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Migration and welfare state

Analysis of the socio-economic impact of
migration on different welfare state models

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Abstract: the phenomenon and the presence of migrants, which tend to leave their own country for several reasons, such as wars, civil conflicts or economic instability, in some states has been always subject to variation in time and quantity. This thesis presents research regarding the question: what is the impact of migration on social policies in countries belonging to different welfare state regimes? Through the qualitative and quantitative interpretation of several data set, gathered from statistics, reports and laws, it will be tested whether different conditions and factors could have an influence on the policies' outcome according to various welfare state regimes. Overall the findings of this research indicate that the presence of migrants can affect the economic and social life of different countries.

Key words: migration, welfare state, integration, Italy, Germany, Sweden

List of abbreviations

ALMP	Active Labour Market Policy
AMIF	Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIDOB	Barcelona Center for International Affairs
CPIA	Centri Provinciali d'Istruzione degli Adulti
DG	Directorate General
EAEC (Euratom)	European Atomic Energy Community
EC	European Community
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
EEC	European Economic Community
EIF	European Fund for the Integration of non-EU immigrants
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
EUROSTAT	Statistical Office of the European Communities
GDB	German Federation of Trade Unions (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
MIPEX	Migrant Integration Policy Index
MPG	Migration Policy Group
MS	Member State
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SFI	Swedish for Immigrants
SVR	The Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration (Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration)
TCN	Third-County National
TEAM	Tessera Europea di Assicurazione Malattia (European Health Insurance Card)
UK	United Kingdom
WSR	Welfare State Regimes

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A critical aspect of managing migration is the successful integration of legally residing immigrants and their descendants. At the same time immigration policy can contribute to the success of integration policy. It is vital for Member States to maintain and further develop societies in which newcomers feel welcome, which are defined by a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation, and where there are clear expectations of all residents – new and old.

(Council of European Union, 2004, p.15)

1. Introduction

The echo of the dramatic geopolitical changes in Northern Africa and Middle-East occurred in the past ten years, lately reached Europe with what probably is the greatest migration since World War II. The aftermath of this event is still to be seen, however this migration certainly had and will significantly affect countries that see their population fleeing and host countries both.

1.1 Background of the research problem

Whether used as ramp or dreamed as final destination, most of the countries in the European Union (EU) are deeply influenced by this long and complex diaspora. Most of EU Member States (MSs) coping with this phenomenon are interested in promoting a fruitful integration into the host society. However, due to differences among the social structures of EU MSs and to variation of migration's features over time, integration into host societies is extremely challenging and in continuous evolution. Moreover, migration can have influence on the approach of states, throughout changes in their social policies. Integration is a two-ways process: it starts with the willingness of migrant to fit into the new society but it is governments' duty to develop the right environment that allow the final integration, through the establishment of social bridges and bonds. These bonds are important as basis for emotional support and self-confidence for a foreigner: knowing someone in the host country or maybe even just experience act of kindness from a stranger, may have a positive influence on the behaviour and attitude of migrants, leading them to feel more confident and secure in the new environment. This integration process may be built only if trust and reciprocity exist: in order to create bridges between different groups real chances are necessary for people in order to spend time together and exchange opinions and useful information and resources (Strang & Ager, 2010).

Moreover, immigrant workers, even the less-skilled, are usually welcomed during the years of boom previous to the financial crisis, but they turned into easy targets for xenophobes and populists when the economic situations degenerate (Gaston & Rajaguru, 2013). When it comes to migrant integration into host societies, employers have an important role in the whole process of socio-cultural incorporation. Heckmann (2005) found four separate dimensions of immigrant integration: structural dimension, namely their rights and access to institutions in the host country; cultural integration, that represents the mutual integration process between migrants and the receiving state;

interactive integration, namely the network of relations that a migrant will establish with natives; and the identification integration, which refers to the feeling of belonging within a social system (van Riemsdijk, Basford & Burnham, 2016).

This sociological approach is well established in the EU, in fact, the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) stated that, on one side, refugees and migrants must be prepared and aware of the radical changes of lifestyle; but, on the other side, there is also a need from the host governments to adapt their institutions. The process of integration involves different steps: presence of the conditions to participate in the new society and the actual involvement and the perception to be finally admitted in the host society. Social structures and institutions differ across Europe, but at the same time common characteristics can be extrapolate. Arrangements between state, market and family at qualitative level will find in the study of different countries. Therefore, the welfare state conceived by Esping-Anderson is more than a mechanism to correct the structure of inequality: "it is, in its own right, a system of stratification (Esping-Anderson, 1990, p.23)". The study carried out by Esping-Anderson identified three different welfare state models (namely the conservative-corporatist one, the social-democratic one and the liberal one). In addition to this three different welfare state models, Ferrera (1996) and then Gal (2010) added a fourth welfare regime, taking into account the role of family network into the society. This fourth regime is known as Southern Mediterranean and include countries such as Cyprus, Israel, Italy, Greece, Malta, Portugal, Spain and Turkey.

In order to be able to observe discrepancies in how different welfare state regimes (WSR) handle the massive incoming flow of people, it can be seen also the role of the government in the general picture, sometimes perceived as single actor, autonomous from transnational ties, which can decide to implement or drop policies, or though as part of a more general mechanism. In addition, several factors can be depicted that have influence in the overall choice of the government, such as "bureaucratic choices made by the government, international relations, absorption capacity of the local host community, and national security consideration (Jacobsen, 1996, p.660)". The centrality of the government regarding migrants' integration policies and welfare decisions, is seen also in the provision of access of, or exclusion from, the general welfare support: EU MSs act more gently toward some migrants while discourage others with a different nationality (Geddes, 2003).

1.2 Research question

Integration is not a one-way phenomenon, therefore, to fulfil it there is a need for the collaboration of two sides: on one side, migrants have to give up part of their being and their culture, and on the other side, the government has to modify their social policies and adapt their institutions to welcome them. These modifications in social policies could be taken as qualitative and quantitative indicators of the level of integration of migrants in a given welfare state regime. Therefore, the relevant research question can be formulated as:

What is the impact of migration on social policies in countries belonging to different welfare state regimes?

With reference to the main research question, two sub-questions, which would contribute to clarify the overall findings, can be added:

- To what extent do third-country nationals have an influence in determine the policy migration outcomes of a country?
- To what extent can findings from the analysis index and statistics be linked to different welfare state models?

The two sub-questions will investigate more in depth the behaviour of different welfare state regimes, using as a start the previous knowledge developed by authors such Esping-Anderson and Ferrera. Both sub-questions will develop new insights, just with a different angle: the first sub-question is focused on the qualitative part of the analysis, while the second one will analyse statistics and graphs to gain quantitative results. The just mentioned research question is formulated as general one, but its character needs detailed analysis to reach the development of new insights, so the two sub-questions, which are the basis for the chapters 4 and 5, were formulated to provide a more detailed answer. Therefore, when 'social policies' is taken as main aspect to analyse, what is implied is how the flow of migrants might have positive or negative influence on the overall host society and how different countries might experience various behaviours towards them. The social policies wanted to be inspected are focused on specific sectors, as a consequence it will see if the health sector is influenced by the presence of migrants, by looking at the health expenditures as a percentage of the total gross domestic product (GDP) of a settled country; it will also see if the education sector is influenced by the presence of migrants within a country and if it could be depicted a change in the labour market, by looking at employment/unemployment rates of natives and migrants. As regard to the three countries chosen as setting for this study, what can be seen is that they belong to different welfare regimes: Italy to the Southern Mediterranean model, Germany to the conservative-corporatist model and Sweden to the social democratic model; the countries selected play a major role in their welfare category. Italy was picked as representative for the Southern Mediterranean model since the relevant role in receiving migrants, while Germany and Sweden were thought to be the perfect exponent for the other models of welfare regimes: Germany for being one of the major European countries where migrants want to settle and Sweden for its well-known reputation of country of equality and universalism. In addition, the information gathered for these three countries will allow a broad comparison, covering a wide spectrum of fields.

The academic debate existing about the integration of migrants in different host country has been object of several studies, but most of them were focused on single country approach or referred to old, and archaic, view of the welfare state models or regimes. Since the flow of migrants is growing every year and it is not facing an immediate arrest yet, the gap in the current debate needs to be

filled by adding a recent comparison among different EU MSs. The research question will try to provide extensive knowledge of the migrants' integration process and how this has influence on the welfare state (for major hint look at the social expenditure as a proportion of GDP, which captured the essence of a welfare state and check differences across settled countries). By answering the main research question, the outcome will contribute to the evolution of the theory about the influence that external factors might have on welfare state (starting with the division of Esping-Anderson); in addition, throughout the analysis of several data a thorough idea will be given on how different sectors can contribute to success or hamper the integration of migrants.

The research question was found with the purpose of adding new insights in the academic debate and the outcomes are thought to be important and crucial, above all because the migration is a phenomenon that started in Europe around four decades ago but has ongoing effects still now. Moreover, the findings of other studies took into consideration Italy as part of the conservative welfare state and as a consequence their results were different from the outcomes that are expected from this research question. Here the presence of several welfare state regimes highlights, in addition to the original work of Esping-Anderson, also the research of Ferrera and Gal, which added another typology of welfare state: the Southern Mediterranean. In the light of this findings, this research question tries to developed new insights on how the integration process of migrants can affect social policies of a country, by taking information and data about Italy, Germany and Sweden in a country case comparison study. Moreover, the new division of welfare state, namely the presence of Italy as part of the Southern Mediterranean welfare type, will provide a new framework in which analyse data and a more recent country comparison experience.

1.3 Approach

The current situation that Europe is facing, involves both migrants and refugees, but the label distinction between terms, 'refugee' in one corner, and 'migrant' in the other, could easily create confusion. It is hard for a government that lack consensus binding on a legal level for who is a refugee, decided when a person is not a refugee anymore, above all for actual twisted circumstances which sees the predominant role of the governments as main agencies to respond to such crisis (Cole, 2015; Zetter, 2007). The clear definition of refugee is found in the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee, described as a person who: "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of particular social group of 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 (Article 1, Geneva Convention, 1951)". As regard to the unit of analysis of this study (migrants), it must be noticed that nowadays the flow of refugees, which tried to reach Europe as a life line, is massive, and seemed to be a more interesting field to study. However, the data for the refugee integration into host countries are not always available in the online database yet, which could lead to a misleading overview of the outcomes.

Since 'refugee' as a category could easily fit in the more general 'migrant' one, together with 'forced migrants' for example, focus on integration of migrants and on how different countries deal with migration in their social policies, seemed the best choice. The dependent variables, crucial for the deep understanding of how the level of integration of migrants can vary in relation to different welfare state environments, were borrowed from the study of Ager and Strang of 2008. Some key areas in the public sector (in this specific case: education sector, health sector and labour sector) can be observed and the modification in these areas are analysed as indicator of migrants' successful integration in the host society. The way in which different countries respond to the incoming flow of people, by modifying their own social structure and infrastructures, could be explained through the presence of different welfare state regimes. Ager and Strang study was chosen for the relevance of the topic debated; but what is missing from their work is the comparison among different countries and within different frameworks than just United Kingdom (UK). Therefore, to fix this gap, attention was focused on EU as a setting and, to make the findings broader and more realistic as possible, it was decided to rely on Esping-Anderson, Ferrera and Gal's work.

Relevant data were gathered having as a purpose migrants and policies related to them in several states, all done in order to provide a clearer picture of the level of integration in different host countries and to see how EU MSs belonging to several welfare state regimes face migration and the following integration. The most valuable option was to refer to both qualitative and quantitative data, which will provide an exhaustive analysis of the same problem from two separate and independent perspectives. Qualitative data were found as online documents¹, while laws and agreements were selected according to the relevance that could have had in order to answer the main research question. Quantitative data were gathered by web-browsing site of important organisations, such as the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) or the International Labour Organization (ILO). Reports used to make a comparison among countries were: the "Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015", the "International Migration Outlook 2015", and the "Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015". To lead the analysis further, it was also look at the Statistical Office of the European Communities (Eurostat) website, in particular the general "Migrant Integration statistics"; report and statistical index were selected for the pertinence of the objectives studied.

Welfare state as field of interests gained more and more attention, started in the 1990s with Esping-Anderson, and continued until these days. Several reports and investigations made it possible to control the evolution of the original models and the application in the modern states; but most of the times, authors were inclined to focus on just welfare state types without extending their knowledge

¹ They included for Germany: "Residence law and policy on migration and integration in Germany", the "National Integration Plan" of 2005 and the "German Immigration Law" of 2005; for Italy: the "Bossi-Fini" law of 2002, an OECD document named "L'integrazione nel mercato del lavoro in Italia" ("Labour Market Integration in Italy"), the "Patto per l'integrazione" of 2010 ("Integration Agreement"); and for Sweden: the "Labour market reform" of 2010, the Integration Policy for 21st Century report of 2001.

to other closed field. Here comes handy to see how another external phenomenon, such as migration, can have an influence within the EU MSs and their different welfare state regimes. Since it is not possible to consider qualitative data in a quantitative way and vice versa, the approach that suits best the research question was the mixed method approach. As regard to the qualitative part, the method chosen was the content analysis, carrying on through the analysis of online policy documents for each country. In order to analyse if there are similarities or differences among the approach of distinctive states that lead to migrants' integration, the study carried by Ager and Strang was selected as tool to code other documents, by means of an appropriate coding scheme. For the quantitative part, the method chosen was the descriptive analytical approach of pooled data obtained from Eurostat, ILO and OECD on inflow of foreign population employment/unemployment compared with the natives' ones, health expenditure as percentage of GDP and obstacles that migrants faced when they search for a job. This method was chosen as the most suitable approach since its aim is to generate evidences, based on the theoretical framework, which will measure if there is a relationship between the WSRs and the level of migrants' integration².

General and particular data and statistics were compared to see if the public expenditure in a country has different outcomes related to both migrants and natives. The data evaluated were chosen according to a precise pattern: the subject of the report had to be relevant to the field explained in the research question; the more recent the documents the better the results for the overall picture; as regard to the qualitative information, laws and policy documents were observed, while for the quantitative data, reports from OECD and Migrant Integration Policy Index (Mipex) and online statistical database, such as Eurostat, were conceived as main sources for numerical data and information. However, migration is not only a national phenomenon, but it involves more general laws and several actors, therefore it implies the necessity of a superior entity with peculiar power, that works without having boundaries in mind and national perspectives as main mind-set. With this view in mind, it is helpful to have a look at the directives and regulations present at the European level, such as the Blue Card directive or the one for the family reunification, and see how Italy, Germany and Sweden react at the national level to them, by adapting or not their policies as regard to migration and migrants' integration.

In order to answer to the research question already presented in this chapter, the overview will proceed in the following manner. In the second chapter a theoretical framework is necessary, especially if some background theory and knowledge about the phenomenon, that will be explored and explained, want to be added. When some theoretical information had been specified, the third chapter will describe methods, data collection and data analysis, with the definition of the several

² For example, the relation between the total amount of GDP of a country and the part devoted to social expenditure could give a picture of the behaviour of different EU MSs.

variables used in this study and additional information about where the data were found and why they were thought to be important. Following, in the fourth and fifth chapters of this research, they will be carefully gathered and analysed the needed data, with a comparison of three different countries scenario (Italy, Germany and Sweden); in addition, it will be also examined qualitatively the possible policy outcomes in all of these States using a coding scheme. The sixth chapter will be a summary of the entire study: conclusions will be drawn, starting from the theories and the information presented in various studies, and it will further give attention to what it is new about this research (what could add to the general context in the subject of integration, particularly in the social field). At the end, advices will be suggested to improve the integration process in its complexity and to increase the level of effectiveness of the policy outcomes in the selected European countries.

2. Theoretical framework

To analyse the impact of flow of migrants in the variables of interests (health, education and labour), a theoretical framework is needed and this chapter aims at providing such a framework. The theoretical approach used to conduct the analysis is based on findings from the field of migration sociology, in particular findings by Ager and Strang about the integration of migrants in the UK will form the theoretical framework. Even though these findings are developed for the English context, their results and theory can be used as a useful theoretical background for answering the relevant research question. As will be shown, Ager and Strang found more than three areas of interests to evaluate the level of integration of migrants but here the focus will be on the three that can also found within OECD reports, EU legal measures and Mipex of 2015. The focus of this research will be on structural integration of migrants into EU host countries and in the policies' adaptation of each EU MSs with different welfare state models as a basis. Even if the latest news reported the refugees' situation in Europe as the newest crisis to study, it would be tricky and difficult find enough data to make a comparison among countries. For this reason, the attention of the study was on the migrants' side, where the amount of information available is tested back in the days and, therefore, made the comparison easier. An overview of theories about welfare state will be provided in order to figure it out how migration and migrants' integration in host societies can be shaped according to different welfare state regimes.

In this chapter the focus will be on the explanation of concepts relevant to understand the logic behind the development of new insights. As starting point, a general overview of migration as a phenomenon will be given, with attention on the transnational ties and social bonds that help migrants to feel integrated into the host societies and a brief mention to some features of migration theories, which grant different reasons for migrants to leave their native country and to put effort or not to stay and fit in the host society. Then a general summary of the main characteristics of different welfare state regimes will be added, to help understand which differences can be highlighted within the approach of countries belonging to different welfare state types toward migrants' integration: is crucial to know the main features of them if some differences want to be stressed. Moreover, the approach of Italy, Germany and Sweden within different fields of interests will be added. At the end, a summary of the overview of the chapter will be found.

In order to create a solid basis to further proceed with the analysis of data and answer the research question, several concepts needed to be introduced. The overview provided by this theoretical chapter will help in developed a framework on which build new insights: to better understand how migrants can have or cannot have a major impact on different welfare state system, other concept need to be explained, such as the relevance of transnational ties, the role of the EU as rules' generator, the main characteristics of the models taken into account and the migratory history of the three countries, by gazing at laws and political and historical situation. Migration and the consequent

relevance of transnational ties will give the picture of how migrants might or might not feel part of a host society; therefore, it will contribute to the knowledge of how foreigners could face various experiences. At the same time, knowing which are the detailed elements of the three welfare state models chosen, will grant the necessary expertise to deeply comprehend and interpret the gathered data and further create new insights.

2.1 Migration: between transnational bonds and integration

In order to clarify the distinction between migrants and refugees, the work of Hein de Haas (2010) can be reported, whom affirmed that migration is often considered more than a simplistic strategy which short-term survival purposes. Rather, he stated that the phenomenon of migration is often believed as a migrants' deliberate decision to improve the ground life conditions, make investments possible and help to reduce variation in the family income; but it can be seen also as a way out to assure a broader range of assets and properties for the entire family, against future possible shocks. Moreover, one of the major aspects of differentiation between a migrant and a refugee is that a refugee usually tends to fled his own home country because of some uncontrollable external phenomena, regardless the individual willingness, while a migrant can be pushed to leave his country for economic reason and not only for political instability or the presence of war and conflicts in the native country.

The phenomenon of migration could be used as a starting point to understand integration in the host countries of reference: migrants' transnational ties could be seen as more or less significant, but still central in the impact that transnationalism has on the entire process of integration, creating a relation of mutual co-existence. There is a correlation between migrants' decision to leave their country and the willingness to create and maintain transnational ties with people from their home country; therefore, integration and transnationalism, both forms of social process, have a direct tie between each other. The level of integration is linked with the full participation in the labour market, and even though the focus is on the integration process, also the impact on the migrants' lives and the societies they choose to live in can be shown. The focal point is the 'functional' aspect of the whole process, the one "that include how migrants are incorporated into societal structures (e.g. labour market, education) (Bivand Erdal & Oeppen, 2013, p.871)".

Migrant integration process refers to the entire procedure of adapting in a new country and subsequent new environment, in a political and social way. Since transnationalism is linked also to adaptation, in particular to modified circumstances followed from migration in a defined spatial distances, four different position can be highlighted within this relationship. The 'alarmist' view, according to which functional ties make migrants loyal to both their country of origin and the country of settlement, prevent them for a full integration in the host society, especially when ideological or real conflict between the two countries are detected. The 'less alarmist but also pessimistic' position, that occurs when functional integration is a real challenge, notably because often migrants cannot

use immediately their knowledge and skills in the country of settlement, relying on the transnational network of ties to survive. The 'positive' view, when transnationalism and integration are seen as mutually supportive: one example could be how return visits of transnational character are able to create resources that can be further invested in integration. The 'pragmatic' approach, according to which the reality that migrants experienced is more nuanced than a basic and simplified choice between just two realities (Bivand Erdal & Oeppen, 2013).

The linkage between integration and transnationalism can be deeply analysed also as an example of typology of social connection. Ager and Strang (2004) divided the 'social connection' field in three branch: the 'social bridges' (relations with members of other communities, such as transnational ties with people from their home state); 'social bonds' (connections with people within a community); and 'social links' (relations with institutions in general, including also services provided in the context of local and central framework). The possibility to being kept in touch with people from your home country, thanks to the development of new technology, has increased the chance to create even a transnational social space, where it is more likely to maintain and develop genuine relationship, particularly in the first period of arrival in the host country (Wahlbeck, 2002). The relevance of social bonds with natives is raised above all the other ties that they might experience, since it let migrants able to facilitate the whole process of cultural adaptation and gain access also to external assets and let them spread information freely, while the transnational ties with co-ethnics tends to strengthen the sense of solidarity and reciprocity (Kanas, van Tubergen & Van der Lippe, 2011).

