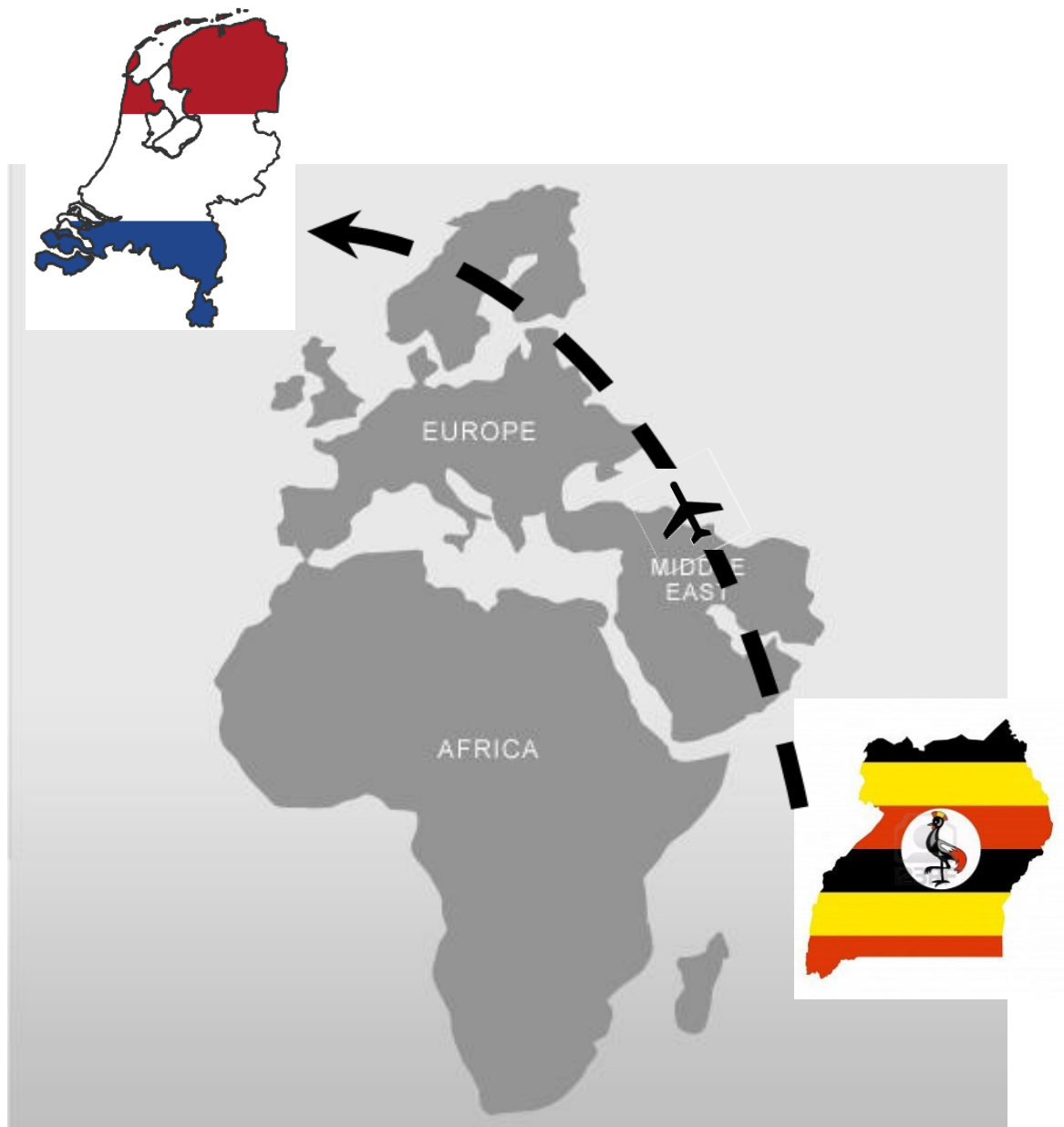




Ugandans in the Netherlands

Lived Experiences of Ugandan migrants in The Netherlands

A story of 18 migrants

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Master Thesis

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Executive Summary

In the Netherlands according to the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) since 2011 there have been 1.624 Ugandan migrants living in the Netherlands. This number has grown from a 1.122 in 2005 to 1.624 in 2011¹. Little to nothing is known about the experiences of migrants other than those of Islamic descent. However, the number of Ugandans living in the Netherlands is increasing fairly exponentially, and the only known fact about Ugandans in the Netherlands is that they exist and have been included in the database of migrants living in the Netherlands. Additionally, since four years a Uganda Day is organized by both Ugandans and Dutch in The Hague to put the spotlight on Uganda, but nothing related to lives of Ugandans in the Netherlands is documented on this day. The Netherlands has had an embassy in Uganda since 1998, and since, there has been a good relationship between Uganda and the Netherlands, particularly in the context of development in Uganda. There is a gap in information when it comes to migration of Ugandans to the Netherlands and exploring the lived experiences of Ugandans in the Netherlands. This is what this paper attempts to explore. The focus on Ugandan migrants is primarily based on my admiration for the country and strong affiliation to it, having grown up there for 13 years.

People migrate from country to country for a myriad of reasons, the answer to the question why, is complex and particular to the individual, for this reason life histories are presented. This paper does not focus primarily on the question why people emigrate but goes a step further in uncovering what next after emigration.

Following the stories of 18 Ugandan migrants this paper has two main objectives; 1) to gain an understanding of the migration process of Ugandans living in the Netherlands, and 2) to explore how migrants create home within Dutch society. The life history approach has been applied as this allows the migrant to share his/her story in the way they have perceived it, this allows the listener to gain an understanding of the migrant's experiences and illustrates how they construct their lives.

The main research question guiding this thesis is: *How do Ugandan migrants experience migration to the Netherlands and how do they build a life in the Netherlands?*

To answer the research question, a preliminary research was carried out to identify important themes. A qualitative research of semi structured interviews was then executed with 18 Ugandan migrants living all over the Netherlands. In the interviews, information was asked about the background of the respondent, about the reasons to migrate, the methods of migrating, about their experiences living in the Netherlands, their coping strategies and finally, their future plans. The respondents were selected through a sampling method called snowball effect.

Viewing the migration process through a transitional cycle perspective the thesis takes us on a journey exploring the challenges, coping strategies and future plans of the Ugandan migrants in this study. Subsequently, I explore the usage of social capital in facilitating the

¹ CBSa: "Bevolking; Generatie, Geslacht, Leeftijd En Herkomstgroepering, 1 Januari."; The CBS is a set of information registered by local and national governments and other public institutions such as immigration offices, institutions of the welfare system and municipalities. This database includes basic personal characteristics such as age, gender, ethnicity, data of immigration and nationality

transition cycle of migration and eventual adjustment to life in the Netherlands, and the eventual creation of a second home

My study revealed that upon arrival migrants are highly dependent on bonding capital. Bridging capital was encouraged through Pearl of Africa (an NGO established by Ugandans who initiated integration workshops, mixing Dutch and Uganda people in order to stimulate multicultural education) but participation of such events was highly dependent on the willingness of individuals. Bonding capital was also responsible for the information that migrants received prior to arriving to the Netherlands, in some cases expectations were far from reality, they called this the European Dream. Bridging capital should be encouraged in order to understand how people of different backgrounds (namely the Dutch) operate and in order to stimulate migrants to get out of the culture of dependency on other Ugandans.

My data showed that the majority of the respondents built a home within the Netherlands through the networks that were created with other Ugandans. Experiences were shared and solutions were collectively drawn. Loneliness arose when respondents did not know of these networks, as one put it "it was not until I met other Ugandans that I felt at home" (Brenda). Migrants who did not build a home in the Netherlands, view the Netherlands as a temporary place, while Uganda is their permanent home. Home is a place where you can be yourself, in the Netherlands you need to behave in a certain way to live.

The focus of the research was on the experiences of Ugandan migrants, inevitably the role of Dutch society plays a part on the migration process and experiences of migrants living in the Netherlands. Interaction between the two groups was looked at when depicting the bridging capital that existed. Through building a life in the Netherlands, the respondents were all fairly active, participating in social events, going to school, shopping, establishing NGO's, etc. The research illustrated how Dutch society plays both a promoting role and an inhibiting one to the process of migration. The emphasis in this section was on policy and social interaction.

My data showed that through sharing, migrants were able to make their lives more comfortable. Challenges, such as how to interact with neighbors or dealing with contradictions in values and beliefs were tackled and solutions were collectively drawn. This illustrates the importance of sharing ones experiences so that others can learn from them.

