

Constructing integration

Breaking boundaries or building walls?



Image 1. Personal Picture from the site of the case-study, 2019

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Preface

When I was about four, my parents once asked me what I wanted to be when I grew up. I answered ‘human’, and I stand by it today. This thesis has been built on this belief, that being human, as part of a greater humanity, is what is meant to be my first priority. The research that was involved for this thesis has reminded me intensely of that fact. I have been humbled by the people I have met in this journey, who have graciously conquered every possible challenge and continue fighting for themselves and their families to this day. Hopefully, with our work, I may offer them my support, my thanks and my empathy, and perhaps even a glimmer of hope.

When I started this research, I had no idea of how emotionally intense it would be. How often I would be driven to the edge of tears, how often I would get home feeling emotionally drained and utterly powerless. The people I have gotten to know at the building site have generously shared their stories with me, confided in me, shared their lunch and their coffee with me. I have come to care for them and have come to realise only in part how difficult their positions are. All the while I have spent there listening, comforting and talking and realising it was really all that I could do. Being aware of sounding overly idealistic, I truly believe that the integration policies that the Netherlands has, should and can change for the better. The true difficulty of immigration is hardly reflected in policies, and although it is nigh impossible to understand fully, a better immigration policy might come with more empathy, more humanity, more patience and more help for newcomers. This is not saying that the ‘native population’ does not need to play a role anymore, au contraire. When 56% of the Dutch population believes that integration is The Major Problem in the Netherlands, I would hope that at least 56% of the population would be willing to make the change by hiring immigrants, by talking to immigrants, by helping translate for immigrants, by not othering immigrants, by stopping to judge immigrants for the colour of their skin or the way that they dress.

I want to express my thanks to some people who have made these insights possible. Firstly, I am relentlessly grateful for the help and support of my friend Salim Nouri, who has translated my interviews for me and who has helped me gain invaluable insights into things I might have otherwise missed. I also want to express my thanks to my supervisor Harro Maat, for his feedback, his questions, his trust and his support during the last year of my studies. Finally, I thank Maite Huiskamp, for faithfully peer-reviewing my work since 2012, whose eye for detail and constructive criticism keep me sharp and gain me new perspectives on my work and my everyday life.

The experience of writing this thesis have brought me back once again to things I truly find important, and it has shown me a glimpse of the potential of what can be achieved when good people get together to try and leave the world a better place than they found it.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework.....	3
2.1 Integration	4
2.2 Culture and identity	5
2.3 Performativity and dramaturgical action	6
2.4 The stage of performances: society	7
2.5 Summary	9
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	10
3.1 Research Objective.....	10
3.2 Research Questions	10
3.3 Research Methods	11
3.3.1 Case Study.....	11
3.3.2 Ethnography	12
3.3.3 Data Collection.....	12
3.3.4 Data analysis.....	13
3.4 Practical limitations and mitigations	16
Chapter 4: Results	17
4.1 Identity	17
4.2 Roles.....	20
4.2.1 Municipality	21
4.2.2 Society	22
4.2.3 Management	22
4.2.4 Newcomers.....	23
4.3 Integration and Regulation	25
4.4 Summary	28
Chapter 5	30
5.1 Discussion	30
5.2 Conclusion.....	33
5.3 Recommendations	36
References	38
Appendix A. Interviewguide	41
Appendix B. Overview Research population	42

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2015, more than 1.2 million asylum-seekers arrived in Europe, mainly as a result of conflicts in the Middle-East and North Africa (Eurostat, 2016). In 2016, the large influx of refugees continued, and formed what is now commonly referred to as the ‘European Migration crisis’.

The Netherlands, that has long been an emigration country, rather than an immigration country (Groenendijk, 2018), hosted over 100.000 refugees by the end of 2016 (UNHCR, n.d.). Although migration is not a new phenomenon in itself, migration on this scale had long been absent in the Netherlands. Expectedly, this influx of refugees triggered reactions in the Dutch society that varied from anger and fear to compassion and activism.

In a 2016 rapport by the Dutch Socio-Cultural Planning Bureau (SCP), a knowledge institute meant to inform both government and citizens, special attention was paid to the topic of migration. This rapport, titled ‘Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven’ (COB), or Continuous Research Citizen-perspectives is a rapport that is published four times a year and zooms in on particular ‘hot’ topics. In 2016, during the height of the European migration crisis, this unsurprisingly happened to be citizen-perspectives on migration and migrants. Most strikingly, 56% of Dutch natives regarded migration as the largest problem in the Netherlands. The worries of this group of people vary from threats to the job market and social welfare to large perceived social differences and safety concerns. However, these concerns also appear to be general concerns of people in Dutch society. For instance, when looking at the preferred investments by the Dutch government, unemployment, poverty, healthcare and education top the list (SCP, 2016). These top-concerns are repeated in conversations regarding integration and immigration, suggesting a perceived level of connectivity between these factors – as if the presence of immigrants is or will be of further detriment of these concerns. Whether or not that is the case is beyond the scope of this research, although in most countries the arrival of refugees is estimated by the IMF to have a slight positive effect on the net-worth of a country in the short-term. The long-term effects are as of yet unclear (Reynolds, 2017).

At the same time, there is also a tendency of Dutch citizens towards urging the government to spend less money on the integration of newcomers. As the SCP points out themselves, many of the arguments offered that attempt to explain difficulties with migrants and refugees, are of an emotional kind, rather than purely rational. Yet, the influx of refugees has had a large impact on Dutch politics and the immigration and integration policies have, again, been intensified under the government elected in 2016. Many, if not most political parties, claim to have the answer for successful integration. In many political parties, this policy is focused on acquiring language skills and becoming active on the labour market. However, as many scholars (e.g. LaFramboise et al., Nekuee & Verkuyten) have pointed out, immigrating to a new country and making it your new home, requires even more than learning a new language and finding a job.

What exactly integration does require, remains unsaid in most policy documents, although some scholars have attempted to figure it out. Remarkably, there is a lack of a clear definition of the term. In the United Kingdom, for example, newcomers would be considered integrated as soon as they would be “Full and Equal Citizens” (Ager et al. 2002). These words do not supply a definition, let alone one that a policy framework can concretely be formed upon. In the Netherlands, it is not much different, as Nekuee & Verkuyten (1999) found in their analysis of the available literature.

This challenge aside, there still has been considerable research in the field of integration. Veenman (1994), approaches integration as measured in large part by the socio-economic status of newcomers – using integration as an outcome of policy devices. Vermeulen and Pennix (1994) similarly speak of integration as a policy term, yet also include emancipation (within the labour market) within the equation. On the other hand, there are studies that approach integration as a social and societal process. LaFramboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) see integration as a process of becoming bi-cultural, whereas Nekuee & Verkuyten involve emotional distance to the ‘host-culture’ as an important part of integration. There are as such two different ‘aspects’ of integration that are highlighted: the policy aspect and the social aspect. Both aspects seem to be of importance for successful integration, yet scientific ambiguity remains on what are the most effective methods and approaches to integration.

The scientific ambiguity with regards to integration is concurrent to a societal frustration as to the effectiveness of integration policies. Although migration and integration are top-priorities on the political and social agenda, the policies and lack thereof that should facilitate these topics are intensively criticized (Groenendijk, 2018). While the improvement of integration policies is highly important to politicians and Dutch citizens, it is also, of course, of great importance to newcomers in the Netherlands themselves. Although newcomers are ‘subject’ of integration policies, they are infrequently included in the decision-making-process with regards to the creation of these policies which suggests that it is debatable whether this decision-making works in favour of the actual subjects of the policies.

Literature and government policies claim several factors to be influencing successful integration, of which activity on the labour market and social contacts are frequently mentioned. On the basis hereof, many projects take shape in which these factors are supposedly facilitated, or made more accessible. Typical examples of these type of projects provide working-experience or internship-like positions within a Dutch organization. However, no research thus far has shown whether or not these kinds of participatory projects make sense in terms of improving integration efforts with newcomers.

This research aims to change that. As such, it is about one of these projects in particular, in which work-experience, language and cultural exchange are supposedly promoted and facilitated. This project serves as a type of experimental environment in which newcomers can adjust to ‘Dutch’ circumstances while having the tools to learn and improve within hands reach. The project

environment *resembles* ‘the real world’, yet is not fully so, but rather a testing-ground where mistakes can be made and newcomers can learn and adjust before heading out to ‘the real world’. The question remains, however, whether this policy measure makes sense in terms of integration. This research aims to explore the impact on integration of this common policy measure through a case study, while entering the scientific debate surrounding integration and societal and social functions in this process. The results gathered at the case-study site will prove that the expected outcomes of participation in such projects are not as straightforward as initiators might expect. Several stakeholders, personal circumstances and project-specific activities affect integration trajectories, often for the worse. Although there might be potential for the impact of these projects to be positive for integration, this example in its’ current state has served to exemplify the difficulties to fulfil that potential. In the next chapter, you will firstly be introduced to the theory surrounding the topics of integration, culture and identity, performance and action, and the societal stage. Chapter three outlines the methodical approach to the research, by elaborating on the ethnographic approach of this research and the case-study. In chapter four, the data is presented, as well as the results that can be derived from that data. Finally, in chapter five, a conclusion is presented, which shows how the obtained goals and objectives of the project have not yet been achieved. This conclusion is followed by a set of recommendations for further research and improving the practices at the case-study site.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Integration, in the Netherlands referred to as “the extent to which people with a migration background and people with a Dutch background grow towards each other (in society)” (CBS, 2018), is by definition a process that takes place within society. Although the wording of the definition may be ambiguous, this ‘growth’ of people is not meant to be an individual process; one man’s growth towards another group does not constitute integration. Yet, the process manifests itself only in the minds of individuals; their individual, but shared, beliefs, perceptions and actions about and within society become more than the sum of their parts and, instead, can become societal movements that allow for integration to take place.

Integration as such, is a process in which culture, identity, action, behaviour and society play their roles. The individual in this process, is the vehicle through which this takes place, yet – these processes cannot take place without interaction with others. This chapter will explore both this individual as the interactions and social structures in which the individual exists. First, however, the concept of ‘integration’ will be explored to a further extent.

2.1 Integration

Integration has been researched by many different scholars, although most of them stumble upon the lack of a clear definition of integration. Even more so, there is controversy over who are regarded as ‘foreigners’ or ‘migrants’ and as such in ‘need’ of integration (Robinson, 1998). The Netherlands is one of the few countries in which ethnic categorization is common practice in statistics, and people remain ‘foreign’ depending on their own place of birth or that of (one of) their parents (Jacobs & Rea, 2012). In 2018, there are a little over one million people in the Netherlands with a nationality other than the Dutch nationality (CBS Statline, n.d.). As it is allowed in the Netherlands to have a dual nationality, and newcomers in the Netherlands are not immediately provided with Dutch citizenship or a Dutch nationality, the numbers of people with a migration background in the Netherlands might differ slightly from these numbers.

The Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS) publishes a biannual report on integration in the Netherlands. The CBS implies that integration refers to “the extent to which people with a migration background and people with a Dutch background grow *towards each other*” (CBS, 2018. Emphasis mine.). With this implication, they seem to have an understanding that integration involves both the ‘foreigners’, as the ‘natives’, playing a role in integration. Ironically, in this collection of “objective” facts, as by the CBS, there is little regard for the role that people with a Dutch background play or can play in the process of integration. Even more strikingly, the rapport seems to be a mere collection of statistic measurements that compare the ‘non-Dutch’ population to the norm of the Dutch population. The indicators that they are compared upon, that are as such implied as the indicators for integration, are: education, socio-economic position, criminality, health and social and societal participation.

This division of indicators is one of many when it comes to integration. Ager and Strang (2004), for example, have come upon similar indicators, for the Home Department of the United Kingdom, finding 10 different indicators being: employment, housing, education, health, social bridges, social bonds, social links, cultural and language knowledge, safety and stability, and rights and citizenship (Ager & Strang, 2004). This paper has been the basis for the UK policy document that describes integrating as becoming “full and equal citizens”.

Some of these indicators, such as education and housing, as well as rights and citizenship, are often provided by formal bureaucracies facilitated by the state. However, some of the other indicators, such as social bonds, cannot just be ‘provided’ by anyone, but must come into existence through the socio-cultural experiences that newcomers go through.

In the academic world, consensus has been reached to divide these two types of ‘indicators’ into two dimensions of integration. One of them refers more closely to the provided services in the policy dimension and is referred to by Vermeulen and Penninx (1994) as ‘structural integration’, and by

Veenman (1994) as ‘formal integration’. The second refers to a deeper sense of integration constructed through socio-cultural experiences, and is by the former referred to as ‘socio-cultural integration’ and by the latter as ‘informal integration’. The consensus amongst scholars exists mainly about the fact that integration is complex and takes place within and among different ‘spheres’.

In a country such as the Netherlands, asylum seekers and expatriates are initially provided with safety, where after they enter a variety of processes to ensure their human rights in their host-countries, such as housing and access to education. However, these formal provisions alone do not make for complete integration. The informal, or socio-cultural component is herein equally important to full integration. Through the formal component of integration alone, one may achieve citizenship, but one will not achieve a cultural identity suiting to the host-country and the individual. Vice versa, through informal integration alone, one may adopt a new cultural identity that suits the host-country and the individual, yet never citizenship.

Ong (1996) approaches this gap through speaking of cultural citizenship, described as “a dual process of self-making and being made within webs of power linked to the nation state and civil society”. This definition of cultural citizenship is closely interconnected with integration, taking into account both formal and informal processes. Hall (1996) speaks of something similar when referring to cultural identities: “[...] cultural identities then, are not an essence but a positioning – by self and other – within narratives of history and culture”. Both Ong and Hall speak of a dual process in which both the self and others are involved – similarly to the CBS definition of integration that was referred to early on in this chapter: “the extent to which people with a migration background and people with a Dutch background grow *towards each other*”.

2.2 Culture and identity

Both Gowricharn (2007) and Laframboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) approach integration as a form of ‘biculturalism’, tying in to the idea that ‘integration is mostly a feeling of being rooted’ (Gowricharn, 1997) and that ‘being integrated’ means seeing yourself and defining yourself as part of the host-society (Verkuyten, 1999). As shown by Ong and Hall, culture and cultural adaption is vital for achieving integration. LaFramboise et al. (1993) describe the process of cultural citizenship as achieved through cultural competence in both the host-culture as the home-culture (LaFramboise et al. 1993): where the host-culture in this case represents the Dutch culture, and the home-culture that of the country of origin. Within this idea, bicultural competence is defined by different dimensions, or ‘spheres’, similarly to those of other scholars.

The cultural approach to integration by LaFramboise et al. is an echo of other scholars, in particular Hall, who have similarly connected integration to cultural competence and cultural identity. Hall

(1992) describes cultural identities as “those aspects of our identities which arise from our “belonging” to distinctive ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious and, above all, national cultures”. However, Hall also recognizes that the modern world has moved beyond ‘fixed’ or ‘static’ identities of many populations, as a consequence of forced and free migration, as well as globalization (Hall, 1996). Ahmed (2003) similarly argues that identities have become more diverse and plural. His central argument of identity in the modern world is that “being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed”, as well as that “being mobile is not necessarily about being detached” (Ahmed et al., 2003).

Now that cultural identity has been explored slightly more extensively, it is understood that in the current era of migration, secularisation and globalisation, identity is not as forthright as it may have been in the past. However, (informal) integration is deeply connected with culture and identity and as such, the question remains if and how these plural, diverse identities interact in relation to each other within the self and society to pursue integration as the ultimate goal.

2.3 Performativity and dramaturgical action

From the perspective of integration as both a structural and a socio-cultural process, it is important to learn how both sides of this coin come to being. Stated previously, a large part of structural integration is arranged through legal instruments – and will not be the focus of this research. The socio-cultural integration however, takes place among and within the people that are subject to this study.

Judith Butler (1988) describes how the human body comes to bear cultural meanings through the acts of performativity; the stylized repetition of acts as to constitute the identity of the actor as a ‘compelling illusion’, ‘an object of belief’. Butler, who made herself famous within the arena of gender studies with this particular theory, shows how performative action gives shape to identities that are internally discontinuous; such as in the performance of gender. Butler argues that culture exists out of stylized repetitions of collective acts. These collective acts are created and moulded throughout history and now encompass what we call culture. These acts, as understood by Butler, are acts that take place within a frame of sanctions and rewards – within a cultural framework in which one ‘does’ one’s culture. It is the re-enactment and re-experience of a set of socially established meanings.

Building on Butler’s theoretical approach to performativity, Richards (2009) formulates a similar argument that is of particular interest to this research. Richards states that “[...]technology is a way of doing things. Doing things has a double aspect – it both achieves material outcomes *and fixes social values*, through aligning energies and emotional commitments, among the group engaged in the ‘doing’” (Richards, 2009, emphasis mine). Richards’ argument on participation and performance within participation shows that the *act* that one performs in ‘doing’ a thing, is not only relevant for its material outputs but also serves as a re-enactment of social values. From this viewpoint, it can be more

clearly understood why and how participatory integration measures can be thought of as valuable contributions to overall integration policy.

2.4 The stage of performances: society

The performance of ‘acts’ take place on a particular ‘stage’, yet cannot solely be understood as the expression of truth. Goffman (1959) describes in his thesis on the ‘presentation of self in everyday life’, how any and all actions are of a performative kind and, as such, function as a type of mask to communicate a part – but not all – of an internally discontinuous truth. While acting out a particular performance, one attempts to persuade the other in believing the performance. These performances can be genuine or actively constructed by the actor. These performances of self, or dramaturgical actions, often take place in a setting, that Goffman refers to as ‘front’. The front is constructed out of both the less intimate objects and materials that make up the stage of the performance, as well as the more intimate representation of the actor, that is imbued in clothing, body language, gestures and speech. On this front-stage, actors attempt to control or guide the impression that they communicate to others, while their audiences at the same time try to obtain information about the individual. Actors in dramaturgical performance often work in teams to achieve common goals and objectives. Goffman also recognizes that, although many interactions take place on this front-stage, there are also actions that take place ‘back-stage’, or in regular life. These performances are less guided and controlled. The actors make use of the props they are presented with and adjusts their performance to their audience.

The actor’s social performance takes place within a physical, material setting which, as such, influences the performance as the actor aims to maintain coherent throughout its performance. In this analogy, structure and agency influence each other; the surroundings influence the actor’s performance and the actor influences the surroundings in turn. This is to say, a different stage may provide for a different performance, and a different actor may create a different stage to place his performance upon.

With regards to integration within a ‘new’ society in which culture and identity must be rediscovered to obtain a believable performance of a new identity, LaFramboise et al. (1993) identify multiple dimensions. Through these dimensions, LaFramboise et al. believe that the performance of successful biculturalism is obtainable. Three of these are directly relevant to performativity and dramaturgical action and will therefore be discussed;

(c) bicultural efficacy; this is the belief or confidence that one can live satisfyingly and effectively within both cultures without compromising one’s cultural identity.

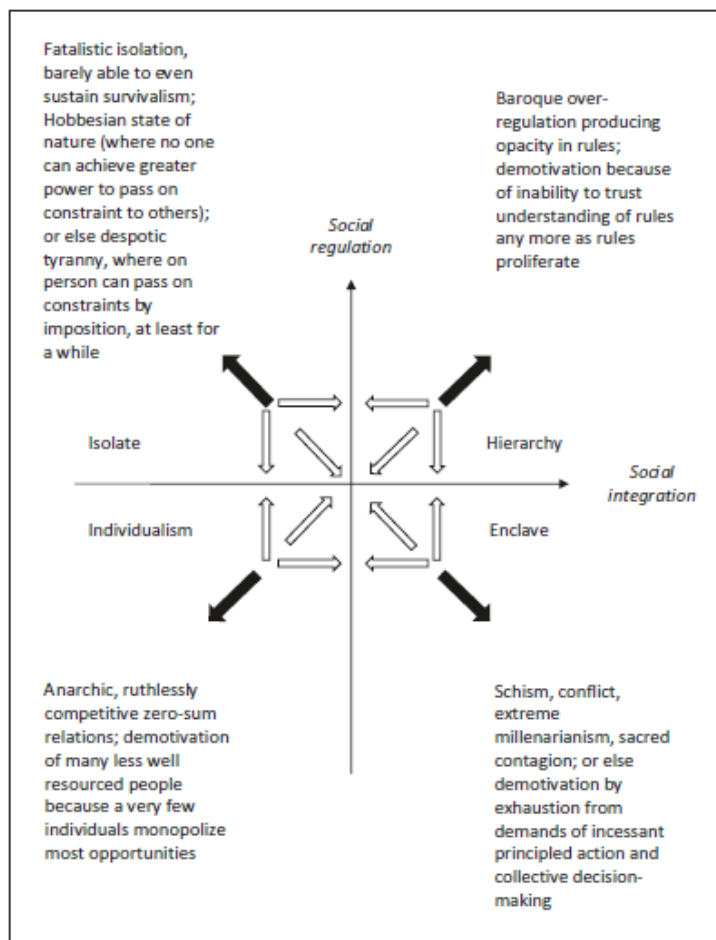


Figure 1. Model for society (Bulte et al. 2018)

(d) communication ability; to have the ability to communicate effectively through verbal and non-verbal measures with members of both cultures.

Language in this is a large building-block of communication ability.

(e) role repertoire; this refers to the ability of an individual to adapt to situationally appropriate behaviours in both cultures. The larger the range of these roles one is able to take on, the larger the cultural competence.