Ager and Strang (2004) might also have the answer to the question 'how could it be detected if a migrant is completely integrated within the host society?', since they look at the achievement of three specific features:

An individual or group is integrated within a society when they: achieve public outcomes within employment, housing, education, health etc. which are equivalent to those achieved within the wider host communities; are socially connected with members or a (national, ethnic, cultural, religious or other) community with which they identify, with members of other communities and with relevant services and functions of the state; and have sufficient linguistic competence and cultural knowledge, and a sufficient sense of security and stability, to confidently engage in that society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship. (Ager & Strang, 2004, p.5)

2.2 Legislation at the European Union level

The role of the EU in the overall integration of migrants into host countries might appeared marginal, however, it is more important than what it seems after a first look. The European Union has different goals to reach, which are diversified in several fields, which happen to have influence on the

decision-making process of national entities. Therefore, if the fact that the EU spends part of its funds to help its MSs in improving the already existed policies and boosting them to become more efficient, then its role will be clearer. Starting from the 1960s, a narrowing pattern for legal migration into EU countries is observed and, in addition, an even stricter categorisation with regard to migration's politics and welfare (Geddes, 2003). The European Council meeting at Tampere in 1999 was the milestone to affirm the basis for the launch of a more specific solution, in the broad Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), to deal with the phenomenon of migration, namely the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) in two phases: a stage to promote harmonisation of determined key elements of asylum policy and another one, part of The Hague Programme, conceived as a fully integrated EU broad asylum system, able to recognise a unified status for all those people who granted asylum in the EU (Hatton, 2009). Of all this process, there are several directives and regulations that are interesting: one for all the Directive 2013/33/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council (known also as Reception Conditions Directive), that established the original terms for access to employment and training, housing, and health and education services for asylum seekers that have not been yet recognise as refugees.

Other crucial directives to mention when assimilation and integration of migrants is the specific goal are: the Council Directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification (since having the family by their side might affect other aspects of social life and boost the willingness to fit into the new society); another Council Directive (2003/109/EC) is the one concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents in a new country, important since it settled and aimed to provide wide and more detailed information on their situation; but also the so-called Blue Card Directive (Council Directive 2009/50/EC), which established the needed conditions to entry the EU with the perspective of getting a highly qualified employment. Also important is the European Fund for the Integration of non-EU immigrants (EIF), which aims to promote co-operation at the European level, and to improve benefits of immigration by successfully integrated migrants into host countries³; and the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), set up for the period 2014-20, whose purpose is to support legal migration to EU MSs through the promotion of effective integration of non-EU nationals and to strengthen the CEAS by ensuring that the field legislation is applied at every level.⁴

Some MSs tried to adapt themselves to the new regime introduced by the CEAS by bringing their policies into line with the new EU legislation; but most of the times that was just a response to pressure from parties or due to deficiencies already present in the system (Hatton, 2009). One of

³ With a budget of EUR 825 million for the years 2007-13, the EIF wants to support both national and EU initiatives to improve the integration of non-EU immigrants into host societies (all EU countries participate in the EIF, except for Denmark) (Retrieved from the official website of the European Commission: <http://ec.europa.eu>).

⁴ With a budget of EUR 3137 billion for the entire period of seven years, this Fund will promote the decisive and productive management of flows of migrants and the implementation and strengthening of the common EU approach to asylum and immigration in general (Retrieved from the official website of the European Commission: <http://ec.europa.eu>).

the reason why the EU wanted to change the existing system was to be able to control in a tightest manner the spontaneous movement of people, once they have crossed its borders. Levy (2010) stated that this willingness to monitor the movements of the flow of people inside their own territory, after the Treaty of Amsterdam, meant the development of a working system where the state could assign an exclusive responsibility for checking asylum claims; it also meant the establishment of a minimum standard required in order to receive them at the best of their real possibilities.

Even though the EU framework is essential to build general guidelines, which MSs will then integrate in their own legislation, it is not an easy process to follow, especially since every country belong to the EU decides how much sovereignty give up in order to achieve common goals (and the amount of decision-making power that they tend to control is usually inversely proportional to the importance of the matter treated). National governments try to achieve social policy goals through direct provision, regulation (which usually sets minimum standards as a threshold), and fiscal policies (namely taxing and spending), moreover “social inclusion or social integration is seen primarily as responsibility for Member States, but with complementarity EU support, for example, in terms of spreading best practice and supporting innovation.” (Kleinman, 2002, p.97) However, for a field such as migration policy and integration of migrants, the intergovernmental cooperation is the driving force to accomplish better results and tried to harmonise national policies all over Europe: not every EU MS is equipped at the same level for the arrival of huge number of migrants, and not every country has the same resources available to deal with an increased flow of third-country nationals (TCNs). Therefore, cooperation among MSs is relevant, as much as the funds accessible, which must be given in proportion with the level of emergency and actual use that country will perform.

The fields of interest are different between national level and the European one: within the national governments, decisions made about welfare mainly regards to issue such as employment, health care and education, which are still peripheral to the European agenda (Kleinman, 2002). Since the main focus here is how migrants can have an impact into different welfare state regimes, consequent societies and their policies, it is relevant to look at some key questions, such as migrations origins and the socio-cultural adaption of migrants. The presence of network in another country could have an influence in the migrants’ decision to choose or not that country as a destination of settlement, directly linked to transnational ties and the possibility to be reunited with family. Furthermore, this might give a proper explanation of why migration patterns are not distributed evenly across the EU MSs, and rather, how they tend to create a migration regime (Kurekova, 2009).

2.3 Development and evolution of welfare state theories

It is fundamental to explain that welfare state as we know it, was built after the Second World War, according to national traditions, to legitimize nation state in the post-war period, by reconstructing societies and government from the scratch. The classification of welfare state relevant here is the one provided by Esping-Anderson, with a fourth addition by Maurizio Ferrera, further discussed by

Gal. Welfare state regimes are based on four dimensions: decommodification refers to a person's ability to achieve a specific standard of living independently from market participation; stratifying effect of social policies; role of market, family and state in providing social services and relationship between employment and welfare state. Esping-Anderson laid out three different types of welfare states to which different countries belong to. One type is defined as 'liberal' welfare state, which has as main characteristics modest social-insurance plans and means-tested assistance. In these state, people belonging to the working class and state dependents are receiving benefits, while the state supports the market, in both passive (by assuring a minimum) and active (by financing welfare schemes of privates) way. Within the liberal welfare states, a stratification can be detected, but at the same time also an equality of poverty among recipients of welfare state. States belonging to this model are United States, Canada, Japan, Switzerland and Australia.

Another type is the 'conservative-corporatist' welfare state, which experiences the willingness to maintain status differentials, with a detachment of the market from the welfare and a stratification system in different classes, gender (male breadwinner model) and occupations. The state as an actor is able to sustain the market as a welfare's provider; hence, the role of private insurance was reduced and play at the edge (Schulzek, 2012). The role of the Church is fundamental and will shape and modify the environment by giving importance to preservation of the traditional family: it is not unusual to see family benefits encourage motherhood rather than fatherhood, since the father has the duty to provide for the entire family. In this perspective, the role of the state is downsized: family has to take care of itself and the state will interfere only when the family's capacity is used up. States in this model are Austria, Belgium, France, and Germany. On the other hand, the 'social democratic' welfare regime is based on the widening of social rights also to middle classes and universalism: social benefits are provided for all social classes, lead to a high level of distribution of minimum wages, huge employment in the public sector and high female labour participation. The state does not plan to intervene after the family's capacity is exhausted, but it will socialize the cost of familyhood in a preventive way and it will take care of children, elders and helpless (Schulzek, 2012). Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Norway) and the Netherlands are the type of states found in this category.⁵

The Southern Mediterranean welfare regime is an extension of the three basic models of welfare state, described by Esping-Anderson, and it experiences distinctive features such as "generations living long together in one household, high institutionalization of marriage, low female employment

⁵ Although welfare state regimes were theorised as models, it can be seen how they evolve over time, according to different patterns. In the Scandinavian countries, at the end of the 1960s, there was a growing problem in the employment sector; and they experienced the willingness to sustain a full employment policy: women could harmonise family and career and the welfare had a basis of tax revenue came from working population; nonetheless there was still a high level of gender segregation in the labour market (Esping-Anderson, 1990, 1994).

in the formal labour market and high continuity in female employment patterns, family-oriented attitudes, high valuation of children, relation between generations seen more in terms of obligations, and importance of Church-related values (Karamessini, 2007, p.3)”. Family is perceived as source of solidarity (it is a family’s duty to take care of child and elderly) and within it, the role of the male breadwinner is central. At the same time, labour market segmentation that creates inequalities in social protection and employment, can be perceived. Moreover, influence peddling is present in the public sector, throughout cash benefits or jobs assignment, and it lead to a complete inefficiency of the welfare state institutions (Karamessini, 2007).

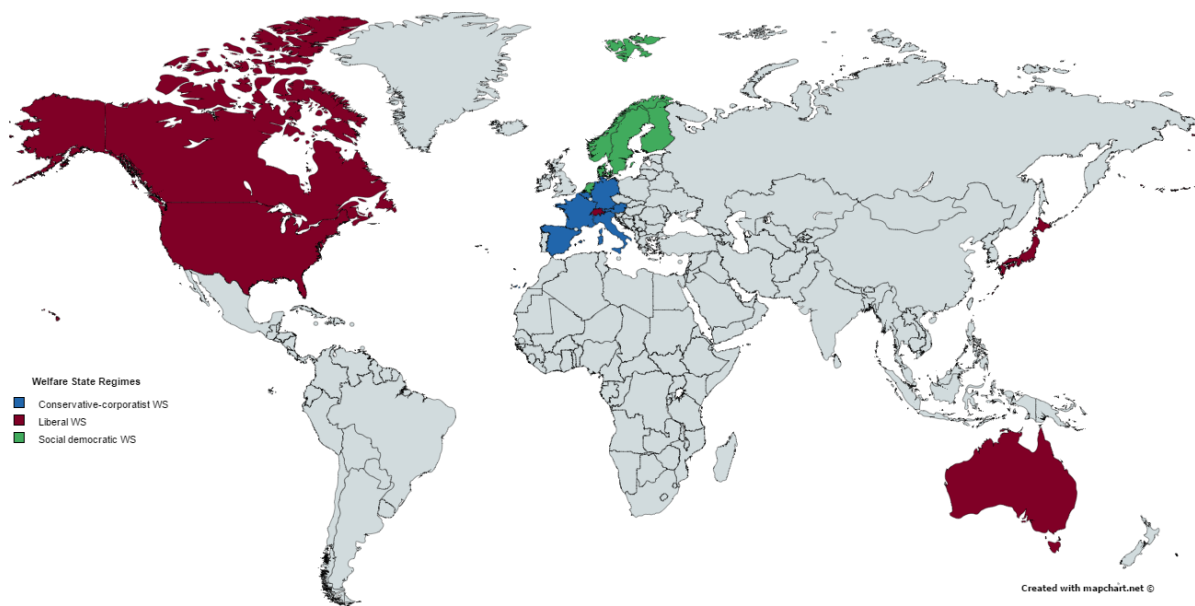


Figure 1: Esping-Anderson Welfare State Regime. Source: from <http://mapchart.net/>.

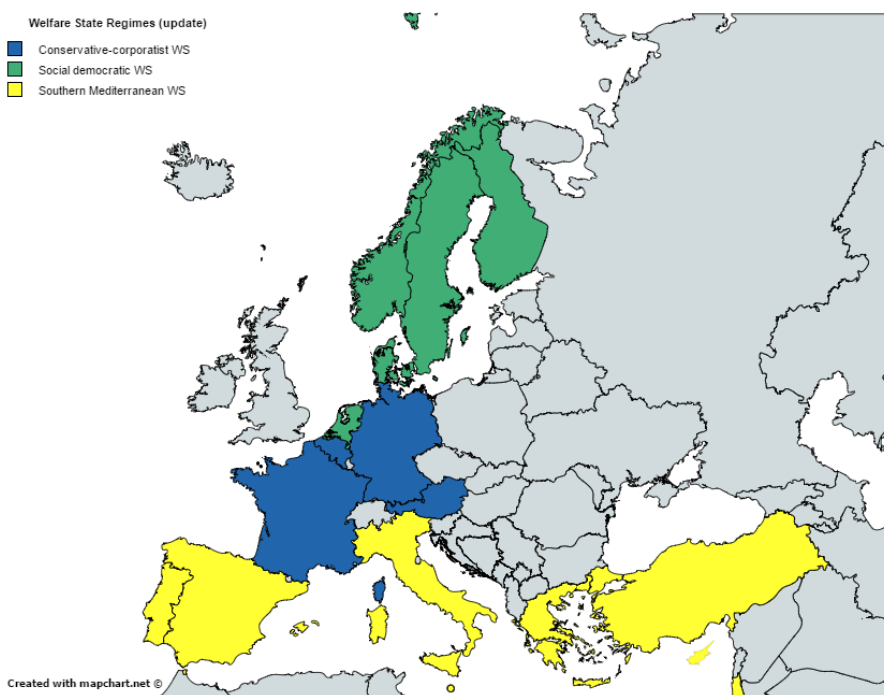


Figure 2: Esping-Anderson and Gal Welfare State Regime. Source: from <http://mapchart.net/>.

In the above Figure 1 and Figure 2 countries belonging to different welfare state are highlighted, followed first the Esping-Anderson classification (Figure 1) and then the extension of Ferrera and Gal (Figure 2).

To understand the complex mechanism behind the functioning of welfare states, Begg, Mushövel & Niblett (2015) identified three functions: the 'Robin Hood' function, aimed at redistributing the wealth from members who owned it to others that faced a life of deprivation (in pursuing it the state will protect the poor); the 'piggy bank' function, which aims to reassure citizens that want to spread their income safely over their lifetime; and the 'social investment' function, that let the state invest in social capital, such as primary school and university. The comprehensive idea behind the integration of migrants into host societies rests on the concept of social-equity, accomplished through power redistribution, knowledge redistribution or income redistribution (central since it aims to guarantee a minimum grade of living for citizens). The actor suitable to even out the gap present in the modern societies, is nonetheless the state itself, more likely to aim at equality through a greater reduction of income-inequality (Veenhoven, 1992). In addition to the redistributive functions of a welfare state, the goal of protecting the most vulnerable individuals among the entire population can also be added. Even though, the welfare state is a noble concept, in the EU there is a growing fear that in the long run it could reveal unsustainable for the MSs own finance; therefore, there is a need to reform the entire system since the high welfare spending (which includes pensions, healthcare, social housing and support for the poor) could affect the MSs budget.

2.4 Migratory historical background in Italy, Germany and Sweden

A factor that can hamper the assimilation of a migrant in the host society is the assumption that different ethnicity might be a threat for the welfare state, and this had been influential for several years, however empirical evidences are hard to find. One of the authors that wanted to study this correlation was Keith Banting, who found out that political institutions and their functioning determine more the development and survival of welfare state than ethnic homogeneity. There is an interwoven relationship between welfare state and its public support: welfare state depends on the public opinion of their citizens but at the same time the type of welfare regime can influence the public opinion⁶. He observed also that a country which needs migrants to boost their development will generally have liberal immigration policies and at the same time a country with developed social system will allow migrants' integration in their own social system more easily. In pursuing this goal government will provide similar social rights for foreign- and native-born population (Morissens, 2008).

When not only EU is taken as framework, international comparative studies of welfare state regimes have produced three main findings: EU citizens with a negative attitude towards immigrants are also

⁶ For example, if the welfare state will provide benefits to most people thorough universal benefits and services, it is probable that a broader part of the population will support it, without looking at the ethnicity of people.

critical of welfare; the 'protection thesis', when natives asked more from the government in order to compensate the perceived economic pressure associated with the arrival of new migrants; and the relationship between the support of native for welfare and migration that can be mitigated also by the national context (Schmidt-Catran & Spies, 2016). Welfare regimes help to build distinct type of state and, for what matters here, the effect of welfare programs can be observed on immigration, particularly if migration is free or restricted in a country. There are two possible solutions: the first option involves a free-migration regime, where the welfare state has capital and attracts both unskilled and skilled migrants; in the second option the welfare state is perceived as generous, therefore it will attract unskilled migrants, whose belief is to gain more benefits from the welfare state than what they have to pay in taxes for the same benefits (Razin & Wahba, 2011).⁷

Italy is one of the countries chosen for a comparison; some standout characteristics of the Italian welfare state are the low social expenditure as a percentage of the GDP if compared with the EU average, the low than average use of means-tested benefits⁸ and the particular model of the salaries, which allows a low percentage of social benefits. The arrangement inside the expenditure also changes, since Italy focuses its welfare resources on pensions and the role of the male household, who is considered to be the only one qualified to choose the most suitable channel to invest in, is critical and central to take care of the entire family. Immigration policy in Italy started developing in the early 1980s, and the first National Immigration Act passed in 1986. There are several categories of migrants in the Italian welfare state, which usually experienced different types of rights and duties: from the 'undocumented migrants' who have just emergency medical care and basic education for their children; to asylum seekers, refugees and 'temporarily protected persons' who are entitled to special national assistance programs for a certain period but most of the time are taken care by non-governmental organisations (NGOs); to immigrants with resident permit or residence card, which are entitled with the highest grade of national benefits (Sciortino, 2004).

The first trace of income support system in Italy is from the 1960s, with focus on employment protection for male breadwinner within the more general scheme protection for unemployed. Then a further step was made through the creation of a Wage Guarantee Fund (CIG) in 1969 to take care of temporarily unemployed people through earning compensation; whilst there is a difference if a worker is dismissed individually or not. The prosperity of a country depends on the size and quantity of the total workforce available, therefore aging countries, such as Italy, will experience slower economic growth, with a high impact also on the pension system: more pensioners but less contributors. Another pivotal feature of the Italian welfare system was the establishment of pension

⁷ It worth specified what is an 'immigration policy regime', since it is relevant for the theoretical framework. 'Immigration policy regime' or 'incorporation regime' is the one that controls immigrants' inclusion or exclusion from the society. This regime involves rules, which enable immigrants to become citizens, with work and residence permits (Dainsbury, 2006).

⁸ "The percentage of benefits that are payable only after means testing in Italy is less than half the European average (Sciortino, 2004, p.113)."

funds in 1993 and the radical change in the pensions' system in the 1995, which shifted from a defined-benefit scheme to a notional defined-contribution scheme: in the new system, benefits derive from the amount of contributions paid throughout a worker's career, capitalised at average growth rate of GDP over the previous five years; characteristics relating to the healthcare system, highlighted how they overall provide full coverage of the population since 1980s. The reforms initiated in the 1990s aimed to introduced contributory schemes and opened the pensions to private funds. In the employment protection sector, Italy since 1993 tried to develop opportunities in the labour market through temporarily employment and other atypical forms of works; but high level of labour market segmentation still remains, while social security system fragmentation has been decreased (Mazzola et al., 2015; Karamessini, 2007).

German immigration politics has as main feature the rejection to see Germany as an immigration country, and the absence of an immigration policy; however, the situation changed in the late 1990s when the government decided to approve the first immigration law (Geddes, 2003). Germany as a country with conservative-corporatist welfare regime, demands requirements for naturalisation, permanent resident or acquiring asylum. It also put emphasis on the importance of employment and self-sufficiency, by denying citizenship to applicants with inadequate income. Moreover, when an immigrant decided to reach Germany as a final destination, he/she must be aware that they expected from him/her to integrate completely in the society, by giving up part of their identity and language, process called 'assimilation' rather than 'integration' (Schmidt-Catran & Spies, 2016); in addition, as a rule, to be fully naturalised in Germany, the migrant has to forsake their previous citizenship. Regarding the labour market, German government receives help from the unions which, to avoid competition for jobs, most of the time are willing to incorporate foreign workers.

The present welfare state in Germany is the result of some retrenchment measures in the 1990s, which included cutting language courses from a year to six months or reduction on direct financial assistance. Moreover, the immigration policy regime in Germany is considered to be exclusionary, with rights based just on lineage (*ius sanguinis*) (Sainsbury, 2006). Welfare models are changing in time, and the so-called Hartz reform, from the name of the Volkswagen head of human resources in charge with the work of an expert commission, is the proof. This reform in 2005 wanted to merge the unemployment assistance provision for the long-term unemployed and the social assistance for those without job. From this panel of expert, emerged a new and layered social protection system (Hemerijck, Palm, Entenmann & van Hooren, 2013). Since 2005, the German government decided to invest roughly 25% of its annual GDP in social expenditures, leading the country in the top ranking within the EU; this social spending is shared among the three pillars of the German welfare state, meaning old-age pensions, assistance for the unemployed and public health and disability insurance (Goldschmidt, 2015).

Nowadays immigration is a phenomenon presents heavily in the worldwide framework, therefore one of the main goal of governments is trying to reconcile migration with a generous welfare state. Sweden can be the perfect example to explain this endeavour: regarding the financial aspect, even if the taxes are high, people choose not to emigrate because of them; and taxes are needed to pay for benefits, such as pensions or medicine. Here it can be handy to introduce the concept of 'magnetic effect'⁹ by Borjas, who stated that a welfare programs will attract both qualified and unqualified people, in addition a strong magnetic effect, together with no control at the borders, would lead the government to bankruptcy. Borjas (1999) theorised the "welfare magnet" hypothesis, according to which countries with high social security attract more migrants (better insurance of unemployment risks as a pull factor) and these flows are formed by a high percentage of low-skilled migrants (negative selection) (Skupnik, 2014).

Even though, the Swedish welfare system provides high benefits, these are entitled to refugees and asylum seekers and not available for migrants, until they have a national registration number. During the post-war period, Sweden begun to receive large groups of refugees, then, between the late 1950s and the early 1970s immigration was carried out by labour migrants. Starting in the 1960s, Sweden developed a specific policy approach, based on universalism, to integrate migrants into the society through a direct and immediate access to the labour market and the provision of social rights, which allows migrants to foster the belonging to a national community (contemporary they wanted to maintain a cultural diversity within the society as a form of respect towards migrants); in return the Swedish governments wanted the migrants to be self-sufficient (Borevi, 2014). During the 1990s, Sweden had to face some welfare state retrenchment that led to a reduction in the migrants' employment rate, with a consequent decrease in earning and in access to benefits based on participation in the labour market (Sainsbury, 2006).

