

“IF MY MOM WERE HERE:”

COMPARING THE INTEGRATION EXPERIENCES
OF UNACCOMPANIED AND ACCOMPANIED
PROTECTED PERSONS

VIENNA, AUSTRIA

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Outcome of a Save the Children US and Feinstein International Center fellowship on youth, migration and resiliency.

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Cover photo: A crowd of people enjoy the summer day on the banks of the Danube, an area where many young refugees and their families spend time in summer 2018. /Mackenzie Seaman

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ABSTRACT

Migration stakeholders have traditionally viewed unaccompanied asylum seekers and protected persons as the most vulnerable minors, if not the most vulnerable persons, in host countries. However, there exists no rigorous comparison of accompanied and unaccompanied persons in the migration literature to substantiate such claims. This thesis attempts to fill that knowledge gap through investigating whether unaccompanied and accompanied protected persons integrate differently. Mixed-methods field research conducted in Vienna, Austria with 72 protected persons from or who have the nationality of Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria and who arrived as minors informs this work. The research investigated integration in three domains: the labor market (employment, education, outlook on labor market), social connections (language, connections with individuals, connections with organizations) and outlook on integration.

Unaccompanied respondents exhibited higher levels of “success” regarding employment, education, language, and social connections with individuals, as well as greater optimism regarding outlook on the labor market and integration overall. The faster integration trajectory of unaccompanied respondents compared to their accompanied counterparts flows from the vulnerabilities of unaccompanied respondents transforming into integration resiliencies (i.e. fewer familial obligations; greater financial insecurity), as well as their differential legal and social treatments upon arrival in Austria. Given that some short-term strategies may breed less long-term success (i.e. prioritizing employment over higher education), the greater integration “success” achieved by unaccompanied respondents compared to their accompanied peers may not engender a similar advantage in the future. As a result, integration stakeholders must establish and expand programming focused on accompanied persons and their families, as well as continue outreach to unaccompanied persons. Bolstering the long-term resiliencies of these populations requires continued investment and support from government and organizations.

Keywords: youth migration, refugees, unaccompanied minors, accompanied minors, Austria, integration

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ABBREVIATIONS & GLOSSARY OF TERMS

ABBREVIATIONS

EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)

European Union (EU)

International Organization for Migration (IOM)

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

USEFUL TERMS

apprenticeship: a work-education which involves a certain amount of in-school instruction, as well as practical on-the-job learning; students receive money for the hours worked and often receive full-time employment upon successfully completing the apprenticeship; the apprenticeship on average lasts two to four years.

Arbeitsmarktservice (AMS): the public employment service in Austria, supports persons who are unemployed in their efforts to find employment, also provides language courses.

country of origin: country where respondents reported they had lived before disembarking for Europe; where they grew up.

family status: refers to whether a person is accompanied or unaccompanied.

former residence: refers to the former type of residence of a person (i.e. urban, rural, peri-urban).

Integration Declaration (*Integrationserklärung*): a legally binding document stipulating the person's intention to integrate; all protected persons who arrived after December 2014 must sign this document.

needs-based social benefit (*Mindestversicherung*): the main social security net within Austria, it supports persons who are unemployed.

obligatory school exit exam (*Pflichtschulabschluss*): normally provided through a full-time school program, the exam is required for all forms of further education (i.e. apprenticeship, university-track education).

parental status: refers to whether a person was accompanied with parent(s) or without.

Refugee Basic Care (*Grundversorgung*): the social system which takes care of asylum-seekers and protected persons through guaranteeing a certain amount of money, organized housing and health care.

Übergangsklasse: a refugee-specific class which is located in university-track schools; the program normally lasts for one year, after which persons may have the opportunity to integrate into normal school classes.

I. INTRODUCTION

In 2015 and 2016, over 2.5 million individuals sought asylum within the European Union (EU) (eurostat migr_asyappctza). Travelling via car, foot, plane and sea, they arrived in Europe hoping to find safety and opportunity within its borders, both for themselves and for their families. However, their journeys towards a better life continued unabated even when reaching their ultimate destinations. Having endured opaque legal processes, discrimination, xenophobia, and other structural and personal difficulties, as well as having hopefully benefited from community and state support, almost 1 million asylum seekers have now received international protection (i.e. become protected persons) since 2015 (eurostat migr_asydcfsta).

As of July 2019, many of those protected persons will soon be marking their fifth year of residence in their host countries. By the end of 2020, a 17-year-old who arrived in 2016 will have spent almost one-fifth of their life in a “foreign home.” Particularly for those older minors (i.e. arrived between 14 and 17), their path in these host countries remains variegated — full of opportunities, as well as challenges. Too old to learn the language without formal education, but still possessing the advantage of youth, these individuals must negotiate their young adulthoods, identities, and futures during a period of immense transition personally, as well as throughout the EU. Today, these children and young adults must grapple with many questions: How do I make friends? Do I want to look like everyone else? Do I want to retain my culture? Where is my home? Where is my future? Alongside such self-reflection and development, and at times because of it, many are also navigating the integration process.

This report understands integration as a long-term, two-way process of mutual accommodation between dynamic host communities and refugees, which allows refugees equal opportunities to obtain societal resources and to participate in all societal dimensions, ultimately achieving social cohesion and nurturing a sense of belonging among refugees. Successful integration contributes to resiliency. This thesis asks: Are protected persons, who arrived as minors to the EU, integrating? Are they building resilient livelihoods? Does being unaccompanied or accompanied impact their integration paths? Their resiliency?

In the following chapters, I present and discuss the data I collected in summer 2018 as part of the Save the Children US and Feinstein International Center fellowship on youth, migration and resilience. As a fellow, I compared the integration experiences of unaccompanied and accompanied protected persons in Vienna, Austria, who had arrived as older minors. Through the research I aimed to fill an important knowledge gap in the literature regarding the integration differences between these two populations, expanding the evidence-base on youth migration and informing refugee programming.

Between 2013 and 2017 of the over 4 million asylum applicants who filed claims in the EU, Austria received roughly 200,000 (eurostat migr_asyappctza). Thirty-eight percent of these asylum applicants were minors, with roughly one-third being considered older minors (eurostat migr_asyappctza). Navigating their integration, as well as the social and legal transformations

accompanying their entrance into adulthood, in Austria older minors have also witnessed repeated attempts by the anti-migrant, far-right government to limit their rights since it came to power in December 2017. The individuals surveyed and interviewed were thus in a period of transition and threatened legal security.

As the study focused on integration, the research sampled for individuals who: (1) resided in or had the nationality of Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria; (2) received some form of international protection from the Austrian government; and (3) arrived as asylum-seeking older minors. Through the research I surveyed 72 respondents, of which 31 participated in an additional semi-structured interview. Various ethnicities, such as Arab, Hazara, Kurdish and Pashto, as well as nationalities intersected respondents' identities. Respondents received either subsidiary protection or Convention status, two divergent legal statuses that at times create dissimilar opportunities and thus different integration realities. Most importantly, family status (i.e. being either unaccompanied or accompanied) differentiated respondents, with 68 percent of older minor asylum applicants being considered unaccompanied in Austria (eurostat migr_asyunaa) and 51 percent within the study. Other critical and interrelated factors, such as age, gender, previous education experience, employment history in country of origin, religion, former residence (urban, rural, peri-urban), the duration and difficulty of the journey to Europe, physical health and psychosocial health further diversified the identities, capabilities and opportunities of study respondents, as well as the overall population they represent. While the findings and discussion in Chapter VI and VII often relay respondents' stories in groupings, the heterogeneity of respondents necessitates understanding that a person's integration experience is ultimately distinct and individual.

I begin the thesis with a robust review of the literature on refugee and migration integration, focusing particular on the reports, data and theoretical frameworks applicable to Europe, refugee minors, and refugees from the Middle East. I also clarify important legal definitions concerning refugees. Moreover, by summing the international, regional, national and local legal instruments pertaining to refugee integration within in Vienna, I argue that there exists a de-facto right, at times even an obligation, to integrate for minor refugees. I also present the key frameworks and concepts for understanding and analyzing the integration differences of unaccompanied and accompanied minor asylum seekers and protected persons. I conclude by presenting the most recent data on protected persons in Austria.

Chapter III and Chapter IV details the research design and analysis methodology. I explicitly explain the limitations encountered in the field and during the analysis, and the adaptations made. Regarding the analysis methodology, I provide an in-depth overview of how I analyzed the quantitative and qualitative data to make the study's findings clear and replicable.

Chapter V presents the demographic information of respondents. In particular I disaggregate the data according to family status, gender, international migration background, year of arrival, legal status, ethnicity, country of origin and nationality. Given the diversity of respondents in the study, such demographic data provides important clarity and context for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter VI and VII contain the findings and the proceeding discussion. Flowing from the research question and hypothesis, the findings are organized according to labor market experience (employment, education, outlook on labor market); social connections (language, connection to individuals and organizations) and outlook on integration. Certain variables, such as country of

origin, at times differentiated respondents' experiences in the measured outcomes. As a result, the findings are further subdivided into difference makers, (i.e. family status, gender and other variables). Furthermore, respondents often reported similar experiences regardless of their identities or characteristics. In light of these general trends, each section begins with a brief overview of the overarching situation of respondents in the particular integration category (labor market experience; social connections; outlook on integration). The discussion melds the scholarship discussed in the literature review with the research findings. Interacting with the literature in the discussion allows for a more robust analysis, as well as provides a theoretical underpinning for the research findings.

I conclude with programmatic, advocacy and research recommendations for refugee stakeholders.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent decades, integration has become a critical policy objective for many European governments (Eriksson et. al 2017; Favell 2010; Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] 2013). However, among governments, as well as within migration studies there exists neither a uniform definition nor a cohesive understanding of integration (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; Castles et. al 2002; Cheung and Phillimore 2017; d’Auria et. al 2018; Hynie 2018; Korac 2003; Phillimore 2012), despite integration as a concept dominating migration policy and scholarship. Recognizing its multiple forms and preferencing particular theories, frameworks and conceptualizations over others is therefore key for transparently analyzing and conducting integration research.

In this chapter, I detail the multi-level legal framework pertaining to minor refugees,¹ which assists their integration by guaranteeing certain rights. I also present key integration frameworks and concepts within the broader migration field that are useful for understanding and analyzing refugee integration. I expand upon this existing literature to conceptualize and differentiate between the integration of unaccompanied and accompanied minor refugees, with the hope of improving future research with and analyses on these populations. Throughout the literature review, I provide examples from the scholarship, which animate the previous frameworks and concepts. Finally, I conclude by presenting the most recent data on protected persons and asylum seekers in Austria.

The research I conducted focused on those individuals who: (1) resided in *or* who have the nationality from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria; (2) received some form of international protection from the Austrian government; and (3) arrived as asylum-seeking older minors. As a result, throughout the analysis, I pay particular attention to integration studies within Europe and Austria, as well as those which focused on minor refugees and minor protected persons from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria.

MINOR PROTECTED PERSONS: RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS AFTER ARRIVAL

There does not exist any right to integrate within international, European/EU, Austrian or Viennese law. Nonetheless there are various rights and obligations possessed by protected

¹ Within this work, I use the definition of refugee used by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' which is broader than the legal definition of a refugee. "A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so," (What is a Refugee? 2018). Those persons who receive refugee status according to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its Additional Protocol are referred to as either Convention refugees or recipients of Convention status throughout this work.

persons within Vienna which, once accessed and summed, may be understood to constitute a functional right, or even an obligation, to integrate. The below presents those rights and obligations that are enshrined within international, regional and national instruments, originating from human rights and refugee law. I do not cover asylum law as the research did not include asylum seekers. Instead, I focus on the rights and obligations held by minors, States, asylum-seekers and protected persons which facilitate refugee integration. I begin with a brief overview of important definitions.

Important Definitions

The migrant population in Austria is heterogeneous. It consists of many different nationalities, ethnicities, religions, races, socioeconomic backgrounds, educational backgrounds, migratory histories, migration statuses, legal statuses, experiences, genders, identities, political beliefs, family statuses, health statuses, ages, goals, capabilities and needs. Such differences not only differentiate migrants definitionally from one another, but also serve as important rationales for programs and policies differing along such groupings.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines a migrant as “any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away for his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of the (1) person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is,” (*Key Migration Terms* 2019). An incredible variety of persons, from slaves to tourists, are thus considered migrants. Protected persons represent a subset of a subset of such migrants, themselves part of the larger forced migrant population. IOM defines forced migrants as those individuals whose migratory movement involves an element of coercion, including threats to life and livelihood; regardless if such coercion arises from natural or man-made causes (Bauloz, Emmanuel and Sironi 2019, 75). The degree of coercion involved in forced migration necessitates understanding such populations as lying on a spectrum, with slaves and economic migrants typically serving as opposite bookends of this group.

To understand protected persons, one must further contextualize this group among Convention refugees, asylum seekers, and recipients of subsidiary protection. The definitions provided below come from Directive 2011/95/EU, IOM and Austrian law.

- *Convention status*: According to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Additional Protocol (Refugee Convention) a refugee is any person who, “owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it,” (Refugee Convention 1951, chap. 1 art. 1[a]2).
- *subsidiary protection status*: A person who has received subsidiary protection is a “third-country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm...and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of

that country,” (2011/95/EU 2011, chap. 1, art. 2[f]). Serious harm includes: (1) the death penalty or execution; (2) torture or inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment; and (3) serious and individual threat to an individual’s life due to indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict (2011/95/EU 2011).

- *asylum seeker*: Within EU and Austrian law, an asylum seeker is understood to be any person who makes a request for international protection from a Member State (i.e. seeks refugee status or subsidiary protection status) and has yet to receive a final decision (2011/95/EU 2011).
- *protected person*: A protected person is any person who has received international protection; namely any person who has been granted Convention status or subsidiary protection status (2011/95/EU 2011).

International and Regional Instruments

International and regional law relating to minor protected persons consists of international refugee law, EU refugee law, international humanitarian law, international and European/EU human rights law, international criminal law and domestic law, with no hierarchy established between the international sources (Kumin and Nicholson 2017). In regard to integration, international refugee law, international human rights law, European/EU human rights law and Austrian law are the most relevant. The integration of protected persons is thus the subject of three partially overlapping sources of law: international and regional human rights law, which extends to all persons within a State’s territory or under a State’s authority or jurisdiction as affirmed by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the specific rights of refugees, and additional domestic laws pertaining to protected persons.

International Refugee Law

The Refugee Convention and the Directive 2011/95/EU secure that protected persons have specific rights, which facilitate their integration into the host society. Such “integration” rights include, but are not limited to: the right to freedom of religious practice and religious education; to public elementary education; to benefit from public relief and social security including sick leave, maternity, disability, unemployment and pensions schemes; to benefit from labor regulations; to access courts and legal assistance; and to artistic rights and patent rights equal to that of nationals, as well as the right to acquire movable and immovable property; to secondary and tertiary education; to identity papers and travel documents; to self-employment; to choice of residence and freedom of movement; of association; to wage-earning employment; to housing; and to liberal professions to a degree as favorable as possible but no less than foreigners generally (Kumin and Nicholson 2017, 202). Refugee law also obligates protected persons to comply with the existing laws, regulations and measures of their host country.

International and Regional Human Rights Law

Important international and regional instruments which together partially constitute a functional right to integration are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities; the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its Protocols; the European Social Charter; and the EU Charter of Fundamental

Rights. Through such instruments, protected persons are guaranteed a range of rights which complement, as well as reaffirm the “integration” rights found in refugee law, such as the right to choice of residence and freedom of movement (ICCPR 1966, art. 12); to gain a living through work freely accepted (ICESCR 1966, art. 6); to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services (UDHR 1948, art. 25); and to freedom of association with others (ICCPR 1966, art. 22).

The specific branch of international human rights law relating to child rights also governs the rights of minor refugees from arrival until they reach the age of maturity (within the EU 18). The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989) and its Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (OP-CRC) (2000) apply to all children regardless of migration status and highlights the four basic tenets of child rights, namely: the principle of non-discrimination; the principle of the best interests of the child; the right to life and to survival and development; and the right to be heard (Kumin and Nicholson 2017, 24). Of particular importance are the specific rights to physical and intellectual development; to free and compulsory primary education; to adequate food; to the highest available standard of health; and to family life and family unity (CRC 1989). State Parties to the OP-CRC also have an obligation to take all appropriate measures in order to promote the physical, psychological and social reintegration of children who have been victims of armed conflict; as well as to take appropriate measures to ensure the protection of those children who have received protected status or are seeking such status (2000). Such rights and obligations comprise a de-facto partial right to integrate for minor refugees.

Austrian and Viennese Law

The below details the Austrian and Viennese laws relating to the integration of minor protected persons. It also provides a detailed analysis of the different integration landscapes for those minors and adults who have received Convention and those who have received subsidiary protection status.

Austrian Integration: Forced Integration Behaviors

While Austria upholds many of the international and regional standards on minor protected persons’ rights and obligations previously discussed, it nonetheless possesses its own legislation in regard to integration. Particularly with the election of the far-right, anti-migrant party, the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) in 2017, protected persons in Austria now face a de-facto obligation, rather than a right, to integrate.

The provisions and language of the Integration Act (2018) legislate the position of the FPÖ, and its governing partner the Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP), that integration (1) is an obligation, (2) must occur quickly and (3) the migrant’s burden. For example, the Act explicitly sets forth that migrants have an “obligation” to “actively participate in the integration process,” (2018, pt. 1 art. 1[1]). For those persons who received international protection from age 15 or older, this process includes mandatory language and value orientation courses. Moreover, the Act lays out punitive measures for those migrants who violate the obligatory measures designed to achieve such “integration.” Such punishments include fines and reduced social support. The act further requires protected persons who arrived after December 2014 to sign a legally binding integration declaration (Integrationserklärung) (see Appendix A), whereby they promise to fulfill their integration obligations. The Act also emphasizes that migrants must integrate “quickly” (2018, pt. 1 art. 1[1]). It sets forth that “the *rapid* achievement of the ability to earn one’s living [emphasis added]” is critical for enabling persons to participate in Austrian society (2018, pt. 1 art. 2[2]).

Furthermore, the “Austrian” society into which migrants must integrate has values and principles which are “not debatable” and preserving such values is one “objective” of the Act (2018, pt. 1 art. 1[2]). The Act clearly does not espouse the two-way integration process supported by scholars and many migration stakeholders. The burden falls on migrants to adapt to the FPÖ and ÖVP conception of integration.

The Integration Landscape for Recipients of Convention and Subsidiary Protection Status

Those persons who have received Convention or subsidiary protection status within Austria are protected persons. Nonetheless, these statuses are two distinct forms of protection that entail their own rights and opportunities. The following tables compare the legal and financial realities of the two groups. Many Austrian provinces have implemented measures which restrict protected persons’ rights to state support, in particular those who have received subsidiary protection. If there exists province discrepancies, the Vienna policy is provided.

Table 1: Rights of Protected Persons by Status

Rights	Convention Status	Subsidiary Protection Status
Right of Residence	permanent residency status	permanent residency status (Vienna)
Renewal Procedure	three years → review/renewal → unlimited	one year → review/renewal every two years
Pathway to Citizenship	modified citizenship requirements, can apply for Austrian citizenship after six years	no modified citizenship requirements, cannot use the time under subsidiary protection to qualify for citizenship
Right to Family Reunification	immediately upon status conferral	after the second extension of status; (i.e. earliest three years after initial status conferral)
Right to State Support	entitled to the same needs-based social benefit as all Austrians	state support is added to the Refugee Basic Care so subsidiary protection receive the same money as Convention (885.47€) just from two different sources (Vienna)
	entitled to family and child care allowances	entitled to family and child care allowances
	n/a	entitled to Refugee Basic Care
Right to Work	unrestricted	unrestricted
Right to Public Housing	entitled to social and subsidized housing	although varies, generally not entitled to social and subsidized housing

Sources: Federal Asylum Act 2016; *Grundversorgung in Wien* 2019; Lukits 2016.

Table 2: Maximum Money Received from State (per month)

Benefits	Unaccompanied Minor	Accompanied Minor	Adult	
Needs-Based Social Benefit (Convention & subsidiary)	885.47€ (sub: 885.47 – Refugee Basic Care = 520.47€)	0€	single	885.47€
			pair	1,328.20€
			per child	239.08€
Refugee Basic Care ² (subsidiary)	365€	0€	single	365€
			pair	580€
			per child	100€
Refugee Basic Care (subsidiary if in organized housing)	220.50€/person			

Source: Grundversorgung in Wien 2019.

While the integration landscape remains comparable for both recipients, those who have received subsidiary protection remain in a more precarious legal position than their Convention peers. Many of those with subsidiary protection status spoke during the research about the stress and insecurity engendered by the omnipresent review and renewal process. At times participants connected their tenuous status with a lack of motivation to invest long-term in Austria, with such findings corroborated by the literature (Chahrokh 2015). In Vienna, those with subsidiary protection status and those with Convention status receive an equal amount of financial support from the state. However, this remains unique to Vienna and Tyrol (another province in Austria), as other provinces exclude persons with subsidiary protection status from accessing this benefit. As a result, Vienna is particularly attractive to subsidiary protection recipients seeking greater financial security. The research underlines such analysis. In the study, 64 percent of subsidiary protection respondents reported migrating to Vienna, compared to 35 percent of Convention status respondents (see figure J.6).

² Includes maximum 150€ for clothes per person per year and 200€ for education fees per student (<18) per year (Grundversorgung in Wien 2019)

KEY FRAMEWORKS AND CONCEPTS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND ANALYZING REFUGEE INTEGRATION

Defining Integration

Integration as an aspect of migration is controversial and fraught with disagreement (Castles et. al 2002; Crisp 2004; d’Auria, Daher and Rohde 2018; Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx, 2016; Korac 2003; UNHCR 2013). That the definition and form of integration depends heavily on context-specific actors, institutions and systems further exacerbates this chaotic concept (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; Berry 1997; Bronfenbrenner and Morris 2007; Eriksson et. al 2017; Paat 2013; Robinson, 1998). Moreover, the complexity of the integration process lends itself to an inter-disciplinary approach (Castles et. al 2002). The multitude of social-science and scientific disciplines conducting research on integration sows further discord within integration scholarship. To conduct transparent research and analysis on integration, however, a basic understanding of integration must be illuminated, one which provides a useful platform for organizing and understanding integration scholarship.

Stakeholders use a variety of terms alongside integration to express the multi-level transformation engendered by migration. Stephen Castles et. al (2002) and Adrian Favell (2001, 2010, 2013) helpfully list such common terms, such as assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, incorporation, inclusion, exclusion, cohesion, participation, toleration and settlement. The different terms represent similar attempts to conceptualize how societies achieve social cohesion amidst rising diversity and conflict (Favell 2001). John Berry’s theoretical concept categorizes migrant adaptation four ways, with integration as one of the four possible outcomes (1997). According to Berry, integration is when individuals establish relations with the host communities, while maintaining their distinct cultural identity (1997).

Importantly, scholars have begun to arraign the concept of integration in its entirety (Cheung and Phillimore 2017; d’Auria, Daher and Rohde 2018; Favell 2001, 2010, 2013; Phillimore 2012; Squire 2011). In an increasingly globalized, city-centered and diverse world, scholars have specifically critiqued the integration paradigm for upholding outdated monocultural nation-state concepts (Favell 2001, 2010, 2013; Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx 2016); ignoring the increasingly critical role of cities (Alexander 2003; Ardon and Doomernik 2018; Caponio, Scholten and Zapata-Barrero 2017; Doomernik and Glorius 2017); rigidly categorizing identity into pre-defined communities (Phillimore 2012; Squire 2001); being dangerously race and gender blind (Cheung and Phillimore 2017) and placing the burden disproportionately on refugees (d’Auria, Daher and Rohde 2018; Squire 2011). Despite these critiques and disagreements, integration as a term and as a concept continues to influence the actions and goals of both governments and refugees (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; Chahrokh 2013; Ioannidi and Mestheneos 2002), making research on the topic necessary and fruitful.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), a critical player in the international refugee protection regime, states that integration...

is a dynamic and multifaceted two-way process, which requires efforts by all parties concerned, including a preparedness on the part of refugees to adapt to the host society without having to forego their own cultural identity, and a corresponding

readiness on the part of host communities and public institutions to welcome refugees and to meet the needs of a diverse population. The process of local integration is complex and gradual, comprising three distinct but inter-related legal, economic, and social and cultural dimensions, all of which are important for refugees' ability to integrate successfully as fully included members of society. (2007)

The European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) presents a nearly identical definition of integration as a “process of change” which is (1) dynamic and two-way, requiring a preparedness by refugees to adapt to the host community, without necessitating that refugees abandon their cultural identities, as well as a willingness by the host community to facilitate the refugee integration process; (2) long-term, only concluding “when a refugee becomes an active member of that society from a legal, social, economic, educational and cultural perspective;” and (3) is multi-dimensional, relating to refugees’ actual participation in all aspects of life in the host country and the conditions of such participation, as well as refugees’ own perceptions on their acceptance and membership in the society (1999).

These influential definitions espoused by UNHCR and the ECRE represent a widely-accepted understanding of integration. Namely, that it is a long-term, two-way *process* of mutual accommodation between dynamic host communities and refugees (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; Berry 1997; Chahrokh 2013; d’Auria, Daher and Rohde 2018; Hynie 2018; Korac 2001, 2003; Phillimore 2012; UNHCR 2013), which allows refugees equal opportunities to obtain societal resources (Castles et. al 2002; Phillimore 2012) and to participate in all societal dimensions (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; Crisp 2004; Hynie 2018; Phillimore 2012), ultimately achieving social cohesion and nurturing a sense of belonging among refugees (Ager and Strang, 2004, 2008; 2010; Castles et. al 2002; ECRE 1999; Hynie 2018; Kohli 2011; Phillimore 2012; UNHCR 2013). Deduced from the integration scholarship, this definition produces a structure on which further research and analytical work can build. Importantly, it addresses previous critiques of the integration paradigm through emphasizing (1) host communities rather than states or a singular, monolithic community; (2) the mutualism required of integration processes; (3) and that the host communities, as well as refugees continue to evolve throughout the integration process, themselves producing and reproducing ideas of what integration means. While this theoretical concept of integration provides a useful framework, such conceptions idealize the process; in reality, the burden of integration often falls overwhelmingly on refugees, if such a process occurs at all.

Theorizing Refugee Integration

This section offers key frameworks underpinning research and analysis on refugee integration. While I discuss several increasingly popularized in the scholarship, there are many themes that continue to emerge in the literature while remaining outside of any cohesive framework or which deserve special attention. Such specific phenomenon, despite some being unable to stand alone, provide useful insights when attempting to understand and analyze refugee integration. I thus include them in this section.

Dimensions of Refugee Integration

Alastair Ager and Alison Strang “middle-range theory” (Ager and Strang 2008, 167) on the key dimensions of integration provides a theoretical framework for conceptualizing the critical components of integration (see Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010). They propose ten key

integration dimensions (employment, housing, education, health, social bonds, bridges and links, language and cultural knowledge, safety and stability, and rights and citizenship) and four categories (markers and means, social connection, facilitators, foundation) for operationalizing the integration process. “The challenge of any framework seeking to reflect normative understandings of integration is for it to accommodate the diversity of assumptions and values of different settings while retaining some conceptual coherence” (Ager and Strang 2008, 185) Therefore, while the framework proposes relatively ubiquitous domains, the specific context of an integration process negotiates the exact meaning of each domain, making their theory particularly useful across many contexts.

Markers and means are the “public face of integration” (Ager and Strang 2004, 3) and constitute employment, housing, education and health. Integration stakeholders continually recognize such domains and their interconnections as constituting key aspects of integration (Ager and Strang 2008; Castles et. al 2002; Chahrokh 2013; Eggenhofer-Rehart et. al 2018; Fyvie et. al, 2003; Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx 2016; Hynie 2018; Lichtenstein and Puma 2018; Popov and Sureson 2015; UNHCR 2007, 2013). Inspired by social theory, social connection is understood to drive the integration process. The framework divides such connections into the popular social bonds, bridges and links framework. Social bonds refer to those connections within like-groups, such as those which are co-ethnic or co-religious, or within the family; Social bridges refers to the connections amongst these groups; And social links refers to the connections with state structures. Research has shown that social bonds heavily influence integration (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008 and 2010; Dervic et. al 2009, 7; Ioannidi and Mestheneos 2002; UNHCR 2013, 96), as well as social connections more generally (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008 and 2010; Beirens et. al 2007; Çelikaksoy and Wadensjö 2016, 531; Maier, Laireiter and Renner 2012). Importantly not all social connections, particularly social bonds, are positive nor desired by refugees themselves (Ager and Strang 2010, 597; Bacon and Reynolds 2018, 746; European Migration Network [EMN] 2018, 37; Ioannidi and Mestheneos 2002, 314). The research supported in particular this finding, as many respondents did not wish to establish strong intra-community ties (social bonds). Ager and Strang also emphasize specific facilitators in the integration process, namely language and cultural competence and security and stability. Finally, the distinct context in which integration occurs permeates and negotiates the domains of the entire framework (noted by its position at the bottom of the inverse pyramid) as “prevailing notions of nationhood and citizenship determine understandings of integration” (Ager and Strang 2010, 589). For a graphical depiction, see Figure 1 below.

Ager and Strang's Key Dimensions of Integration

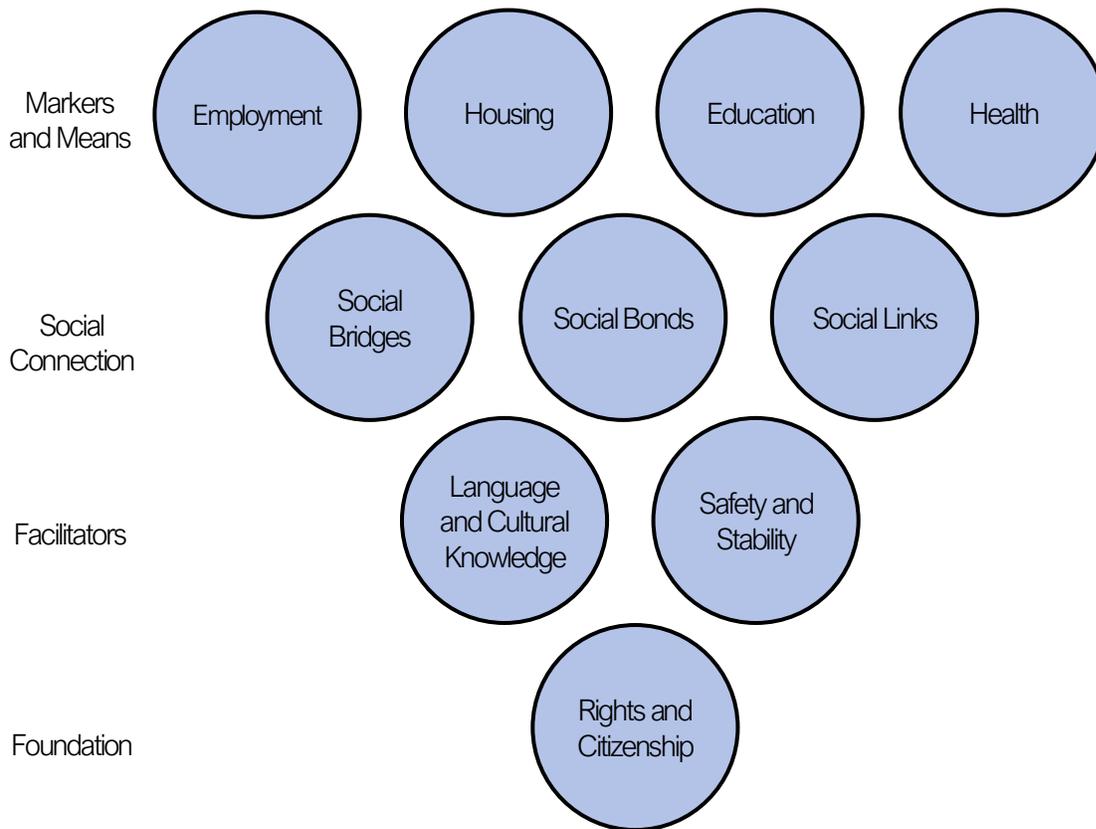


Figure 1: depiction of Ager's and Strang's key domains of integration framework
Sources: Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010

However, this theory must be amended to reflect the existing practice and thought on integration. The division of the ten dimensions into markers and means; social connection; facilitators; and nationhood and citizenship lack clear differentiation. First, the exact difference between means (in markers and means) and facilitators is unclear. Second, the scholarship does not justify treating social connections separately. Specifically, that social connections are not markers represents a misunderstanding of one of the fundamental integration goals and practices of governments and refugees: namely to establish a social space (Anderson 2001; Beirens et. al 2007, 220; Chahrokh 2013, 15; Hynie 2018, 267; Kohli 2011; Phillimore 2012). Third, research does not support differentiating between the markers and facilitators specified. True facilitators should be distinguished by their singular function as influencing, rather than marking integration. For example, while cultural and language competence (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; Beirens et. al 2007, 225; Chahrokh 2013, 15; Cheung and Phillimore 2017, 221; Koppenberg 2014, 66; Paat 2013, 959; Popov and Sureson 2015, 68; UNHCR 2013, 100), as well as security and stability (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010) facilitate integration, they also constitute key integration goals for refugees and governments (Broekaert et. al 2015; Chahrokh 2013, 16; Ioannidi and Mestheneos 2002, 314; Koppenberg 2014, 29; UNHCR 2013, 74). Given their duality, those facilitators chosen by Ager and Strang (language and cultural competence and security and

stability) should thus be understood as domains. Moreover, the enormous impact that psychological health has on integration also indisputably establishes health as a facilitator, rather than a marker, within this framework (Abebe, Hjelde and Lien 2014; Byberg et. al 2018; Chahrokh 2013, 43; Dervic et. al 2009; Ekblad 1993; Ioannidi and Mestheneos 2002; Jani, Ranweiler and Underwood 2016; Lyamouri-Bajja 2014; Maier, Laireiter and Renner 2012). Further, if one understands Ager and Strang's dimensions to represent the key components researchers operationalize to measure integration and through which stakeholders "do" integration, the inclusion of health as a dimension becomes problematic. Viewing positive psychological and physical health as a proxy for or constitutive of positive integration outcomes connotes that refugees who are mentally or physically disabled or disadvantaged cannot fully integrate. While integration and health status are deeply interconnected, health status does not *indicate* integration – it rather facilitates or prevents it. Finally, in light of critiques on integration paradigms that base their analyses on the outdated concept of a mono-cultural nation-state (Favel 2011, 2003, 2013), nationhood and citizenship should be modified to preference either a narrower (city) or broader (multi-national) concept.

To fully reflect practice and research, as well as the multi-dimensional nature and interconnectedness of integration domains, (1) the pyramid structure should rather be cyclical, (2) the markers and means category transformed into simply markers (3) the health dimension as a marker removed, (4) new facilitators conceptualized dually as barriers introduced, (5) the nationhood and citizenship category transformed and (6) characteristics, such as age and gender included within the facilitators/barriers category. The proceeding adjusted diagram (Figure 2) draws on the study and literature review, as well as organizes the discussion in Chapter VII.