Key terms

Migration, international migration, cultural adjustment, social capital, Uganda, The Netherlands

1. Introduction

Migration is not a new phenomenon. This notion has received a lot of attention in the media, mainly perceiving it as problematic; countries either experiencing brain drain or an influx of illegal migrants. But this is an over simplified description of the migration process. Though migration is a popular concept, there are many stories that go untold; a lot of attention has been on large groups of migrants and migrants of Islamic origin. Little is known about smaller groups migrating for instance the Ugandans in the Netherlands.

People have been migrating to the Netherlands from all over the world dating back to 1590, when “many Huguenots – Protestants from France - and Jews from Southern and Eastern Europe”² migrated to the Netherlands. The Netherlands was an immigration hub, experiencing three main flows of migrants, first migrants from its colonies, second low skilled guest workers from the Mediterranean (particularly Morocco and Turkey) and third family reunification (as many guest workers ended up staying in the Netherlands permanently) and more recently asylum seekers. Migrants have generally been welcomed in the Netherlands, until recently when trends in Dutch migration policy shifted and became more strict (in an attempt to decrease the number of migrants entering the Netherlands) making living in the Netherlands less welcoming.³ The policies have shifted from multicultural towards policies focused on enforcing integration of migrants.

The following section will begin with a background on Ugandan and migration trends. This is in order to conceptualize the paper by creating a setting for the reader. The history of the Dutch migration will also be explored in order to understand the policy shift from multicultural to integration. The chapter will then go on to describe the problem the paper addresses, the objectives and the research questions.

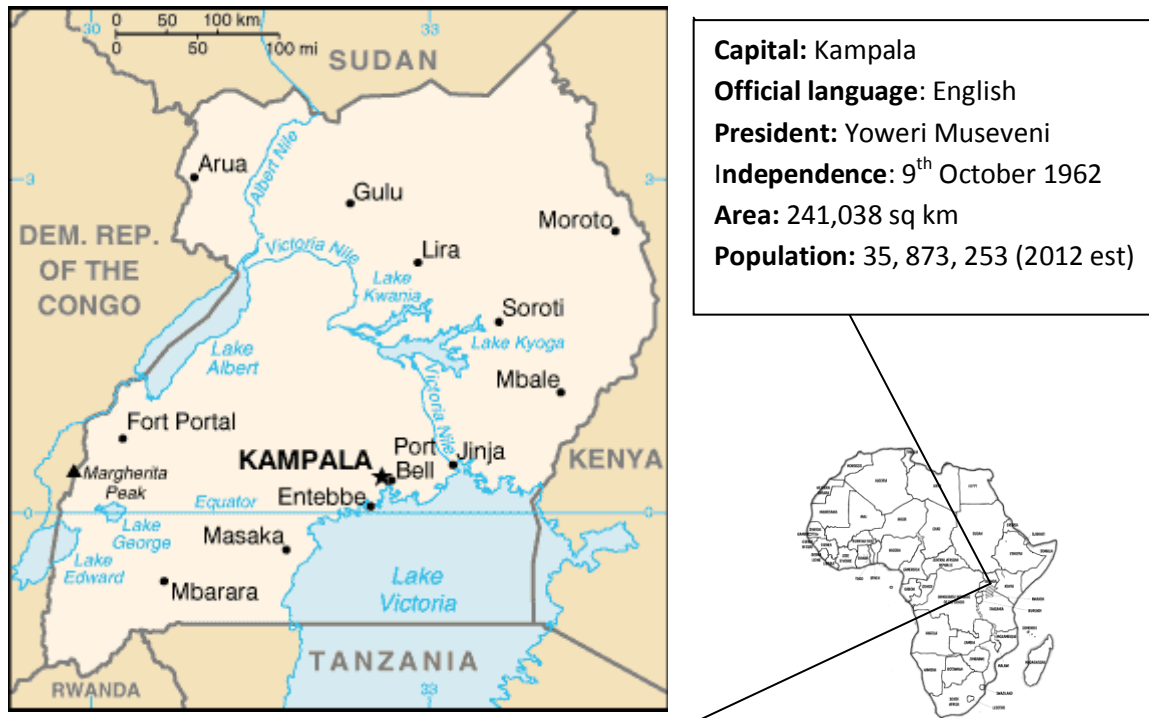
² Focus migration; 2011

³ Ušinović; 2006:5

1.1 Background on Uganda and Migration Trends

1.1.1. A Brief History of Uganda

Figure 1 Map of Uganda⁴



Uganda is a landlocked country found in the Eastern part of Africa. It is bordered by Kenya to the East, South Sudan to the North, Democratic Republic of Congo to the West, Rwanda to the Southwest and Tanzania to the South (refer to map). The name Uganda comes from the Buganda Kingdom, which was the largest kingdom. Initially, 5 kingdoms emerged from the 14th century, (Buganda, Busoga, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro). At the start, the Bunyoro Kingdom was the most powerful kingdom, but this was short lived, as overtime, the Buganda Kingdom became the most powerful Kingdom and still is today. The people of the Buganda Kingdom also known as the Baganda, to date make up 16.9%⁵ of Uganda's population and are loyal to the Kabaka (Buganda king).

Uganda remained for a greater part of the trading era unexplored. It was not until 1830 that the Arabs entered Uganda. The first traders came looking for slaves and ivory. They were followed in 1860 by British explorers looking for the source of the Nile, John Hanning Speke and James Grant. Soon after, Anglican missionaries came to Uganda in 1877, followed by catholic missionaries in 1879. Consequently, Uganda became torn on religious lines, where the Muslims, the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans were all trying to convert the Ugandan population to their respective religions. As a result, the Buganda Kingdom ended up separating along catholic and protestant lines.

⁴ CIA – The World Factbook; 2012

⁵ CIA – The World Factbook; 2012

European interest in Uganda soon increased, and Uganda inevitably became part of the 'scramble for Africa'⁶. Through the Berlin treaty in 1885 East Africa was divided, Uganda along with Kenya, Zanzibar and Pemba all fell under British rule. In 1894 Uganda was declared a British protectorate. As a protectorate Uganda experienced gradual economic transformations, starting with the successful and prosperous farming of cotton (1904) and later tea and coffee as cash crops in 1920. Socially, the Kabaka's status became recognized by Britain, and the chiefs were given freehold rights to their land (a system unknown to African tribes, but welcomed nonetheless), the rulers of the Ankole and Toro were also recognized by Britain, resulting in a 'federal system of semi-independent monarchies'⁷. With the growing prominence of the Buganda Kingdom, and the movement towards independence, a political group (Uganda People Congress) led by Milton Obote protested against the Buganda hegemony. Political awareness in Uganda emerged relatively late (1950's). The first political parties in Uganda were established in the 1950's and were formed along tribal and religious lines. In 1962, Uganda was granted full internal self-government from Britain. Obote was elected prime minister and in 1963 the Buganda ruler (Mutesa II) was elected president and head of state. In 1966, Obote carried out a coup with his new army commander Idi Amin, and persecuted Mutesa II to Britain. Immediately Obote introduced a new constitution abolishing the hereditary kingdoms and including a new post for an executive president, which he filled himself. Idi Amin strategically plotted against Obote and later overthrew his government in 1971. Idi Amin's rule from 1971-1979 is best described as a time of terror. In his 7 years of power, between 100,000 and 500,000 Ugandans were reported to have been murdered or tortured. Additionally, he expelled all the Asian Ugandans (they were responsible for a large part of the trade industry; this move had huge consequences for the economy of Uganda). It is with the help of Julius Nyerere (then the Tanzanian president) that Obote's army led by Tito Okello was able to topple Idi Amin's regime in 1978. In 1980 Obote was reinstated as president through elections. His repressive form of governance was met with a lot of discontent. When Obote was reinstated as president in 1980, Yoweri Museveni (then the Defence minister) was not pleased with the outcomes of the elections and withdrew to the bushes and formed his own rebel group, the NRA (National Resistance Army). Although Obote was ousted by Tito Okello in 1985, by 1986 the NRA had taken over Kampala, and Museveni announced the formation of a government of national unity and delegated himself as president.

Museveni's coming to power in 1986 was a major turning point for Uganda. A country crippled by social, political and economic circumstances began stabilizing, Museveni focused on reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country in an effort to put Uganda back on its feet. 10 years down the road, the country, except for the North (where civil war broke out between the NRA and the Lord's Resistance Army), was finally under rule of law, after years of economic mismanagement the inflation rate decreased from 200% in 1986 to about 30% in 1990⁸ and in 1993 the government set up its first 3 year national health plan⁹. On February 18 2011 Uganda held presidential elections which declared Museveni the president of Uganda for another 5 years.