In order to solve its current situation, Sweden could put effort in combat discrimination and ensure equal opportunity; reform labour market and make it more flexible; carry on welfare reforms and separate the distribution of social rights from the open access to the labour market (Legrain, 2008). Moreover, "welfare states with extensive social rights and generous benefits have more incentive to integrate immigrants in a fast manner since a failing integration of this group in the labour market would come at a high cost. This is especially true when benefits are financed by taxes (Morissens, 2008, p.18)." Sweden already allowed free migration when, in 2008, decided to reform radically the immigration law, and let migrants from outside the EU come to the country. The idea behind this decision was to create simplistic procedure to recruit non-EU workers, based on the transparent and

⁹ A welfare magnet country has to reach these requirements: people from poor countries feel the need to escape their country, having the concrete chance to do it; migrants choose a county after making considerations, such as the economic life of the new country or previous colonial links or transnational connection with friends or family; welfare benefits in the new country must be higher than the ones in the country of origin and they must be available when they enter the country.

flexible demand of the labour market: applicants that want a work permit, need to receive first an offer of employment. Work permits would last maximum four years, and then migrants would be able to apply for permanent residency (Legrain, 2008).

A comparison among different WSRs can be made according to the willingness to invest: while in the Southern Mediterranean type there is a risk inside the investment between the risk of reduction in services' supply and the risk of reduction of their demand¹⁰; in the social democratic welfare regimes, the state is the one that absorb the service productivity differentials by providing services; while in the conservative welfare regimes, the differentials in productivity will operate as a boost for self-production among households. One difference that can be depicted between Sweden and Germany is about the entitlements: in Sweden benefits go only to Swedish residents, while in Germany benefits could be extended to family members who do not necessarily live in the country (Sainsbury, 2006).

2.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to consider the theoretical framework, which will provide the basis to observe findings in the chapters 4 and 5. The first step was to have a look at the overview of migration as a phenomenon, give a general hint about the relationship between migration and transnational ties, and the importance of social bonds among migrants and people inside the host country. When the dimension of the relevant concept has been clarified, 'migration' in this case, the useful step was to take into consideration the relevant aspects of migration, with highlighted different perspectives and ideologies. Moreover, since the focus of this research is to see what is the level of integration that migrants can experience in host country and how policies could be affected by the presence of migrants and by the WSR, other studies were looked, among the ones that choose the same field of expertise, to evaluate the level of migrants' integration and the national policy regimes. The emphasis was pinpointed on the relevance of social bonds, both at transnational level and with natives, in different spheres. As a last addition to this theoretical framework, an explanation of welfare state models was needed to explain distinct type of environment where migrants try to integrate; then an outline of the three countries chosen ended this chapter.

This theoretical framework will help to understand and depicted the differences, if they exist, in the approach of countries from several welfare state models; besides, it will serve as basis for the development of new insights regarding the migrants' integration process and how policies can be affected by the view of governments belonging to different welfare state regimes. This framework and the information given with it, handled the discussion that will take place in the third chapter about the most suitable approach and in the fourth and fifth chapters as regard to the analysis of the data found: the basis on which built new knowledge in the field of impact of migrants into different societies

¹⁰ Known in literature as *Baumol cost disease* (Sciortino, 2004).

will lead from this theoretical framework. The theoretical insights developed starting from the description of migration theories and continued with the outline of different welfare state regimes, will provide the needed context to analyse the current situation in Italy, Germany and Sweden; moreover, this framework and the consequent analysis of documents, law, reports and statistics might be useful to pinpoint bright sides of each model and gaps that could be filled.

3. Methods

In order to answer the aforementioned research question and find out if and how the level of migrant integration changes when different welfare state models are picked, a suitable methodological approach is necessary. The following section will present the methods of data collection and data analysis needed to answer the main research question. The overall purpose here is to see if there is a correlation between countries belonging to different models of welfare states and the approach of the EU countries (Italy, Germany and Sweden) to the integration of migrants in their society, by looking at three different sectors (health, education and labour).

The mixed method approach, using 'case study' as main research design, was chosen; the differentiation of welfare state models could be helpful to develop a theory, according to which the level of integration of migrants is subject to changes in various countries, according to their welfare state model. Since a qualitative approach alone will not lead to a clear and complete picture, the presence of the quantitative part in the mixed method approach will be taken as an advantage to answer the research question. Two separate methods will be taken into account, one qualitative and one quantitative, to give an exhaustive response and to provide more developed insights: using only the qualitative part of the analysis can provide a theoretical framework, which can, and will, be integrate with the proofs coming from the analysis of statistics and graphs. The qualitative approach selected was the content analysis, throughout the use of a coding scheme, that help in highlighting the key sector to further investigate. The quantitative approach chosen was the descriptive analytical approach of pooled data, since the quantitative data were enormous, these data were analysed and compared to find a pattern or a confirmation that different countries have various attitudes regarding migrants' integration into their societies. The study carried by Ager and Strang was used as main basis to approach the subject in the qualitative part, it identifies ten main domains, each underlines a different aspects of integration; the details of the three ones chosen as dependent variables for the quantitative analysis will follow.

The selection of countries was not made by random choice, but based on the works of Esping-Anderson, Ferrera and Gal: the first division of countries based on welfare state model, made by Esping-Anderson, gathers together countries with the same characteristics and the same welfare state model and left a general picture of the understanding of welfare models; however, it must be added that he worked in the 1990, and his work needed to be revised and modified. Here comes handy to refer to Gal's work (2010), where he used a different classification of the welfare state models, with an extension represented by the Southern Mediterranean welfare state. It is important to noticed that two 'old' models and one 'new', by referring to a single country for each model, were picked.

3.1 Data collection

Once the mixed method approach was chosen as foundation to carry on this work, the needed qualitative and quantitative data were gathered by web-browsing the relevant information and statistics in the fields of interest. The willingness to search online documents, laws and statistics led to the newest available data and information, overtaking the old research by paper copy, that it would have taken more time and resources. The selection of information was made based on the demand to answer the research question with the most recent data available; and the selection of laws and report was pursued by having in mind the variables, which can be investigated to see the response of several countries, namely Italy, Germany and Sweden, changed with respect to migrants' integration. In addition, the following documents were chosen among all the one feasible for their coherence with the framework needed to answer to the research question.

The mixed method approach fits completely the purpose of this study, inasmuch both the qualitative and the quantitative approaches examine different aspects of the same problem, through a so-called 'triangulation' process (study a problem using more than one approach to have a more complete picture). As O'Cathain, Murphy and Nicholl (2010) stated, this triangulation protocol is the first phase undertaken and uses as a milestone to move from thinking to the single findings to an across vision of all the discoveries through different methods. Moreover, it worth saying that qualitative researchers tend to rely heavily on theories, derives from social sciences to use as guide to highlight their findings. Theories provide the needed framework that assist in categorising and coding documents, at the same time they also provide several lenses to conduct the research (Reeves, Albert, Kuper & Hodges, 2008). However, as Maxwell (2010) claimed, there are several advantages in incorporating numerical data in qualitative research. In the first place, the use of information expressed in numbers can help in generalizing the claim of the research while declared that the set of findings are characteristic of that specific group of individuals. Moreover, the research can use the quantitative approach to identify a precise pattern in the qualitative data, that most of the time are unquantified.

A general explanation of both methods is needed in order to fully understand why this approach was chosen as the most fruitful one to answer the research question that lied behind this work. As Pope, Ziebland and Mays (2000) stated, the overall analytical process in qualitative research usually begins contemporary to the data collection, since the data as gathered with an idea in mind. This specific analysis followed the basic qualitative one, where the data are transmitted in their textual form. Data collected could be overwhelming, therefore the use of a previous work, used to predetermine a coding scheme, was necessary to receive an external help in processing information within the documents through the presence of specific codes and general themes. Qualitative research is the appropriate method to treat this type of data, forasmuch as use analytical categories to summarize and explain social phenomena, in this case the integration of migrants in different countries. As soon

as it will establish the categories to search in each documents, all the relevant information will try to be found and code them using a process called 'constant comparison', where each selected segment is compared to the whole document to establish analytical categories (Pope, Ziebland & Mays, 2000). The quantitative part instead was added to grant more evidence, by using information and data founded in reports and statistics, after compared them and provide an analysis of the results.

Concerning the qualitative part, different countries' policies can be looked and, among them, chose some documents for each MS, which suited the purpose of the paper. The case selection of documents was made after a thorough examination of the most recent laws and policy documents available in each country, with an additional look at specific reports. Regarding Italy, it is interesting to evaluate the "Legge Bossi-Fini"¹¹, number 189 of 30th July 2002 ("Bossi-Fini Law"), a document from OECD named "L'integrazione nel mercato del lavoro in Italia"¹² ("Labour Market Integration in Italy"), and mention the "Patto per l'integrazione"¹³ of 2010 ("Integration Agreement"). As regard to Germany's framework, three documents were picked: the "Migration and integration: Residence law and policy on migration and integration in Germany" of 2014, the "National Integration Plan" of 2005, and the "German Immigration Law" of 2005 (amended on 2007). These documents are the most recent ones that treats the subject of migration and integration of migrants, therefore they can provide the perfect pieces to analyse. As regard to Sweden's situation, two documents were selected: the "Labour market reform" of 2010, and the Integration Policy for 21st Century report of 2001.

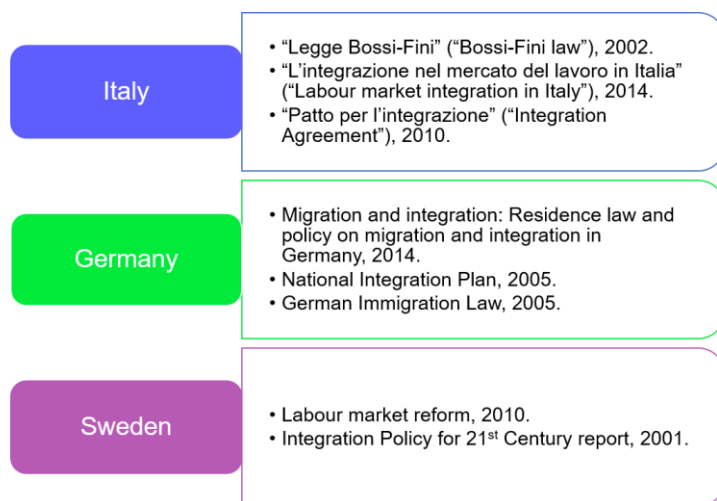


Figure 3: Data-set for the qualitative analysis. Source: Own compilation.

¹¹ It is from 2002, but the legal processes to have a law and put it into operation is a long one and the consensus has to be broad, so it is not unusual to find a relative 'old' law.

¹² The OECD document explain in details the immigrant possibilities when it comes to find a job and it could be fruitful to consider it, since one of the dependent variable choose is the labour sector.

¹³ The Integration Agreement instead underlined all the conditions that migrants have to face to be consider fully integrated into the Italian society, therefore it will provide an overview of the general integration process.

All the documents referred to key sectors that needed to be further evaluate or provide an overview of the migration field, and they will yield information about the integration as a phenomenon to study. To sum up all the documents a scheme will be provided (Figure 3 above).

To conduct the analysis, data need to be collected and analysed. The data used for the quantitative analysis are based on several studies, conducted by different agencies and organisations, providing an overview of the level of integration of migrants in different welfare state models, through the analysis of the same subject, meaning the migrants' integration, by following diverse approach. As regard to the quantitative part, three main reports were used, all from official organisations websites, with a comparison of data pertaining to the chosen countries, aiming to see if MSs belonging to various welfare state models, perform differently. The first tool used was the "Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015", fruit of a joint co-operation between the OECD (specifically the International Migration Division) and the European Commission (Directorates-General Migration and Home Affairs). This report is particularly interesting since it aimed to give a broad perspective of the comparison of several migrants' integration indicators across MSs in the EU and in the OECD countries in general. The second one was the "International Migration Outlook 2015" also written by the OECD; and the last one was the "Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015" (Mipex), respectively accurate and self-made country reports, made with attention to health, education and labour in the selected countries.

To make the analysis goes further data, gathered from the Eurostat website and concerning the general "Migrant Integration statistics" and the OECD statistical databases, will be used to investigate the correlation between several information. Moreover, for the overall data collection, the following criteria were considered. First, the aim was to be as actual as possible; therefore, the studies used were recent, with maximum five years of existence back in the days. In fact, the integration policies and attitude of countries in general are subject to changes over time, hence to keep the analysis as close to the reality as possible, this choice of time restriction was necessary. Another crucial aspect taken into consideration was to guarantee the trustworthiness of the sources used, both for the quantitative part of the research and the qualitative one. Data and documents are directly linked to the theoretical framework provided in chapter 2, since they give a clear example of policies in selected EU MSs, regarding integration of migrants into host societies.

3.2Data analysis

The method chosen to analyse the collected data is the mixed method approach, specifically the confluence of two different approaches, whose conjunction will provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem; furthermore, the data collection of both numerical and text information will give a final database that represent both quantitative and qualitative information. Qualitative content approach is the basis for the qualitative part of the mixed method approach. This method is used "for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process

of coding and identifying themes or patterns. (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.1278)” For the purpose of this research, the direct content analysis is chosen¹⁴; this specific approach is the starting point of the theory and has a purpose to validate the already known theoretical framework. This analysis could be used to have predictions about the settled variables or about the relationships among variables, and it is recommended here since it can cope with a large volumes of data.

The choice of content analysis as a qualitative method is crucial since it allows to evaluate relatively unstructured data, by searching deep meaning and reveal them; moreover, it tries to reduce data to manageable representations and transform them into something that can also be easily compared. The content analysis process can be summarised in six different steps: ‘unitizing’, by using already existing distinction to start seeing differentiation within a text; ‘sampling’, handy if there is the need to reduce the amount of units’ subset taking into consideration; ‘recording’/‘coding’, since a durable connection between a transient phenomenon and their interpretations must be added to let others be able to replicate the research; ‘reducing’, through the use of statistical techniques; ‘inferring’, which can serve to bridge the gap between the descriptive accounts of texts and what they mean; and the last step is ‘narrating’, that will help to make the outcomes comprehensible for everyone. After the selection of the most relevant documents, the final process of coding will start and require the use of formal language, that can be easily understand and will not create ambiguous references; this will also allow to build a coding scheme that can be arrange again freely (Krippendorff, 2013).

To find an answer to the main research question, the gathered data will help in conjunction with the analysis made through the help of the coding scheme and by pinpointing the main areas of interests. The qualitative data, namely documents and laws, will be thoroughly analysed throughout the help of a coding scheme, to see if there was a pattern in the way settled countries react to the presence of migrants into their societies and if this has impact on the approval of different social policies or not. The entire process begun with the investigation of the documents online. Then the longest part of the process was to read and found the right codes¹⁵ within the documents: the coding scheme followed a pattern of theme, attributable to the three main dependent variables. In each theme (namely health, education and labour), different codes were placed, starting from the work of Ager and Strang. The final features found were: access to basic education; recognition of foreign qualifications; integration and language courses; access to basic health services; role of non-

¹⁴ The authors provided also a classification of various type of content analysis, namely a conventional type, a direct type and a summative one (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

¹⁵ Strauss and Corbin (1998) stated the existence of different types of coding: open, axial and selective¹⁵; in this study open coding option were used by dividing data and information into several units of meaning. Successively, this units of meaning were coded, and them peculiar key words were assigned to them by finding more general categories to help simplify the overall work (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The qualitative content analysis has not the purpose of developing new theories, but aims to analyse the content of documents (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

governmental actors; type of contracts available to migrants; sectors suitable for migrants to work in; willingness of employers to hire migrants; family reunification.

Regarding the quantitative part of the analysis, a descriptive analytical approach of pooled data was used and the data comparison based on country profile was chosen as a path to see if different countries respond in different ways to the continuous flow of migrants; moreover, a step further can be made, starting from the Ager and Strang model. In addition to health, education and labour market mobility, the comparison based on one peculiar index can be showed: the Gini coefficient. The quantitative data, in the form of statistics and official reports both from official organisations such as Eurostat or OSCE, will support the presence of a correlation between the approach of Italy, Germany and Sweden, with attention to social expenditure, and the total amount of GDP within the countries. The theoretical framework introduced in chapter 2, is used as basis to start developed new insights in the migrants' integration patterns and social policies.

In order to operationalize the measure of the level of integration of migrants in different host societies, referring to the Mipex measures for integration policies in all EU MSs plus Norway, Switzerland, Canada and the USA can be useful. Mipex uses 167 policy indicators, 8 policy areas and 3 options for each answer, to create a broad picture of migrants' opportunities and reveal if whether or not countries guarantee equal rights to all citizens. The system created predicts that the maximum score that a country can reached is 100 points: the policy indicators are basically questions relating to a policy component of one of the 8 policy areas selected; for each answer there are 3 possible options and the maximum of 3 points is granted to policies that meet the highest standard for equal treatment.

In order to answer the research question, with the help of the sub-questions, two analyses will be conducted at the same pace, since the findings from one are complementary with the analysis of the data of the other. Using the coding scheme will help in underline the desired features in each documents and, as a consequence, the policy outcomes of MSs belonging to different welfare state regimes; then with the further analysis carried in chapter 5, these findings will be updated. Part of the methodological approach, namely the qualitative one, makes possible to summarise long policy documents, by break down units of analysis into small categories for meaningful results. Furthermore, conducting a content analysis will provide the possibility to correct original mistakes; and it will increase also the reliability of the research, giving the chance to fix and change the entire code all over again in every moment (Babbie, 2010).

3.2.1 Education

The first area taken into consideration as dependent variable was education, and the overall meaning that this means for migrants in a new society is based on the Ager and Strang work. With the help of their work, the status of education on the different welfare state regimes and how it has an impact on the general welfare state policies was observed. Four main features were taken into account,

namely (1) the access to basic education of migrants' children, (2) the recognition of foreign qualifications in the new state, (3) the availability of language courses and their duration and (4) language skills. For each feature of the main umbrella of 'education', codes have been developed and put into categories; some of these areas were further merged to build an analysis without an extensive fragmentation.

3.2.2 Health

The second area examined as dependent variable was health, and its meaning was carried from the work of Ager and Strang as well. The features to be analysed was (1) the accession to basic health services and (2) the role of non-governmental actors. For both characteristics, codes were developed and put into categories.

3.2.3 Labour market

The third area checked as dependent variable was labour, and its meaning following from the Ager and Strang work. The broad field led to highlight some features, such as (1) the type of contracts available to migrants, (2) the sectors suitable to migrants to work in and (3) the willingness of employers to hire migrants. For 'labour', as well for 'education' and 'health', codes were developed on the basis of the main features; with their help, the evaluation studies can be analysed.

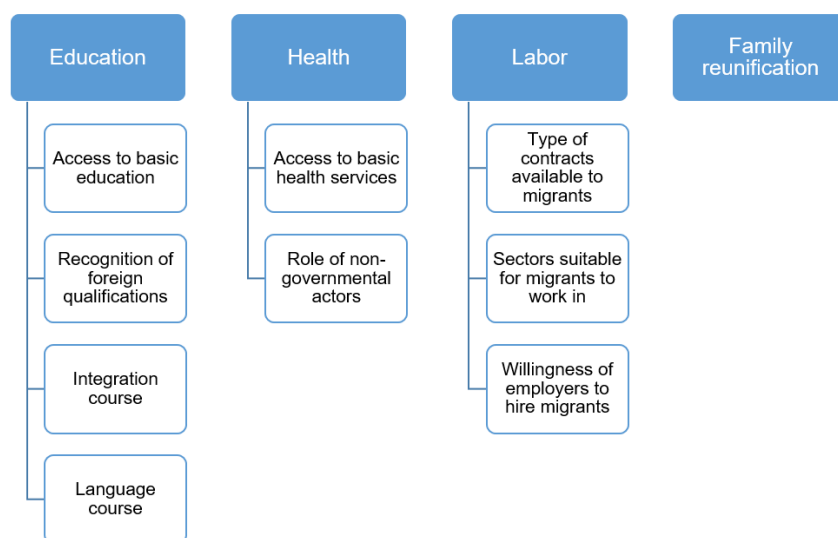


Figure 4: Coding scheme. Source: Own compilation.

An additional feature was studied in relation to all of the previous areas, since it is considered an issue that cut across all the previous sectors: family reunification, important if related to the overall picture of the living situation of TCNs within the context of the new host society. All the dependent variables and their features are summarised in the coding scheme below (Figure 4). After founding the codes for each variable examined, and assigned a clear meaning to them, several documents were analysed to search the correspondent features in each country.

3.3 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to assess the importance of the method selected, its meaning and the data source used throughout the analysis carried out in the chapters 4 and 5. The relevance of the mixed method approach was underlined and explained since the presence and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data will provide a wide framework to collect new insights. As the approach requires to split the investigation in two, in the first part, namely chapter 4, several documents and laws will be scrutinised under the lens of a coding scheme. The coding scheme will seek to highlight if there are similar or divergent behaviour or laws' features among Italy, Germany and Sweden; moreover, it will grant a foundation to prove how belonging to one welfare state regime instead of another, could affect the attitude towards migrants, their integration and the national social policies with regard to natives and foreigners. In the fifth chapter, quantitative data, gathered from official reports and statistics, will take into consideration, in relation to the total amount of GDP, to pursue how different welfare state regimes experience different path as regard to migrants' integration. In doing so, the correlation between the total GDP of a country and the specific social expenditure will be calculated, through the comparison of official data gathered in relation to Italy, Germany and Sweden.

To sum up the research activities undertaken to find a suitable answer to the research question, the division can be seen under two different approaches. Firstly, three theoretical areas were found, starting from the work of Ager and Strang, namely 'education', 'health' and 'labour', all related to the integration of migrants into new societies. Afterwards several features were highlighted in each area, four for the education's part, two for the health's part and three for the labour's part. Moreover, codes were developed for each features in order to be able to compare and analyse other studies. Secondly, with the help of this coding scheme it was possible to find out precise information, that help to construct the analysis step by step and also relate it to the legal regulations and laws of three EU MSs. The representation of the legal situation, national and European, will be necessary to gain insights into main laws, which define labour, education and health conditions for migrants. Only the specific laws and policies for each sector of importance were chosen, since the field is packed with laws and regulations. The legal aspect will only serve to explain and determine the general purpose, meaning what is the socio-economic impact of migrants on different welfare state regimes, regarding education, health and labour. To come along with a more thorough picture, a chapter with quantitative analysis was added and took into account GDP of the EU MSs and compare it with specific expenditure, or in addition had a look at the overall fund granted at European level, such as the AMIF set for the period 2014-2020, and see how much of it was assigned to each EU MS. The presence of the fifth chapter was necessary to further strengthen the insights gathered from the analysis carried out in the fourth chapter.