(LaFramboise et al. 1993)

Laframboise's dimensions are easily placed within Goffman's stage theory. On the front-stage, the actor may act out verbal and non-verbal communications and use the stage appropriately to the performance which will in turn influence its bicultural efficacy and the confidence in one's own

performance. Through these kinds of interactions between actors and audiences (who in turn become actors and vice versa), expectations between different actors begin to take shape to become the 'status quo'. Backstage or off-stage however, actors may take different roles and exercise different acts to adhere appropriately to their situations. E.g. at work, one can take the role of disengaged employee who challenges the boss, while at home they may be a caretaker for ill parents and with friends they could be the dominant leader of a group.

Through these 'orderings' people make sense of themselves and their surroundings, their cultural belonging, their in- and their out-group. Through acting out particular roles, people institutionalise themselves within a particular group of order. As such, everyone co-exists within and between multiple orderings, moving in and out of their own roles and engaging in different distinct institutional environments. Bulte, Richards and Voors (2018) show that problems can arise when "agents within one ordering, fail to comprehend the rules and assumptions respected by agents under other orderings" (Bulte et al. 2018, pp. 21). Based on Durkheim's understanding of the workings of society, they have created a simple model set out on two axes of "social integration" and "social regulation" (see figure 1). Durkheim's understanding was that the general strength and viability of a society was based on these two main factors. Social regulation in this serves to describe the amount of rules that govern everyday life, the way in which these rules are enforced and, consequently, how predictable life generally is. When speaking of social integration, Durkheim understood it to be the perceived

connection one experiences with their society or community, in part expressed through the frequency of the interaction with them.

When able to understand where in this model the research subjects place themselves, it serves as a helpful tool to better understand their positioning within society and the possible trends and developments that may be predicted from it.

2.5 Summary

These theories together provide a good model for understanding how this policy measure is affecting the integration of newcomers within this case-study.

Firstly, based on the literature by Goffman (1959), Richards et al. (2009) and Butler (1988), it is inevitable that roles and performances take shape at the building-site. However, their exact forms cannot necessarily be accurately predicted. What can be predicted is that it is unlikely that the roles taken at the building-site will be translated directly to the outside world. This is mostly due to the differences between onstage and offstage performances and the assumption that the newcomers will take on onstage roles at the building-site. Next to this, roles are highly context (or stage) dependent, and the differences between the outside world and the context at the building-site will likely be very clear. With regards to the particular roles being played, it can also be expected that it will be difficult to perform roles successfully as a stylized repetition of an act, due to language and culture differences.

Secondly, culture and identity will be affected through participation in the project. The feeling of bi-culturalism, as mentioned by LaFramboise et al. (1993), might be improved when conditions are met for developing role repertoires and cultural fluency. The most important of these conditions is that safe space is provided to practice these skills without negative consequences. Potentially, feelings of rootedness (Hall, 1996) may be developed partly due to the participation in the project, but it is unlikely that these feelings will be measurable on such a short time-span.

Finally, it could be possible that there will be a “mismatch” found between orderings, where people from different orderings misunderstand each other and conflict may arise from this, as suggested by Bulte et al. (2018). As the groups involved in the project are relatively ‘new’ to each other it is likely that the orderings of the groups will not immediately be respected and understood. As such, it is believed that the perceived everyday rules and regulations will be very high, and the connection felt with community and society relatively low.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research Objective

This research aims to contribute to the societal and political debate regarding effective ways of enabling integration of newcomers in the Netherlands. The objective as such is to determine whether or not the participatory building-project by Woonwerkplaats De Kleine Wereld is an effective tool for integration within wider society.

By learning to understand how participation in this building project impacts the feelings of identity of newcomers, as well as the roles and perceived regulations and social integration, this objective is pursued throughout the research. From this understanding, a broad image can be construed as to what integration might entail, how the newcomers are affected by participating in the building project, and whether these two factors positively correspond to each other.

3.2 Research Questions

Following the objective of this research, the main question that must be addressed is:

In what ways is the integration of newcomers in the Netherlands affected by participating in the building project of WDKW?

This question will be approached from a standpoint focusing on the informal sphere of integration, that takes into account both the ‘integrators’ as well as the native population. Building-projects such as that of WDKW are inherently action-oriented, that is, the presumption is that participation through action(s) within this particular (social) setting will affect newcomers on a number of levels.

Particularly interesting to this research are the effects of participatory building on newcomers on shown behaviour and fluency thereof. As answering the main question is unobtainable on its own, some sub questions will help facilitate this process. These questions are rooted in the theoretical framework of performativity, identity and society.

- 1) How do roles and performances take shape within the building project – and how is that perceived to correspond to the outside world?
- 2) How are the identities of participants affected through participation in the building project?
- 3) What structural and social forces can be identified that influence the overall integration of the participants?

To find out whether the participation to this project has an effect on newcomers and their integration, it makes sense to search for answers within the accounts and behaviours of the newcomers themselves.

When the newcomers are allowed to, independently and without obstruction, give their opinions and share their thoughts, they will provide vital data that will help understand the newcomers from an outsider's perspective. When these thoughts and perceptions are openly discussed, they can also be compared to the perceived behaviour and other communication; which may uncover discrepancies or inconsistencies.

3.3 Research Methods

3.3.1 Case Study

This research will be based on a single instrumental case study; a qualitative research design aimed at exploring a bounded system through multiple sources of information (Creswell, 2007). For this study, one case has been selected as the study object: the small-scale building project in the vicinity of Wageningen, The Netherlands, known as 'Woonwerkplaats De Kleine Wereld' (WDKW). This building project has been initiated as a foundation that aims to *"initiate, organize and support a living project for vulnerable citizens, especially refugees with a residence permit, that, together with locals, build together on a place to live, which makes them able to participate in the community"* (Woonwerkplaats De Kleine Wereld, n.d.).



The first logo that they worked with, as shown in figure 1, shows two hands and a block with the text (translated from Dutch) "building on integration".

WDKW is an example of a project that builds on the idea that a participatory project, such as a cross-community building project, will indeed improve integration efforts. As such, the project is highly suitable as a case study for this research.

The building project by WDKW is by definition a multi-stakeholder project. The project is funded, supported and executed by different partners with varying interests and ambitions. The funding is mostly secured by members of the protestant church in the Netherlands, who have extended a loan to the initiators to buy the building at which the activities take place. The initiators of the project are represented by a company called 'Ontwerpbureau Roza', an architects bureau situated in Wageningen. Their inspiration for the project derives from a self-building project conducted in the 80's with students in Wageningen, that were challenged to build their own student housing in an existing building. From this experience, multiple self-owned handyman companies sprung into existence. Feeling optimistic about the results from the past, they hope to obtain similar results with the WDKW project.

The municipality of Wageningen has also been involved, as they are primarily responsible for

integration trajectories. As such, the municipality has selected the participants for the project from their database and employed a job-coach through the organisation ‘Compleet Mensenwerk’. As the participants are beneficiaries of social well-fare, their participation is understood by the municipality as their service in return for these benefits.

Finally, a building contractor is involved by the name of ‘Ploeg Bouw en Montage’. They have the lead in the re-construction of the building, arrange supplies and manage the participants’ building activities on site.

In practice, representatives of the building contractor and the job-coach are almost always present at the building site. The other stakeholders in the project are less frequently physically present.

3.3.2 Ethnography

To truly work towards answering the research questions thoroughly, an elaborate understanding is necessary of the processes that take place among and between newcomers and their surroundings when participating in these kinds of projects. Ethnography is “the study of social interactions, behaviours and perceptions within groups, teams, organisations and communities” (Reeves, Kuper, Hodges, 2008). As a research methodology, it is a qualitative approach that allows for rich, holistic insights to be gathered through a variety of data collection methods. Vital to an ethnographic research approach, is to explore the nature of a particular phenomenon, rather than testing hypotheses within this environment. As a consequence, through an ethnographic research approach, unexpected data is often gathered as part of the exploration of a phenomenon (Reeves, Kuper, Hodges, 2008).

One of the most commonly used research tools in ethnographic research is ‘participant observation’, which is conducted through a mix of observation and interviewing with the aim to understand how a culture works, as by finding out what people believe, do, find important, etc. (Seale et al. 2004).

Through partial immersion of the researcher in the context of the phenomenon (participation in the building project), the researcher can follow the advice of Wolcott (1994) and “*observes everything she can, writes the most detailed field notes she can, takes time to expand, elaborate and reflect upon them outside the field and/or as soon as time permits, constantly pesters those being observed to explain what they are doing and why, and sweeps up any documents, pictures or ephemera available*”.

3.3.3 Data Collection

Within this particular case-study, a reflection has been made upon the effectiveness of the participation in this project for integration purposes. The research-population has been monitored, observed and questioned with regards to their individual identities, cultural aspects, their roles and their positioning within and amongst society. The site of the case-study served as a space in which social factors were both somewhat limited, yet at the same time diverse enough to learn to understand how these different interactions take place on a small scale.

On January 8, the kick-off of the building project took place at the building location in Wageningen. Over a time period of 2 weeks, a research population was determined, existing out of 9 Arabic speaking men between the ages of 21 and 60 with a mean age of 38.4 (See Appendix B). These men were present consistently throughout the research period between January and March. Their levels of Dutch proficiency varied between the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages levels A2 (ability to deal with simple, straightforward information and begin to express oneself in familiar contexts) and B1 (ability to express oneself in a limited way in familiar situations and to deal in a general way with non-routine information) (CEFR, n.d.), which is why at three different occasions an Arabic speaking translator was involved for in-depth discussion.

The first weeks of research were mainly focused on gaining trust and building a relationship between the researcher and the research population. This trust was built through genuine conversation throughout the days and particularly during the breaks. Additionally, during the working hours I assisted with the activities and helped when and where possible. Through this involvement in their activities and making clear that there was a genuine interest in *them* and not their working-level or participation in the project, a relationship was built.

Early on in the project, the translator was invited to help host a focus-group meeting in which the research population was brought together. With the help of the translator, some topics were discussed such as integration, working in the Netherlands and the relationship with the municipality. However, the main benefit of this meeting was to ensure the right translation of the role of the researcher. The translator, upon request, made very clear what exactly my role was and my relationships towards the other stakeholders. This was essential for the building of trust and mutual understanding in the relationship with the newcomers.

When the relationship with the participants was established and mutual trust was ensured between the parties, interviews took place with 9 Arabic-speaking participants of the research (see Appendix B). These interviews served to obtain qualitative data from the perception of the interviewee. These interviews have been conducted in the native language of the interviewees for them to be as descriptive as possible and unconstrained by language barriers. As such, they have taken place with the help of a translator. To structure the interviews, a semi-structured interview-guide was provided, in which themes are listed that the translator will discuss in-depth with the interviewees. This interview-guide is provided in Appendix A. The interview-sessions took place on a scheduled time in a closed room with the researcher, the translator and the interviewer present – to create a sphere of trust and intimacy.