⁶ Pakenham; 1992:1

⁷ "History of Uganda.";2012

⁸ Muwanga; 2001; 7

⁹ Vaux and Visman, 2005; 97

1.1.2 Migration trends in Uganda

Dating back to 1940 Uganda was a migration hub. In 1940, Uganda hosted about 7,000 Polish refugees, in 1955 about 80,000 Southern Sudanese crossed into Uganda after army mutiny in Sudan, between 1959-1960 Uganda hosted thousands of Rwandan refugees fleeing from the political turmoil, and also hosted some (the number is unknown, but it was enough to set up a refugee settlement camp) Congolese during their political turmoil in 1950. In 1972, however, President Idi Amin expelled (within 3 months) over 20,000 Ugandan Asians (mainly Indians and Pakistanis). This move was a turning point in migration patterns in Uganda. The expulsion of the Indians had a devastating effect on the economy of Uganda as the Indians owned businesses, large-scale enterprises, which formed the backbone of the Ugandan economy. Additionally, in Northern Uganda a civil war erupted, forcing many Ugandan migrants to seek asylum in neighboring countries and in the West.¹⁰

After the overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979, Uganda again started receiving refugees from Somalia, Burundi, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Nigeria, and Pakistan.

“During the last two decades, south–north migration has intensified in Eastern Africa as a response to globalization processes, but mostly due to lack of economic opportunities.”¹¹ Information on figures illustrating the number of Ugandans leaving Uganda are currently not available, but obvious shortages of staff in certain labor sectors is enough evidence to show that emigration is occurring. Trends indicate that educated Ugandans are leaving Uganda. The vacuum they leave behind is the evidence that thousands of Ugandans emigrate. The most obvious shortage lies in the health sector, where “the doctor to patient ratio is 1:24,725, falling short of the 1:600 standard set by the World Health Organisation”¹² whilst there are currently 5 recognized medical Universities in Uganda. “Makerere [University], the most prestigious medical school in the country, produces about 100 doctors a year. In total, the country produces about 250 doctors per year; considering other universities.”¹³ It is not only the highly skilled people that are emigrating, even the less educated Ugandans migrate in the hopes of securing a better livelihood; these are known as economic migrants.

One of the migration systems theories (extending dependency theories and world system approaches, looked at in the concepts section) claim that before migration flows occur, there is an existence of a “linkages between countries other than people, such as trade and security alliance, colonial ties, and flows of goods, services, information and ideas.” This is not the case between the Netherlands and Uganda; moreover, there is not even a Ugandan embassy in the Netherlands. The reason for this according to Merjam Blaak, Ugandan Ambassador in Belgium (during the Uganda Day event in The Hague) “is there is not enough funding, but there are future plans to have an embassy in the Netherlands.”

The 'Policy Analysis Report: Migration trends in Uganda' claim that the main reasons for emigration are low political stability, economic opportunities, further education and poverty. The destinations of migrants are towards the English speaking countries of Canada, UK, USA, Australia and New Zealand.

¹⁰ Mulumba; 2009: 22

¹¹ Mulumba; 2009: 58

¹² New Vision; 2010

¹³ New Vision; 2010

1.1.3 The Netherlands and Migration

Migration to and from the Netherlands is not a new process, people have been migrating as far back as 1590 when “Huguenot-Protestants- from France – Jews from Southern and Eastern Europe”¹⁴. It was after World War II however when the Netherlands experienced the largest numbers of immigration flows. The first wave of immigration came from the Indonesia (1946-1950), Surinam (1975-1980), and the Dutch Antilles (Also known as the Dutch Caribbean islands); all former colonies of the Netherlands.¹⁵ The second surge of migrants came as guest workers, through the recruitment policy between 1964 and 1975; these migrants came as low skilled workers from the Mediterranean countries (Morocco and Turkey) to solve the unskilled labour shortages. Most of the guest workers ended up settling in the Netherlands permanently after their work, resulting in a large number of migrant family reunification and formation, explaining the third flow of immigrants.¹⁶

“Since the early 1980s, the Netherlands had pursued Europe’s most prominent and proudly exhibited multiculturalism policy, which envisaged ‘emancipation’ for designated ‘ethnic minorities’, but within their own state supported ethnic infrastructures, including ethnic school, ethnic hospitals and ethnic media.”¹⁷ Multiculturalism it was argued came almost naturally because of the Dutch system of pillarization (this was “an arrangement of peaceful coexistence between disparate groups within a vertically segmented society living apart together in potentially conflictual ‘pillars’ based on religion and ideology”).¹⁸ This system was criticized particularly by Paul Scheffer (2000) who argued that policies such as the Minderhedennota 1983 (Minorities bill 1983), that “supported group identity have not resulted in integration, but in a ‘clash of cultures’ and in ‘the greatest threat of social unrest’.”¹⁹ By 1998, the Minderhedennota was replaced by a Law of Civic Integration, policy makers were busy implementing a move from multiculturalists to integrationist policies; changes towards ‘strengthening Dutch nationality’. The Law of Civic Integration, required newcomers (particularly non-western) immigrants to take Dutch language and civic courses. It was believed this would increase autonomy and immigrant participation in ‘mainstream’ institutions. Another cause of the changes in policy is during the last wave of migration (family reunification (and more recently asylum seeking migrants)); most immigrants went directly on welfare benefits, which brought about the debate on ‘the cost of an immigrant’²⁰. It was estimated that “in 1998, 47 per cent of all those on welfare in the Netherlands were immigrants; among non-Western foreigners, 20 per cent depended on welfare, which is ten times greater than the welfare dependency of native Dutch.”²¹

The threat of Dutch identity and security has been a political debate since the beginning of the 20th century. One of the major triggers to the break in political avoidance of the ‘migration issue’ was a public speech in 1991 by Frits Bolkestein (the then Leader of the

¹⁴ Focus Migration; 2011

¹⁵ Zorlu&Hartog; 2001

¹⁶ Van Ours & Veenman;1999

¹⁷ Joppke, 2007: 5 in Awad; 2011

¹⁸ Brants, 2006: 228 in Awad; 2011

¹⁹ Paul Scheffer; 2000 (NRC)

²⁰ NRC; 2010

²¹ Joppke; 2007: 11

Liberal Party), who suggested that “Islam formed a threat to liberal democracy. He also intimated that it was a hindrance to the integration of immigrants, and that immigrant integration should be handled, in Bolkestein words, ‘with more courage’ “²². Political parties began taking more explicit positions on the issue. Immigration issues were used as an electoral weapon. For instance in 2002, the right wing politician Pim Fortuyn, used the increasing discontent for political success, by stating his disapproval of the Islam religion and immigrants of this religion.

There were a number of crucial events at the start of the 21st century that set the pace and placed more attention on immigrant integration. Internationally, the September 11th (9-11) twin towers attacks in the US (2001), the global project against terrorism (2002), the attacks on the UN headquarters in Baghdad (2003), the attacks on the four commuter trains in Madrid (2004), the London underground attacks (2005), etc. influencing the political debates on Muslim immigrants²³. Nationally, a number of events have also increased the heated debate on immigrant integration, for instance the *Het Multiculturele Drama* (‘The Multicultural Disaster’ essay by Paul Scheffer) which sparked debates about the failure of integration policies (2000), the assassination of Pim Fortuyn (2002) and the assassination of Theo van Gogh (2004).²⁴

As aforementioned the discontent and fear that was created world wide as a consequence of the war on terror, was used skillfully by some Dutch politicians, particularly Pim Fortuyn in 2002, who used the fear of Muslim immigrants and the dissatisfaction with integration policies to campaign for the parliamentary elections. He was assassinated before the elections, but other political parties took on his views on immigration and integration and incorporated these into their political agendas. In 2002 a position was created for a minister of immigration and integration, Hilbrant Nuijten was appointed minister. This move was a clear indication that the Netherlands had shifted away from its traditional tolerance, as Hilbrant had close relations with a Belgian Flemish party which was accused of displaying racism towards migrants by the Belgian Justice. He was succeeded by Rita Verdonk (also known as Iron Rita (Ijzeren Rita) in 2003, who was known for her toughness and outspokenness and uncompromising immigration policies.²⁵

In 2006, there was a change in the political climate, Rita Verdonk was succeeded by Jan Peter Balkenende and the civic integration law was revised and approved in 2006. One of the changes was making migrants pay for the integration courses in full as now this was no longer a state affair, it had become privatized. The state only cared for the Inburgering test results (a standardized civic test). This was attributed to increasing self sufficiency (as everyone was now responsible for his own integration). The change made a shift towards enforcing integration before securing legal status, rather than legal status then integration; making the lack of integration as grounds for refusal of admission and residence. In some countries it is necessary to take the test before entering the Netherlands (this is the case for Morocco and Turkey). The connecting of integration and migration control is not unique for the Netherlands; this is a trend that is visible all over Europe. High-skilled immigrants are

²² Zincone;2011: 145

²³ Johnston; 2012

²⁴ Van der Veer P; 2006: 113

²⁵ Ndayiragije; 2007: 27

being welcomed to the country, while harsher strict policies are in place to fend off low skilled family migrants and asylum seekers. This is also resonated by the popular statement of Pim Fortuyn that the 'Netherlands is full'. Harsh measures are needed to restrict the flow of immigration into the Netherlands.²⁶

In 2007, a new government came into office made up of Christian Democrats, the left wing Christian Union and the Labor Party. This new government has had to find a way to reunite the so called autochtonen (persons of foreign heritage) and alloctonen (persons of *native* Dutch heritage).