4. Results and discussion I

The following chapters will answer the sub-questions presented in the chapter 1, moreover, different welfare regimes dealing with migration will be analysed with focus on how they make plan to integrate migrants in their socio-economic context, throughout the use of the coding scheme developed in the previous chapter. Based on the analysis, conclusions will be drawn about the different situation that migrants can face according to various behaviours of welfare states and their policies. Each main area, namely 'education', 'health' and 'labour', is analysed in various sub-sections of the chapters; in addition, the legal framework of integration policies for migrants at European and national level will be added. Moreover, in Chapter 5, to further investigate the subject, some statistical comparison among the GDPs of EU MSs and the use of European funds will be taken into account and analysed through the use of pooled data and information. Afterwards the main documents and laws are analysed to proof if there is a correlation between the typology of welfare state and the attitude of the country towards the integration of migrants in the approval of new policies. Understood in a broader context, migrant integration is a multi-layered and complex process in becoming part of the host society, reaching goals such as language assimilation or gaining socio-economic status close to the natives' one. Moreover, factors that help migrants to become integrated in the new environment will be looked; for example, as author such Dustmann (1996) stated, in order to fit in the host society, it is important to gain knowledge about the new country, change habits and try to be used to the new ones, interact with natives and overcome religious and cultural barriers (Hübschmann, 2015).

4.1Part I: qualitative analysis

The first sub-question refers to the qualitative part of the analysis, therefore it worth gives some insights about the overall European situation for migrants' integration and then, thanks to the help of the coding scheme derived from the Ager and Strang work, plus some additional features derived from the EU's directives, the specific country situation will be scrutinised. However, before jumping into the role of the EU in this framework, the importance of the relation between migration policy and migration pattern can be analysed shortly to highlight the crucial role of the latter in shaping the former. Each EU MS deal with migration policy in its own way, by taking into consideration the general directives of the Union. Although one country usually has a constant behavioural attitude towards the migration phenomenon, is also important to underline how the migration patterns, namely the flow of people entering the host country in a specific window of time, are deeply influenced by external factors (such as the economic and social conditions of people in their native country or worldwide events which have influence on their decision to leave the home country). As a consequence, migration patterns can change the vision of dealing with migrants and TCNs in the host country, and experience different developments in their migration policy.

European Union, even as a result of the totality of MSs, had always experienced the flux of demographic changes, especially the ageing population and the consequent declining working-age population; therefore, it started to look with interest at the legal migration as possible solution for maximising the labour force already present in Europe and let them help in boosting its economy. Of course this integration process is twofold: on one side there is the desire to accommodate and integrate migrants into the new society, by having respect for the values and rules of the host country, but on the other side there must be the willingness of the society to receive them according to their cultures and rights (COM 455 final, 2011). Moreover, EU has interest in the welfare area because of the impact that its economic law and policy have on national laws and policies in the field of social welfare (de Búrca, 2005).

The EU usually refers to migrants as ‘third-country nationals’¹⁶ and tries to spread general rules that MSs have to apply to their own reality. The EU legislation on migrants is particularly broad and wide, so in this context only the directives that fit the aim of the research question will be cited. This passage was necessary since the countries analysed are all part of the European Union. Moreover, the feature that goes across all the other main areas studied is the family reunification and how it can influence the overall process of integration of a migrant in a new society by helping to create stability in a socio-cultural way. The directive on the right to family reunification establishes common rules to protect the family as an entity “without discrimination based on sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic characteristics, language, religion or beliefs, political or other opinions (...)” (Council Directive 2003/86/EC). At the same time, in Art. 8, it leaves the MS free to decide to which level authorise the family reunification; notwithstanding some other rules must be taken as grounded, such as the time period of two years in which the migrant had to stayed lawfully in the territory of the host country, before he can ask for having his/her family members with him/her.

It is also worth mention that EU has a representative body developed the idea of a broader social¹⁷ and economic cohesion as one of the objective of the Community, through the integration of third-country nationals who became long-term residents in MSs, condition legitimated with the directive concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents. A migrant who wants to be fully integrated into the host society has to prove to own adequate resources in order to not be a burden for the MS and he/she has to not constitute a threat to public policy or public security (Arts. 5,6 of Council Directive 2003/109/EC, 2004). It is also interesting to analyse Art. 11 of the aforementioned Directive, that stated that “long-term residents shall enjoy equal treatment with

¹⁶ Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family reunification, Art. 2, (a): “‘third country national’ means any person who is not a citizen of the Union within the meaning of Article 17(1) of the Treaty.”

¹⁷ Social policy was not one of the fundamental sector in the early development of the European economic community (EEC), since economic integration was the prior objective. Nowadays, the areas of interest are become broader and start to include more policies at the social level (Kleinman, 2002).

nationals as regards to access to employment (...), education and vocational training (...), recognition of professional diplomas, certificates (...) and access to goods and services (...) (Council Directive 2003/109/EC)". In a following Report from the Commission on the application of the same Directive, it is stated that MSs required different integration conditions for migrants, which can include language proficiency or knowledge about the host society by passing a final examination (COM 585 final, 2011).

As regard to job and employment, two directives and the relative amendment come into mind. The Directive 2011/98/EU, which lays down the procedure that let a third-country national pursuing a single permit to work in the territory of a MS and also a set of rights, based on the equal treatment with natives. The other directive (known also as 'Blue Card' Directive), "aims only at defining the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualifies employment within the EU Blue Card system (...) (Council Directive 2009/50/EC)", leaving to the MSs the set of a standard period of validity for the just mentioned Card (in between one and four years). This Directive had not brought the expected results since it was aimed at harmonise the admission and mobility of highly qualified migrant throughout the EU but it failed in doing so; therefore, recently there was a proposal to amend it and develop a new one on conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals aiming at highly skilled employment, with the purpose to start attracting highly skilled workers through a more flexible system of admission and improvement of their rights, such as the one to move freely across Europe as well. The change in the adjective use for the employment, from 'qualified' to 'skilled' works to put emphasis on both formal educational qualifications and professional experiences as important criteria to be admitted, leaving to the MSs the liberty to determine the number of admissions (COM 378 final, 2016).

In order to deal with migrants' integration at the European level some funds were created, such as the European Fund for the Integration of non-EU immigrants (EIF), available for the period 2007-13, and the more recent Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), established with the Regulation (EU) No 516/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council, for the period 2014-20. The purposes of both funds was seeking to promote cooperation among the EU MSs to grant equal rights and opportunities for every migrant all over Europe; "the general objective of the Fund shall be to contribute to the efficient management of migration flows and to the implementation, strengthening and development of the common policy on asylum, subsidiary protection and temporary protection (...) (COM 377 final, 2016, Art. 3)." Each MS will receive part of the AMIF in proportion with the responsibility that they have in dealing with migration flow and according to the latest available statistical data collected by Eurostat relating to the migration flows themselves. With this regard it is not a surprise that the country with the most resources allocated is Italy (315.355.777€ in total), followed by Germany and Sweden (for further details look at Figure 4 in chapter 5), since Italy is one

of the major receiving centre for migrants, which eventually start looking at the country as possible settlement, and Germany is one of the major final destination for migrants to settle permanently.

The final purpose of this overview of the European framework was to highlight how the EU is a tool to spread best practice and support innovation (Kleinman, 2002) in the field of integration of migrants by constantly renewing its Directives and staying updated on the current political and social phenomena. This willingness to keep an eye on the social field is quite a new extension to the old duty of the EU, meaning that, with time passing, also the competences of the Union are changing.

4.1.1 Access to education and recognition of foreign qualifications

According to the evaluation study taken into consideration, access to education is one the important factor to identify if a migrant is completely integrated in the host society. One particular aspect is the access to primary education of migrants' children; moreover, this section will focus on the legal regulations as regard to the accession to primary and high education.

Italy is one of the major country to deal with immigrants as first stop in their journey towards other EU MSs, such as Germany or Sweden, but recently it experienced first-hand the willingness of some TCNs to remain in the country and build a life there, becoming a significant component of the Italian society. The Bossi-Fini law of 2002 tried to keep track of duties and establishment of rules for immigrants to stay in the country. One of these rules regard the access to high education states that, "è comunque consentito l'accesso ai corsi universitari (...) agli stranieri titolari di carta di soggiorno (...) nonché agli stranieri, ovunque residenti, che sono titolari dei diploma finali delle scuole italiane all'estero o delle scuole straniere o internazionali (...) (Bossi-Fini law, 2002, Art. 26)", foreigners with residence permit or that have been leaving, for at least one year, within the Italian territory and have the Italian high school diploma, can apply for universities receiving the same treatment as Italian students. This article provides access to high education but at the same time it will link this approval to a legal framework: in order to follow the educational path, a migrant had to come to Italy and legally stay there. The OECD (2014) gives a complete picture also on the education system in Italy and how migrants' children can and will fit in it. Nowadays schools have autonomy in the teaching and courses organisation programmes, and the Italian system decided to integrate foreign children into classes, without creating separate one for them; in addition, every school grants support for the learning of Italian language.

One aspect that should be taken more into consideration in the German context is, not only the access to education (basic or not), but also a side effect: Germany is one of the most appealing country when it comes to higher education, and it gathered people from all over the world, with different skills and knowledge, which can be just a plus for the country. Most of these students developed and reached their full potential in the country and started thinking to remain in Germany; however, the transition from higher education to labour market is packed of undeveloped ideas and

most of the times lead to nothing concrete, especially due to the overwhelming bureaucracy and shady explanations for the transition from international student to foreign employee (SVR, 2015). This adjustment will lead Germany, one of the main representatives of the conservative welfare state, towards a subtle liberalisation, especially in the labour market. Furthermore, also the role of parents in the overall process of integration of children is not to underestimated, since “individual language promotion should be carried out in cooperation with parents (National Integration Plan, 2007, p.15)” and parents’ attitude and behaviour have been noted to be crucial in shaping a child to growth as full integrated adult.

When it comes to adult and their research for a job, one of the first step to undertake is the acknowledgement of their foreign qualifications, with a procedure that differs from country to country. In the publication “L’integrazione nel mercato del lavoro in Italia, 2014”, written by the OECD (“Labour market integration in Italy, 2014”), it is stated that migrants in Italy have diplomas and qualification of a lower level, if compared with other OECD countries. The educational path of the single migrant can have an impact on the different type of work and relative earning that he/she can ending up with, therefore it is crucial for the labour market as a generality. On 2012 in Germany an “Act Improving the Determination and Recognition of Professional Qualifications Acquired Abroad” was approved and with it the development at federal level of the entitlement to have the chance to see recognise qualifications from abroad and to have them compared with those of Germans with a more standardised procedure and criteria (EMN, 2015).

The situation in Sweden is not quite the same of the one that Italy and Germany experience, since a large part of the migrants are highly educated; however, these TCNs are most of the times over-qualified for their jobs and the government does not provide adequate course to further help them in finding a suitable position. Migrants cannot use their knowledge and find a convenient profession since it is hard within the Swedish system to recognise them; even though additional funds were set to fix the situation, the amount of money deposit for it are significantly helpful to the cause and leave a large group of TCNs under-employed or employed in sectors below their skill sets (Andersson & Weinar, 2014). The system of recognition of foreign qualifications in Sweden is one of the most troubled areas of the migrants’ integration policy, since high qualified TCN need a special permission from the competent Swedish authorities to be able to enter the Swedish labour market: the timeline for receiving this authorization can be quite long (Quirico, 2012).

To sum up the findings on the access to education and recognition of foreign qualifications, what jump out is the troubled and obstruct patch, especially with regard to the acknowledgement of certifications and qualifications taken in the country of origin, but also to the access of every level of basic education. These sectors do not correspond with the model of equity and universalism, represented by Sweden here and developed by Esping-Anderson, on the contrary are more expected in country such as Italy, where inequality is spread all over the society (Ferrera, 1996).

4.1.2 Language and integration courses

Another important factor that can help migrants to fit into the new society is the proficiency in the new language; as a consequence, the crucial presence of language courses is needed if the state wants to help them to integrate. To achieve a framework with people completely integrated in it, MSs can refer to the Council Directive 2003/109/EC, who stated that knowing the language of the new country is one of the factor that will contribute in the passage from the home-country to the new one. Of course, the amount of money given to social expenditure differs across different welfare state regimes, and it will be interesting to study it as a side phenomenon in the quantitative part of the fifth chapter. One of the main aims of integration courses is the achievement of a good command of the new language from the migrant's side; however, the participation rate for the abovementioned courses could and has to be improved if the governments want to help migrants in reaching their high possibilities to fit into the new society.

As it is experienced in all the EU MSs taken into consideration, the majority of people arrived in Italy has not the necessary fluency in Italian to understand natives and communicate with them, and this influenced also their possibility to find a decent job or even an accommodation. Language courses are provided for free in Italy, up to 200 hours of formation; moreover, it is now requested the A2 level of Italian in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) to obtain a long-term residence permit. The Ministry of Education ("Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione") is the provider for the centres at provincial level for adults' education ("Centri Provinciali d'Istruzione degli Adulti" or CPIA), where immigrants can learn the native language and earn the official certification to apply for the residence permit and also to apply for vocational training courses. These centres help also migrants older than 16 years old to obtain a high school diploma, with the payment of a basic tuition fee or a preselection exam. When, on the other hand, the focus is on children acquisition of the native language, the problem detected in Italy is the tardive arrival of children, according to the family reunification rules, which leave them behind when compare to other EU MSs (OECD, 2014).

Another crucial aspect in the migrants' integration framework in Italy is the approval of the "Patto per l'integrazione" or "International Agreement" in 2011 which lead to certain duties for migrants, "in particular, in order to be integrated, foreign nationals are required to learn Italian language and respect share and promote the democratic values of freedom, equality and solidarity that are at the basis of the Italian Republic (International Agreement, 2011)". This agreement is formed by credits, and migrants need to reach 30 credits within two years from their signature (Caneva, 2014).

Despite its history, Germany as a country is late in acknowledge its role as immigrant country (Geddes, 2003), however with the introduction of a new Immigration Law in 2005, integration courses as formed by language classes in particular, were introduced to give some credit to the new establishment of this features. An integration course usually has a minimum of 660 lessons and a

maximum of 960: the division among them is 600 (or 900 respectively) of language courses where the migrants has to end up with the B1 level of German in the CEFR, and the remaining 60 lessons belong to the orientation course. Nevertheless, Germany was not the first country to come up with integration course for migrants and just recently added into its law in 2005, leaving the organisation of them under the control of the Federal Government, without the help of regional governments (SVR, 2015; National Plan, 2007). The structure of the integration courses is organised through modules and is targeting specific fractions of the population (youth, adults, women, parents); moreover, the participants might allow to repeat up to 300 hours of the entire course, as additional help and the maximum suggested number of participants for a single class is 25.

“The orientation course is intended to give immigrants an understanding of the system of government and public administration in Germany, in particular the significance of the free and democratic order, the party system, Germany’s federalist structure, the welfare system, equal rights, tolerance and religious freedom (Federal Ministry of Interior, 2014, p.71)”. Another important feature that must be fulfilled is the guaranteed provision of childcare during the courses’ hours to allow each parents, usually mothers, to attend the courses and prevent participant to avoid the course. Overall these integration and language courses in Germany are extremely important, since one of the main feature that a TCN has to fulfil, in order to being assimilated in the German society, is the willingness to give up part of their identity and language and learn the new ones (Schmidt-Catran & Spies, 2016).

The final purpose of integration policies in Sweden is to provide equal rights and opportunities for the all foreign people, without concern on ethnicity or cultural background. In this picture, language training in Sweden is a mandatory part of the introduction plan, co-ordinated with the help of the employment service, however is a municipality duty to provide the Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) as service to fill the gap in the knowledge of Swedish language and culture, even if differences can be experienced from one municipality to another with a variation in the provision of the final service¹⁸ (OECD, 2014). The programmes where migrants can be placed, depend on the prior knowledge and educational background of the student; moreover, “the seven fields of Sweden’s integration strategy – faster introduction, work and entrepreneurship, schools, language skills/adult education, anti-discrimination measures, urban development, and basic common values – reach across social, cultural and employment fields (Andersson & Weinar, 2014, p.8)”. In 2010 the Swedish government decided to move the responsibility for the introductory courses from the municipalities to the public employment service, leaving the aims of the programme unvaried but with a new legal framework. One of the main innovation was the establishment of an introduction guide of private organisation or NGOs, who works with the Swedish Employment Service to help TCNs in finding new job. Migrants

¹⁸ These courses were a fundamental part of the integration process for newcomers, however they came under heavy criticism especially for the outcome of social welfare dependency among migrants, which started to rely on high unemployment benefits (Quirico, 2012).

are free to choose their own guide, who will receive a monthly salary, plus a compensation relative to the results accomplished (when a TCN find a job or apply in an educational programme or training course or start his/her own business; and also after one entire year of employment without receiving benefits from the state). They are paid more if they succeed in finding a job for a migrant with 6 years or less of schooling (Emilsson, 2014).

Taking integration courses as features to see how far can get the overall integration process for a migrant can also help in highlight differences among the approach of Italy, Germany and Sweden, which are deduced from the belonging to different welfare state types. Sweden, which is the country shows a society more multicultural than the others, tend towards a higher level of migrants' integration without focus much on the integration course but grant them more freedom to maintain their identity, while Germany strengths the relevance of these courses to fulfil a tighter assimilation of the TCN in the new society (Schmidt-Catran & Spies, 2016).

4.1.3 Accession to basic health service and role of non-governmental actors

Provide access to basic services, including health and housing ones, in addition with knowledge of the native language and of the basic common rules, habits and culture of the new country, is fundamental to make feel migrants integrated. It is also important to underline that, if the provision of MSs health care systems continues to be a national duty, the everyday operation of the settled system may be subject to the European rules, in this case the Treaty rules on the Internal Market and on competition (de Búrca, 2005).

When it comes to health care services and access, the first thing that must be noticed is that in Italy, whenever migrants need medical assistance and are not able to properly express themselves in Italian, a translator must be consulted. The TCN legally resident in Italy has to fulfil the inscription in the “Servizio Sanitario Nazionale” (SSN) or “Health National Service” as first step to be assisted medically. As a consequence, the migrant will be received the “Tessera Sanitaria” (“Health Card”) after showing the residence permit request, and on the back of it the “Tessera Europea di Assicurazione Malattia” (TEAM) or “European Health Insurance Card”, which make them eligible to receive the same health treatment that they would receive in their native country all over the Europe (Luzi, Pasqualino, Pugliese, Schwarz & Suligoi, 2015). In Germany one characteristic that can be inferred from the willingness to family reunification is the fact that a TCN has to demonstrate to be able to provide also evidence that he/she acquired sufficient healthcare protection for him/herself and the other family members (SVR, 2015). In Sweden, according to its welfare state type, there are different organisational principles and provisions for the social security system and, as a matter of fact, “in the Swedish system, healthcare services (...) are exclusively taxation-funded and are granted to the entire population (SVR, 2015, p.59)”; therefore, there is no obligation for the TCN to show to the government to earn the ability to provide for each member of his/her family (SVR, 2015). In addition, Sweden is well-known to be one of the country that narrows the access to health to

migrants with a residence permit (Hjern, 2014), in contrast for example with Italy, where emergency health care measures are assured also for people that are just arrived in the country.

Even though as Ager and Strang (2004) stated 'social links', namely the relations with institutions which provided services at both local and central level, are important, sometimes actors at national level are not competent enough or have not the needed freedom to act in order to fulfil the migrants' wellbeing. In this context, it can be handy to have a look at the role of non-governmental actors, which can behave without the governmental constrictions and achieve goals in the overall integration process. One of the major role cover by the NGOs in Italy can be detected in the work done at the borders, especially in receiving the migrants at their first arrival. NGOs made of doctors and persons with medical competences will help migrants in need, and legal non-governmental organisations will provide the support for the initiation of the integration process (residence permit, family reunification, etc.). Moreover, in Germany and Sweden "associations of foreigners and/or migrants which defend the interests of migrants at different levels of the political system are supported and funded to the same extent as those run by and/or attended by German and Swedish citizens (OECD, 2014, p.125)". As regard to integration policies in Italy, some degree of autonomy is recognised to local authorities, thanks to a high level of decentralisation within the Italian constitution and legal changes occurred over the years. Especially regions are the ones that coordinate social services at the local level, and as a consequence they also play a central role in providing welfare services (Caneva, 2014). The Church with their voluntary associations is present in the territory to help migrants to fit into the new society, but also other NGOs such as Caritas, and trade unions sometimes collaborate with local authorities to score a common goal.

In the German context the role of NGOs, or non-statutory welfare organisations, has as objectives the achievement of a sufficient language skills development and the promotion of native language in a multicultural way, with focus on the important role of parents, by providing assistance through immigration advisory services. The work of these immigrant organisations will apply through the use of the network within the German territory. It is also noticeable the differences in the approach of the welfare system in country like Germany and Nordic welfare state regimes, namely the fact that the German system relies on semi-public organisations, sometimes financed publicly, and NGOs, with the addition (like in Italy) of the presence of trade unions or churches to help in the integration process (Liebig, 2007). In Sweden many NGOs are involved and help during the integration process of migrant, and they play formal and informal role by granting courses, training and other activities (Andersson & Weinar, 2014).

