portray the refugees in a more neutral light and tries to avoid a black and white portrayal which leads to more prejudices (ibid. p.27). The media needs to be very careful in their coverage about refugees. News about refugees cannot just stand for themselves but need to be explained to the recipients and be presented in the right context. The background of the events needs to be evaluated and the reporters need to consider what perspective they are taking and make it transparent to the recipient. Furthermore, the recipients need to be made aware that there are multiple perspectives in order to make sure that they do not develop a biased view on refugees (ibid. p.35).

Besides the issues of stereotyping and the media coverage there are also legal boundaries, which hinder a fast job market integration. Up until 2014, the government was not in favor of the labor market integration of refugees and many restrictions were set up. It could take up to five years until a refugee received a working permit and that made the overall integration very difficult. Since the government realized that this law has many negative effects, it was changed in November 2014. Refugees are now allowed to work three months after their arrival but they face the limitation that for the first fifteen month they are only allowed to start a job when no EU or German citizen is available to take the job (Laubenthal, 2015, p.12). This amendment is a positive change but often refugees do not have the opportunity to work so quickly because they have to wait for their decision about their residence permit for a long time and until then, it is hard for them to find a job.

The decision about the residence permit is also crucial for the companies because they want to be sure that the refugee can stay for a longer period of time when they employ them. Otherwise they waste time and resources for the training of the refugee if he or she is deported soon after his start (Aumüller, 2016, p. 43). Therefore, they need to calculate the risk of a deportation for every single refugee they want to employ and that makes the employment of refugees a lot more unattractive for companies. In 2016 the law was changed so that at least refugees who are doing an apprenticeship have the guarantee to be

able to stay during the apprenticeship and two years after the completion. That should give companies the security that they can trust the government not to deport their apprentices. However, there is still no legal regulation about other working refugees and that makes the labor market integration for the refugees much harder (ibid. p. 44).

2.7 The Matter of Human Capital and the Acknowledgement of Foreign Credentials

Many of the refugees which came to Germany are young and in the best position to support the German labor market and fill in the gaps of specialized employees which exist in the labor market. It is estimated that while the refugees cost a lot of money right now, the advantages of the refugee immigration will outweigh the expenses which are caused currently. Germany needs young people because the birth rate is so low and there are not enough to pay the pension for the old people. The young refugees will repay the government by paying taxes and they will also have children who will also join the labor market later (Frantzsch, Junker, 2015, p.1084).

Another advantage of refugees in comparison to other migrants is that many of them are very well-educated. Studies show that the people who succeed to come to Europe or other OECD countries have a better education than the average population of their country. That they were able to pay the people smugglers in order to get to Europe shows that they must have good financial resources and most likely had access to good education (Buber-Ennser et al., 2015, p.10). Another aspect is that many of those refugees might not have the opportunity to return to their country due to war or because they are being prosecuted due to their religion or political beliefs. Therefore they have a strong motivation to use their education from their home country or get an education in Germany in order to build a successful life here and return to the economical status which they had in their country (ibid. p.15).

Despite the good overall condition in regards to education of the refugees and the prospects for the German labor market, there are still a lot of problems and the integration often does not go so smoothly. Studies show that despite their often good education from their home country many refugees work in jobs that they are overqualified for or do not

even manage to find work in the country they immigrate to (Hadded, 2004, p. 21). Especially for people with a very good education such as doctors and IT specialists there are no special support initiatives set up by the government in order to make sure that they can use their competence and experience in the German job market. They are often forced to take a job which is far below their qualification and that leads to demotivation and loss of life quality for the refugees. Furthermore the German job market loses out on high potential employees which are sought after (ibid. p. 21-22).

The biggest problem for the refugees is that they often lose their foreign credentials during the escape or that they could not gather them before they had to flee. Then they have no proof of their education and experiences and appear to be unskilled. Furthermore, even if they are able to provide papers of their foreign credentials these credentials are often not recognized by the government and the companies. This means that even if they evidently have valuable human capital, it does not enable to get a job on a level that suits their human capital in the host country (Lamba, 2003, p. 46, 55). Therefore it is better for the refugees to get an education in the host country so that they can prove their qualifications. Studies show that refugees who obtain an education in the host country have a much higher chance of finding satisfying work than those who obtained their education in their home country. Another advantage is that they can get work experience in the host country while getting their education and that is more recognized than work experience from their home country (Bloch, 2008, p. 29-30). However, there are many refugees who do not get an education in their immigration country because they do not have enough time and financial resources to invest years into getting an education. It is easier for them to take the first job they can get in order to move out of the shelter and earn their own money fast. This way they get trapped in the low qualification labor market because they do not get further training (Kogan, 2011, p.6).

2.8 The Matter of Social Capital and a strong Network

Another big factor in the integration of refugees into the labor market is that they need a social network which helps them to adjust and find a job. The network and contacts that people have are called social capital, because these contacts can be used to the person's

advantage. Especially while searching for a job, contacts are a great advantage because most jobs are found through informal referrals of members of the social network of a person. Studies show that the number of network members has a positive impact on the labor market success of people, especially in the higher-wage industry. The network is so useful because when people get a job offer, they often pass it onto one of their network members if they are not interested in it themselves. Therefore, the size of the network does increase the chances of finding employment significantly (Baeman, 2012, p. 2-4).

Since a social network is crucial for labor market success, it is important for refugees to build a strong network fast when they arrive in a country. In contrast to other migrants, refugees have the disadvantage that they did not choose to migrate and are less likely to be able to choose where they live in the host society. They are sent to a refugee shelter after their registration and cannot use the social networks they might already have in the country. When they are separated from the people they know it is a disadvantage for them because they cannot help them to find housing and employment (Cheung, Phillimore, 2014, p. 522). Another factor is their accommodation. If they are put in refugee shelters they are unlikely to get in contact with Germans and only have contact with other refugees who are in the same situation as them. Since they often do not have a lot of social capital, they are forced to rely on organizations to help them such as the job center and volunteer organizations. Their opportunities to help are, however, limited and they cannot compensate the missing social network (ibid. p. 527). Especially since the credentials of the refugees are often not recognized they are even more in need of social contacts which can support them. Studies show that it is more effective for them to invest time in building a strong social circling instead of a lot of extra training since training is very time consuming. It is better when the refugees invest their time into building social connections which can assist them in finding a job (Lamba, 2003, p.56).

2.9 Language as a Key Integration Factor

The matter of learning the language of the host country is part of the human capital of a refugee. It is however given its own chapter because it is the key human capital factor which determines how successful the refugees can be integrated and therefore needs to be

analyzed in a separate section. When refugees move to another country where the people speak a different language their human capital can be diminished because they cannot use it unless they learn the majority group language (Esser, 2006, p.8-9). The command of the national language is a very important resource for the refugees, because it is a medium of comprehension and enables them to communicate with the locals and learn about their culture and their code of conduct.

When refugees come to a country, learning the language should be the first thing that they do, because it enables them to get into contact with local people and form a social network. As long as they do not learn the language, they are isolated because they can only communicate with people from their native circle or other foreigners. In order to form relationships with members of the host society they need to learn their language otherwise their integration is very limited (Cheung, Phillimore, 2014, p. 527). Verena Plutzer (2010) on the other hand believes that the command of the local language should be the result and not a requirement for successful integration. The language can only be learned through contact with the locals and not through language classes which are provided by the government. The effectiveness of the language classes is not proven and language acquisition is something that should not be forced but happen naturally. Therefore the locals need to be open and talk to the refugees so they can practice the language and learn from a native speaker and adapt to the locally used collocations and figures of speech. People can only learn a language by using it daily and that requires effort on the refugees and on the members of the host society's side (p. 4).

Furthermore, the command of the language is very important in order to find a job. In most jobs the national language is spoken and applicants who do not speak fluently and cannot write it properly are often neglected. Studies show that deficits in the language often result in much lower chances of finding employment and if they do they will earn a considerably lower salary than those who can speak the local language (Esser, 2006, p. 16). This is especially evident in industries which rely on good communication skills because this lack of language skills can lead to a loss of productivity and therefore employers are very skeptical of applicants whose language level is not so good. If there are problems due to poor communication, it can lead to higher transaction cost and loss of productivity for the company (ibid.). Another reason to learn the language of the country they fled to is that they need to be able to handle the paperwork and need to be able to communicate in the

language to find work and their own housing. A study in England showed that one of the most common reasons why refugees do not get their qualifications recognized is their lack of language skills (Bloch, 2008, p. 31). In the same study the refugees revealed that their lack of language skills is the biggest integration barrier and the improvement of the early language training for refugees is a key to improve their situation (ibid.)

2.10 Theoretical Conclusion

The thesis includes theoretical implications about the integration of refugees into the job market which are used as basis for the analysis of the data. First of all different concepts of integration are illustrated because the job market integration goes hand in hand with the overall integration of the refugees into the host society. The different concepts are used to see how they relate to the integration process of the refugees that I have interviewed. To go more into detail, the theory of the domains of social integration has been chosen. Since integration is a complex process, it is very important to take a close look at the requirements for integration in order to understand to which degree the refugees who are interviewed are integrated. Furthermore, different concepts of multiculturalism are illustrated and put in relation to the concepts of integration. These concepts are used in the analysis to find out how integrated the refugees are and if there is a recognizable tendency towards multiculturalism. In order to gain insight about the work experience of the refugees, different theoretical approaches towards multicultural teamwork are applied. This allows me to understand what problems the refugees experience in the labor market and how these problems could be solved. Furthermore, a theory about different approaches to organizational cultures for companies with a diverse staff is included. This theory will be used to examine which organizational culture the companies that employ refugees have and which impact the organizational culture has on the refugees.

Moreover, aspects which foster and hinder the job market integration are discussed. The role of stereotyping in the hiring process and the media coverage about the refugee crisis will be clarified. They will be used to examine if the refugees are being discriminated against in the hiring process and if the media coverage about refugees has an influence on how the society views the refugees and acts towards them. Furthermore, implications about

administrational barriers and their consequences are used to find out what barriers the refugees are facing and how they could be overcome. In addition, theories about human capital are chosen because the labor market integration is largely based on qualifications of the refugees. The theories examine what difficulties the refugees face and what they can do to improve their human capital and increase the chances for finding employment. Since the integration does not only require professional qualifications but also social skills and connections, theories about social capital are used for the analysis. They will be applied to the interviews in order to find out how much social capital the refugees have and in what way it helps them professionally. Moreover, theories about the matter of learning the local language will be used since language is the key integration factor for immigrants. The experience of learning the language and the opinion about the importance of it will be analyzed in order to find out what role language plays in the labor market integration process.

3. Methodology

This chapter entails methodological considerations of my study on the labor market integration of well-educated refugees. It includes the explanation of the epistemological and ontological stances which used in this research, as well as the methods of data collection. Since there are many possible ways to approach this research, the selections of methods and how they are relevant to the research are clarified in this section of the thesis.

3.1 Research Design

This thesis is conducted with a qualitative research design. It is the most suitable design since this research is concerned with the complex issue of how refugees can be integrated into the German job market. The answer to this question cannot be generalized and not presented in hard facts or numbers. The research aims to understand the refugees and the company's perspective in this matter and a quantitative research design could not provide a valid answer to this issue since it is not concerned with the deep understanding of issues

(Bryman, 2012, p. 35). The aim of the research is explorative and that allows me to understand the challenges of the labor market integration of refugees in Germany and suggest possible ways to improve it.

It is important to consider the relationship of the research and the theory. For this thesis an iterative approach is chosen. I do not aim to create a new theory based on my analysis so an inductive approach is not suitable (Bryman & Bell, 2011, p. 573) but I also want to have an open frame and not want to strictly stick exclusively to the literature that I chose before the data collection, as the deductive approach suggests (Bryman, 2012, p. 25). I choose the iterative approach because it gives me the opportunity to base my interview questions on theory but also to find new relevant theories based on issues, which arise during the interviews (ibid. p. 26, 386). This approach allows me to incorporate aspects of the problem which I did not think about before the interviews and that allows me to draw a more valid conclusion to my problem formulation.

The epistemological stance considers what should be acceptable knowledge in a field of research. I choose the hermeneutic approach since I am concerned with the interpretation of human actions and the deeper understanding of them. A positivistic approach is not applicable since it aims to interpret the actions of humans with the measuring methods of the natural science and that view on the subject is not suitable for my research. Human nature is very complex and every person that I interview has a different viewpoint and is in the different situation and the application of a positivistic epistemological stance would not take that into account (Bryman, 2012, p. 27). The hermeneutic approach aims to understand the behavior of each individual and gives me the opportunity to understand each interviewee's different perspective and reality. I need to understand the different roles of the refugees, the companies and the government to find out how each of them could improve their behavior to enable a better labor market integration for the refugees.

The ontological approach for my thesis is social constructivism. This is the stance which assumes that human behavior is not fixed but continuously evolving through the behavior of social actors. It opposes the belief that there is a human nature, which is biologically given, and that this nature determines how people behave and how they perceive reality (Burr, 1995, p. 14). The focus of the thesis is to find out how people from a

different culture can be integrated into the German society and economy. There is no objective way to explain the difficulties of integrating the refugees and there are no clear reason you can apply on every refugee and every company that wants to employ refugees. Therefore, the social constructivist lens on the problem is crucial since it allows me a deeper understanding of where the issues in the integration process are lying and which measures can be taken to help the refugees and the companies to improve the labor market integration.

3.2 Data Collection

In this thesis both primary and secondary data will be used for the analysis. I will use statistical data provided by the German federal immigration agency to have some official numbers about the integration of refugees into the labor market. I will also use statements from their website about how the integration of refugees is currently handled and what the regulations are. Furthermore, newspaper articles about the current status of the labor market integration of refugees will be used. However, my analysis will focus on the semi-structured interviews I conducted in order to gather primary data. I decided against using structured interviews because I want the interviews to be flexible and not too guided. If I would follow a strict guide then there is not enough space for interesting new themes which could come up during the course of the conversation (Bryman, 2012, p. 471). Since I do not know what the interviewee will say, I need to be open for interesting answers and dig deeper when relevant issues come up. This approach allows me to find out new relevant things about the issue which I did not think of before and that helps me to ensure that I draw a valid conclusion on my problem formulation. I will start with very simple questions which encourage the interviewee to continue to answer the more complex ones. I furthermore ask questions which are free of any judgement since it is important to give the interviewee the chance to express his or her opinion freely in order to receive reliable data.