Ager and Strang's Key Dimensions of Integration (Adjusted)

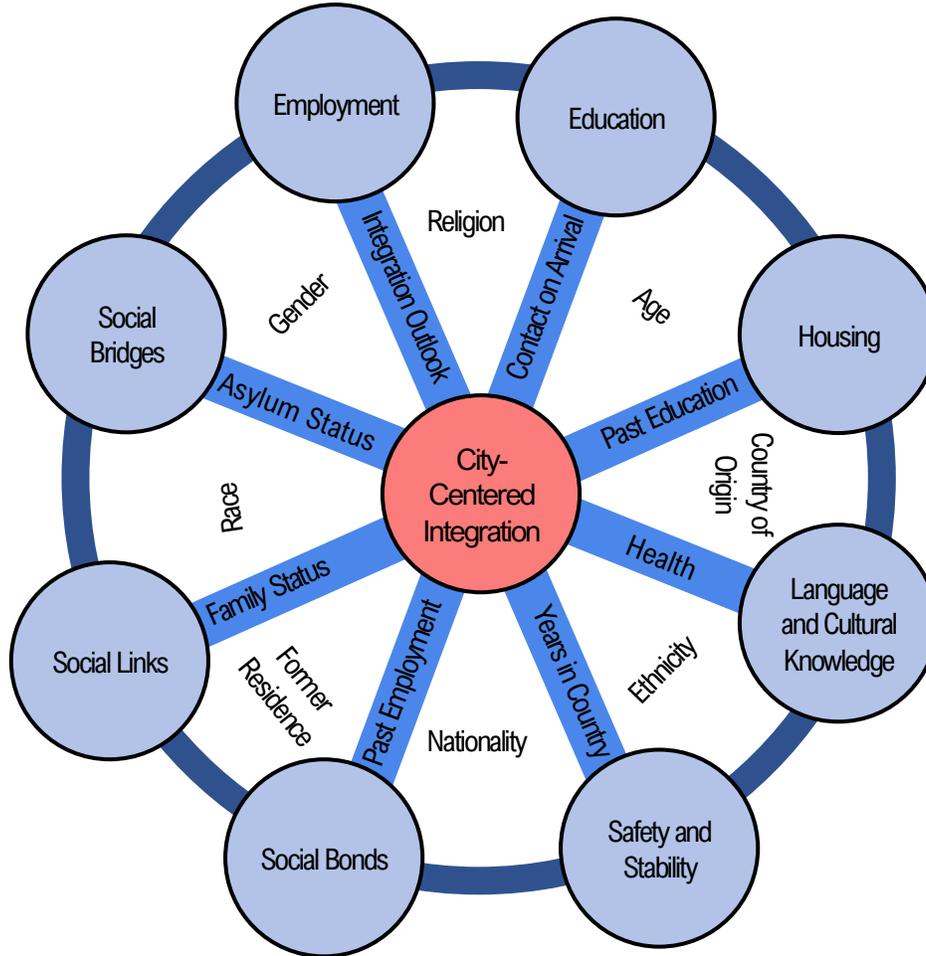


Figure 2: depiction of adjusted Ager's and Strang's framework
Sources: Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010

Categorizing Integration Dimensions

Categorizing integration dimensions is common practice among integration stakeholders. Such groupings often organize and indicate host communities' and refugees' integration priorities. They also represent those integration domains which researchers operationalize. Taken together, these key integration dimensions illuminate the common goals among integration stakeholders. Many others beyond those listed below remain helpful (see spatial: Alexander 2003; Kuhlman 199; religious: Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx 2016; Penninx 2005; and psychological [Berry 1997; Kuhlman 1991]). Additionally, scholars often theorized the following dimensions as part of a specific grouping (see the spatial, economic, social, political, legal, psychological grouping Kuhlman 1991). The below thus represents only an amalgamation of the key categories deployed for operationalizing, organizing and prioritizing integration dimensions.

1) Legal/Political

Integration stakeholders have placed much emphasis on the legal and political dimension of refugee integration (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; Alexander 2003; Castles et. al 2002; Crisp

2004; Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016; Kuhlman 1991; Penninx 2005; Squire 2011; UNHCR 2013). This category often incorporates ideas of citizenship (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; ECRE 1999) and the exercise of full legal rights and responsibilities (ECRE 1999; UNHCR 2005, 2013). Analysis often focuses on refugees' ability to practice active civic engagement, as well as incorporates to what degree host communities regard refugees as members of the civic or political community (Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016; Penninx 2005, UNHCR 2013). Interestingly, however, a recent UNHCR report found that "for most refugees, acquisition of citizenship was more about security and protection than about integration," (UNHCR 2013, 75) indicating that citizenship among refugees may not be an integration goal. The research supported such findings. When participants spoke of their desire to obtain Austrian citizenship, they often referred to it as more useful or practical than the one they currently held. Rarely did participants speak of Austrian citizenship as an emotional symbol of belonging or achievement.

2) Social/Cultural

The subjectivity of the social and cultural processes make it difficult to measure integration in this regard (Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016, 15; UNHCR 2013, 96). The concept, however, continues to dominate the refugee integration literature. It generally refers to refugees acclimatizing, and host communities accommodating them, so that refugees may live amongst or alongside the receiving population without fear of systemic discrimination, intimidation or exploitation, as well as foster refugees' abilities to contribute actively to the social life of their host country (Crisp 2004, 1-2; UNHCR 2013, 15). The integration processes within a social and cultural context aim to build a cohesive and well-functioning society, which necessitates that refugees must empower themselves and be empowered by their host communities "to access those parts of society that the individual wishes to participate in at the moments they wish to do so," (UNHCR 2013, 64). Social and cultural processes generally include education, acquisition of language and cultural knowledge, interactions with cultural spaces, inter- and intra-community connections with individuals, institutions and structures, and housing (Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010; Castles et. al 2002; ECRE 1999; UNHCR 2013).

3) Economic

While also at times paired with social (Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016; Penninx 2005) or referred to simply as employment (UNHCR 2013; ECRE 1999), economic integration saturates the literature. While employment constitutes a significant focus within this category, those aspects which contribute to economic integration are equally as important, such as the right to work and seek employment, vocational training, and recognition of qualifications. Economic integration processes incorporate the effort to achieve and maintain sustainable livelihoods, develop self-reliance and to become less dependent on state structures for assistance (Crisp 2004, 1).

Applied Social-Ecological Systems Theory

Yok-Fong Paat applied the ecological systems theory of child development, originally proposed by Urie Bronfenbrenner, to the migration context (2013). This theory views the child as nested within a series of five environments, namely the (1) microsystem, (2) mesosystem, (3) exosystem and (4) macrosystem and (5) chronosystem. An integration analysis based on this framework understands children's integration through the circumstances surrounding the process (Bacon and Reynolds 2018; Eriksson et. al 2017). Given the influence of the larger exo- and macrosystems, as well as the inner systems on integration processes, Paat views such an ecological systems analysis as crucial (2013); Omitting information on the larger institutional and

systemic influences impacting integration processes (exo- and macrosystems), he argues, risks misunderstanding the target population of integration programs (2013, 962).

The ecological systems must be understood and defined relationally as they are a constellation of systems, which in their entirety produce insights into children's integration experiences (Paat 2013). The microsystem constitutes those groups, institutions and individuals which immediately impact children's development (Eriksson et. al 2017, 146) and where refugees' immediate socialization occurs (Paat 2013). Examples include the family, school, peers, and religious institutions. The mesosystem encompasses the connections between microsystems, such as the connection between family and peers or the school and religious institutions. The exosystem constitutes the larger institutions and social systems, which impact the child and in which the child indirectly functions, but on which the child has no discernible impact nor has the power to influence, such as a refugee's neighborhood (Paat 2013). The macrosystem refers to the overarching beliefs, values and contexts which encapsulate children's lives (Eriksson et. al 2017). Finally, the chronosystem refers to the historical period, as well as life period of the refugee (Paat 2013).

Several benefits emerge from considering the larger context of children's integration through this framework. First, it highlights the responsibilities shared between host communities and refugees. Through emphasizing the exo- and macrosystems, which governments and institutions control, the framework encapsulates the importance of systems within the integration process. Additionally, with many refugees entering or approaching adulthood, Bronfenbrenner's theoretical construct of the chronosystem may assist scholars and stakeholders in framing this transition and operationalizing it for research. Such research is increasingly topical given there exists evidence that reaching the age of majority incites new vulnerabilities for many refugees (Lyamouri-Bajja 2014). Moreover, the microsystem's dominance argues for the significance of family within the integration experience. Such assumptions have been supported by recent research on the role of the family in refugee integration (Anderson 2001; Çelikaksoy and Wadensjö 2016; Chahrokh 2013; De Hart, Nissen and Strik 2012; EMN 2018, 37; Ioannidi and Mestheneos 2002, 307), particularly regarding its influence on refugees' psychological health (Byberg et. al 2018:444; Dervic et. al 2009, 7; Friborg et. al 2018, 52; Kalverboer et. al 2016; Montgomery 2010, 479). Structuring the refugee integration according to the framework may help stakeholders more deeply understand, analyze and organize refugees' integration experiences.

Difference Makers

Family, gender, age, health, visible differences and religion permeate refugees' integration experiences. They also interact with each other. While other aspects, such as housing and legal status affect integration processes, family, gender, age, health, visible difference and religion are particularly unique for influencing and preventing integration without constituting key achievements within in the integration processes. Identifying these cross-cutting issues illuminates important avenues of investigation and analysis for integration stakeholders.

1) Family

Family status impacts the integration of refugee minors (Ioannidi and Mestheneos 2002, 307; Paat 2013). Whether it is family members themselves or their absence, family status comprises a critical influence on refugee integration. Much work has focused on how lacking parents, or lacking family entirely, negatively impacts the psychological health of unaccompanied asylum-seeking and refugee minors (Abdelhady et. al 2018; Bean et. al 2007; Byberg et. al 2018; Dervic et. al 2009, 7;

Favel, et. al, 2012; Friberg et. al 2018, 52). However, a growing amount of research tempers this consensus. Studies have found that refugee minors who arrive with their parents or are reunited with them experience both integration challenges and benefits because of the presence of their family (Ager and Strang 2010, 597; Anderson 2001, 191-192; Çelikaksoy and Wadensjö 2016, 534-535; Chahrokh 2013, 43; De Hart, Nissen and Strik 2012, 64; Ekblad 1993, 159; EMN 2018, 37; Kalverboer et. al 2016, 197; Montgomery 2010, 479). Moreover, “when looking at the situation upon arrival, next to nothing is known of the rearing environment of minor refugees” (Kalverboer et. al 2016, 198). Further research should be conducted to gain a richer understanding of the dynamics of family integration.

2) Gender

The merging of refugee and gender studies is still nascent, and there exists few studies which specifically disaggregate according to gender (Cheung and Phillimore 2017). Too often female immigrants are conglomerated with female refugees (Freedman 2009, 49; Liebig, 2018:8-9). Moreover, the difference of single female refugees compared to those who arrived with their partners or single male refugees is stark; Researchers thus must further disaggregate data to account for this reality (Freedman 2009, 51). Yet despite the lack of rigorous quantitative data specific to female refugees, many studies have found differences in language acquisition, social connections, housing, and labor market performance amongst refugees according to gender (Bock-Schappelwein and Huber 2015; Chahrokh 2013; Cheung and Phillimore 2017; Freedman 2009; Liebig, 2018; UNHCR 2009, 2013), with females generally performing worse than males (Freedman 2009; Lichtenstein and Puma 2018, 1).

For example, the evidence indicates that women face additional barriers accessing language courses due to child-care restrictions, previous lack of education in their country of origin, lack of personal freedom and lack of desire to enroll in such courses (Chahrokh 2013, 37,51; Cheung and Phillimore 2017, 215; Freedman 2009, 51-53; Liebig, 2018, 26-27). Lower language attainment is particularly damaging considering that evidence indicates women are uniquely influenced by their language abilities (UNHCR 2013, 90) and that language knowledge generally is an important integration tool. Evidence indicating women experience a surge in fertility rates once arriving in the host country (Liebig 2018, 29) further underscores that in particular the lack of child-care support for refugee communities disproportionately impacts the language attainment, and thus the integration outcomes, of women and girls.

The double discrimination endured by female refugees in the labor market because of their gender and foreign status is also well-documented (Freedman 2009, 50-51; Liebig, 2018, 9,21; Sansonetti 2016, 34-35). Moreover, data analyzed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) indicated that women have lower employment rates at the start of the integration process and their labor market integration proceeds at a slower pace, although notably continuing while men’s progress tended to halt (Liebig 2018, 21). The research corroborated the OECD findings on slow labor market integration. In the study, female respondents were significantly more likely to have never worked in Austria than their male counterparts. Moreover, they reported severe labor market discrimination related to their choice to wear a headscarf. Such discrimination was at times so extreme and rampant that female respondents reported switching career paths, having decided that their desired job was unattainable.

Despite the clear challenges faced by women and girls, the gendered picture of integration remains complex. For example, studies reveal conflicting evidence on the gendered differences

concerning psychological health (Dervic et. al 2009; Fazel et. al 2012; Friborg et. al 2018, 58; Kasper et. al 2018; Liebig 2018, 30), as well as regarding the establishment of social networks (Cheung and Phillimore 2017, 219; Liebig 2018, 29). Further research is thus needed to gather more knowledge on the gendered nature of refugees' experiences.

3) Age

Age impacts refugee integration (UNHCR 2009). Its significance originates from the preferential treatment minors receive under the multi-level international refugee protection regime, as well as the social-biological consequences of aging. Among respondents in the study, almost all reported that being a minor was a significant benefit in regard to integration. The textbook example of "youth advantage" would be in regard to language acquisition: older age upon arrival and thus likely increased difficulty in acquiring the host language clearly presents a higher integration challenge.

Beyond the age upon arrival, the ongoing process of aging for minors profoundly influences the integration process. In one UNHCR report, those who were approaching adulthood or who already became adults reported negative psychological effects because of the social and legal transformations accompanying this transition (Lyamouri-Bajja 2014). These effects were specifically associated with increased stress in regard to finding employment, perceived jeopardization of legal status, fear of deportation, diminished access to specialized care and loss of guardian or caretaker. Research also suggests that refugees and asylum seekers have their access to education undermined upon entering or approaching adulthood (Lyamouri-Bajja 2014; UNHCR 2013, 38), likely engendering further vulnerabilities. Interestingly, one study found that the deterioration of minor refugees' psychological health was particular to unaccompanied minors (Abdelhady et. al 2018), indicating the family may play a key role in assisting refugees' entrance into adulthood.

4) Health

As explained previously, psychological health influences refugees' integration (Abebe, Hjelde and Lien 2014; Byberg et. al 2018; Chahrokh 2013, 43; Dervic et. al 2009; Ekblad 1993; Ioannidi and Mestheneos 2002; Lyamouri-Bajja 2014; Maier, Laireiter and Renner 2012). Recent research has demonstrated that refugees' feelings about their own experiences in host communities (Dervic et. al 2009, 7; Korac 2003, 53; Jane et. al, 2015), as well as in their past (Beiser 2006) impacts integration processes. Jayshree Jani, Jessica Ranweiler and Dawnya Underwood, who approached minor refugees' experiences within host communities from a standpoint of resiliency, highlighted the importance of hope in refugee youth's well-being, as well as in encouraging greater civic engagement (2016, 1199). Furthermore, sealing the past and looking towards the future (Beiser 2006; Dervic et. al 2009, 7), as well as conversely reflecting upon past experiences and connecting them to a higher power (Dervic et. al 2009, 7) were indicative of more positive psychological health. Interestingly, in the research some unaccompanied respondents increasingly distanced themselves from the family and culture they had left behind, perhaps demonstrative of a sealing of the past. While the literature continues to grow on the psychological health of refugees and its relationship to integration processes, there remains a large gap in the research on how refugees with disabilities or who suffer from physical illnesses experience integration.

5) Visible Differences

Refugees are heterogeneous, both in their skills, histories and invisible identities, but also in their visible identities — their visible differences (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007). The literature on refugee integration emphasizes racial discrimination. Moreover, it is generally accepted that those who look visibly different from the majority population within a country face increased discrimination (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA] 2017a, 2017b, 2018). However, there exists few studies which explicitly compare the integration experiences of refugee groups of dissimilar visible differences, controlling for other variables, and even less which examine visible differences beyond race; gender at times constituting an exception. Stakeholders thus have a limited understanding of how such visible differences impact refugees' diverse integration experiences.

A recent pan-EU survey by FRA indicates that individuals of migrant backgrounds experience different levels of discrimination according to their race and/or region of origin (FRA 2017a, 30-31). Supplementary reports indicated black individuals experienced higher rates of discrimination based on ethnic or migration background (FRA 2018, 17) than their Muslims counterparts (FRA 2017b, 26). Similarly, individuals from Africa were generally more likely to experience discrimination based on ethnic or migration background than other regions of the world (FRA 2017a, 31). Moreover, Muslims from Africa were significantly more likely to experience discrimination based on ethnic or migration background than Muslims from other regions of origin (FRA 2017b, 28). The FRA reports, based on its pan-EU survey, indicate that race doubly disadvantages migrants, leading many African migrants to face a more challenging integration landscape.

Additional studies corroborate these findings. African refugees in the United States were more likely to experience discrimination than their Eastern European counterparts, even when controlling for confounding factors (Hadley and Patil 2009). Additionally, those refugees with the most visible differences in Australia, namely those from Africa and the Middle East, had the largest difficulties integrating into the labor market compared to their ex-Yugoslav peers (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007). The hypothesis that migrants experience differing levels of discrimination according to their degree of visibility (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007), and thus navigate a unique integration landscape, seems to have resonance. In order to further examine and flush out the integration impacts of visible differences further research is required.

6) Religion

Religion may constitute a visible difference. For example, Muslim women and girls may choose to wear a head scarf or an individual may have a distinctly Muslim name. At other times religion remains invisible, but nonetheless influences a refugee's integration experience. Religion thus deserves attention separate from the previous category. Researchers recognize religion's positive impact on refugees' lives, particularly in regard to mental health (Dervic et. al 2009, 7; Halpern, Shoeb and Weinstein 2007; Goździak 2002; Goździak and Shandy 2002; Pandya 2018). Importantly, positive mental health is seen as critical for integration, a belief also supported by key informants in the research. It thus seems that religion for refugees, regardless of whether it aligns with the majority of a host country's population, may constitute an important integration tool insofar as it encourages positive mental health. Conversely, however, the immense body of literature on migrants in Europe emphasizes the integration problems and conflicts caused by migrants' non-Christian religions, in particular Islam (Alba and Foner 2008, 361). Even among scholarly debates, Islam is overwhelmingly viewed as an integration inhibitor (Alba and Foner 2008, 368). The

evidence that religion correlates with positive mental health and thus may encourage integration nonetheless contests the public perception that Islam correlates negatively with integration.

There exists little comparative research isolating the impact of different religions on migrants' integration experiences, particularly from race (Banerjee et. al 2009). The few studies, which have investigated how different religions impact refugees' integration experiences or have isolated religions' impacts have reached conflicting conclusions. In a study conducted in Canada, religious minorities experienced slower integration trajectories because of their racial status not their religion. Moreover, high religiosity impacted integration insofar as it was related to ethnic community ties (Banerjee et. al 2009). A quantitative study conducted in Austria corroborated this conclusion, providing evidence that the majority-Muslim refugee population did not possess opinions and beliefs which would necessarily prevent integration (Buber-Ennser, Isabella et. al 2018). However, a study conducted in Minnesota with Muslim and Christian Somalis contradicts these studies, finding that religion served as an integration bridge for Christian Somalis and an isolating force for Muslim Somalis (Fennelly and Shandy 2006). To more fully understand the influence of different religions on integration outcomes, specifically how Muslim and Christian refugees may be experiencing integration differently within Europe, more robust research is required.

APPLYING THEORY: UNACCOMPANIED AND ACCOMPANIED MINORS

The above rights, theories, frameworks and concepts indicate that the integration experiences of unaccompanied and accompanied minors occur in unique integration landscapes. The opportunities and rights uniquely conferred to minors based on their family status, as well the social consequences flowing from being unaccompanied or accompanied engenders these individual landscapes. It thus follows that both being unaccompanied and accompanied, as well as receiving these different statuses impact the integration outcomes of protected persons who arrived as minors.

The below supports this theoretical conclusion by presenting one study which compared the integration experiences of these two populations.

Research Animating Theory: Study on Unaccompanied and Accompanied Minors

Although there exists robust research comparing the psychological health of unaccompanied and accompanied minors, I was able to find only one study, which compared the two populations in regard to integration outcomes (Çelikaksoy and Wadensjö 2016). The study's authors theorized that unaccompanied and accompanied minors in Sweden endured the same challenges in the labor market with regard to demand-side factors yet differed in regard to vulnerabilities that were status-specific, such as unaccompanied minors' absence of a family. The authors found that when controlling for sex, age, country of origin and education, unaccompanied minors were more likely to be employed by 7.7 percent and earn gross 10 percent more than their accompanied counterparts. They explained this difference as a consequence of their more regular contact with Swedish society which flowed from their differential legal and social treatment, as well as their forced active participation in matters related to their situation (Çelikaksoy and Wadensjö 2016, 543). Although a single study, it corroborated my own findings that unaccompanied respondents achieve certain integration outcomes more quickly as a result of their family-status.

UNDERSTANDING PROTECTED PERSONS IN AUSTRIA

Data on Protected Persons in Austria

Between 2013 and 2017, over 4 million extra-EU persons filed asylum applicants within the EU. Austria received roughly 200,000 of these 4 million applicants, establishing it as the third highest receiving country on a per-capita basis (eurostat migr_asyappctza) (see Figure 1 in Appendix B). In comparison, it would be as if the United States received 7.5 million asylum applications. These data provide a rough estimate of the forced migrants present in Austria *and* who applied for asylum. However, it is critical to separate forced migrants between those who have received international protection and those who have not. Particularly in light of recent Austrian laws, those with international protection face a profoundly different integration landscape than those without (Federal Asylum Act 2016). The below presents the most recent data on protected persons and asylum seekers in Austria, with further disaggregation regarding age, country of origin, family status and gender. Given the population sampled, data on those who arrived from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria as older minors, meaning between the ages of 14 and 17, are most relevant.

Unless otherwise stated, the data describe extra-EU asylum applicants and protected persons in Austria from 2013 to 2017. I gathered and analyzed data from eurostat, the statistical agency of the European Commission. All information below, as well as the data in the corresponding appendix (Appendix B) come from three metadata sets (eurostat migr_asyappctza, migr_asydcfsta and migr_asyunaa).

Age

As the literature review argues, disaggregating data by age is critical when examining integration given its influence on such processes. Protected persons in Austria are mostly adults, with minors accounting for 38 percent of applications and 37 percent of total decisions (eurostat migr_asyappctza) (see Figure 3 in Appendix B). Age appears to impact the rate of positive decisions,³ with younger minors having a positive decision rate⁴ more than double that of older minors; 56 and 26 percent accordingly (see Figure 3 in Appendix B). Adults have a positive decision rate of 34 percent. The phenomena of waiting in limbo for an asylum decision, spoken of at length in the literature and confirmed in this research, seems to be specific to older minors. Older minors have a pending decision rate of 67 percent, 100 percent more than younger minors (31 percent) and 50 percent more than adults (41 percent) (see Figure 3 in Appendix B) (eurostat migr_asyappctza and migr_asydcfsta).

³ According to eurostat, positive decisions are applicants who received Convention status, subsidiary protection status, or a third form of protection, generally categorized as humanitarian protection. However, such humanitarian protection constitutes only 2 percent of total positive decisions in the EU and is not significant.

⁴ Eurostat did not collect data on the rate of positive, negative or pending decisions. The statistics on rate of decisions was thus calculated by dividing the total amount of asylum applications of a certain group (eurostat migr_asyappctza) by the total positive decisions, negative decisions or pending decisions (itself calculated by taking the amount of asylum applications for a given group and subtracting from it the number of positive and negative decisions) of the same group (eurostat migr_asydcfsta) received between 2013 and 2017 in Austria. These data represent an estimate as it is possible that those who received positive decisions between this time period, applied before 2013. However, given the spike in asylum applicants from 2015 onwards, it is unlikely that such applicants would significantly change the positive decision rates. However, eurostat did collect data on total amount of positive decisions received between 2013 and 2017 in Austria along various groupings. Importantly, there was no data available regarding positive decisions according to family status.

Age also appears to impact the decision to leave with a parent(s) or a guardian(s) or alone. Younger minors are overwhelmingly accompanied (97 percent).⁵ The majority of older minors, however, are unaccompanied, with 61 percent arriving without a parent(s) or guardian(s) (see Figure 4 in Appendix B). It is important to note that unaccompanied minors, whether younger or older, are overwhelmingly male (see Figure 4 in Appendix B) (eurostat migr_asyunaa).

Country of Origin

The asylum process, and by consequence the integration landscape, differ depending on the applicant's country of origin. Overall, 46 percent of minor applicants have received a positive decision, 12 percent a negative decision and 42 percent have yet to receive a decision in Austria (eurostat migr_asyappctza and migr_asydcfsta). These data vary significantly, however, depending on whether an applicant comes from Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria. For example, applicants from Syria constitute 52 percent of total minor positive decisions compared to just 29 percent of total minor applications. Syrian applicants also receive a positive decision 83 percent of the time and receive a negative decision only rarely (1 percent). Importantly, they also overwhelmingly receive Convention status (94 percent), thus facing a more secure integration landscape (see Figure 2 in Appendix B). Minor applicants from Afghanistan are the most common (33 percent) (see Figure 2 in Appendix B), yet only make up 19 percent of total minor positive decisions and 22 percent of total minor decisions more generally. As result, the painful phenomena of living in legal limbo as a result of a pending decision is particularly acute for those minor applicants from Afghanistan. While these applicants have a positive decision rate of 26 percent, with this roughly evenly split between Convention and subsidiary protection status, the vast majority of minor applicants from Afghanistan have yet to receive a decision (61 percent) (see Figure 2 in Appendix B). Although not as dire, those minor applicants from Iraq face a similar situation, with only 50 percent having received a decision (35 percent positive, 15 percent negative) (see Figure 2 in Appendix B) (eurostat migr_asyappctza and migr_asydcfsta). The research further underlined this reality with individuals with an Afghan nationality on average waiting almost 18 months for asylum and Syrians in comparison waiting a little over seven. Those who had resided in Afghanistan before leaving for Europe waited even longer — almost 20 months.

Despite the official data proving that many asylum applicants may wait in legal limbo for years, Austria formally denies this reality. According to the government, in 2019 the average application for asylum takes under 3 months (*Bundesamt für Fremdwesen und Asyl* 2019). In 2018, they insisted on a similarly short duration — 6 months (Evelyn Paternel 2018. *Asyl: Weniger Flüchtlinge, immer längere Verfahren. Der Kurier*, April 20.). However, such numbers are incredibly dubious. A news article reporting on the Interior Ministry's own survey on asylum duration found that only 40 percent of asylum applicants are given decisions within 6 months; the average was actually around 16 months (Paternel 2018). One key informant speculated that the applications by unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors were delayed “deliberately” so Austria could deport such persons at 18. The Vienna refugee coordinator and leader of the Fonds Soziales Wien in 2016 also reported to a news outlet that the government purposefully delayed granting international protection to unaccompanied minors until they were adults. He believes, however, that it was so such persons would no longer be able to make a claim for family reunification under EU law (Ulrike Weiser and Eva Winroither 2016. *Asyl: 'Kein Zufall, dass Verfahren so lange dauern.'* *Die Presse*,

⁵ Eurostat did not disaggregate data by family status. All statistics comparing asylum applicants according to family status were calculated by subtracting data on unaccompanied minors (eurostat migr_asyunaa) from the data on minor applicants overall (eurostat migr_asyappctza).

December 12.), despite recent jurisprudence undermining this tactic (Bartolini 2018). The research once again supported such reports of disproportionate and discriminatory delays for unaccompanied minors, although the reason still remains unclear; Of those survey respondents who reported on their asylum duration, unaccompanied minors received a positive decision on average after 16 months, while accompanied minors after 12.

Family Status

Family status impacts the integration experience of protected persons. Importantly, while 78 percent of all minor asylum applicants are accompanied, the majority of older minors are unaccompanied (61 percent) (see Figure 4 in Appendix B) (eurostat asyappctza and migr_asyunaa). The data thus indicate that older minors specifically may experience a diversity of integration processes as a result of their heterogeneous family statuses. The country of origin also has a relationship with the family status of the applicant. The majority of unaccompanied minors are from Afghanistan (63 percent), with only 10 percent coming from Syria and 3 percent from Iraq (see Figure 6 in Appendix B) (eurostat migr_asyunaa). Unfortunately, no data disaggregating asylum decisions by family status was found.

Gender

Similar to age, gender permeates all aspects of the integration process. Minor asylum applicants are typically perceived as male, yet the data prove there exists greater gender parity than originally assumed. For example, 32 percent of protected older minors in Austria are female and 68 percent male (see Figure 5 in Appendix B). Moreover, while accompanied minor asylum applicants are mostly male, female applicants constitute a sizeable portion (47 percent for younger minors and 33 percent for older minors) (eurostat migr_asydcfsta). However, unaccompanied minor applicants are overwhelmingly male, regardless of age, with 96 percent of older unaccompanied minor applicants filing as males (see Figure 4 in Appendix B) (eurostat asyappctza and migr_asyunaa).

III. RESEARCH DESIGN

The below presents the research design for the study I conducted as part of the Save the Children US (Save US) and Feinstein International Center at Tufts University (FIC) research fellowship on youth, migration and resilience. The fellowship cohort consisted of three other women, who conducted research in Ethiopia, India and Uganda relating to the topic of youth migration and resiliencies in summer 2018.⁶ The research projects were part of a broader effort by Save US to encourage student-led research, as well as support exploratory research on topics relating to youth migration and resiliencies. Alongside this thesis, fellows and the FIC and Save US team wrote a synthesis paper and accompanying country briefs.

Having worked in service provision for newly arrived asylum seekers and protected persons in Vienna, Austria, I became aware of the support provided, and the attention paid, particularly to unaccompanied minor asylum seekers and protected persons. This reality led me to question the assumption that unaccompanied minors were ubiquitously more vulnerable than their accompanied counterparts. As a fellow I thus focused on whether integration differences exist between accompanied and unaccompanied protected persons who arrived as minors to Austria. In this chapter, I specifically elaborate on the research questions, hypotheses, inclusion and exclusion criteria, control variables, sampling methods and instruments of the study. I conclude with limitations encountered in the field, as well as the proceeding adjustments made in the research design.

This research underwent a full review by the Social, Behavioral and Educational Research Institutional Review Board (SBER-IRB) at Tufts University. While Austria does not have a local IRB process, Dr. Judith Kohlenberger, an academic researcher at the Vienna University of Economics and Business who conducts research on asylum seekers and protected persons in Austria, thoroughly reviewed and approved my quantitative and qualitative instruments.

OVERVIEW OF FIELD RESEARCH

Research Question and Hypothesis

In light of my experiences in service provision and a previously conducted literature review, I drafted the following research question:

Do the integration experiences of unaccompanied and accompanied protected persons who came as minors to Austria differ regarding their experiences in the labor market, social connections and outlook on integration?

⁶ As I continued to reside in Vienna through the following academic year, I planned for the research to continue from June through September 2018. However, I conducted a small amount of interviews and surveys into the fall.

I then formulated the following hypothesis:

Unaccompanied and accompanied protected persons who came as minors to Austria experience integration differently regarding their experiences in the labor market, social connections and outlook on integration.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

As the study measured and compared integration experiences, I excluded three significant groups within the Austrian forced migrant population. First, asylum seekers were neither surveyed nor interviewed given their limited ability to access many integration pathways. While the anti-migrant, far-right government in Austria has continually attempted to degrade and limit the rights of both asylum seekers and protected persons since its election in December 2017, such restrictions have been particularly discriminatory against asylum seekers (2019. 1,50 Euro Stundenlohn für Asylwerber: Kickl will nun prüfen. *Der Standard*, April 23.). For example, Austria does not allow asylum seekers to work outside of seasonal employment in the hospitality and agricultural industries; such employment must only last for six months (*Beschäftigung von Asylwerberinnen und Asylwerbern* 2019). Moreover, asylum seekers are in the Basic Care system (i.e. receive roughly 7 euros of social welfare per day), as well as are forced to reside in refugee-only housing. As a result, this population is denied even the opportunity to integrate, or at minimum severely restricted in their ability to achieve this goal.

Second, I decided to exclude African protected persons. The situation of blacks and Africans in Austria is one of the most discriminatory in the EU, if not the most discriminatory. A recent publication by FRA found that in the year preceding the survey 11 percent of persons with African descent in Austria reported experiencing a racist physical attack, the highest in the EU. Persons with African descent residing in Austria also reported the highest level of police officer violence in the EU in the five years prior to the survey (FRA 2018, 13). Supporting the visible difference hypothesis within the Austrian integration context (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007), the same study found that only in Austria was there a difference in the 12-month prevalence of hate-motivated physical violence between respondents of African descent and those with other ethnic or immigrant backgrounds. For example, black or African persons in Austria were twice as likely to experience hate-crimes than those from Turkey (FRA 2018, 21). Combined with the relatively small population of African protected persons in Austria and the comparative nature of the study, I thus excluded this population. Nonetheless, their stories in Austria remain important and worthy of attention and examination.

Finally, I only sampled older minors in the study (i.e. persons who came to Austria between the ages of 14 and 17). I excluded adults given the fellowship concentrated on youth, migration and resilience. In addition, the research question necessitated a comparison group whereby age was controlled. Given relatively few unaccompanied asylum-seeking minors came to Austria before the age of 14 (1,500 between 2013 and 2017) (eurostat migr_asyunaa), sampling such persons would have been exceedingly difficult and made comparing such young minors to their accompanied counterparts, the crux of the research, impossible.

Table 3 presents the exact inclusion and exclusion criteria of the study.

Table 3: Sampling Criteria

Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • arrived as an asylum-seeking older minor to Austria • older minor according to both their own judgement <i>or</i> that of Austria⁷ • originating from or have the nationality of Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria⁸ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • arrived as an asylum-seeking adult to Austria • adult according to both their own judgement <i>and</i> that of Austria • did not reside nor possess the nationality of Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria

The population sampled represents the over 6,000 extra-EU applicants who received international protection from the ages of 14 to 17 between 2013 and 2017, of which over 4,000 were male and roughly 2,000 were female (see Figure 3 in Appendix B) (eurostat migr_asyappctza). The research findings presented in the proceeding chapter thus do not represent the experiences of all, or even the majority of forced migrants in Vienna. In reality, the findings likely symbolize the best-case scenarios as the sampled individuals have legal status and are able to strive towards integration, if they wish.

Control Variables

Despite the strict inclusion and exclusion criteria of the study, the sample population was heterogeneous. As a result, and to aid the quantitative analysis, I established strict controls (gender, country of origin/nationality) where I aimed for relative parity within family status, and soft controls (former residence, ethnicity) where I hoped to have a fair representation of each category. I also made sure my sample was equally distributed across unaccompanied vs accompanied respondents.

Sampling Methods

I used purposeful and convenience snowball sampling, both from individual respondents and from organizations. Organizational referrals were not preferred as Save US hoped to gather information on individuals not currently enrolled in programming. Nonetheless, many respondents had completed high levels of German (69 percent had completed B1 [for a breakdown of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages see Appendix C]), were enrolled in education (58 percent), and were working (43 percent). In light of such “success” many of the respondents thus no longer had intensive contact with the organization that had referred them or had no contact with the organization at all (40 percent).

⁷ Almost 10 percent of respondents reported an age discrepancy between their self-reported age and the one Austria put on their asylum application. As such respondents continued to benefit from their self-reported minor age while Austria processed their application and determined their status, such individuals were not excluded from the research.

⁸ The population sampled had various experiences with international migration. 28 percent reported having internationally migrated themselves and/or had a parent with a nationality different than the country in which they had resided. Moreover, almost 10 percent were unsure whether they had citizenship or were stateless. In light of such realities, the criteria were not limited to possessing the nationality from Afghanistan, Iraq or Syria.

Methodology and Instruments

The research deployed a mixed-methods methodology, consisting of a quantitative survey (see Appendix D) and a semi-structured qualitative interview (see Appendix E), as well as a scoping key informant phase. The below details the three stages of the research.

Key Informant Phase

The key informant phase consisted of unique interviews, which I conducted with service providers and leaders at NGOs, workers at international organizations (IOs) and government officials. The phase explored the research question further, specifically whether additional controls should be removed or added, the validity of the hypothesis and the salient differences I could expect to appear in the study. The key informant phase was also critical for providing an accurate and detailed picture of the integration landscape within Austria and Vienna.

Quantitative Surveys

I used paper surveys during the research which consisted of 172 questions. The survey was divided into eight separate sections, which I designed to gather information relating to labor market experience, social connections and outlook on integration. The eight sections were as follows: (1) screening questions; (2) relevant questions introduced by key informants; (3) family status; (4) former residence; (5) ethnicity; (6) social connections (language, residence, connections with individuals, connections with organizations); (7) labor market (employment history, outlook, preparation through education); and (8) outlook on integration. The surveys often took place in public, in a park or beside a public canal in the city. The surveys generally lasted between 20 and 30 minutes. Importantly, the survey itself deployed a mixed-methods approach, namely I read the questions aloud to the respondent and recorded their answers myself. This allowed me to ask follow-up questions regarding interesting, conflicting or common answers among respondents, thereby enriching the data.