The dissimilarities in the provision of basic health care services for migrants can be linked with the differences among national health care models: the Italian case is conceived as public one, granting the same opportunities to be treated for TCNs with a residence permit and a native Italian, while the German and the Swedish model have also a strong component of private insurance, which do not

collide with the purpose of providing same chances for everyone, independently from their origin. As regard with the role of NGOs, in Germany and in Italy it is more likely to find Catholic ones (Karamessini, 2007), since the role of the Church is quite massive, while in Sweden there are plenty of laic ones too.

4.1.4 Type of contracts available for migrants, sectors open to migrants to work in and willingness of employers to hire third-country nationals

Find and an employment is one of the main priorities for a foreign, and for a migrant shows the possibility to earn money, not depend on public contributions and contribute to his overall integration. The research for a job, often led migrants to accept any type of job, but it can be handy to consider both version of the Blue Card Directive and the connected will to have their qualifications recognised, at professional level and not only at the educational one.

In Italy a disparity can be observed in the availability of employment contracts across several regions: if migrants, usually arrived in the Southern part of the country, accepting low-paid jobs to survive, with time passing most of them start feeling the need to emigrate in the Northern regions, following the networking and migration pattern (if there is already a community of migrants in a city it is most likely that other migrants will follow their path). This eventually will develop a flow of mobility that interest the country as a whole and will create a most suitable environment for migrants to live in. The type of contracts taken by migrants falls in the temporary category, the most vulnerable in time of crisis. Moreover, even if offices at provincial level were created to deal with migrant integration and policies related to it, the majority of migrants' hiring happened thanks to the network of acquaintances and not through the public services or "servizi pubblici per l'impiego" (SPI), which should have that duty, "le province hanno anche il compito di favorire l'incontro tra domanda e offerta, attraverso i servizi pubblici per l'impiego (OECD, 2014, p.53)". As a matter of fact, when it comes to Italy, the ultimate challenge for migrants is not the access to employment (since for example a foreign-born low-educated person is more likely to find a job than the native-born low-educated equivalent), but to improve the quality of the employment.

Germany on the other hand adopts a different system to integrate its migrants, leaving apart the different types of contracts that can be taken and focus its attention on "employer-based or employment contract-based procedures, with a long history in the Federal Republic of Germany (SVR, 2015, p.33)": basically a migrant that wants to legally enter the country, must possess an employment contract in the first place. To further improve migrants' chance to find a good job, the country could also offer additional training to adapt prior qualifications to new labour environment and consequent requirements; if youth migrants' situation is considered, the government should think to provide a second opportunity to fill the gap in their qualifications with modular courses (National Plan, 2007).

The Swedish situation foresees from the migrant's side the signature of an employment contract with a Swedish employer as precondition to legally enter the country, but with no further specifications (which happen quite often when it comes to Germany for example). The following step represents deeply the true nature of Sweden, as spokesman for the social-democratic welfare state regime, meaning the priority check. While the government run this control, the Swedish employer has to demonstrate that no Swedish or EU employees were available for that position; however, this check is a mere façade since it is sufficient to advertise the position for ten days at the Swedish Employment Agency and also the results of the investigation are not binding for the employer, leaving quite a bit of freedom to them. Trade unions are also consulted regarding their opinion on the proposed conditions of employment, leading the process not pending in favour of a broader labour perspective with the relevance of migrants into this system¹⁹; this union have mainly consultation power and are not entitled to veto the employers' decision to hire a foreign person (SVR, 2015).

The existence of a strict employment protection legislation for permanent employment is also noticeable, and leads to risks in hiring migrants, whose qualifications are seen as questionable and uncertain in comparison with the natives' ones; the result is the development of temporary contracts targeting migrants' population (OECD, 2014). "One large issue is the fact that highly-qualified migrants and refugees cannot exercise their professions in Sweden as their qualifications are not recognised and as they lack language skills. Funds have been set (...) but large groups remain under-employed, or employed in sectors far below their skillsets (Emilsson, 2014, p.9)". The actor that plays an important role in the job searching process is the Migration Board, that verifies the correspondence between the offer of employment and collective agreements and, after the opinion of the labour union on the whole salary and working conditions, gives the final assessment (Quirico, 2012).

Although as already stated by Bivand and Oeppen (2013) the level of integration is linked with the full participation in the labour market, a conjunction of different factors shaped the labour market and the possibilities to find a job within it, and for migrant workers, who struggle to get the necessary acknowledgement of their qualifications and who are not usually familiar with the foreign language, it is even harder if it compares to natives. In addition, it was showed how migrants happened to work in the sectors that were hit harder by the worldwide recession, having impact on their already scarce chances to find a suitable job to survive in the new country.

As regard to the employment of migrants in several labour's fractions, the situation in Italy shows the presence of the phenomenon of undetected labour of TCNs that creates some trouble, since it excludes them from the labour regulations and law, and made them exposed to precarious working

¹⁹ Labour unions are not responsive in foster migrants to get jobs and positions when the natives are unemployed (Quirico, 2012).

conditions²⁰. The fractions of the labour market where it can be observed more the poor working conditions are agriculture, tourism and building industry. The presence, or better the absence, of a real welfare state support for migrants is not helping them in being fully and completely integrated into the host society, if even their working conditions are not empowered by the employers in the first place. Together with Greece, Italy is one of the country that shows more occupational segregation, notably when it comes to women employment (usually employed in elderly care within a family context). As regard to sector concentration of male migrants, their prevalence is noticed in the building construction sector and in manufacturing centres or small enterprises with a strong component of migration of labour force, “la maggior parte delle migrazione di forza lavoro è dovuta ad una grande richiesta di lavoratori poco qualificati, soprattutto per i servizi domestici e assistenziali e nelle piccolo imprese (OECD, 2014, p.20)”. Another aspect that has to be taken into account is how little is known about the actual participation of immigrants in active labour market policy (ALMP) measures since their implementation is responsibility of regional authorities (even though the broad framework of action is under the national level), which lead to an uneasy harmonisation of practices; moreover, just few measures are specifically targeted for migrants and the data available on integration of migrants are partial.

The labour market in Germany is growing and becoming wider and with it also the competences and the qualifications of people that want to work in it are increasing. This widening opening in the labour market grants also more competition and accelerate the employment demand of international highly skilled workers. Even though the sectors of employment with more spots available are still the one with lower-paid features, the evolution of the market opens possibility to migrants who gained educational and labour formation in his/her native country, to find a job within the German territory. The Blue Card Directive and its revision were thought for this specific case, since highly-qualified persons just need to meet some requirements in order to receive the Blue Card; requirements such as the proof of a university degree and “an employment contract with an annual gross salary of at least 47,000 euros in regular occupations (Federal Ministry of Interior, 2014, p.119)”.

Since the 1960s Swedish government developed a system based on universalism to integrate migrants in the society; all the policies developed wanted, and still aimed to, provide a direct and immediate access to the labour market and provide also equal social rights: so that migrants can feel the belonging to a national community (since an employment allow them not to be a burden for the national welfare), but at the same time still own their cultural diversity, seen as plus by Sweden (Borevi, 2014). In 2011 in Sweden the chances for migrants to find a job were higher in the health

²⁰ In Italy, as also happened in Germany, immigrants find job in sectors where the working conditions are harder, and where it needs physical effort, willingness to work over multiple shifts and strength; therefore, the working position available are found mostly in the building and agriculture sectors, as low-paid employment, and in the commerce sector, where they usually covered the position of doormen and porters, handyman, workers for garage and cleaning companies, waiter, dishwashing, petrol pump attendants, laundry-workers and so on (Allasino, Reyneri, Venturini & Zincone, 2004).

sector, in the social services and veterinary activities, but also in the most common one, such as manufacturing and constructing and restaurant and hotel industry; of course belong to one sector or another depending on their skills, education and qualification and had influenced on their overall earning and social benefits (Bevelander & Irastorza, 2014). Moreover, the Swedish labour market has as main characteristics a generous system of unemployment benefits, active labour market and strong unemployment protection; therefore, even if the jobs are not available a migrant can still survive in the host society (Emilsson, 2014; Quirico, 2012).

The labour market situation required that both a migrant wants to find an employment but also a mutual feeling from the employer, willing to hire him/her. Therefore, the presence of connection and personal ties with natives acquire an important role, broadcasted in a tight network of acquaintances, and it can be used from migrants' side to acquire some benefits in the host country.

In Germany the role of the German Employer Association (Bundesvereinigung der deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände) can be taken as main actor which supports new rules and measures, in order to deliver an opener and more welcoming work environment for immigrants. This association has boosted the use of good practices from its members, for example by paying for the language course of migrant employees or by promoting and strengthening intercultural exchange within companies. In addition, to help TCNs in having all information about their legal rights, the German Federation of Trade Unions (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB) established six local advisory centres around the country with the prerogative for migrants to receive information in their native language regarding labour and social laws in Germany (Bunkert & Haas, 2014).

As already stated, in the Swedish context, the freedom of employer to hire TCNs is huge, since they basically have no boundaries originate from duties provided at the national level. This freedom or *laissez-faire* is the main core of the social-democratic welfare state, who prefer not to use constraints and obligations, but rather trust in the overall balance of the market, labour or not. Moreover, it must be added that employers might have hard time to decide to hire immigrants for several reasons, such as the lack of collision between migrants' skills and the demand of the labour force in that moment or the difficulty that a migrant can experience in knowing about the jobs offer in the labour market since the Swedish context relies mostly on informal contacts and networks (OECD, 2014). Moreover, the "strict employment regulation for permanent work coexists with relatively lax employment regulation for temporary work, so many of Sweden's low-skilled jobs are organised through temporary contracts (Bevelander & Irastorza, 2014, p.4)". Third-country nationals are still overrepresented in the sector with low-skilled jobs, and having temporary contracts will not let them enter permanent position with high earnings and recognition of their qualification, leaving them proceed in a precarious living conditions with lots of uncertainty for their future (Emilsson, 2014).

To sum up the findings of this section about the labour market, the situation in the three countries examined presents discrepancies: even though all countries that need a boost for their economy are

willing to accept migrant into their society (Morissens, 2008), some country, such as Germany and, oddly, Sweden, chooses to put having a job as primary criteria to enter the state without reference to the type of contract, while others, such as Italy presents mostly temporary contracts for TCNs. Moreover, the fact that each of these countries save positions in the same labour sectors, such as catering and food services, manufactory and building construction, and also social services, it is an ambiguous and contradictory element. The approach to the labour sector should have been different in country of new immigration, such as Italy, still not trained and organised to deal with a huge flow of migrants, and in country used to migration which also tend to promote equal opportunities as basis for its welfare state, such Sweden. In addition, another ambiguous element, is the willingness of employers to hire migrants, which is equally low in Italy, Germany and Sweden.

4.1.5 Family reunification

Family reunification is considered, among all the possible fluxes of migration, the most important form of long-term immigration, since when the government allows a migrant to have his/her family with him/her, the chances that he/she decided to stay in the new country are higher. Another aspect that can have an influence in this context is the willingness of a migrant to maintain contacts with co-ethnics in the native country, especially if he/she experiences troubles in dealing with the admission procedure for relatives; this attitude helps to develop a sense of solidarity and reciprocity (Kanas, van Tubergen & Van der Lippe, 2011). Italian law provides the necessary regulations with Art. 23 of the Bossi-Fini law, which state that a migrant can apply for having his/her spouse with him//her if they are not legally separated and for taking his/her children (under 18 years old) if the other partner gave his/her consensus, or adult children (above 18 years old) who cannot provide for themselves for objective reasons.

The proportion of migrants come to be reunited with a family member is more or less constant in Germany until recently²¹. One principle to take into account when it comes to Germany is that in theory just the spouse and minor children are able to migrate to the country, following under the category of family reunification; however, there is one exception, namely parents of a child resident in Germany are allowed to immigrate to take care of the child. Moreover, the children's age for enter the German borders with parents are between 16 and 18, however the children have to fulfil certain criteria aiming to guarantee their rapid integration into the new society, such as the basic knowledge of some German (A1 level of the CEFR) (SVR, 2015). Germany continues to be one of that countries to have tight measures to allow family reunification, therefore the TCN already presents in the Germany territory could be felt discouraged to invest in the integration of his/her family (Mipex, 2015).

²¹ In Germany the freedom of Movement Act/EU implements Directive 2004/38/EC of 29 April 2004, on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within their territory of the MSs, in national law (Federal Ministry of Interior, 2014).

In Sweden the new legislation which obliged the migrant already in the country to show evidence of regular income and suitable accommodation had fallen the number of family migrants coming to Sweden for a family reunification from 2009 to 2011, with a slight adjustment in the following years. In addition, it must be said that, even if the right to family reunification, as stated in the Directive 2003/86/EC, is binding to all EU MSs, in Sweden children younger than 18 years have the unconditional right to be reunited with their family.

4.2 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to answer the first sub-question: “To what extent do third-country nationals have an influence in determine the policy migration outcomes of a country?”. The European context was helpful to highlight why the EU as body started to be interested in the legal migration, and as a consequence it began to develop policies more focused on the social area and in TCNs’ integration in particular, by focusing its attention on family reunification, working contracts and possibilities for migrants to fit in the new society through the acquisition of the new spoken language and values.

The main findings in the three fields of interest reflect differences among Italy, Germany and Sweden in dealing with migration, according to their welfare state regime and their consequent attitude towards them. All three countries experienced various frameworks and realities when education is the main variable taken into account: some of them allow migrants’ children to participate in the school system even with a low level of knowledge of the language (Italy), while others required a higher level of knowledge of the language (Germany), which can lead to a further marginalisation of TCNs. The level of education owned by migrants in general may also have an influence on the type of employment and type of contracts that they are more likely to find; and it is also interwoven with the difficult path that migrants have to face to see their previous titles recognised in the new country. Another factor that can be directly linked to both the recognition of foreign qualifications and the jobs’ possibilities, is the willingness of employers to hire migrants, who might own higher title than a native but might not be able to prove it. Even though all three countries offered language and integration courses, in order to try to help migrants in their first period of arrival to acquire new insights and integrate better in the host societies, some of them (German especially) demonstrate to be more successful than the others. Policy and funds can be decided and distributed at national level, however often national actors cannot act fully to help migrants and TCNs without the need to justify themselves; in this case the role of non-governmental actors, of various nature, can pursue better results in helping migrants who need support.

With regard to the work of Ager and Strang it was possible to come up with a coding scheme to assess how different countries deal with migrants’ integration. Using education, health and labour as main categories, with features relative to each and every one of them, several piece of documents, reports and laws were analysed. In this process of assimilation also the actors play an important

role, mainly because the governmental ones often have not the permission to take initiatives, since the process of approval of new measure would be too long and complex. Therefore, non-governmental actors will take advantage of this and use the gap to do something concretely, with less economic and human resources available, but more freedom and flexibility. Unfortunately, the reality shows that the sector ready to quickly offer an employment to migrants is the one with lower salary, which includes manufactory and building activities or hotel and restaurants; moreover, the employers' willingness to hire migrants can also affect whether they find a job or not. All three countries offered integration courses, mainly focuses on language classes to achieve an adequate knowledge of the new country and acquire also the needed background information about the new society's costumes, laws and everyday life; however, the language level required in the three EU MSs differs and so does the way they organised the courses. For example, children with educated parents who speak the foreign language are more expected to fit in the host society.

5. Results and discussion II

As already mentioned in the beginning of chapter 4, in the following chapter a further analysis will be carried out, through the comparison of pooled information in the forms of statistics and data. The purpose of this chapter is to fully develop and comprehend the information already gathered in the previous chapter, and provide some numerical backup for the theoretical framework. This division was made necessary to reflect the choice of the twofold mixed method approach as suitable basis to answer the research question.

5.1 Part II: quantitative analysis

In the quantitative part of this analysis chapter, numerical information and statistics will be provided in order to deepen the knowledge about how different types of welfare state regimes handle the phenomenon of migrants' integration. In doing so, the help of several reports, made by the European Commission or the OECD, and the help of official statistical website, such as the European one (Eurostat) or the national ones, will be handy.

By now the explanation of migration as phenomenon linked with several other factors, such as employment and unemployment rates or national GDP must be clear. In this perspective some information gathered through the Eurobarometer in the autumn of 2015 might add more information on how citizens perceive the urgency of some issues faced at national and European level. The questions asked in the survey were two, namely "What do you think are the most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment?" and "What do you think are the most important issues facing the EU at the moment?", and the results were expressed in percentage. The outcomes were quite interesting: when it comes to the first question, by referring to 'immigration' and having in mind that the average EU percentage was 36%, Germany was the most worried about the issues with 76%, followed by Sweden (53%) and Italy (30%) with the lowest number of people that believe immigration as one of the most urgent problem for the country. When the perspective changed, and the EU as a context was taken into account, Germany and Sweden were the most concerned (respectively with 76% and 74%), also because of the quick escalation that EU experienced in the last few years with the consequent problem especially at the borders of the Union, that lead huge flows of people trying to reach this last two countries. Italy scored 49%, the lowest one also in these case, with the average European one set at 58%: that could be explained through the overall Italian awareness that immigration can be handled (from here also the use of a remarkable amount of the AMIF to guarantee migrants with their integration).

The other aspect curious to analyse was the answer referred to 'unemployment' that, when was pertained to the national context, saw Italy in the first position (with 46%), followed by Sweden with 28% and Germany with 11% (the average European one was 36%). Therefore, Italy results to be the one more concerned about the chance to have people unemployed, while in Germany and

Sweden this was not an urgent issue, since they also had lower level of foreign-born unemployment when compared to the Italian one. The situation when they asked about the European framework do not change much: Italy with 25% was the first country to think that not find a job is crucial also at the European level, followed by Germany with 15% and Sweden with (14%), also in this occasion both lower than the average EU one (17%) (TNS opinion & social, 2016).

In addition, this all analysis based on the Eurobarometer, can be linked to Schimdt-Catran & Spies (2016): there is a correlation between citizens' attitude towards migrants and towards welfare state in general; therefore, according to the percentage just mentioned, Germany shows as the most critical country about immigration both as a national problem and a European one, which conducts to being concerned and worried toward the welfare state too.

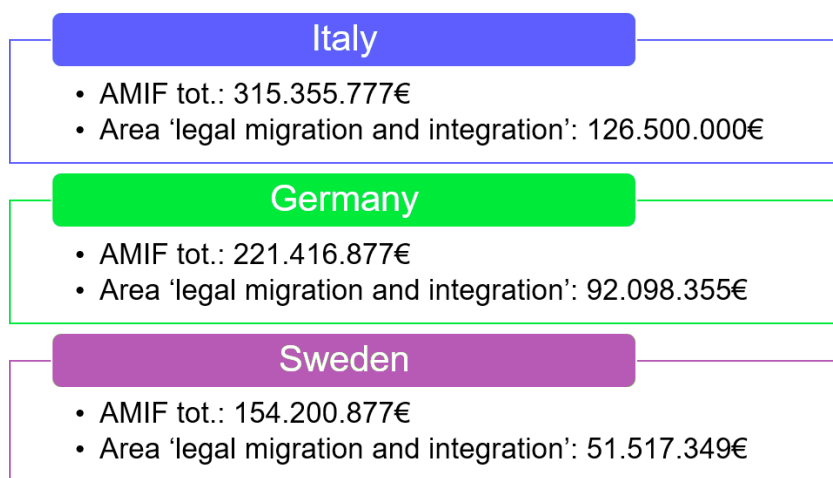


Figure 5: AMIF data from DG migration and Home Affairs, 2014. Source: Own compilation.

In order to have a general idea of how much the EU devotes to funds that have as main goal the improvement of the condition of asylum and migrants, the proportion of AMIF spends in the area of legal migration and integration can be looked briefly to see how the countries react to the issue (Figure 5 above): a decreasing pattern can be highlighted, since Italy devolves almost half of the total money received through the EU fund to integrate them, while Germany devolves less than a half of the total received and Sweden roughly one third of the total AMIF that it has granted. This differentiation, in how grant to the same area of interest, means that Italy tries to obtain a higher level of integration (since it is also the country that experiences the lowest rate of migrants' assimilation in this country comparison), but also that the national resources are not enough to grant a fair level of integration. At the same time, Germany and especially Sweden have a more developed system of welfare state to assure migrants in the new society and tend to devote less amount of EU fund to that peculiar area of interest.

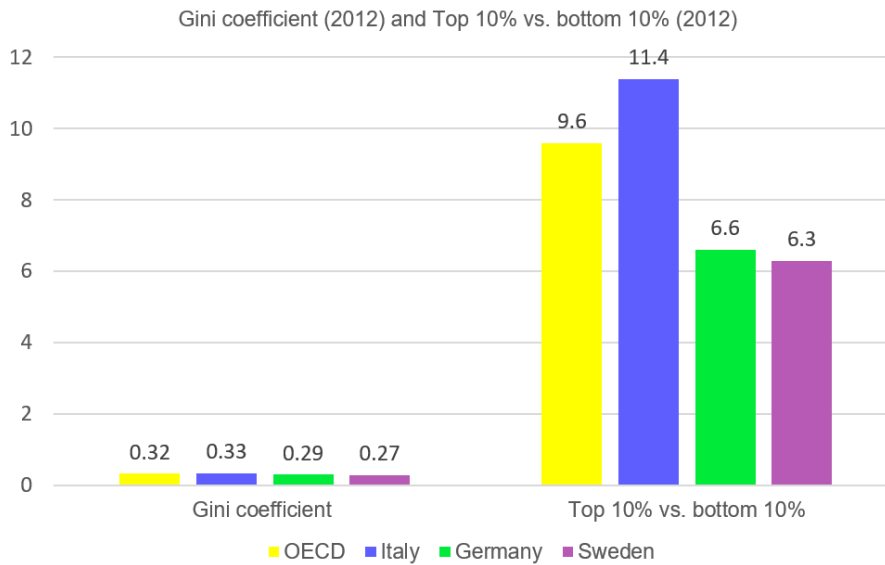


Figure 6: Gini Coefficient and Top 10% vs. bottom 10%, OECD, 2012. Source: Own compilation.