As interview partners, I chose refugees who have successfully found a job or an apprenticeship so they can tell me about their experience of finding this job and also how they experience the work in a German company. In order to get a complete picture, I also interview refugees who did not find a job yet and who can tell me about the difficulties they

experience and give me their opinion about what the government and the companies should do differently. Furthermore, I interview two employees of companies who hired refugees and ask about their experience with the refugees and the process of hiring them. They can tell me about the way they integrate the refugees into the team and how they overcome cultural or language barriers. In order to get an expert opinion about the issue I interview an employee of the job center who is responsible for finding suitable jobs for refugees. He can tell me about the process of placing refugees in German companies and what the refugees, the government and the companies could do to make the process smoother.

I talk to some of the interviewees in person and to some over the phone and conducted one interview via email. I recorded the interviews, so I could transcribe them in order to acquire more meaning of the answers. The real meaning of the words can be unclear at times, but it becomes clearer when the interview is transcribed (Bryman, 2012, p. 504). Another advantage of the recording is that I am able to pay close attention to the tone of voice, longer breaks during speech and the accentuation of words. This allows me to analyze the meaning of the words deeper and enables me read between the lines when the interviewee says something intriguing.

3.3 Delimitation

The chosen topic of including refugees into the labor market is very broad, and it is therefore crucial to be conscious of the limitations of the thesis by including a limitation part. In this thesis, formal statements from the interviews I conducted are interpreted. Therefore, ethical considerations are used in the process of interviewing in order to ensure that unpleasant situations or impairment of participants involved in the course of the investigation are avoided. One interview was conducted via email due to scheduling issues. It would have been better to conduct it personally in order to be able to ask more questions and get a deeper understanding what the answers of the interviewee mean. The issue of integrating refugees into a society is very wide and complex. There are many factors which are important in the process of integration which could have been included in the investigation. However, due to the limited frame of my thesis only the matter of job market integration of refugees is focused on. Furthermore, the time for the research is very limited

and therefore only a limited number of people can be interviewed. It would have been better to interview more refugees and more companies which employ refugees to get a broader picture of the situation but that was not possible due to limited resources.

3.4 Methodology Criticism

Another limitation is that the research is only conducted by me and is therefore biased. It is guided by the aspects which I consider to be important and since there is only one angle on the issue it is not objective. Subjective meanings are formed from the information on the website and the answers of the interviewees and the analysis is based on them. Moreover, there are also other possible risks such as misinterpretation of the interviewees' answers and the possibility that the interviewee is not telling the truth. I cannot be sure that the data is completely valid but I need to draw my conclusion on the data which is available, even if it does not reflect the full reality.

4. Laws and Regulations for Refugees in Germany

When asylum seekers arrive in Germany they are registered at a federal registration office either at the border or in the country. During the registration their personal information is written down and a passport photo and a finger print are taken so that the public agencies all over the country have access to the data. Then they get a temporary identification document which verifies their permission to stay in Germany (Bamf b, Ankunft und Registrierung). Afterwards, they are accommodated in asylum shelters, which are close to the office where they were registered. Which shelter they are assigned to, depends on the capacities and on the country they are from since some shelters are divided according to the origin countries. In order to make sure that all federal states contribute to the integration of refugees there is a quota for how many refugees they should accept (Bamf c, Erstverteilung der Asylsuchenden).

The possibilities at the job market depend on the residence permit status of an asylum seeker. If the asylum seeker has a refugee status the he is granted a residence

permit for three years with the possibility to extend it after that. Furthermore, they have permission to work as an employee or as a freelancer. Asylum seekers who are still waiting for the decision about their residence permit have a preliminary residence title for specific purposes and have the right to work but with certain restrictions. Asylum seekers who are not granted a residence permit but cannot be deported, receive an exceptional leave to remain and also have the right to work with the same limitations as the asylum seekers with preliminary residence title for specific purposes. These limitations include the need for a special permission to work by the aliens department and the job center, which is granted after individual assessment. Furthermore, asylum seekers are not allowed to work while they are living in a refugee shelter, which asylum seekers from so called safe home countries are obliged to do.

5. Analysis

5.1 Legal and Administrative Barriers

Integrating refugees into the labor market is a complex task for all people involved and one of the main reasons are the legal and administrative barriers. Even if a refugee can speak the language and has a good education, he still faces obstacles on the path to their first job. Up until 2014, there were very strict job market restrictions and refugees were often not allowed to work for up to five years. In 2014, this rule was changed and the refugees are now allowed to access the labor market three months after their arrival (Laubenthal, 2015, p.12). This is a good development, but the reality for the refugees often looks different. All of the refugees I interviewed told me that they had to wait for at least a year until they could start working. They have to wait until they get their residence permit or a preliminary residence permit until they can start the language and integration classes. Interviewee 7 (2017) told me that the whole process until he could even start his class was very long.

It took more than one year and one month until I got an appointment at the aliens department and then it took until July... of course there are no places at the schools. So you do not get a place directly and for me it was differently because I did the entrance test and the lady said that I do not need to attend the classes A1 and A2. I could take the B1 class.

But then I had to wait until I could get a space at the B1 class. That took another four months (p. 22).

This statement is a good example for what all refugees I interviewed have told me. As a refugee you have to wait a long time until the state institutions have examined your case and until you are even able to learn the language. Interviewee 7 had to wait a long time although he even started to learn German on his own and could enter the B1 German level because of it. He was eager to integrate and start to learn, but the slow process of the German administrations stopped him. Interviewee 3 (2017) also had to wait 1,5 years for a German class and learned German on his own. He believes that it should go a lot faster especially for well-educated refugees like him and a lot of time is wasted for the refugees and a lot of money is wasted for the government (p. 8). This shows that the rule that the refugees can work after three months (Laubenthal, 2015, p.12) is great in theory, but that the administrative processes are too long and many refugees have to wait much longer until they can start a job.

The employee of the job agency also sees that as a big problem and said the following as to why he thinks the integration of refugees into the job market is difficult.

The main reason is that it takes way too long until the papers are there. It takes too long until the refugees can start the language course. There is just way too much bureaucracy until they receive their work permit. That just holds the process up. They need to start working from the first month they arrive here because through working they learn the language much faster (Interviewee 10, 2017, p. 31).

The interviewee also mentions the long waiting times, which hold up the process of integration. Since he works at the job center he knows about all the papers and written confirmations refugees need until they get to the stage where they can apply for a job. This large amount of bureaucracy is a big problem because it is only attainable when there is a small number of refugees. Since there was such a vast number of refugees which came in the last years, the system did not work anymore and a big accumulation was caused which lasts until today. Due to this accumulation, the waiting time for each individual refugee is really long and that causes frustration and a lot of costs for the government (Tränhardt, 2015, p.16). Therefore, it would be good to simplify the registration and residence permit process so that the accumulation of applications can be dissolved and the process can be accelerated. Then the refugees do not need to wait and become demotivated but they could start their language courses earlier and can enter the job market much sooner. Since the law

is already changed so that they can work after three months the conditions should be changed so the refugees can benefit from this law.

Not only the refugees face long waiting times and bureaucracy when they try to enter the job market, it is also difficult for the companies to employ refugees. Interviewee 9 (2017) said about her experience with the job center the following:

When we tried to hire refugees over a year ago we were the first in our region to try it and so there were a lot of bureaucratic obstacles. At first we received a denegation because the work could be done by a worker from the European job market. Since we opened these positions especially for refugees and the job agency was aware of that there were week long delays until we finally got the permission to employ the two refugees (p. 26).

Her experience makes it clear how hard it is for small companies to hire refugees even if they specifically request it at the job agency. The reason why the job agency wanted her to employ an EU citizen instead goes back to a law that is still in place. Although a refugee can work after three months he is only allowed to take a job when there is no equally qualified applicant from Germany or another EU country (Tränhardt, 2015, p.8). According to the experience of interviewee 9 with the job center they are more interested in matching European workers with job vacancies instead of refugees. This is only the example of one job center, but since they all have the same tasks from the state it gives the impression that the employment of EU citizens is more important than the employment of refugees. That poses a great disadvantage for the refugees who already have a bad standing on the job market. It is also a problem that there are long waiting times for the applicants, as this discourages companies and then they might just employ someone else who is not a refugee.

Another problem is that if they do not have a permanent residence permit, it can be risky for a company to employ them because they cannot be sure if they will be deported at some point. Many employers therefore refrained from employing refugees because it is too expensive to train them and invest a lot of time and resources when they could be forced to leave the country soon (Aumüller, 2016, p. 44). Interviewee 5 (2017) who is still waiting for his residence permit tells me that it is very hard for him to just find an internship because of his insecure status.

No, I can start an internship, but every employer is interested in the status. What exactly are you here in Germany? Can you stay for one year, for three years, are you gone tomorrow? Then they are not interested in you (p. 10).

He is aware of the insecurity of the companies and knows that it is a big problem for him that he does not have a residence permit. It hinders him in his job search and he cannot progress and only wait for the decision of the state. Since the government knows that this is a big obstacle for refugees and companies, they introduced a law in 2016 which forbids the deportation of refugees who are doing an apprenticeship. Furthermore, the law guarantees a permission to stay until two years after the completion of the apprenticeship (Aumüller, 2016, p. 44). This law was a good step because it gives the companies more security and they are more likely to employ refugees as apprentices. However, a German newspaper reports in April 2017 that there are still some refugees who are deported while they are doing an apprenticeship. This praxis is against the law but some federal states simply ignore it ("Abschiebung trotz Ausbildungsplatz verärgert Arbeitgeber", 2017). The fact that some federal states still deport refugees although they are legally obliged not to do it sends the wrong signal to the companies. It might scare them off from offering refugees apprenticeships because they cannot trust that the law will be abided. The government should put pressure on the federal states to respect the law so that it supports the refugees and the company's security.

Sub Conclusion

During their integration into the society and the labor market, the refugees face a lot of administrative barriers. They are legally allowed to work three months after their arrival but none of the refugees I interviewed were able to start working that fast. All of them had to wait for months until they could start an integration class and that delayed their job market entry a lot. Furthermore, there is a great amount of paperwork, which needs to be worked through before the refugees can get a work permit and that holds up the process further because it is time consuming to deal with and causing a big accumulation in the government agencies due to the vast numbers of refugees. Furthermore, the barriers to hire refugees are a problem. Interviewee 9 experienced difficulties when she asked the job center for employees who are refugees because the job center rather wanted her to employ EU citizens since their job market integration is prioritized by law. Furthermore, companies refrain from employing refugees because they cannot be sure that they might be deported. The government issued a law which forbids the deportation of refugees, who are

doing an apprenticeship, but the federal states do not all abide by the law and therefore the employment of refugees stays risky for employers and that makes it more difficult for refugees to find employment.

5.2 Discrimination and Stereotyping

The refugees face many administrative barriers during their job market integration and also often have to deal with discrimination. Although many of the refugees are well educated and have the potential to be valuable employees for the companies, they often face difficulties during the job search. The reason for that is often the lack of trust in the education of the refugees and also often a stereotypical picture of groups of immigrants, which influences their decision to hire a person (Rydgren, 2004, p. 708). Since discrimination and stereotyping are big obstacles for job market integration, the experience of the refugees with job market discrimination are examined in this section.

Discrimination comes from people's urge to categorize others who have a different ethnical or cultural background into groups instead of getting to know every single person as an individual apart from their race, sex or gender. This categorization often has a negative effect because the groups are appointed attributes, which are often false and stereotypical, and these attributes are accepted and never challenged. Furthermore, do people not get the chance to present themselves as an individual because they are always viewed in context with that group they are categorized with (Rydgren, 2004, p. 707-708). Interviewee 4, who tried to find a job as a designer told me that he had problems finding a job because people were biased towards him after the attack on women on the New Year's Eve in Cologne.

I was writing applications at that time and I am from Syria. And then this happened with the women and then... This was a special situation. Another person who works with a computer does not experience this. But for me it was different. I had a lot of declines without any reason (2017, p. 16)

While it cannot be proven that he was declined due to his ethnicity, it is not unlikely that people had prejudices towards him because of it. He might have been discriminated because the employers had a biased opinion when they read that he is from Syria and categorize him in the group with the Muslims who harassed women on New Year's Eve.

He had no chance to show his individual personality to the employers, because they dismissed him on the basis of false beliefs about his character. This spillover effect that the actions of Muslims have is a big problem for the refugees not only during the job search but also in everyday life in Germany. Refugees from the Middle East have the problem that they are visibly different from Germans and therefore it is more difficult for them to blend in than for refugees who look more like Germans. Furthermore, Arabs face much more discrimination since 9/11 because people associate them with terrorism and that further encourages the distrust towards refugees (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007, p. 71). One refugee told me that he wished that people would not jump to conclusions about the actions of refugees and would reflect on their stereotypical view on them more.

It can happen that something happens and a refugee did it. For example the attack in Berlin. And it is difficult for the Germans to accept that. They say that all the refugees are sick and that all of them are bad. But if they would only think a little bit about what it was. The people say that it was a terror attack because a refugee did it. But two weeks ago a 19 year old killed a child in Solingen. That was a German I think. Then the people say it was no terror. Then they say it was an accident or something like that. They think when a refugee did it then it was terror. When a German does something like that then he is just seen as a sick individual (Interviewee 1, 2017, p. 3).

This statement makes it clear that he feels offended by the way people categorize refugees who attack someone as terrorist and do not see them and their actions individually. They are seen in context of their religion and ethnicity and on the basis of that, the public renders its judgment on them. When someone from their religion and ethnicity does the same thing they will assess the situation differently because they have not a stereotypical view on the person. They see the culprit as an individual whose motives and reasons need to be analyzed because they do not categorize him and do not have a fixed set of beliefs about who he is and how he acts.

However, all of the refugees I talked to do not feel discriminated against in everyday life, but only on rare occasions. They all live in more populated areas where the people are used to people from different cultures living together. Interviewee 3 (2017) told me that his experiences changed with the location but is overall positive.

Here in Remscheidt we have good relationships with friends here. But when we were in a different city it was not a good experience. But since I am here it is good. I think that 80% of the German people are very nice and friendly. And the other 20% are not always nice. Sometimes I have to go to the foreigners registration office and sometimes I find the state of things there not so nice. But overall it is great (p. 8).

This statement is in line with what most of the other refugees told me about their experience with discrimination in their everyday lives in Germany. They face discrimination from a few people, but overall feel integrated and treated friendly by the locals. This shows that most people do not have a stereotypical view on refugees when they meet them in their everyday lives and that they are open enough to treat them like their other fellow citizens.

Surprisingly, most of the refugees I interviewed told me that they did not feel discriminated against during the job search. Also, the employee of the job agency told me that he believes that if a refugee has the right qualifications, he will get the job despite his ethnical background (Interviewee 10, 2017, p. 28). Interviewee 6 (2017) told me that he had the contrary experience and said that during his internship, his employer during the internship he did granted him more advantages than the other interns were given.