3.3.4 Data analysis

The data that was obtained consisted out of two datasets. The first was the data collected in ‘fieldnotes’, which were collected throughout the weeks in a physical notepad in short notes, which

were typed out later in more detail. This process took place as soon as possible after the notes were initially taken, as to remember the details of conversations and observations as precisely as possible. The notes were taken broadly, in the sense that everything and anything was noted as to obtain as much data as possible, not knowing whether or not they would be relevant for the research in the future.

The second dataset was titled ‘interviews’ and consisted out of the transcription of the translator’s narrative of the interviews conducted with the research subjects. These were typed out on the spot and later checked for inconsistencies or misunderstandings.

The results of both the observations and the interviews have been analysed through the use of the software program Atlas.ti. This software helps to arrange and order qualitative data to uncover patterns and developments (Frieze, 2014). By ‘Noticing, Collecting and Thinking’ (NCT) as Frieze (2014), recommends, a step-by-step analysis of the data has taken place.

Firstly, thorough reading and understanding of the collected data was necessary to understand what exactly is the ‘territory’ that the data covers. Secondly, similar terms and notions can be collected under particular ‘codes’ in the software. An overview of the used codes can be found in figure 2.

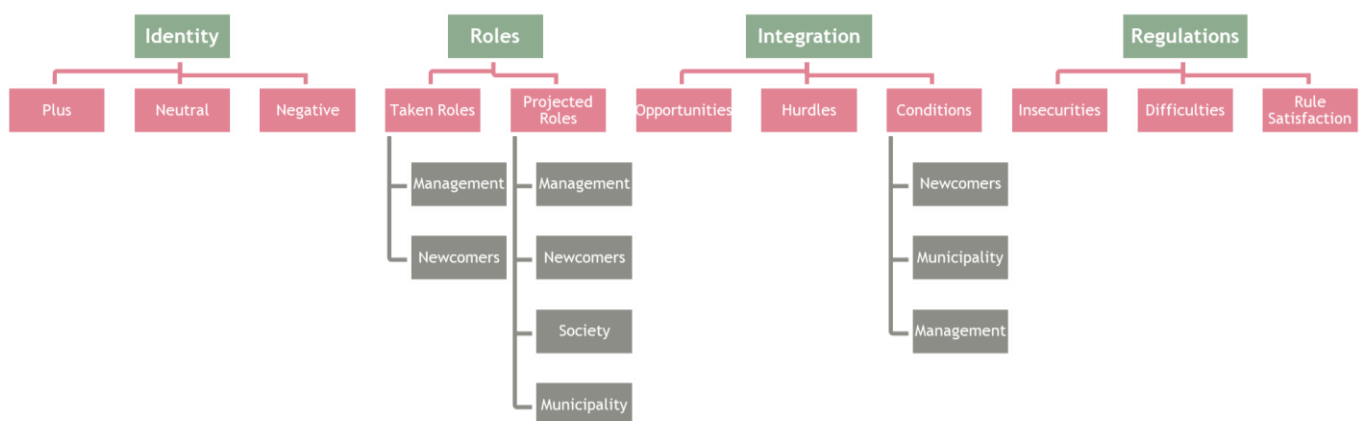


Figure 2. Overview Codes as used in Atlas.ti

These codes have become increasingly specified throughout the data analysis. Finally, through thinking, a process has taken place to uncover patterns and developments that will server to answer the research questions.

Initially, the data was coded into five different main codes:

1. Identity

This code included everything that was said and observed in terms of feelings concerning the self and the expression thereof.

2. Integration

In this code, all data was coded that referred to the Dutch culture, language, the integration process as constructed by the system and feelings of ‘integratedness’.

3. Regulations

This code refers to everything observed, in behaviour and in comments, regarding the perception of rules in society and in the workplace, both formal and informal.

4. Roles

All elements coded ‘roles’ refer to some kind of expression of interest, position or feeling that manifests in (spoken) behaviour visible to others.

5. WDKW

Finally, the code WDKW (Woonwerkplaats De Kleine Wereld) refers to location and project specific elements that alter meanings of observed behaviour or comments.

Later in the process, the code ‘WDKW’ has only been used for cross-referencing and not for substantial analysis, hence the absence of the code in the overview in figure 2.

Using these codes, the data was ordered and categorized, making analysis possible to work towards uncovering answers to the research questions.

The summary of the coding in Atlas.ti can be found in Table 1.

From this table, it can be derived that, spread over the two documents, 205 quotations have been coded and have been attributed 245 codes in total. This implies that some of the

quotations have been assigned multiple codes. When discussing the frequency of the codes, the interviews have been more ‘fruitful’ in terms of data. This is in part because of the presence of the translator which allowed the data to be more ‘in-depth’, but also because of the focus of the interviews on particular themes that were of importance for the research.

From the numbers, you can see, for example, that integration has been more frequently discussed directly during the interviews (39 times) than during everyday observations (19 times). This is increasingly so for the code ‘identity’, that has been discussed 43 times during the interviews and only came up 10 times during the observations. In figure 3 the co-occurring codes are made visible in Atlas.ti. Apart from showing the frequency of co-occurrence, Atlas.ti also provides a c-coefficient, indicating the strength of a relationship between two codes. It is similar to a correlation coefficient, but, as this research works with qualitative data rather than quantitative data, one must be careful in the analysis and interpretation of the meaning of this coefficient. However, it is worth noting that, for example, the codes ‘identity’ and ‘integration’ coincide quite regularly and have the strongest

Code-Filter: All [26]			
Quotation-Filter: All [205]			
	P 1:	P 2:	
	Fieldnotes.pdf	Interviews.pdf	TOTALS:
Identity	9	43	52
Integration	19	39	58
Regulations	11	29	40
Roles	34	27	61
WDKW	17	17	34
TOTALS:	90	155	245

Table 1. Atlas.ti output overview

correlation of all the coinciding codes. This could imply a correlation between the feelings of identity and integration.

	Identity	Integration	Regulations	Roles	WDKW
Identity		21 - 0,24	4 - 0,05	3 - 0,03	4 - 0,05
Integration	21 - 0,24		6 - 0,07	5 - 0,04	8 - 0,10
Regulations	4 - 0,05	6 - 0,07		8 - 0,09	6 - 0,09
Roles	3 - 0,03	5 - 0,04	8 - 0,09		14 - 0,17
WDKW	4 - 0,05	8 - 0,10	6 - 0,09	14 - 0,17	

Figure 3. Atlas.ti output on co-occurrence on all main codes.

By ordering the data through these codes it makes it possible to analyse the data and to determine the qualitative meanings of the quotes that have been coded and their frequencies of occurrence. The analyses of the data can be found in chapter 4.

3.4 Practical limitations and mitigations

The setting in which the research takes place allows for ample opportunity, but was also constrained by particular factors. Following the advice of Seale et al. (2004), the best thing a novice ethnographic researcher can do is prepare oneself for the possible challenges. As such, some of these, more predictable challenges, have been identified beforehand and thought through in the early stages of this research.

1) Language

Most importantly is the language barrier between the researcher and the research group. To mitigate this challenge, it has been decided to focus on one of the groups present as to preserve focus and limit costs. Between the participants, twelve speak Arabic, four speak Tigrinya and one speaks French. To be able to get a maximum amount of valuable data, the Arabic speaking community will be the focus of the research. Although all participants speak Dutch or English to a certain degree, their language skills in these languages that are shared with the researcher, are insufficient for deep, thorough conversation. For this reason, a translator has been acquired to conduct interviews with.

2) Trust

Much of the quality of data gathered through ethnographic research is dependent on trust between the researcher and the observed. For this reason, and that of research ethics, agreements have been made with WDKW to maintain the impartiality of the researcher, as well as confidentiality of the information provided by the newcomers. Furthermore, it is of importance to give shape to the relationship between the researcher and the newcomers on honest and equal terms. A starting session

serves as the first point of contact between them in which expectations will be discussed and questions can be asked and answered. The first stage of the fieldwork focused mainly on observation and relationship building, before the interviews took place. As the input of an external person may disrupt the built-up trust between the researcher and the participants, the translator will be introduced on multiple occasions, and will be introduced as an impartial extension of the researcher to maintain trust and understanding.

3) Time constraints

Due to the time-span and the aims of this research, the research might only become a building block on which others can build forward. In a relatively short period of time, it is not guaranteed to see a process of change happen.

4) Bias and position researcher

Although it is a myth to be able to start a research without bias (Seale et al. 2004), the researcher is aware of possible bias and will attempt to mitigate this bias. Also, there is a possibility that through participant observation, the researcher herself will influence the outcomes of the research by being part of/ among the research 'subjects'. This effect is to be avoided as much as possible, yet is an inherent flaw to the approach. Similarly with conducting interviews, a risk might be that the interview is more of a representation of the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, rather than the actual account of experiences, emotions and identities questioned.

Chapter 4: Results

The extensive data that was collected throughout the research has been divided into categories of order to be able to uncover and reveal patterns and, as such, answers to the research questions. By these categories, this chapter will work towards a qualitative understanding of the meanings and values of the data and the implications thereof.

4.1 Identity

On the first day of the construction process, one man, who came in late, was asked for his name. He answered "Ali Baba", referring to a relatively famous Arabic character in the folk tale of One Thousand and One Nights. The other Arabic men laughed, the Dutch people present did not react to it.

The quote, that this chapter starts with, is telling in its simplicity. The referral to a story character instead of referring to the self with a given name, speaks of an expectation of general disregard for this man's personal identity. Sadly, it was indeed left unquestioned. As such, the research began.

Being present at the building-site, there were many occasions in which the newcomers told me about themselves and who they were before and who they believe to be now. In the recorded data, there were 48 instances in which their identity was discussed in one way or another.

Overwhelmingly, most of these interactions were of the character of sharing sorrow, grief or frustration. The data shows that about 70% of these conversations were linked to 'negative' identity experiences, and only about 15% to positive experiences (Also see Box 1).

At the early stages of this research I asked "How are the identities of participants effected through participation in the building project?", and apart from whether they were negative or positive, the types of themes discussed are also relevant. In general, there are a few themes that come up within the identity quotes, namely: feeling at home, community and work. These topics were mentioned on multiple occasions which gives reason to believe they are vital for the well-being and identity building of the newcomers that were part of this research population.

In chapter two, integration was approached as a form of biculturalism, deriving from theories of several scholars in the field. It was discussed how integration, with regards to culture and identity, could be understood as having the feeling of being rooted and being part of the host-society. While most of the newcomers that were part of this research had been in the Netherlands for a longer

Box 1. Identity

The code 'identity' has been further specified in sub-codes. These codes have been named 'plus', 'negative' and 'neutral, yet have no normative value from the perspective of the researcher. The quotes that have been characterized to concern the identity of the research-population have only been discerned in to these sub-categories as to obtain clarity for the analysis.