In the graphs showed in Figure 6 the comparison among Italy, Germany and Sweden, is presented; data retrieved by the OECD, and the Gini coefficient²² can help to demonstrate the overall level of income in a certain country, leading to a general overview of the three national situation. Moreover, to give a broader and more complete information as possible, also the last part of the graph, relative to the comparison between the top 10% versus the bottom 10% of the entire population, can be shortly analysed. The Gini coefficient is a measure of statistical dispersion, which aimed to show the income distribution of someone resident in a specific country; and is the most preferably selected measure of the rate of inequality. Analysing the Gini coefficient in Italy, Germany and Sweden should help to understand why these countries showed specific welfare state types regarding migrants' integration and it should also provide a more concrete picture of the integration as a whole phenomenon in general. The coefficient was different from each country: the average one for the entire group of OECD countries (in 2012) was 0.32, the Swedish one was the lowest of the countries compared (0.27), followed by the German one (0.29) and the Italian one, the highest important for this study (0.33).²³ This means that, if 0 is taken as the perfect value for equality in one country, and 1 as a consequence is conceived as the highest level of inequality, Italy is the country that shows more inequality spread across the population, while Sweden is the one closest to reach the perfectly equal environment.

²² Interpreted as a measure for income inequality, the Gini coefficient is equal to zero if everyone had the same income or if a single person had all the income. When the Gini coefficient is zero, that means the perfect equality with the presence of equal values all over people in a country; on the contrary, when the Gini coefficient is equal to 1, it shows the maximum inequality among values. For example, states like the Netherlands and as a consequence also all the countries belonging to the social-democratic welfare state, usually exhibit a domestic commitment to equity and human rights, found in their lower than average Gini coefficient and high level of welfare performances, precisely in the education, health and unemployed field (Betts, 2003; OECD official website: <http://www.oecd.org/>).

²³ Data retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/social/income-distribution-database.htm>.

However, the differences among these three countries is not so evident, but still reflect the variations among them. A brief look at the second graph presents a classification refers to the gap between the top 10% and the bottom 10%: Italy leading the gaps in earning with 11.4, followed by Germany (6.6) and Sweden (6.3), which performance is almost identical. Moreover, the last two country performed even better than the average OECD countries (9.6), bringing them to try to reduce the earning gap in their society.

5.1.1 Emphasis on education

Education is one of the milestone for understanding migrants' integration, in a twofold way: both the level of education guaranteed to migrants' children, and the level of education reached by their parents are important in the final analysis. In fact, the possibilities that children fit into the host society are higher when parents had a higher education attainment and if they are fluent in the country's language and therefore are also able to speak it at home. Moreover, also the level of education of parents can have impact on the final integration of children into the educational system, since their education, together with a good level of the new language, can lead them to understand the chance for their children to succeed in the new environment and also inspire them to push their children to the best of their possibilities. When it is looked at the level of income inequality, the differences between pupils with immigrant and non-immigrant background are lower in countries more egalitarian, where native pupils with disadvantage tends to perform better than immigrant ones (Bilgini, Huddleston & Joki, 2015).

It is important to consider the educational background that children already gathered in their native country, as a useful resource to perform even better in the host country; however, their previous knowledge needs also to be linked to the features of the school system in the new country. Another aspect crucial is the sense of belonging to the school, in this case according to the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) of 2012 (published in 2014), Italy and Sweden are the countries that performed worst, meaning that non-immigrant children and foreign-born live the school experience in two different perspectives, and this will not help the overall integration and assimilation process: if in the place where the integration should start, children do not feel comfortable, the chances to be fit in the upcoming future society decrease (OECD, 2015).

The overall Mipex index comes handy when the integration of migrants is taken into account. Regarding to the education sector, the country in the first position is Sweden (with 77 points out of 100), Germany is found 16th with 47 points, and Italy is in the 23rd position with 34 points. This classification tends to prove that the more the country recognised how important migrants are for the development of the society in its full capacity, the more they want to put emphasis also in the educational formation and integration of migrants' children. However, the lower performances of most countries demonstrate how education is one of the major weakness when it comes to integration policies in a settled country, especially if the country is a new target for immigration as a

phenomenon. Italy for example is now an immigration country, since most of the new immigrants decided to stay and try their fortune there, leaving the country unprepared for such a large number of foreigners living in its territory (Mipex, 2015).

In the following Figure 7 another important aspect, that as an impact on both the educational sector but also on the labour one, will briefly take into consideration. The recognition of foreign qualification in the new host society is crucial for TCN that want to apply for a job position suitable for their previous studies and work experiences; however, the picture below shows how the over-qualification gap between foreign- and native-born population in several countries is still present and creates sometime a wide discrepancy in some states. On one hand, Italy presents the widest over-qualification gap among all the countries chosen (3.59 points) and it should be put more effort in closing it as long-term challenge, so that TCN workers are able to find a job that better matching their expectations and avoiding the waste of their skills and expertise. On the other hand, Germany and Sweden's performance is almost at the same level, with a slightly better position for the German country (both between 2.3 and 2.6 points), showing that in this EU MSs the over-qualification gap is smaller and let migrants and TCNs find a fruitful employment according to their qualifications (Mipex, 2015).

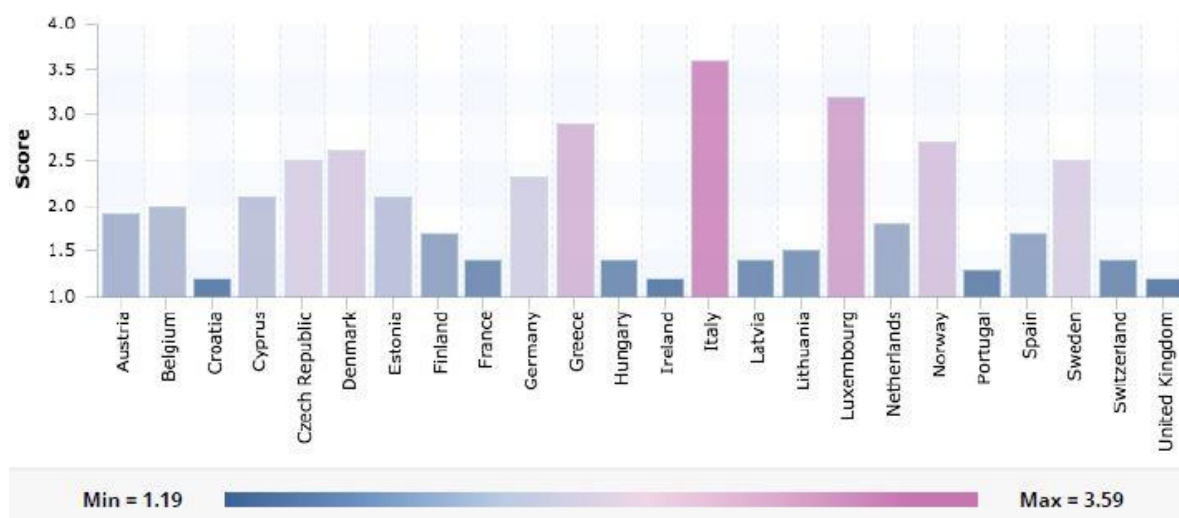


Figure 7: Over-qualification gap between foreign- and native-born population, 2012. Source: Mipex, 2015.

As it was already stated, more than one feature can have an influence on the overall integration of migrants and in the following figure it can be seen the different weight that the main important ones have in Italy, Germany and Sweden (Figure 8 will provide the visual basis for the following analysis). The ones that matters for this research are the lack of language skills and the lack of recognition of foreign qualifications, since these are two of the features analysed through the help of the coding scheme in the qualitative part. As regard to the first one, the country that experiences more difficulties in integrating migrants without the proper level of the new language proficiency is Italy with 12.1%, followed by Sweden (10.9%) and Germany (9.8%); this result means that Italy is the country where

knowledge of Italian is more important for migrants to conduct an everyday life. The second indicator found Italy and Germany almost on the same level (25.2% and 20.6%) with Sweden rather behind them, with 7.8%; this outcome highlights how in both Germany and Italy the recognition of qualifications taken abroad has more influence on the chance that migrants find a job in the new society, while in Sweden is not the most effective barrier that prevent migrants' employment.

BARRIER	Germany (until 1990)	Italy	Sweden
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lack of language skills	9.8	12.1	10.9
Lack of recognition of qualifications	20.6	25.2	7.8
Citizenship of residence permit	;(u)	7.2	;(c)
Origin, religion or social background	;(u)	8.2	6.1
Other barriers	39.8	2.0	37.7

Figure 8: Obstacles to getting a suitable job by migration status, labour status and educational attainment level, 2014.
Source: Eurostat.

5.1.2 Health care functioning

Health is another crucial sector that can show which is the level of migrants' integration into the host society. It can be handy to make a data comparison on the percentage of people, foreign- and native-born, seeing doctor in 12 months to highlight if there is a distinction among countries. The only state that performed higher in the percentage of foreign-born seeing doctor in one year is Germany, followed by Sweden; this underlines how in the conservative and the social-democratic regime migrants usually feel safe to go to doctors, while in Italy (the country with the worst performance among the chosen EU MSs), foreigners might link going to the doctor with future troubles, from here the decision to avoid seeing them (Solé-Auró & Crimmins, 2008).

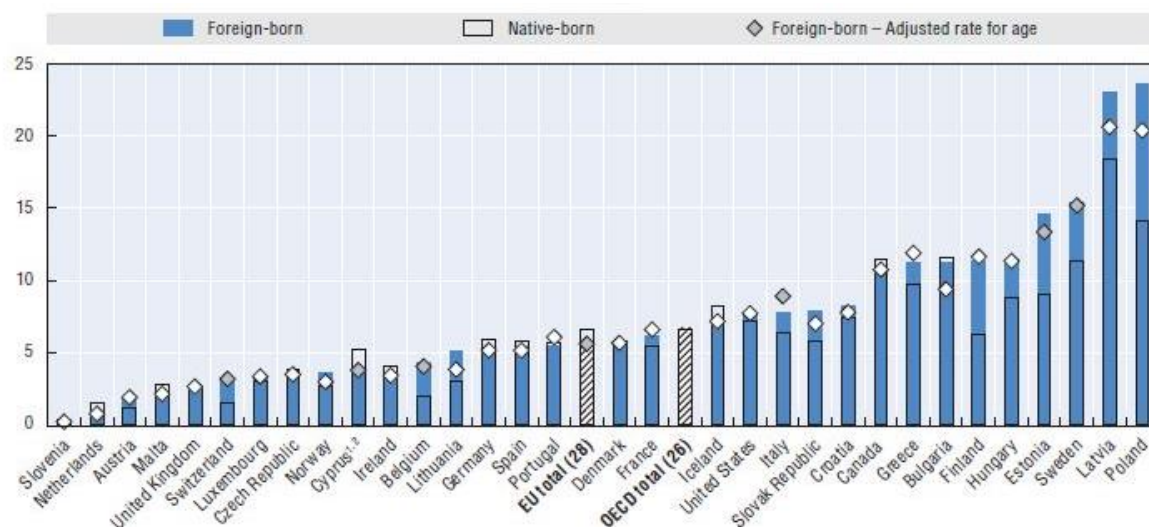


Figure 9: Foreign- and native-born adults who report unmet medical needs, 2012. Source: OECD, 2015.

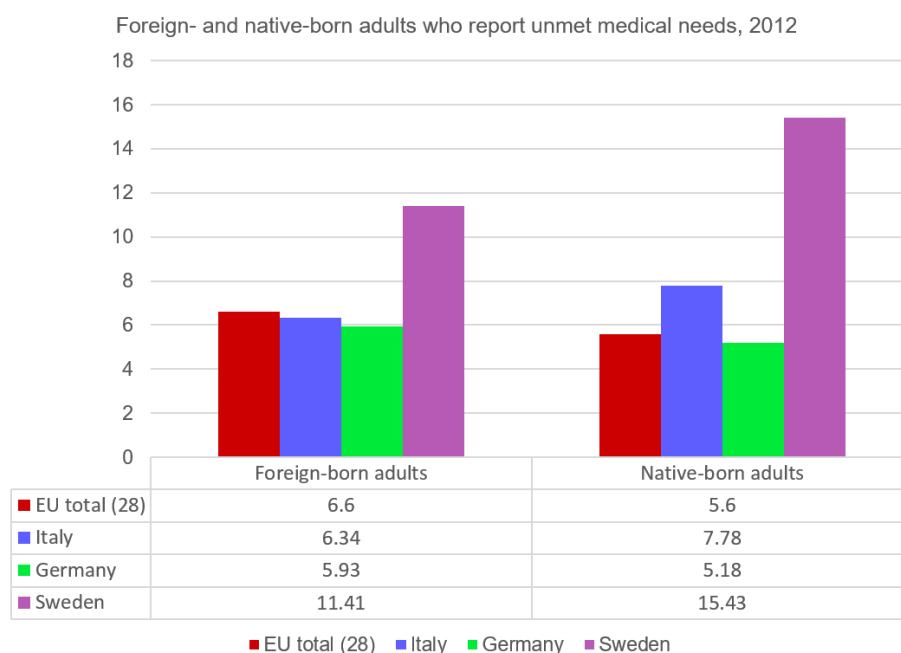


Figure 10: Foreign- and native-born adults who report unmet medical needs, OECD, 2015. Source: Own compilation.

Another comparison that can be made is the one between the foreign- and native-born adults who report unmet medical needs (see Figures 9 and 10 above), and this difference is meaningful especially if the perception of being treated differently is taken as variable to analyse.

In the framework provided by these pictures, Germany is the country where the gap between foreign- (first cluster of columns in Figure 10) and native-born (second cluster of columns in the Figure 10) is almost non-existent, while in Sweden there is the widest gap among all the country compared. At the same time the Swedish system is the one that exhibits more dissatisfaction among both foreign- and native-born adults, factor that can be connected mostly to the high expectations that Swedish populations have on the perception of the welfare system within the country. In Italy, where the welfare state is not particularly developed, native-born adults experienced more unmet medical needs, in comparison with the German ones, where the welfare state development is much wider (OECD, 2015).

The Mipex ranking for the health coverage of immigrants and their capacity to have access to basic health services is a proof that countries belonging to different welfare state regimes act as a consequence towards immigrants. Italy is in the 6th position with 65 points, followed by Sweden in the 9th spot with 62 points and Germany in the 22nd place with 43 points. The countries' positions are the direct effect of their integration policies and programs; they also show how the provision of the health system can have different outcomes across countries: Italy has not a fully developed welfare system but its health coverage is higher than Germany for example, who performs better in the employment and labour mobility sector, and it results in well responding to the migrants' needs. Furthermore, Germany performed badly if it is compared with the other two MSs taken into account,

since migrants patients receive less support and are informed about their entitlements and health issues not always using their native language, which lead to a general misunderstanding. In Italy the health care system is slightly favourable to cover all migrant patients, however there is no unanimity in the health coverage and some of the richest regions, such as Emilia Romagna and Umbria tend to spend more in migrants' care and provide a full accession of services to them (Mipex, 2015).

It is also helpful to have a look at the percentage of GDP that every examined MSs pledge to social expenditure in general, and health expenditure in particular, and see if there is a correlation with the several type of welfare regimes, since in this percentage can be captured the essence of a welfare state and check differences across countries.

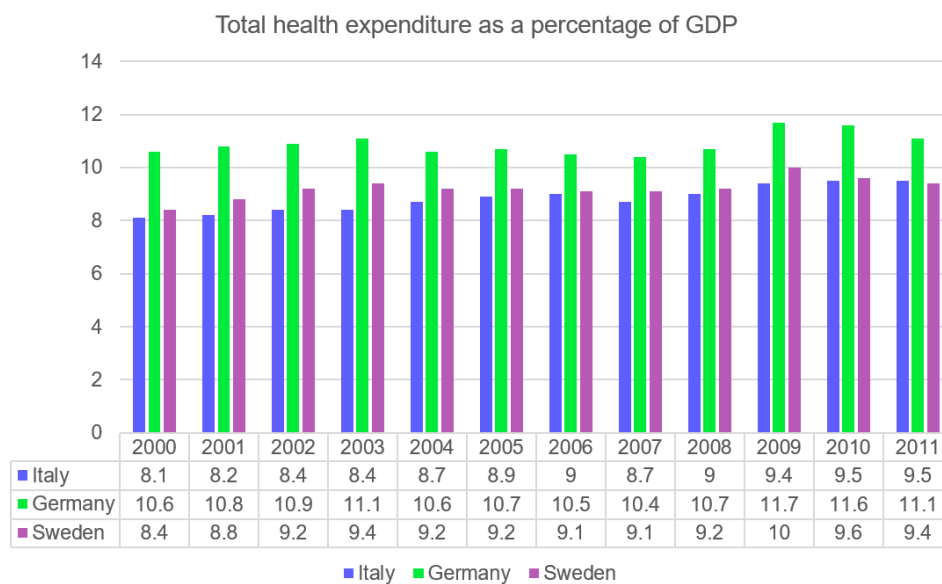


Figure 11: Total health expenditure as a percent of GDP, ILO. Source: Own compilation.

As the Figure 11 above shows, the percentage of GDP dedicated to health care expenditure in Germany is higher than in the other two countries, while Italy and Sweden experienced more or less the same level of dedication of GDP to health care. The first look at the graph showed in Figure 9 presents Germany as the country that cared more about health care expenditure than the other two EU MSs, however when it is take into account the total amount of GDP available in each of that country, it became clear and fully understandable that Germany is allowed to spend a bit more on it, without aggravate the overall national budget. The data available throughout the official website of the World Bank (<http://www.worldbank.org/>) let the picture to be completed: Germany's GDP were roughly 4 billion \$ in 2014, while Italy's GDP for the same year was half of it (2 billion \$) and the Swedish was 571 million \$. Comparing these data with the one in the chart shows that in reality Italy spend more in health care than Germany, since its annual GDP is half of the German one.

5.1.3 Employment/unemployment rates and relation between Gross Domestic Product and migration's flows

The economic part of the integration of migrants into host societies basically refers to the individuals' employment and all the side effects of having a job, and also it is linked with the level of integration that a migrant can reach: the more he/she is able to find an employment, the higher the integration into the host society (Bivand Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). The first characteristic that can be highlighted is how immigrants with secondary or post-secondary education are more likely to have an employment rather than immigrants with just the primary level of education completed; for the highly skilled and qualified TCNs is conceived the first European Blue Card directive and its recent amendment. Moreover, the quality of jobs is higher for immigrants when a country experiences less income inequality, compared to the native one, better education system and a smaller shadow economy. The employment rates for immigrants and TCNs in general tend to be higher in states with flexible labour markets compared with countries with rigid one, for example Sweden compared to Germany, and it also allows migrants to find better jobs where they can make most of their knowledge and qualifications earned abroad. In addition, immigrants that find work might experience higher level of over-qualification when they come from poorer or unequal countries (Bilgini, Huddleston & Joki, 2015). Looking at the Sweden situation for a moment, just a few TCNs have a job when they first arrived in the country (also Italy experienced the same situation of people coming without an employment, opposite to the German one), in addition the unemployment criteria are so strict that most of them are covered by the social assistance. However, since the level of social assistance in Sweden is one of the highest one in Europe, this can dissuade them to find a job (Emilsson, 2014).

The OECD observed that, in order to have a more equal and similar distribution across different sectors among foreign- and native-born, around 19% of migrants needed to switch sectors of employment. This percentage is called dissimilarity index, and it exhibits different values in several countries: for example, in 2014 in Italy was around 30%, in Germany and in Sweden was around 14-15% (however there is a twofold path in the male/female dissimilarity index, since Germany experienced an almost equal percentage, while Sweden had just the male one), showing that Italy, with its almost non-existent welfare state, presents the highest percentage of employment inequality when it is compared native- and foreign-born persons (OECD, 2015).

In the Figure 12 below immigrants with higher-education degree were seeing struggle to find a decent employment, especially with all the difficulties in having their qualifications recognised. However, it can be depicted a substantial difference among the country chosen to be compared here: Sweden is the one that experienced the lowest difference in rate between low-educated and highly educated, meaning that equality is still a milestone in its welfare system; at the same time, looking at the percentage of Germany and Sweden made realised how the gap between the two extreme of immigrants' population is growing. Moreover, the data showed how Italy is the only

country in experiencing the higher employment rate of low-educated foreign-born, while all of them (Sweden with -11.75, Germany with -10.02 and Italy with -12.02) have overall higher employment rate for native-born who got a high education. The wide gap for the Italian case shows how migration there is targeted not for highly skilled workers, that might prefer more equal destination as Sweden welfare state.

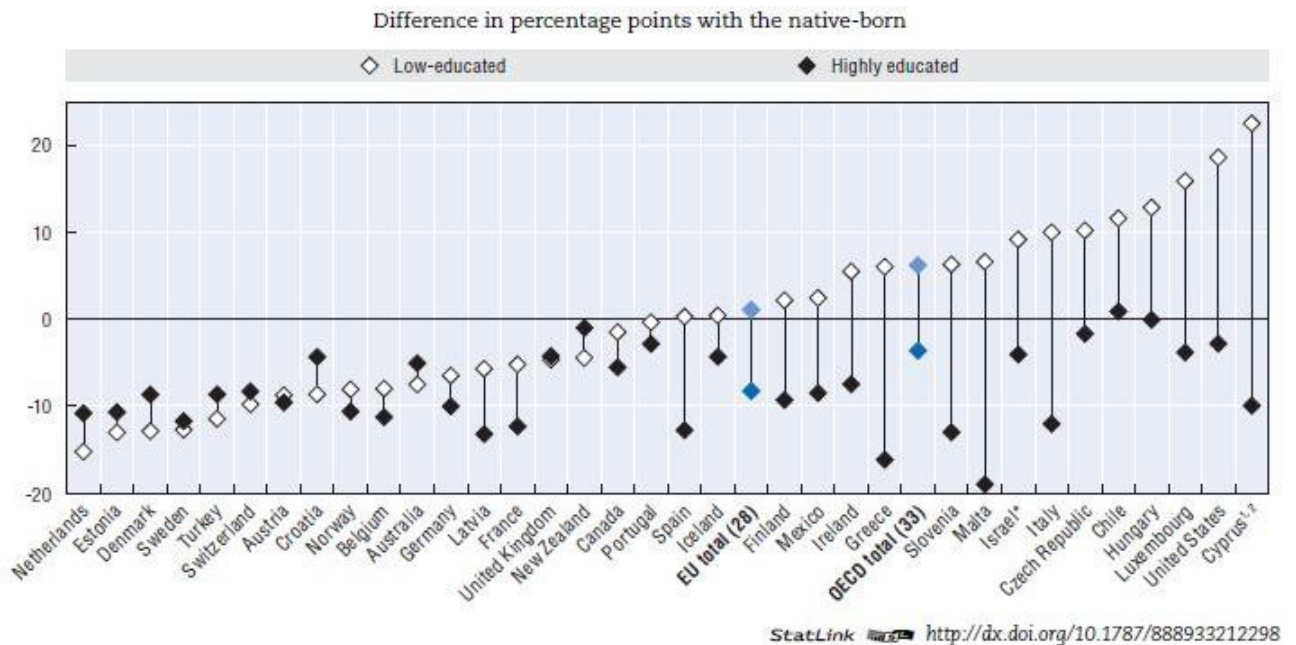


Figure 12: Employment rates of foreign-born population aged 15-64 not in education by educational level, 2012-13.
Source: OECD, 2015.