After the job interview they asked me to wait in the waiting room and they would discuss their impression of me. I have never experienced that before. Normally they call after a few day. Then I went in again and they said that they are happy to tell me that I got the internship. I can do the internship with them. And they said that ehm, normally when someone does an internship in their company they do not receive a ticket for the train. But in my case they are happy to pay the train ticket (p. 23).

His experience with the company illustrates that there are not only companies who are skeptical about refugees but in contrast there are others who are especially happy to employ refugees and are willing to offer them extra support. Interviewee 8 (2017), who works at the car company that employs refugees, said they hired them because they want to give them a chance and help them to integrate themselves into the German society (p. 25). Interviewee 9 (2017), who hired two refugees for her shipping company, wrote about her motives to hire them that she saw it as a chance to combine her interest of new workers with the interests of refugees who want to find a job (p. 26). Both companies not only hired the refugees when they got their application, but they went to the job center and specifically asked to receive applications from refugees because they wanted to help them. This shows that there are companies in Germany that want to contribute to the labor market integration of the refugees, and that there are many employers who do not have a stereotypical view on refugees and are happy to employ them. However, a study of the German Chamber of Commerce with the title “Unternehmen bieten Chancen- Arbeitsmarktintegration Geflüchteter” (2017) revealed that only 11% of the companies who took part in the study

employ refugees and that number is too low to enable an integration of all refugees into the job market (p. 1).

Sub Conclusion

My examination of the discrimination of the refugees shows that the refugees have very different perceptions of it. The theory of Rydgren about ethnical discrimination in the hiring process is attested through the experience of interviewee 4. He was discriminated during his job search because he looks Arabic and wanted to do a job, which involves a lot of contact with women. He says that the employers did not want to hire him due to his ethnicity and because they thought women would not trust him after the incident with Arabic men harassing women at New Year's Eve in Cologne. Furthermore, interviewee 1 says that terrorism committed by Muslims fuels the prejudices against Muslims, because people categorize them with the terrorists due to their same religion and ethnicity. He wished people would differentiate more between individual Muslims and the majority so the stereotypes about Muslims would decrease. However, the refugees told me that they do not face much discrimination in their everyday life in Germany. Moreover, there are also companies that specifically want to employ refugees, because they want to support them. Interviewee 8 and interviewee 9, who both work for companies which employ refugees, told me that they specifically asked the job center for possible employees who are refugees because they saw it as their contribution to their integration. Furthermore, interviewee 7 received a lot of support from an employer and that shows that there is not only discrimination against refugees but also extra support.

5.3 The Level of Integration of the Refugees

I illustrated different views on integration in the theory section. One can see it from a legal standpoint and attach it to the citizen status or see it as a form of assimilation to the host country's norms and cultures. Another perspective on integration that it is a process which changes the migrants and the receiving society because both are open to each others cultures and learn from each other. The process of integration is very complex and entails

many different factors which are hard to grasp. Boswick and Heckmann (2006) developed a model of four different domains of social integration which help to determine how integrated a migrant is to the receiving society (p.10). I use this model to find out what level each refugee I interviewed has according to it. This helps me to understand the situation of each refugee better and enables me to take their individual level of integration into account when I analyze their answers to my interview questions.

Interviewee 1

The integration level of interviewee 1 is quite far advanced. He has achieved full structural integration since he is doing his education in Germany in form of an apprenticeship at a car manufacturing company. He also has a residence permit and good chances to gain the full citizen status in a few years since he is from Syria and they have the best chances for a right of residence and a German passport. His cultural integration is also noticeable as he has a decent command of the German language and works with Germans everyday and is interested in their culture. He told me that he is very interested in the cultural customs of his colleagues and is also very happy when they are interested in his culture.

The Germans celebrate different things than we do. For example we have Ramadan as Muslims, Religion I mean is the first thing. I say I do not eat, I am fasting. Then the people ask why. How can you do that? They find it strange. But for example when people go to Karneval then I find it strange, to be honest. I had never experienced that. [...] And then I went to Karneval two times and found it nice and interesting. You can always learn something new. [...] And it is really nice when people ask about my culture and accept it. Not just laugh and say that it is not good what you are doing (Interviewee 1, 2017, p. 2-3).

Interviewee 1 is learning about the local culture in Germany by asking questions about it and also joining the cultural customs to learn about them. Learning about the cultural codes of the receiving society is really important in order to adopt them and become part of the society's culture and social sphere (Boswick, Heckmann, 2006, p.10). By joining the Karneval celebration he becomes part of their cultural practice and broadens his horizon. However, he does not give up his own culture and religion in the process of the adaption and is very happy when the Germans want to learn about his culture. He can achieve to be bicultural and that is very valuable since he can teach the locals about his culture and so both sides can be enriched with new knowledge (ibid.).

Interviewee one is also integrated socially. He has a good relationship with his colleagues and does a lot with them in his private life. They are open and ready to invite them to their private circles. The last step of full integration is the identificational integration which is the last to achieve because it requires that the migrant feels a sense of belonging that he felt in his home country (ibid. p. 10). Interviewee 1 is integrated well structurally, socially and culturally but is still learning the language and still feels like a refugee and not a full part of the society yet.

Interviewee 2

It is important to note that interviewee 2 is the brother of interviewee 1 and shares the same work and social circle with him. He also is structurally integrated as he is doing an apprenticeship and has a residence permit so there are no structural barriers for his integration. Like his brother he is on a good way to cultural integration by taking part in German cultural events like Karneval and also talking to his colleagues about his own culture. His level of social integration is also high, which is foremost because of his job at the car manufacturing company and his good relationship with his colleagues.

The colleagues are all friends here. At work we are always talking, just chatting. [...] We go for a coffee or play football together for example and after a few months you are friends. That is how fast it goes. Just with talking and being friendly. It goes fast (Interviewee 2, 2017, p. 4)

This statement shows that he was open and willing to become friends with his colleagues and was able to form a good relationship with them. That they invite him to their circle to play football shows a clear readiness from their side to integrate him into their circle of friends. This is a very important step towards identificational integration since because when they refugees bond with locals and find their place in society they are much more likely to get a sense of belonging in the host country (Bosswick, Heckmann, 2006, p.11). Like interviewee 1 he is not well integrated enough to achieve identificational integration. However, he has a good chance to achieve it one day because he already has German friends and a good job in a German company.

Interviewee 3

The integration of interviewee 3 is not as far advanced yet. He did not achieve structural integration yet because he and his wife are still in a language course and did not start to work yet. They however have a residence permit and a good education in microbiology. A good education is important because it is connected with the chances in the job market for the refugee and a good job market position facilitates integration (Bosswick, Heckmann, 2006, p.10). He is on his way to cultural integration but he still needs to improve his German. His process of integration is taking longer because he had to wait a long time in the beginning.

We were in a small city, we had no German class, not a good situation but when we came to Remscheidt six months ago then we could find an integration course. [...] For 1,5 years we had no course. I learned German at home. On the internet and with my method. My way of learning (Interviewee 3, 2017, p. 7).

This long waiting period clearly delayed his integration progress. Learning a language without help is hard and as long as a migrant does not properly speak it it is hard to make connections which locals who can introduce the migrant to their culture (Bosswick, Heckmann, 2006, p.10). Although the administrative process took long for him, Interviewee 3 says that he found many German friends and also has German family in the city he lives in now. That means that his social integration is further advanced and that is a great precondition for the progress of his structural, social and identificational integration in the future.

Interviewee 4

Interviewee 4 has achieved structural integration because he has a residence permit and found an apprenticeship in a company that designs furniture. He is also culturally integrated since he speaks fluent German and is in contact with Germans everyday in his company and also in the training school. He says that he used to have many acquaintances in Germany but feels that the attitude towards Germans has drastically changed in the last year and therefore he does not have many German contacts anymore.

Many people really become more careful or they really pay attention to it. Should I contact Hassan? Is he alright or not? How can I know that? [...] Everyone stays with people from

their own culture. After 2016 it is like that. Before it was different. It was really easy to get in contact with people on the streets. We experienced both situations. Before and after (Interviewee, 2017, p. 15).

The distrust of the locals towards him hinders his social integration since migrants can only be integrated into the society when the community members are open towards them and treat them like any other fellow citizen. When they are excluded because of stereotypes then they cannot become an integrated member of society. He says that each culture stays for itself and that that is harmful for a harmonic coexistence. When the migrants only stay among themselves then they cannot achieve integration but only a segmented assimilation where they only identify themselves with a subculture in society (Bosswick, Heckmann, 2006, p.10)

Interviewee 5

Interviewee 5 is not very far advanced in his integration and has not even reached structural integration yet. He does not have a residence permit yet and he also did not manage to find a job. These conditions hinder his integration because they are the base which needs to be there in order to achieve the other domains of social integration (ibid.). He has started his cultural integration by learning the language, but he is very rarely in contact with Germans and therefore does not practice it much and does not have much vocabulary. He is mainly among other Syrians and speaks Arabic and that slows his language acquisition down. He needs his residence permit first so he can be sure that he is able to stay here for a longer period of time.

Interviewee 6

Interviewee 6 is in interesting case since he does not have his residence permit yet but is overall already very well integrated. He did an apprenticeship and afterwards started to study Business. He wanted to become part of the society fast and even financed his language classes himself because the job center told him that he would have to wait for a few months to get a free language class space. He achieved cultural and social integration since he speaks the language fluently and has a lot of contact with Germans. He lives in a

flatshare with Germans and is the treasurer in an international volunteer organization. He also knows many locals in Marburg who support him in his battle for a residence permit by coming to the court hearings to show that he is integrated and should stay in Germany.

Where I live in Marburg it is very multicultural und to be honest, I never felt like I live abroad. [...] When you are in Marburg and go on the street with my every 5th or 6th person knows me here and says: "Hello, how are you?" But you have to build these relationships and be open. I met so many people and ehm, that is why I was voted in the board in the volunteer organization. Even the people in the organization say that I am a role model for integration (Interviewee 6, 2017, p. 19).

He already feels very at home in Germany and his statements show that he is almost on the level of identificational integration. He participates in the local life by having good connections with many people in Marburg and the membership in the German volunteer organization. It is extraordinary that he is already so integrated since this level of identification with the host country usually takes a long time to develop (Bosswick, Heckmann, 2006, p.10). However he cannot be seen as integrated just yet since he does not have a residence permit and therefore lacks the basic precondition to for full integration and identification.

Interviewee 7

Interviewee 7 has a very high level of integration. He fulfills all criteria for structural integrations since he has a job at the Goethe institut and a residence permit. He speaks fluent German and even teaches other refugees German on a volunteer basis.

At the moment I am teaching German to refugees again on Mondays. [...] But it is not just translation, I also teach the culture. Where we come from it is different. The relationship between men and women and I explain to them how it is here, that it is not like in Syria. So I do not just help the refugees with the language but also with the culture (Interviewee 7, 2017, p. 24).

This statement shows that he not only has a great command of the language but also knows a lot about German culture and finds the acquisition of cultural knowledge so valuable that he uses his free time to teach other refugees. That means that he has a great level of cultural integration and uses it to help his fellow refugees to cope with the difficult task to fit into Germany and to learn about a culture which is so different. Just like Interviewee 6 he lives in a flatshare with Germans and says that most of his friends are German. It is however not

clear to what degree he feels home in Germany and if he achieved a sense of belonging and identification with Germany. However, he has a high level of social integration and a good status in society already and that will help him to feel identificational integration in the future.

Sub Conclusion

The refugees I interviewed have very different levels of social integration. Interviewee 1 and interviewee 2 both found a job in Germany have close relationships with their German colleagues. Through them they take part in cultural events and also teach them about their culture. They have reached structural, social and cultural integration but not identificational integration yet. Interviewee 3's and interviewee 5's integration level is not so far advanced. They both did not find a job yet and do not speak the language so well. Interviewee 5 also did not get a residence permit and does not have much contact with Germans yet. Interviewee 3 is a bit farther advanced as he has German family and already a residence permit. Interviewee 4 achieved structural integration as he is doing an apprenticeship and speaks German fairly well. However, he does not have many contacts and is not socially and culturally integrated. Interviewee 6 and interviewee 7 are the refugees with the most advanced integration level. They speak the language well and have many German friends and even do voluntary work in the communities they live in. They are the closest to achieving identificational integration in the future. Interviewee 6 is however in an ambivalent situation since he is very much integrated but did not receive a residence permit yet.

5.4 Multicultural Teamwork

The job market integration of refugees depends on many different factors. However, it is not only important to look at the process of finding a job but also to examine what they experience when they have found a job. Working with different nationalities can be an enriching experience but it also can be a source of conflict. It is important for the job market integration that the refugees are able to work with other cultures. Therefore, I

examine what benefits and problems the refugees I interviewed have experienced during their work in Germany.

I asked the refugees about their experience with their colleagues, and mostly they had a very positive attitude towards their relationship with them. They feel that one can learn from each other during the work together. Interviewee 5 (2017) told me that he works with many nationalities, and that they acknowledge their different origins when they say hello in the morning.

We have employees from Poland, Syria, Germany, one from Italy and one from Spain. Multicultural. So normally we... well the Germans say hello to us in Arabic and then I say good morning in Polish and the Poles say it back in Arabic. That is how it is where I work. [...] There you can really get to know other cultures this way (p. 13).

He experience positive effects due to the cultural diversity in his company because all different cultures are acknowledged and open to each other. That they learn phrases of each other's language broadens their horizon and shows mutual respect between the employees. Diversity is a resource for a company, which can have great benefits when the employees understand it as a tool to foster each employee's strength by creating a positive and respectful working environment for everyone (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 118). Interviewee 5 says that they learn from each other culturally which shows that they use certain parts of their culture during the work, otherwise he could not learn something about it. This is a positive experience for the intercultural team, because they each feel respected as an individual with their own culture and also learn the social skills of interacting with other cultures. Then they do not only grow professionally in their job, but also experience personal growth which leads to more motivation and better team spirit (Stahl et al., 2010, p. 443).

According to Stahl et al (2010), there is another advantage of multicultural teamwork and that is the increase of creativity in diverse teams. Diverse team members bring different ideas to the table due to their different view on issues, which is based on their different experiences (p. 442). Interviewee 1 (2017), who has a friendly relationship with his colleagues, told me how his ideas of changing the work process influence how his colleagues work and vice versa.

When I explain them something how it could be done differently, then they do it afterwards. They like my idea and they do it. And I adapt things that I like from their ideas. That is

normal. How you think things should be done is not the law. I can live with it and do not die when I adopt their way of working (p.3).