It has been important to underline the immigration control policy throughout the history in the Netherlands as this is an important part in determining immigration patterns, both looking at selection and admission of foreign citizens (as guest workers, as asylum seekers, family reunification, etc.) and immigration policies (that facilitate the migration process, for instance, welfare, educational opportunities, employment opportunities, etc.).

1.2 Problem Statement

Exploring the experiences of people migrating to different countries, particularly at the settling stage has been understudied. In this thesis I will explore migration experiences of Ugandans living in the Netherlands. The focus on Ugandan immigrants is primarily based on the fact that Ugandan migrants are a minority group living in the Netherlands who have not received much attention what with the constant debate on Muslim migrants migrating to the Netherlands.

The debate on migration has been one that has received a lot of attention because on the influx of migrants. In the Netherlands according to the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) since 2011 there have been 1,624 Ugandan migrants living in the Netherlands. This number has grown from a 1,122 in 2005²⁷.

People emigrate from country to country for a myriad of reasons, the answer to the question why is particular to the individual. Rather than focusing on the question of why, this report will explore what next after migration to the host country, following a case study of 18 Ugandan migrants.

There are many assumptions made about migrating to Europe and the experiences of living in The Netherlands. The aim of this report is to record experiences of migrants living in the Netherlands and analyze these experiences.

1.3 Research Objectives

1) First Objective:

- To gain an understanding of the migration process of Ugandans living in the Netherlands

Specific objectives

²⁶ Bundeszentrale Für Politische Bildung (BPB);2011

²⁷ CBSa; 2011

- To explore the realities of migrant experiences living in the Netherlands
- To record the migration process of Ugandan migrants living in the Netherlands
- To explore the role of social capital in facilitating the migration process
- To identify the sources of information on the destination country

2) Second Objectives:

- To explore how migrants are able to create home within Dutch society.

Specific Objectives:

- To explore the expectation and wishes of Ugandan migrants migrating to the Netherlands
- To identify the obstacles Ugandan migrants encounter in relation to their expectations
- To explore how home is created

1.4 Research Questions

Main Research Question: *How do Ugandan migrants experience migration to the Netherlands and how do they build a life in the Netherlands?*

Specific Research Questions:

A. Process of Migration

- 1) What are the reasons for migration to the Netherlands of my respondents? And how do experiences differ accordingly?
- 2) What is the source and reliability of information about the migration process prior to migration? And how are migrant experiences in the Netherlands different or similar to their expectations based on the information?
- 3) What are the challenges being faced by Ugandan migrants living in the Netherlands?

B. Building home in the Netherlands

- 4) What are the coping strategies that migrants use?
- 5) To what extent have migrants used social capital to facilitate migration to the Netherlands?
- 6) What are the future plans of the respondents?
- 7) What impact does Dutch society have on the migration experience?

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1 International Migration

International Migration is the first concept that will be explored in this study. Authors (Masey et al) have divided the theoretical approach to understanding the concept into two categories; explaining the initiation of migration and the continuation of migration. Theories explaining the initiation of migration include the neo-classical economic theory, the dual labor market theory, the new economics of labor migration, and the world systems theory. These theories all have origins in the classical push pull theory, where push factors are circumstance in the home country that encourage or force someone to migrate (i.e. poverty, unemployment, natural disaster, political persecution, etc.), pull factors are circumstances in the host country that attract migrants to leave their country (i.e. better living standards, higher wages, employment, education, etc.). All these theories view the migrant as *homo economicus*. The second category is explained through networks theory and institutional theory, these try to explain why migration continues, even though the incentives decrease. The study will focus more on the networks aspect of international migration, looking at the process as a continuity. The network theory examines the importance of networks in facilitating migration; the theory claims that migration may be attributed to the migration network's capacity to lower the economic, social, and emotional costs of migration in effect facilitating the process.²⁸

An international migrant in its simplest form can be described as a person who leaves one area and moves to another crossing borders. People can migrate as workers, students (and highly qualified migrants), refugees, or as accompanying family members. Classically, the movement often results in either permanent settlement in the new location or return to the place of origin. Researchers have expanded this to four different categories; return oriented migrants, emigrants, global nomads and transnational migrants²⁹. Return migrants plan to go back to their country of origin, their move was only temporary and for a short period. Within this group there are sub categories, migrants who came to learn, those who came to explore (travellers) and target earners (*homo economicus*). In some of the categories motives could change resulting in an illusion of return, whereby “the plan of return is postponed and in the end, migrants stay in the host country”³⁰. For instance a target earner might be influenced by the new standard of living and higher incomes, subsequently extending their stay until returning becomes an illusion.

Emigrants are focused on leaving and have a pipeline vision towards the host country. Their intentions are to stay permanently in the host country

Global nomads are migrants who have lived in many different places around the world because of job opportunities. Resulting in no one single connection to the countries in which they lived, they are characterized as fluid, and living out of a suitcase, always on the move for the next attractive job.

²⁸Portes (1993) and Castles and Miller (2003)

²⁹Düvell and Vogel 2006 in Triandafyllidou 2006: 273

³⁰Janas; 2011: 21

Transnational migrants have a feeling of not being here or there, they experience dual lives, one in the host country and one in the country of origin. They possess loyalties towards both countries and have strong personal, social, economic and political ties with both countries.³¹ Distance between the two countries is longer as distinct as before because crossing borders is now faster and easier, shaped by globalization forces.

This paper will look at reasons for migrating and the orientation of migrants to understand the migratory process of the immigrants in this study. Orientation of migrants has also to do with their feeling of belonging which comes to the next concept of integration.

2.2 Social Capital

The second concept relevant to this study is social capital. There have been various definitions of the term (Putnam, Bourdieu, Coleman, Woolcock, etc) all definitions consist of one fundamental term, which is '*relations*'. Robert Putnam referred to social capital as connections among individuals- social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. Similarly, Michael Woolcock (2001) referred to it as 'the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inhering in one's social networks'. Pierre Bourdieu (1983) views it as a form of capital, defining it as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". James S Coleman (1988) views social capital through a functional lens defining it as "not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" further arguing that social capital could have negative/harmful for society as whole through what he terms lack of closure; where norms that inhibit crime are non-existent.³² Through the numerous definitions the complexity of the term has been illustrated, for the simplicity of the study, we have borrowed the definition of Putnam, looking at the value of social networks, and the tendency for mutual reciprocity.

The concept has been expanding; Putnam initially viewed social capital as a set of *horizontal* relationships between people which builds cooperation for mutual benefit of the community. Building on Putnam's concept, Coleman went on to include *vertical* relationships between people, introducing the importance of power distribution and structural hierarchy. Based on these different levels, three kinds of social capital were presented; bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding refers to strong ties with close friends and family with a *similar* demographic characteristics, bridging is weak ties among people from *different* backgrounds but of similar socioeconomic status and linking capital refers to strong ties with close colleagues with different hierarchical positions ('friends in high places').³³ The different kinds of social capital imply different kinds of resources, support, influence and obligations. For instance strong bonding capital often provides emotional support, and could uphold cultural values and instill a feeling of belonging, while on the other hand it could limit the individual and create a culture of dependency as it restrict access to information and contacts from outside the community.

³¹ Glick Schiller 1997 and Basch et al. 1994

³² Coleman; 1988

³³ Woolcock; 2001

Throughout the migration process a question that remains is why do people support each other, even when they do not know each other? Alejandro Portes describes four sources of social capital; in order to explain why people support each other (Refer to Appendix 1 for diagram). These four sources are divided into two motives; consummatory and instrumental motives. Consummatory motives consists of two categories, first norm interjection which refers to "internalized norms that make such behavior [of paying their debts on time, giving alms to charity, obeying traffic rules, etc.] possible"³⁴ in a positive way these norms will inhibit crime and immoral behavior, this behavior is categorized by people who are not afraid of nonpayment from loans that have been extended³⁵. Second is bounded solidarity, people provide support "knowing they will be fully repaid in the future,"³⁶ additionally it is through identification with a person or group that one supports the other. The second, instrumental, consists of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust. Reciprocity exchange refers to the expectation of pay back. The person offering support does not offer the support because he knows the person but rather because of the "insertion of both actors in a common social structure... [this implies that repayment does not have to come] directly from the recipient but from the collectivity as a whole in the form of status, honor, or approval [and acts a guarantee of repayment]"³⁷. Lastly, Enforceable trust refers to support given in expectation of "guaranteed repayment and group approval...additionally the element of trust ensures the supporter against malfeasance"³⁸. From my findings, I will explore the nature of the social interactions between migrants and their networks of support.