If the type of contracts is taken into consideration, a diverse pattern in the behaviour of Italy, Germany and Sweden can be seen. Each one of the aforementioned country exhibits a higher percentage of foreign-born with temporary contracts; however, there is a diversification in the analysis of highly educated and lower educated workers with temporary contracts. Italy is the only country where the percentage of highly educated workers with temporary contracts is higher than the percentage of foreign-born, leading the analysis of the welfare state regimes a bit further, since the educational path is clearly not enough to gain a nice job with a permanent contract, on the contrary the qualifications are recognised in country such as Sweden and Germany, that based their migration on qualified workers²⁴. With regard to lower educated workers, Sweden has the highest percentage of foreign-born with temporary contracts (24.02) if it is compared with Italy (16.24) and Germany (12.61). The German case expresses the way migration works in the conservative countries, since highly qualified and skilled workers are preferred, leaving temporary contracts to who has a lower education background, native- or foreign-born.

²⁴ See the European Council Directive 2009/50/EC (or Blue Card Directive) and its amendment as reference here.

In addition, Mipex can be useful to evaluate the integration of migrants. With regard to the labour market mobility, Sweden performed the best over all the other countries, with a score of 98 out of 100, while Germany was in fourth position with 86 points and Italy in the 14th one with 66 points, by further confirming what the welfare state theory and regimes already stated: the fairest type of countries is the one that adopt the social-democratic model, while the least equalitarian is the newest model that forced its entrance within the old-fashioned classification of welfare regimes, namely the Southern Mediterranean one. Moreover, when it comes to Sweden, the claim of its society is perceived to perform with more equality and fairness among all its citizens. Therefore, this can create some trouble when migrants realise that standards are not always applicable to them, rather than native-born; and the entire environment might experience a larger gap between the high standards promised, and tried to be achieved for migrants by the government, and the reality that they have to face (Mipex, 2015).

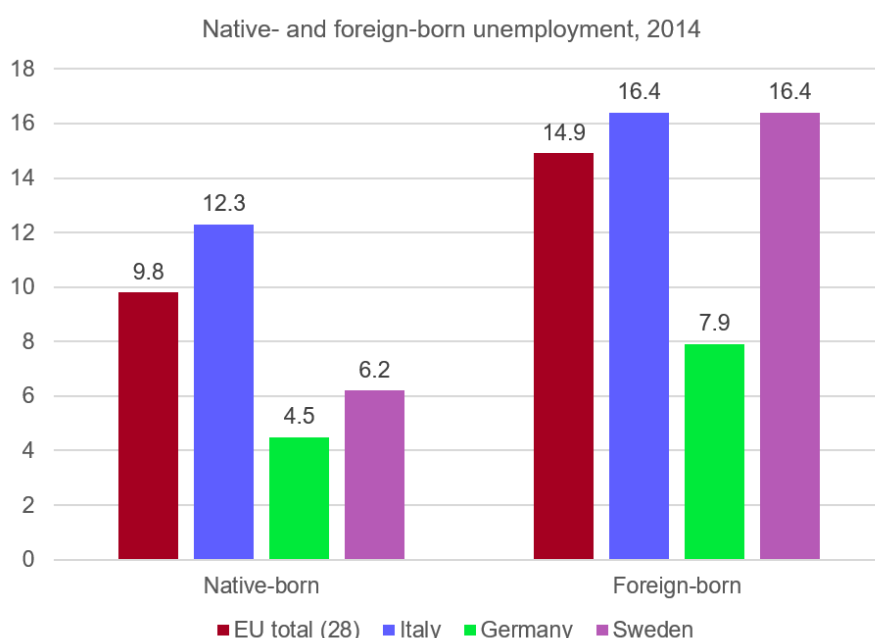


Figure 13: Native- and foreign-born unemployment, OECD, 2014. Source: Own compilation.

Unemployment also is a reliable feature to analyse trends in the labour sector and it can also show the unemployment gap between the foreign- and native-born in several countries. Sweden is, among the EU MSs, the state that experienced the largest gap regarding the percentage of unemployment between foreign- and native-born, and that happened especially for the complex process that led migrants to have recognised their external qualifications when compared to the ones earned by Swedish people (see Annex for the visual information about it). As regards the foreign-born

unemployment and the comparison with the natives one, the OECD provide some reliable data to compare (for the employment percentage of native- and foreign-born have a look at the Annex).

Italy is the country with the highest unemployment rate in 2014 for native-born between 15-64 years with 12.3% of the total native-born labour force, followed by Sweden, which scored 6.2%, and Germany in the lowest position with 4.5% (Figure 13 above as a reference). These results proved that in new countries of immigration, such as Italy, natives are not preferred every time over foreign-born, highlighting a fair treatment of TCNs. While, in country such as Sweden and Germany it is more challenging also for native-born find and employment. If it is considered also the foreign-born unemployment rate, it is curious to notice that Sweden and Italy performed the same (with 16.4% of the total foreign-born labour force), while Germany had 7.9%. The observation here is that overall the foreign-born unemployment in Italy, Germany and Sweden is higher than the native-born ones; however, Italy experienced a lower gap between the two components of the unemployment, demonstrating a more equal society, while Sweden had the major gap among the three, with a neat preference for native-born rather than foreign-born.

In order to better understand the level of integration of migrants and the consequent level of independence that they can reach also the percentage of self-employed native- and foreign-born in the three settled country can be analysed (Figure 14 below).

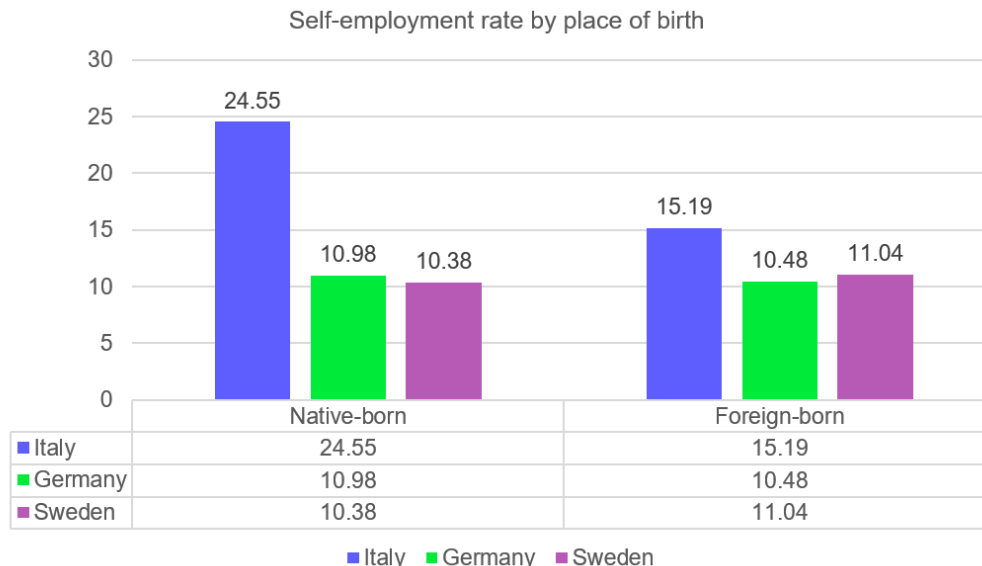


Figure 14: percentage of self-employment rate by place of birth (native- and foreign-born), 2009-2011, OECD. Source: Own compilation.

In Figure 14 the percentage of self-employment among native- and foreign-born between 2009 and 2011 scores differently for each country. The more unbalanced situation is the Italian case, where the gap between the two parts of the population is huge and showed also an advantaged situation for native-born if compared with foreign-born. In Germany the gap was smaller and also presented

almost the same percentage, indicating the possibility for both foreign- and native-born to be self-employed. Sweden instead had the opposite outcome if Italy is taken at one extreme and, also thanks to its fame of universalistic and equalitarian country, experienced a high percentage of foreign-born self-employed rather than the natives' one (OECD, 2013).

TIME	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
GEO						
Germany (until 1990 former territory of the FRG)	2,580,060.0	2,703,120.0	2,754,860.0	2,820,820.0	2,915,650.0	3,025,900.0
Italy	1,604,514.5	1,637,462.9	1,613,265.0	1,604,477.9	1,611,884.0	1,636,371.7
Sweden	369,076.6	404,945.5	423,340.7	435,752.1	430,642.3	444,617.3

Figure 15: GDP, 2016. Source: Eurostat.

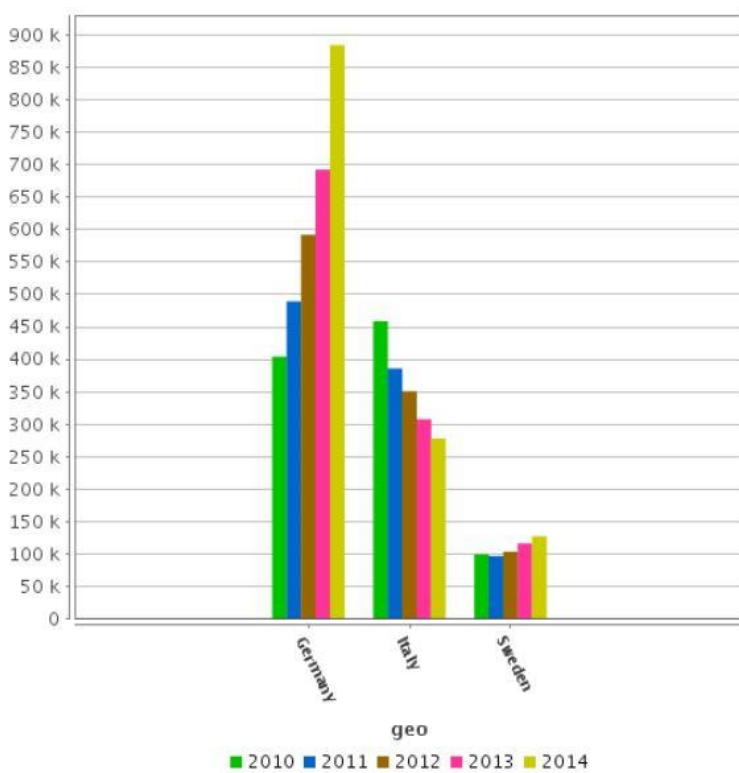


Figure 16: Immigration in Germany, Italy and Sweden, 2016. Source: Eurostat.

Another comparison that can further help in making the relationship between welfare state regimes and migrants' integration is to look at the migration flows in the EU MSs and compare it with the GDP of each country; in doing this, data and information were found through the Eurostat website and will be made available in the Figure 15 and 16 above.

In this comparison the term 'immigration' is referred to the "total number of long-term immigrants arriving into the reporting country during the reference year (Eurostat, 2016)". The first thing that pops up is the correlation between the German GDP and the number of people that reached the country from 2010 to 2014: both index growth from one year to the other, meaning that Germany continues

to be seen as a settlement country from many TCNs. The Italian case experienced some differences: the GDP remained pretty equal since 2010 with very few fluctuations but the number of immigrants in the country is decreasing every year: this might happen since the MS is a new immigration country that still is not able to offer all the advantages to TCNs compare to natives' ones. Sweden exhibits other different features since its GDP was slightly growing over time and at the same pace as the number of immigrants in the country; however, the country performed nicely if it is considered that, even though its GDP is lower than the German and Italian ones, also the number of immigrants to take care of is lower compared to the others countries.

After the analysis of graphs related to the health expenditure of single country and the investigation in the relation between the total GDP of Italy, Germany and Sweden and the flow of immigrants in the same years, in order to provide a more general picture of how much the three EU MSs devote to the maintenance of the welfare state, it will follow the percentage of the social expenditure in relation to the GDP per single country with time references 2010 to 2014 (Figure 17 below).

→ Year			2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
→ Country	Unit						
Germany	Percentage		26.8	25.5	25.4	25.6	25.8
Italy	Percentage		27.8	27.5	28.1	28.7	28.6
Sweden	Percentage		27.9	27.2	27.7	28.2	28.1

Figure 17: Social expenditure as a percentage of the GDP. Source: OECD, 2014.

Even though Germany started in 2005 to invest more and more, roughly 25%, of its annual GDP in social expenditure²⁵, leading the country to the top ranking in the EU, in Figure 15 can be observed how the percentage of GDP devoted to social expenditure in Germany suffered a little reduction during the years. This has to be correlated with the increasing in the level of GDP, leading to the conclusion that the country decided to grant less fund over the past 5 years for the social part of the expenditure. Italy and Sweden on the other hand experienced the opposite trend in the amount of GDP allocated to social expenditure, with Italy in the first position with 0.5% more in relation to Sweden. However, if the GDP as total is taken into account, it can be showed how the Italian GDP is almost four times the Swedish one, and as a consequence it is clear that Sweden is keen to build a more equalitarian society, in which both native- and foreign-born can have the same opportunities to growth and live with dignity.²⁶

²⁵ The social spending in Germany is shared among three main pillars, namely old-age pensions, assistance for the unemployed and public health and disability insurance (Goldschmidt, 2015).

²⁶ To clarify the dimension of social expenditure in the different country it might be helpful list them: in Germany there are five social insurances branches, namely the Statutory Pension Insurance, the Statutory Accident Insurance and the Unemployment Insurance (under the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs), the Statutory Sickness Insurance) and the Statutory Long-term Care Insurance (under the Ministry of Health). In Italy for each branch of social policy a separate administrative body responsible for the collection of benefits can be found. In Sweden the all

The role of the state as national actor, represented by the amount of GDP here, is nonetheless still central, especially in developing the concept of social-equity between migrants and natives in the whole society (Veenhoven, 1992). To clarify the role of the government, some of its main functions can be expressed, such as the so-called 'Robin Hood' function which aimed at a redistribution of the wealth resources among the population, conceived to help the poorest part of the country; and the 'social investment' function, which allow the state to invest capital in social areas (Begg, Mushövel & Niblett, 2015).

5.2 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to answer the second sub-question: "To what extent can findings from different index and statistics be linked to several welfare state models?". The chapter analysed the differentiation in welfare regimes and how it affects the attitude of one country towards migration and directly toward migrants' integration as well. The final knowledge on the subject was achieved and build both qualitatively in the fourth chapter, through the help of a coding scheme which focus the attention on certain characteristic to analyse, and quantitative in this chapter, thanks to the use of official statistics from Eurostat, ILO and OECD. In order to fully understand and unravel the complex knot behind the relationship between welfare state types and integration of migrants, the starting point needs to be the European framework. EU in fact had to deal with this phenomenon for such a long time that it started developed instruments and directives to achieve better results over time, trying to adjust them according to the current historical and economic environment. In this perspective, all the directives approved, from the one relative to the family reunification to the recent revision of the Blue Card directive, passing through the one regarding the status of third-country nationals, were aimed to provide an improved legal framework, on which the individual MSs could build their national policies. In addition, EU dedicated resources in several funds (EIF and AMIF for example), to guarantee and grant an external help to both states that are not well-prepared to receive enormous flow of migrants and to that states that have already structures of support for them.

Main findings of this chapter were the proof that Italy is the country who devotes more part of the AMIF to improve the legal migration and integration of TCNs; however, the lower percentage dedicated to that area in Germany and Sweden is related also to the presence of a more developed welfare system related to migrants. Education is still not the priority when it comes to migrants' integration, even though the educational background of parents and their ability to communicate in the new language have an influence on the upcoming integration of children in the new society. Especially in Italy, TCNs need to speak the Italian language if they want to increase their possibilities to find a job and an accommodation in the new country. As regard to the health sector, conservative-

system of social security (pensions, work injury insurance, sickness and parental insurance) is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, except for the unemployment insurance that is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication (Country Note for Germany, Italy and Sweden, OECD, 2014).

corporatist regime and social-democratic regime perform better as regard to the trustworthiness, while in Italy, even if the health coverage tends to wider and not performed entirely by private insurance, migrants and TCNs are more afraid to see a doctor, perhaps for the belief of being reported to the authority. Regarding the economic part of the analysis, the struggle that migrants usually face is to have their qualifications properly recognised in the new country, which led them to accept low-paid jobs with temporary contract and increase the over-qualification gap among native- and foreign-born. The comparison between the total GDP for each country and the amount devoted to the social expenditure area, shows that Sweden is the country keener to build an equalitarian society, where native- and foreign-born are allow to have the same opportunities.

Italy has usually migrants with a low-level of education employed in the low-paid jobs, such as the ones in the agricultural sector; this situation eventually will lead to a spread inequality in the society and it will affect their integration in the country. Germany is a chosen destination for high-education with people coming worldwide, however it is not ready and prepared to let these high-educated students remain and build their career in the country. The process to stay in the country after the graduation is not an easy one and the terms are not so flexible, leading high-skilled persons away from the country after having invested on them. Sweden's experience is different from the other when it comes to the type of migrants that arrived there, since they usually are high-qualified; however, they still are over-qualified for the job that they get, leading to a spread level of injustice.

6. Concluding chapter

Since the beginning the aim of this study was about how to answer the research question “What is the impact of migration on social policies in countries belonging to different welfare state regimes?”. Starting from chapter 2, integration in several fields, such as integration in the educational system, in the provision of basic services and in the labour market, was highlighted to be a key aspect in the overall final assimilation of a TCN in the new chosen host country.

6.1 Summary of findings

Education is considered to be the weakest among all the other field studied, so in general countries tend to devote less attention on his fulfilment, generating an unbalanced environment especially for migrants' children. The education sector in Italy exhibits an evolution over the last few years when it comes to migrants' education, leaving the individual school independent at the decision-making level, moreover the organisation of the classes entails no separation between native- and foreign-born, enhancing the possibility to migrants' children to reduce boundaries and break barriers among them and Italian children. Germany instead experiences a different educational scenario in two ways: first, where the problem is focused in a deficiency when they need to make students, which decided to invest in their future by coming to German universities to study, stay in the country after graduation, since the process from international student to international worker is packed with bureaucracy and misleading information about the procedure to start the transition process. This is a misfortune for the German government, who invest in future and international generations firstly, just to let them go whenever they could help the country, through an enrichment of their culture and an additional help from their academic knowledge. The second part of the educational path regards children and their integration in the primary school, and this is directly linked with the family reunification policy in Germany, which entails the presence of foreign children oldest than the native ones in the same grade of school.

In the Italian picture abovementioned, as well as in the German and the Swedish framework, the acquisition of the native language is one of the most essential characteristic that can help in the assimilation process. Nowadays all over Europe the relevance of learning the language of the new country of settlement is recognised as highly valuable, especially in shaping the basis for the new life of a migrant. Even though national government are now aware and more well-informed about the positive influence that a nice organised language course (with an additional crash course about the lifestyle of the country, with reference to the basic common rules and legal measures needed to survive within a new host country), the courses were not always a priority in the national budgetary policy. The level of fluency in Italian, German and Swedish language differs from country to country (A2 level in Italy, B1 level in Germany and an equal and necessary level in Sweden), however the common characteristic is the fact that a full and successful integration cannot happen without acquiring the indispensable ability to communicate with people in the new country.

Although the TCN has to prove his will to modify part of his life to adapt and fit into the new place, some country more than other requires this adaptation to be a full assimilation rather than a simple integration: for example, in Germany it is more evident than in Italy or in Sweden, where migrants are let free to keep intact their beliefs and ideas. Of course, they need to know and acknowledge customs, habits and rules of the host country but they are not 'forced' to modify themselves. With more enforcing rules, a migrant will find him/herself with more sacrifices to make, however this assimilation process could also be tied with an increasing level of resentment against the host government and its ruler.

It is also important to underline the importance of an equal, fair and well-known process for migrants to have recognised their foreign qualifications, at the educational and also professional level, since it is considered as their business card to have the possibility to find a nice and well-paid job, with which they will be able to sustain themselves and their family, without being a burden on the national financial budget, in the form of unemployment benefits and social security benefits in general. Unfortunately, there is not a common system that can be applicable all over Europe, but a series of national policy which establishes rules on this matter, and the most common outcome shows how immigrants, especially in Germany and Italy, usually find job for which they are over-qualified; however, migrants that decided to go in Italy and in Germany have lower qualifications, while the one that arrive in Sweden are highly educated

Accession to basic health services for migrants is directly linked to their legal migration in the country: in Italy a legal migrant, after the registration to the relevant authorities has granted the medical assistance at the same level of a native Italian, by showing as an addition the residence permit to earn the health card, necessary for every step in the health assistance procedure (from the hospitalisation, to the medical request for medicine, passing through the emergency care). It is also helpful to look at the percentage of people, both native- and foreign-born, that did not felt comfortable in going to the doctor and therefore had experienced unmet medical needs: the outcome is somehow curious since it shows how two out of three countries performed in a small different range in the native-born part and almost identical in the foreign-born part (and the country are Italy and Germany), being in accordance with the average European level. The weird feature is the performance of Sweden, which reported roughly the double of the EU percentage in the foreign-born population and almost the triple of the EU percentage in the native-born population as regard to the unmet medical needs. This result can be explained by referring to the character of universalism and equality that are at the basis of the Swedish welfare state, which is one of the highest purpose for a welfare regime to strive for, but at the same time creates huge expectations on the perceptions on behalf of the national state.