This is a good example of how a diverse team member can bring new ideas to a workplace and teach the other employee his way of working. That can help during problem solving because new ideas are taken into account and are discussed. Monocultural teams often develop a distinct way to do things, which is accepted and never challenged by anyone (Stahl et al, 2010, p. 443). Interviewee 1 introduces new ideas and his colleagues adapt those ideas of how they could do something differently. He also adapts methods of working and so they all can learn from each other. However, this is an advantage that does not necessarily depend on cultural diversity but could also happen with a new colleague from the same culture. Interviewee 10 (2017) believes that creativity does not depend on cultural diversity. When I asked him about the advantages of intercultural team work the following: “You can learn from every person, also when he comes from the same culture as you” (p.29). Every new team member can bring new ideas because everyone has different ideas and viewpoints independent from their culture. Therefore one cannot be sure if this is an advantage which is based on culturally diverse team work.

Although the refugees feel rather positive about working, a few problems during the collaboration came to light. First of all there is the obvious issue of communication, since the refugees do not have a perfect command of German yet. When a person is not using his or her mother tongue, he or she can have difficulties to express him or herself, and the other team members could understand something wrong. This can lead to frustration because misunderstandings interfere with efficient work (Harzig, Feely, 2007,p.10). Interviewee 1 says that there are language issues during the work, but that it has gotten much better over time (p.3). The other interviewees did complain about language issues during the work although they might underestimate the problem. Interviewee 5 (2017) told me about his experience with the language in his company: “I try to explain everything and if I cannot, then I use hands and feet and signs” (p. 13). Although he does not see a problem with this kind of communication, there might be miscommunication due to it. His colleagues could understand something wrong because interviewee 1 has no clear way to express what he means or the communication could be slow and interfere with productivity.

It is interesting that most of the refugees do not feel that they have language issues during their work although they are still learning it. According to Feely and Harzing (2002),

the colleagues of people, who are not native speakers, often have to put in a lot of time to support them in order to avoid miscommunication. This leads to a clear productivity loss because these colleagues then cannot concentrate on their tasks (p.7). Interviewee 7 (2017), for example, told me that he received a lot of support from his German colleagues in the beginning of his job and still needs their help today (p.23). He is culturally very well integrated and speaks almost fluent German, and the fact that he still needs help suggests that this must be a problem for most refugees. The German colleague of Interviewee 1 also told me about language issues of the refugees and how all other employees try hard to support them.

First of all the language was a big obstacle, because they are supposed to pass the final examination and this is linguistically and professionally very difficult. [...] It just takes a lot of effort and a need to take care of the two because you cannot just hire them and let them work without supervision (Interviewee 8, 2017, p. 25).

It is interesting to get her opinion on this subject because she argues from the company's perspective. She confirms that it does take a lot of effort to employ refugees because they need a lot of help and support. She mentions their final examination and the worry that they might not pass due to linguistic obstacles. A failing of the exam would even be a greater efficiency loss for the company since it would prolong the apprenticeship and cause even more investments.

Besides verbal communication, there is also the issue of nonverbal communication in diverse teams. Every culture has its own behavioral codes, which are conveyed through touch, gestures and facial expressions. People learn these codes in their childhood and use and interpret them unconsciously. When they engage with people from other cultures, these nonverbal codes can become a problem because they are not familiar with the meaning of these codes and that can cause confusion and misunderstandings (Glinow, Shapiro, Brett, 2004, p.584). Interviewee 6 (2017) told me the following about what he found difficult in his collaboration with people from different nations.

Communication. Relationship. How you behave so to say. People from other cultures have of course other relationships. In the beginning it was very ehm, difficult with the others. Especially from other country like Ukraine and Russia ect. But after some time it got better. With the Germans it was all clear. We communicated very well. But with the others I had to pay close attention otherwise there were many misunderstandings (p. 19).

He is talking about nonverbal communication in this quote. He could not decode the behavior of people from a certain region because he was not familiar with their nonverbal

codes. He is culturally and socially integrated in Germany, so he did not have problems to decode the German's facial expressions and gestures because he already got to know them. He paid close attention to them because he wanted to avoid miscommunication and wrong impressions. The misinterpretation of cultural codes can be very confusing and cause a lot of friction in a team when people are not aware of it. Therefore, it is important to talk about unclear behavior in a team so that people can explain it and be more conscious about their own behavior, which could confuse others (Glinow, Shapiro, Brett, 2004, p.584). One refugee told me that he got into an uncomfortable situation with his boss because he could not read her gesture.

There was one embarrassing incident. I was late and my boss came and raised her index finger exhortatory and clicked her tongue. I did not know what that meant and so I just did the same and she was very confused and irritated. Later a colleague explained to me what that gesture meant and why she did not like that I did it also. I had never seen that before. (Interviewee 5, 2017, p. 13).

This is another good example of conflict, because of unclear nonverbal communication. The boss of interviewee 5 found it impolite that he did not take her gesture seriously and did not think about the possibility that he simply did not understand what it meant. He was confused about it and simply mirrored her gesture because he could not read it. There was a lack of awareness on both sides in this situation and a clear communication about the nonverbal code she was using could have solved the problem. Situations like this are common in multicultural work environments and therefore it is important to encourage open dialogue about intercultural communication issues so that everyone is comfortable asking their team members when the communication is not clear.

Sub Conclusion

The refugees I interviewed all had a rather positive attitude towards working with other cultures. In the company of one refugee they have many different nationalities in one team and they are very open and curious about each other's cultures and therefore gain personal growth by learning to interact with other cultures. Another advantage of multicultural teamwork is according to Stahl et al, the different views on problems and the creation of new ideas. Interviewee 1 told me about more creativity during the work due to his suggestions but it cannot be proven if this advantage is based on cultural diversity or just

different viewpoints and ideas of people in general. I also revealed issues during the work with other nationalities during my investigation. The refugees are still learning German and that causes communication problems which lead to misunderstandings. Furthermore, the language deficit causes loss in productivity because other team members need to help the refugees instead of focusing on their own tasks. Moreover, there is the issue of nonverbal cultural codes during the communication between different cultures. Two of the refugees experienced nonverbal communication problems because they could not decode the signs and gestures their team members were doing and that caused disruption and conflict.

5.5 The Multicultural Organizational Culture

Since I do not only want to look at the refugees' contribution to successful job market integration, it is important to look at the company's role in it. Integration can only work when both sides are open to it and the host country need to open and adapt their institutions to grant the migrants the same opportunities that the other citizens have (Nimmerfeld, Schulze, Taru, 2011, p. 78-79). I have illustrated in the previous section that multicultural teamwork does have its obstacles and requires extra effort. Therefore, it is important that a company makes an effort to create an organizational culture, which fosters good collaboration between diverse employees (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 119). In this section, the approach to cultural diversity of the companies where the refugees work is examined.

Just like in the overall integration process of migrants, there are different approaches to how they can be integrated into a company. There is the colorblind approach, which is similar to the concept of assimilation. This approach treats all employees the same and blanks out the cultural differences between the employees (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 119). In contrast to this proceeding stands the multicultural approach. This approach views cultural diversity as an advantage and implements special measures for the minority group to facilitate their integration. The third approach to the management of multicultural teams is the AIM approach. This approach appreciates the advantages of cultural differences in the work environment, but emphasizes the diversity of all employees and does not focus on the cultural minority group. Its aim is to foster open dialogue about each other's differences and create an atmosphere of mutual respect and interest in each other's culture. These

approaches are foremost applicable to big corporations that have an international workforce and implement measures such as diversity management. The reality of the labor market integration of refugees is, however, that mostly small and medium-sized companies employ refugees. All the refugees that I talked to work in smaller companies and therefore it is interesting to see how they approach the management of the multicultural employees.

I asked the refugees if their cultural background was being valued by the company they work for, and most of them told me that they do not use their culture at work. For example interviewee 7 (2017) told me that he just tries to be like a German and behave just like his colleagues.

Well, my colleagues are German and that what is normal and I work at the Goethe Institut. That means I have to speak German and say things in German like my colleagues and not like I talk to my friends. How my colleagues behave well... very nice. They are very nice. But I need to work as a German and not as a Syrian (p.23).

He says that he needs to work like a German and that implies that he is not allowed to use influences from his own culture during the work. The Goethe Institute uses the colorblind approach where they treat every employee the same independent from cultural background. While this has its advantages, because it is fair to all employees and does not treat certain employees preferentially, it is also a disadvantage because the advantages of intercultural teamwork are neglected with this approach. When each employee adapts to the company culture and does not use his or her own culture, their unique perspectives and insights are not used in the collaboration and that way a lot of potential creativity is lost (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 119). Interviewee 9 (2017), who has a shipping company, also says that they treat all cultures the same and do not distinguish between their employees.

We do not implement special measures for refugees. In our company there are employees from at least 10 different countries. Integration happens automatically through the collaboration. We do not give any of our employees special treatments (p. 27).

The shipping company also uses the colorblind approach for their management of employees from different cultures. This is understandable as the employees work as drivers and do not engage in any form of teamwork. In the case of their company, the multicultural or the AIM approach would not be beneficial because the employees work isolated and therefore cannot use their culture beneficially during their work.

Interviewee 8, who is German and works in the car sales company that employs interviewee 1 and interviewee 2, also told me that they do not implement special measures and activities to integrate the refugees into the company. However, they pay special attention to them during their work and even in their free time.

It just developed like that. Everyone in the company is just very cooperative and tries to help the two. But actually not only the two. We have others that we help in the same way. But this only works because we are a small company that is like one big family (p. 26).

In this case it is hard to determine which approach it is. They pay special attention to the minority group of their employees by putting extra effort into making sure that the two refugees receive all the help they need in order to perform at their job. This type of exclusive attention to the minority group is typical for the multicultural approach. This approach benefits the minority group, but excludes the majority, which can lead to skepticism and prejudices towards the minority (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 122). However, interviewee 8 adds that they also help the other employees the same way and do not make these special efforts just for the refugees. This shows that the multicultural approach is not applicable to their way of engaging with their employees. Interviewee 1 (2017) told me that they share a lot about their culture during the work and that he is happy that he introduces him and his brother to their culture by taking him to the Karneval for example (p. 3). This statement suggests that the company uses the AIM approach to manage their staff. They support the cultural exchange between the employees and have a very close and supportive relationship with all of them. Since the AIM approach is all-inclusive, it encourages a good relationship between the employees who can support each other and form a good team spirit (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 122). Interviewee 1 and 2, who work in the company, have a high cultural and social integration level since they build a close bond with their colleagues and manage to be bicultural. They know the German culture well, but also live their own culture and give their colleagues an understanding of it.

Another refugee, who told me about the positive aspect of cultural variety at his workplace, is interviewee 4. There are many different nationalities in his company and they all greet each other in their different languages in the morning (Interviewee 4, 2017, p. 13). He also told me that he perceives the different cultures as great enrichment: “You can really get to know other cultures. We tell each other about our different countries and what they do there and what they cook and things like this. It is always really interesting” (p.13).

Although he does not explicitly say if cultural exchange between the employees is welcomed by the company, his statement suggests it. He says that also the German employees greet the others in their different national languages when they see each other in the morning. That suggests that the cultural exchange is welcome and that the company has an AIM approach towards the management of their diverse workforce. They talk about their cultural background and tell each other what they eat and how they behave in the country they came from. This way they can learn something from each other and adapt new ways of thinking and doing things (Stevens, Plaut, 2008, p. 125).

Sub Conclusion

In order to make integration of the refugees possible, the host country needs to adapt its institutions and organizations. In this section I examined what approach the companies which employ the refugees I interviewed have in regards to their organizational culture. Two companies work with the colorblind approach where everyone adapts to one company culture and does not use their own culture during the work. Interviewee 7, who works in a company which applies the colorblind approach, says that it is hard for him to behave just like a German all the time, despite his high integration level. The car company where interviewee 4 & 5 and interviewee 8 work uses the AIM approach to manage their teams. They have a personal relationship to their colleagues and support all of them to the same extent. Furthermore, they value diversity and foster the intercultural exchange between their employees and help the integration of the two refugees. The statements of interviewee 4 suggest that the company where he works also uses the AIM approach to manage their international workforce. The company encourages cultural exchange between all the employees and interviewee 4 appreciates how much he can learn about other cultures during his work. The suggestion of Stevens and Plaut, that the AIM approach is the best approach to a culturally diverse workforce was attested through my analysis, since the refugees who work in companies who apply the AIM approach show the most satisfaction with their work.

5.6 The Relationship between Integration and Multiculturalism

The concepts of integration and multiculturalism are closely connected. They both are about different cultures living together but they have a different focus. The main focus of the concept of integration is the adaption of foreigners into a society. There are different ways this adaption can be implemented. The migrants can assimilate to the majority culture and change their values, language and expression of emotion and give up their cultural heritage in order to fit in with the host society (Gordon, 1964, p. 72). However, there is another approach to integration that is not so unilateral and views integration as a two way street. This approach emanates from the standpoint that migrants can integrate into the society without neglecting their cultural roots. According to this approach, the receiving society plays a bigger part in the integration because it needs to open its institutions and social circles to the migrants and be open to accept and learn about other cultures in the society (Strang, Ager, 2010, p. 601-602).

As mentioned before, the refugees I interviewed have different integration levels. All of them try to integrate themselves into the society and learn the language as well as learn about the German culture. All refugees have to take a language and integration class before they are able to work. This should ensure that they have a basic command of German and know what cultural differences they need to mind in everyday life. Interviewee 7 (2017) told me that he teaches other refugees German and puts a big emphasis on also teaching them about German culture.

Well, I just do not only translate, I teach the culture. Because for us, our culture for example is a bit different. Like the relationship between men and women and I explain them things that are different here than in Syria. So I do not just help the refugees with the language but also the culture (p. 24).

Since Interviewee 7 has such a high social and cultural integration level, he can tell the refugees what differences they need to learn about to fit in the cultural norms in Germany. In order to integrate, migrants need to learn about the cultural patterns of the majority group so they can interact in the society without problems (Gordon, 1964, p. 72). The cultural differences between the German culture and for example the Syrian culture are quite big and therefore it is important that they learn the German cultural stance on issues such as the role of men and women.

The German government provides integration classes to all refugees and that can be seen as a valuable effort to start the integration process of the refugees. All refugees told me that they find the integration classes useful. However, the integration process depends ultimately on the willingness and engagement of the migrants and the government gives them a good starting position through the language and integration classes. Interviewee 6 has the opinion that integration classes are important but also states that the integration progress mainly depends on your own effort. He said the following about his engagement in a German volunteer organization:

In Pakistan I advocated for human rights and therefore I got in trouble and had to leave. So what I could not do there, I continued here. I kept on pursuing my goal and here I have much more opportunities and that is really great. But as I said, you have to be proactive about it (p. 19).