2.3 Cultural Adjustment

To begin to understand this concept a definition of culture is required, I will use one of the earliest definitions of the term by Edward B. Tylor. He said that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired [learned not inherited (Hofstede)] by man as a member of society." It is through culture that "people define themselves, conform to society's shared values, and contribute to society". Culture includes many different societal aspects as Edward Tylor's definition illustrates, for instance it includes language, institutions (makeup of the family, rules) food, jokes, dress, values, beliefs, etc. In essence culture is a part of a person's identity.

According to the Oxford definition adjustment is a "small alteration or movement made to achieve a desired fit, appearance, or result". It is also the "process of adapting or becoming used to a new situation". The alteration that will be talked about in this paper is international migration. When a person moves across cultures (in this case one from one country to another) they take with them "the taken-for granted meaning structure of their home country" by perceiving the host country environment as they did in their country of origin conflict related to culture (institutions, beliefs, values, etc) is inevitable. The person in

³⁴ Portes; 1998:9-17

³⁵ Portes; 1998:9-17

³⁶ Portes; 1998:9-17

³⁷ Portes; 1998:9-17

³⁸ Portes; 1998:9-17

the new environment/culture experiences culture shock; a "state of distress following the transfer of a person to an unfamiliar cultural environment."³⁹

Culture Shock is not unique to the kind of migrant, it is experienced by tourists, students, emigrants, migrant workers and refugees; the degree of shock is what differs. Additionally the shock is not limited to those that move but can also be experienced by the host society.⁴⁰ Scholars have agreed that when a person moves into a new environment/culture they will experience a number of states (See Table in Appendix 2). Criticism of the table exists as there is not one universal truth about the experience of culture shock, some experience euphoria in the initial phase while others experience negative stress immediately upon arrival. However, the stages can be used to illustrate possible reactions to entering a new culture. The final state theoretically should be a state of recovery/adjustment; adjustment being the state of increased wellbeing, confidence, comfort with the new environment and adaption to the new environment.

Scholars (for instance Furnham (1988) and Adler (1975)) suggest that it will take time to recover from the negative stress of culture shock, time "to develop a new set of assumption that help...to understand and predict the behavior of others". How much time is specific to a person. "Everyone who attempts to live and work in a strange culture can expect to experience culture shock during the first months but the subjective experience varies from person to person along dimensions of specific symptoms, intensity, and duration."⁴¹

This concept helps to illustrate what a migrant could go through when moving from across cultures. This can help to understand the types of changes that migrants could go through, from the movement of arrival to the decision to stay, settle elsewhere or return. Cultural adjustment does not assume that migrants will simply adjust to the extent of adopting and assimilating into the host society culture, but could also illustrate the cultural integration that takes place, for instance where migrants are possibly able to create a hybrid cultural, and come to a balance in culture.

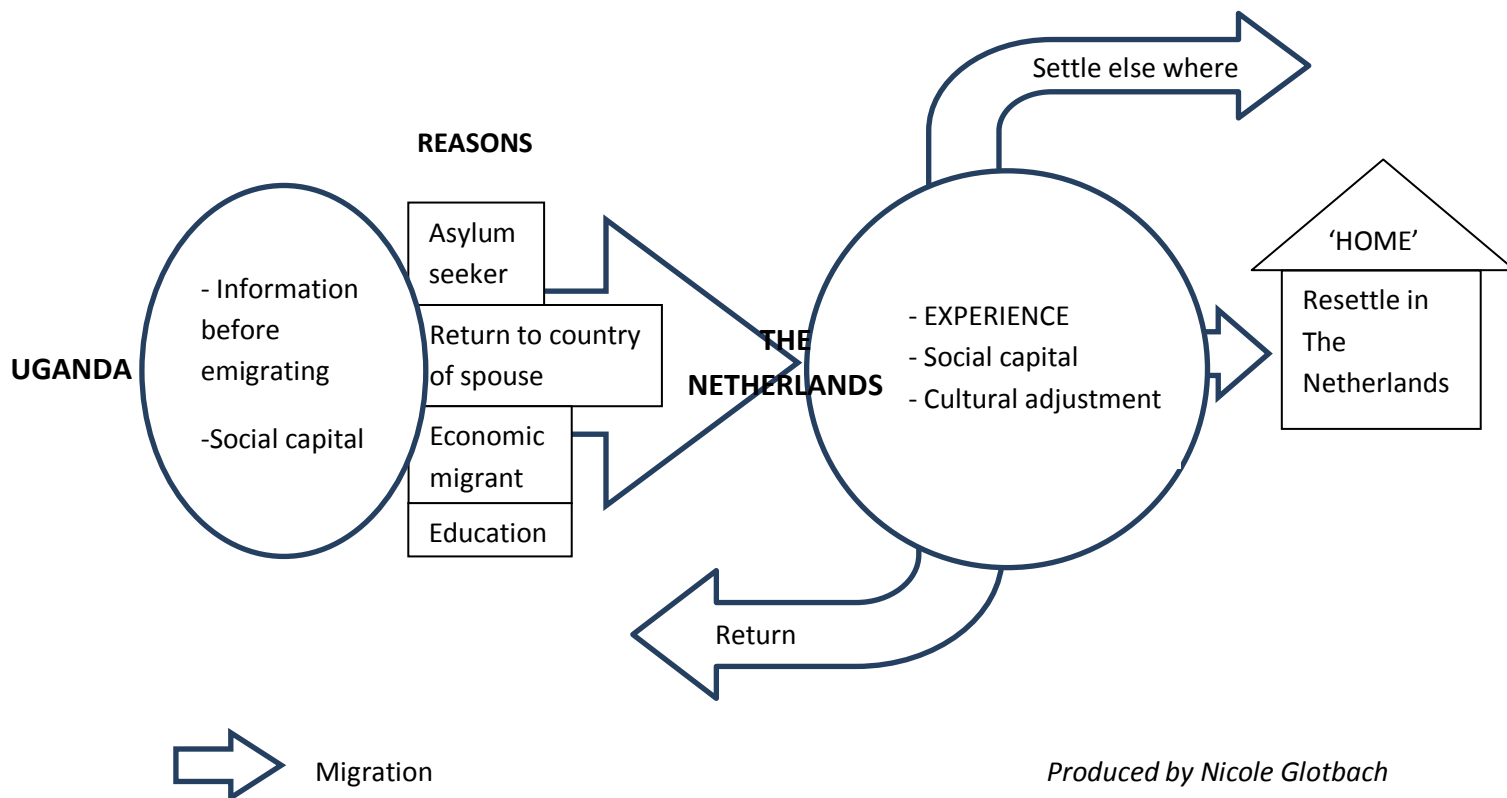
³⁹ Hofstede (2001) in Manz; 2003:2

⁴⁰ Manz; 2003: 3

⁴¹ Zapf; 1991: 5

To make sense for the background given and the concepts that have just been presented in the previous section I will first explain the analytical framework so that we can see the relation between the concepts and the variables (independent and dependent). The literature explains the reasons for migrating and the reasons for the continuous migration.

Figure 2 Analytical Framework



3. Methodology

This chapter will explore the different methodological approaches used in collecting the data and the ethical considerations. The chapter ends with a reflection on the methods used.

3.1 Research Method justification:

The research I carried out was based on qualitative data. I began with a preliminary research exploring the experiences of Ugandans living in the Netherlands, I looked at five main themes related to migration; 1) reasons for migration to the Netherlands, 2) positive and negative life experiences in the Netherlands, 3) Coping strategies people exercised 4) Social networks and 5) Future plans. The preliminary research was done through informal interviews and during a Ugandan get together (a dinner held in Wageningen). The aim of the preliminary research was to determine whether there were enough Ugandans living in the Netherlands to carry out such a research and to determine whether this was a topic worth studying. The preliminary research revealed that there are 1122 registered Ugandans living in the Netherlands. Additionally, it also uncovered the essence of writing a thesis like this. The Ugandans I spoke to during the preliminary research, felt they could have benefited from reading a booklet/paper on experiences of other Ugandans or Africans living in the Netherlands. In addition, others felt that they had interesting experiences living in the Netherlands that could be shared with other prospective migrants, which would go untold unless documented by someone like myself.