- a) *Plus*: Quotes that have been sub-coded under 'plus' contain an observation or quotation that exemplifies a positive impact on the feelings concerning the self and the expression thereof. These quotes express satisfaction with the feeling of self and comfort with the (possibilities) of expression thereof of newcomers in a 'foreign' context.
- b) *Neutral*: The sub-code 'neutral' has been assigned to quotations that state semi-factual things that are important or 'givens' to the feeling of self/
- c) *Negative*: quotes in which the research-subjects express their feelings of self in any way threatened, eroding or incomplete.

	Identity
negative	33 - 0,63
neutral	8 - 0,15
plus	7 - 0,13

period of time, very few responded positively to feeling at home or feeling like part of the Dutch society. Some say that they feel that if they would work hard(er), they might feel at home one day. Others see no possibility of ever feeling like home. This overall ‘conclusion’ to their experienced identity and integration in that field is supported by the fact that many feel like they are currently not a productive member of society, and some even feel inferior, or subordinate, to the Dutch population. During the interviews, one of the men says: *“They accept us in their country, even if they are racists, so we have to respect them”*.

With regards to community, most men speak in terms of ‘we’, and ‘us’, referring to the Syrian/Iraqi/Arab speaking community that most of them are still tied to, whether they want to or not. When asked with which community they feel most at home, one of the men says: *“not really with the Arabic society; there are just rumours there, but with the Dutch people I cannot really express myself because of the language...so there is not really anyone”*. This loneliness is not uncommon. Others refer to similar problems regarding the Dutch language but also a specific cultural difference that they experience; that Dutch people do not like talking to strangers. Some of the men have not spoken any Dutch since passing their integration tests, due to lack of opportunity. Secondly, some newcomers tell us that Dutch people make them feel that ‘they are not the same’, and thus not part of the community.

One group of quotes was specifically dedicated to current, previous and preferred working conditions. Many of the men, especially those who have had a career in the past, refer to their previous occupation as part of their identity. In one case, the previous occupation was similar to the current, which resulted in some of the very few ‘positive identity’ codes. Other quotes were less sympathetic regarding the current work, implying them feeling stripped of (part of) their identity by having to engage in this line of work. In part, the general feeling of being a productive member of society has been taken away, as they now just do ‘what the municipality wants them to do’, and what they do does not really matter.

Generally, it can be said that the identities of the newcomers are negatively affected. These identity experiences are mostly caused by lack of contact with Dutch people, perceived ‘othering’ by the Dutch community, and a lack of ways to be active and productive in society. Overall, this seems to cause loneliness and anxiety amongst the participants of this study, while at the same time frustration and fatalism. Especially the men that have come to the Netherlands at an older age, express that they feel their lives are over and that they are merely here to give their children the opportunity to be happy – they see no future any longer for themselves.

4.2 Roles

Throughout the time at the building-site, observations were being made with regards to behaviour and interactions. Different types of behaviours within the same people were noticed within different settings and as such, different ‘roles’ were assigned to different actors. Overall, 63 quotations have been marked to concern ‘roles’, either assigned or taken by actors within the project (See Box 2). Of these quotations, five immediately concerned the role of the researcher. These are relevant to some extent but will be further elaborated upon later in this chapter.

The four other categories either performing or assigning roles have been labelled *municipality*, *management*, *newcomers* and *society* (See Box 3). The frequencies of these codes can be found in figure 6. In the following paragraphs, these roles will be fleshed out to be able to understand how the roles and performances take shape within the project and what the connection is, or can be, to the outside world. For simplicity’s sake, the roles of the municipality and

Box 2. Roles

The types of ‘roles’ and behaviours taken on by- and given to different actors on the stage have been given different codes. As with ‘roles’, they are both the products of ones’ behaviour as well as the interpretation of others that observe said behaviour. For this reason, two main codes have been identified, as well as a code for the role of the researcher:

- a) *Projected Roles*: This code is used for roles that are assigned to other actors. Some of these are based on speculation or gossip and others reflect the perception of the ‘assigner’ of the role about the ‘assigned’.
- b) *Taken Roles*: These refer to roles that are taken and performed by the actors themselves.
- c) *Role Researcher*: A rest-category for codes has been set up to flag where the role of the researcher has been discussed and in which way that has taken place.

	Projected Role	Role Research	Taken Role
Roles	31 - 0,50	5 - 0,09	27 - 0,42

Figure 5. Atlas.ti output on co-occurrences Roles

Box 3. Actors and roles

For the taken and projected roles, different relationships were found as to who took roles, who projected the roles and upon who they were projected. For this reason, four sub-categories have been designed to clarify the different relationships of projection:

1. *Management*: those present on site who supervise the newcomers.
2. *Municipality*: both as an existing institutional force and as an extension of the ‘case-worker’ of most of the newcomers.
3. *Newcomers*: the newcomers who work at the building site themselves.
4. *Society*: the Dutch society as a whole.

	Projected Role	Taken Role
Management Role	22 - 0,46	9 - 0,16
Municipality Role	6 - 0,15	n/a
Newcomers Role	8 - 0,15	16 - 0,40
Society Role	7 - 0,18	1 - 0,02

Figure 6. Atlas.ti output on the relations of projected and taken roles between the sub-groups.

society will be discussed first, as they are most infrequent. After this, the roles of the management and the newcomers will be discussed.

The division between the three types of roles that are referred to are summarised in figure 5. As the image shows, both projected roles and taken roles are frequent, with projected roles even outnumbering the taken roles. The role of the researcher is addressed a total of 5 times.

The latter also explains the high frequency of taken roles in the category newcomers.

The categories ‘municipality role’ and ‘society role’ have been inserted due to the high frequency of references to these two groups in the data. Although they are not the most frequently mentioned groups, they are mentioned more often than the newcomers themselves and make up a significant part of the data-set.

4.2.1 Municipality

The role of the municipality of Wageningen is addressed 6 times throughout the recorded data. “Off-record” the municipality seems to generally be a large topic of concern amongst the newcomers. All roles that concern the municipality are projected roles, and are based on perceptions and experiences of the newcomers. The municipality does not have any ‘taken’ roles, as they have not been included in the scope of this research to elaborate on their own vision of their role.

The projected roles unto the municipality are generally of a similar kind. Most striking and exemplifying is the following quote:

“Many times when I tell my boss that I am ill, they don’t believe me and say that I have to come; otherwise they will tell the municipality to cut my benefits. I lived in fear in Syria because I am Kurdish. I came here to find new opportunities for my children, but here I will live in fear as well because they (the municipality) threaten me.”

Although not all quotes are as emotional as the one above, all quotes exemplify fear and a lack of trust towards the municipality. Secondly, the newcomers experience the municipality as forcing them to do things. They are afraid to have their benefits cut, making it even harder to live. Meanwhile, they do not trust the municipality to have their best interest or to trust them in return.

4.2.2 Society

Similarly to the role of the municipality, society has not been ‘questioned’ on their own vision on their role and as such, have not been coded to have ‘taken’ any roles. The ‘taken role’ by society, mentioned in figure 5, is due to a small coding error. The roles projected towards society are all projected from the newcomers onto society. One quote reads: *“My neighbours, they say hi, they smile at me and I mean... I think by law they don’t have to, right?”*. The projected roles show two different sides: on one hand, there is acceptance and even a level of appreciation for the surrounding society, their efforts and their acceptance and lenience towards the newcomers. On the other hand, there is frustration regarding the lack of contact with society and the causes thereof. In part the causes are seen as a language barrier, but in a few cases it is also mentioned that there is a general lack of openness amongst the native population to truly accept the newcomers. One man says: *“Of course I am myself, but some people make you feel like a foreigner – I am afraid that I have to change myself for others”*.

On average, the comments on overall society are quite infrequent and relatively neutral. Some of the men feel more comfortable amongst the native population than others, although many (as discussed in the chapter on Identity) do not feel like they truly are part of society (yet).

4.2.3 Management

Inherently to this research, the role of the management has been extensively discussed. Most striking are possibly the amount of roles projected unto management (22 in total). These roles have overwhelmingly been assigned by the newcomers, and on few occasions by fellow members of management. Within these projected roles, different types of roles can be discerned.

The first projected role that becomes clear is the role that is assigned to ‘the boss’. The hierarchies are discussed on multiple occasions and the management present is in general regarded as being in charge. Their role is that of ‘boss’. This overlaps in part with the taken roles of the management, in which this topic is specifically addressed on several occasions. As such, the management actively takes this role and this is reflected by the roles that the newcomers assign to them.

The quality of their leadership however, is also discussed in the roles that are projected onto the management. In general, the newcomers state how at the beginning of the building process, the management was authoritarian in their leadership, referring to it as “bossy” or as overplaying their roles. However, some of the newcomers have also observed a transition in this style of leadership, saying that they have “cooled down a bit” or “getting easier with it”. Some of the men even refer to the communication with the management as “communication between friends”. Simultaneously, however, there are also some newcomers who have not witnessed a transition in behaviour, and experience the role of the management as very formal still. One of the men, when talking about the management, says: “He makes me feel very small, while he is very big”, and “They made a barrier, so our communication has to be formal: a job, a boss and an employee”. Noteworthy about these accounts is the difference between them. On one hand a group of newcomers seems to perceive the management as easy, friendly even, while on the other hand there is still the feeling of extreme formality and pressure.

A final theme in the projected roles of the management is the apparent ‘inaction’ that is perceived by the newcomers. Whereas they (the newcomers) engage in physical work, the management is distanced from the actual work and only direct the workers on site. This is mentioned a few times and is understood as unusual. One of the men says “We work more than the boss...”. As these topics are mentioned, they can be understood as considered un-normal. This could be due to a difference in expectations or a lack of communication that could potentially help ‘normalize’ this role.

4.2.4 Newcomers

The roles of the newcomers are mostly taken, which is in the line of expectations as they were the main subjects of this research. Their own roles have been questioned extensively as well as their perceptions on the roles of others. However, others have also reflected on the roles of the newcomers, leading to 8 projected roles having been assigned to them.

Strikingly, the roles that are taken by the newcomers are very similar to each other. The majority of these quotes state that they play the role they feel like they are supposed to play; that of a worker, or an employee. This role is further strengthened by the mandatory clothing that is part of the ‘stage’. The newcomers are supplied overalls and working-shoes. This is for their own safety, but also serves as a costume for the role that they are playing and expected to play. The fieldnotes reflect this role of the worker as well, although a second role is assigned to them in this document. While the hard-working employee is a front-stage role that the newcomers have chosen to take on, they play a different role in the breaks and personal conversations. In these off-stage roles they express their worries, discuss their difficulties amongst each other and ask each other for advice regarding their shared challenges.