Qualitative Semi-Structured Interviews

After completing the quantitative survey, respondents had the opportunity to complete a long-form interview. The semi-structured qualitative interviews often lasted 30 to 60 minutes, covering a broad range of topics. While similar questions were asked of all respondents, often interviews tended to have a thematic focus. For example, some respondents wanted to speak specifically about discrimination; a few, without prompting, provided details about their reasons for fleeing; others made a point to speak about the broader situation of their “group,” contrasting with those who emphasized that they could speak only to their individual situation. As the interviews were more intensive and marked the second meeting, I bought participants an SBER-IRB-approved non-alcoholic drink as a small, culturally appropriate thank you for their participation.

LIMITATIONS

I encountered some realities in the field which necessitated adjustments in the research design. Given that I used snowball sampling, many of the limitations related to the control variables. For example, while I achieved a fair representation of countries of origin/nationality and gender, I did not achieve parity of these variables *within* family status. Similarly, the major ethnicities from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria (Arab, Kurdish, Pashtun and Hazara) were fairly well represented, although not equally distributed among unaccompanied and accompanied respondents. Concerning gender, unaccompanied girl protected persons are tightly protected by Austrian

NGOs and it was incredibly difficult to conduct outreach to such organizations. I was thus unable to gain access to these individuals. I was also unable to find women who had arrived as unaccompanied girls. Between 2013 and 2017 less than 1,000 unaccompanied girls arrived in Austria, of which 26 percent were younger than 14 (eurostat migr_asyunaa). It is thus likely that less than 700 women who fit my criteria existed in all of Austria, accounting for their absence from my data. Nonetheless, those girls who arrived as accompanied asylum-seeking minors actually constituted the majority of accompanied respondents (57 percent), ensuring the experience of women and girls were accounted for in the research. Significantly, I did achieve equal representation of unaccompanied (51 percent) and accompanied (49 percent) respondents.

In addition, snowball sampling from prior respondents was largely unsuccessful. It is likely that many respondents felt comfortable speaking with me, but not referring friends. Moreover, large organizations were not particularly eager to refer their clients regarding the research. This flowed from Save US being relatively unknown in Austria, as well as organizations being highly protective of their clients. However, I was able to make contact with smaller organizations who proved incredibly supportive and helpful in finding respondents.

I also provided all respondents the option to conduct the surveys and interviews with translators. However, participants readily took part in the surveys and the interviews in German, in which I am fluent. At times details and subtleties were sacrificed, as a result of respondents' German skills. Nonetheless, I made the decision to allow all respondents to conduct the surveys and interviews in German if they chose to do so. Many likely used the opportunity for language practice, others were excited to partake in an interview in German for the first time. As one male respondent said, "When I think about it, I think...okay... two years ago I [couldn't speak any German] and now...I sit with someone and do an interview! At one point I couldn't even speak any German — no? It is just a two-year difference and I am very happy" (Interview, unaccompanied Afghan). An additional obstacle specifically regarding male respondents was paying for their drink as a thank you for the interview. Unfortunately, cultural expectations often prevented me from paying for some male interview respondents, who insisted they pay. Often, we settled for paying separately.

Finally, for many respondents the study represented the first time they had participated in a survey or interview. As a result, I began explaining in-depth what a survey and interview symbolize in the context of research, which I had not planned to do originally. Such inexperience with research also meant many of the study's respondents had never told their stories to an outsider. As a result, the proceeding findings and discussion represent an important opportunity to strengthen voices, which have as of yet have not been heard.

IV. ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides an in-depth review of the methodology of the quantitative and qualitative analyses. I conducted the quantitative analysis through Stata and completed the qualitative analysis using Nvivo. By thoroughly presenting the analyses' methodologies, the findings from the data are thus made replicable and clear. I conclude with a discussion on the limitations encountered when conducting the analyses.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

From the quantitative analysis, I found important and quantitatively significant findings regarding integration differences between unaccompanied and accompanied respondents, even when controlling for variables such as gender and country of origin. In order to provide greater clarity regarding such quantitative findings, I describe the various variables used in the quantitative analysis, as well as how I proceeded analyzing the data below. For further information on quantitative variables, see Appendix F.

Variable Description

The independent, dependent and control variables originated from the research design. In addition, some important variables emerged throughout the study, such as legal status, which I then additionally included in the quantitative analysis. In this section and Appendix F, I describe the variables, their definitions, how I coded for such variables in Stata and how I proceeded with my quantitative analysis.

Independent Variables

The independent variables were those characteristics whose impact on integration experiences I wanted to examine. As a result of the research design, I focused much of my quantitative analysis on the family status of respondents. Throughout the study, particularly after conducting the qualitative analysis, other independent variables were further included in the quantitative analysis. Specifically, I also focused on gender and country of origin as such variables appeared to have the largest additional impact on the integration experiences of respondents during the study.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables analyzed in Stata were those which best measured integration in the three aspects specified in the research question and hypothesis, namely experiences in the labor market, social connections, and outlook on integration. These three domains of integration were then further broken down. Labor market experience consisted of employment, education and outlook on the labor market in Austria. Social connections consisted of language, connections

with individuals and connection with organizations.⁹ Outlook on integration consisted of one quantitative section.

Control Variables

Per the research design, the most common control variables were gender, country of origin, and former residence. Another control variable I introduced when running regressions was legal status (i.e. subsidiary protection or Convention status), flowing from the qualitative findings. When relevant, I also included some dependent variables as controls in regressions (i.e. employment when regressing on speaking German mostly during the day). Introducing these additional controls at times strengthened certain quantitative relationships and allowed for the findings to be more persuasive.

Analysis

As I had delivered the surveys myself, I was able to glean which questions appeared to have gathered accurate and useful information and which questions had been less successful in measuring respondents' integration experiences. After cleaning the data, I thus specified the useful independent and dependent variables. I then proceeded to analyze the quantitative data by running cross tabulations and t-tests to check for significant differences. A relationship was considered significant if $p < 0.1$. If such t-tests proved significant at the $p < 0.1$ threshold (i.e. the crude analysis), I then controlled for additional variables, such as gender, country of origin, and legal status (i.e. the adjusted analysis). For continuous variables I used an Ordinary Least Squares regression analysis, a logit regression for binary variables, and an ordinal logit regression for categorical variables that had an ordinal structure (i.e. how often do you feel a part of Austria).

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

I conducted the qualitative analysis on the transcribed semi-structured interviews through Nvivo. I specifically analyzed the qualitative data by generating nodes and conducting text search and word frequency queries. I further linked demographic data on gender, legal status, ethnicity, country of origin and family status to the transcribed interviews so that I was able to code for qualitative differences according to various characteristics. The qualitative analysis provided further depth and nuance to the quantitative findings, as well as introduced new variables into the quantitative analysis (i.e. legal status). It also allowed me to analyze and present information I had not measured in the survey, such as respondents' experiences with discrimination.

When proceeding with the analysis, I coded the interviews and organized them according to themes (nodes). Such nodes largely resembled the dependent and independent variables used in the quantitative analysis. I also used text search and word frequency queries to reveal consistent themes throughout the interviews

⁹ A previous section regarding knowledge about Austria had been included in the social connections portion of the survey. However, the questions were too easy for many respondents and weren't able to accurately measure whether a respondent was informed about Austria.

LIMITATIONS

There were several limitations encountered when conducting the quantitative and qualitative analyses. First, there was a relatively small sample size of survey respondents (72), as well as interview respondents (31). The analysis in the proceeding chapters is therefore mainly descriptive. Moreover, the respondents were incredibly heterogeneous, possessing a plethora of identities and characteristics relating to nationality, ethnicity, country of origin, gender, year of arrival, legal status, family status, parental status (i.e. arrived with parent[s]), and former residence (rural, peri-urban, urban). This variety made finding significant relationships according to family status difficult when controlling for other variables.

There also existed biases in regard to specific control variables. For example, regarding former residence, the respondents skewed urban (68 percent), for both unaccompanied (65 percent) and accompanied (71 percent). Such biases made the quantitative analysis largely unable to speak on the impact of former residence. Moreover, while I achieved parity in terms of ethnicity for overall respondents (i.e. Arabs 39 percent, Hazara 39 percent), unaccompanied skewed towards Hazara (59 percent) and accompanied skewed Arab (60 percent). As already stated, there were zero unaccompanied female respondents. Finally, the two dominant legal statuses, subsidiary protection and Convention status, were also not equally distributed according to family status. 85 percent of accompanied respondents had received Convention status, while 62 percent of unaccompanied respondents had received subsidiary protection.

V. DEMOGRAPHICS

Below I detail respondents' demographic data, paying particularly attention to how such data shifted according to various characteristics (i.e. country of origin and gender). The respondents differed according to their family status, year of arrival, legal status, ethnicity, country of origin, and nationality — gender and family being two of the key difference makers in the literature. For further statistics on the demographics of respondents, refer to Table 4 immediately following this chapter.

FAMILY STATUS

Family status, representing whether or not a respondent arrived with a guardian, was explicitly sampled as to achieve parity. As a result, the two groups are almost equally represented in the study, with unaccompanied constituting 51 percent of respondents, and accompanied 49 percent. However, there also exists differences among the accompanied group in regard to their guardians; of the accompanied respondents, only 60 percent arrived with a parent with the other 40 percent arriving with another immediate family member (i.e. sister, brother-in-law). Interestingly, just 8 percent of respondents who arrived with parent(s) were males, despite males constituting 43 percent of the total accompanied respondents. In comparison, 85 percent of female respondents arrived with their parent(s). Associating accompanied with parents thus may be misleading and inaccurate, particularly when speaking about male accompanied minors. It is important to recognize that both unaccompanied *and* accompanied may grapple with the consequences of pursuing a life where their parents are absent.

GENDER

The respondents were predominately male (72 percent), with only 28 percent being female. Moreover, according to gender there were significant differences. Female respondents had mostly resided in Syria (60 percent), were Arab (65 percent), arrived in Austria with a parent (85 percent), received Convention status (90 percent), came from urban areas (80 percent) and were new international migrants (75 percent). While male respondents also came from urban areas (64 percent) and were new international migrants (73 percent), they were mostly unaccompanied (71 percent), had greater parity according to country of origin (Afghanistan 37 percent, Syria 35 percent, Iran 23 percent), as well as legal status (Convention and subsidiary protection status 48 percent) and were mostly Hazara (46 percent). Female and male respondents thus possessed different characteristics within their gendered identities, which at times exacerbated or weakened gendered difference. For example, while female respondents in interviews often spoke about the discrimination they encountered because of the headscarf, they also overwhelmingly had Convention status, a more robust and permanent protection. Such complexities underline the importance of a nuanced understanding of gender in integration studies.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION BACKGROUND

Of the 72 respondents, 28 percent of respondents had previously migrated internationally before travelling to Europe. The majority, 65 percent, were Iranian Afghans¹⁰ (i.e. persons with Afghan descent who had resided in Iran) with 70 percent of the former international migrants being of Afghan descent more generally. Overall, 38 percent of respondents with Afghan descent had migrated internationally. Europe as a secondary migration pattern for Afghan respondents was thus common. Such a finding flows from the decades of conflict that have ravaged the country and its population. Moreover, respondents of Afghan descent themselves merged their identities with war and flight. One male Afghan, who had resided in Afghanistan stated, “Since I was born, there has been the Taliban and then the new government and then again the war. I had never not experienced war as a child” (interview, unaccompanied). Another Afghan respondent who had grown up in Iran declared: “Since I was born, I have been a refugee” (interview, male unaccompanied). While not as common, I also surveyed and interviewed Syrian respondents whose families were formerly internationally displaced or who themselves had fled conflict years prior. Two respondents who had resided in Syria had grandparents who had fled from Palestine. Another respondent had fled to Syria from Iraq during the Iraq War (2003 – 2011), only to return to Iraq at the outbreak of the Syrian civil war (2011 – present).

Importantly, I did not include individuals who may have migrated internationally for a short period only to return home within these migration statistics. Moreover, it would be false to assume only international migration constitutes notable forced migration experiences. For example, one unaccompanied Afghan respondent told how his family had recently fled internally to Kabul after conflict had broken out near their home in the Afghan province Ghazni. This story likely represents a familiar experience for many respondents.

YEAR OF ARRIVAL

Ninety-four percent of respondents came to Austria between 2014 and 2017. Of those, 57 percent came during 2015, the height of the asylum-seeker influx in Austria. Two respondents came to Austria in 2012 and one arrived in 2011. Although outside of the parameters of the “refugee crisis,” all but one of these three respondents retained subsidiary protection status. Further, these respondents served at times as an interesting reference point for the other respondents.

LEGAL STATUS

Fifty-nine percent of respondents had Convention status, while 26 percent of respondents had subsidiary protection. These statuses were often not equally distributed among the various groups. For example, 90 percent of female respondents had Convention status compared to just 48 percent of male respondents. Gender thus may have been a salient difference maker regarding the form of international protection respondents received. Furthermore, 62 percent of unaccompanied respondents had received subsidiary protection compared to just 9 percent of accompanied respondents. The distribution of Convention and subsidiary status among

¹⁰ The term Iranian Afghans refer to those respondents of Afghan descent who resided in Iran before travelling to Austria.

nationalities also accurately represented the legal realities of the various national groups in Austria, namely Syrians overwhelmingly had Convention status (92 percent) while Afghans mostly had subsidiary protection (60 percent).

ETHNICITY

The ethnic groups of respondents included: Arab, Hazara, Kurdish, Pashai, Pashtun, Tajik and Sayyed. Arab respondents originated from Syria and Iraq, with both countries having a sizeable, and often persecuted, Kurdish minority. In Iraq, Kurds have a tumultuous history. Recently, during the Iran-Iraq War in 1988, Iraqi forces murdered almost 200,000 Kurds, which some have termed a genocide. However, since the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, Kurds have enjoyed intermittent autonomy and national representation. Kurdish persons in Syria have endured greater cultural and linguistic oppression in Syria in recent years. For example, speaking Kurdish is illegal in Syria.

Hazara, Pashai Pashtun, Tajik and Sayyed respondents were all of Afghan descent, having lived in Afghanistan, Iran or Pakistan. Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic state occupied by diverse ethnic groups, themselves further divided into tribes. Pashtu, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan (42 percent), are Sunni and speak Pashto. Pashai are a relatively isolated Sunni ethnic group in Afghanistan, numbering only 500,000. They are closely connected with Pashtuns, although retain their own Pashai language. Tajiks, while also Sunni, are of Persian descent and speak Dari, an Afghan dialect of Farsi. They are the second largest ethnic group in Afghanistan (27 percent). Hazara are the much-persecuted Shia minority in Afghanistan (10 percent) and are generally believed to descend from Genghis Khan. Hazara also speak Dari. Finally, Sayyed are the religious tribe of Hazaras who trace their lineage to the Prophet Mohammad.

The plurality of respondents were Arab from either Syria or Iraq (38 percent) and Hazara from either Afghanistan or Iran (38 percent). Other large ethnic groups surveyed were Kurds (10 percent) and Pashtuns (6 percent). The majority of unaccompanied respondents were Hazara (59 percent). For accompanied respondents, Arabs constituted the majority (60 percent).

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND NATIONALITY

Regarding nationality, 7 percent of respondents were Iraqi, 35 percent Syrian, 49 percent Afghan, and 10 percent unsure or stateless. There was a greater diversity regarding country of origin. The majority of respondents had resided in Syria (42 percent), Afghanistan (32 percent) and Iran (18 percent). However, respondents also reported having resided in Kuwait, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. According to family status, the majority of accompanied respondents were Syrian (43 percent), while the majority of unaccompanied respondents were Afghan (70 percent). Figure 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix G depict the provinces from which respondents from Afghanistan, Iran and Syria originated. I did not include Iraq as all but one respondent came from Baghdad. Appendix G also presents data on where respondents resided in Vienna by district (Figure 4).

Significantly, 35 percent of respondents with Afghan descent reported their residence as Iran. Iranian Afghans endure extreme discrimination and often suffer from a lack of documentation in Iran. However, those who *grew up* there likely have not had to endure the Afghan conflicts as

intimately. Within the study, Iranian Afghan respondents were also significantly more urban (69 percent) than their Afghan counterparts (45 percent). Combined with the comparatively more liberal atmosphere in Iran, Iranian Afghans in the study often had dissimilar experiences from their counterparts who had grown up predominately in Afghanistan. Such differences at times appeared to influence integration outcomes. Given the divergent experiences of respondents with Afghan descent and the large proportion of respondents who either did not know their nationality or were stateless (10 percent), I favored country of origin over nationality as a control variable when conducting the quantitative analysis.

Table 4: Demographic Information of Respondents

Reported Characteristics			
According to Family Status			
		unaccompanied	accompanied
Gender	female	100%***	43%
	male	0%	57%
Parental Status	accompanied with parent(s)	0%	60%
	accompanied without parent(s)	100%***	40%
Ethnicity	Arab	19%***	60%
	Kurdish	8%	11%
	Hazara	59%***	17%
	Pashtun	3%	9%
	Tajik	8%*	0%
	Sayyed	0%	3%
	Pashai	3%	0%
Nationality	Iraqi	0%**	14%
	Syrian	27%	43%
	Afghan	70%***	26%
	Other/Stateless	3%**	17%
Country of Origin	Iraq	0%*	9%
	Syria	27%***	57%
	Afghanistan	41%	23%
	Iran	30%***	6%
	Pakistan	3%	0%
	Saudi Arabia	0%	3%
	Kuwait	0%	3%
Legal Status	Convention Status	35%***	86%
	subsidiary protection	62%	9%
	permanent residency	3%	6%

Former Residence	urban	64%	80%
	rural	15%	10%
	peri-urban	21%	10%
International Migration Background	no international migration background	68%	77%
	international migration background	32%	23%
According to Gender			
		male	female
Family Status	unaccompanied	71%	0%
	accompanied	29%	100%
Parental Status	accompanied with parent(s)	8%	85%
	accompanied without parent(s)	92%	15%
Ethnicity	Arab	29%	65%
	Kurdish	10%	10%
	Hazara	46%	20%
	Pashtun	6%	5%
	Tajik	6%	0%
	Sayyed	2%	0%
	Pashai	2%	0%
Nationality	Iraqi	4%	15%
	Syrian	35%	35%
	Afghan	58%	25%
	Other/Stateless	4%	25%
Country of Origin	Iraq	2%	10%
	Syria	35%	60%
	Afghanistan	37%	20%
	Iran	23%	5%
	Pakistan	2%	0%
	Saudi Arabia	0%	5%
	Kuwait	2%	0%
Legal Status	Convention Status	48%	90%
	subsidiary protection	48%	5%
	permanent residency	4%	5%
Former Residence	urban	64%	80%
	rural	15%	10%
	peri-urban	21%	10%

International Migration Background	no international migration background	71%		75%				
	international migration background	29%		25%				
International Migration Background								
		no international migration background		international migration background				
Country of Origin	Iraq	6%		0%				
	Syria	50%		20%				
	Afghanistan	44%		0%				
	Iran	0%		65%				
	Pakistan	0%		5%				
	Saudi Arabia	0%		5%				
	Kuwait	0%		5%				
Afghan Descent								
		Afghan descent		no Afghan descent				
International Migration Background	no international migration background	62%		83%				
	international migration background	38%		17%				
Country of Origin	Iraq	0%		9%				
	Syria	0%		86%				
	Afghanistan	62%		0%				
	Iran	35%		0%				
	Pakistan	3%		0%				
	Saudi Arabia	0%		3%				
	Kuwait	0%		3%				
Nationality								
		Iraqi	Syrian	Afghan	Other/ Stateless			
Legal Status	Convention status	60%	92%	34%	71%			
	subsidiary protection status	40%	8%	60%	14%			
	permanent residency status	0%	0%	6%	14%			
Former Residence								
Former Residence		Iraq	Syria	Afghanistan	Iran	Pakistan	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait
	urban	100%	90%	35%	70%	0%	100%	100%
	rural	0%	0%	35%	15%	0%	0%	0%
	peri-urban	0%	10%	30%	15%	100%	0%	0%

Total Respondents		
Family Status	unaccompanied	51%
	accompanied	49%
Parental Status	accompanied with parent(s)	29%
	accompanied without parent(s)	71%
Gender	male	72%
	female	28%
Ethnicity	Arab	39%
	Kurdish	10%
	Hazara	39%
	Pashtun	6%
	Tajik	4%
	Sayyed	1%
	Pashai	1%
Nationality	Iraqi	7%
	Syrian	35%
	Afghan	49%
	Other/Stateless	10%
Country of Origin	Iraq	4%
	Syria	42%
	Afghanistan	32%
	Iran	18%
	Pakistan	1%
	Saudi Arabia	1%
	Kuwait	1%
Legal Status	Convention Status	60%
	subsidiary protection	36%
	permanent residency	4%
Former Residence	urban	68%
	rural	14%
	peri-urban	18%
International Migration Background	no international migration background	72%
	international migration background	28%

Year of Arrival	2011	1%
	2012	4%
	2014	11%
	2015	57%
	2016	22%
	2017	4%

Note: *** significant at $p < 0.01$; ** significant at $p < 0.05$, * significant at $p < 0.10$

VI. FINDINGS

The qualitative and quantitative analyses revealed respondents differed concerning their labor market experience, social connections and outlook on integration according to numerous variables, including family status, gender and country of origin. Such findings were both statistically significant and qualitatively impactful.

Flowing from the research question and hypothesis, the findings are organized according to labor market experience (employment, education, outlook on labor market); social connections (language, connection to individuals and organizations) and outlook on integration. Certain variables, such as country of origin, at times differentiated respondents' experiences in the measured outcomes. As a result, the findings are further subdivided into difference makers, (i.e. family status, gender and other variables). Furthermore, respondents often reported similar experiences regardless of their identities or characteristics. In light of these general trends, each section begins with a brief overview of the overarching situation of respondents in the particular integration category (labor market experience; social connections; outlook on integration).

Throughout the study important data emerged regarding other themes, whose findings deserve separate and explicit focus. I thus conclude by presenting these extra findings on discrimination, identity, and family responsibilities.

For more detail on the quantitative findings, see the figures in Appendix H and the tables in Appendices I and J.

SITUATION OF ACCOMPANIED AND UNACCOMPANIED RESPONDENTS PRIOR TO ARRIVAL

Push Factors for Flight

Although neither the survey nor the interview questionnaire asked respondents about their experiences in their home countries, some spoke openly about these situations. Through their stories, it is clear that the respondents left difficult and at times tragic situations to come to Europe, alone or with others, in search of opportunities and a better life. At least one respondent reported being forced by his mother to disembark from Iran alone. Few respondents chose Austria as their ultimate destination — they were often forcibly finger-printed at the border and thus obligated to seek asylum there. Respondents also came to Austria in diverse ways, some by plane, others by boat, car or foot, or a combination of all four. Further, for some the journeys took only a month, while others' displacements lasted years. Respondents' reasons for flight also challenged important assumptions regarding associating push factors with country of origin; some Afghan respondents fled the Taliban while some Syrians residing abroad used the *prima facie* refugee status determination in Europe to flee economic hardship in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Overwhelmingly respondents spoke negatively about the situation in their home countries, with violence at times triggering their flight. A respondent from Harasta, Syria, a northeastern suburb of Damascus which was one of the first rebel-held areas and targeted with government chemical attacks, spoke how he was in danger because he came from Harasta. After being assaulted at a military check point, he decided to leave Syria. An Iranian Afghan respondent spoke how she had fled an abusive husband, returning first to her family's home and then disembarking to Europe. Another respondent from Afghanistan also spoke about violence and his experience with conflict:

Since I was born, there has been the Taliban and then the new government and then again the war and I had never not experienced war as a child. That was everything...Like I had said before, in Afghanistan peace has never come.
(interview, unaccompanied)

Other respondents specifically mentioned that if had they stayed in in their home country, they would be dead. One respondent from Afghanistan told how his parents, who had been educated in Russia, were both killed by terrorist bombings in Kabul. Finding himself an orphan, he decided that Europe was his only option. Interestingly, he was one of the few respondents who purposefully travelled to Austria; he had studied at a music school as a child and knew of Mozart and thus Austria. Having already an interest in the country, he decided he would travel to Vienna.

Some respondents spoke about how state and social violence in the form of discrimination pushed them to flee. One Syrian respondent who had resided in Saudi Arabia with her family spoke about the rampant discrimination and exploitation she and her family endured; at times working and never receiving any payment. Her story reflects that of the Syrian respondent from Kuwait whose family came to Europe after enduring discrimination there. An Iranian Afghan also detailed the discriminatory situation in Iran, where Iranians view Afghans as "dirty."

In contrast, some respondents clearly did not want to speak about why they fled. One Iranian Afghan respondent when asked why his mother had forced him to flee, said: "I don't want to think about those times. I'll only say that I was locked in a small room by my uncle...and I don't want to think about it" (interview, unaccompanied).

Many female respondents specifically referenced the situation of women and girls in their countries of origin, critiquing the harsh systems they and their female relatives had to tolerate. Although they did not explicitly link their families' decisions to flee to the dangerous environment for women and girls, it was clear female respondents' journeys to Europe represented an opportunity to escape from these discriminatory systems. At the time of the study, some women had seized onto this opportunity and were forging exciting new paths marked by independence and self-determination. However, other female respondents appeared to remain restricted by the society they had seemingly left behind.

In Afghanistan, I told you that I had a long dress and...it was so hard. I didn't go outside. I would go outside like once in two months...And another big problem was that in Afghanistan...anyone they say, you should marry him...I saw so much girls in our village that they married the man that is the same age as their fathers... it was a big fear for me. When I was 12-years-old...there was also some man that wanted to get married with me...Sometimes when they have so much power, they can kill us or stone us." (interview, accompanied)

Another female respondent from Syria also appeared to reject the discrimination and violence women and girls endured:

In Syria... the women must be shy and cover themselves... Women, they had to wear something black always and they couldn't have make-up or go out, they had to marry, they couldn't study. It was always like that. Here I saw something different, totally different. I found rights. (interview, accompanied)

In addition, male respondents spoke about the gender dynamics in their home countries. One specifically spoke about how he had felt unable to express his belief in gender equality in Afghanistan:

In our society, where I come from, there were very rarely and very little feminists. And there were women. But as a woman, I would say, that you had no rights. I hated it there and I still hate it now. I want to show that I am now against it because I couldn't do it then. Well maybe I could have but then I would've been laughed at: 'What do you have to do with women?'" (interview, unaccompanied)

Journey to Europe

Respondents' journeys to Europe varied in length. One respondent explained that he had resided in Turkey with his family before travelling via sea to Europe. His family members had departed from Turkey at different periods throughout the years. Another spoke of her shorter, although still difficult journey to Europe: "It was very hard, we were on our way for two months, in the cold, in the warmth. There was sometimes not any food. It was very hard. I didn't sleep for three weeks because we were travelling" (interview, accompanied Iranian Afghan).

Even when travelling alone, few respondents developed new connections during their journeys to Europe. Moreover, some respondents were separated from their travelling companions on their journeys to Europe, with unaccompanied respondents more likely to have experienced separation during their journeys (24 percent) than accompanied respondents (6 percent) (see Figure H.1). Importantly, many of those separations involved close friends, siblings or parents, possibly leaving emotional scars. One unaccompanied survey respondent from Syria, whose family was spread over Europe, told how he had travelled with part of his nuclear and extended family to Europe. Upon entering Austria, his travelling party had hidden from Austrian police in an effort to make it to Germany; the police caught him and his cousin while his remaining family travelled successfully to Germany.

LABOR MARKET EXPERIENCES

Overall Trends

When conducting the interviews, it became clear that respondents exhibited high labor market mobility. The Arbeitsmarktservice (AMS) in Vienna, a critical player in respondents' ability to receive social support, often secured respondents short-term internships or job placements. However, the employment was often temporary and did not appear to lead to long-term work. Respondents, perhaps because they did not view such placements as employment, often did not report this employment in the survey. Moreover, the trajectory of the short-term placements from

the AMS was sporadic. For example, one respondent reported working as a hospital assistant, then in a horse barn, and then at the clothing store Zara. Another reported working in landscaping without pay, then in a grocery store, and at the time of the study was pursuing short-term security work while seeking an apprenticeship. Once respondents entered into the formal apprenticeship system, their job mobility ceased, indicating perhaps that an apprenticeship was their ultimate goal or that they were satisfied with their position. The apprenticeship program is an official system which combines work with schooling, for which respondents are paid. For the purposes of my sample, respondents who reported enrollment in an apprenticeship were considered both employed and enrolled in education.

Those respondents who were currently employed (73 percent unaccompanied respondents and 11 percent accompanied respondents¹¹) (see Figure H.2) were very satisfied with their employment, often seeing their work as an opportunity to make friends and improve their German. “We’re in school twice a week and I love it... And I have met a lot of friends through this work. It’s also mixed, there are Austrians, Chinese, Syrians, Iraqis” (interview, male unaccompanied from Syria). Such a finding ties into the overall trend of many respondents making a specific effort to remain “active” and to not “misuse” their time in order to establish a social space in Austria. For many respondents, their employment, social and educational activities often had the purpose of developing friendships and collecting experiences to “put it in your pocket.”

While respondents’ high labor market mobility in Austria did not always yield *upward* mobility, respondents who had previously worked in their countries of origin often reported seeking or securing employment in Austria that was more secure and advanced (i.e. required more technical training and/or education), as well as more personally desired than what they had previously held. One respondent had begun an apprenticeship in stone working in Vienna, work he had done in Iran. However, the stone apprenticeship was actually a back-up plan; he had originally attempted to get an apprenticeship as an energy technician before it proved too difficult. Given respondents wanted to secure more high-skill jobs that provided greater opportunities for advancement, the technical skills respondents had previously developed in their countries of origin were not always explicitly applicable to their labor market pursuits in Austria. Nonetheless, these respondents’ former experiences could provide them a critical fallback plan and therefore greater labor market security in Austria shall they fail to secure employment in their desired sectors.

The enthusiasm of respondents regarding the labor market may inspire such shift in careers. Seventy-three percent of respondents believed it was very likely or likely that they would receive their desired job in Austria (see Figure H.3). In addition, 93 percent believed they would be happy in their future job (see Figure H.4). There was no variation according to family status, gender or country of origin. The research appeared to justify such optimism; when controlling for family status, gender, former residence, country of origin, and legal status, those who had resided in longer in Austria were significantly more likely to be currently employed (see Table I.1), as well as formerly/currently employed ($p < 0.01$) (see Table I.2).

However, the quantitative findings clashed with the pessimism found in the qualitative data. Respondents repeatedly mentioned discrimination in the labor market, with respondents at times perceiving these obstacles as unsurmountable. One respondent from Syria, when asked why she

¹¹ Such data include those that were also about to start work, as some respondents were to begin their placement in the fall.

would not receive her dream job, simply stated: “Because I am a foreigner” (interview, accompanied). Another respondent reported, “Right now with the foreigners and with the refugees it’s a bit difficult to get a job here. Some don’t give refugees jobs... It doesn’t matter what you are. Foreigners are foreigners” (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan). In particular, female respondents reported rampant and severe labor market discrimination related to their decision to wear a headscarf.

Lack of social connections was an additional barrier to finding and receiving employment, with respondents reporting difficulties securing a job without a specific connection at a workplace or individual to guide them through the labor market. One respondent explained, “it’s really hard when you don’t have an acquaintance. I’m sure through acquaintances you can get an apprenticeship with a worse obligatory school leaving certificate” (interview, male unaccompanied Iranian Afghan).

Similar to respondents’ labor market mobility, respondents were also incredibly mobile in regard to educational pursuits. However, while the labor market mobility was often sporadic, respondents’ educational mobility tended to breed advancement. Many respondents reported migrating from refugee-only courses to full-time Austrian educations. One respondent from Afghanistan told how he had been enrolled in four different types of education in three years. He began with German courses, then entered a program where he could prepare to take the obligatory school exit exam necessary for further education (*Pflichtschulabschluss*). After passing the test, he took part in a refugee project that prepared students to enter the labor market. Finally, he received an apprenticeship. Another respondent from Syria explained a similar educational trajectory in Austria. First, he enrolled in an introductory German course. Afterwards, he secured a placement in an *Übergangsklasse* (a refugee specific class in university-track schools where students at times may have the option to become a regular student). However, the school denied him an official placement the following year. As a result, he decided to take another German course. Upon completing the course, he finally enrolled in a program to complete the obligatory school exit exam.

Respondents’ educational mobility flowed from a desire to achieve either the dreams they had held in their home countries, or those that Austria had inspired. For example, two respondents from Syria were currently enrolled in art programs, a dream both had held as children in Damascus. However, an Iranian Afghan respondent, who had wanted to be a police officer in Iran, developed new interests since arriving in Austria.

Here I would like to just keep learning. Before I went to the evening school, I didn’t have any interest in technical things...but I really liked it and now I think about the technical branch and it’s really cool, also for the future...In Iran I didn’t have as many opportunities as in Austria and thus I didn’t have time to really think about it.
(interview, unaccompanied male)

Another Iranian Afghan’s experience as a perpetual refugee inspired his current career goal to be a human rights lawyer. “Since I was born, I have been a refugee. I haven’t had any rights. There was a law about human rights, but I’ve never seen it. That’s why I want to become a human rights lawyer and do something” (interview, unaccompanied). One respondent, who was recovering from cancer, spoke how of her dream to become a nurse. While it came from her childhood, it became informed by her experience in Austria.

When I was a child, I always want to be a nurse or a doctor. When I played with my brothers, I was always a doctor. And when I was in the hospital [in Austria] I was there for so long time...and then I see the nurses help me and they are so kind and I think that it is so good and yes I'll be a nurse and be and do something like them for others...I think it is so good to help others. Like really such a happy feeling. (interview, accompanied from Afghanistan).

At times respondents' switched schools because of discrimination and difficult environments. One respondent from Syria explained how she had left a school because of female bullying.

The first one I was in Ottakring [district in Vienna] and I had a lot of problems there because of the headscarf; only the girls not the boys. Sometimes I had it, sometimes not, it's my thing...A lot were from Turkey and they had no headscarf and we would talk, and they were open, but when I came without one they told me *haram* and I don't know why. They were just jealous. They didn't want me to stay there. (interview, accompanied)

Another girl from Syria also told how she had been bullied by classmates at a previous school. However, these stories were uncommon. Many respondents reflected positively on their time in schools and programs, citing the experience as a critical opportunity for them to practice German, make contact with Austrians, develop social connections, and keep busy.

Although the survey did not ask about respondents' prior education history, I asked about such information in the semi-structured interviews. Most respondents had been enrolled in education full-time before arriving to Austria. Only some respondents from Afghanistan and Iran reported exiting school at young ages. Respondents recognized their prior education was helpful but doubted the usefulness of their prior certifications. Importantly, there were a handful of respondents who were illiterate or were functionally illiterate in their native languages; they had incredibly learned to read and write only in German. All such respondents were of Afghan descent. However, the education histories of many respondents of Afghan descent still marked a generational shift; these respondents themselves were largely literate, yet they often reported their parents were illiterate. Although it was beyond the scope of the research to understand this generational gap, one respondent perhaps accurately accounted for the difference: "My parents didn't go to school but for them it was really important that their children were in school" (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan).

Employment Family Status

Being unaccompanied was a clear asset when finding and securing employment, as evidenced in the quantitative. When controlling for gender, former residence, country of origin, legal status, and year of arrival, unaccompanied minors were significantly more likely to be currently employed (see Table I.1), as well to have been employed in the past or today (see Table I.2). However, categorizing employment levels as indicators of successful integration remains tenuous. The workplace was a self-reported critical space for respondents to establish social connections and come into contact with Austrians and German-speakers. As a result, employment may eventually foster a greater sense of or opportunity for social belonging among employed respondents. The quantitative data in part supports this conclusion; when controlling for family status, gender,

country of origin, age, educational enrollment and having an apprenticeship, having an apprenticeship made respondents significantly more likely to feel like a part of Austria ($p < 0.1$) (see Table I.3). Moreover, many unaccompanied respondents expressed satisfaction, joy and pride regarding being employed. (As an example, after one respondent completed his interview, he texted me photos of his first-place prize for being the top in his class for his apprenticeship in the years prior.) Nonetheless, in working full-time respondents often sacrificed pursuing university-track education. In addition, many respondents also were enrolled in similar apprenticeship programs (i.e. T-Mobile, Billa [supermarket]). Although the research cannot speak to any widespread trends regarding protected persons' employment, it may be indicative of an emerging trend of labor market segregation. Such segregation would be destructive for employment as an integrative tool, as well as discriminatory.