Interviewee 6 has the highest integration level of all the refugees I interviewed and it was his priority to learn the language and integrate from the day he came to Germany. He adapted really quickly and made connections with locals because he knew that it would allow him to continue his philanthropic work that he is so passionate about. He knows that he only integrated so quickly because he was eager and made an effort. This social integration of course also has two sides and can only happen if the members of the community are accepting of the refugees and willing to include them in their social circles (Strang, Ager, 2010, p. 602). Otherwise the refugees are excluded and will stay among people of their own culture and that creates multiculturalism instead of integration.

The other concept of integration is the assimilation to the host society and the neglect of the old cultural identity of the migrants (Gordon, 1964, p. 72). I do not have the impression that any of the refugees have given up their culture and fully assimilated to the German culture. They have not been in Germany for so long yet and most of them are still rooted in circles of mostly members of their own culture. A good example of this is the following statement of Interviewee 1 (2017): “I have many friends here in Germany who are Syrian or from other countries and they say for example: You really have good chances to learn German because you always speak it with your colleagues” (p. 2). This statement shows that his friends do not have the same integration and language level as he has and that they do not have many German contacts and mostly stay among people of their own culture. Assimilation also takes really long and requires all four domains of social integration first. The migrants need to have great knowledge of the culture and also identify

completely with the host country in order to act and reason like the people who were born in that culture (Gordon, 1964, p. 72). The refugee I interviewed who could possibly come to the point of assimilation is interviewee 6 who mainly connects with Germans in his work and also his free time. However, it is not clear if he would ever give up his culture to become like a German and he also does not have a residence permit and did not achieve structural integration yet. Interviewee 7 (2017) who also has a very high level of social and cultural integration describes his approach to integration as follows:

Of course integration does not mean that I forget about my culture. Just having friends, building connections with people and then you can explain to them what culture we have in Syria and you can learn more about German culture (p. 24).

This statement shows that his approach to integration is in line with Strang and Agers view on integration. He learns about the German culture and surrounds himself with many Germans but does not neglect his own culture in the integration process. He does not only want to learn about the German culture but also want them to understand his cultural heritage. The fact that he has such a high integration level while preserving his own cultural customs shows that migrants do not need to assimilate and that they can keep their cultural identity while being an active and social part of the host society.

The concept of multiculturalism is also about different cultures living together but it has the focus on the impact that the different cultures have on each other while living in the same society. Integration is all about fitting into the society and making connections with locals while multiculturalism has the standpoint that different cultures can live peacefully among each other without adapting to each other (Berry, 2001, p. 618-619). All cultures should live their customs and traditions and learn and respect each other. However, the developments in many countries, which adapted a multicultural approach to different nationalities in their society, show that the concept does not always work out so well in practice. Parallel societies divide the population and the majority culture can feel threatened by different parallel cultures that have very different values and influence the country in a negative way (Lentin, Titley, 2012, p. 126). The creation of parallel societies is also evident in Germany and other European countries. The immigrants live in their own quarters in the city and often surround themselves with other people from their culture and therefore do not speak much German in everyday life. Furthermore, they stick to their cultural norms and do not adapt to the norms of the host society, which can cause many problems.

Interviewee 10 (2017) who works at the job center said about his experience with intercultural problems in regards to the labor market integration of refugees the following:

Not only with the refugees. It starts with the Turks who live here in the third generation. Where the woman says that she cannot start working because she needs to look after the children. And then when you say that the husband should look after the children because the women is the only one in the family who can still work 40 hours a week and then she says: No, men do not look after children in our culture. [...] I hear this reason at least twice a week. This is a different view on gender roles and it is a pity that our government accepts this different attitude towards gender roles, which does not fit into our community of values as an apology to not join the labor market (p. 27).

This statement is an interesting observation from his daily work with people from different cultures. The fact that the Turkish women refuse to work due to the cultural norms in her group shows that their families are not integrated to the German culture. Although they lived in Germany all their life they only adhere to the cultural heritage of their parents and that is only possible in a parallel society. This behavior separates this cultural group from the other cultures in society because they refuse to work due to their cultural norms. This separation can lead to distrust towards the group when the cultural differences are perceived as too strong and the majority culture feels that their cultural norms are threatened (Lentin, Titley, 2012, p. 126). He says that he finds that it is a pity that the government accepts this behavior instead of insisting that they should adapt to the German values and gender roles. The government needs to pay for those families although they could work and contribute to society this way. Cases like this displease many people because they feel like the foreigners are taking advantage of the liberal stance towards multiculturalism and only stick to their cultural norm even if it is a disadvantage for the society. This leads to a negative perception of these cultural groups who behave that way and can lead to a shift in society towards more nationalism and prejudices towards immigrants (ibid. p. 127). In Germany the right wing parties have become stronger and in September 2016 a survey revealed that 85% of Germans want that a significantly smaller amount of refugees enter the country ("Mehrheit fordert Korrektur der Flüchtlingspolitik", 2016). Only 76,930 refugees arrived between January and April of 2017 compared to 74,5545 in the year 2015 ("Aktuelle Zahlen zu Asyl", 2017, p.3).

Since a lot of refugees are already there it is important to integrate them well so that the negative impacts of multiculturalism do not further increase. The refugees I interviewed are all rather well integrated and have contacts with Germans. However, statements of

interviewee 1 and interviewee 2 suggest that they have many less integrated Syrians in their circle of friends who do not speak the language well or have many German friends (p. 2) Interviewee 4 (2017) said that in his opinion there was more contact between the refugees and the Germans but the terror attacks and the events at New Year's Eve in Cologne have changed the relationship:

Everyone has the right to become scared because of something they read in the newspaper. They do it and it's ok. A lot of people have become more careful and they really pay attention to it. [...] Everyone stays in their own culture. After 2016 it is like that. Before, it was different (p. 15).

He says that because people have prejudices they would rather not interact with Muslims and so the people surround themselves with people from their own culture. That is an unfortunate development, because it hinders integration and fosters multiculturalism. However, most refugees I interviewed have good relationships with Germans and do not seem so be affected by the negative attitudes towards refugees. Although one must consider that only well-educated refugees are examined in this thesis and that only 38.2 % of the refugees who came to Germany have a university degree or finished their A-levels (Rich, 2016, p. 5). Therefore, the refugees who were interviewed do not belong to the majority in terms of education and their integration level can therefore not be presumed for all refugees. Interviewee 10 (2017) said that it is impossible to predict to what degree the refugees will integrate.

The integration into the labor market depends on the country of origin. In countries like Afghanistan and Iran there is war since 16, 17 years. That means the educational level of the refugees is low. The Syrians are better educated and very motivated. [...] We do not know in what direction it will develop with the refugees. They are all new here and they come from strict regimens. Now they have a certain respect and distance towards public authority. We do not know how it will develop when they feel more comfortable and have learned the language. At the moment most of them do everything to find work and of course have their family join them. I would take the example of the Turks. They have been here since 50 years (p. 27).

In his opinion no prediction is possible right now. He gives the Turks as example because they are a similar group of immigrants and they have a similar culture and the same religion. Many of them did not integrate into the German society but one cannot foresee if the refugees if the refugee will go in the same direction.

Sub Conclusion

In this section I examined whether the refugees integrate into the society or if they stay among people of their own culture in a parallel society. As mentioned before, the integration level of the refugees I interviewed is fairly high. All of the refugees find the integration classes useful because it equips them with a basic knowledge of the culture, which is important since their own culture differs a lot from it. However, the theory of Strang and Ager which says that integration is only a starting point and it depends on each refugee's effort and proactivity was attested through my analysis. The two refugees with the highest integration level are very active in volunteer organizations and both live together with Germans. Their example shows that it is possible to become part of the German society quickly and that the Germans are ready to integrate them into their circles. However, none of the refugees are assimilated yet, and also do not want to give up their culture in order to integrate. They embrace the approach to integration where they are bicultural and add the German culture to their everyday instead of replacing their heritage culture with it. However, some of the refugees I spoke to mostly stick within their own cultural circle and tell me about friends who are poorly integrated. The rise of the populist party and the public opinion against an acceptance of many more refugees shows that there is a form of resentment against multiculturalism, as Lentin and Titley describe. A further extension of multiculturalism in Germany, can have a negative effect on the attitudes towards refugees and can lead to a further increase of the separation of the society. Since the refugees just arrived a few years ago, no prediction is possible on whether they will stick in their own culture like many of the Turkish immigrants do or if they will integrate into the German society more.

5.7 Human Capital and the Acknowledgement of Foreign Credentials

Many refugees who are coming to Germany are still young and offer a lot of potential to the German job market. Critics of the German asylum policies often claim that many refugees only come here because they want to be funded by our government and only cost the state money which they never repay. Although they cost money at first, because they need shelter, welfare and language classes, they can repay the government by working for many

years and paying taxes (Frantzsch, Junker, 2015, p.1084). The situation is too recent to tell yet how many of the refugees will work in the future but in regard to the interviews I conducted this assumption is true. All refugees that I spoke to are already working or are very committed to their attempt to find a job. All of them are young and want to be independent and make their own money. Interviewee 1 (2017) explained that he thinks it is immoral to not work.

Well, you cannot live without a job, can you? This is one thing and also it is really boring when you say that you do not want to have a job. You cannot just stay at home. That is not okay. You have to find a job in order not to rely on help anymore. We have gotten more than enough help already. Well actually we only got two or three months of help from the job center. Then we directly got a chance to work here. That was great because then we did not need help anymore (p. 1).

This statement shows that the refugee has an inner motivation to work and does not want to rely on the money of the German government. He is aware that his stay is costing money and he wanted to find work as fast as possible to become independent and not be a liability on the host society anymore. The other interviewees also told me that they see work as something normal that everyone does in their home country and that it is self-evident to work in their host country as well. That supports the claim of Frantzsch and Junker (2015), that the refugees will pay off their debt by becoming a part of society and distributing with their manpower (p.1084).

Another positive aspect of the refugees who come to Germany is that many of them are very well educated. Since they needed capital in order to pay the smugglers to come to Europe, they mostly come from upper class families and got an education in their home country (Buber-Ennser et al., 2015, p.109). I chose to analyze the labor market integration of well-educated refugees so I did not speak with refugees who are not well educated. A statistic of the German Federal Agency of Migration reveals that only 38.2 % of refugees have a degree or finished A-levels (Rich, 2016, p. 5). This means that the notion that most of the refugees are well educated is not true. However, all the refugees that I spoke to went to university and studied fields, which are useful to the German labor market. Among the fields of study are engineering, law, microbiology and accounting.

Although the refugees are very motivated and educated, they still face problems during the job market integration and it is not as easy as it seems at first. Many refugees work in jobs which are below their educational level or do not manage to find a job at all.

The government does not offer initiatives to support the high-educated refugees to find a job in the same field in which they have worked in their home country. That is a loss for the refugees, who cannot use their human capital and education, and for the government, which cannot profit from the foreign skilled employees (Hadded, 2004, p. 21-22). This theory is applicable to some of the refugees who I spoke to but not all of them. Three out of the seven refugees manage to work in the field of their study and have a job, which they would also have had in their home country. The others did not manage to find a job yet or cannot work in their job field in Germany.

Interviewee 4 (2017) has a law degree from Syria, but cannot work here because German law is too different and he would have to know perfect German in order to practice law, because every nuance in the language is crucial in this job (p. 12). In his case, a support initiative would be very useful. He would need further training in German law to practice it here and a special language education, which teaches the terms he needs to work as a lawyer. He is now doing an apprenticeship in the field of wholesale and retail to have a proper education, which he can use in Germany. Compared to his law degree, that is a much lower education and this might lead to demotivation, when he feels that he is not challenged enough (Hadded, 2004, p. 21-22). Another example is the interviewee who is a dentist technician and cannot find a job.

I studied to be a dentist technician and I am all done with my education. I have looked for a job here but I did not find anything. I found a job in Frankfurt but the job center in Köln said that I am not allowed to go to Frankfurt. [...] I send many labs an email with my certificate. But it is not working. I don't know why (Interviewee 5, 2017, p. 11).

He cannot find work although he has a good education, which could be very valuable to the job market, because he is not given further training or special support in order to find a job. He asked for further training but the job center said that the internship he did was enough to qualify him for a job in Germany. This is a loss situation for all parties, since the refugee cannot work in his profession and the state cannot take advantage of the good education he already has. Furthermore, the state probably needs to invest in a new education for him or deploy him in a job that requires no or little education (Hadded, 2004, p. 21-22). If he wants to start a new education, the government needs to pay for that, meaning it would be much cheaper if it would just invest in further training in his profession to make him more attractive for the German job market. Another problem is that the refugees do not have the right to move freely across the country. It makes sense that the refugees are assigned to one

federal state that takes care of the housing and financial support as long as they do not have a residence permit (Bamf d, FAQ: Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt für geflüchtete Menschen, para 10). However, they should be allowed to leave the federal state if they are offered a job elsewhere in the country. Limiting their ability to look for jobs in other cities further diminishes their chances and makes it more likely that they stay unemployed or need to start a job, which is below their educational level.

Another issue for refugees is that they often cannot provide their credentials to the host country because they had to flee so quickly and could not gather them, or they lost them during the escape (Lamba, 2003, p. 46, 55). This is what happened to interviewee 1 (2017) and interviewee 2 who explained the situation as followed.

I have studied IT engineering for 3,5 years and my brother has studied ehm, interior design for two years. And it is a pity that I cannot get my papers from Syria because if I could then I would continue my studies here. [...] But I have tried and it did not work.

It is a big problem that they cannot get their transcript of records, because they cannot prove that they studied in Syria and therefore they appear to be without any previous education. However, it is questionable if he really had no chance to save his transcript of records. He could have uploaded it to a cloud so he can show to a German university what classes he already finished and then he would not need to go back to Syria to get it. The theory that refugees leave their credentials during their escape only applies to very poor refugees, who do not have access to modern technology. Furthermore, the Syrian refugees often collect money and plan their journey to Europe in advance so he most likely had the time to arrange the saving of his university transcripts. This shows that it also depends on the refugee's own initiatives, if they can get their credentials recognized and it does not always depend on the regulations of the host country.

However, five out of the seven refugees I interviewed were able to have their qualifications recognized and the process was not difficult. Interviewee 6 (2017) told me that it was very easy for him to have his qualifications recognized when I asked him about it.

They are recognized actually. Maybe the experience is not, but that is normal. The accounting in Syria is not exactly as in Germany but it is recognized by the government. I only send them my certificates and then I received a letter and everything was fine. It only takes time until you are able to find work (p. 23).

This shows that, in contrast to the study of Lamba (2003, p. 46, 55), it is not so hard for the refugees to have their qualifications recognized in Germany when they went to a university. He says that his experience was not recognized but his degree was and that allows him to gain further job experience in Germany. This is very positive for the well-educated refugees because they are able to use their degrees in Germany and can try to find a job with it.