The roles that are projected unto the newcomers originate from different sources. They are formed of expectations from the municipality, projections from the management and even within the group of newcomers some roles are projected. The municipality, for instance, projects a role to the newcomers of immigrants who are obliged to reciprocate for receiving social benefits. They express this projection through exerting pressure over the newcomers to take on voluntary work and threatening with (financial) penalties when not obliged to.

Meanwhile, the management projects the newcomers as people who have vastly different cultural backgrounds, in which the required working-ethos is absent and the minds are set more on short-term achievements than on long-term goals. Similarly, the researcher was asked whether she thought that it was *“A Dutch cultural thing to just, get it together and deal with the situation”* as it was felt that this was not part of the Arabic culture.

Among the newcomers there is a feeling of paranoia, whereas some newcomers wonder whether the others will betray them to either the regime in Syria or the municipality in the Netherlands, when they make a wrong decision. Among them, there are also feelings however of comradery, of helping each other and supporting each other, but the perceptions on trust are divided.

4.2.5 Role researcher

The role of the researcher has been mentioned five times by the newcomers. Outstandingly, most of these refer to a sense of togetherness, or likeliness of the researcher to the newcomers. For example, in one of these quotes the researcher is asked whether she does not wear the overalls that the newcomers are wearing, as she belongs with them. In another instance, the ‘Dutchness’ of the researcher is discussed by the newcomers, concluding that the researcher is not ‘truly’ Dutch.

These quotes have some meaning in themselves. Firstly, there is a level of trust and understanding expressed throughout them where the newcomers appreciate the presence of the researcher. Secondly, there is a feeling expressed that reflects on what ‘being Dutch’ is, when the researcher does not uphold to the imagined standards of Dutchness. The analysis of how being Dutch is perceived by newcomers is beyond the scope of this research, but opens an interesting door for further research.

4.3 Integration and Regulation

Overwhelmingly, the frequency of the normatively negative aspects of both integration and regulation imply that something is off. In chapter two, it was discussed how social integration and social regulation interact and correspond to forming a type outline or prediction of the well-being of society, based on Durkheim's theories and the corresponding scheme (see Figure 1). Within this scheme, social regulation was understood as the amount of rules that govern everyday life, the way that these rules are enforced and how predictable that makes life in general. Social integration served to be the perceived connection that someone experiences with their society or community.

Starting with regulations, it is clear from the numbers (See Box 4) that 'rule satisfaction' is relatively

Box 4. Regulations

The *regulations* code is directed at the perceived regulations and the difficulties thereof to apply to them by the newcomers. To that end, the regulations code has been divided in to the following categories:

- a) *Difficulties* are herein the regulations that the newcomers tend to find hard to accept or understand or believe they are counterproductive.
- b) *Insecurities* refer to the uncertainties or fears that come with particular regulations.
- c) *Rule Satisfaction* refers to quotations in which the subjects express to be content with the amount or type of rules and regulations.

	Regulation
Difficulties	19 - 0,48
Insecurity	12 - 0,30
Rule Satisfaction	5 - 0,13

Figure 7. Atlas.ti output co-occurrences regulations

uncommon, as both difficulties and insecurities deriving from regulations make up the overwhelming majority of the data.

When discussing 'difficulties', and 'insecurities' we see three different 'sources' of difficult rules and regulations, namely: the municipality, the management at the workplace, and the overall Dutch system.

While the Dutch rules system in general is mentioned a few times as a difficulty, the same system is mentioned in the set of 'rule satisfaction'. The level of regulations on a (regional) government-level was in general experienced as 'too much', yet at the same time 'understandable'. On several occasions the interviewees mentioned 'the law is the law', and as such confirmed their understanding for the system. However, in some cases the Dutch government system was even mentioned as a source for uncertainty, which in turn invoked feelings of panic, anxiety and fear. Most strikingly, it became clear that there are feelings of interconnectedness between all Dutch institutions dealing with migrants. As such, the participants expressed to feel stress when speaking to any of the institutions as they felt like any inconsistency in their stories could be reason for 'punishment'.

Deeply tied in to these fears is the role of the municipality as the creator and enforcer of rules and regulations. On many occasions the participants have expressed their genuine fear of the municipality and their policies. These seem to be very strict but also prone to misunderstandings and

miscommunications. The language barrier in particular seems to weigh very heavy on this, leading to ambiguity about rules and expectations from both sides.

Many times, this was related to obligatory paperwork for the municipality or the government. When discussing the rules and regulations within this specific case-study, the answers differed from experiencing them as very relaxed to extremely strict. For example, while one of the men said: *“We work for free, so they are a little bit easy with us. We get a lot of breaks, I don’t think that is flexible in the real work.”*, another told me *“they treat us as a slave here; we work for free here and they make us feel as if they pay us 100.000 (euros) every month”*.

As can be seen from the example above, the perceptions of rules and regulations at the workplace are not necessarily straightforward. This can be due to inconsistency at the workplace itself, but also due to differences in expectations of the workplace versus the outside world.

Overall, it can be said without a doubt that the pressure of rules and regulations is experienced as heavy. To different extents, of course, this pressure leads to a whole variety of emotions, but also physical problems caused by stress. Some of the men complain of lack of sleep due to the stress of these regulations, while another has developed a serious skin condition with stress as its culprit.

A similar pattern can be discerned when looking at ‘integration’ (See Box 5). Overall, there are three categories worth mentioning: the conditions, the hurdles and the opportunities. Conditions here serve to reflect the ideas and thoughts on integration of the different involved actors that expressed them, and to see whether or not they coincide. The hurdles that are experienced in integration constitute over half of the quotes, while the opportunities, that should be quite prevalent within the case-study, make up just about 20% of the quotes.

Interestingly, the conditions for integration expressed by management and the municipality are quite similar

Box 5. Integration data

Within the integration-code, there has been a relatively easy divide between the subcodes:

- a) *Opportunity* refers to quotations in which the newcomers express to experience occasions in which they can improve their integration as to language or cultural practices.
- b) *Hurdles* has been used as a code to identify obstacles experienced by newcomers in their integration efforts.
- c) *Conditions* refer to the normative ideas of what integration should entail, as expressed by 1) *management*, 2) *municipality* and the 3) *newcomers* themselves.

	Integration
Conditions Management	3 - 0,05
Conditions Municipality	1 - 0,02
Conditions Newcomers	11 - 0,19
Hurdles	29 - 0,50
Opportunity	12 - 0,21

Figure 8. Atlas.ti output co-occurrences integration

to that of the newcomers. Firstly, the management informally expressed that *“people are integrated when they don’t ‘bother’ anyone with their differentness. They can be who they want at home, as long as they speak Dutch and act ‘normal’ on the workfloor and in public”*. On the other hand, the newcomers express that the municipality is expecting the newcomers to ‘learn to work’ at the workplace and to ‘do something back’ in return for the social welfare that they benefit from. Seemingly, these conditions tie in closely to policy ideas of integration and assimilation: learning the language, adapting to the host-culture and being an active member of the workforce in the new host-country. The big overlap that can be found in terms of conditions between the municipality and the management on one hand, and the newcomers on the other, is language. On multiple occasions, the newcomers express that their language skills should indeed improve, and many of the hurdles to integration are found in this language component. The second condition that keeps coming up from the side of the newcomers is to become active members of society, leave the social welfare system and to find appropriate work.

However, when looking at the practical approach to achieving these goals, hurdles are encountered. The first hurdle for integration mentioned by the newcomers at the worksite is the lack of opportunity to speak Dutch. With a dozen Arabic speaking men active on the worksite, the incentive to speak Dutch is very low. The interaction with the Dutch-speaking management is perceived to be of insufficient frequency and quality for the newcomers to improve their Dutch. During a group conversation, the newcomers state that *“Dutch people present would not actually communicate with them but rather direct them, saying “do this, do that”, and not expecting a formulated response”*. Some of the newcomers even feel like they are “wasting their time” at the worksite, as they would spend their time more efficiently working on their Dutch language skills outside while preparing for their integration exams.

While some of the participants feel like they can reap the benefits of this experience at the worksite, many of them feel distanced from society by the rules, regulations, culture-differences, language barriers and a feeling of disregard of their existence in the Netherlands. Some of them tell of instances in which they have been made to feel like burdens to the Dutch society, telling them that they live of the ‘tax-payers money’ and that they, the Dutch people, pay everything for them.

After the interviews, we discuss with them their position on the axes of the scheme of Bulte et al. and decide on their approximate positions. The results thereof can be found in figure 9. As can be derived from the scheme, all participants fall in to the top half of the scheme, implying that they experience a high level of social regulation. Meanwhile, most are positioned on the left side of the horizontal axis, which implies that they experience a low level of social integration. Approximately half of the participants find themselves within ‘normal’ boundaries of society, feeling relatively content with both social integration levels and social regulation. The other half falls in to, what Bulte et al. call, ‘the fatalist’ group.

This is a worrisome outcome, both within this research as in the broader field of integration studies. The scheme of Bulte et al. describes an easy transition in diagonal directions. This means that the group of ‘fatalists’, who experience high regulation and low social integration, can easily be tempted to cross over to the lower right corner, where regulations are low and social integration is high. This is where, theoretically, the cultists and the sects derive, and yes, the extremists, whether religious or not.

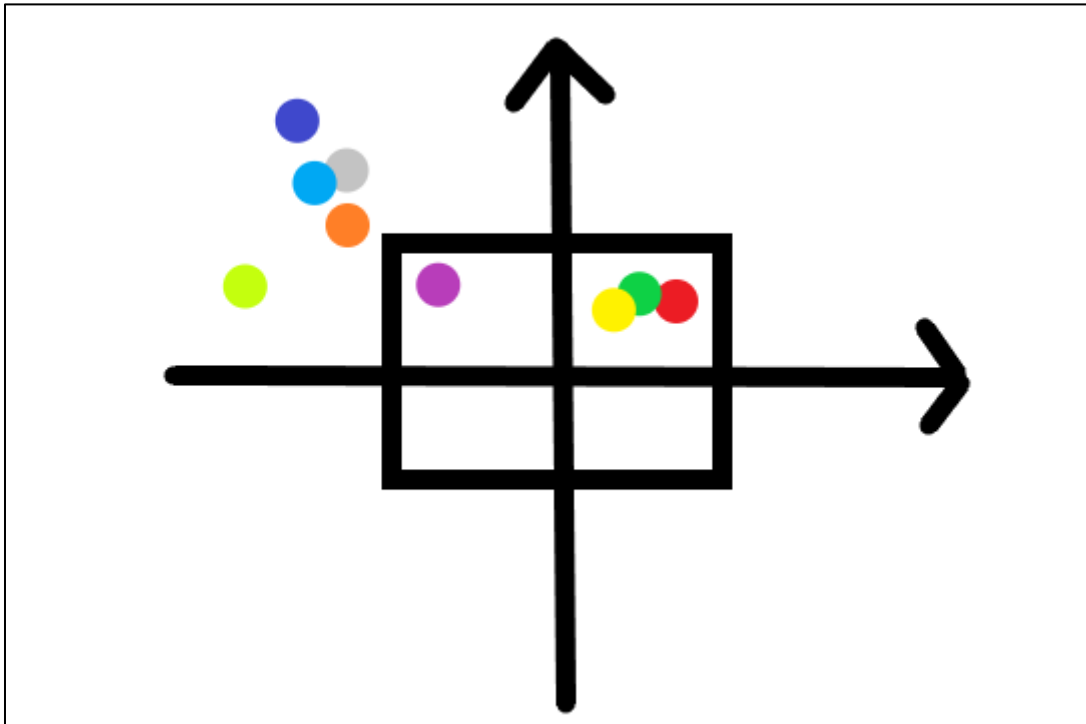


Figure 9. Schematic overview of the scheme by Bulte et al. with the vertical axis standing for social regulation, and the horizontal axis for social integration, the dots representing the positioning of interviewees.