Migration and migrants' policy are choices made through the national decision-making process, after having received the guidelines from the EU and integrate them in the national context. Even though

the state is the main entity in deciding and setting the rules to guide the integration of migrants in every aspect of their life, from the social one to the economic one, at the same time is not the only one to take action in this scenario. In fact, it is well-known the role of non-governmental actors and their increasing importance in the overall procedure of adaptation. Starting from the entrust of the management in the reception at the borders, with particular attention to the medical needs of the nearly arrived people (especially in the Italian case), passing through the legal assistance, which most of the time association provide free of charge, to the assistance that they provide in structures and offices to give them a full spectrum of information, often also in their native languages to make sure they understand it, about housing, education, health, labour and other aspect which might have to deal with. The role of NGOs relating to migrants and migration is crucial, since they usually do not have to follow binding rules and as a consequence they earn more freedom to act and assist migrants without being judged and having to justify action taken under an official role, such as the one covered by governmental organisations and offices. The nature of the non-governmental organisations can change, from the most catholic one closely related to the Church, to the more laic one, with no religious connection.

As regard to the labour market and its mobility they were analysed, at the European and at the national levels, how the entrance of migrants in the employment sector is regulated and what can hamper their successful labour integration. The first hindrance that TCNs have to face is the unfortunately obvious closure of some field of the labour market: in two country case out of three (the only apparent exception is the Swedish one) third-country nationals have more chances to find a job in a low-paid sectors, such as the building construction sector or the restaurant industry in either hotels, diners or restaurant itself, rather than in a high-paid one. In addition, also the availability of contracts is spread all across the country, in state such as the Italian one, from zone to zone and from region to region, bearing the flow of migrant to keep moving in order to find a more decent job and accommodation. While in Germany the main prerogative to enter legally the country and have chance to be integrated in it, is to have a prior employment contract within the German territory. Whereas in Sweden the presence of a strict employment protection policy, shape the way in which Swedish employers see migrants, basically as a possible liability and non as a future asset, and leading them in propose as a first choice temporary contracts instead of permanent ones.

The second obstacle merges two main concerns: the type of contracts available for migrants and the willingness of the employer to hire foreign-born people. Regarding the contract feasible for them, most of the time employers offered them just temporary contracts and non the permanent ones, giving them a further feeling of instability in their life and providing additional reasons to not feeling completely fit into the society. However, the situation that Italy, Germany and Sweden tackled differs from country to country: as it was analysed in chapter 5, even though all three countries experienced a higher level of unemployment in the foreign-born population rather than in the native-born one,

Italy had a lower gap between the native-born and the foreign-born level, because it a new country of immigration and tried to create equal opportunities among all its population. At the same time, taking into consideration the theoretical background that leaves Sweden as a welfare state based on universalism and fairness, it is odd to observe that, among the three EU MSs compared, the Swedish country is the one that shows the major gap in the comparison of the level of unemployment of foreign- and native-born population, with a clear and sharp preference for the native-born. The other main aspect is the will of employers to hire foreign-born people, often struggle with the recognition of their qualifications and sometimes not taken as equivalent to the natives' ones. Employers can also evaluate migrants' education and previous employment formation not enough for the position offered, simply prefer natives or present to them position for which they are overqualified but paid less.

Another factor that must be observed in the labour field is the presence, in each country more or less, of a shadow and undetected labour market for TCNs which, by excluding them from the labour legislation, made them even more exposed to unstable working conditions and an even unsolved employment segregation. Moreover, how different countries react to the presence of migrants in their territory, by adapting their welfare policies, depends also on how much the state needs them to boost its economy and development (in this case country will have more liberal immigration policies), and at the same time a developed social system will be present and allow migrants to fit in the social system more easily. Of course, in order to reach this goal, the government has to provide similar social rights, namely for example the right to find a suitable job, consistent with their qualifications (Morissens, 2008).

However, in the last few years the amount of people reaching Europe was higher than in the past, leading countries to revise their policy in the field of migration. Besides their belonging to the European Union, Italy, Germany and Sweden still remain single national entities with specific migration history that influenced, and will continue to influence, their behaviour. When it comes to welfare state provision, and in particular the amount of resources assigned to deal with migration, the dilemma that the states face is to what extent allow funds for migration's issues, especially in relation with the proportion granted for the native-born population. Moreover, if a state decides to grant welfare state provision broadly, the outcome that can detect is linked to the arrival of whatever categories of migrants. For this reason, a Directive as the one related to the Blue Card, tried to overcome this issue and attract highly skilled and highly qualified workers from abroad, by facilitating their assimilation into the new environment and receiving at the same time a boost for their economy.

Family reunification was studied in relation with every main sector treated in the analysis and taken as an important sector across education, health and labour, since it somehow determines the attitude of TCNs in the new society. At the EU level the Directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family

reunification is the one that provide the general guidelines, but at the national level every country can act with respect to their sovereignty.

The analysis and the comparison of the situation in different welfare state regimes made it possible to see how each of them, namely Italy, Germany and Sweden, respond to migration and how they adapt their national policies. The classification used is the traditional one idealised by Esping-Anderson, however it was interesting to use an addition by Ferrera, further utilised by Gal, which put Italy and several other countries under another model, the Southern Mediterranean one. The new insights in the field demonstrate that these three states take different attitude when it comes to migration, from the way in which they organised language courses to how they look at the family reunification policy, passing through the access to basic provisions. Furthermore, it was proved that Italy deserves to be in a category apart from Germany (and other country such as France), since its welfare state model is quite uncommon when it is analysed: for example, the main pillars can be considered an almost total health coverage system and the presence of a spread pension system, but less is done for young people and unemployment in general. One of the issue that drain away most of the Italian resources devoted to the welfare state is the high presence of elderly people, which deserve a pension, and therefore are a burden for the financial budget of an already troubled country.

Each models had pros and cons when they were deeply analysed, through the use of a coding scheme and the statistics found in official reports and websites. The overall conclusion is that it cannot be choose just one model as the best example to explain the integration of migrants into the host society, however a new model, with a mix of characteristics taken from the several already existed, might be the solutions for incorporating TCNs in a new environment. Even though this model would be desirable, it is quite unlikely to happen, since the collateral variables that intervene in the broad welfare system could have not ignored.

All three countries demonstrated to perform differently in relation to migration and all the aspect of the life of migrant in the integration process. Sweden continued to be considered the best type of welfare state regime, since it tries to integrate them, throughout the provision of language course and general help, but at the same time tries to leave the TCNs cultural identities intact; however, even this model fails sometimes, for example in the health and medical provision. Germany and Italy have both bright sides and downsides: the Italian case, newest addition to the welfare state regimes, performed better when it comes to health sector and access to basic medical measures and services for (legal) migrant and not much on the provision of labour or in the improvement of education especially in the primary school, where also the lack of formation of the teachers influenced the integration or not of a child. The German case shows exactly the characteristics of the conservative welfare state, with focus on the provision of an employment contract for migrants and the acquisition

of a more than sufficient fluency of the native language in order to be considered fully assimilated into the host society.

Findings of this research show that, not only the participation in the labour market is able to grant full integration in the host society, as Bivand Erdal & Oeppen (2013) specified, but also the knowledge of the new language, the ability to get used to new customs and behaviours and also the willingness to adapt in the new environment are relevant. The social connections with natives and with people in the native country (transnational ties) are equal important, as Ager and Strang (2004) stated, to fulfil the needs of TCNs to bond with new people, which can provide new connections for job and finding a house, but also to be able to maintain contacts with their roots (Kanas, van Tubergen & Van der Lippe, 2011). The discoveries of this research do not completely coincide with the models conceived by Esping-Anderson, for example when the relevance of the integration courses and the sectors open to migrants to work in are taken into account in the Swedish system, which is thought to be the more universal one among the three studied. However, models are theoretical construction and when applied to the real national situation can be generated new features and, therefore, be updated. The characteristic that still remains strong in all the models is the strict relationship between welfare state and the public support (Morissens, 2008): the success or failure of plans to integrate migrant pass through the approval of the relative governmental programmes, making the state a relevant actor (Veenhoven, 1992), but also the reception of the public (for example in the willingness of employers to hire migrants, to contribute to their integration).

6.2 Relevance of integration

Integration is a crucial aspect in the first phase of the settlement of a migrant, however it keeps being important with time passes since the outcome of a successful integration is to grant equal rights to foreign- and native-born. Moreover, the actual situation in Europe, with the emergency of asylum seekers and migrants cross the European borders every day, searching for a better life away from conflicts, wars and poverty, put more emphasis then in the past on the migrant phenomenon; in addition the emphasis is also on migrants in the host countries and, as it was already stated in chapter 2, on how the environment (meaning the different policies taken at national level) tends to respond to their presence (Kanas, van Tubergen & Van der Lippe, 2011; Wahlbeck, 2012).

It is also essential to understand that the reasons that led migrants to move from their native country may be various and two concepts can be help in clarify this situation. The first one is the transnational ties that they can or cannot maintain with people in their home country, that basically can be seen as a twofold process: on one hand a TCN can decide to remain in contact with people in his/her native country because are part of the family that could have not gone with him/her, and this tie can be perceived as one way to be with them and proof that they still care about them. A factor that can intervene in the decision to establish or not transnational contacts is also the geographical distance between the migrant and his/her contacts: the more distance is present, the more the need to

maintain contact to not forget the origin (in a country such as Germany, who required full assimilation with the German culture and values, this whole process might be impossible to fulfil). On the other hand, the TCN can feel this necessity since the new country is not well-disposed to integrate him, showing unfriendly behaviour and unnecessary tangled bureaucracy or rules difficult to comprehend for a foreigner. The second concept useful is the level of policies' adaptation that a single state is willing to allow when it comes to treat with migrants' assimilation, namely the amount of resources spend in language and integration courses or the provisional access to elementary services to all population in an equal manner.

This work aimed, as already stated by Bivand Erdal & Oeppen (2013), to demonstrate that the main aspect of the integration of migrants is how the host society eventually incorporate them into the societal structures, and if there is a connection with the different models of welfare state and their attitude towards migrants. Various aspects influenced the success or the failure of the migrants' assimilation, some are responsibility of the TCN that chose the new country to settle in, but other are concern of the national government. The three main areas selected to be analysed here, and which can provide some provisional answers to the main research question, are education, health and labour. However, each of these field can be split in two: in one hand there is the willingness of the TCNs and their decision to strike a balance between their identity and the new knowledge to learn about the host country, which can lead to deny part of their being to survive and adapt to a new environment; on the other hand, the state as entity must be willing to integrate migrants into its structure and not build unnecessary barriers, which will eventually prevent them to feel comfortable in the new host country. In every field and subcategories examined this ambivalence in behaviour in the migrant and the national side can be underlined.

6.3 Suggestions/recommendations

Migrants' integration is not an isolated phenomenon, but it is directly linked to other contingent factors, such as the transnational ties that TCNs can or cannot maintain with people from their native country, or the willingness to adapt to the brand-new environment of rules and behaviours. Also the role of the national government, which develop policies, adapted to the new necessity of the country, plays an important aspect in how the attitude towards migrants is shaped. Furthermore, the key role of the labour market is recognised in increasing the possibilities for a migrant to fit smoothly in the new society; but the double sided framework also need to present the positive behaviour of employers. Also the historical events and the economic trends have an influence on reshaping rules and agreements of every kind, inclusive the one relating to the allocation of resources for the improvement of the migrants' integration conditions. The way in which the single national governments decide to deal with it, has to be in accordance with the European directives, although their freedom is still quite large. The EU usually makes recommendations to its MSs, and tries to increase the percentage of states following its rules through a system of rewards: in this case through

the reallocation of funds in the new available tool (AMIF). However, the Directorate General (DG) for Migration and Home Affairs, which is entitled to handle all the issue and policies relative to migration and home affairs in the EU, should put more effort in sponsor the EU as place to live, for example with the renewal of the Blue Card Directive, or by re-prioritising integration policies to encourage TCNs to remain in the host country.

However, there is always room for some improvements, and in this case, in order to fulfil a better migrants' integration in the host society, the action that can be take needs to start from the willingness to the MSs to integrate them throughout the use of funds and resources at the basis of every welfare state regime. Moreover, to balance the provision for native- and foreign-born, a smoother system to enter the job market is needed with more allocated resources, especially in the figures of people that have as a main competence to help migrants and TCNs to find a suitable employment, adequate to their competences. As regard to the latter point, the system to recognise foreign qualification, at both educational and professional level, could be improve and established by an entity superior to the governmental one, whose goals are not merely based on the national interests, but care more about migrants as human beings, and their integration in the host society.

Every country shall continue to acknowledge migrants' integration in the way that most suits them, however it is advantageous to see more concrete and strict guidelines coming from the DG for Migration and Home Affairs, in the form of Directives and not simplistic recommendations, to create an equal level of principles that the EU MSs can take as basis to work on them. In this way, the equality can be granted for each TCN that enter the EU borders, providing also a safer place to stay. By taking into account the findings in chapter 4 and 5, it is clear that the areas in which Italy, Germany and Sweden have to improve are different, for example Italy has to devote more funds to the emergency in the South of the country, while Germany is the land that most of the TCNs want to reach so has to devote funds to settle migrants and Sweden has to face the new flow of immigrants and devote resources for intensity its integration measures. However, EU MSs need to develop a more concrete national programmes, with unbendable budget and resources, to handle the migratory fluxes at the best of their possibilities, otherwise national states will have too much power and no EU constrictions to stop them.

In order to further allow TCNs assimilation in the new society, attention need to be focused on the allocation of resources in services and programmes that can help migrants in the process of settling and adapting to new cultures, values and behaviours. One way to fulfil this purpose is to emphasise the importance of language and integration courses, seeing as the starting milestone of the whole integration process. There is also the need to increase the level of awareness of the people that have to deal with migrants, with the help of vocational training aimed to know TCNs' needs as persons who enter a foreign country for the first time with the will to stay there: the more informed people are, the more they will be able to deal with TCNs. Another step to be taken if integration of

migrants is the final goal, is to provide an easier access to basic services, in order to facilitate their transition process in achieving equal treatment and equal rights compared to the natives' ones. Of course, it is easy to make forecasts and design programs in theory, but the reality changes from country to county, with different amount of GDP and different ways to see how much grant to immigrants' integration by allocating financial and human resources from the national budget. Therefore, every situation must be analysed in its own distinctiveness to find the best solution regarding the integration of migrants.

7. References

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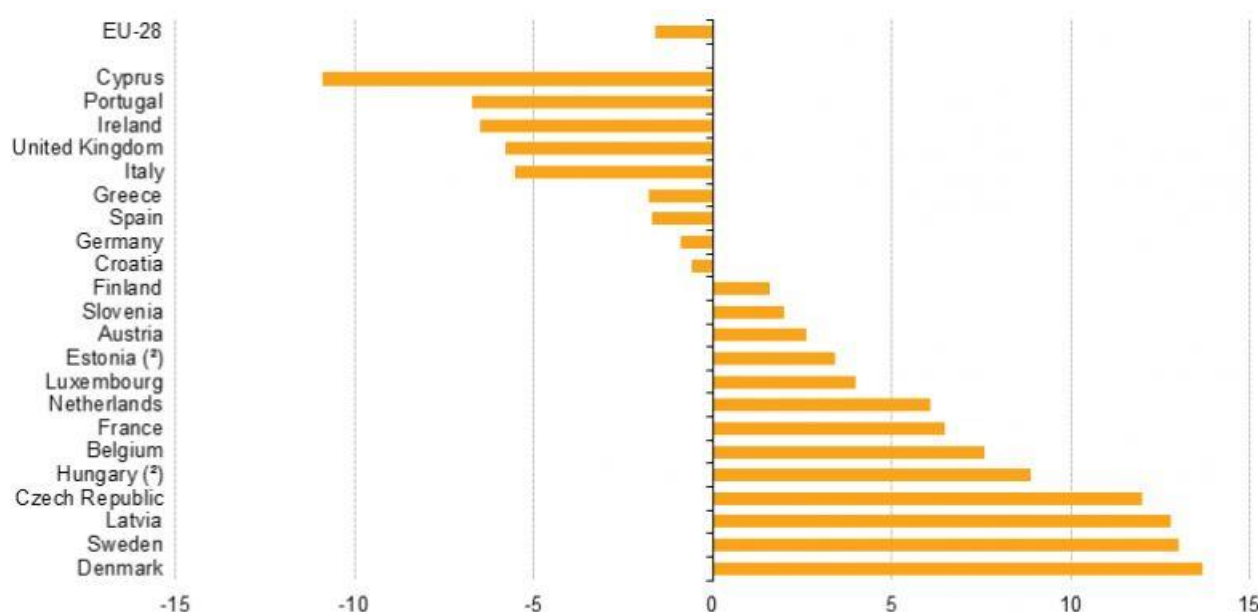
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8. Annex

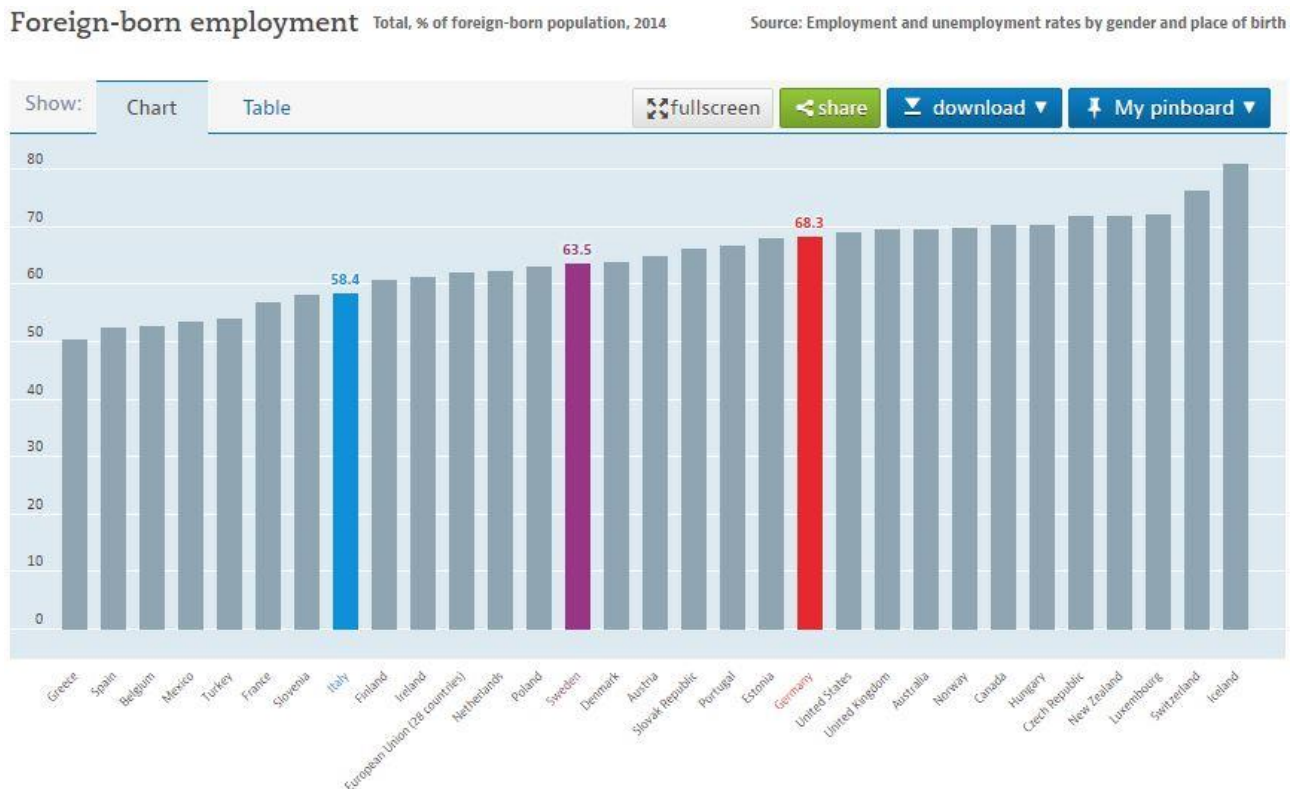
1. Indicators of Immigrants Integration 2015: Settling In – OECD (2015). Statistics regarding the graphs in figure 1 in the Analysis chapter: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933212298>
2. Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In – OECD (2015). Statistics regarding the percentage of workers with a temporary contract, 2012-13: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933212451>
3. Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In – OECD (2015). Statistics regarding the percentage of low-educated workers with a temporary contract, 2012-13: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933212501>
4. Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In – OECD (2015). Statistics regarding the percentage of highly educated workers with a temporary contract, 2012-13: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933212516>
5. Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In – OECD (2015). Statistics regarding the percentages of foreign- and native-born adults who report unmet medical need, 2012: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933212997>
6. International Migration Outlook 2015 – OECD (2015). Statistics regarding the industry segregation by gender, 2007, 2011 and 2014: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888933261084>
7. Eurostat (2015), Gap in long-term unemployment between non-EU-born and native population, 2015. Source: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/File:Gap_in_long-term_unemployment_between_non-EU-born_and_native-born_populations,_2015.png



(*) Data for Bulgaria, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia not available.

(*) Low reliability for non-EU-born.

8. OECD (2016), Foreign-born employment (indicator). doi: 10.1787/05428726-en (Accessed on 01 July 2016)



9. OECD (2016), Native-born employment (indicator). doi: 10.1787/9e33a6ea-en (Accessed on 01 July 2016)