Although it is positive that the refugees can have their degrees recognized, it increases their job market chances if they do not rely on their previous education alone. According to Bloch (2008), refugees, who obtain their education in the host country, have much better chances to find employment afterwards, because the employer trusts that the education is good while they might doubt the quality of foreign educations (p. 29-30). Therefore, it is good to do an education in Germany, which was also recommended to one of the refugees I interviewed:

The lady, my boss, she gave me the advice not just to stay a designer. For Germany it is important to do something with trade. So I had to do this apprenticeship now. I actually do not like to do it because it is a bit hard (Interviewee 4, 2017, p. 11).

This shows that some employers indeed prefer that the refugee has an education from Germany, because it is more reliable and also accustomed to the German job market. Interviewee 7 (2017) has studied engineering in Pakistan and the studies were recognized. However, he realized that he would need extra training or internships because engineering in Germany is much different than in Pakistan. Therefore, he decided to start a bachelor in economics in order to get a degree from a German university (p. 16). These examples show that even if the refugees have recognized credentials, some of them still start a new education in Germany because they know that this increases their chances to find a good job.

Sub Conclusion

All refugees I interviewed except one are working or studying and are eager to be economically independent and do not want to rely on the government for help anymore. They all have valuable human capital but some of them still face problems during the job search. The government does not provide special support initiatives for well-educated refugees such as lawyers, doctors or IT people. They often already have the skills, but

would need some further training to enter the German job market. This is the case for three of the refugees I interviewed so the issue is evident. The theory of Lamba which says that the refugees often cannot have their qualification recognized was not confirmed through my analysis. All interviewees, but two were able to have their qualifications recognized. The cases of interviewee 1 and 2 who did not bring their university transcript to Germany shows, that it can also be the refugees and not the states fault that qualifications are not recognized. Moreover, four of the interviewees are doing an apprenticeship in Germany, since it increases their chances to find a job because an education from Germany is more accepted than a foreign one. This confirms Bloch's theory, that educations which are attained in the host country are more valuable. As a result, potential for the labor market is lost, since the refugees do not work in their field of education although it is recognized.

5.8 The Matter of Social Capital

While human capital describes the amount of qualifications, social capital describes the amount of social contacts, which facilitate the job market entry. Social contacts with locals are a vital part of the integration process for migrants. The social connections, which facilitate the process of finding employment, are called social capital. The refugees cannot integrate and learn about the majority culture, when they do not interact with native members of the host society. In regards to the labor market integration, the social contacts are also really important because most people find a job through the connection of members of their network and not by applying to random vacancies (Baeman, 2012, p. 128-131). The refugees usually do not know many locals when they come and therefore have a disadvantage. In this section, I examine the social capital of the refugees I interviewed to see what impact it had on their job market integration.

Social connections are very helpful during the job search, and people without a social network have a clear disadvantage. Studies show that the labor market success is closely connected to the number of network members they have (Baeman, 2012, p. 128-131). Most of the refugees told me that their German connections definitely helped them to find a job. Interviewee 4 (2017) said that the amount of German contacts is the critical

factor of finding a job as a refugee (p. 11). Interviewee 1 and interviewee 2 also got their apprenticeship through their close relationship with their German teacher.

It was through the language school my brother and I went to. We got along really well with our teacher and Mr. Esser had offered the two apprenticeships for refugees to the job center at that time. [...] Then the woman of the counseling center spoke to my teacher and he knew that we are Opel fans my brother and me and recommended us (Interviewee 1, 2017, p 1).

These examples show how important good social relationships with Germans are and how useful they are for the job search. People pass job openings they hear about to people they like and trust, and refugees need to build these relationships with Germans first, since they are not given as they are for locals. However, interviewee 6 and interviewee 7 both told me that they found their job without the help of social connections but by just simply applying. They are the two refugees with the highest integration level and very good cultural knowledge and command of the language. The integration level of the other refugees is not as high and therefore it would have been harder for them to find something on their own.

Since a social network is crucial for the labor market integration as well as the overall integration, the contact with Germans should be the focus of the refugees. However, establishing contacts is often impeded through the external circumstances the refugees face when they arrive in the host country. The refugees are put in refugee shelters and cannot decide where they are accommodated. That means that often they are far away from contacts they already have in the country, which lowers their chances of engaging with locals (Cheung, Phillimore, 2014, p. 522). Interviewee 3 (2017) told me that he and his wife were put far away from their German relatives when they arrived.

We were in a small city and had no German classes and not a good situation. When we came to Remscheidt after six months we could find an integration course. [...] We have German relatives in Remscheidt and they wrote letters for us. [...] I think when a refugee has a German family here or German friends then it is a lot better (p. 6).

Interviewee 3 and his wife already had contacts in Germany but could not live close to them in the beginning because the government determines where the refugees live after their arrival. That hinders them from taking advantage of the contacts they have and slows down their integration. Furthermore, staying in refugee shelters for a long time fosters multiculturalism since the refugees do not get in contact with Germans because they are only surrounded by other refugees who are new in the country (Lamba, 2003, p.56). Interviewee 3 and his wife were in a refugee shelter for months and did not meet Germans

or learn any German. Their situation only improved, when they were allowed to move close to their relatives and were able to start an integration class. He mentions that their relatives wrote letters and that he thinks that refugees with German relatives have much better chances of integrating than the others.

Refugees, who do not have German relatives or any other German contacts, need to rely on the help of volunteer organizations and the job center to find a job. However, their resources are limited and they cannot offer the advantages a good social network could provide (Lamba, 2003, p.56). A good example for this is the situation of interviewee 5. He has a dental technician education from Syria and cannot find a job. His integration level is not so advanced and his German is not so good yet. He does not have many German contacts and the job center was not yet able to find him a job in Cologne and also does not support additional education for him.

Yes, I am an educated dental technician and my education is finished but I was not able to find a job yet. I thought I would maybe receive more training from the job center but they said my education and one internship are enough to find work (Interviewee 5, 2017, p. 11).

As mentioned in the human capital section, the government does not offer special initiatives for well-educated refugees in order to facilitate their way into the labor market (Hadded, 2004, p. 21). He has a good education but he has not been able to find a job for a year. That hinders his integration because he is mostly surrounded with other refugees and does not speak a lot of German or gets in contact with Germans. He expects the job agency to offer him extra training to get further qualifications, which might increase his chances of finding work. However, studies show that extra training only takes too much time and is not as effective as investing time in building a social network. The network helps the overall integration and as a refugee, whose education is not as recognized as a German education, depends on contacts even more (Lamba, 2003, p.56). Therefore, interviewee 5 should focus on finding ways to build relationships with locals so that his cultural and social integration advances and his job market integration will happen in the process.

Sub Conclusion

Social contacts with locals are very important for the integration of refugees, because without them they cannot learn about the culture or learn the language properly. When

people do not engage with locals and only stay in their culture, it is also a lot harder to find employment for them. Baeman's theory, which says that most refugees find a job through contacts with locals, was proven to be valid during my investigation. Three of the five refugees who are already working told me that they received their job through connections with Germans and that the success of finding a job depends on knowing the right local people. However, many refugees have a difficult time making connections with Germans because they live in refugee shelters and cannot decide where they want to live. If they already have contacts in Germany they might live far away from them as interviewee 3 experienced. If the refugees do not find German friends that could support them in finding a job, they are dependent on the job center, which has limited resources and does not offer the refugees any further qualifications if they are already educated. Refugees like interviewee 5 cannot find a job through the job center and therefore need to focus on their cultural and social integration in order to find a job.

5.9 Language as Key Integration Factor

The acquisition of the main language spoken in the host country is the first requirement for integrating into the society and making the first steps in it. If migrants cannot speak the language, they are isolated from the locals because they cannot communicate with them and therefore cannot build social capital, which is crucial for the job market and the overall integration (Cheung, Phillimore, 2014, p. 527). When they do not speak the majority language, they will only surround themselves with people from their own culture and that will lead to multiculturalism in the society and the existence of parallel societies. Those parallel societies do not engage with the main cultural group and therefore separate the society and lead to disruption and distrust between the groups (Lentin, Titley, 2012, p. 126). In this section, I examine the language acquisition of the refugees in order to find out what factors enable it and how engaged the refugees are with it.

All the refugees I spoke to saw the language acquisition as a very important factor in their integration. As mentioned above, the command of the language is important to be able to make contacts with locals and become part of the society. Therefore, the government provides language classes for the refugees so they can learn the language

quickly and start a job. However, most of the refugees only get classes until the Level B1 and that level of language is not high enough to work as some of the refugees have told me: “With B1 you cannot really work. You can talk to people on the street and go shopping. You can go to the doctor and say: My stomach hurts. Like that. But not more.” (Interviewee 4, 2017, p. 12). I heard similar statements from some of the other refugees and they show that attending the language classes is not enough. The refugees need to make individual effort and practice the language outside of the classroom in order to get in contact with locals (Cheung, Phillimore, 2014, p. 527).

Verena Plutzer (2017) has the standpoint that the integration classes are useless and that the language can only be acquired through the contacts with locals. She believes in the concepts that integration comes from the refugees and the host societies’ side and thinks that the refugees can only learn the language when the locals are willing to talk to them (p.4). While the refugees found the integration classes useful, they told me that the interaction with locals really helps with the progression.

You have really good chances of learning German when you always speak to your colleagues. And I thought, that is what the people really need. Not sitting in the school for two months for four hours a day in the integration class. [...] The refugees need to talk to the people all the time. But they do not get the chance. The Germans need to realize that and talk to them. Then they can help them really fast. Like this it is really hard and takes a long time (Interviewee 1, 2017, p. 2)

Interviewee 1 also believes that the interactions with locals is crucial to the language acquisition process and has more impact than the integration classes. He also sees some of the responsibility for that process in the hand of the German people. He thinks that they should be more open to engaging with the refugees and developing bonds with them. Good relationships with Germans encourage the entire integration process and also the language learning. When they speak with native speakers they can adapt to the local collocations and figures of speech they would not necessarily learn in a language class (Plutzer, 2010, p. 4). However, his statement that the refugees do not get a chance to get to know Germans is not entirely true. The examples of interviewee 6 and interviewee 7 show that the refugees build close bonds with Germans but it depends a lot on their level of proactivity.

Furthermore, is it not proven that the language classes are very effective and the fact that the refugees are forced to take them can be demotivating. While all refugees agreed

that the language classes are useful in the beginning, some of them criticized the quality of them.

The classes need to become better. They are good but they could be better. I have the feeling that the teachers are not very passionate about teaching. I don't know. They need to realize that the people come from different countries and that what is polite in Syria is not considered polite here. They should have intercultural competences and they don't have them (Interviewee 7, 2017, p. 22).

Although this statement is just his subjective opinion about his personal experience, it shows that the refugees cannot rely on the language classes, which are organized by the government to learn the language and the customs of the German culture. Verena Plutzer (2010) argues that not everyone learns well in a classroom setting and the requirement to learn the language can be seen as demotivating. She believes that the participation in courses should be voluntary and the language acquisition should take place at the workplace or in the migrant's free time through special programs and a buddy system (p.10). Interviewee 10 (2017), who works at the job center, told me that there are companies that already have a special language programs for migrants.

The companies have a good approach. They developed programs in which the language and the work are connected. The bases needs to be there and then they teach the terminology that is needed specifically for the job. [...] The KVB has it, Siemens has it, Bayer has it. These programs already exist (p. 28).

This approach to language teaching is really good, because it is specifically designed for the tasks that the refugees are taking. It is good when the language teaching is designed for the individual needs of the refugees and connected to their job since this motivates them to learn and they do not feel that they learn something they do not need (Plutzer, 2010, p.). However, only the big companies can afford to offer their foreign employees such a program and most refugees work in smaller companies, as I have mentioned before. None of the refugees I interviewed work in a company that offers special language classes so they need to learn the language in the ordinary language classes and by talking to Germans at their work or in their free time.

The language acquisition is not only important for the social and cultural integration but also essential for the structural integration. In order to receive a residence permit and a working permit, there is a lot of paperwork that needs to be dealt with. The refugees need to read and write in German in order to get their qualifications recognized and find their own

housing (Bloch, 2008, p. 31). Interviewee 2 told me that his wife, who lives in a different city, cannot read German and therefore experiences lots of problems with the paperwork.

She had received a few letters and did not show them to me. She looked at them, tried to translate and did not manage to do it. Then she thought that it is maybe not important and put it away. Then I read it later and saw that she had an appointment. She should have gone to the job center two days earlier (Interviewee 1, 2017, p. 4).

What his wife experienced is a good example of impeded structural integration due to poor language skills. If the refugees want to integrate, they need to oblige to the administrative system in their host country (Bloch, 2008, p. 31). If the refugees just ignore the administrative paperwork, because they are not able to read it, their integration is decelerated and it causes even more administrative effort. Therefore, it is important that the refugees learn the language quickly or rely on their social connections to help them with the paperwork. The same issue applies for finding their own accommodation. Interviewee 6 told me that one of the biggest motivators to learn German was to find his own apartment and move out of the refugee shelter. In order to find housing, he needed to write and speak in German with the landlords and that was only possible since his German level was already good enough. Finding their own accommodation is essential to the integration because they are only among other refugees in the shelters and need to break out of this environment to meet more locals (Cheung, Phillimore, 2014, p. 522). This is another aspect why language classes are important because they provide the refugees with the basics they need to take care of administrative matters that enable them to take part in the society life.

Another structural integration factor, which requires good language skills, is employment. Knowing the language is the key factor in regards to finding a job in the host country. In most jobs, only the local language is spoken in the office and applicants, who cannot properly speak and write the language, cannot be considered. People who do not speak the language well often work in low qualification jobs which do not require much communication and that leads to a loss of human capital (Esser, 2006, p. 16). All of the refugees told me that the language is a really crucial factor for finding work and that the language level they achieved through the language classes is not enough to start working. Interviewee 7 (2017) took classes until the level B1 and said that the classes alone are not sufficient to work.

There are refugees who don't know any English or other foreign languages, European languages. And then it is really hard to learn the German language. I could take classes up

to level B1 but B1 is not enough to work. How can you speak and write during your work when you have only B1? That is ridiculous (p. 24).

Interviewee 7 (2017) criticizes the approach that the refugees often only learn the language until the level B1 because this is not a suitable level to start working. He is aware that companies expect good writing and communication skills and that a refugee cannot acquire those only by attending the language classes. He adds that he knows that now the job center sometimes offers B2 and C1 classes to refugees, but that he was not offered further classes two years ago (p. 24). Offering more advanced classes for refugees is a good measure since the refugees especially acquire the writing and grammar skills during classes and those skills are needed in many jobs. However, the important test “German Test for Migrants” which gives the refugees the right to work is still taken after the B1 level (BAMF e, 2017, Zertifikat Integrationstest). That suggests that the government still finds the B1 level to be sufficient for refugees to work and be part of the society.