Forty-five percent of unaccompanied respondents who had been in contact with organizations in the past three months reported receiving labor market support from organizations. No accompanied respondents received such support (see Figure H.5). Of those who received labor market support in the past three months, 90 percent reported being employed (see Figure H.6). Conversely, of those working, half had received labor market support within the past three months (see Figure H.7). Such help proved decisive; those who had not received such support were significantly less likely to have an apprenticeship when controlling for family status and country of origin (see Table I.4).¹² Unaccompanied respondents thus sought out and/or received employment-related help more often than their accompanied counterparts, benefiting substantially.

Gender

In particular, gendered discrimination against Muslim women and girls was a clear difference maker in regard to employment. For example, when controlling for former residence, country of origin, legal status, year of arrival and family status, female respondents were significantly more likely to have never worked in Austria (see Table I.2). The qualitative analysis in part explained such findings. Women spoke at length about the discrimination they experienced in the Austrian labor market. At times women told how they had even switched career paths in response. One female respondent relayed: "Because of my headscarf it is no longer my plan [to be a dentist assistant]" (interview, accompanied from Syria). Another respondent also referred to shifting employment paths to adjust to such discrimination: "I can say that I wanted to work in another branch and do a different education, but I have a headscarf and with that is hard to find a job. How can you hide that?" (interview, accompanied from Syria). A respondent from Iraq pointedly referenced the discriminatory nature of Austrian application processes, where photos on resumes remains common practice: "When they see our [resume] and our photo with a headscarf, they put it on the side, without even reading it" (interview, accompanied). Women and girls encountering greater obstacles seeking and receiving employment bolsters the visible difference integration theory; Muslim women and girls, who choose to wear a headscarf, appear more visibly different than their male counterparts inciting greater difficulties achieving labor market success.

Other Variables

There existed some evidence that legal status may impact respondents' likelihood of being employed. When running a t-test for current employment by subsidiary protection status, there existed a significant difference between the two groups ($p < 0.01$) (see Table J.6). The qualitative

¹² Gender was not included in the controls as no female respondents reported having an apprenticeship.

data at times corroborated this finding from the crude analysis. One respondent specifically referenced how it was “bad” to be enrolled in non-work education; non-work education being schools which are not accompanied by employment and for which adult students receive no money for attending. This belief came from stories he heard about other individuals’ renewal and asylum interviews with government officials, where pursuing a non-work education was viewed as negative or unsatisfactory. “A lot of people had an interview and they asked, ‘What are you doing [now]?’ They said, ‘We’re at an HTL [university-track education],’ and then they were almost at the end and then the government said, ‘No you have to go work or find an apprenticeship’” (interview, unaccompanied male Afghan). Such stories persuaded him to switch his education path and pursue an apprenticeship. Although there were no further quantitative findings to support this phenomenon, if pressure to pursue work over education did exist, such pressure would largely be unique to subsidiary protection recipients, as Convention status does not involve a review process.

Overall, country of origin was insignificant regarding employment history, current employment and form of employment in the adjusted analyses, as well as in the qualitative analysis. That country of origin did not impact respondents’ employment histories challenges the negative public perception in particular regarding persons of Afghan descent in Vienna. One exception, however, were Iranian Afghans (18 percent of total respondents and 35 percent of Afghan-descent respondents). Throughout the study, Iranian Afghans both presented themselves as and were distinct from those Afghans who had resided in Afghanistan. For example, many Iranian Afghans made a point to say they spoke Farsi, the Iranian dialect of Dari, when conducting the survey. In the crude analysis, those who had resided in Iran (all were of Afghan descent) were significantly different regarding current ($p < 0.01$) and past employment ($p < 0.1$) in Austria when compared to all other respondents. (In contrast, those from Syria and Iraq were only significantly different concerning current employment [$p < 0.05$] in the crude analysis). That 77 percent of Iranian Afghans were currently employed compared to 48 percent of those from Afghanistan and 30 percent of those from Syria informs the t-test (see Table J.4). Qualitatively there also appeared to exist a difference according to employment history between these two groups in their home countries. Many interview respondents who had lived in Iran also mentioned previously working in Iran, while only some respondents from Afghanistan reported previous employment in their home country.

Education

Family Status

Family status had a variable impact on education, with being unaccompanied both a strength and a weakness. When controlling for gender and country of origin, unaccompanied respondents were significantly more likely to have been currently or formerly enrolled in education (see Table I.5). When substituting the independent variable family status for the variable measuring whether respondents arrived with a parent, the effect becomes more exacerbated in favor of unaccompanied respondents (see Table I.6). In fact, respondents who arrived with a parent appeared even less likely to pursue an education than those who were accompanied; 52 percent and 71 percent of accompanied respondents who arrived with a parent had never been enrolled or were not currently enrolled in education, compared to 36 and 57 percent of accompanied respondents overall (see Table J.1). Combined with ubiquitous unemployment among accompanied respondents with a parent (none were working at the time of the survey and only 20 percent had worked in the past [see Table J.2]) and limited education enrollment, respondents

accompanied by parent(s) may not interact with Austrian society as robustly as other groups and may be unexpectedly vulnerable.

However, family status was not significant when regressing on current educational enrollment regardless of how it was treated (i.e. unaccompanied vs accompanied or without parent[s] vs with parent[s]) (see Table I.7 and I.8), perhaps indicating that accompanied respondents are increasingly catching up to their unaccompanied counterparts regarding enrollment in education. In addition, accompanied respondents more often reported being enrolled in university-track education. Sixty-seven percent of accompanied respondents enrolled in school were enrolled in university-track education compared to 19 percent of unaccompanied respondents.¹³ Furthermore, although more unaccompanied respondents overall were enrolled in education (73 percent compared to 43 percent), 67 percent were partaking in the formal apprenticeship system in Austria, which combines work and school and for which students receive money (see Figure H.8). Being accompanied may thus be an advantage when pursuing advanced education.

Family status also impacted respondents' educational paths in the qualitative data. While many unaccompanied respondents spoke at length about their desire to secure an apprenticeship, they repeatedly contextualized the decision with their desire to ultimately study at university and their current financial constraints. One respondent when strategizing about what he wanted to do in the following months, said: "Complete the apprenticeship and find a part-time job so I can finance my studies" (interview, male unaccompanied from Syria). Another unaccompanied respondent explained: "First, I will do the language, then I want to do an apprenticeship to be a pharmacist assistant for 3 or 2 years and then study at university when I have a lot of money" (interview, male from Afghanistan). Accompanied respondents who were no longer minors often had greater financial flexibility regarding which education and work path they chose. For example, some adult accompanied participants mentioned giving their money from the state to their parents in an effort to pool their money as a family. Such a strategy may breed fewer financial restrictions and allow some respondents to pursue educational pathways past the age of 18 which do not involve work (i.e. payment).

Importantly, unaccompanied respondents who have become adults, and therefore must support themselves, also framed their choice to enroll in the formal apprenticeship system in Austria positively. They saw the path as one which allowed them to pursue education, while also securing financial stability. Many unaccompanied respondents have thus developed, in part, financially secure livelihoods. Respondents also saw the apprenticeship as a marker of success themselves. However, it is critical to underline that unaccompanied respondents possess status-specific financial responsibilities and vulnerabilities which may influence their decisions to pursue an apprenticeship. In order for unaccompanied protected persons to freely choose their educational path, further financial assistance from the state is required.

The quantitative and qualitative findings on education confirm respondents' own perceptions on the advantages and disadvantages of being unaccompanied. When asked, unaccompanied respondents specifically referenced their limited access to higher education as a major disadvantage of their family status. They at times expressed that if a parent lived with them in Austria, they would pursue more advanced education or greater dreams. As one unaccompanied

¹³ If one removes those three unaccompanied respondents who reside with Austrian foster families from those unaccompanied enrolled in university track education, even less, 8 percent, were enrolled in university-track education.

respondent said: “When my parents would be here, I wouldn’t think about being a hair cutter. I would think about something bigger than cutting hair, I would think about something good for me and my family” (interview, male from Syria). Another unaccompanied respondent, whose family had recently been internally displaced in Afghanistan, noted: “My mom is really the person that makes me want to one day find my way to go study at university...if my mom were here, I would really really try to go to university” (interview, male).

Gender

Gender was once again a salient difference maker. Fifty-five percent of female respondents reported having been enrolled in education, compared to 91 percent of male respondents — a stark difference (see Table J.3). When conducting the crude analysis, there was a significant difference between male and female respondents regarding having been or currently being enrolled in education. However, when conducting the adjusted analysis, no significance was found (see Table I.7 and I.8). By conducting additional regressions, family status was discovered to rob gender of its significance.

Other Variables

Country of origin and former residence at times impacted the education outcomes of respondents. Given the decades of conflict within Afghanistan, it would follow that those respondents from Afghanistan in particular struggled to enter a formal education path in Austria. However, 72 percent of those who had resided in Afghanistan had been or were currently enrolled in education in Austria, relatively equal with other countries (Iran 92 percent, Syria 85 percent) (see Table J.4). Moreover, there existed no difference regarding university-track education according to country of origin; 17 percent of those from Afghanistan were enrolled in university-track education, compared to 26 and 22 percent of those from Syria and Iran, respectively (see Figure H.9). Once again, however, Iranian Afghans fared the best of all groups according to country of origin; of those enrolled in education 89 percent were enrolled full-time in non-refugee-specific educations.

The sample size regarding former residence remains small (49 urban, 10 rural, 13 peri-urban). As a result, when regressing on current and former educational enrollment and university track education, I found no significance. Nonetheless, when conducting the crude analysis those respondents who were from urban areas and those who were not were significantly different regarding having been currently or formerly enrolled in education ($p < 0.05$) and university track education ($p < 0.05$) (see table J.5). Such a difference may flow from previous educational history, with rural respondents less likely to have received an education in their home countries and thus encountering more obstacles when pursuing education in Austria. One respondent spoke about the difficulties he experienced growing up in a rural area: “There is a school, but it is very far and the kids can’t do it. There aren’t any cars or local trains, you have to go by foot two hours to school” (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan).

Outlook on the Labor Market

Family Status

Family status at times appeared to impact respondents’ outlook on the labor market with unaccompanied respondents being more optimistic. For example, when controlling for gender and country of origin, unaccompanied respondents were significantly more likely to believe it was easier for them to find their desired job in Austria ($p < 0.06$) (see Table I.9). Regarding likelihood of receiving their desired job, happiness in their future job, and likelihood they will receive a worse job in Austria, family status had no quantitative impact.

Other Variables

Quantitatively there existed no evidence that gender impacted respondents' outlooks on the labor market. Nonetheless, the qualitative findings detailed previously clearly indicate that women and girls faced specific barriers regarding labor market discrimination, making it difficult for them to obtain their desired job. Such findings remain significant, despite their invisibility within the quantitative analysis in this specific aspect.

Finally, country of origin did appear to impact respondents' outlooks on the labor market. When controlling for gender and family status, those respondents that were of Afghan descent were significantly less likely to report that they would likely receive a worse job in Austria (see Table I.10). Moreover, those who resided in Syria particularly expressed they would likely receive a worse job in Austria and that Austria makes it more difficult to find their desired job than in Syria. For example, 21 percent of those respondents who resided in Syria believe they would receive a worse job in Austria, compared to just 5 percent of those from Afghanistan and 15 percent of those from Iran (see Table J.4). Forty-three percent respondents from Afghanistan and 46 percent of those from Iran believed that Austria made it much easier to find a job, only 14 percent of Syrians thought the same (see Table J.4).

The qualitative findings corroborated Syrians more pessimistic outlook on the labor market. Within the surveys and interviews, many Arab Syrian respondents missed their former lives, a sentiment largely not shared by those from Afghanistan and Iran. As one respondent stated, "I had everything in Syria. We had cars. We had everything" (interview, unaccompanied male). Another respondent spoke with emotion about how amazing Syria was: "Everyone says I don't want to go to Syria. Why? We are very happy there. Everyone has work. Everyone has a job. Everything you want, is there!" (interview, accompanied female).

SOCIAL CONNECTIONS

Overall Trends

Throughout the study, respondents repeatedly referenced language as critical for developing social connections in Austria, despite some respondents being able to communicate in English before learning German. "With the language, I met a lot of friends. And now I know a lot of people. And at the beginning I was here...I couldn't speak, I could only look and run around. But now I can speak a little and have contact and it's gotten better" (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan). Respondents often also intertwined social connections and language attainment; when asked what they needed to improve their German, respondents overwhelmingly answered contact with German speakers. Moreover, respondents repeatedly associated language attainment with a better life in Austria. One respondent said: "It's hard but you have to do it, you need it. German is necessary for me, it's like bread" (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan). Another respondent explained: "I think that when you can speak well here, you can do what you want, and you can work in the field you want. Everything is possible" (interview, female accompanied from Syria). Another, when asked when he began to feel at home in Austria, replied, "because of the language, because now I understand German and I can contact and speak with everyone" (interview, unaccompanied male from Afghanistan).

Moreover, respondents repeatedly devalued intra-community relations, at times even seeing such connections as detrimental and prohibitive. Respondents of Afghan descent were particularly critical of their own people; describing other Afghans as “bad” was common. One respondent from Afghanistan explained: “We have done bad things ourselves and now the other Austrians and other countries now don’t like the foreigners, particularly the Afghans. And the Austrians are now afraid” (interview, male unaccompanied). Another female respondent from Syria reported how she “tried to stay away” from the Syrian community.

Respondents also revealed unsettling prejudices against other ethnic groups when speaking about social connections. A Pashtun from Afghanistan reported how Hazara were dumb and shouldn’t be able to call Afghanistan home. Another female respondent was particularly prejudicial:

Believe me, the low-class people from Syria go to Europe because they don’t have a job, they don’t have anything. What do they have? A house? And now it’s gone. They don’t have respect. You know these Kurdish people, they had everything. They had a normal city. One city. And now they come and they want a republic (interview, accompanied from Syria).

Flowing from such prejudices, there existed little comradery across ethnic groupings despite sharing similar experiences. If respondents were friends with other protected persons or asylum seekers, they were almost always belonged to the same ethnic and linguistic group. One Iranian Afghan offered an explanation for this trend: “When a person can’t speak German, I try to not come into contact with him. He can’t speak German nor my native language. So why should I speak with him?” (interview, male unaccompanied). He failed to see the irony in this statement. Another provided different reasoning: “Most [of my friends] are from Iran, those Afghans that were born in Iran. Because we understand each other” (interview, unaccompanied male Iranian Afghan).

In contrast, respondents overwhelmingly valued connections with Austrians and German-speakers, even though such friendships were difficult to cultivate. Many spoke about prejudice when speaking about their challenges finding Austrian friends. “There is a misunderstanding between Austrians and...they think that the refugees are worse people and they [the Austrians] are a bit racist. It is not racism, but it is a misunderstanding” (interview, unaccompanied male Iranian Afghan). Another stated: “Some of the Austrians they see the foreigners as bad” (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan). One respondent appeared to reconcile himself with the racism in Austria: “It was only hard at the beginning but then you get used to it and then it doesn’t matter if someone is cool to me or not” (interview, male unaccompanied from Syria). Even with the discrimination in Austria, male respondents were at a distinct advantage when fostering Austrian or German-speaking friendships, as many spoke of meeting such friends through sports like soccer. Importantly, when asked whether they had other refugee friends, some respondents proudly stated they did not. The Syrian respondent from Kuwait, when asked if he had made refugee friends in his Gymnasium (the typical university-track education), just laughed.

As referenced before, the effort to remain active originated from a desire to establish social connections and gain experience. Some organizations’ activities, such as soccer teams, were explicitly integrative and designed to cultivate Austrian-refugee friendships. When speaking about the soccer club *Kicken Ohne Grenzen* (kicking beyond borders), one respondent elaborated:

“This club is a door and when you open the door there is a new country and a new life behind it. From soccer we can achieve this” (interview, unaccompanied male Iranian Afghan). Another respondent explained his decision to join a bike club: “I thought okay a new experience for you, and you can collect it and put it in your pocket. And...things that I do at Caritas [refugee organization], okay I don’t need it for today, but it will always be needed eventually” (interview, unaccompanied male from Afghanistan). Such a will to remain busy even led some to work without pay. For example, one woman linked her decision to work for free to self-worth: “We think that the money from the social help is our money because we have worked a lot as unemployed people. And we think okay now that is our money, we didn’t just take it for free” (interview, accompanied from Syria).

Language

Family Status

Family status impacted language attainment, use and German language connections. Unaccompanied respondents began German quicker, were less likely to be currently enrolled in German courses and had higher levels of German compared to accompanied respondents. Accompanied respondents appeared to begin German courses slightly later were more likely to be currently enrolled in German courses, as well as have lower levels of German. Moreover, their German language contacts appeared less robust than their unaccompanied counterparts.

Regarding the time between respondents’ arrival and their initial German language course, almost half of unaccompanied respondents began German immediately (49 percent) with 65 percent beginning within the first three months. In contrast, only 31 percent of accompanied respondents began German immediately and only 37 percent within the first three months (see Figure H.10). Controlling for gender and country of origin, accompanied respondents were significantly more likely to have begun German more than 6 months after their arrival than unaccompanied respondents (see Table I.11). Further quantitative analysis underlined the importance of beginning German language courses immediately; when controlling for gender and whether a respondent arrived with a parent,¹⁴ beginning German immediately resulted in higher levels of German language attainment (see Table I.12).

The immediate contact with German language courses unaccompanied respondents enjoyed carried over into language attainment; 43 percent of unaccompanied respondents reported having B2 or higher German (see Appendix C for the EU language scale), more than double that of accompanied respondents (20 percent) (see Figure H.11). It also appeared that many unaccompanied respondents had migrated out of German language courses earlier than accompanied respondents. For example, 43 percent of accompanied respondents were still enrolled in German language courses, while only 16 percent of unaccompanied respondents still reported being enrolled (see Table J.1).¹⁵

It may be argued that the higher language course enrollment of accompanied respondents indicates they continued to pursue education, while unaccompanied respondents entered the labor market. However, it is important to emphasize that these statistics represent language course enrollment and should be considered distinct from educational pursuits. Given the lower

¹⁴ Including family status in the regression resulted in all variables being insignificant.

¹⁵ However, difference in language course enrollment according to family status was an emerging trend, as an almost equal portion of respondents from both groups had been enrolled in language courses within the past six months (59 percent unaccompanied, 62 percent accompanied).

levels of German among accompanied respondents (see Figure H.11), it seems that unaccompanied respondents have “passed” the language integration step and have transitioned into education or work. In comparison, accompanied respondents are still learning German — representative of their overall slower integration trajectory.

Interestingly, while being accompanied by parents did not impact whether respondents began German immediately or within a 6-month period, it sharply impacted their German level. Those who arrived without a parent were significantly more likely to have a higher German level than those who arrived with parents, controlling for gender, country of origin and years in Austria (see Table I.13). However, I found no significance in the adjusted analysis when including family status instead of parental status (see Table I.14). Such a finding indicates parents specifically may negatively impact language attainment.

Finally, accompanied respondents appeared to at times possess less rigorous German language connections; 15 percent of accompanied respondents reported using German mostly with service providers and 6 percent with family members (see Figure H.12). Importantly, many of those who reported speaking German mostly with family members in the survey identified very young siblings who were also not native German speakers, making it clear these were not robust language connections. Moreover, of those accompanied respondents who were enrolled in a German language course (43 percent), 67 percent did not or were unable to provide a specific connection, with whom they spoke German, indicating such connections may be largely service-based. In contrast, unaccompanied respondents reported speaking German mostly with coworkers (28 percent) and personal friends (roommates, teammates, significant other 11 percent) — just 6 percent reported using German mostly with service providers (see Figure H.12).

Gender

Gender strongly impacted German language attainment and use quantitatively and qualitatively. Given the connection detailed above between when respondents started with German and their German language attainment, that girls began German language courses slower than accompanied and unaccompanied boys harmed their language progress. For example, just 25 percent of girls began immediately learning German compared to 46 percent of male respondents (see Table J.3). Moreover, while 75 percent of boys had begun learning German in language courses within 6 months, only 45 percent of girls had (see Table J.3). Furthermore, 90 percent of female respondents had B1 or lower, while 77 percent of male respondents had B1 or *higher*. Such data on language attainment emphasizes the consequences of the delayed nature of female respondents’ language learning (see Figure H.13). In part flowing from such delays, female respondents were more likely to still be learning German in courses (50 percent) than males (21 percent) (see Table J.3).

When controlling for family status and country of origin, female respondents were significantly more likely to have a lower German level (see Table I.15). (When additionally controlling for year of arrival gender was significant at $p < 0.06$ [see Table I.16].) However, further analysis proved there existed a complex relationship between parental status and gender. Within the previous regression, gender was significant with a coefficient of 1.36. However, substituting family status for parental status, parental status became significant ($p\text{-value} < 0.01$) and with a coefficient of 2.64 including when controlling for year of arrival (see Table I.17). Gender was no longer significant. While gender provided qualitatively and quantitatively significant in regard to language attainment, parental status had a larger quantitatively significant impact on German level.

Female respondents were significantly more likely to mostly use their native language during the day controlling for family status, legal status, country of origin and year of arrival (see Table I.18). Female respondents were also significantly less likely to speak mostly German ($p\text{-value}<0.01$) (see Table I.19), and German or a mix of German during the day (see Table I.20) when controlling for family status, country of origin and year of arrival.

The qualitative findings supported the quantitative data. The interview focused largely on language obstacles and it thus did not gather data on language use, attainment and connections as robustly as the survey. However, the interview, as well as survey were conducted in German. As a result, I was able to ascertain respondents' language skills. In this respect, it became evident that many female respondents were less proficient in German than male respondents. Moreover, as will be detailed in the proceeding sections, many female respondents did not develop intimate friendships outside of their linguistic group, likely exacerbating their slower language growth.

Connections with Individuals and Organizations

Family Status

Family status impacted whether respondents had German specific connections, as well as connections outside their linguistic communities. It also influenced the form of support respondents received from organizations. For instance, unaccompanied respondents reported more robust connections with Austrians/German-speakers, as well as reported receiving employment-specific support from organizations more often. In comparison, accompanied respondents reported greater difficulties in gaining access to Austrians, in addition to receiving language support from organizations more often. However, family status did not impact general contact with organizations nor the development overall of social connections.

Unaccompanied respondents reported their best friend(s) was outside their linguistic group more often (42 percent) than accompanied respondents (25 percent) (see Figure J.1). Moreover, 32 percent of unaccompanied respondents reported speaking German with their best friend(s) compared to just 17 percent of accompanied respondents (see Figure J.1). However, how respondents came to make those friends do not explain such differences. For example, unaccompanied and accompanied respondents reported that their friend(s) were coworkers (11 percent and 9 percent respectively) or had met them through service provision (8 percent and 9 percent respectively) and German courses (11 percent and 16 percent respectively) at roughly equal rates. Accompanied respondents, however, did report that their best friend(s) were former or current classmates more often (28 percent) than unaccompanied respondents (19 percent). Nonetheless, 38 percent of unaccompanied respondents reported meeting their best friend in a camp, compared to just 13 percent of accompanied respondents (see Figure H.14). Despite not explaining how unaccompanied respondents came to make German language connections, such data do demonstrate that unaccompanied respondents began making deep social connections immediately upon arrival, often retaining such connections for years.

Unaccompanied and accompanied respondents were equally socially immobile. When asked if their best friend had changed since they arrived in Austria, only 21 percent of unaccompanied and 28 percent of accompanied reported yes (see Table J.1). Moreover, unaccompanied respondents were only slightly more likely than accompanied respondents to report being lonely; 11 percent of unaccompanied and 6 percent of accompanied reported always feeling lonely, and 16 and 25 percent accordingly reported never being lonely. In terms of social well-being,

excluding evaluating such connections according to “Austrian-ness,” unaccompanied and accompanied respondents were thus relatively equal in the quantitative findings.

However, the qualitative data reveal unaccompanied respondents clearly struggled with feelings of loneliness, their lack of family at times weighing on their minds. When asked if he liked Vienna, a respondent from Syria replied, “Vienna is a lot better, but without your family it is something else” (interview, unaccompanied). Another respondent from Syria particularly struggled emotionally and severely missed his family. He told how he had tried to bring his family to Austria, soliciting multiple organizations. His emotions regarding his family prevented him at times from focusing on his own goals. “Sometimes I hold my book, I learn but I cannot learn because I always think about what my mom is doing, is she with my sister, is she cooking is she with my dad” (interview, unaccompanied).

Other respondents used their families as motivations despite their absence: “Without question she wanted me to go to school. My mom is really the person that makes me want to one day find my way to go study at university” (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan). Another told how his parents’ opinions continued to guide him while in Austria: “It is about respect. They [my parents] had never hit me. Never in my life. No matter the age. And they never made me do anything. But they tell me what is right and what is wrong and that’s why I have respect and I don’t do something that would make them angry” (interview, unaccompanied from Syria).

In contrast, some respondents exhibited a slow drifting from their families as time went on, perhaps in an effort to combat such loneliness:

I always said okay, you have to move on and you have to go forward in your life without your mom, your dad, your siblings. And now is it almost three years that I went away from my family and I would say that my family is here and okay it is true that I have a family there, but I don’t think often of them. (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan).

Regarding organizational contact, there existed little variance according to family status. Almost all respondents had been in contact with a refugee organization at some point in Austria (97 percent unaccompanied and 94 percent accompanied) (see Table J.1) Respondents’ history of organizational contact remained similarly equal across the groups. For example, 58 percent of unaccompanied and 67 percent of accompanied respondents, who had had contact in the past with refugee organizations, currently had some form of contact at the time of the survey. For those who did not have current contact, the plurality reported the last contact was more than nine months prior (36 percent unaccompanied and 27 percent accompanied) (see Table J.1).

However, family status did impact the type of help received from such organizations. Both unaccompanied and accompanied respondents, who had contact within the last three months with refugee organizations, reported receiving educational assistance (36 and 25 percent) and legal/bureaucracy assistance (23 and 25 percent respectively). However, unaccompanied respondents more often received labor market support (45 and none respectively), while accompanied respondents more often received language assistance (33 and 5 percent) (see Figure H.15). The dissimilar forms of support reflect the different stages in the integration processes these two groups lie.

Gender

Women and girls were less likely to have Austrian connections. The help female respondents received from refugee organizations may explain their lack of connections; 50 percent of female respondents were still enrolled in German courses language support from organizations compared to just 22 percent of male respondents (see Figure J.3). Further, while there existed almost no difference between female and male respondents regarding loneliness, female respondents more often referenced discrimination in the interviews. Given the severity of the discrimination reported, it may have prohibited many respondents from expanding their social connections beyond the refugee community. Difficulties establishing contacts with Austrians may also result from the gendered dynamics in which female respondents grew up. Male respondents repeatedly referenced soccer as a gateway for developing friendship with Austrians, as well as sports in general. Female respondents often did not pursue such activities and thus may have missed a critical avenue through which to cultivate Austrian contacts.

Other Variables

While country of origin did not appear to impact social connections, being of Afghan descent appeared to be a strength regarding developing German-specific connections. When controlling for family status and gender, those respondents who were of Afghan descent were significantly more likely to speak German with their best friend(s) (see Table I.21). Such a finding once again challenges the negative perception regarding Afghan asylum seekers and protected persons.

OUTLOOK ON INTEGRATION

Overall Trends

While respondents remained optimistic regarding their ability to integrate into Austrian society, many felt restricted in their ability to completely be Austrian. For example, respondents often saw language as the key for integrating into Austrian society. From learning to better navigate the public transportation in Vienna, to being able to respond to strangers on the street, respondents viewed German as irreplaceable for integration and improving their lives. However, learning German did not grant respondents access to be “Austrian” as, according to many respondents, being Austrian was simply not a possibility. One actually laughed when asked if he would ever be considered Austrian: “I clearly come from Afghanistan. *Perhaps* my children would be seen as Austrians [emphasis added]” (interview, unaccompanied male).

Some respondents appeared to trade or reject their culture in an effort to fully integrate. As one respondent said:

I would feel integrated or be seen as an integrated person when I have left everything behind me and that the things from my past, that I brought with me, no longer are with me, my thoughts, the things that I brought with me, the things that I don't need anymore. They have to go away and just the things that I need here must stay. (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan)

Another respondent shared a similar emotion of needing or wanting to separate from a former identity and past. “Afghanistan is not my country. On a piece of paper it says that my nationality, my identity is Afghanistan and I am Afghan. But I am not Afghan. I don't accept that” (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan).

In contrast, some respondents still clung to their home country. As one respondent from Iraq explained: “Culture is the identity of the people and I think it is super important that I maintain my culture” (interview, accompanied female). Another poignantly stated he would never give up his Syrian passport: “I don’t want to return a stranger to my home” (survey, unaccompanied male from Syria). Respondents thus approached integration and their likelihood of integrating in diverse, complex and evolving ways.

Outlook on Integration

Family Status

Unaccompanied respondents felt more integrated, as well as wished to stay longer in Austria than their accompanied counterparts. For example, when controlling for gender, country of origin, age, educational enrollment and having an apprenticeship, unaccompanied minors were significantly more likely to report always feeling a part of Austria. Importantly, educational enrollment and having an apprenticeship ($p < 0.1$) also made respondents significantly more likely to feel like a part of Austria (see Table I.22). Such significant relationships demonstrate that robust connections in the labor market and education system breed a sense of belonging among respondents. Perhaps flowing from their greater sense of belonging, more unaccompanied respondents wished to stay in Austria permanently than accompanied respondents (83 percent and 68 percent) (see Table J.1). Such differences remain complex, however, as many unaccompanied respondents struggled with being separated from their families; 61 percent of unaccompanied respondents reported loving to visit their home country (see Table J.1).

Further, accompanied respondents appeared to have a stronger interest in maintaining a linguistic connection to their cultures and nations — this does not necessarily prevent integration. For example, 84 percent of accompanied respondents expressed an interest in teaching their children their native languages, compared to just 61 percent of unaccompanied respondents. Interestingly, almost one-fourth of unaccompanied respondents (24 percent) reported disliking or hating to teach their children their native languages (see Table J.1).

Gender

The discrimination endured by female respondents, particularly those who wear a headscarf, impacted their integration outlook. Thirty-two percent of female respondents reported rarely or never feeling like a part of Austria, double the proportion of male respondents (16 percent) (see Table J.3). Despite the increased freedoms and opportunities in Austria for female respondents, however, less female respondents reported wishing to stay in Austria long-term (65 percent) than males (80 percent), with 25 percent reported loving to return to their home country if it was safe (see Table J.3). The increased discrimination endured by female respondents may explain such findings. Moreover, female respondents expressed greater interest in maintaining a linguistic connection to their home country and culture; 84 percent were interested in teaching their children their native language compared to 67 percent of male respondents (see Table J.3).

Other Variables

Those from Afghanistan and Iran overwhelmingly desired to stay in Austria long-term (Afghanistan 91 percent and Iran 92 percent) compared to those from Iraq and Syria (67 percent and 56 percent respectively) (see Table J.4). Moreover, respondents from Afghanistan and Iran were also less likely to wish to maintain a connection to their native language, with only 59 percent of respondents from Afghanistan and 40 percent of respondents from Iran reporting wishing to teach

it to their children. In comparison, 93 percent of respondents from Syria wished to teach their children their native language (see Table J.4).

Furthermore, those from Afghanistan and Iran seemed to detach themselves from their home countries; 55 percent of those from Afghanistan and 83 percent of those from Iran reported hating to return to their home country if it was safe (see Table J.4). When controlling for family status and gender, respondents from Afghanistan and Iran ($p < 0.01$) were significantly more likely to report hating to return home (see Table I.23). Moreover, those respondents from Syria were significantly less likely to report wishing to stay forever in Austria when controlling for family status, year of arrival, gender and legal status (see Table I.24). The interviews corroborated such differences; many Iraqi and Syrian respondents spoke more positively of their prior life and home country than those from Afghanistan and Iran.

DISCRIMINATION

Many respondents spoke about the discrimination they experienced in Austria. As already stated, females who wore headscarves suffered in particular. Discrimination also at times came from respondents' own communities. One female respondent reported how because of her decision to now wear a headscarf, two families from her city in Afghanistan, who had been residing in the same camp in Austria, frightened her family into switching locations. Similarly, another female respondent reported how her brother had hit her because she decided to not wear a headscarf in Vienna, among other factors. The discrimination endured by respondents was at times less overt, though nonetheless prohibitive regarding their desire to establish connections in Austria. One female respondent detailed such an example: "The entire neighbors in this building were terrible with me. They didn't want to speak with me, but when they saw my husband, they would always say hi and chat but with me they didn't want to say one word to me" (interview, accompanied from Syria). Another respondent from Afghanistan spoke how people would always cross to the other side of the street when they saw him.

Moreover, a few respondents referred to the discriminatory political situation in Austria. One respondent, who founded a political action committee of young asylum seekers and protected persons, spoke about this inspiration:

Through this government because every day there was a new law against refugees. There was never a message from refugees that these refugees are good and that they do good things. Because there are many refugees who have done very good things and they never tell about these refugees, they always tell about these bad ones, a couple people who have done bad things. (interview, unaccompanied male Iranian Afghan)

The political situation in Austria made subsidiary protection respondents in particular stressed, as they must renew their status every two years. When asked how long they would like to stay in Austria, it was common for many subsidiary protection respondents in the survey to reply it was not their decision – Convention status respondents did not refer to so explicitly to a lack of power over their fates in Austria.

Discrimination, while at times overtly xenophobic and racist, also flowed from misunderstandings. Throughout the research those born in Afghanistan repeatedly referenced their “*Ersten Ersten*” birthday (i.e. January 1st). Austria gave this birthday to those who did not know when they were born or their age. It is well-known in Austria that many Afghans received such an artificial birthday. One respondent told how in a hospital a nurse had laughed at him when he had given his birthday. The experience for him appeared to trigger thoughts about his past and identity.

It doesn't make me feel good [that she laughed]. I have no birthday. I have no identification...I was born at home not in a hospital. My parents cannot read. They cannot write. I don't have a birthday — every person should have a birthday. (interview, unaccompanied Iranian Afghan)

Respondents themselves demonstrated such prejudices and discriminatory opinions, making disparaging comments about others' or their own communities. For example, when I asked one Pashtun respondent from Afghanistan why he was not friends with Hazaras in Austria, he said how they were “dumb” and how they rejected Afghanistan (interview, male unaccompanied). One female respondent, who was Muslim but did not wear a headscarf, seemed to police other women and girls who did. For example, she called the women and girls who wore the headscarf with certain clothing or while partaking in public displays of affection disrespectful. Another respondent complemented her Kurdish community by putting down Arabs: “Kurdish women are not like Arab women. Kurdish women are similar to Austrian women...because Kurdish women...what they want to do they can do” (interview, accompanied from Syria).

Many respondents also faced difficulties finding housing, with many reporting incidences of exploitation. One female respondent reported how she and another Afghan family had their deposit and an entire year of rent stolen from someone who had rented to them illegally. It was also common for respondents to live in a one or two-room apartment with several people. One accompanied respondent told how she and her family lived in a one-bedroom apartment with seven people. Similarly, another respondent reported living with four people in a one-room apartment. Housing exploitation appeared so wide-spread and severe, that one respondent spoke excitedly of living with just four people in a two-bedroom apartment. Many unaccompanied respondents also reported having slept on friends' couches for months, even a year, while searching for an apartment. Although these cramped living conditions resulted in part from financial constraints, housing discrimination was a significant contributor, as well.