The preliminary research helped in defining the structure of my interviews. It also made me realize that having a casual conversation is nice, but some of the respondents had limited time for a casual interview and with no structure we would go off on tangents. Through the preliminary interviews I was able to establish guiding questions for my research thesis to 'semi' structure my interviews.

The information gathered in this paper will hopefully be used as a source of information on life in the Netherlands through Ugandan lenses for other Ugandans or prospective migrants migrating to The Netherlands and also an information source for Dutch society on the lived lives of Ugandan migrants.

3.3 Respondents

NB: For the purpose of this research I have defined an emigrant as someone who leaves Uganda for a period of longer than 6months, additionally the term migrant has been used deliberately to mean "One that moves from one region to another by chance, instinct, or plan."⁴² Additionally, the names have been changed in order to maintain anonymity

The research consisted of semi structured interview of 18 Ugandans living in the Netherlands and 3 NGOS committed to promoting Uganda and who act as a social platform for Ugandans living in the Netherlands. My sample was purposive. I typically targeted Ugandans living in the Netherlands and who I had easy access to. I did not interview

⁴² Webster's two new college Dictionary (2005)a

students who were doing their masters or bachelors, as from my preliminary research this group of people are not so focused on social integration because after their two year stay in the Netherlands they head back home.

My main focus was on individual experiences in the Netherlands. Below is a list of the respondents.

Table 1 List of Respondents

#	Name ⁴³	Age	Gender	Arrive in NL	Occupation before coming to NL	Marital status	Reason for coming to the Netherlands
1	Brenda	34	Female	2000	Nurse	Widow, with 1 daughter living in the Netherlands	Asylum
2	Sharon	48	Female	1995	Housewife	Married , with 4 children living in the Netherlands	Moved with husband
3	Joseph	42	Male	1993	Civil servant at the MOD	in the process of ending the co-habitation	Political Asylum
4	Isaac		Male	2001	Kaylogistics and worked with at the electro commissioner's office	single	Political Asylum
5	Henry	41	Male	2007	Farmer/Retail	Married, with four children living in the Netherlands	Political Asylum
6	James	35	Male	2010	Self-employed business man	Single	Political Asylum
7	Ronald	37	Male	2007	Assistant project manager NAADS	Married	Student (PhD)
8	Faith	36	Female	2008	Orthopaedic Office	Married	Student (PhD)
9	Patrick	27	Male	2010	Self-employed business man	Single	Political Asylum
10	Julius	26	Male	2010	Self-employed business man	Single	Political Asylum
11	Ruth	54	Female	2000	Administration officer	Married	Political asylum
12	John	39	Male	2001	Junior researcher	Single	Scholarship
13	Charles	25	Male	2009	Student	Single	Scholarship
14	George		Male	2004	Journalist	Married with one daughter	Illegally looking for work
15	Kenneth	32	Male	2005	Student	Married	Scholarship

⁴³ Real names have not been used to maintain anonymity

16	Joan	45	Female	2008	Employee of SARD (Sustainable Agriculture for Rural Development)	Married	Moved with husband
17	Edward	43	Male	2006	Student	Single	Economic benefits
18	Grace	30	Female	2006	Student	Single	Student (PhD)

Table 2 The list of NGO's that were interviewed in this study

#	NGOs	Registered	Information
1	BUDNET Buganda Development Network	2010	BUDNET promotes Ugandan culture and provides a platform where Ugandans can practice and share their culture; its aim is to look at how BUDNET can incorporate Ugandan culture into the modern lives of Ugandans living abroad (so that children living in Uganda do not forget their 'Ugandaness'). BUDNET also links the Buganda kingdom with the Netherlands, for instance trying to create links with Dutch schools and schools in Uganda, hospitals and by requesting for funding (http://budnet.nl/)
2	Stichting African United Women (SAUW)	2009	SAUW wants to build and solidify a viral and dynamic relationship with relevant organizations in the Netherlands through seminars, workshops and conferences. SAUW has been very relevant in mobilizing African women so as to efficiently integrate them into the Dutch system which encompass the Dutch governance systems, policies, rules and regulations in an effort to make them responsible citizens. We move further to teach women to ask what the can do to make the society better and NOT first what the society can do for them. (http://stauw.org/html/about_us.html)
3	Pearl of Africa	2003	"Pearl of Africa Foundation is an organization established in 2003 to promote the interests of Uganda. The founders of Pearl of Africa foundation saw it as a fitting name for the organization as one of [their] intentions is to bring out the good that Uganda has to offer." (http://www.pearlofafrica.nl/)

3.4 Methods

As aforementioned this research is based on qualitative data. I am using a qualitative approach because my research is based on life histories of Ugandan migrants living in the Netherlands. I am trying to understand and document Ugandan migrant experiences of living in the Netherlands. Furthermore the decision to move to the Netherlands is also an area which this thesis will try to explore, why the Netherlands, what were the expectations and to what extent have these expectations been satisfied?

Four methods of collecting data were used to obtain the information for this study; life history research approach, literature study, semi- structured (informal) interviews and participant observations:

3.4.1. Life History Approach

A life history approach was used to understand the migrant's life experiences and understand how they construct their lives in the Netherlands. The most difficult part in understanding this approach is that it has generally been interchangeably used with different terms for instance oral history, personal narrative, biography, life story, etc. In order to clarify this in the appendix (refer to appendix 4) I have included a table with all the definitions to illustrate the differences between the terms. I have chosen to use life history and life story interchangeably, as it was not possible for me distinguish them practically. It is far simpler to distinguish theoretically but not practically.

A life history approach was of particular importance for this research as it is "the story a person chooses to tell about the life he or she has lived, told as completely and honestly as possible, what is remembered of it, and what the teller wants others to know of it, usually as a result of a guided interview by another."⁴⁴ The story becomes useful not just for the listener as the teller also becomes aware of their own actions and situation, giving them a clearer perspective on the things they have done in the past and the factors that have helped or hindered them. Additionally, it helps the teller reflect and bring meaning to their future.

The life history approach has been used in the past (i.e. Isabelle Bertaux-Wiameto in 'The Life History Approach to the Study of Internal Migration' (1979)) to uncover the migration process and the experiences of migrants, observing factors that facilitate and hinder the process at the different stages (from arrival to settling).

It was very important when undergoing this method of research that a mutual relationship of respect and trust was built, "the research must be willing to share personal insights that develop during the research process"⁴⁵, it should not be a receive and take relationship but more of a give and take (reciprocity), by giving the teller feels more comfortable to share.

The greatest value that this approach had was offering the researcher a "vantage point of seeing how one person experience and understand life, his or her own especially, over time."⁴⁶ This approach also illustrates the uniqueness of each story, and gives voice to the migrant.

3.4.2. Literature study

To explore different theories and works related to experiences of migrants living abroad, particularly in the Netherlands a desk research was necessary. The desk research helped in

⁴⁴ Atkinson; 1998: 8

⁴⁵ Atkinson; 1998: 9

⁴⁶ Atkinson; 1998: 8

understanding the dynamic Dutch policy on the migration and integration process. I also followed the documentary initiated by Ssuuna Gooloba, called surprising Europe. This documentary was a nine part series on experiences of illegal and legal migrants living in Europe. Additionally, the documentary was coupled with a website which has ongoing forums on issues related to migration experiences. Forum discussions vary from topics like “Should the imprisonment of illegal immigrants be forbidden?” to “Is it harder to make a mixed relationships work?”

3.4.3. Semi structured (informal) Interviews

I formulated open research questions/themes which I used as a guide line for the interview. This was done as an outcome of my preliminary research.

Before every interview I gained an informed consent from my respondents and explained the purpose of the interview. I also explained that the respondents would remain anonymous in my paper.

Rather than placing large chunks of interviews in my report, I have used the ideas and experiences generated during the interview to create a general image of what Ugandan migrants' experiences in the Netherlands. I used narrative interview so that the interview became like a story telling session.⁴⁷ The interviews were all informal in the sense that my interviews were not structured but rather 'guided'. I chose to steer away from an all too casual informal interview and created some guiding questions so that I could steer the interview and be more to the point and time efficient (lessons learnt from preliminary research).

Semi structured interviews were conducted twice on each respondent. As the first interview was more of a 'getting to know the interviewee'. I took note of questions that I felt I could not ask on the first interview and prepared to ask them on the second interview when I felt more comfortable in asking the question. I felt it was important to build a rapport with the interviewee; otherwise the respondent would not feel comfortable sharing. I learnt that sometimes to instigate sharing you have to give. This was an important learning point for me, and helped build a relation between the respondents and myself.

Only one of the interviews was not conducted face to face. This was a follow up interview with one of the respondents who lived a bit far. We were unable to meet so we decided to do the interview via telephone. I felt that the interviewee was more open during the telephone conversation and more revealing about his experiences. I had to question whether I had appeared intimidating in person or perhaps he was feeling more comfortable or talkative that day.