The outcomes as described above are theoretically fascinating, especially in the light of the scientific and societal discussion on isolation of immigrant groups in society, dissimulation between different ethnic groups and religious and ethnic extremism. While fascinating, they are also worrisome, as many of the men who were interviewed are in positions in which they feel like they having no future left for themselves, but just wait for their end to come while providing future opportunities for their families.

4.4 Summary

The data that has been acquired throughout the research concerns itself over 4 different aspects: roles, identities, regulations and integration. The data has been acquired at the building site of Woonwerkplaats De Kleine Wereld (WDKW) and reflects the relationships of the research population to both this place and ‘the outside world’.

Firstly, the data on identity is mostly connected to negative experiences deriving from both the overall situation that the newcomers find themselves in and the particular circumstances they are subject to at WDKW. Their identity is expressed in their relationship to their level of feeling at home, their community and their work. With regards to WDKW in particular, their relationship to work and feeling productive, is very dependent on their previous career or their aspired line of employment. When these are similar to the activities at WDKW, a more positive identity experience is noticed, whereas participants who come from different backgrounds or have different dreams feel like their identities are stripped.

With regards to feeling rooted in the Netherlands, the feelings differ somewhat from each other. These categories can be roughly divided as ‘feeling at home’, ‘potentially feeling at home’ and ‘will never feel at home’, with about half of the newcomers falling into the latter category. The reasons for this can in part be found in the chapter on integration, where multiple hurdles have been mentioned for integration.

In general, most newcomers tend to feel more comfortable still with the Arabic speaking community in the Netherlands, in part because of the language barrier to the Dutch society, in part because some of them feel ‘othered’ or unaccepted by the Dutch community.

These troubles with feelings of identity are somewhat connected to WDKW. Although they are not primarily caused by WDKW, they could potentially be tackled there. Building on the idea behind the initiation of the project, WDKW was meant to be a place where people could feel like an active part of a community, by contributing to society with their skills and expertise, all along while learning and practicing the language and more frequent contact with Dutch people.

The roles described in the data are both projected and taken and have varying sources of origin. The main groups are the municipality, the management, the newcomers and society.

From these groups, only the newcomers have been specifically researched with regards to their roles and the management had, to a lesser extent, the opportunity to discuss roles. Society and municipality have both not had the chance to speak for their own vision on their roles nor voice the projected roles that were of meaning to them. Nevertheless, they play an important part in the different role divisions.

Firstly, the newcomers have taken an on-stage role as an active worker and employee, trying to fit in as comfortable as possible. Their off-stage roles are more stern, in which they, amongst themselves, share and discuss their troubles and contemplate their problems, as well as joke around with one another. They also project roles to the management, the municipality and society.

The management is in general regarded as ‘the boss’ or the ones in charge, by the newcomers, and the management itself also takes that role actively. However, their style of leadership is discussed in their role attribution. For some, their leadership has transitioned from authoritarian and strict to more lenient and relaxed, while for others the former state of leadership has remained to be the status. Furthermore, the management projects roles onto the newcomers as people with a very different

culture and, particularly, work-ethos. They are understood to think more in the short-term and many of them are thought to not enjoy work.

The role of the municipality is quite a large role, as attributed to them by the newcomers in particular. The municipality in this is regarded as a powerful and threatening force, that is not trusted nor understood fully.

Finally, society plays a differing role for each person, varying from open and welcoming to more closed and othering. All in all however, there seems to be agreement that society is still somewhat far from their daily lives, due to infrequent contact and little opportunity to engage with society.

Regulations and integration have been taken on together in the analysis, as they correspond to a model that takes into account both. Overall the data shows that the rules and regulations in general in the Netherlands are regarded as high, or even too high. The regulations often incite feelings of stress and insecurity and on the other hand obstruct initial plans or make the existence of the newcomers more difficult, as to their perspective.

Integration is discussed as containing many hurdles, but also opportunities. However, the conditions for integration are still somewhat spread. These conditions, formulated by the municipality, the management and the newcomers themselves, have in common that they mention employment, as an active participant in society and language, to be able to break boundaries. The approaches to these goals are however still perceived to vary in their effectiveness.

On the overall scale, newcomers do in general hardly feel like they have socially integrated, and feel heavy pressure from the existing regulations, especially at WDKW and from the municipality. About half of them seem to be at risk to become, or already are, in a state of ‘fatalistic isolation’, induced by feelings of loneliness, fear and stress.

Chapter 5

5.1 Discussion

Looking at the case-study and the reason for its current popularity as a tool for integration, there are many assumptions that uphold the potential success-factor. For instance, it is expected that the roles that newcomers take on during their participation will be a relatively new role – that of employee of a Dutch employer – that can increase their employability in the future in the Netherlands. From this perspective, these roles, if played and translated well by both employer and employee, are expected to translate directly to the outside world. However, as the case-study serves as an experimental space, rather than a ‘real-life’ experience within society, it has become clear that direct translation is not a given as many of the newcomers recognize the difference between society and the workplace. When

discussing roles, it must be very clear that there is a difference between frontstage and backstage roles, in which different types of behaviours manifest that vary in their believability and required effort. Unquestionably, the newcomers see differences between the 'real world' and the work-place and behave accordingly. Secondly, there is a risk that the roles played by the newcomers are not regarded as believable performances by the surrounding actors and, as such, will not be taken seriously. This lack of fluency might be without problem as long as the stage and the audience provide a space where this fluency can be practiced and improved, instead of judged and mocked. This 'safe' space is vital for the fluency of roles and role repertoire to improve. As from this research it is questionable whether this safe space is indeed provided to improve the fluency and role repertoire of the newcomers.

Another assumption that the implementation of these type of projects rely upon is that through participation in a project, interaction between Dutch natives and newcomers may be increased, which would affect the practicing of the Dutch language, as well as increase intercultural interaction with the surrounding community. In turn, this should provide for a stronger feeling of social integration. This assumption must be questioned on multiple fronts. Firstly, the practical aspect of interaction between the two groups has to prove to be true and sufficient. Within this project, there are, on a daily basis, between 5 and 15 newcomers at the site and 2 to 4 Dutch natives. This ratio alone implies that structurally practicing the Dutch language may become difficult. Secondly, there is the question of professional dynamics that challenges this assumption: do these dynamics actually allow for high interaction? And of what quality and character would this interaction be? The interactions observed are both of relatively low frequency and limited in their depth and extensiveness due to professional roles.

The second part of this assumption implies that more frequent interaction between Dutch natives and newcomers will lead to stronger feelings of social integration. Expectedly, this is highly dependent on the types of interactions and quality of relationships. Social integration is in part influenced by the frequency of interactions with the host-culture, but cannot be fully understood and measured by that factor alone.

In turn, social integration is deeply connected to the identities of participants and their own perceptions and ideas of how they fit into a community or society as a whole. Participating in a project like this case-study may influence these feelings of identity. It could be possible that, when the newcomers perceive their own participation as a meaningful contribution to society, it would affect their ideas and beliefs of the self, and as such increase their feelings of identity in the 'new' context. In turn, it could also be that these feelings of self are of a negative character and will as such have a negative effect on the feelings of social integration and identity. This could occur when the newcomers do not perceive their participation to be meaningful, or when they do not feel like their participation takes place in the 'real' society at all. The latter has been found to be the case at the worksite, which brings into question both the overall assumption as well as the implementation on the worksite

Finally, the assumptions that underlie the set-up of these type of projects does not include ideas of structural and social forces that take place before, within and after participation of these projects. For successful implementation of these measures as an integration tool, these forces and power-dynamics must be understood as well. When the newcomers are participating for ‘the right reasons’, as assumed in the model of this project, they are participating knowingly of the expectations and the added benefits that are expected from their participation. In turn, they will be able to reap the benefits. However, the ‘larger’ structural and social forces have made for a situation in which the participants are participating for the ‘wrong’ reasons, such as being externally pushed or coerced in to participating. Overall, many of the assumptions regarding this policy tool must be re-evaluated.

Furthermore, there are academic aspects that must be discussed and re-evaluated in the light of the outcomes of this research. For instance, the results from this study, imply a a strong and highly relevant connection between ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ integration, whereas other scholars (e.g. Nekuee & Verkuyten (1994), LaFramboise et al. (1993)) have mainly pointed out the divide between the two. Although the studies that have been conducted so far, do not claim that the two dimensions are separate, yet they do not sufficiently grasp the interconnectedness and interdependence between the two that have become clear from this research.

The behaviours and feelings of the newcomers, that are traditionally regarded as informal integration aspects, are for a large part determined by formal aspects of integration, that are in turn influenced by informal aspects. For example, when the communication with an institution is unclear or perceived as hostile by the newcomers, newcomers may develop fear and anxiety, which will lead to a variety of results that in turn enlarge the distance between the newcomer and Dutch society and may further intensify poor communication.

Notably, there is some tendency among scholars to acknowledge the decreasing role of identity and culture in the globalizing world. While Hall (1992) describes cultural identities as “those aspects of our identities which arise from our “belonging” to distinctive ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious and, above all, national cultures”, he also recognizes that the modern world has moved beyond ‘fixed’ or ‘static’ identities of many populations. Ahmed (2003) similarly argues that identities have become more diverse and plural. His central argument of identity in the modern world is that “being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed”, as well as that “being mobile is not necessarily about being detached” (Ahmed et al., 2003). However, the results of this research tend to question these developments in the role of national cultures on identity. Throughout the research the gap between the “Dutch national culture” and their own national culture has been mentioned on several occasions, implying that this gap makes integration increasingly difficult. The role of national culture should, based on these results, be revisited to determine the character and implications of this role.

None of the scholars discussed have spent particular attention to the (perceived) role of the native population of host countries and their roles in integration. Throughout this research it has become evident that the perceived roles of others have a large effect on the integration efforts of newcomers.