IDENTITY

As many respondents grew and began to enter adulthood, Austria increasingly influenced their evolving identities. Questions regarding home and belonging weighed on the minds of many respondents. In particular, respondents of Afghan descent at times used being in Austria as an opportunity to completely sever ties from their former culture, which they resented. As one respondent from Afghanistan, who said he refuses to identify himself as Afghan, explained:

Afghanistan took everything from me. Afghanistan took everything from me and didn't give me anything back. Afghanistan every single day took everything from me and it was finally enough... And I am very thankful for Austria, I thank Austria. They gave me everything, almost everything. There isn't anything that I haven't

gotten from here. And those things which were taken from and not given back...now I have them. (interview, unaccompanied)

The quantitative data in part underlined such findings. For example, 70 percent of respondents from Iran and 47 percent of respondents from Afghanistan spoke to their parents monthly or less than monthly. In comparison, 76 percent of respondents from Syria spoke to their parents at least weekly (see Figure H.16). However, poor internet connections may explain such discrepancies, as well.

Other respondents reported changing opinions since arriving in Austria. One respondent from Afghanistan answered honestly that the gendered dynamics in Austria were difficult for him at first. However, he adjusted and during the interview appeared to be an eager supporter of gender equality. Another referenced former prejudices when explaining how her thoughts changed: “The main thing is that we are all people no matter what religion you have, no matter what nationality, skin color” (interview, accompanied from Syria). An Iranian Afghan detailed his evolution regarding religion:

My opinion was in Iran very radical. Then it changed. I had a friend and we discussed about religion a lot...And then I came to a point where we are all people and we are all equal and there isn't a difference between a Christian and a Muslim it is only for me a way of thinking. (interview, unaccompanied)

Conversely, some respondents reported a freedom to finally express the thoughts and feelings they had already held in their home countries. One female respondent, who grew up in Damascus in a Christian family and traveled with the UN to Austria, stated: “My mind was always European. And when I came here, I could just now be me.” She defiantly concluded: “I am myself. I don't feel like war changed anything in me.” Another respondent from Afghanistan spoke about his ability to finally speak out against conservative Afghans' interpretations of Islam.

I was always against it. But I could only talk with my family about it or my mom...I would say: ‘Mom they're doing it wrong. It says somewhere in a book these things, but that isn't true. You have to be more enlightened. You have to follow your brain and not a piece of paper. And my mom always gave me the same response: ‘The religious leaders say that and you have to follow them.’” (interview, unaccompanied male)

Many respondents also wanted to take the best from both their home culture and Austria, recognizing that shaping their identities in their new home was a complex and dynamic process. One respondent also revealed a common struggle regarding identity and belonging:

My German teacher always asked what do you understand as home? And home has two meanings. It either means that you feel good somewhere and that is your home. And the second meaning is where do you come from? And I come from Afghanistan, but I feel good here. And that I can't answer with just one word. (interview, male unaccompanied from Afghanistan)

FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES

Family responsibilities often took different forms depending on whether respondents had arrived with their parents. For those unaccompanied respondents, there were little familial responsibilities, which many saw as an advantage. As one unaccompanied respondent from Afghanistan explained when asked about the benefits of his family status:

Benefits... I would say yes/no. Yes and no. Because now I am alone, and I know what my problems are and how I can solve these problems. But when I think if my mom and my two siblings were here and my siblings are young and my mom can't speak German and I also have stress with school and then next to this a lot of other things. What would I take care of? My parents and my family...or? I see a lot more advantages than disadvantages that I am here alone.

However, it is likely that the familial responsibilities of unaccompanied respondents will increase as they continue to live in Austria. For example, 54 percent of unaccompanied respondents who were employed reported sending money to their family with some regularity (i.e. always, often or sometimes) compared to 22 percent of unemployed unaccompanied respondents (see Figure H.17). Such data demonstrate that as unaccompanied respondents build more resilient livelihoods, their responsibilities towards the family they left will grow.

Accompanied respondents bore comparatively larger familial responsibilities compared to unaccompanied respondents. Those with families often reported translating for parents, as well as older siblings. They often went to legal and medical appointments, although at times struggling to understand the complicated German themselves. Many respondents repeatedly referenced the age of their parents as an integration barrier. While some further referenced their parents' unwillingness to adapt, many emphasized their parents' motivation. "[My father] has a big tablet and he always learns German with videos. He has two notebooks and they are full from words from German" (interview, accompanied female from Afghanistan). Another spoke of her mother's own will to learn German: "My mom always is sad because she doesn't understand anything, but she wants to study German the entire time — 180 percent! My mom is studying right now at home! She studies all the time" (interview, accompanied from Syria).

Mothers appeared particularly resilient from their children's perspectives. Often respondents would speak of how their fathers resisted adjusting to Austria, while praising the efforts of their mothers. "My mom has already done A1 and then my mom everyday learns German two hours at home. But my dad doesn't want to" (interview, accompanied female from Syria). Another female respondent similarly lauded her mother compared to her father: "My dad is not even trying but my mom she knows a lot of words. She really studies the language but she is not succeeding because she is not that young so it is hard for her, but she is trying. She did her B1 and now she is trying to do her B2. I'm very proud of her" (interview, accompanied from Syria). Two respondents from Syria and Afghanistan also told of their mothers' new-found independence with the mother from Syria divorcing her husband and the one from Afghanistan feeling "born again." Nonetheless, it appeared the integration of accompanied respondents' parents proceeded slowly. Importantly, accompanied respondents often did not serve as the expected bridge to Austrian society given their own accompanied status impacted their own integration trajectories. While accompanied respondents provided much needed assistance to their parents and family

members, their own slower integration processes undermined their ability to link their parents to Austrian society.

VII. DISCUSSION

Why do gender and family status affect integration? Why are the “vulnerable” unaccompanied respondents better able to integrate? Why are women and girls progressing more slowly? The proceeding discussion relies on the existing theories and constructs presented in the literature review to explain these differences. By robustly analyzing the findings through concepts and theories already present in scholarship, the research explicitly fills a critical knowledge gap, as well as investigates whether existing theories can account for such differences uncovered in the research. The discussion below specifically applies the Ager and Strang’s adjusted framework, Paat’s integration adaptation of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory, and overall cross-cutting issues to organize and explain the findings.

ORGANIZING AND VISUALIZING THE FINDINGS: AGER’S AND STRANG’S KEY DIMENSIONS OF INTEGRATION FRAMEWORK (ADJUSTED)

The adjusted Ager and Strang framework recommended in the literature review is particularly helpful for organizing and visualizing the facilitators, barriers and outcomes of integration in the study. Importantly, the integration outcomes (i.e. markers) varied according to the facilitators and barriers enumerated in the adjusted framework, supporting the use of the framework in organizing this discussion. Given that the literature understands integration in diverse ways (multi-national, city-centered, nation-state), I specifically chose city-centered integration as the integration concept informing the entire theoretical construct. My decision flows from the research design, which included only respondents who lived in Vienna.

The below adjusted framework is not ubiquitously applicable. While the literature would likely benefit from some of the general modifications (i.e. cyclical nature of integration domains and modified facilitators), the construct below is specific to the research conducted.

Ager and Strang's Key Dimensions of Integration (Adjusted)

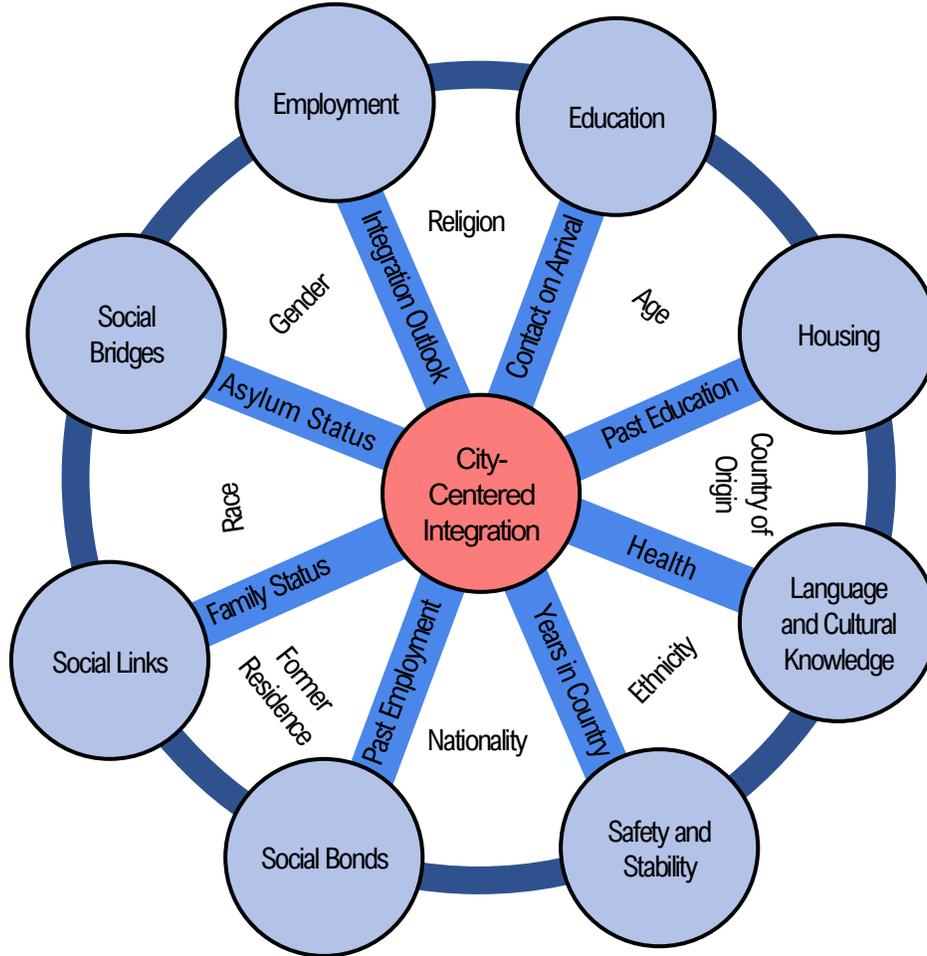


Figure 3: depiction of adjusted Ager's and Strang's framework
Sources: Ager and Strang 2004, 2008, 2010

Facilitators and Barriers

Within the study, the facilitators and barriers are those independent and control variables impacting the integration outcomes of respondents (i.e. the dependent variables/integration markers). The study measured many of the facilitators and barriers included in the framework (gender, age, country of origin, ethnicity, nationality, former residence, family status, asylum status, integration outlook, contact on arrival, past education, years in country, past employment) Notable exceptions were race, religion and health. However, as the literature emphasized their importance, they are included.

Integration Domains

According to the markers of integration in the framework, the study measured employment and education (labor market experience); social bonds, bridges and links and language and cultural knowledge (social connections); and to some degree housing. It did not measure safety and stability, although it remains an important integration outcome and is thus included.

ANSWERING WHY?: PAAT'S APPLICATION OF BRONFENBRENNER'S ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS THEORY

The ecological systems framework situates the integration process within five interconnected systems (microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem). The microsystem is those groups, institutions and individuals, with whom respondents have the most contact and that immediately impact children's development (Paat 2013). The mesosystem encompasses the connections between microsystems (Paat 2013). The exosystem constitutes the larger institutions and social systems, which impact the child and in which the child indirectly functions, but on which the child has no discernible impact nor has the power to influence, such as a refugee's neighborhood (Paat 2013). The macrosystem refers to the overarching beliefs, values and contexts which encapsulate children's lives (Eriksson et. al 2017). Finally, the chronosystem refers to the historical period, as well as life period of the refugee (Paat 2013). The ecological systems framework accounts for integration differences through these systems being dissimilar; a family-dominated microsystem breeds a different integration experience than a peer-dominated microsystem — these systems in turn breeding disparate consequences in the meso-, exo-, macro- and chronosystems. While the microsystem, an individual's immediate environment, dominates the framework through its nested position (see Figure 4), the constitutions of the outer systems similarly reverberate inwards. For example, the dominance of the family within the microsystem may depend on the life period of the person, with the role of the family fluctuating depending on a person's age.

The below uses the ecological systems theory as a guide to account for the differences uncovered in the research according to family status and gender.

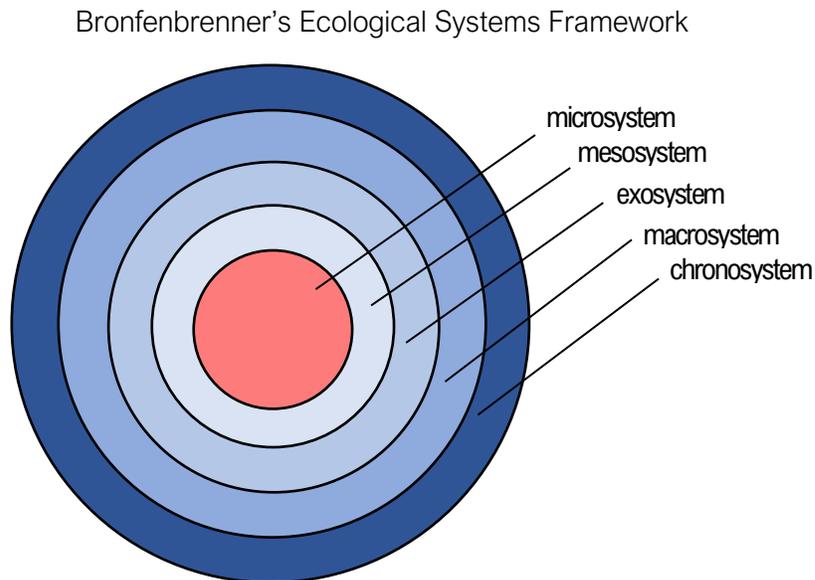


Figure 4: Depiction of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Framework
Source: Bronfenbrenner and Morris 2007; Paat 2013

Understanding the Role of the Family: The Micro and Exosystems

Unaccompanied and accompanied respondents integrated differently because of the social consequences of their status, as well as the differential treatment they received in Austria. First, family status impacted the immediate environments (i.e. microsystems), in which refugee interacted, with unaccompanied respondents largely benefiting from a more diverse social environment. Second, Austria treated unaccompanied and accompanied protected persons legally and socially differently, engendering disparate institutional and social environments (exosystems) according to family status.

Through comparing the composition of the microsystem between the two groups, one uncovers in part why social connections (language, contact with individuals) differed according to family status. The family, or its lack, largely determined the composition of respondents' immediate environments (i.e. microsystems), with accompanied respondents' environments normally being dominated by the family and those of unaccompanied respondents mostly populated by peers. Specifically, the presence of the family led accompanied respondents to develop less connections outside their communities, as well as develop social connections more slowly. For example, accompanied respondents were less likely to report their best friend(s) came from outside their linguistic group (25 percent) and that their communication with this person(s) was in German (17 percent) than unaccompanied respondents (42 and 32 percent for these categories respectively) (see Table J.1). Moreover, unaccompanied respondents developed friendships immediately upon arrival, with 38 percent meeting their closest friend in a camp, compared to just 13 percent of their accompanied counterparts (see Table J.1). Establishing a social space in Austria, in particular developing German-specific friendships, bred higher German language attainment; 43 percent of unaccompanied respondents reported having B2 German or higher, more than double that of accompanied respondents (20 percent) (see Figure H.11). Further, accompanied respondents were more often still enrolled in language courses (33 percent) than unaccompanied respondents (5 percent) (see Table J.1). The role of parents was specifically strong concerning German language attainment; Those who arrived with parents were significantly more likely to have a lower German level than their counterparts (Table I.12 and I.14). Regarding social connections (language, contact with individuals), the study demonstrated that unaccompanied respondents benefited from the absence of their family. This advantage flows from their immediate environment (1) necessitating the establishment of new social connections and (2) assisting the development of German-specific friendships, which generated greater German language attainment, in turn further facilitating their creation of a social space in Austria.

As unaccompanied respondents often lacked family in Austria, for whom they were responsible, they were able to focus on their own resiliency within Austria, breeding quick and more robust integration. In fact, some respondents explicitly stated the biggest advantage of being unaccompanied was the ability to concentrate on one's own life. Other unaccompanied respondents at times appeared to implicitly realize this advantage. While there does not necessarily exist a trade-off between retaining close family ties and the ability to focus on one's self, many unaccompanied respondents appeared to weaken or sever family ties in an effort to lead a successful life for themselves in Austria. In the literature, this sealing was even at times associated with more positive psychological health (Beiser 2006; Dervic et. al 2009, 7). One unaccompanied respondent from Syria exemplifies the shortfalls of retaining close connections with families at home (i.e. an unaccompanied respondent retaining a family-dominated microsystem). The respondent often thought about his parents and siblings and spent a significant amount of energy attempting to bring his parents to Austria. Severely homesick, he was unable

to concentrate on his own life in Austria. Accompanied respondents, in contrast, repeatedly focused on their parents and families in the interviews. Their story in Vienna was very much a family's story. Often providing their siblings and older parents critical support, many accompanied respondents did not have the opportunity to focus purely on themselves. An immediate social environment dominated by the family thus may not only slow integration, but also engender greater stress.

However, the literature argues that the presence of family engenders more positive psychological health (Abdelhady et. al 2018; Bean et. al 2007; Byberg et. al 2018; Dervic et. al 2009, 7; Favel, et. al, 2012; Friborg et. al 2018, 52). In light of the scholarship, the integration outcomes of unaccompanied minors must therefore specifically be contextualized within the reality that this population suffers from a greater prevalence of psychological problems than their accompanied peers, particularly older minors (Bean et. al 2007) and that their psychological health may worsen with age (Abdelhady et. al 2018; Gersons et. al 2011). Any comparison of integration outcomes must consider that a potential impending decline in the mental health of unaccompanied minors may erase any previously achieved integration outcomes. Given that positive psychological health is an important facilitator for integration, the presence of family may actually provide for steadier growth.

The larger institutions, social systems and legal rights (i.e. exosystems) encapsulating respondents differed according family status, as well. Such differences led to unique integration outcomes according to family status, specifically regarding social connections and labor market experience. For example, Austria immediately places unaccompanied minor asylum seekers into organized housing. As a result, unaccompanied respondents began not only interacting outside their communities immediately upon arrival, but also benefitted from organizational contact sooner. For example, unaccompanied respondents' contact with German language courses, a possible proxy for robust and weekly organizational contact, often began on arrival (49 percent), unlike for accompanied respondents (31 percent). The more hands-on approach to unaccompanied minors' integration from the beginning likely facilitated the establishment of German or Austrian-specific social connections later.

However, the social and legal system in Austria at times disadvantaged unaccompanied respondents. All minors who had become adults had formally entered the Austrian social system. No longer completely supported by the state, they needed to earn money. This financial insecurity forced many unaccompanied respondents to seek education which combined employment (i.e. an apprenticeship) — as reported by unaccompanied respondents themselves. However, financial insecurity did not lead to similar employment levels among accompanied respondents. This discrepancy flows from the financial benefit of being a part of a household, a benefit largely accompanied respondents enjoyed. As protected persons who are over 18 do not receive money for pursuing non-work educations, the ability to pool financial resources allowed accompanied respondents to: (1) more often pursue non-state supported education as adults and (2) secure employment more slowly. As a result of such greater financial flexibility, some accompanied respondents were investing successfully in long-term resiliency.

Importantly, the framework does not fully explain why unaccompanied respondents expressed greater optimism regarding outlook on integration, as well as felt more integrated. However, the greater "success" exhibited by unaccompanied respondents may itself breed greater optimism. For example, being an apprentice ($p < 0.1$) and enrolled in education were significant when

regressing on always feeling like a part of Austria (see Table I.3). Further, in the qualitative interviews, as unaccompanied respondents developed connections outside their communities, growing and aided by their German language skills, they increasingly saw themselves as a part of Austria and expressed greater optimism.

Gender: Accounting for the Differences in the Exosystem and Consistencies in the Macrosystem

The ecological systems theory, in part, explains the role of gender throughout the study. Unlike family status, however, where respondents' immediate environments (i.e. the microsystem) impacted their integration, the larger systems, institutions (exosystem) and overarching beliefs, values and contexts (macrosystem) played an outsized role particularly in female respondents' integration, severely disadvantaging their efforts to integrate. The dominance of larger systems, on which female respondents had very little if any control, represents their disempowered position demonstrated at times in the study.

The macrosystem of many female respondents largely did not change in Austria, as they were all accompanied. The overarching beliefs, values and contexts of the female respondents, against which their integration took place, remained family-influenced as it did for all accompanied respondents. However, as the female respondents came from countries where women and girls are often victims of severe violence and discrimination, females may have found their macrosystems more restrictive than males. Attempting to inhabit a new macrosystem in Austria was at times even dangerous, as demonstrated by the female respondents who endured discrimination and, in one instance, violence, for choosing to not wear a headscarf in Vienna or for seizing new found rights and autonomy. In such situations, their immediate social environment (i.e. the microsystem) prevented them from pursuing a more progressive integration trajectory in its enforcement of certain values and beliefs (macrosystem).

Further, the more liberal social context in Austria (i.e. the exosystem) nonetheless continued to restrict female respondents' opportunities, evidenced by repeated stories of discrimination. Respondents who wore a headscarf felt unable to develop social connections, as well as inhibited in their ability to seek their desired employment. Further, the organizational structure in Austria at times did not meet the integration needs of female respondents. Sports and other physical activities were a critical avenue through which male respondents developed social connections outside their communities. Unfortunately, women and girls either did not wish to participate in such integrative activities or were unable to find them. Larger structural influences, as well at times their immediate social environment in its enforcement of certain values and beliefs, have thus prevented female respondents from achieving greater integration. In light of the slower integration trajectories of female respondents, structural change is likely required to overcome many of their integration barriers.

DIFFERENCE MAKERS: CORROBORATING THE LITERATURE

The literature emphasized family, gender, age, health, visible difference and religion as some important difference makers regarding integration, which the findings supported (regarding those measured in the study — i.e. family, gender and visible difference). These key difference makers are included in the Ager and Strang framework though the facilitators and barriers construct. The study provided further nuance to *how* such cross-cutting issues impacted integration. Importantly,

the findings also introduced two other difference makers, legal status and international migration background, which deserve further investigation.

Family

Family status, as demonstrated throughout this work, influenced the respondents' integration outcomes regarding labor market experiences, social connections and outlook on integration. The research specifically supported the growing scholarship which challenges that being unaccompanied represents ubiquitous vulnerability, as unaccompanied respondents showed remarkable resiliency in the sample. The slower integration trajectory of accompanied minors deserves further attention to understand how exactly family dynamics influence minors' integration.

Gender

The data on female respondents corroborated the scholarship, namely that female refugees face additional barriers regarding language acquisition and labor market performance. However, it challenged some findings in the literature reporting that female refugees develop more diverse social connections than males (Cheung and Phillimore 2017, 219; Liebig 2018, 29). Refugee and gender studies remain a nascent area of study (Cheung and Phillimore 2017). As a result, further research must focus on the gendered integration of refugees to provide a greater evidence-base for programming.

Visible Differences

The study underlined how critical visible differences (i.e. persons' visible identities) are in refugee integration (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2007) through the reported discrimination by Muslim female respondents with headscarves. As the most visibly different in Austria amongst the respondents, they struggled to overcome this large integration barrier.

Legal Status

The finding at times indicated Convention status and subsidiary protection status yield dissimilar integration experiences. That such differences appeared in the research, despite Vienna treating the two groups largely the same (except the renewal process), indicates that in other regions, as well as in other countries, such differences may become more apparent.

International Migration Background

Iranian Afghans remained distinct from other countries of origin throughout the research. The study, however, was unable to ascertain why. Importantly, all Iranian Afghans had been international migrants before arriving in Austria. It thus may indicate that former international migrants could have developed particular skills and behaviors as a result of their migration movements, which make them particularly resilient when arriving in Europe.

VIII. IMPLICATIONS

The study contested important notions of who is vulnerable and resilient. Unaccompanied respondents, those who migration stakeholders often assume are the most vulnerable, demonstrated incredible resiliency throughout the study. The inaccurate assumption regarding who needs support and protection flows from a fundamental misunderstanding of the impact of family on integration, one which assumes that family breeds resilience and its lack vulnerability. However, as the findings evidenced, how family impacts integration remains nuanced and complex.

Depicting the role of the family as ubiquitously positive has likely led to accompanied protected persons being in some ways left behind. As a result, the programmatic, advocacy and research recommendations emerging from this research can both improve the lives and strengthen the resiliencies of all protected persons, as well as guide future research to support this effort. Given the topic of the study, the below provides recommendations specifically concerning older protected persons. Nevertheless, some recommendations are applicable to asylum seekers.

PROGRAMMATIC RECOMMENDATIONS

Programming should differentiate, when necessary, between unaccompanied and accompanied protected persons. The below provides general recommendations, as well as those specific to each category.

Overall

Programming should:

- **foster** comradery among protected persons themselves, to weaken the self-discrimination and prejudices reported in the study through refugee community dialogues,
- **encourage** protected persons to appreciate their heritage via programming which incorporates and celebrates protected persons' own cultures and languages,
- **continue** to foster dialogues and buddy programs between the non-refugee and refugee community, to encourage mutual respect and understanding,
- **offer** counselling, in particular as unaccompanied protected persons' psychological health may be declining
- **establish** youth-specific cultural exchanges, where protected persons can meet persons outside the refugee community, supporting them in their pursuit to cultivate German and Austrian specific social connections, and
- **provide** C1 and C2 German language courses free of charge as respondents German levels continue to increase.

Given female respondents faced unique and exacerbated barriers regarding integration, service providers should:

- ***adjust*** current sport integration programs to include females, while also encouraging their participation to open an important avenue for integration,
- ***build*** new programs catered specifically to the interests of women and girls by surveying organizations' own clients,
- ***create*** youth-specific cultural exchanges for females only, and
- ***establish*** employment programs which have a direct connection to employers, weakening some discrimination endured by women and girls.

Accompanied Persons

Programming should:

- ***emphasize*** the family unit, as well as the individual, to encourage family integration when establishing programming for accompanied protected persons,
- ***establish*** age-specific language courses so parents of accompanied minors can learn with their peers and at an appropriate pace, alleviating some burden of responsibility from children,
- ***discourage*** family members translating for other family members — if possible, translators should always be provided,
- ***offer*** family counseling to support families as they navigate the integration process together,
- ***provide*** labor market support to assist accompanied protected persons' in their job search as none of the accompanied respondents reported receiving such support, and
- ***encourage*** value and orientation courses to be taken as a family unit to foster inter-family conversations.

Unaccompanied Persons

Programming should:

- ***provide*** scholarships to pursue non-state funded education, and
- ***establish*** after-work programs to ensure protected persons retain contact with organizations after finding employment.

ADVOCACY RECOMMENDATIONS

The below focuses on areas of advocacy which can improve the resiliency of minor protected persons and foster integration.

Organizations and institutions should advocate for:

- ***equality of legal statuses*** throughout Austria to discourage unnecessary and sporadic internal migration to Vienna,
- ***stringent protections against and transparent guidelines for reporting housing discrimination*** to discourage and provide remedy for protected persons who are exploited,
- ***elimination of all forms of identifiers from resumes***, but particularly photographs, to thwart labor market discrimination,
- ***state funding of non-work education*** to prevent labor market segregation, and

- **pathways for citizenship or permanent residency status** for subsidiary protection recipients as there exists for Convention status.

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

Flowing from the exploratory nature of the study, other areas of research emerged which can further inform refugee programming and expand the knowledge base regarding youth migration.

Research should focus on:

- **Iranian Afghans** to understand how primary migration movements engender vulnerabilities and resiliency for the secondary migration movement,
- **gendered dynamics of refugee integration** to better pinpoint the exact needs and desires of female refugees,
- **the rearing environment of refugees** in the host country, as well as in the country of origin, and its influence on refugees' integration, and
- **integration of unaccompanied and accompanied refugees overtime** (longitudinal study) to contextualize the short-term resiliency of unaccompanied protected persons against long-term success.

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INTEGRATION DECLARATION

Last name
First name
Date of birth
Nationality

Preamble

The Republic of Austria provides integration measures for the rapid integration of persons entitled to asylum and subsidiary protection. Successful integration requires the participation and active collaboration of persons entitled to asylum and subsidiary protection. The basic values of Austria, a European, democratic country, must be acknowledged, respected and adhered to as a prerequisite for successful integration.

Basic values of coexistence in Austria

Social coexistence is based on the following basic values of the legal and social order that apply to all people in Austria and that are explained in depth in the Values and Orientation Courses provided by the Austrian Integration Fund (ÖIF).

- Austria is a liberal state committed to human dignity, freedom and equality. In Austria, personal freedom and self-determination are exercised within the framework of the law. The equal status of men and women in Austria is enshrined in law and applies to all areas of life without exception.
- Austria is a state governed by the rule of law whose administration and courts operate solely on the basis of the law. The police therefore also act exclusively in accordance with the law, in the same way that all people in Austria are required to live by the law. The state protects religious freedom on condition that religion is exercised within the framework of the law. Religious rules are always subservient to the law in Austria. The state does not act according to the rules or texts of a religion but only on the basis of laws.
- Austria is a democracy whose laws emanate from the people. The people's representatives, who are chosen in free elections, debate and pass these laws. Education is a vital prerequisite for being able to actively participate in political discussions with a sense of self-determination and thus in public decision-making. Young girls and boys are required to attend kindergarten and school.
- Austria is a republic founded on the principle of social solidarity. It is based on the performance and commitment of every single person and works towards the common good. In the context of a caring society, everyone in Austria must make their contribution to rapidly achieving a state of self-reliance. The abuse of the state benefits system is severely dealt with.
- Austria is a federal state. Its constitution and the derived values of the legal and social order form the framework for cultural diversity in Austria.
- Austria is a state whose powers are distributed amongst various bodies and institutions that exercise mutual control over each other. It is therefore impossible in Austria for all state power to be vested in a single person.

Violations of these basic values can result in sanctions under the law. These range from fines and terms of imprisonment to the withdrawal of the right of residence.

Integration measures

The goal of all integration measures for persons entitled to asylum and subsidiary protection is to rapidly develop self-reliance as well as active participation in Austria's social, economic and cultural life. To this end, the Republic of Austria provides integration measures whose fulfilment is of fundamental importance to the integration process.

Persons entitled to asylum and subsidiary protection are, pursuant to § 6 Integration Act, Federal Law Gazette I No. 68/2017, subject to the obligation to participate and collaborate fully in and complete national integration measures as listed below:

- German language courses pursuant to § 4 Integration Act;
- Values and orientation courses pursuant to § 5 Integration Act.

Violations of these obligations are subject to sanctions under the law and will result in a curtailment of state benefits pursuant to § 6 sec. 2 or sec. 3 Integration Act (social welfare benefits or needs-based minimum benefit, unemployment benefit or unemployment assistance) and/or may result in a curtailment of basic welfare support benefits, depending on the regulations in force in individual federal states.

I hereby declare that I acknowledge and will uphold the basic values of coexistence in Austria in full and that I have noted and understood the content of the Integration Declaration in its entirety. I will fulfil the integration obligations contained herein for my personal well-being and the well-being of society as a whole and take part in my integration process under my own responsibility.

Name in block capitals and signature

Place, Date

Stamp

Legal notice

Refusal to sign this Integration Declaration will result in sanctions pursuant to § 6 Integration Act.