3.4.4. Participant observation

I participated in a number of activities organized by Ugandans. These included a dinner with a Ugandan family, Uganda Day in The Hague, dinner for Ugandans living in the Netherlands, scrabble night, and an East African party. All these events gave me an opportunity to explore Ugandans living in the Netherlands naturally. The observations were done covertly, none of the Ugandans were aware that they were being 'observed' this was done because I

⁴⁷ Green and Thorogood, 2009:94

did not want to divert the attention to explaining my thesis or influence the way people behaved.

In this method approach I observed the way people behaved as a group and the way they talked. It was interesting the wealth of information that was obtained during these group interactions. One time I instigated a discussion about challenges people experience living in the Netherlands. This opened a 'Pandora's box'. This was very useful information as this was during my preliminary research, it helped guide my interviews concerning what challenges are important for those living away from home. The importance of this method is best described by Goffman: "Any group of persons – prisoners, primitives, pilots or patients – develops a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once you get close to it, and a good way to learn about any of these worlds is to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject."⁴⁸

3.4.5. Ethical considerations

Before I began my interviews I gained an informed consent, explained in full what my research entailed and the purpose of the research. The participants were in no way forced to participate and could at any point choose to stop sharing information without any consequences. The study could not hurt the participants as its intentions are to help future migrants. Participants were made anonymous and no personal information would be revealed directly about the interviewees. Fake names have been used in the research to maintain anonymity. The results of the study will not have any harmful or negative consequences on the communities involved and the Dutch society.

3.5 Reflection on Research methods

Having done a preliminary research was very useful in guiding my research. I began the thesis with a very broad range of questions, with no focus, vague and constantly changing. I saw what an almost impossible task it was to create themes that fully account for everyone's experience. I decided to use themes that illustrated more generally the individual differences that are common in the social domain. The preliminary research helped narrow my search, and illuminate the issues relevant to Ugandan migrants' lived experiences in the Netherlands. My end objective is to have my paper used as an informative paper for prospective migrants thinking to live in the Netherlands

The semi structured interviews were very effective. At first it was difficult to find a balance between structured and informal, as I had specific questions that I wanted to ask, but I felt that they would be too guiding, and not reveal what may be important to the interviewee. This was a personal challenge, related to my personality, as I had to play the role of a passive, uninformed listener and set my assumptions and prejudices aside. I particularly liked doing this type of interview as it brought out the uniqueness of my interviewees; each interviewee had their specific stories. The flexibility of the interview style encouraged individuality. Additionally, with a semi structured interview similar questions were asked to

⁴⁸ Goffman; 1961:ix-x

the respondents, one in particular really illustrated the fact that people can have different versions of a similar event. I made it a point to ask all my respondents what they thought about Uganda day, if they had attended.

I had it on two occasions where I was not convinced about the information being disclosed by my interviewee. In one particular case a respondent spoke about the conspiracy involved in the refugee centers with lawyers. I was not able to disprove the theory, but through methodological triangulation⁴⁹ I found that this may have been an over exaggeration. In the other case, one NGO claimed that every Ugandan in the Netherlands knows about the NGO, though it may have been a popular NGO, the exaggeration that *everyone* had heard of them was over the top, in fact though they claim to have 800 *active* members none of the respondents mentioned being active members. Granted my sample size is small, but other Ugandans that I spoke to in Wageningen had not heard of the NGO.

Another important discussion point is as I only studied 18 Ugandans living in the Netherlands of the 1122 (registered Ugandans); events in my study should not be used as a generalization. The paper serves as an illustration of lived experiences of some Ugandans in the Netherlands. Experiences are shared so that if we can learn from each other and so that you know that you are not alone. We share because we care.

I have learnt how important the venue is for an interview. It happened with one respondent that we ended up having an interview in a very crowded pub/cafe, it was very distracting. Eventually we moved places but a lot of time was lost. The following interviews I researched possible locations in the respondents' area that I could suggest. I had no more interviews in loud pubs/cafes. Sometimes the comfort of the respondent should be put aside to achieve the major goal, which was to learn about the respondent's experiences.

The biggest limitation that I encountered doing this study was that although I have tried to remain objective in my analysis of experiences and observations, as a researcher I will always have my assumptions and prejudices, so the truth will never be objective. Furthermore, my personal opinions, personality and way of interaction will inevitably have an influence on the outcome of my study.

A lot of the information obtained from my respondents was based on memory. This is not unique to oral life histories, every method of data collection has problems of accuracy, it is a matter of knowing the pitfalls and knowing how to go about it. When I asked a respondent if he ever felt lonely in the Netherlands, I would give the respondent time to think about a response, and if I felt that they were not comfortable to share such personal information and were going to give me a general response or masked response. I would give an example where I felt lonely. I noticed that this had two effects; one, if the respondent could not think of a time, they would remember a similar feeling and two; because I shared they would feel encouraged to share. I feel the give and take method worked very well.

⁴⁹ Denzin; 1978

PART A: THE MIGRATION PROCESS

The first part of the research results will discuss the migration process answering the first part of the research question; *how do Ugandan migrants experience migration to the Netherlands?*. I first look at reasons for migration; identifying the groups within my subject group. Next I explore three aspects related to moving to the Netherlands, first the information that migrants receive prior to emigration, second, I explore expectations and realities, and third I look at what the migrants first impressions are upon arrival to the Netherlands in relation to the migrants 'migration identity'. This part illustrates how various experiences differ according to reasons for migration.

Chapter 1: Reasons for Migration

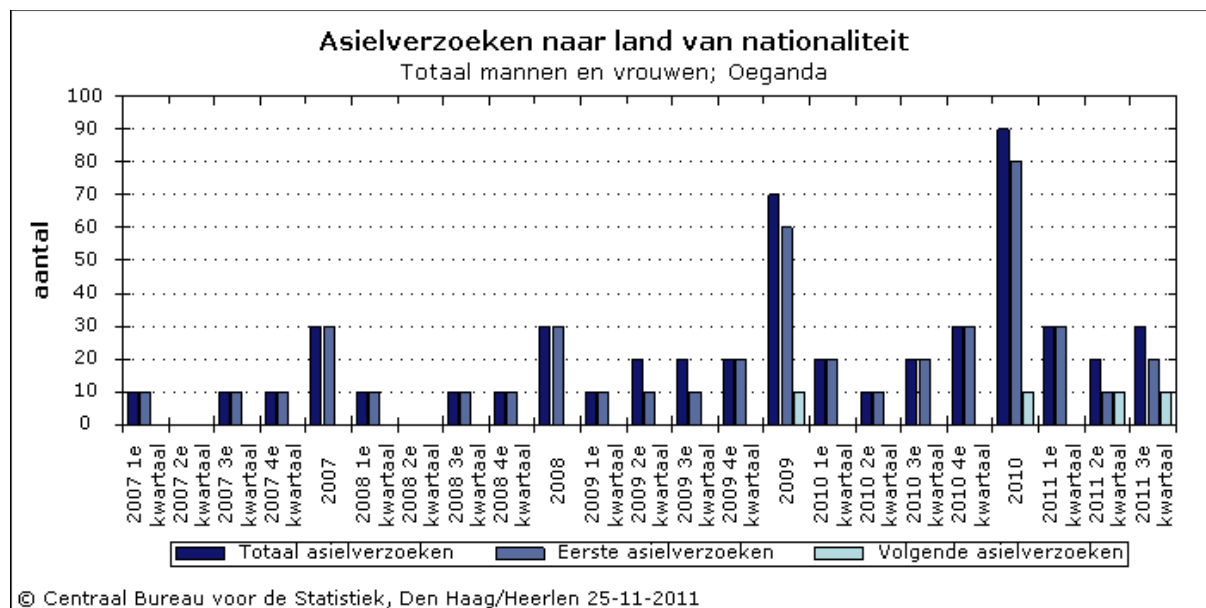
For the purpose of this thesis a Ugandan emigrant has been defined as a national who leaves Uganda for other countries where he/she stays for periods longer than six months. The reasons for emigrating from Uganda varies, looking at the sample, four groups could be identified from each of the reasons given; 1) Asylum seeker, 2) In search of employment, 3) student and 4) intermarriage. In this chapter the different identities will be presented with a description. The most common reason for migration from Uganda is seeking for asylum. If we refer back to the history of Uganda (Background section 1.1.1) Uganda started off as a hub for migrants, but soon after Idi Amin (1971-1979) came into power many Ugandans started fleeing, he ruled with a reign of terror. He was taken out of power in 1980 by Obote who similarly ruled using violence against opposition. Opposition members were prosecuted and left the country in fear of their lives. To date, Ugandan politics has not changed, and many opposition members are fleeing Uganda in fear of being prosecuted. There are numerous examples of poor governance, to name a few the walk to work campaign (with the increase in fuel prices), tear gas and pink spray on the public during a peaceful demonstration, and the treatment of Besigye (the head of the opposition party). It is this low political stability that pressures people into deciding to emigrate.