Bulte, Richards and Voors (2018) described, problems can arise when “agents within one ordering, fail to comprehend the rules and assumptions respected by agents under other orderings”. Building upon the previous paragraph, due to the miscommunication of perceived and played roles, these problems are arising. Seemingly, the translation between the taken roles and the roles that are projected are flawed, and as such lead to a variety of problems and tensions. For instance, the management perceives the newcomers as having particular ‘cultural’ attributes, while these attributes are not echoed in the accounts of the newcomers themselves. These projections make for stereotyping, framing and generalization of the newcomers and debilitate effective roleplay between the management and the newcomers. At the same time, the newcomers project roles onto the management, the municipality and society as well that are not necessarily echoed. This research did not allow for the municipality and society to speak for their own roles, so results on these two actors are inconclusive. However, the meanings and intentions of actions of the management may be misunderstood by the newcomers, leading to further unnecessary tension.

These misconceptions between the main parties could in part be caused by insufficient communication ability (as by LaFramboise et al., 1993) for the performances on both sides to be believable and reliable. As LaFramboise et al. mentioned before, language is a key component to this communication ability, and as the language barrier has been a large theme throughout this research, this may be very true. However, when little space is offered for these abilities to develop and grow, there is potential for these problems to be resolved.

A final point of discussion is the role of force in migration and integration. Throughout this research it has become evident that many of the actions, activities and feelings of newcomers are, by them, perceived as obligatory or even forced or coerced. The newcomers mention at several point how they play their roles due to fear of the other parties and that they do what they ‘have to’ for as long as it is necessary. The theories that have been discussed do not take into consideration the factor of coercion in the process of integration but assume it to be a mostly voluntary, internally motivated process, that is stimulated from government and society forces. As mentioned before, the roles that others are perceived to play within the process of integration are important to the integration efforts of newcomers, both when these roles are perceived as supportive as well as coercive.

5.2 Conclusion

This research initially aimed to contribute to the societal and political debate regarding effective ways of enabling integration of newcomers in the Netherlands and to determine whether or not the

participatory building-project of WDKW is an effective tool for integration within wider society. From these results, hypotheses and conditions for success might be derived that apply to the policy tool in general for further research.

To work towards this goal, the following research questions were formulated:

In what ways is the integration of newcomers in the Netherlands effected by participating in the building project of WDKW?

- 1) *How do roles and performances take shape within the building project – and how is that perceived to correspond to the outside world?*
- 2) *How are the identities of participants effected through participation in the building project?*
- 3) *What structural and social forces can be identified that influence the overall integration of the participants?*

The sub-questions 1), 2) and 3), will be answered as to formulate a concrete answer to the main question of this research.

When looking in to the matter of roles and performances we see different roles being played and perceived by the different actors present. The taken roles within this study have been quite straightforward, where the management plays the role of the boss and the newcomers play the roles of the employees. These roles are shaped through expectations from one party to another but, in the case of

Currently, the roles and performances on-stage lead to unpredictable outcomes. These roles stem from orderings that are unfamiliar to actors who stem from other orderings and as such, the performing actors fail to comprehend the correct rules and assumptions, leading to difficulties on the workplace and anxiety. This unpredictability also reflects in part how the newcomers regard the workplace as relatively different from ‘the outside world’. When they reflect upon the outside world they either refer to it as easier or more difficult, while the management continues to express the similarities between the workplace and the outside world. This in turn exemplifies how the orderings of the two different groups clash and produce unbelievable performances.

The roles and performances that are taken are for a large part shaped upon the perceived expectations of others, regardless of whether these perceptions are accurate or complete. The projected roles are similarly based on perceptions and thoughts that stem into personal orderings leading to miscommunications and misunderstandings that, in turn, increase the perceived discrepancy with the outside world.

These differences in orderings tie in to the role-play of the different actors but also affect feelings of identity and bicultural efficacy. The lack in success of performances in interactions has much to do with the minds of individuals in which beliefs, meanings and feelings manifest themselves. This inner process translates the actions of others to an understandable realm. When this understandable realm is

different from that of the other, the risk of miscommunication is large. Even more so, when one is aware of the differences between oneself and another, the search for appropriate behaviour is complicated.

Within the questions surrounding identity, it has been observed that the confidence of the research subjects onto knowing how to behave and act appropriately within the new context is still relatively low. As such, they tend to feel more comfortable with their own community where the language barrier is absent. On the other hand, they long to have more opportunity to become part of the surrounding society, as they often do aspire to feel at home. Most of them, however, do not feel at home – and some of them even feel like they never will feel that way. This ties in to main concerns surrounding integration, namely the language barrier and the inability or lack of opportunity to become an active member of society. In turn, the becoming an active member of society is strongly associated with the identity trait that is linked to their previous and/or aspired occupation, through which the newcomers believe to be able to contribute to society.

The ideas surrounding integration, becoming a member of society, resonate within all actors of this case-study. The most prominent of these are indeed to overcome the language barrier and to find meaningful work. However, the routes to move towards these goals are disputed. These roads to integration could be further researched in order to find out what exactly would be the most effective and efficient way to get there. The newcomers, however, also feel like the rules and regulations in the Netherlands at time are obstructing these goals, by holding them back where they could potentially move forward and by directing them through bureaucratic and time-mongering measures that are difficult to understand and interpret in a foreign language. Overall, the newcomers experience the pressure of everyday rules and regulations to be too much, and have a low level of perceived social integration. Within the scheme of Bulte et al. they are generally placed in the category of fatalists; having given up on their own agency, but feeling like slaves to a system that they must adhere to.

The case-study site is in some ways a place where opportunities are given, and to some extent, the newcomers recognize this. On the other hand, they feel to be coerced to spend their time at the worksite that they feel they could have spent more efficiently elsewhere. In turn, WDKW does at this point not live up to its initial aspirations to *“initiate, organize and support a living project for vulnerable citizens, especially refugees with a residence permit, that, together with locals, build together on a place to live, which makes them able to participate in the community”*. Locals are at this point hardly involved, leaving little opportunity to work on language-improvement for the newcomers. At the same time, many of the participants do not experience their work there to matter to any community, let alone making them part of a community.

Reflecting on the main question that this research started upon, we can conclude that the integration of newcomers at least is in some way effected by their participation. This effect is currently negative,

however. Their involvement in a project that does not suit their professional experience or their professional dreams, leads to feeling stripped of their identities. In general, they feel pushed around by the rules and regulations that have coerced them into playing particular roles in this project despite the negative effects this may have on other integration efforts and they do not feel supplied with opportunities to improve their language skills or becoming a part of a community.

5.3 Recommendations

Primarily, further research is encouraged to measure the long-term impacts of participatory integration tracks on actual integration. As this research was focused on a short time-period during the early stages of this participatory track, there could very well be results that remain beyond the horizon of this period of time that would change the outcomes significantly.

Another topic of interest for future research is the implicit and explicit communication between the different stakeholders in integration tracks. These relationships seem, from this research, fragile at best and only partly communicated. Beliefs and values that are implicit to these relationships, when investigated, could potentially reveal systematic, instead of incidental, issues that harm the quality of relationships in the long run, as such damaging integration potential. From these discoveries, a more fruitful future-path might be constructed as to improve these relationships.

Further research could also particularly engage into the topic of conditions of integration, and how to achieve them most effectively with all stakeholders involved. As we have seen from this research, the overall goals that have to be obtained to 'integrate', are somewhat similar, yet the strategies to achieve these goals differ.

Another way that this research could be continued is to investigate what the perceptions and ideas of involved parties regarding being 'Dutch' or 'integrated' look like and how they overlap or differ from each other. Through this type of research, more insight might be gained with regards to the appropriate description of integration and the appropriate ways to work towards this.

Secondly, practical recommendations are in order to address to the board of Woonwerkplaats De Kleine Wereld, as to improve their functioning and to become the kind of place that they want to be. Many of the issues found throughout this research in the fields of roles, identities, regulations, integration and the overall effectiveness of the project are only in part or even not at all caused by the events at WDKW. However, WDKW is in the position where they could make the changes to make a more lasting impact on the integration of the participants in their project. Firstly, it is recommended to increase facilitation of opportunities to learn and practice Dutch. Although the researcher has shared this feedback early on in the process and it has been acted upon aptly, more opportunities would benefit the newcomers in their integration process. Suggestions could be to either involve more Dutch-speaking people in the building process, assign someone to coach them on a more personal level (as

opposed to the role of the job-coach) at the work-place or to pay attention to the nationalities of the participants at the workplace as to create a mix of nationalities.

A second recommendation to them would be to try to match the activities of the participants more effectively with the capabilities and knowledge of the participants, so they can actively contribute to the process. This might involve a renewed process of finding suitable candidates for the profiles who are willing and able to do this kind of work. A level beyond this is to somehow increase the perceived value of the work that they do for the community. Low community involvement in the project can make the participants feel as if they are 'not getting anything back' for their efforts and thus feeling aimless.

Thirdly, some effort might be required to find a balance between reality and the workplace. This means that, without having a case to compare the workplace to, the newcomers can only decide whether it is true to reality based on their imagination. Facilitating more serious career-related activities to get newcomers ready for the next steps in their career might diffuse the blur between what is 'normal' within the new context and what is not.

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Appendix A. Interviewguide

Interviewguide – Research on integration through participation

To be provided to the translator for Arabic-English interviews

Preparation:

- 1) Welcome the interviewee to the interview. Explain that you (Salim) will be asking the questions on my behalf and that you will translate them back to me (Eef) for my research.
- 2) Ask for permission to tape the interview.
- 3) Tell them their identity will be protected.
- 4) Urge them to be honest: neither of us has any ties to authorities, but are genuinely interested in their responses.
- 5) Urge them to be specific: to follow up claims with examples and details (how was their conclusion reached?).
- 6) Ask open questions.

Themes:

- A) Social regulations
 - a. Rules within the workplace
 - b. Rules within society
 - c. Difficulty or easy to adhere to these rules
- B) Social Integration
 - a. Connectedness to society and sub-groups
 - b. Feeling like ‘home’
 - c. The extent to which they can comfortably be themselves
 - d. Frequency and quality of interaction with the native population
- C) Roles
 - a. In the workplace: what is their role? What are the other roles?
 - b. Are these roles performed or genuine?
 - c. What person do they want others to believe they are?
- D) Identities
 - a. Can they be who they are here or do they need to be someone else?
 - b. What kind of impact does working here have on their future?

Closing:

- 1) Thank them for the interview and their time.

Appendix B. Overview Research population

Name	Age	Nationality
Ramez	37	Syrian/Kurdish
Khadida	46	Syrian/Kurdish
Ali	53	Iraqi
Ibrahim	44	Syrian
Ismail	27	Syrian/Kurdish
Jneed	60	Syrian
Ahmad	21	Syrian
Ismail	36	Syrian
Mohammed	22	Syrian