APPENDIX B

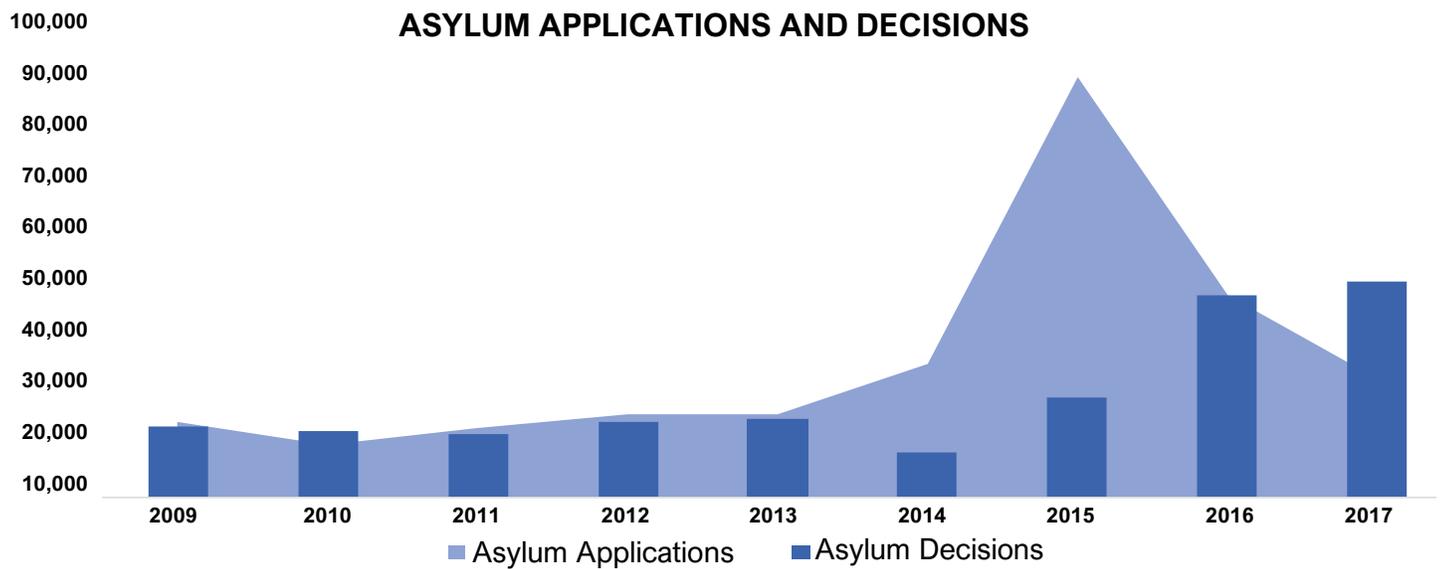


Figure B.1: Asylum Applications and Decisions, Austria 2009 – 2017

Sources: eurostat migr_asyappctza and migr_asydcfsta

MINOR ASYLUM APPLICATIONS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

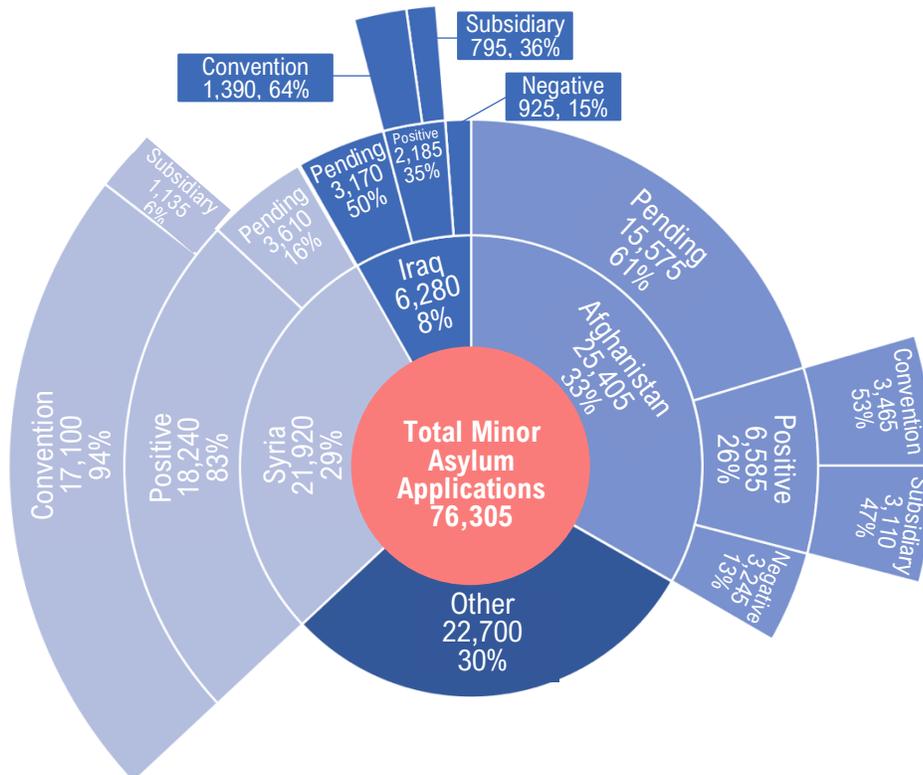


Figure B.2: Minor Asylum Applications by Country of Origin (Disaggregated by Decision and Form of Protection), Austria 2014 – 2017

Sources: eurostat migr_asyappctza and migr_asydcfst

ASYLUM APPLICATIONS BY AGE

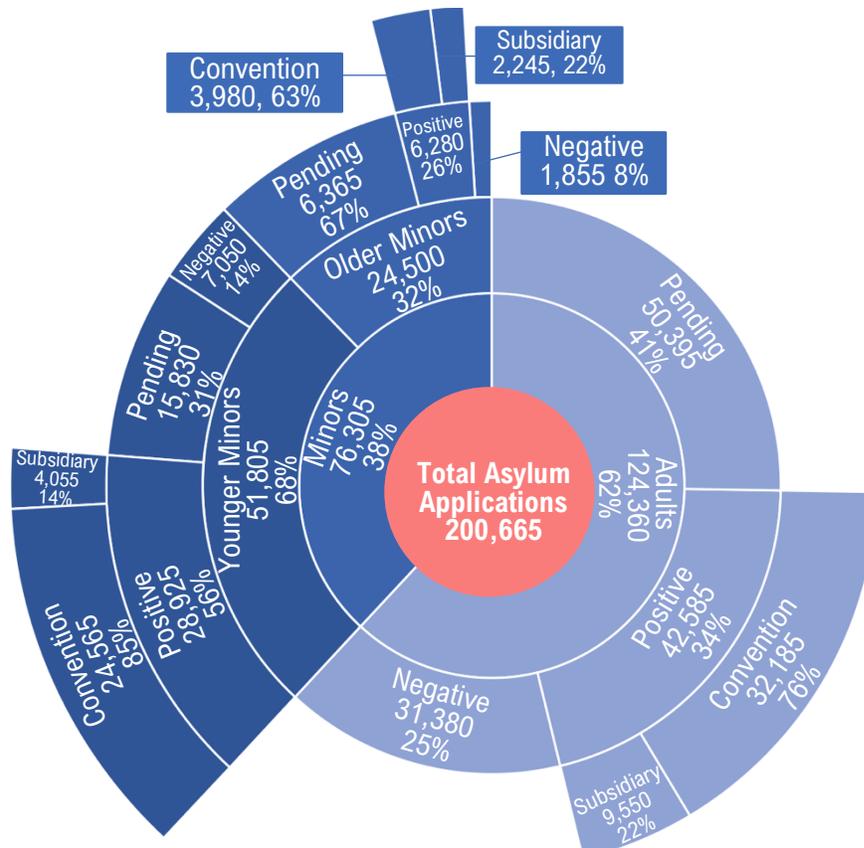


Figure B.3: Asylum Applications by Age (Disaggregated by Minor Age Group, Decision and Form of Protection), Austria 2013 – 2017

Sources: eurostat migr_asyappctza and migr_asydcfst

MINOR ASYLUM APPLICATIONS BY AGE

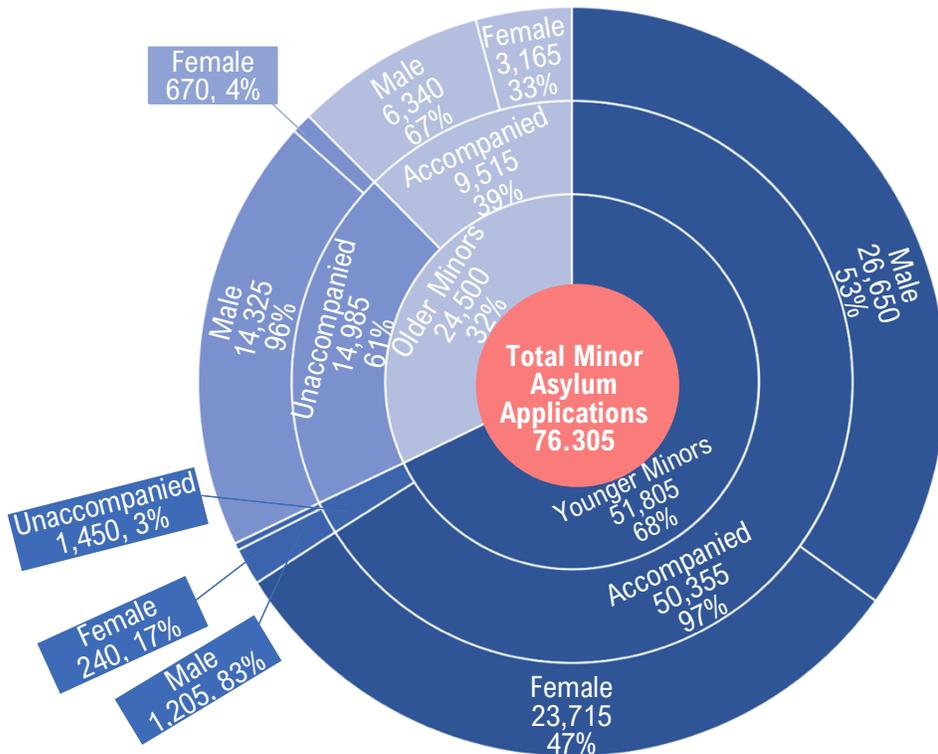


Figure B.4: Minor Asylum Applications by Minor Group (Disaggregated by Family Status and Gender), Austria 2013 – 2017
Sources: eurostat migr_asyappctza and migr_asyunaa

DECISIONS FOR OLDER MINORS

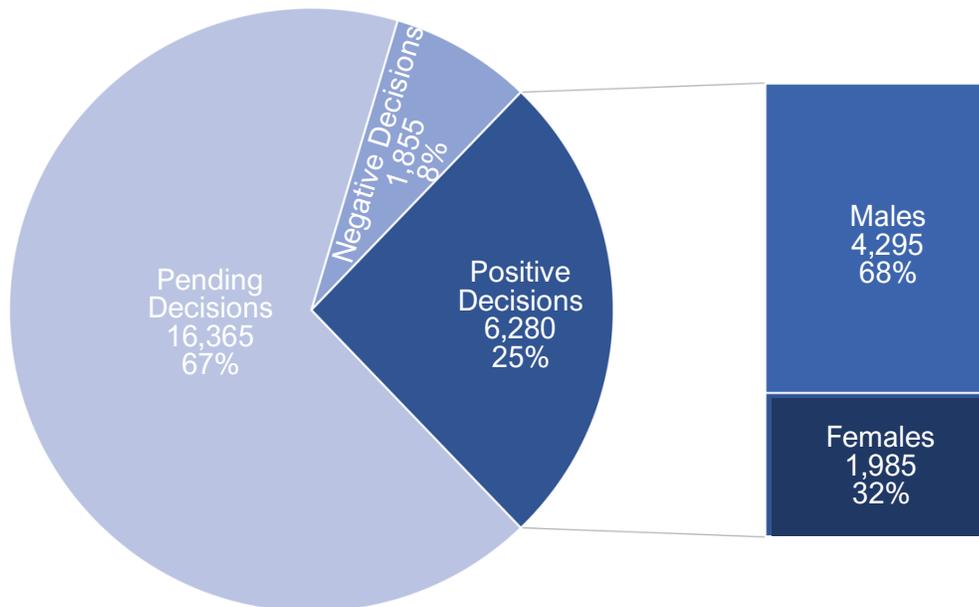


Figure B.5: Decisions for Older Minors (Positive Decisions Disaggregated by Gender), Austria 2013 – 2017
Source: eurostat migr_asydcfsta

MINOR ASYLUM APPLICATIONS BY FAMILY STATUS

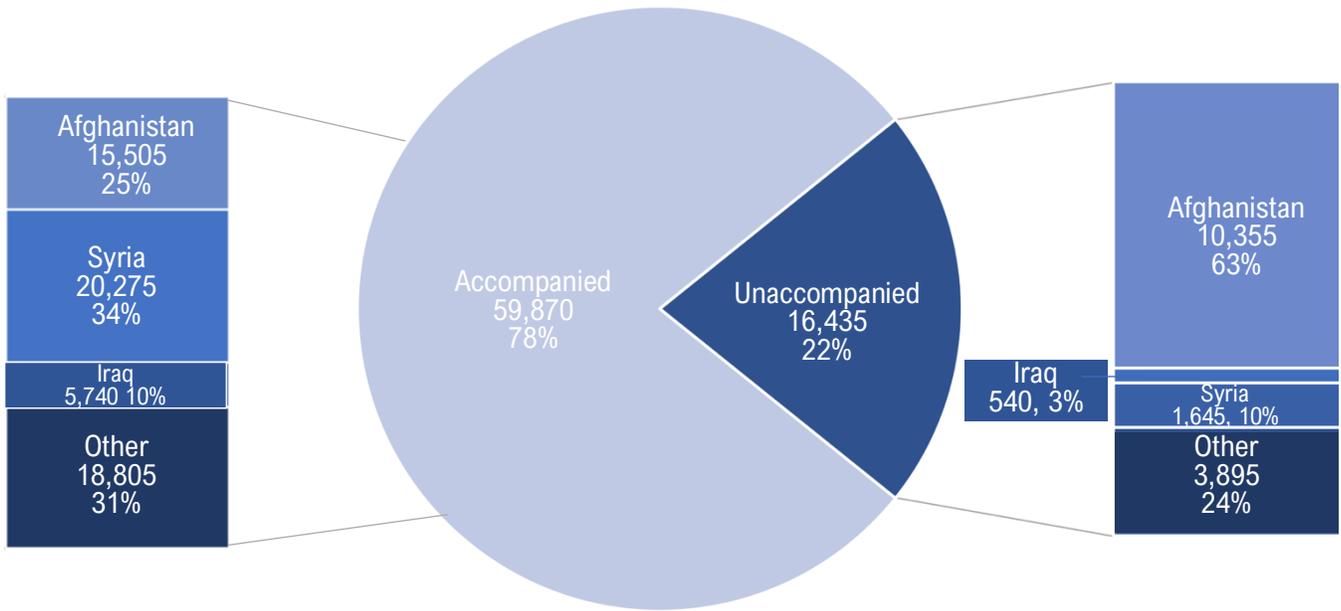


Figure B.6: Minor Asylum Applications by Family Status (Disaggregated by Country of Origin), Austria 2013 – 2017

Sources: *eurostat migr_asyappctza and migr_asyunaa*

APPENDIX C

		A1 Basic User	A2 Basic User	B1 Independent user	B2 Independent user	C1 Proficient user	C2 Proficient user
Understanding	 Listening	I can understand familiar words and very basic phrases concerning myself, my family and immediate concrete surroundings when people speak slowly and clearly.	I can understand phrases and the highest frequency vocabulary related to areas of most immediate personal relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local area, employment). I can catch the main point in short, clear, simple messages and announcements.	I can understand the main points of clear standard speech on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. I can understand the main point of many radio or TV programmes on current affairs or topics of personal or professional interest when the delivery is relatively slow and clear.	I can understand extended speech and lectures and follow even complex lines of argument provided the topic is reasonably familiar. I can understand most TV news and current affairs programmes. I can understand the majority of films in standard dialect.	I can understand extended speech even when it is not clearly structured and when relationships are only implied and not signalled explicitly. I can understand television programmes and films without too much effort.	I have no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language, whether live or broadcast, even when delivered at fast native speed, provided I have some time to get familiar with the accent.
	 Reading	I can understand familiar names, words and very simple sentences, for example on notices and posters or in catalogues.	I can read very short, simple texts. I can find specific, predictable information in simple everyday material such as advertisements, prospectuses, menus and timetables and I can understand short simple personal letters.	I can understand texts that consist mainly of high frequency everyday or job-related language. I can understand the description of events, feelings and wishes in personal letters.	I can read articles and reports concerned with contemporary problems in which the writers adopt particular attitudes or viewpoints. I can understand contemporary literary prose.	I can understand long and complex factual and literary texts, appreciating distinctions of style. I can understand specialised articles and longer technical instructions, even when they do not relate to my field.	I can read with ease virtually all forms of the written language, including abstract, structurally or linguistically complex texts such as manuals, specialised articles and literary works.
Speaking	 Spoken interaction	I can interact in a simple way provided the other person is prepared to repeat or rephrase things at a slower rate of speech and help me formulate what I'm trying to say. I can ask and answer simple questions in areas of immediate need or on very familiar topics.	I can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar topics and activities. I can handle very short social exchanges, even though I can't usually understand enough to keep the conversation going myself.	I can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. I can enter unprepared into conversation on topics that are familiar, of personal interest or pertinent to everyday life (e.g. family, hobbies, work, travel and current events).	I can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible. I can take an active part in discussion in familiar contexts, accounting for and sustaining my views.	I can express myself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. I can use language flexibly and effectively for social and professional purposes. I can formulate ideas and opinions with precision and relate my contribution skilfully to those of other speakers.	I can take part effortlessly in any conversation or discussion and have a good familiarity with idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms. I can express myself fluently and convey finer shades of meaning precisely. If I do have a problem I can backtrack and restructure around the difficulty so smoothly that other people are hardly aware of it.
	 Spoken production	I can use simple phrases and sentences to describe where I live and people I know.	I can use a series of phrases and sentences to describe in simple terms my family and other people, living conditions, my educational background and my present or most recent job.	I can connect phrases in a simple way in order to describe experiences and events, my dreams, hopes and ambitions. I can briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans. I can narrate a story or relate the plot of a book or film and describe my reactions.	I can present clear, detailed descriptions on a wide range of subjects related to my field of interest. I can explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.	I can present clear, detailed descriptions of complex subjects integrating sub-themes, developing particular points and rounding off with an appropriate conclusion.	I can present a clear, smoothly-flowing description or argument in a style appropriate to the context and with an effective logical structure which helps the recipient to notice and remember significant points.
Writing	 Writing	I can write a short, simple postcard, for example sending holiday greetings. I can fill in forms with personal details, for example entering my name, nationality and address on a hotel registration form.	I can write short, simple notes and messages. I can write a very simple personal letter, for example thanking someone for something.	I can write simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. I can write personal letters describing experiences and impressions.	I can write clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects related to my interests. I can write an essay or report, passing on information or giving reasons in support of or against a particular point of view. I can write letters highlighting the personal significance of events and experiences.	I can express myself in clear, well-structured text, expressing points of view at some length. I can write about complex subjects in a letter, an essay or a report, underlining what I consider to be the salient issues. I can select a style appropriate to the reader in mind.	I can write clear, smoothly-flowing text in an appropriate style. I can write complex letters, reports or articles which present a case with an effective logical structure which helps the recipient to notice and remember significant points. I can write summaries and reviews of professional or literary works.

Source: European Language Levels – Self Assessment Grid 2019

APPENDIX D

Integration questions for unaccompanied and accompanied protected persons (Vienna, Austria)

- **INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS**

- Tell me about your life in Vienna.
- How do you like Vienna so far?
- Do you have any plans for the summer?
- What have you been doing since you arrived in Vienna?
- Tell me about your refugee experience in Vienna so far.
- Do you consider yourself to be an unaccompanied or accompanied minor? How would you define those terms?
- What was your experience with the determination by Austrian officials that you were a minor? That you were unaccompanied or accompanied? That you were from your home country?
- Do you feel that your age was correctly identified by Austrian officials?
- Do you feel that your nationality was correctly identified by Austrian officials?
- Do you feel that you unaccompanied or accompanied status was correctly identified by Austrian officials?
- Do you feel that being accompanied or unaccompanied has provided you any benefits has it relates to integrating in Austria? Has it provided you any barriers?

I. **SOCIAL CONNECTIONS (INTEGRATION PART I)**

- **GERMAN LANGUAGE ABILITY**

- Where do you speak German? With who?
- What kind of interactions are those?
- Do you feel you speak enough German? Why or why not?
- What would you need for your German to improve? Do you feel you have control over whether your German improves? Why or why not?
- What is your German useful for? Do you find your native language more useful than German? When would you find your native language useful?
- Are there any barriers for you for learning German? What are those barriers?
- **for accompanied minors:**

- How well would you say your parents/family members speak German? Are they learning German? Do you translate for them? Does someone translate for you?

- **GROUP AND INDIVIDUAL CONNECTIONS**

- Do you have contact with any organizations here in Vienna? What type are these? Do any specifically assist you with living in and adapting to Vienna?
- Have you found these organizations helpful? Why or why not?
- How did you find out about these organizations?
- What type of activities do you do at these organizations?
- Are there any activities you do apart from these organizations? What are these?
- Imagine there was an exciting event in your life, do you have someone you would call in Vienna? Who would you call? What language would you speak with this person?
- Do you have friends who are asylum seekers or refugees? How did you meet them? What type of activities do you do with them?
- Do you have any Austrian or European friends? How did you meet them? What type of activities do you do with these friends?
- If they do not have any Austrian or European friends, are there some reasons why you do not have any? What are those reasons?
- How did you meet the friend you have the most contact with?
- **for accompanied minors:**
 - In what ways are your parents/family members helping you in Vienna?
 - Are there anyways which your parents/family members are not helping you?
 - Are there anyways which you help your family members in Vienna?
 - What activities do you do together as a family?

- **RESIDENTIAL LOCATION**

- What neighborhood do you live in?
- Who else lives in your neighborhood?
- Who do you live with?
- How did you find your accommodations?
- **for accompanied minors:**
 - Do you live with your parents/family members right now? How long do you expect to live with you parents? How do you feel about this?

- **KNOWLEDGE ON AUSTRIA**

- Is there a recent occurrence in Austria that interested you?
- What is a local topic that you recently read about?

- Have you participated in any Austrian event? Which one?
- Do you feel you are able to participate in Austrian society? Why or why not? If so, what parts or aspects of Austrian society?
- How have you learned about Austria and its culture?

II. LABOR MARKET (INTEGRATION PART II)

• EMPLOYMENT

- Do you have a job in Vienna? Why or why not?
- **If they have a job**, what job do you have? Do you feel you are currently able to successfully perform this job in Vienna? Why or why not? If no, what type of jobs do you think you would be able to perform successfully?
- **If they have a job**, how did you find this job? Who do you work with at this job? Have you developed any friendships at this job?
- **If they have a job**, do you feel you are treated the same as the others at this work place? How are you treated the same or treated differently?
- **If they do not have a job**, are there some specific barriers that are preventing you from getting a job? What are those barriers?
- Did you have a job back home? What was it?
- Besides the language barrier, did you feel that you had the skills to work here when you arrived?
- Do the skills you have match the job you are able to get in Vienna?

• PREPERATION THROUGH EDUCATION

- What is your education history from your home country to today?
- Could you explain the Austrian education system to me?
- Do you wish to continue your education, work, or technical training? Why?
- Have your education plans changed since arriving in Vienna? How so?
- **If they want to continue education**: Are you hopeful about your ability to obtain the *Matura*? What are the requirements of the *Matura*, what must you do to obtain one?
- How did you find out about your school or classes? How do you pay for these classes?
- How would you describe the other students in this school or in your classes?
- Do you feel accepted in your school or classes? Why or why not?

• DESIRES

- What were your life goals or career goals before you arrived in Vienna? Is this different from what you will do in Vienna?
- What are goals that you would like to achieve regarding employment?
- How have your expectations for your future changed since you first arrived in Vienna and today?

- **for accompanied minors:**
 - Do you think your parents' or family members' expectations changed for you since arriving in Vienna?

III. OUTLOOK (INTEGRATION PART III)

- **DESIRE TO INTEGRATE**

- Currently, how integrated do you feel in Austria? Why? In what ways do you feel you have integrated? In what ways do you feel you are not yet integrated?
- Are you happy with how integrated you feel today? If no, what would you change if you could?
- Do you want to integrate? Why or why not? If yes, are there barriers for integrating? What are those barriers?
- Do you have an example of someone in your life who you think has integrated really well? How did they do that? What does it mean to you to be integrated?
- Would you like to be considered Austrian? Would you ever become Austrian? What does it mean to be Austrian?
- Do you want to return to your home country temporarily or permanently? Why or why not?
- Would you like to stay in Austria? Why or why not?
- Do you feel you accepted in Austria? Where or when do you feel the most accepted? The least accepted?
- Was Austria how you expected it to be? Why or why not?
- Has your daily routine changed since you came to Vienna? If so, how and do you see this as a good thing or something bad?
- Has what you do on the weekend changed since you came to Vienna? If so, how and do you see this as a good thing or something bad?
 - **for accompanied minors:** Have your parents' or family members' daily routine/weekend activities changed since they came to Vienna? If so, how and do you see this as a good thing or something bad?
- Would you raise your children to be Austrian or your nationality? A mixture of both? What parts of your home culture would you think is important to teach to your children?

- **OPINION ON LIKELIHOOD TO INTEGRATE**

- What do you hope to accomplish this year? In the next five years?
- Do you think that you are integrating in Austria? Do you think you will ever integrate? What would you have to do to integrate in Austria?
- Do you view Vienna as a permanent or temporary home? If permanent, why is Vienna your permanent home?
- What makes you able to integrate well? What may be a barrier for you?

APPENDIX E

Integration questions for unaccompanied and accompanied protected persons (Vienna, Austria)

Participant ID:

I. CODES

Respondent does not know: 8, 88, 888

Respondent refused to answer: 9. 99, 999

Section VII

Code for correct incorrect during analysis

II. SCREENING QUESTIONS

I am going to ask some simple questions about yourself to understand if you are eligible to participate in the study.

Z01	Where are you from?	1 = Iraq 2 = Syria 3 = Afghanistan 4 = Iran 5 = other	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Z02	What is your nationality?	1 = Syrian 2 = Afghan 3 = Iraqi 4 = other	<input type="checkbox"/>	If 4, end of interview
Z03	How old did you think you were when you entered Austria?	Write in age.	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	
Z04	How old did Austria think you were when you entered Austria?	Write in age.	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	If Z03 AND Z04 = <13 or >17 → end of interview

- Z05 In what year did you think you were born in? Write in year.
- Z06 In what year did Austria think you were born in? Write in year.
- Z07 What year did you enter Austria? Write in year.
- Z08 How old are you now? Write in age.
- Z09 What color passport do you have?
 1 = no pass
 2 = unsure
 3 = grey (asylum)
 4 = brown (subs. protection)
- If 1, → end of interview
 If 2, → inquire further

III. KEY INFORMANT QUESTIONS

Before we begin, I am going to introduce each section so that you understand the general theme we are trying to understand. If you at any time wish to end the interview, ask a question, or wish to not answer a question, please let me know and you are able to do that. Right now, I am going to ask you some questions about your status in Austria and who you may have known when you arrived, if anyone at all. Just as a reminder, I do not work for the government and this is just to get a general sense of your knowledge and continued experience in Vienna.

- A01 Have you always lived in Vienna since you arrived? 1 = yes
 2 = no If 2, → A02
- A02 When did you arrive in Vienna? Write in year.
- A03 How long were you in an asylum seeker? Write in answer (in months).
- A04 How long you were in a camp? Write in answer (in months).
- A05 Do you give/send your family money?
 1 = always
 2 = often
 3 = sometimes
 4 = never

A06 How long were you in Austria before you started to learn German? Write in answer (in months).
 0 = immediately

A07 How long did it take for you to reach Austria? Write in answer (in months).

IV. UNACCOMPANIED/ACCOMPANIED STATUS

Before we begin, I am going to introduce each section so that you understand the general theme we are trying to understand. If you at any time wish to end the interview, ask a question, or wish to not answer a question, please let me know and you are able to do that. Right now, I am going to ask you some questions about your status in Austria and who you may have known when you arrived, if anyone at all. Just as a reminder, I do not work for the government and this is just to get a general sense of your knowledge and continued experience in Vienna.

B01 Did Austria think you were a minor at time of entry into the country? 1 = yes 2 = no

B02 Did you think you were a minor at time of entry into the country? 1 = yes 2 = no

B03 Did Austria think that you were unaccompanied at time of entry into the country? 1 = yes 2 = no

B04 Did you think you were unaccompanied at time of entry into the country? 1 = yes 2 = no

B05 Did you know anyone in Austria before you arrived? 1 = yes 2 = no If 2, → B07

B06 What was your relation to the person you knew in Austria before you arrived? 1 = family member 2 = non-family relation from home 3 = new relation from journey AND write in.

B07 Did you arrive in Austria with other people? 1 = yes 2 = no If 2, → B10

B08 Who did you arrive with? 1 = family member 2 = non-family relation from home 3 = new relation from journey AND write in.

B09 Did you also depart from your country with these people? 1 = yes 2 = no

B10 Did you depart from your country with (other) people you had known before, but who did not arrive with you Vienna? 1 = yes 2 = no If 2, → Section V

B11 Who were they? 1 = family member 2 = non-family relation from home 3 = new relation from journey AND write in.

V. FORMER URBAN/RURAL RESIDENCE

I am going to ask you some questions about your town and where you come from.

C01 What is the name of your home town? Write in name.

C02 Do you have a busy road running through your community? 1 = yes 2 = no

C03 Compared to Vienna, is your community bigger, smaller, or the same size? 1 = bigger 2 = smaller 3 = the same

C04 Are there mostly farmers in your city? 1 = yes
2 = no

C05 How would you categorize your hometown (rural, urban or in-between [peri-urban])? 1 = urban
2 = rural
3 = peri-urban

VI. ETHNICITY

I am going to ask you some questions about your and your family's ethnicity.

D01 What ethnicity are you? 1 = Arab
2 = Kurdish
3 = Hazara
4 = Pashtun
5 = Turkmen
6 = other (write in)

D02 What country was your mother born in? 1 = Iraq
2 = Syria
3 = Afghanistan
4 = Iran
5 = Lebanon
6 = Turkey
7 = other (write in)

D03 What country was your father born in? 1 = Iraq
2 = Syria
3 = Afghanistan
4 = Iran
5 = Lebanon
6 = Turkey
7 = other (write in)

D04 What is your first language?
1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = other (write in)

D05 What is your second language?
1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = English
6 = German
7 = other (write in)

D06 What is your third language?
1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = English
6 = German
7 = other (write in)

D07 What is your fourth language?
1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = English
6 = German
7 = other (write in)

D08 What language did you speak at home in your country?
1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari

5 = other (write in)

VII. SOCIAL CONNECTIONS (LANGUAGE)

I am going to ask you some questions about your German language ability.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--------------------------|-------------|
| E01 | How well do you speak German (not at all, basic communication skills/working knowledge, very good command, fluent)? | 1 = not at all
2 = good
3 = very good
4 = fluent | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| E02 | How well do you write German (not at all, basic communication skills/working knowledge, very good command, fluent)? | 1 = not at all
2 = good
3 = very good
4 = fluent | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| E03 | How well do you read German (not at all, basic communication skills/working knowledge, very good command, fluent)? | 1 = not at all
2 = good
3 = very good
4 = fluent | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| E04 | Do you have a German level certification? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> | If 2, → E06 |
| E05 | What level German certification do you have? | 1 = A1
2 = A2
3 = B1
4 = B2
5 = C1
6 = C2 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| E06 | Are you learning a new level now? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> | If 2, → E08 |

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|
| E07 | Which level are you learning right now? | 1 = A1
2 = A2
3 = B1
4 = B2
5 = C1
6 = C2 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E08 | Are you practicing German in an informal program now? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| E09 | What language do you currently speak the most in Vienna during the day? | 1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = German
6 = English
7 = other (write in) | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text"/> |
| E10 | What language do you currently speak the most in Vienna in the evenings? | 1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = German
6 = English
7 = other (write in) | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text"/> |
| E11 | What language do you currently speak the most when you have free time? | 1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = German
6 = English
7 = other (write in) | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text"/> |
| E12 | What language do you speak at home in Vienna? | 1 = Arabic | |

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--|-------------|
| | 2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = German
6 = English
7 = other (write in) | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text"/> | |
| | | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text"/> | |
| E13 | What language is your phone in? | | |
| | 1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = German
6 = English
7 = other (write in) | | |
| E14 | Please tell me the name of a newspaper in Vienna. | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| E15 | Are you enrolled in a German course? | <input type="checkbox"/> | If 1, → E18 |
| | 1 = yes
2 = no | | |
| E16 | Were you enrolled in a German course? | <input type="checkbox"/> | If 2, → E19 |
| | 1 = yes
2 = no | | |
| E17 | How long ago was your last German course? | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | 1 = < 3 months
2 = < 6 months
3 = < 12 months
4 = < 18 months
5 = > 24 months | | |
| E18 | How long have you been enrolled in language courses altogether? | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| | 1 = < 3 months
2 = < 6 months
3 = < 12 months | | |

- 4 = < 18 months
5 = > 24 months
- 1 = native German speakers
2 = non-native German speakers
AND write in.
- E19 Who do you speak German with the most?
- E20 Are you satisfied with your current level of German? 1 = yes
2 = no
- E21 Do you wish you spoke German more often? 1 = yes
2 = no

VIII. SOCIAL CONNECTIONS (RESIDENCE)

I am going to ask you some questions about where you live in Vienna.

- F01 In Vienna, what district do you live in? Write in number.
- F02 Do you live in housing provided specifically for refugees? 1 = yes
2 = no If 1, → F16
- F03 Do you live with other people in your house or apartment? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → F13
- F04 Do you live right now with family members? 1 = yes
2 = no If 1, → F13
- F05 Did you ever live with family members outside of the camp? 1 = yes
2 = no
- F06 In your house or apartment, do you live with Austrians? 1 = yes
2 = no

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------|--------------------------|
| F07 | In your house or apartment, do you live with non-Austrian Europeans? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F08 | In your house or apartment, are there other asylum seekers or refugees? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F09 | In your house or apartment, do you live with people from the same country as you? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F10 | Do you live in the same house or apartment with people you met in Austria? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F11 | Do you live in the same house or apartment with people you met while travelling to Austria? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F12 | Do you live in the same house or apartment with people you met before you left your country? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F13 | In your building, are there Austrians? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F14 | In your building, are there other asylum seekers or refugees? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F15 | In your building, are there people from the same country as you? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| F16 | Do you often hear languages other than German in your neighborhood? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> |

IX. SOCIAL CONNECTIONS (KNOWLEDGE OF AUSTRIA)

I am going to ask you some questions about what you have learned so far about Vienna and Austria. Just as a reminder, I do not work for the government and this is just to get a general sense of your knowledge and continued experience in Vienna. If you have any questions during this section, please feel free to ask them and you may refuse to answer these questions or end the interview at any time.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| G01 | What are the names of the subway lines in Vienna? | 1 = correct
2 = incorrect | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| G02 | What is the name of the river that runs through Vienna? | 1 = correct
2 = incorrect | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| G03 | What colors are the Austrian flag? | 1 = correct
2 = incorrect | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| G04 | Who is the chancellor of Austria? | 1 = correct
2 = incorrect | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| G05 | Name two political parties in Austria. | 1 = correct
2 = incorrect | <input type="checkbox"/> |

X. SOCIAL CONNECTIONS (CONTACT WITH ORGANIZATIONS/INDIVIDUALS)

I am going to ask you some questions about your social connections in Austria.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|--|--------------------------|--------------|
| H01 | Do you have contact with organizations that specifically help refugees? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> | If 1, → H03 |
| H02 | Did you have contact with organizations that specifically help refugees outside of the camp? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| H03 | When was the last time you had contact with this type of organization in Vienna? | 1 = currently
2 = < 1 month
3 = < 1 – 3 months
4 = < 3 – 9 months
5 = > 9 months | <input type="checkbox"/> | If 1,2 → H04 |
| H04 | What type of assistance do you get from these organizations? | 1 = educational
2 = extracurricular | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

- 3 = legal
4 = other (write in)
- H05 Do you attend religious services in Vienna? 1 = yes
2 = no
- H06 How often do you attend these services? 1 = < monthly
2 = monthly
3 = bi-monthly
4 = weekly
5 = bi-weekly
6 = > bi-weekly
- H07 Why do you attend these services? Write in answer.
- H08 How often do you feel alone in Vienna? 1 = always
2 = often
3 = sometimes
4 = rarely
5 = never
- H09 Have you developed a friend circle? 1 = yes
2 = no
- H10 Where do most of your friends come from? 1 = Afghanistan
2 = Syria
3 = Iraq
4 = other European country
5 = Austria
6 = other (write in)
- H11 Imagine the person you would call if you experienced a medical emergency — what language would you speak with that person? 1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = German
6 = English

- 7 = other (write in)
-
- H12 Imagine the friend you have the most contact with, what language do they speak?
- 1 = Arabic
2 = Kurdish
3 = Pashtu
4 = Dari
5 = Germans
6 = English
7 = other (write in)
-
-
- H13 Imagine the friend you have the most contact with, where do they come from?
- 1 = Afghanistan
2 = Syria
3 = Iraq
4 = other European country
5 = Austria
6 = other
-
- H14 Where did you meet the friend you have the most contact with?
- Write in answer.
-
- H15 Has this person changed?
- 1 = yes
2 = no
-
- If 1, → H16
- H16 Why has this person changed?
- Write in answer.
-
- If they don't live with their parents:***
- H17 How often do you speak with your parents?
- 0 = < monthly
1 = monthly
2 = bi-monthly
3 = weekly
4 = bi-weekly
5 = > bi-weekly
6 = everyday
-
- H18 Are you part of any groups or do group activities?

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|--------------------|
| | | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> | If 2, → Section XI |
| H19 | What type of groups are these? | 1 = sport-oriented
2 = religious
3 = educational
4 = explicitly integrative
4 = political
5 = arts-oriented
6 = volunteer
7 = other (write in activity) | <input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="text"/> | |
| H20 | Which organizations specifically? | Write in answer. | <input type="text"/> | |
| H21 | How many activities do you do with organizations in Vienna? | Write in number. | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

XI. LABOR MARKET (EMPLOYMENT)

I am going to ask you some questions about your experience in the labor market. Just as a reminder, I do not work for the government and this is just to get a general sense of your knowledge and continued experience in Vienna. If you have any questions during this section, please feel free to ask them and you may refuse to answer these questions or end the interview at any time.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|--|---|-------------|
| I01 | Do you have a job right now? | 1 = yes
2 = no | <input type="checkbox"/> | If 2, → I08 |
| I02 | What job is it? | Write in answer. | <input type="text"/> | |
| I03 | How long did you search for the job? | Write in answer (in months). | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| I04 | How long have you had the job? | Write in answer (in months). | <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | |
| I05 | Do you speak with your coworkers in languages other than German at your job? | 1 = always
2 = sometimes
3 = rarely
4 = never | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

- 1 = very happy
2 = happy
3 = neutral
4 = unhappy
5 = very unhappy
- I06 How happy are you with this job?
- I07 How many hours per week do you work at this job? Write in number. → I13
- I08 Are you about to start a job? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → I20
- I09 What job was it? Write in answer.
- I10 How long did you search for the job? Write in answer (in months).
- 1 = very happy
2 = happy
3 = neutral
4 = unhappy
5 = very unhappy
- I11 How happy were you when you got the job?
- I12 How many hours per week will you work at this job? Write in number.
- I13 Have you had other jobs in Austria? 1 = yes
2 = no
- I14 How many jobs have you had altogether in Austria? Write in number. If 1, → I18
- I15 How long did you have this/these other job/s Write in answer (in months).
- I16 What job was it/what were the jobs? Write in answer.

- I17 Why did you leave the job? Write in answer.
- I18 Are you currently searching for a job in Austria? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → Section XII
- I19 How long have you been searching for a job in Austria? Write in answer (in months). → Section XII
- I20 Have you worked in Austria? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → I31
- I21 How many jobs have you had altogether in Austria? Write in answer.
- I22 What job was it/what were the jobs? Write in answer.
- I23 How long did you search for this job/these jobs? Write in answer (in months).
- I24 How long did you have this job/these jobs? Write in answer (in months).
- I25 Did you speak with your coworkers in languages other than German at your job? 1 = always
2 = sometimes
3 = rarely
4 = never
- I26 How happy were you with this job/these jobs? 1 = very happy
2 = happy
3 = neutral
4 = unhappy
5 = very unhappy If 2, → section XI
- I27 How many hours per week did you work? Write in number.

I28 Why did you love this/these job/s? Write in answer.

I29 Are you currently searching for a job in Austria? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → Section XII

I30 How long have you been searching? Write in answer (in months). → Section XII

I31 Are you currently searching for a job in Austria? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → I33

I32 How long have you been searching? Write in answer (in months).

I33 Have you searched before for a job? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → I35
If I31 = 2 **AND** I33 = 2, → Section XII

I34 Why did your previous search end? Write in answer.