As mentioned in the section about integration and multiculturalism, language plays the biggest part in the development of cultural group relations in a society. The employee of the job center told me, that the refugees’ language acquisition needs to be a lot more supported when I asked him what he would do differently in regards to the refugees’ integration.

I would oblige them to work until all working places are filled and then I would oblige them to learn German, but actual German. So they should not be allowed just to stop after B1. That is the the biggest mistake that was made in regards to the guest-workers. The language encouragement is not taken seriously enough and integration and work and everything that is connected to that all depends on the language acquisition (Interviewee 10, 2017, p. 29).

He sees the language acquisition as the most important requirement for migrants and specifically says that a B1 level is not a high enough level to become an integrated member of society. In his opinion the government is making the same mistake again by not focusing on the language learning of the refugees enough. That means that the current policies in regards to language requirements for the refugees who end at a B1 level are leading the way to multiculturalism instead of fostering a way to integration of the migrants.

Sub Conclusion

The command of the host society’s language is a key integration factor, since it enables the refugees to communicate with locals and create bonds with them that help their integration.

A lack of language acquisition fosters multiculturalism and its negative effects. The refugees I interviewed all take the language acquisition seriously and try to practice their skills outside of the language classes, because they know that the language classes are not enough to learn German. In order to do that, the refugees need to show effort to get to know Germans and be integrated into their circles. Interviewee 1 remarked that refugees do not have the chance to engage with Germans, although there are the examples of other refugees who manage to be integrated into German circles and advanced their integration level tremendously through that. Furthermore, the theory that the language acquisition is important for dealing with the paperwork and finding housing was confirmed during the analysis. The wife of interviewee 1 does not speak German, which impedes her integration process by not handling the necessary paperwork and not being able to find a job or housing for herself. Furthermore, the refugees need to speak and write German in order to find a job. However, most refugees only learn German to the B1 level and that does not equip them with a good enough command to use it for work. Therefore, the employee of the job center suggests that the refugees' language acquisition should be supported more by the government. Many of them do not learn it outside of the classes and then stay among their own culture and do not find decent work. This development fosters multiculturalism and parallel societies and is hindering to integration.

5.10 The Role of the Media

As mentioned before, refugees can face discrimination in the labor market and also in their everyday life, because people have a stereotypical picture in their heads about them. This picture is formed through different influences. One big influence on the view on refugees is the coverage of the media about them. Every citizen consumes media in one way or the other, and it has a lot of power on how we view the world and what is happening in our country. The media can feed the public a certain kind of narrative about a topic and navigate the public perception in one direction (Mulvey, 2010, p. 444). Since it can fuel stereotyping and prejudices, it can hinder integration and reinforce the process of multiculturalism in the society. Therefore, it is important to analyze the perception of the refugees regarding the media coverage about the refugee crisis and its possible consequences for them.

The migration of hundreds of thousands of refugees to Germany in 2015 and 2016 was a constant topic in the German media. First the coverage was very positive and aimed to create sympathy for the refugees who were seeking asylum in Germany. They painted a very optimistic picture and focused on success stories and only addressed the problems that were developing marginally. This one sided depiction created resentment among some recipients because they felt that the media coverage was not objective. However, in the fall of 2015 the coverage started to change and the problems with the refugees became the focus. The terror attacks in Paris marked the turning point for a more distrustful depiction of refugees in the media and stereotypical views of threatening Muslim men become more prominent again (Hemmelmann & Wegner, 2016, p. 24-28). I ask the refugees about their view on the representation of refugees in the media and all refugees said that they are very aware that the media is writing a lot about them. Interviewee 4 (2017) said that the media is not always fair and that he feels that they give a wrong representation of the refugees in Germany.

It is normal that in every country there are good people and bad people, criminal people. We understand that but we do not always accept what is written in the newspapers and in the media. And sometimes they use it against us to show ehm, that all of us are the same, that we are all dangerous people (p. 15).

This representation is problematic for the refugees who are trying to integrate and become part of the society. He describes that the media has an agenda against the refugee and tries to give them a bad reputation by portraying them as one isolated group, which only consists of bad people. That further reinforces the stereotypical view on refugees that many people have and when media constantly covers the actions of criminal refugees than it can have the effect that the public has a more negative image of refugees in their head. This bad and threatening reputation is further fueled by the choice of words the media uses to speak to the reader's emotions. In case of the refugees, the words crisis, flood and wave were often used to describe the large numbers of the refugees who came to Germany. These words suggest to the reader that the arrival of the refugees is something threatening to the country, because it is uncontrollable and therefore needs to be fended off (Mulvey, 2010, p. 445). This depiction in the media fosters the fear of the people because the coverage gives the impression that people from a different culture that we do not know anything about are invading our country. Interviewee 1 is angry about the media coverage, because he feels that the refugees had no choice but to come to Europe:

I hear always hear about it on the radio, in the newspaper, on TV. The people are always talking about it. Because at the moment there are many refugees, too many. I can accept that but it also does hurt me. This is a shitty, excuse my language, but this is a shitty war. That's what forced us to come here. I should really be in my home country right now (Interviewee 1, 2017, p. 3).

This statement makes clear that the media coverage does have a negative influence on the refugees. He says that he tries to understand the viewpoint of the Germans who need to adapt to the many foreign people in their country and feel overwhelmed by it. He says himself that there are too many refugees, which shows that he is aware of the issues Germany has to cope with the vast number of refugees. But he still says that this constant discussion in the media about the topic also hurts his feelings because he knows that the refugees have no other choice but to flee. However, he contradicts himself with another statement, where he says about his inability to go to Syria the following: "I cannot go there, because if I go, I will need to become a soldier. You know how it is there. Always fighting and I do not want that" (Interviewee 1, 2017, p.2) This statement reveals that he did not flee because his part of the country was threatened by war but that he wanted to avoid to be forced to become a soldier. This means that his situation was not as hopeless as he describes. Furthermore, there are many people, who came to Germany in the last years, who cannot be categorized as refugees but rather migrants. According to a statistic of the federal agency of migration only 21.9% of people, who had their court hearing between January and April 2017, are recognized refugees ("Aktuelle Zahlen zu Asyl", 2017, p.10). That means that most people who come to Germany and file an asylum motion do not have the right to be here and are wasting resources, which should be used to help people who are recognized as refugees.

Another thing that is a striking inconsistency is that that all refugees I interviewed criticize that the media is depicting an unfair picture of refugees while many refugees also do not trust some of the other refugees and view that they should not be seen on one level with them. Interviewee 3 thinks that he and his wife should be able to stay in Germany, because they have a good education but does not feel that everyone should have the right to stay:

I know that many people try to get an education here. And this education costs, but for me and my wife it costs nothing. [...] But there are many people who did not study and who have no experience and for them it will take at least four or five years. So you should not see all refugees on one level. It is better to grant asylum to the well educated ones because the other ones cost too much.

It is interesting that he as a refugee himself does not show compassion for all other refugees and sees it from a pragmatic standpoint. He and his wife have a good education in microbiology and he therefore sees them as more valuable to the labor market and on a different level than other refugees. This view is not uncommon among immigrants. They often do not support each other but rather compete for the acceptance of the host society. Groups are rated more favorable when they have more familiarity with the receiving culture and use the acceptance to their advantage (Berry, 2001, p. 622). In the case of the refugees, who are coming to Germany, the well-educated ones from the middle classes are more familiar to the Germans and he therefore views himself and his wife as a superior group. This shows that although the refugees are upset about the media coverage, they do not have the best view on all refugees themselves.

Furthermore, the topic of terrorism is very prominent in regards to the coverage of refugees. Every time a terrorist attack happens, the discourse about refugees and their role in the situation starts again. As mentioned in the chapter about stereotyping, some of the refugees are very upset that the media always makes a connection between the coverage of terrorism and refugees and thinks that it is reinforcing bad prejudices towards them. However, statements of the refugees suggest that they are aware of the danger that some refugees present. Interviewee 4 (2017) thinks that the German government should focus more on refugees who could be potentially dangerous during the registration.

They should check the stories that the refugees are telling. From which city is he? The countries has different regions. Did he experience many terrible situations? Did he absorb a lot of hatred? Syrien has regions which are involved with the IS. People from there you really need to check. This has nothing to do with Unicef. This helps the security level of Germany (p. 16).

This statement shows that the refugees realize that the fear of refugees, who are terrorists, is justified and that they also worry about the security level of Germany. That contradicts the claim that it is unfair that the media is reporting about problems with refugees and security risks because interviewee 4 realizes that this threads are real and should be talked about. However, it is non-constructive when the media coverage leads to stereotyping towards refugees and a further separation between the cultural groups. That leads to multiculturalism, which makes the boundaries even bigger, and leads to more resentment and distrust. The media needs to cover news about problems with refugees but they should put an emphasis on creating awareness for the context and the background of the event and

also questions them. Furthermore, the journalists should pay attention to the perspective they are taking and explain it to the reader or viewer (Hemmelmann & Wegner, 2016, p. 35). This way the news coverage does not take such a negative impact on the view of refugees and the possibility for integration of the refugees is not affected as much.

Sub Conclusion

Refugees are a regularly spoken about issue in society which receives a lot of attention in the media. The coverage of the media is very influential because it can navigate the perception of the recipients in a certain direction. The interviewees were all very aware of the extensive media coverage about refugees and some of them are dissatisfied about it. Interviewee 4 feels that the media is fueling the stereotype that all refugees are bad people by focusing on bad news about them. Furthermore, the media uses words, which have a negative connotation such as flood or crisis, to describe the refugees who are coming to Germany and that suggests the reader that they are threatening. Interviewee 1 feels unfairly treated by the media because he says that the refugees had no other choice but to come. However, this statement is not true since of the people who came to Germany are not considered refugees after the UN definition and rather should be called migrants. He himself admits in the interview that his region in Syria was not affected by the war and that he left the country because he did not want to fight in the war. Another discrepancy is that interviewee 3 says about uneducated refugees that they do not benefit Germany and should not get asylum. That shows a competition of acceptance of the host society among the refugees and reveals that they do not feel compassion for all other refugees although they are in the same situation. Furthermore interviewee 5 says that Germany needs to check refugees from Syria more to increase the security. That shows that while the refugees are upset about the negative media coverage, they realize themselves that the content is valid and legitimate.

5.11 Recommendations of the Refugees

In this section the ideas of the refugees on how the job market integration and the overall integration could be facilitated are illustrated. Interviewee 1 (2017) would simplify the paperwork so that it is easier for the refugees to handle, because he feels that all the bureaucracy is distracting him from his apprenticeship (p.5). Interviewee 3(2017) believes that the government should pay more attention to the qualifications of the refugees and give the integration classes to the well-educated first so that they can start working quicker and do not lose so much time. Furthermore, he thinks the government should urge the companies more to employ refugees instead of preferring Germans or candidates from the EU member states (p.8-9). Interviewee 4 (2017) thinks that the government should deport asylum seekers who do not have the right to asylum according to the UN legislation directly. Then the federal agency could concentrate on the refugees who have a right to asylum and the process would be quicker (p.15). Furthermore, interviewee 5 (2017) is concerned about the security level in Germany and recommends checking the refugees' background to see if they have a connection with ISIS (p.15). Interviewee 6 is more concerned with the language acquisition of the refugees and would force all the refugees to take language classes to a high level to make sure that they learn German. He also thinks that the well-educated refugees should receive more support in finding a job in their field and that it should be easy for them to get their qualifications recognized (21). Interviewee 7 (2017) thinks that there should be more focus on the refugees' cultural integration. If he was a politician he would invest money in more language classes and also courses where the refugees learn about the German culture and visit different cities and museums. He thinks that this would help the refugees to learn the language and also to integrate into the society faster (p.23-24). Furthermore, interviewee 10 (2017), who works at the job agency has the idea that refugees should start working right away and learn the language on the side. Then they would learn the language faster and contribute to society through their manpower (p. 29).

6. Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated the complexity of integrating refugees into the German job market. The first obstacles are administrative barriers, which the refugees as well as the companies that want to employ refugees face. The refugees are allowed to work three months after their arrival, but all the refugees I interviewed had to wait for many months until they could take an integration class due to a great amount of bureaucracy and an ongoing accumulation of paperwork in the public agencies. Companies have a hard time employing refugees due to the law that EU citizens must be preferred and many companies are apprehensive about employing refugees since there is often a chance that they will be deported. Furthermore, my analysis revealed that there are companies that also do not employ refugees, because they have prejudices towards them. The experience of interviewee 4 confirms Rydgren's theory about ethnic discrimination in the hiring process, since he could not find a job after the incident at New Year's Eve in Cologne. Furthermore, the refugees face prejudice because people categorize them together with Islamic terrorists because of their shared religion and ethnicity. However, discrimination in everyday life is not a big issue for the refugees I talked to, and they feel welcomed by most Germans. Furthermore, I found out that there are companies which are keen on supporting refugees by employing them and by offering them special benefits to make sure they are able to work there.

The integrational level of the seven refugees, who were interviewed, is overall fairly high. All of them have at least a basic command of German and most of them are already working. Two of them are, however, not working yet and their language level and social integration level still needs to improve in order to achieve integration. On the contrast, two other of the interviewees have a very high integrational level and even work in German volunteer organizations. This proactivity is necessary for refugees to fully integrate, since the integration classes only offer a basis of knowledge of the culture and the refugees need to create social bonds with Germans. However, none of the refugees assimilate, but rather have the approach to integration, which is suggested in the theory of Strang and Ager. Instead of giving up their culture, they become bicultural and also teach the Germans about their culture. While most of the refugees developed friendships with Germans, two of the refugees are only have very little contact with Germans and mostly

stay among people of their own culture. This is a problem since the refugees form parallel societies and stick to their own cultural norms, when they do not have enough contact with Germans. The existence of parallel societies causes separation of the society and negative attitudes towards the minor cultural groups. However, it is too early to predict how the integration process of the refugees will develop.

The analysis of the refugees' experience of working in intercultural teams shows that there are more disadvantages than advantages to it. One refugee told me that he learns a lot about other cultures and their customs during his work and sees that as personal gain. However, the other refugees talked about misunderstandings because of language issues and also the problems of decoding each other's nonverbal language. Furthermore, I found out that the constant effort to support the refugees causes productivity loss for the company, because the German employees cannot concentrate on their tasks. How well the refugees do at work also depends on the organizational culture that the company has. Two employers of the refugees have a colorblind approach and do not want the refugees to engage their culture in any way during the work. However, the other workplaces of the refugees I interviewed apply the AIM approach, where they see cultural diversity as an advantage and foster the cultural exchange between all employees. The positive impact on the satisfaction through the application of this approach was attested through my analysis. The refugees who work at those companies show much more satisfaction with their work than the ones, whose company apply the colorblind approach.