I35 Have you had an interview for a job? 1 = yes
2 = no

XII. LABOR MARKET (OPPORTUNITIES)

- 1 = very likely
- 2 = likely
- 3 = maybe
- 4 = not likely
- 5 = impossible

J01 You will get the job you want.

J02 You will be happy in your future job.

J03 It will be easier for you to get your desired job in Austria than in your home country.

J04 You will have a worse job in Austria than you would have had if you stayed in your home country.

XIII. LABOR MARKET (PREPERATION THROUGH EDUCATION)

K01 Are you enrolled for an education? 1 = yes 2 = no If 2, → K09

K02 What type of education? 1 = Gymnasium 2 = Hauptschule 3 = Berufsschule 4 = Mittelschule 5 = Lehre 6 = other (write in)

K03 Are you enrolled full-time? 1 = yes 2 = no

K04 Are you paid for this education?? 1 = yes 2 = no

K05 Do you receive money from the government for it? 1 = yes 2 = no

K06 Are you a graded student at your school? 1 = grades 2 = certificate 3 = nothing

K07 Are your classes/training courses in German? 1 = yes 2 = no

- K08 Is the education only for asylum seekers and refugees? 1 = yes
2 = no
- K09 Were you enrolled for an education? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → K12
- K10 What type of education? 1 = Gymnasium
2 = Hauptschule
3 = Berufsschule
4 = Mittelschule
5 = Lehre
6 = other (write in)
- K11 Was the education only for asylum seekers and refugees? 1 = yes
2 = no
- K12 Are you searching for an education right now? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → Section XIV
- K13 What type of education? 1 = Gymnasium
2 = Hauptschule
3 = Berufsschule
4 = Mittelschule
5 = Lehre
6 = other (write in)

XIV. OUTLOOK ON INTEGRATION

I am going to ask you some questions about how you feel about integration and your future in Austria.

- L01 Would you like to adapt certain Austrian behaviors and habits? 1 = yes
2 = no

- L02 How integrated do you feel in Austria on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 being the most? Write in number. If 5, → L04
- L03 Do you wish to be more integrated based on your previous answer? 1 = yes
2 = no
- L04 Do you feel like you belong in Austria (always, sometimes, rarely, never)? 1 = always
2 = sometimes
3 = rarely
4 = never If 1/2 → L06
- L05 If things continue as they are, do you think you will ever feel like you belong in Austria? 1 = yes
2 = maybe
3 = no
- L06 How long would you like to stay in Austria? 1 = short-term
2 = long-term,
3 = permanently
- L07 Would you like to have Austrian citizenship? 1 = yes
2 = no If 2, → L09
- L08 Would you like to have the Austrian citizenship even if you had to give up your previous one? 1 = yes
2 = no
- L09 Outside of Austria, where would you like to live? 1 = other European country
2 = return home
3 = other (write in)
- L10 Why would you like to live there? Write in answer.

For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you would strongly desire to, want to, are indifferent, wouldn't want to, or would hate to.

1 = strongly desire to
2 = want to
3 = are indifferent
4 = don't want to
5 = hate to

L11 Speak German fluently.

L12 Get married in Austria.

L13 Raise children in Austria.

L14 Teach your children your mother tongue.

L15 If conflict ends, return temporarily to your home country.

L16 If conflict ends, return permanently to your home country.

Thank you. That is the end of the interview. Are there any comments you would like to make, or anything you would like to know about the study?

Are you willing to be interviewed in more detail at a later time for the qualitative survey? yes / no

If yes: Would you like to have a translator during the interview? yes / no

If yes: Which language? _____

APPENDIX F

Variables in Quantitative Analysis					
Variable	Type	Code in Stata	Form	Dummies Generated	Variable Label
Demographics					
family status	independent	0=unaccompanied 1=accompanied	binary	n/a	uac_self
parent status	independent	0=with parent 1=without parent	binary	n/a	parent_aus
gender	independent/ control	0=boy 1=girl	binary	n/a	gender
age	only descriptive	n/a	continuous	n/a	age
age discrepancy	only descriptive	0=no discrepancy 1=discrepancy	binary	n/a	age_disagreement
year of arrival	control	n/a	continuous	n/a	year_arrival
asylum duration	only descriptive	n/a	continuous	n/a	asylum_duration
nationality	independent/ control	1=Iraqi 2=Syrian 3=Afghan 4=stateless or unsure	categorical	yes	country_nation
country of origin	independent/ control	1=Iraq 2=Syria 3=Afghanistan 4=Iran 5=Pakistan 6=Saudi Arabia 7=Kuwait	categorical	yes	country_residence
ethnicity	control	1=Arab 2=Kurdish 3=Hazara 4=Pashtun 5=Turkmen 6=Tajik 7=Sayyed 8=Pashai	categorical	no	ethnicity
Afghan descent	control	0=of Afghan descent 1=not of Afghan descent	binary	n/a	afghan_descent
Iranian Afghan	independent/ control	0=Iranian Afghan 1=not Iranian Afghan	binary	n/a	iran_afgh
former residence	control	1=urban 2=rural 3=peri-urban	categorical	yes	type_city

legal status	independent/ control	1=unsure 2=no protection 3=asylum 4=subsidiary protection 5=permanent residence	categorical	yes	legal_status
prior connection in Austria	only descriptive	0=prior connection 1=no prior connection	binary	n/a	prior_conn_austria
separation on journey	only descriptive	0=experienced separation 1=not experienced separation	binary	n/a	family_separation
former international migrant	only descriptive	0=not former international migrant 1=former international migrant	binary	n/a	migrant_person
migrant background	only descriptive	0=no international migration background 1=international migration background	binary	n/a	mig_back
internally migrated	only descriptive	0=internally migrated 1=did not internally migrate	binary	n/a	internal_migration
Employment					
employment	dependent	0=working or about to be 1=not working or not about to be	binary	n/a	employ_1
type of employment	dependent	0=apprenticeship 1=non-apprenticeship 2=not working	categorical	yes	type_employ_1
employment history	dependent	0=employed or was employed 1=never employed	binary	yes	employ_his
total jobs	dependent	n/a	continuous	n/a	total_jobs_2
job easier to find Austria	dependent	1=very likely 2=likely 3=maybe 4=not likely 5=impossible	ordinal categorical	yes	easy_austria
receive worse job Austria	dependent	1=very likely 2=likely 3=maybe 4=not likely 5=impossible	ordinal categorical	yes	worse_austria
Education					
currently enrolled in education	dependent	0=currently enrolled 1=not currently enrolled	binary	n/a	edu_enroll
type of current education	dependent	0=not enrolled 1=normal Gymnasium 2=Hauptschule 3=Berufsschule 4=Mittelschule 5=Lehre 6=Arabic Gymnasium 7=Abend Gymnasium 8=refugee school 9=other 10=Pflichtschulabschluss 11=HTL/HAK/BACH 12=Übergangsklasse	categorical	yes	edu_school

current full-time enrollment with Austrians	dependent	0=full-time enrolled with Austrians 1=not full-time enrolled with Austrians	binary	n/a	full_aus_edu
enroll(ed) in education	dependent	0=is or was enrolled 1=never enrolled	binary	n/a	edu_enroll_ever
future education	only descriptive	0=not enrolled 1=normal Gymnasium 2=Hauptschule 3=Berufsschule 4=Mitteschule 5=Lehre 6=Arabic Gymnasium 7=Abend Gymnasium 8=refugee school 9=other 10=Pflichtschulabschluss 11=HTL/HAK/BACH 12=Übergangsklasse 13=Matura school 14=university	categorical	yes	type_future
Language					
start with German	only descriptive	n/a	continuous	n/a	german_start
enrollment in German course	dependent	0=currently enrolled 1=not currently enrolled	binary	n/a	german_course
last German course	dependent	continuous	n/a	n/a	last_german_course
German certificate	dependent	0=certificate 1=no certificate	binary	n/a	german_proof
German level	dependent	0=no level 1=A1 2=A2 3=B1 4=B2 5=C1 6=C2	ordinal categorical	yes	german_level
German connection	dependent	1=coworkers 2=classmates 3=family members 4=service providers 5=other 6=significant other 7=roommates 8=teammates	categorical	yes	german_connection
language spoken most during day	dependent	1=German 2=native language 3=mix with German 4=English 5=other	categorical	yes	lang_day_2
language spoken most in free time	dependent	1=German 2=native language 3=mix with German 4=English 4=other	categorical	yes	lang_free_2

Social Connections					
contact with parents	only descriptive	0=<monthly 1=monthly 2=bi-monthly 3=weekly 4=bi-weekly 5=>bi-weekly 6=everyday	categorical	no	contact_parent
remittance	only descriptive	0=no parents 1=always 2=often 3=sometimes 4=never	categorical	n/a	remittance
religious attendance	dependent	0=goes to church/mosque 1=does not go	binary	n/a	relig_attendance
best friend outside linguistic group	dependent	0=outside linguistic group 1=inside linguistic group	binary	n/a	friend_ling_out
language spoken with best friend	dependent	1=Arabic 2=Kurdish 3=Pashto 4=Dari 5=English 6=German 7=Tajik 8=Pashai 9=Farsi 10=Turkish	categorical	yes	friend_ling
best friend outside national group	dependent	0=outside national group 1=inside national group	binary	n/a	friend_nat_out
how met best friend	dependent	1=coworkers 2=classmates 3=family members 4=service providers 5=other 6=significant other 7=roommates 8=teammates 9=German course 10=camp 11=home country 12=flight	categorical	yes	connect_friend
last contact with organizations	dependent	1=currently 2=<1 month 3=<3 months 4=<9 months 5=>9 months	ordinal categorical	no	last_contact
current contact with organizations	dependent	0=has contact 1=no contact	binary	n/a	org_contact
past/current contact with organizations	dependent	0=had or has contact 1=never contact	binary	n/a	contact_orgs

organizational help	only descriptive	1=educational 2=language 3=legal/bureaucracy 4=explicitly integrative 5=psychosocial 6=labor prep/assistance 7=accommodation 8=foster family 9=finances	categorical	yes	type_help
live with Austrians	only descriptive	0=with Austrians 1=not with Austrians	binary	n/a	austrian_room
live with family members	only descriptive	0=with family 1=not with family	binary	n/a	family_room
live with fellow nationals	only descriptive	0=with nationals 1=not with nationals	binary	n/a	homeland_room
live with refugees	only descriptive	0=with refugees 1=not with refugees	binary	n/a	refugee_room
Outlook on Integration					
feel part of Austria	dependent	1=always 2=sometimes 3=rarely 4=never	ordinal categorical	yes	part_austria
stay in Austria	dependent	1=short-term 2=long-term 3=permanently	ordinal categorical	yes	stay_austria
teach native language	dependent	1=strongly desire 2=want 3=maybe 4=don't want 5=hate	ordinal categorical	yes	kid_lang
visit home country	dependent	1=strongly desire 2=want 3=maybe 4=don't want 5=hate	ordinal categorical	yes	visit
return home country	dependent	1=strongly desire 2=want 3=maybe 4=don't want 5=hate	ordinal categorical	yes	return_1

Appendix G

RESPONDENTS FROM AFGHANISTAN BY PROVINCE



Figure G.1: Graphical representation of the Afghan provinces where respondents reported residing.

RESPONDENTS FROM IRAN BY PROVINCE



Figure G.2: Graphical representation of the Iranian provinces where respondents reported residing.

RESPONDENTS FROM SYRIA BY PROVINCE

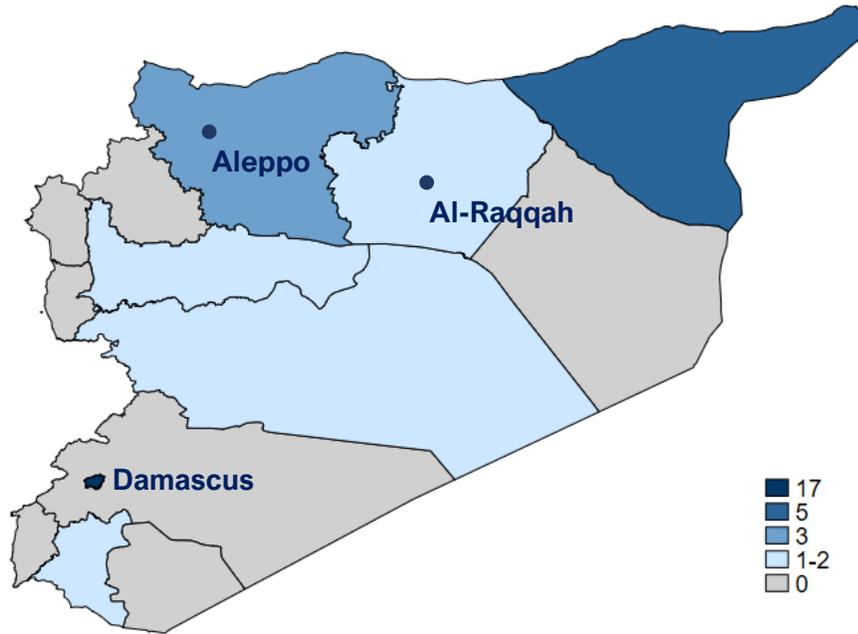


Figure G.3: Graphical representation of the Syrian provinces where respondents reported residing.

FOREIGN POPULATION AND RESPONDENTS BY DISTRICT

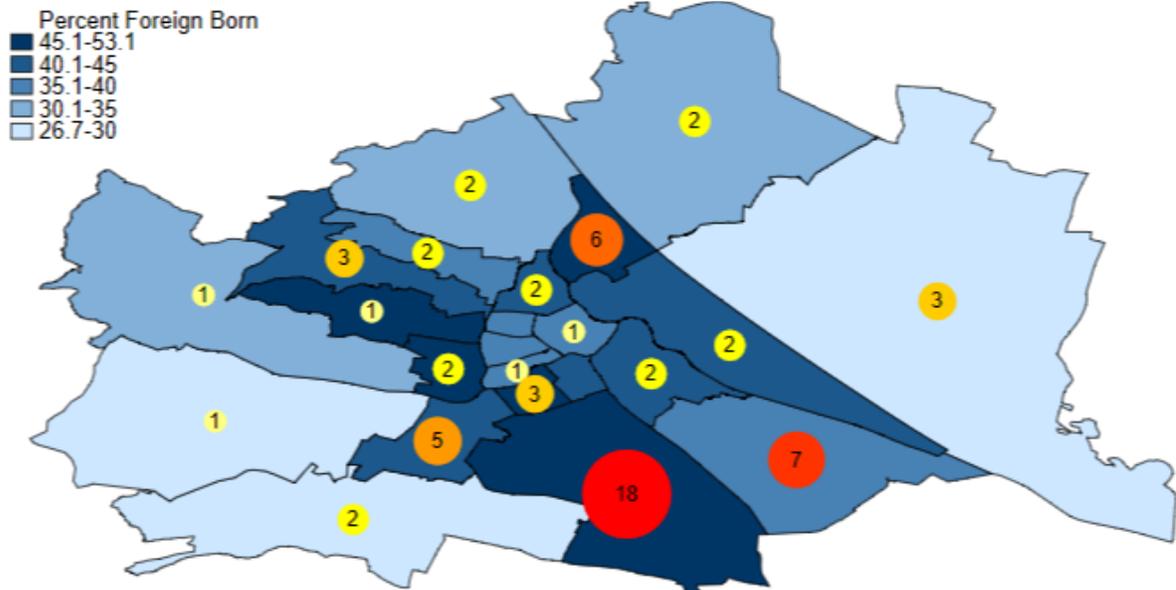


Figure G.4: Graphical representation of Vienna districts according to percent of foreign population (born abroad or possess a non-Austrian passport) and the reported district residences of respondents.

Appendix H

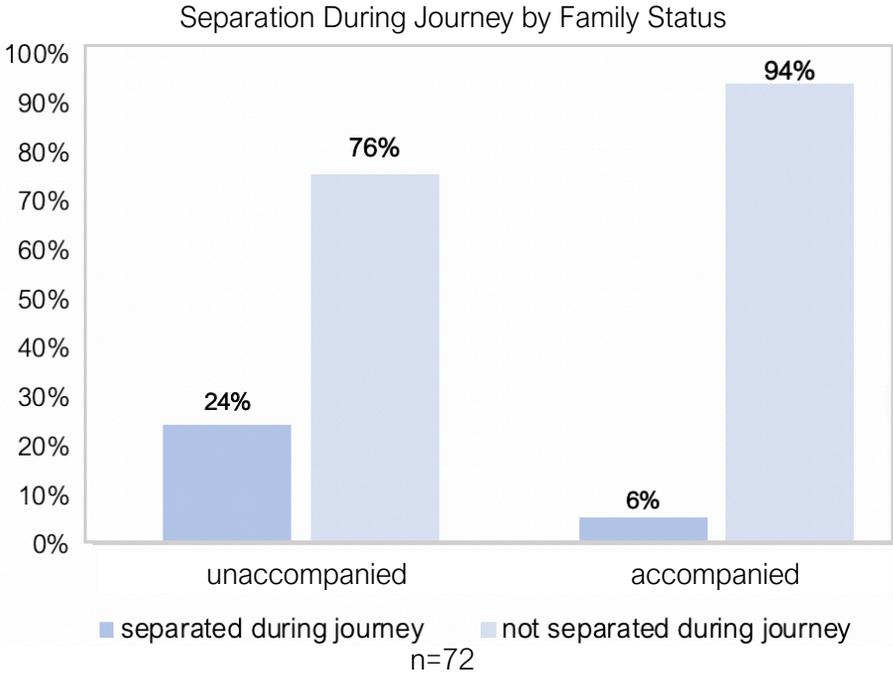


Figure H.1: separation during journey by family status

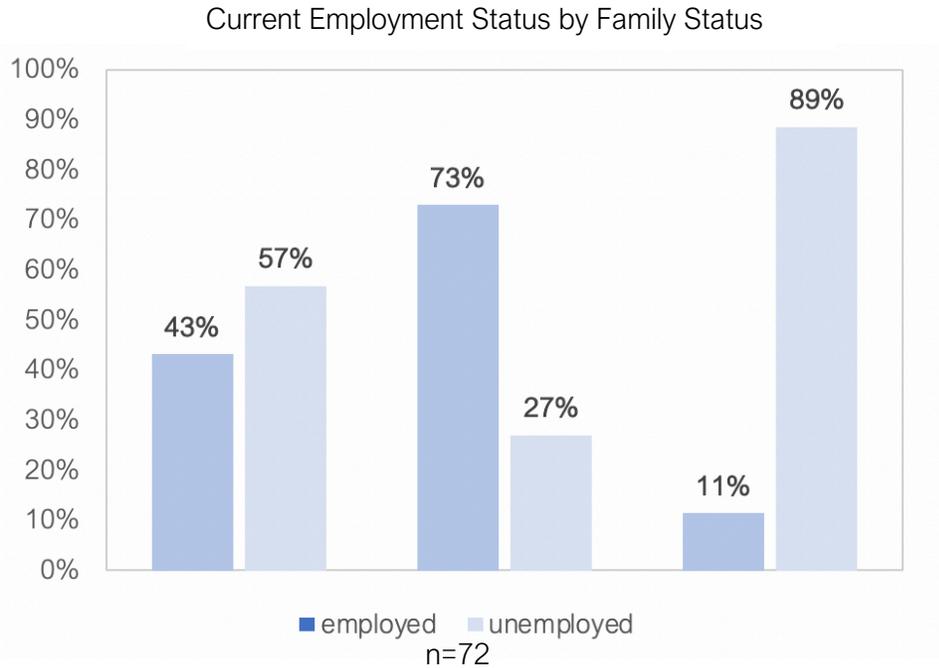


Figure H.2: current employment status

Likelihood of Getting Desired Job
■ very likely ■ likely ■ maybe ■ not likely ■ impossible
n=68

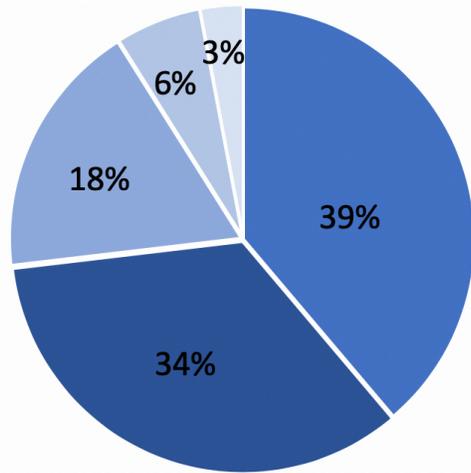


Figure H.3: likelihood of getting desired job

Likelihood of being Happy in Future Job
■ very likely ■ likely ■ maybe
n=67

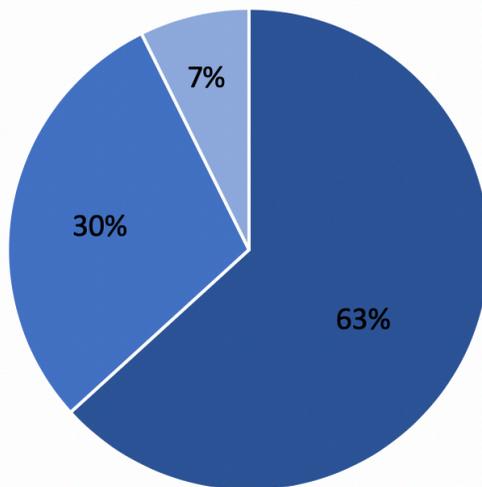


Figure H.4: likelihood of being happy in future job

Received Labor Market Support in the Past 3 months by Family Status

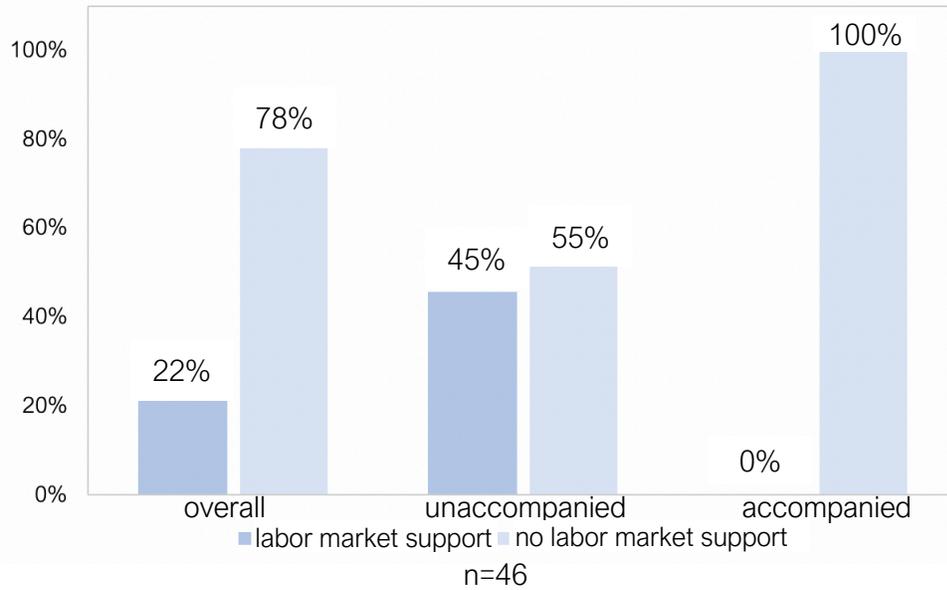


Figure H.5: received labor market support in the past three months

Labor Market Support by Employment Status

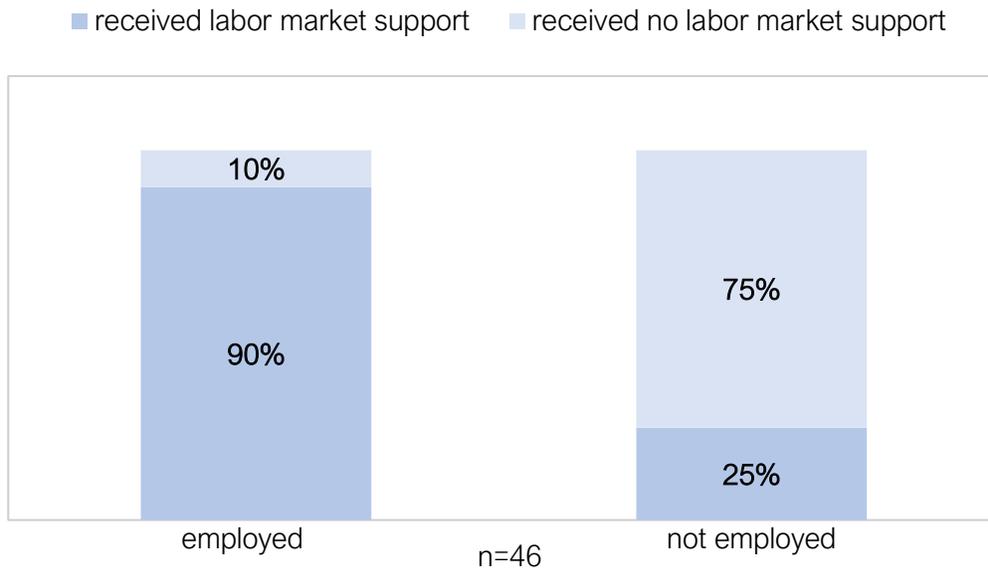


Figure H.6: employment of respondents who received labor market support within past three months

Employment by Labor Market Support

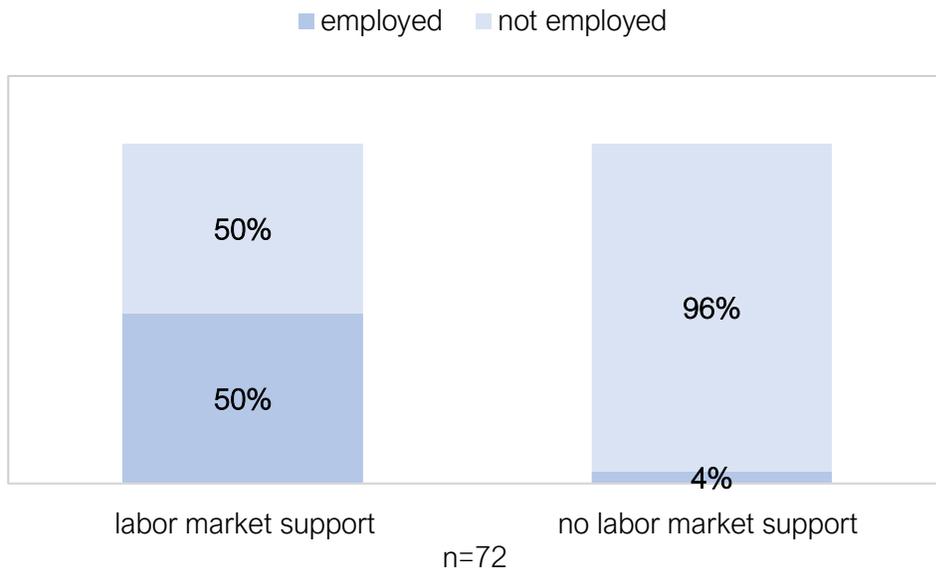


Figure H.7: labor market support of respondents who were currently employed

Current Educational Enrollment by Family Status

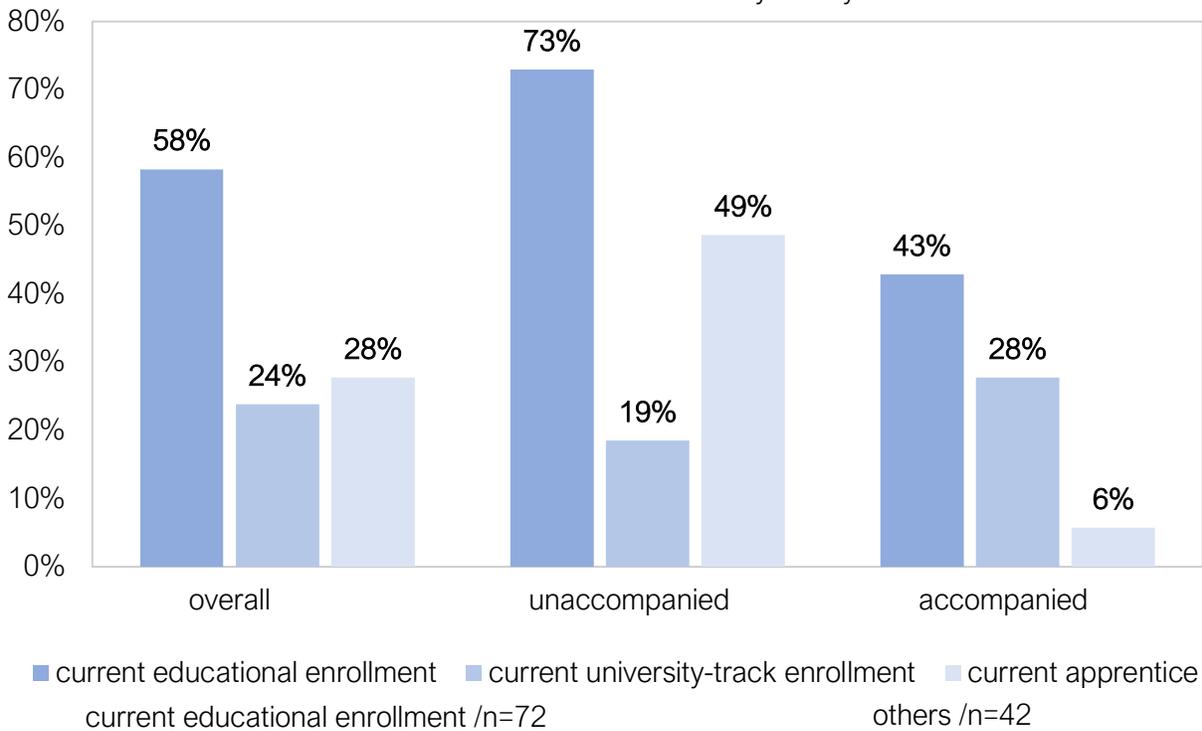


Figure H.8: current educational enrollment, disaggregated by university track and apprenticeship

Current Educational Enrollment by Country of Origin

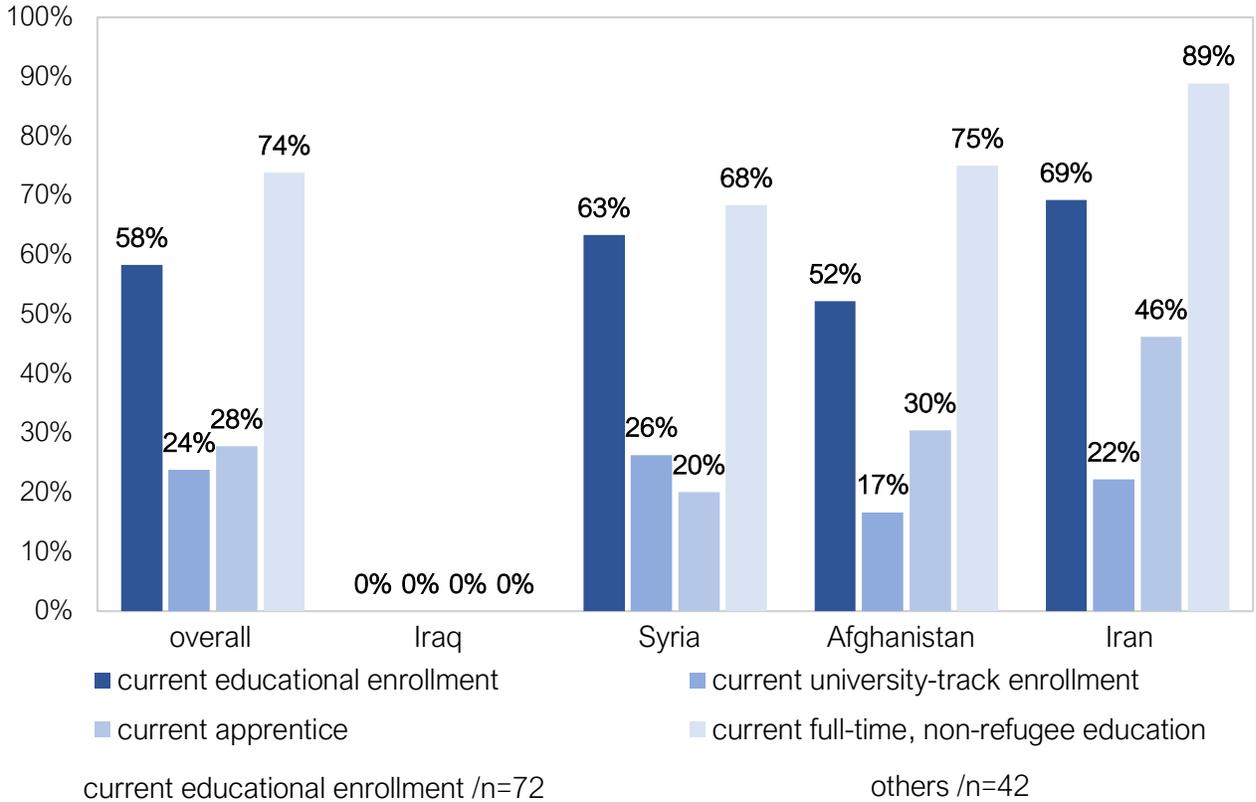


Figure H.9: current educational enrollment, disaggregated by university track, apprenticeship and full-time non-refugee education

Time Between Arrival and Start of German Courses by Family Status

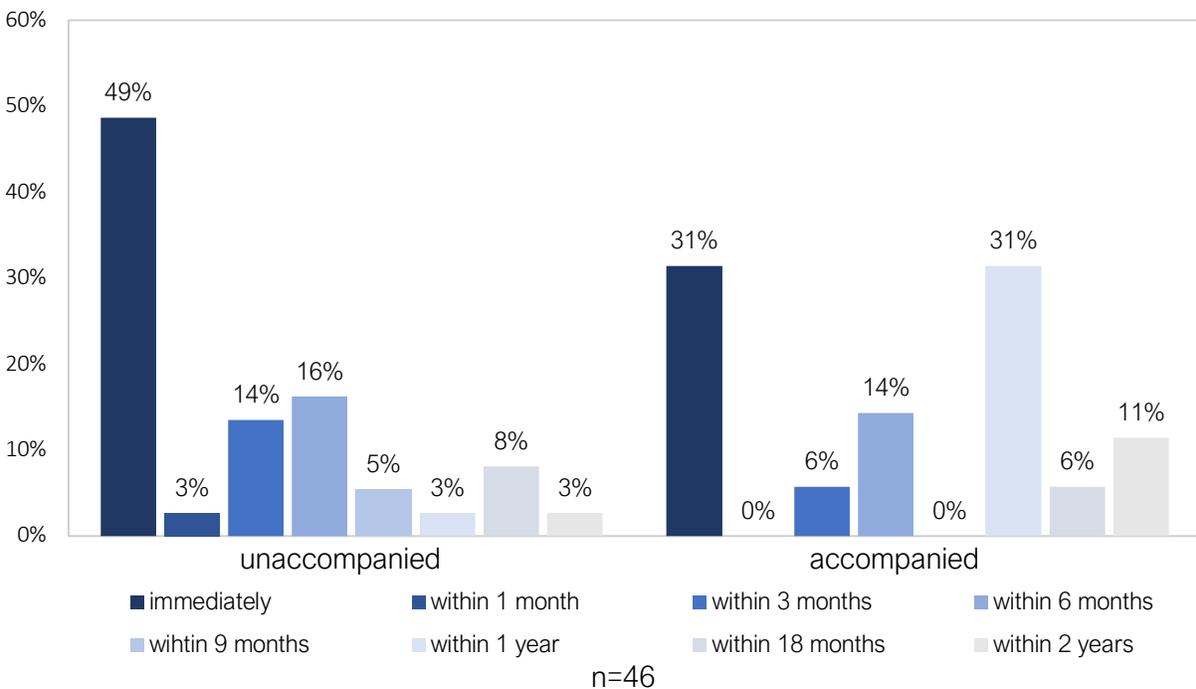


Figure H.10: time between arrival and start of German courses by family status

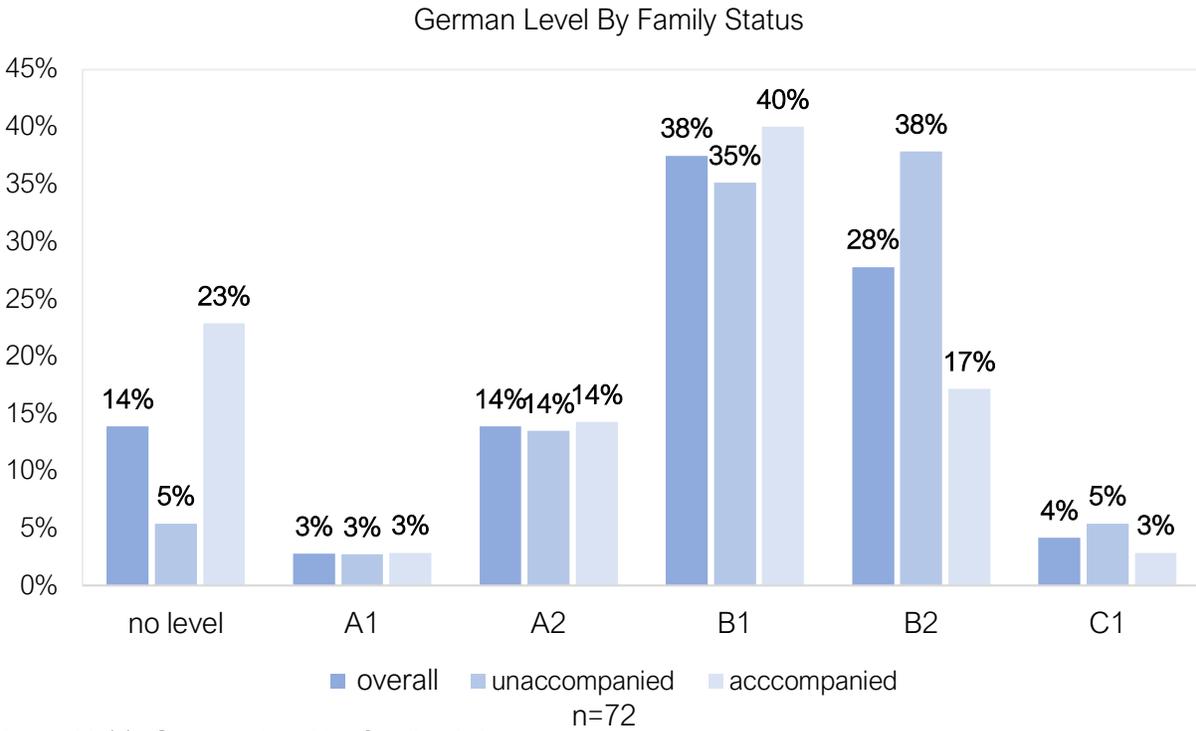


Figure H.11: German level by family status

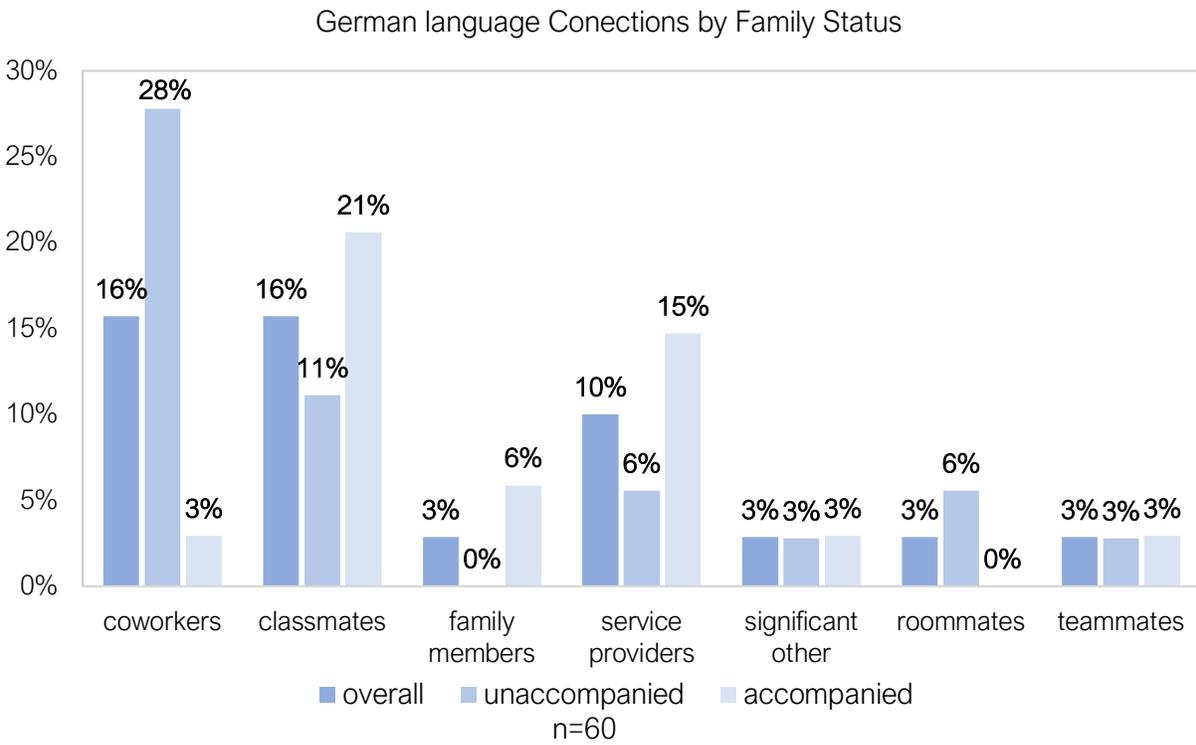


Figure H.12: German language connections by family status

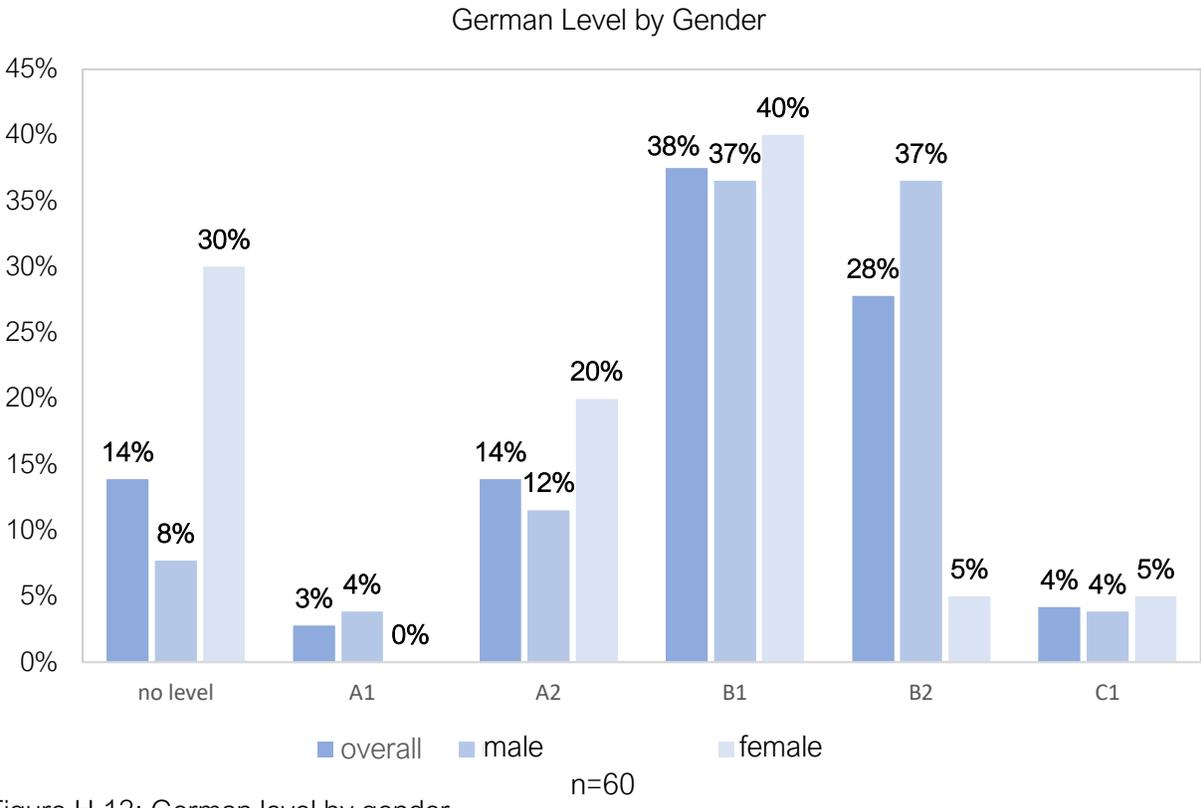


Figure H.13: German level by gender

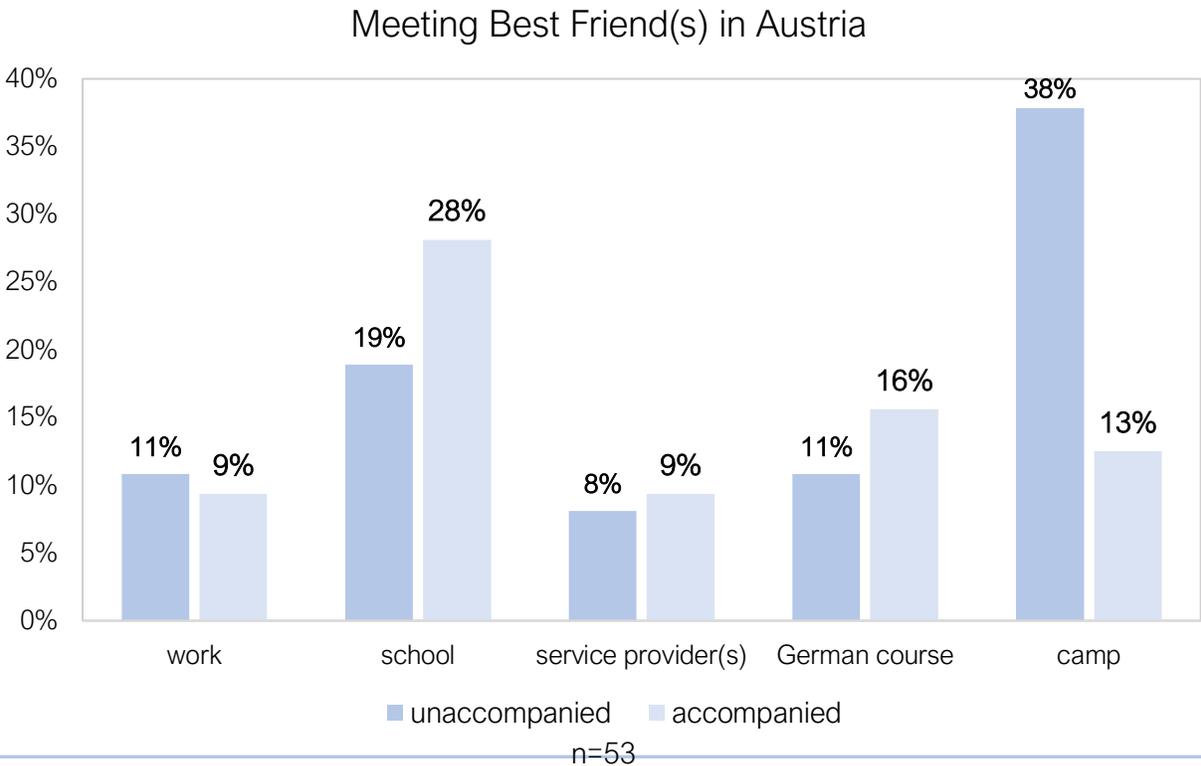


Figure H.14: how respondents met best friend(s) in Austria

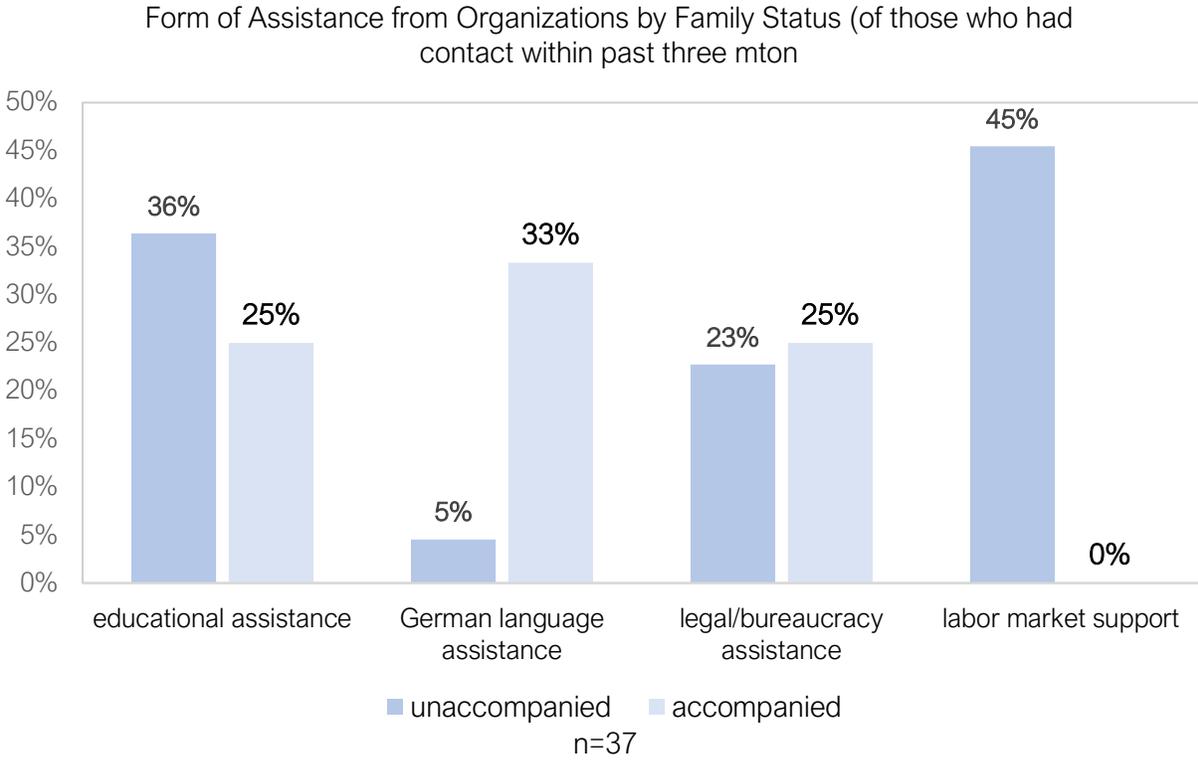


Figure H.15: form of assistance from organizations by family status (of those who had contact within past three months)

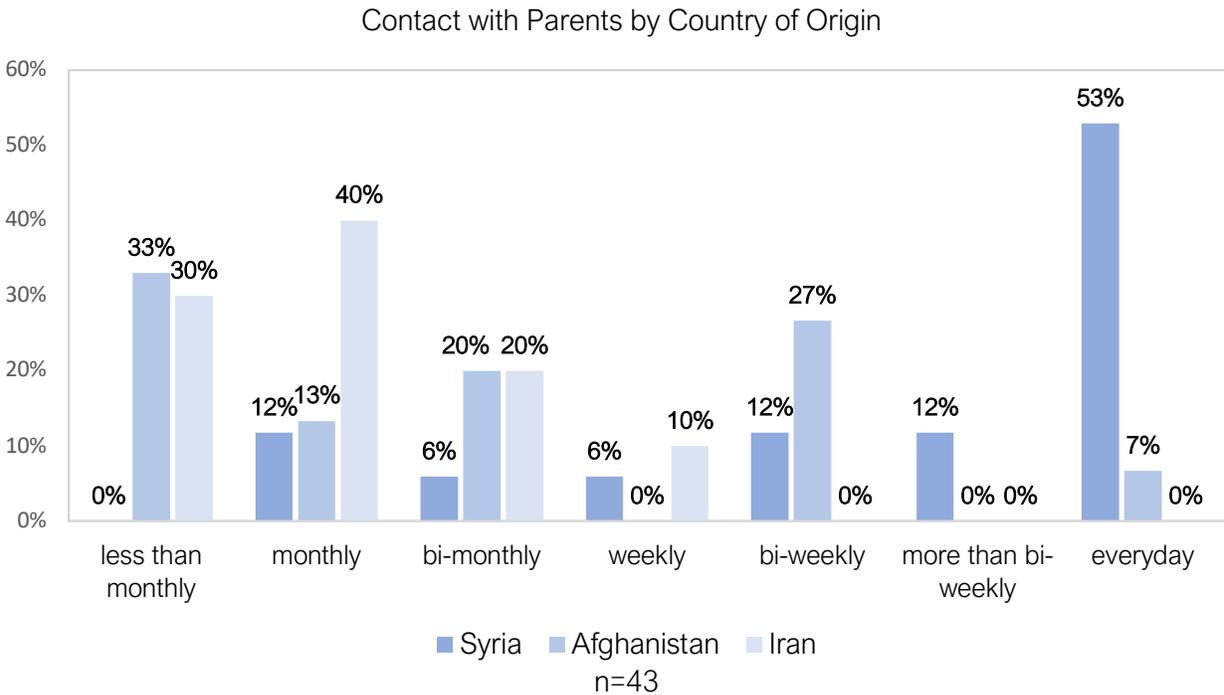


Figure H.16: contact with parents by country of origin

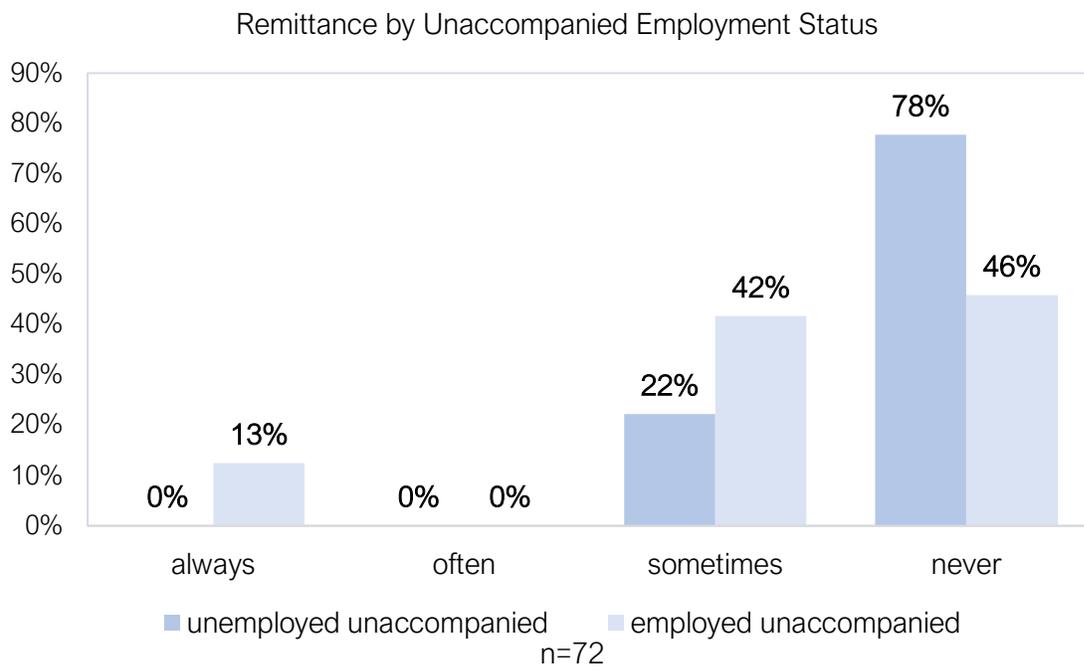


Figure H.17: remittance by unaccompanied employment status

Appendix I

Table I.1: logit regression on current employment

currently employed	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	2.12	0.013	0.45	3.78
gender	1.80	0.17	-0.78	4.37
former residence (urban)	0.14	0.87	-1.53	1.81
country of origin (Afghanistan)	1.15	0.20	-0.60	2.89
legal status (subsidiary status)	-0.11	0.885	-1.57	1.35
year of arrival	1.41	0.023	0.20	2.63
constant	-2848.6	0.023	-5298.49	-398.72
n=72				

Table I.2: logit regression on past/current employment

currently or formerly employed	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	2.10	0.04	0.13	4.07
gender	1.96	0.05	-0.00	3.92
former residence (urban)	-0.69	0.49	-2.64	1.26
country of origin (Afghanistan)	-0.73	0.49	-2.81	1.34
legal status (subsidiary status)	1.66	0.09	-0.26	3.58
year of arrival	2.24	0.00	0.77	3.70
constant	-4506.94	0.00	-7452.92	-1560.96
n=72				

Table I.3: logit regression on always feeling part of Austria

always feel part of Austria	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	-2.17	0.03	-4.13	-0.21
gender	1.13	0.24	-0.74	2.99
country of origin				
Iraq	0.24	0.87	-2.61	3.09
Syria	-0.78	0.26	-2.14	0.58
Iran	-0.81	0.33	-2.43	0.81
age	0.58	0.08	-0.07	1.23
enrollment in education	-1.76	0.02	-3.25	-0.27
apprentice	-1.57	0.08	-3.31	0.17
constant	-7.67	0.14	-17.80	2.46
n=69				

Table I.4: logit regression on having an apprenticeship

apprenticeship	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
labor market support	-3.81	0.01	-6.53	-1.09
family status	-0.64	0.56	-2.83	1.54
country of origin (Afghanistan)	0.31	0.76	-1.69	2.31
constant	1.98	0.07	-0.17	4.14
n=44				

Table I.5: logit regression on current/former educational enrollment (family status)

currently or formerly enrolled in education	coefficient	p-value	confidence interval	
family status	2.78	0.03	0.25	5.31
gender	1.25	0.19	-0.62	3.12
country of origin (Afghanistan)	2.01	0.03	0.19	3.83
constant	-4.76	0.00	-7.28	-2.24
n=64				

Table I.6: logit regression on current/former educational enrollment (parental status)

currently or formerly enrolled in education	coefficient	p-value	confidence interval	
accompanied by parent(s)	-4.62	0.01	-7.91	-1.34
gender	-0.68	0.63	-3.44	2.08
country of origin (Afghanistan)	2.21	0.05	-0.04	4.46
constant	0.20	0.88	-2.38	2.78
n=64				

Table I.7: logit regression on current educational enrollment (family status)

current educational enrollment	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	1.08	0.11	-0.23	2.40
gender	0.61	0.41	-0.82	2.03
country of origin (Afghanistan)	0.73	0.20	-0.39	1.85
constant	-1.29	0.01	-2.21	-0.36
n=69				

Table I.8: logit regression on current educational enrollment (parental status)

current educational enrollment	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
parental status	-2.45	0.03	-4.69	-0.21
gender	-0.60	0.60	-2.86	1.66
country of origin (Afghanistan)	0.57	0.32	-0.56	1.69
constant	1.41	0.23	-0.87	3.70
n=69				

Table I.9: Ordinary Least Squares regression on likelihood it is easier to receive desired job in Austria

likelihood it is easier to receive desired job in Austria than in country of origin	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	1.07	0.06	-0.04	2.18
gender	1.05	0.12	-0.26	2.36
country of origin (Afghanistan)	-0.26	0.61	-1.25	0.74
n=66				

Table I.10: Ordinary Least Squares regression on likelihood will receive worse job in Austria

likelihood will receive worse job in Austria than in country of origin	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	0.15	0.80	-1.00	1.30
gender	-0.41	0.53	-1.66	0.85
Afghan descent	-1.27	0.014	-2.29	-0.26
n=66				

Table I.11: logit regression on beginning German within 6 months of arrival

started German within 6 months	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	-1.66	0.03	-3.17	-0.15
gender	-0.54	0.47	-2.00	0.92
country of origin (Afghanistan)	-1.42	0.03	-2.72	-0.12
constant	2.37	0.00	1.13	3.60
n=69				

Table I.12: Ordinary Least Squares regression on German level

German level	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
began German immediately	0.93	0.05	0.00	1.86
gender	0.94	0.28	-0.77	2.64
parental status	2.71	0.00	0.94	4.48
n=72				

Table I.13: Ordinary Least Square regression on German level (family status)

German level	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	-0.17	0.77	-1.32	0.98
gender	-1.17	0.07	-2.45	0.11
country of origin (Afghanistan)	-0.90	0.07	-1.86	0.05
year of arrival	-0.43	0.09	-0.94	0.07
n=69				

Table I.14: Ordinary Least Square regression on German level (parental status)

German level	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
parental status	1.93	0.04	0.11	3.74
gender	0.21	0.81	-1.53	1.95
country of origin (Afghanistan)	-0.84	0.09	-1.80	0.13
year of arrival	-0.33	0.19	-0.83	0.17
n=69				

Table I.15: Ordinary Least Square regression on German Level (family status/year of arrival excluded)

German level	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	-0.43	0.48	-1.64	0.77
gender	-1.36	0.04	-2.64	-0.07
country of origin				
Iraq	1.90	0.08	-0.22	4.02
Syria	0.64	0.25	-0.44	1.73
Iran	0.71	0.25	-0.51	1.92
n=69				

Table I.16: Ordinary Least Square regression on German Level (family status/year of arrival included)

German level	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	-0.24	0.70	-1.47	0.98
gender	-1.26	0.06	-2.55	0.03
country of origin				
Iraq	1.85	0.09	-0.28	3.99
Syria	0.83	0.14	-0.28	1.93
Iran	0.85	0.18	-0.38	2.08
year of arrival	-0.40	0.12	-0.91	0.11
n=69				

Table I.17: Ordinary Least Square regression on German Level (parental status/year of arrival excluded)

German level	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
parental status	2.64	0.01	0.70	4.57
gender	0.54	0.56	-1.24	2.32
country of origin				
Iraq	2.82	0.02	0.46	5.18
Syria	0.50	0.38	-0.61	1.61
Iran	0.97	0.13	-0.28	2.22
year of arrival	-0.22	0.41	-0.73	0.30
n=69				

Table I.18: logit regression on speaking native language mostly during the day

speaking native language mostly during the day	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	0.00	1.00	-2.55	2.55
gender	2.56	0.03	0.28	4.85
country of origin (Afghanistan)	-0.97	0.27	-2.70	0.75
legal status	0.54	0.60	-1.49	2.56
year of arrival	-0.12	0.77	-0.90	0.66
constant	237.44	0.77	-1336.17	1811.04
n=69				

Table I.19: logit regression on speaking German mostly during the day

speaking German mostly during the day	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	0.76	0.39	-0.97	2.50
gender	-2.73	0.00	-4.60	-0.85
country of origin (Afghanistan)	1.36	0.05	-0.02	2.74
year of arrival	0.26	0.40	-0.35	0.87
constant	-520.41	0.40	-1742.72	701.89
n=69				

Table I.20: logit regression on speaking German or a mix of German mostly during the day

speaking German or a mix of German mostly during the day	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	-0.53	0.60	-2.49	1.43
gender	-1.93	0.04	-3.72	-0.13
country of origin (Afghanistan)	1.20	0.17	-0.50	2.90
year of arrival	0.12	0.78	-0.68	0.91
constant	-230.96	0.78	-1826.01	1364.09
n=69				

Table I.21: logit regression on speaking German with best friend(s)

speak German specifically with best friend(s)	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	0.14	0.86	-1.42	1.70
gender	0.23	0.80	-1.60	2.07
Afghan descent	1.43	0.04	0.08	2.77
constant	0.43	0.26	-0.31	1.17
n=72				

Table I.22: logit regression on always feeling part of Austria

always feel part of Austria	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	-2.12	0.03	-4.01	-0.23
gender	1.18	0.22	-0.69	3.04
country of origin (Afghanistan)	0.72	0.23	-0.46	1.90
age	0.59	0.07	-0.06	1.24
enrollment in education	-1.63	0.02	-3.05	-0.21
apprentice	-1.53	0.08	-3.24	0.18
constant	-8.67	0.09	-18.62	1.28
n=72				

Table I.23: logit regression on hating to return home if it was safe

if home was safe, would hate to return	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	0.55	0.51	-1.07	2.17
gender	0.48	0.57	-1.17	2.13
country of origin				
Iraq	-1.48	0.29	-4.21	1.25
Syria	-1.84	0.01	-3.25	-0.43
Iran	1.60	0.08	-0.18	3.38
constant	-0.09	0.85	-1.06	0.88
n=65				

Table I.24: logit regression on desiring to stay in Austria forever

would like to stay forever in Austria	coefficient	p-value	confidence intervals	
family status	-0.36	0.69	-2.12	1.41
country of origin				
Iraq	-1.90	0.26	-5.21	1.41
Syria	-2.74	0.02	-5.09	-0.39
Iran	-0.63	0.66	-3.47	2.21
gender	-0.19	0.83	-1.98	1.59
year of arrival	0.94	0.02	0.13	1.74
legal status (subsidiary)	0.83	0.40	-1.09	2.75
constant	-1884.25	0.02	-3500.00	-268.50
n=65				

Appendix J

Table J.1: Additional Integration Outcomes (Bivariate) by Family Status

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	
	Family Status	
	unaccompanied	accompanied
separation during journey n=72	24.32**	5.71
no separation during journey	75.68	94.29
employed n=72	72.97***	11.43
unemployed	27.03	88.57
very likely to be happy in future job n=68	58.82	67.65
likely to be happy in future job	32.35	26.47
maybe will be happy in future job	8.82	5.88
very likely to get desired job n=67	40	37.50
likely to get desired job	34.29	34.38
maybe will get desired job	17.14	18.75
likely will not get desired job	5.71	6.25
impossible to get desired job	2.86	3.13
labor market support n=46	45***	0
no labor market support	55	100

currently enrolled in education n=72	72.97***	42.86
not currently enrolled in education	27.03	57.14
former/current educational enrollment n=72	97.06***	63.64
no former/current educational enrollment	2.94	36.36
enrolled in German course n=72	16.22**	42.86
not enrolled in German course	83.78	57.14
switched best friend(s) in Austria n=66	20.59	28.13
did not switch best friend(s) in Austria	79.41	71.88
always lonely n=69	10.81	6.25
often lonely	18.92	12.50
sometimes lonely	29.73	25
rarely lonely	24.32	31.25
never lonely	16.22	25
have contact with refugee organizations n=72	56.76	62.86
have no contact with refugee organizations	43.24	37.14

had/have contact with refugee organizations n=72	97.3	94.29
had/have no contact last contact with refugee organizations	2.70	5.71
current contact with refugee organizations n=69	58.33	66.67
within 1 month last contact with refugee organizations	2.78	0
within 3 months last contact with refugee organizations	0	6.06
within 9 months last contact with refugee organizations	2.78	0
more than 9 months last contact with refugee organizations	36.11	27.27
want to stay in Austria short-term n=67	5.56	12.90
want to stay in Austria long-term	11.11	19.35
want to stay in Austria permanently	83.33	67.74

if home is safe, would love to visit n=71	61.11	54.29
if home is safe, would like to visit	11.11	8.57
if home is safe, would maybe visit	2.78	5.71
if home is safe, would dislike to visit	11.11	8.57
if home is safe, would hate to visit	13.89	22.86

Note: *** significant at $p < 0.01$; ** significant at $p < 0.05$, * significant at $p < 0.10$

Table J.2: Additional Integration Outcomes (Bivariate) by Parental Status

	Parental Status	
	arrived without parent(s)	accompanied with parent(s)
employed	60.78***	0
unemployed n=72	39.22	100
currently or formerly employed n=72	80.95***	19.61
neither currently nor formerly employed	19.05	80.39

love to teach children native language n=65	48.48*	71.88
like to teach children native language	12.12	12.50
maybe teach children native language	15.15*	3.13
dislike to teach children native language	9.09	3.13
hate to teach children native language	15.15	9.38

Note: *** significant at $p < 0.01$; ** significant at $p < 0.05$, * significant at $p < 0.10$

Table J.3: Additional Integration Outcomes (Bivariate) by Gender

	Gender	
	male	female
employed	57.69***	5
unemployed n=72	42.31	95
currently or formerly employed n=72	78.85***	20
neither currently nor formerly employed	21.15	80
currently enrolled in education n=72	67.31***	35
not currently enrolled in education	32.69	65
former/current educational enrollment n=72	91.49***	55
no former/current educational enrollment	8.51	45

began German immediately n=72	46.15	25
did not begin German immediately	53.85	75
began German within 6 months n=72	75**	45
did not begin German within 6 months	25	55
currently enrolled in German course n=72	21.15**	50
not currently enrolled in German course	78.85	50
best friend(s) outside linguistic group n=68	41.67	25
best friend(s) inside linguistic group	58.33	75
speak German with best friend(s) n=68	32.43	17.14
do not speak German with best friend(s)	67.57	82.86
always part of Austria n=69	42	31.58
sometimes part of Austria	42	36.84
rarely part of Austria	6*	21.05
never part of Austria	10	10.53

want to stay in Austria short-term n=67	8	11.76
want to stay in Austria long-term	12	23.53
want to stay in Austria permanently	80	64.71
if home is safe, would love to return n=68	12.50	25
if home is safe, would maybe return	18.75**	0
if home is safe, would dislike to return	20.83	30
if home is safe, would hate to return	47.92	45
love to teach children native language n=65	52.17**	78.95
like to teach children native language	15.22	5.26
maybe teach children native language	13.04	0
dislike to teach children native language	6.52	5.26
hate to teach children native language	13.04	10.53

Note: *** significant at $p < 0.01$; ** significant at $p < 0.05$, * significant at $p < 0.10$

Table J.4: Additional Integration Outcomes (Bivariate) by Country of Origin

	Country of Origin			
	Iraq	Syria	Afghanistan	Iran
employed	0**	30**	47.83	76.92***
unemployed n=72	100	70	52.17	23.08
currently or formerly employed n=72	0	53.33	69.57	84.62*
neither currently nor formerly employed	100	46.67	30.43	15.38
currently enrolled in education n=72	0**	63.33	52.17	69.23
not currently enrolled in education	100	36.67	47.83	30.77
former/current educational enrollment n=72	66.67	85.19	72.73	91.67
no former/current educational enrollment	33.33	14.81	27.27	8.33
very likely to get worse job n=66	0	20.69	5	15.38
likely to get worse job	0	44.83**	20	15.38
maybe will get worse job	66.67***	10.34	15	0
likely will not get worse job	0	13.79	20	23.08
impossible to get worse job	33.33	10.34***	40	46.15*

very likely easier to get desired job in Austria n=69	0	13.79**	42.86*	46.15
likely easier to get desired job in Austria	0	13.79	9.52	15.38
maybe easier to get desired job in Austria	33.33	20.69*	4.76	0
not likely easier to get desired job in Austria	0	34.48	28.57	30.77
impossible it's easier to get desired job in Austria	66.67**	17.24	14.29	7.69
want to stay in Austria short-term nm=67	33.33	14.81	4.55	0
want to stay in Austria long-term	0	29.63***	4.55*	7.69
want to stay in Austria permanently	66.67	55.56***	90.91**	92.31
love to teach children native language n=65	100	74.07**	50	30**
like to teach children native language	0	18.52	9.09	10
maybe teach children native language	0	3.70	4.55	30***
dislike to teach children native language	0	0*	9.09*	20*
hate to teach children native language	0	3.70*	27.27**	10

if home is safe, would love to return n=68	33.33	21.43	18.18	0*
if home is safe, would maybe return	0	14.29	18.18	8.33
if home is safe, would dislike to return	33.33	42.86***	9.09**	8.33
if home is safe, would hate to return	33.33	21.43***	54.55	83.33***

Note: *** significant at $p < 0.01$; ** significant at $p < 0.05$, * significant at $p < 0.10$

Table J.5: Additional Integration Outcomes (Bivariate) by Former Residence

	Former Residence		
	urban	rural	peri-urban
former/current educational enrollment n=72	87.23**	55.56	72.73
no former/current educational enrollment n=72	12.77	44.44	27.27
university-track education n=42	67.74	100	100
non-university track education n=42	32.26	0	0

Note: *** significant at $p < 0.01$; ** significant at $p < 0.05$, * significant at $p < 0.10$

Table J.6: Additional Integration Outcomes (Bivariate) by Legal Status

	Legal Status	
	subsidiary protection status	Convention status
employed n=72	69.23***	23.26
unemployed n=72	30.77	76.74

internally migrated to Vienna n=71	64	35
did not internally migrate to Vienna	36	65

Note: *** significant at $p < 0.01$; ** significant at $p < 0.05$, * significant at $p < 0.10$