A crucial element in the job market integration is the human capital of the refugees. The assumption of Lamba, which is that most refugees cannot get their qualifications recognized, was not confirmed through my investigation. Almost all of the refugees I interviewed could have their qualifications recognized and the ones who did not manage to have them recognized were simply not proactive enough. This observation suggests, that it is often the refugees' and not the host society's fault that qualifications are not recognized. However, some of the refugees would need further training to work in their profession in Germany and that is not provided. Furthermore, is an education which is done in Germany worth more to the employers and therefore many refugees start an education here, although they already have one and that slows down the labor market integration. Even more important than human capital is the possession of social capital in form of social contacts, which facilitate the job market entry. The refugees told me that contacts helped them a lot

during their job search but there are many refugees who struggle to make contact with Germans because they live in refugee shelters and often far away from people they already know in Germany. They then need to rely on the job center, which has limited resources and also preferably gives jobs to Germans or EU citizens. Therefore it is very important that the refugees develop social connections to Germans which can much easier lead to finding a job.

Another important factor for the integration of refugees is their command of German. Their language level determines if they can enter the social circles of Germans or stay among people from their country. The refugees I interviewed all take the language acquisition seriously but there are still big differences between their language levels. They all took the language classes until the B1 level, as requested by the government, but that is not enough to speak and write the language well enough to work in most jobs in Germany. The two refugees with the lowest command of German are the ones which did not find a job yet and who do not have many German friends. Furthermore, my analysis revealed that the structural integration largely depends on the language level because refugees cannot handle the paper work or find housing if their German is too limited. Lastly, the media coverage of the refugees has a great influence on the chances of integration level because it affects the way the refugees are perceived by the public. My analysis showed that the refugees perceive the media coverage about them as rather negative and believe that some people have a stereotypical view on them, which impedes their chances to integrate. However, I also found out that while they are dissatisfied with the reports about them, they said things in the interviews which are in line with what the media is writing about them. Interviewee 3 views uneducated refugees as a liability to Germany and interviewee 5 acknowledged the possible danger of terrorism that emerges from refugees who come from areas which as closely linked to ISIS. That shows that while the refugees are dissatisfied with what is written about them, their statements reveal the media coverage is indeed legitimate.

6.1 Further Research Area

This thesis has identified many issues during the labor market integration of well-educated refugees. It contributes to the research in this field by providing an investigation of the specific case of well-educated refugees in one specific country. The immigration of the vast number of refugees to Europe happened very recently and there is not much academic literature about it yet. While my findings are not generalizable due to the small sample size, my research does identify current problems which the refugees and the companies are facing. However, due to limited time and resources, my analysis does not cover all aspects on the matter. Time and more access to organizations, which employ refugees, would have allowed me a deeper understanding of the employer's perspective and their view on problems and advantages of employing refugees. Furthermore, more interviews with well-educated refugees would mean that I might be able to establish a more solid pattern of their experiences and if these patterns are connected to their integration level. Moreover, most asylum seekers in Germany are not well-educated and therefore it would be interesting to see what obstacles they face during the job search. Then the problems of the well-educated and not educated refugees could be compared and one could see if the well-educated refugees have an advantage due to their education or if both groups face the same problems.

6.2 Practical Implications

Many problems during the job market integration of the refugees have been identified in this thesis. In this part some possible solutions of those problems are presented. First of all I agree with interviewee 1, that the administrative barriers should be decreased and the level of paperwork should be reduced. That would help the refugees, who struggle to keep up with all the papers, and also would reduce the workload for the employees of the government agencies and save money in the long run. The companies that employ refugees should be supported by the job center and the law that refugees can only get a job when no German or EU citizen wants to have it should be revoked. Furthermore, I concur with the recommendation of Jutta Aumüller (2016), who believes that the federal states need to abide by the law that no refugees can be deported during their apprenticeship (p. 44). This law is very important because it provides companies with the security that they can employ

refugees without worrying about a deportation. Therefore, the violation needs to be prevented so that the labor market integration is fostered. Moreover, I find the idea of refugee 4 useful, who supposes that the government should deport asylum seekers, who do not have the right to stay in Germany faster, so that they can focus their attention on the integration of the refugees who stay in Germany.

Furthermore, a lot of intercultural problems during the work with refugees were revealed. Many refugees work in small companies that do not have a big HR department, which can organize intercultural training. Therefore, it would be good if the job center would organize optional trainings for managers, so they can learn how to deal with intercultural problems and how to talk with their staff about them. Furthermore, my analysis revealed that the AIM approach, which is advised by Stevens and Plaut (2017, p. 121-122), is the best organizational culture approach. This approach could also be taught as a successful way to approach a multicultural staff. Another possibility would be that the job center creates e-learnings about diverse teamwork, which all the team members could watch. Moreover, many refugees have limited human capital and therefore should be more supported by initiatives, as suggested by Cheung and Phillimore (2014, p. 527). Therefore, it would be good to found more initiatives and associations which support the job market integration. They could motivate companies that want to employ refugees to become part of a network in which the companies can share their knowledge and experiences. The initiatives should also promote the employment of refugees so more companies take the leap and try it.

In order to integrate socially and culturally the refugees need a good level of German. Therefore, I agree with interviewee 6, who believes that the refugees should be obliged to at least finish the B2 level successfully before they are allowed to stop the classes. Moreover, I agree with Verena Plutzer (2010) about the need for occasions which bring refugees and Germans together so they can get to know each other (p. 4). The refugees need to get in touch with locals to learn about the culture and practice the language, but many of them are not proactive enough to approach Germans and therefore initiatives such as tandem programs or sports activities where refugees and Germans can get to know each other should be organized. Another constructive idea was supposed by interviewee 10, who works at the job center. He thinks that the best way to integrate the refugees into the society would be to give them a job soon after their arrival. They could

work in jobs where staff is needed such as elderly care for a few days a week and take the language class on the side. Then they would practice the language right away and also contribute to the host society. Furthermore, they would do something useful from the beginning and not waste valuable time in a refugee shelter, which could be used to lay the foundation for their integration instead.

7. Bibliography

Academic Literature

- Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of refugee studies*, 21(2), 166-191.
- Berry, J. W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of social issues*, 57(3), 615-631.
- Beaman, L. A. (2012). Social networks and the dynamics of labour market outcomes: Evidence from refugees resettled in the US. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 79(1), 128-161.
- Bloch, A. (2008). Refugees in the UK labour market: The conflict between economic integration and policy-led labour market restriction. *Journal of Social Policy*, 37(1), 21-36.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th Ed.), United States: Oxford University Press.
- Bryman, A. & Bell, E. (2011). *Business Research Methods* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Buber-Ennser, I., Kohlenberger, J., Rengs, B., Al Zalak, Z., Goujon, A., Striessnig, E., ... & Lutz, W. (2016). Humankapital, Werte und Einstellungen von Menschen, die 2015 in Österreich Zuflucht suchten Kurztitel: Geflüchtete in Österreich 2015.
- Burr, Vivien. (2006). *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cheung, S. Y., & Phillimore, J. (2013). Refugees, social capital, and labour market integration in the UK. *Sociology*, 48 (3), 518 – 536.
- Colic-Peisker, V., & Tilbury, F. (2007). Integration into the Australian labour market: The experience of three “visibly different” groups of recently arrived refugees. *International migration*, 45(1), 59-85.
- Esser, H. (2006). Sprache und Integration. *Die sozialen Bedingungen und Folgen des Spracherwerbs von Migranten. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.*
- Faist, T. (1994). Immigration, integration and the ethnicization of politics. *European Journal of Political Research*, 25(4), 439-459.

- Feely, A., & A.-W. Harzig. (2003). Language management in multinational companies, *Cross Cultural Management. An International Journal*, 10 (2), 37 -52.
- Feely, A. J., & Harzing, A. W. (2008). The language barrier and its implications for HQ-subsidiary relationships. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 15(1), 49-61.
- Fratzscher, M., & Junker, S. (2015). Integration von Flüchtlingen: eine langfristig lohnende Investition. *DIW-Wochenbericht*, 82(45), 1083-1088.
- Gordon, M. M. (1964). Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hadeed, A. (2004). Sehr gut ausgebildet und doch arbeitslos. *Zur Lage höher qualifizierter Flüchtlinge in Niedersachsen*. Oldenburg: BIS.
- Heckmann, F., & Bosswick, W. (2006). Integration of migrants: Contribution of local and regional authorities. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.
- Hemmelmann, P., & Wegner, S. (2016). Flüchtlingsdebatte im Spiegel von Medien und Parteien. Ein Überblick. *Communicatio Socialis*, 49(1), 21-38.
- Kogan, I. (2011). New immigrants—old disadvantage patterns? Labour market integration of recent immigrants into Germany. *International Migration*, 49(1), 91-117.
- Kothari, C.R. (2004). *Research Methodology- Methods and Techniques* (3rd ed.). New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.
- Lamba, N. K. (2003). The employment experiences of Canadian refugees: Measuring the impact of human and social capital on quality of employment. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 40(1), 45-64.
- Laubenthal, B. (2015). *Refugees welcome? Federalism and asylum policies in Germany*. Fieri Working Papers.
- Lentin, A., & Titley, G. (2012). The crisis of ‘multiculturalism’ in Europe: Mediated minarets, intolerable subjects. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(2), 123-138.
- Mannix, E., & Neale, M. A. (2005). What differences make a difference? The promise and reality of diverse teams in organizations. *Psychological science in the public interest*, 6(2), 31-55.

- Mulvey, G. (2010). When policy creates politics: The problematizing of immigration and the consequences for refugee integration in the UK. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23(4), 437-462.
- Plutzar, V. (2010). Sprache als „Schlüssel“ zur Integration?. *Eine kritische Annäherung an die österreichische Sprachenpolitik im Kontext von Migration*. Wien: Studien Verlag.
- Rydgren, J. (2004). Mechanisms of exclusion: ethnic discrimination in the Swedish labour market. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(4), 697-716.
- Stahl, G. K., Mäkelä, K., Zander, L., & Maznevski, M. L. (2010). A look at the bright side of multicultural team diversity. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 26(4), 439-447.
- Stevens, F. G., Plaut, V. C., & Sanchez-Burks, J. (2008). Unlocking the benefits of diversity: All-inclusive multiculturalism and positive organizational change. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 44(1), 116-133.
- Taru, M., Schulze, J., & Nimmerfeldt, G. (2011). The relationship between integration dimensions among second generation Russians in Estonia. *Studies of Transition states and Societies*, 3(1), 76-91.
- Verkuyten, M. (2005). Ethnic group identification and group evaluation among minority and majority groups: testing the multiculturalism hypothesis. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 88(1), 121.
- Von Glinow, M. A., Shapiro, D. L., & Brett, J. M. (2004). Can we talk, and should we? Managing emotional conflict in multicultural teams. *Academy of Management review*, 29(4), 578-592.

Context Literature

- Abschiebung trotz Ausbildungsplatz verärgert Arbeitgeber. (2017, April 26), *Focus Online*. Retrieved from: http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/fluechtlinge-auf-dem-arbeitsmarkt-abschiebung-trotz-ausbildungsvertrag-verunsichert-viele-arbeitgeber_id_7034154.html

Aktuelle Zahlen zu Asyl. (2016, April). *h*. Retrieved from:

<http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Statistik/Asyl/aktuelle-zahlen-zu-asyl-april-2017.html?nn=7952222>

Aumüller, J. (2016). Arbeitsmarktintegration von Flüchtlingen: bestehende Praxisansätze und weiterführende Empfehlungen. *Bertelsmann Stiftung*. Retrieved from: https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/28_Einwanderung_und_Vielfalt/Studie_IB_Arbeitsmarktintegration_Fluechtlinge_2016.

BAMF. (2017 a). Genfer Flüchtlingskonvention. Retrieved from:

http://www.bamf.de/DE/Service/Left/Glossary/_function/glossar.html?lv3=4552988&lv2=1364174

BAMF. (2017 b). Ankunft und Registrierung (Arrival and Registration). Retrieved from:

<http://www.bamf.de/DE/Fluechtlingsschutz/AblaufAsylv/AnkunftUndRegistrierung/ankunft-und-registrierung-node.html>

BAMF. (2017 c). Erstverteilung der Asylsuchenden (Distribution of the Asylum Seekers).

Retrieved from:

<http://www.bamf.de/DE/Fluechtlingsschutz/AblaufAsylv/Erstverteilung/erstverteilung-node.html>

BAMF. (2017 d). FAQ: Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt für geflüchtete Menschen (FAQ: Entrance to the labor market for people who have fled). Retrieved from:

<http://www.bamf.de/DE/Infothek/FragenAntworten/ZugangArbeitFluechtlinge/zugang-arbeit-fluechtlinge-node.html>

BAMF. (2017 e). Zertifikat Integrationskurs (Certificate for the integration course).

Retrieved from:

<http://www.bamf.de/DE/Willkommen/DeutschLernen/Integrationskurse/Abschlusspruefung/ZertifikatIntegrationsKurs/zertifikatintegrationskurs-node.html>

Becker, M. (2017, April 23). EU befürchtet neues Migrantendrama im Mittelmeer. *Spiegel Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/fluechtlinge-und-migration-eu-befuerchtet-drama-im-mittelmeer-a-1144227.html>

Große Mehrheit fordert Korrektur der Flüchtlingspolitik. (2016, September 9), *Spiegel Online*. Retrieved from: <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/fluechtlinge-deutsche-fordern-laut-umfrage-korrektur-der-fluechtlingspolitik-a-1111625.html>

Fluchtmigration (2016). *Bundesagentur für Arbeit*. Retrieved from:

<https://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/Statischer-Content/Statistische-Analysen/Statistische-Sonderberichte/Generische-Publikationen/Fluchtmigration.pdf>

Rich, A.-K. (2016). Sozialstruktur, Qualifikationsniveau und Berufstätigkeit. Retrieved from:

https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Kurzanalysen/kurzanalyse3_sozial-komponenten.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

Thränhardt, D. (2015). Die Arbeitsintegration von Flüchtlingen in Deutschland: Humanität, Effektivität, Selbstbestimmung. *Bertelsmann-Stiftung*. Retrieved from:

https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/28_Einwanderung_und_Vielfalt/Studie_IB_Die_Arbeitsintegration_von_Fluechtlingen_in_Deutschland_2015.pdf