Next I discuss the four groups of migrants.

Asylum seekers

In the Netherlands the CBS stat line has graphically represented the number of asylum requests since 2007 to present. This can be seen in the graph below. As can be noted in the graph the number of requests has increased from 30 in 2007 to 90 in 2010.

Figure 3 Graph Illustrating the number of Asylum applications from 2007-2011



The graph only illustrates one side of the coin, as these are the official numbers. The Ugandan migrants that were interviewed for this thesis that represented this group were mostly political asylum seekers (1 was not). As asylum seekers, the respondents sought refuge in the Netherlands, because of a “well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.”⁵⁰ Being granted asylum in the Netherlands is a long process, the respondents commented on the exaggerated number of interviews. The refugee status approval/rejection can take from 48 hours to 2 weeks to 4 years! During that period, respondents felt “uncertain”, “idle”, and “dependent” because “you have no work permit, so you cannot work legally, so while you are waiting the government supports you with an allowance”⁵¹ (Henry). However, according to the COA (Centraal Orgaan opvang asielzoekers; Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers); “Asylum seekers are allowed to work 24 weeks per year, but only if the employer has permission of the CWI (Central Organization of Work and Income) and the asylum seeker has been in procedure for 6 months...COA provides accommodation during the asylum procedure and prepares asylum seekers for staying in the Netherlands, returning to their country of origin, or for third country resettlement.”⁵² Refugees who have been granted asylum in the Netherlands are required to take an inburgering test (a Dutch civic integration test) within 5 years to obtain a permanent asylum residence permit. If the refugee fails the exam the refugee risks being sent back to his/her country of origin.⁵³

⁵⁰ UN definition of a refugee

⁵¹ The allowance is around € 54,- per adult (COA.nl)

⁵² COA;2011

⁵³ Schooltv "Debat: Referendum over Integratie En Asielbeleid."; 2010

In search of Employment

Two of the respondents left Uganda in search of employment. According to the 'Policy Analysis Report: Migration trends in Uganda', the allure of higher salaries and better jobs pulls migrants to leave their country for better opportunities. Migration in this case is a choice that the migrant makes. The other side of the coin views the low salaries, poverty and insecure livelihood as a push towards migration, rather than a pull.

In the first case, George “sacrificed [his] house for Europe.” His sister said “Let him sell the house to get money for the things he needs for his journey, he will come back loaded like other people who go to Europe...Though both the house and the plot had been valued at 40 million shillings I decided to sell it at a giveaway price [20 million shillings] because I wanted money so urgent”. George left Uganda expecting to find a good job. He arrived in the Netherlands without a clue of where he was going to work, and with the illusion that jobs would be waiting for him. He arrived very disappointed. Finding a job as an African male in his 30's was no easy task. Consequently getting a work permit proved an impossible task. He ended up doing menial jobs (like cleaning houses, and nannying) and remained in the Netherlands as an illegal immigrant. Edward was equally disappointed; he had come on a tourist visa, hoping to extend this once he had found a job. This did not happen, similarly to George getting a work permit was impossible, “my Ugandan degree was not recognized here, and before anyone could hire me or grant me a work permit they had to prove that within the Netherlands and the EU there wasn't anyone who could do this job...getting a job without a work permit is not easy.” Often it is assumed that most economic migrants ‘claim asylum’ in order to settle and find work. Edward had tried to enter as a visitor; he went to the COA and declared himself stateless and homeless due to political persecution from Uganda. His claim was denied and he ended up going back to Uganda and returned 3 years later as a student, unlike George he had not burned all his bridges so going back to Uganda then was an option.

Students

5 of the respondent’s first reason for coming to the Netherlands was to pursue a Master’s Degree. All 5 were granted a scholarship to study in the Netherlands. The respondents studied in universities around the Netherlands, University of Groningen, University of Amsterdam, Wageningen University, and Erasmus Rotterdam University. There is a certain pride associated with doing your higher education abroad, thus when students are given the opportunity they grab it. In the case of the 5 respondents, they had all applied for a scholarship administered by NUFFIC (Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation). In Uganda English is the national language, thus passing the language requirement (TOEFL/IELTS tests) was not a challenge. Going abroad as a student on a NUFFIC scholarship was relaxed, *“everything is arranged by the Dutch University. Everything from airport pick up, to housing, to arranging your VISA!...the flight was also paid for”* (Kenneth) NUFFIC offers many scholarships, using their grantfinder (<http://www.nuffic.nl/international-students/scholarships/grantfinder>) one can find a scholarship that suits the applicant and apply. There are other requirements which differ according to University and program but the main requirements are: copy of your valid passport, a (certified) copy of your diploma(s), a (certified) copy of your transcripts (list of

grades), a letter of motivation, and curriculum Vitae/Resume. Once on a grant, getting a resident permit is also straightforward, the university applies for your MVV (Machtiging tot Voorlopig Verblijf; Authorization for Temporary Stay) once you have been accepted, they will need a letter showing acceptance in a programme in a higher education institute that has signed the Code of Conduct and a proof of sufficient funds (a letter stating that you will receive a scholarship or student loan for the duration of your studies is sufficient).

Intermarriage

Two respondents moved to the Netherlands because of their Husband. In both cases the husband was living and working in Uganda where he met his wife. Summer vacations were spent in the Netherlands, thus when it came to moving, it was not a move to a completely unknown area. Though as Joan mentioned,

“living and going somewhere on vacation are two very different experiences. On vacation you know that after this many weeks I will go back home, back to where everything is familiar, my house, my garden, my family. When we moved to the Netherlands, I experienced a 'honeymoon' phase, just like we were on vacation, but then we had to change our attitudes, because we were no longer in the Netherlands on holiday, things were different. My daughter was enrolled in school, and I needed to start creating a daily routine for myself, how was I going to keep myself busy? I was unemployed, my Dutch is not very good 'klein beetje [a little bit], for myself I needed to stay active...Our reason to move was my husband was feeling a bit homesick, and we had agreed that after 14 years, it was time to live in the Netherlands”. (Joan)

Both Sharon and Joan took their husbands nationality (after 3 years of marriage, foreign spouses of Dutch nationals may apply for citizenship⁵⁴). For their husband this was a migration back to his home country, for the wives it was migration to a foreign country (which they were nationals of). But in both cases both the husbands and the wives had not been living in the Netherlands for over 10 years, so it was an adjustment for both. Things work very differently in Uganda. For both, migration 'back' to the Netherlands was a choice. However, going back to the Netherlands for Sharon was necessary, as the husband was no longer employed, but they were not forced out of Uganda.

In summary, there is one major difference between an asylum seeker (refugee) and the other types of migrants listed in this chapter. Refugees experience forced migration. The latter is not looking at a future in their host country, but simply trying to get out of harm's way to any destination. As one of the respondents put it,

“when you are in the Netherlands, that is when you know you are in the Netherlands...you can't decide where you are going to go, when someone is helping you, you just go...I have no expectations [of what life in Europe would be like] because I have no fixed future here...when you come here as a refugee everything is set, your dream is set, it is not yours, you are on the move, things are temporary” (Henry).

⁵⁴ "European Citizenship: Dutch Citizenship Application."; 2011

As an economic migrant getting a work permit is almost impossible, that it would be more manageable to go abroad as a student, and then apply for a job as a High knowledge migrant (kennismigrant). Students and migrants who are returning to the country of their spouse are migrating to the Netherlands not entirely motivated by economic hardship or in search for work, but rather a better life for their children and safer environment (migration because of spouse), and/or for better opportunities in life with a degree from a foreign university. Both cases the decision to migrate was a conscious one not only about how to live but where to live.

Chapter 2: Moving to the Netherlands

As has been described in the previous chapter the move to the Netherlands is as a result of a number of reasons; in search of asylum, further education, employment, and migration back to the Netherlands. This chapter is divided into three parts, information before arriving to the Netherlands, expectations versus reality and explores the first experiences upon arrival to the Netherlands in relation to the migrants 'migration identity'.

Information before arriving to the Netherlands

The source of information about the Netherlands was vital in determining the gap between expectations and realities. Misconceptions are made from assumptions that people make from information sources such as the media (films/series, news, books, etc). Often rosy images are painted of Netherlands or exaggerated stories are construed. In most cases people do not critically look at the information but just take it as truth. As Henry claims:

“before coming to the Netherlands, my biggest problem was that I watched too much television, and I believed all the images I saw of Europe, the news was not of people dying of hunger, or corruption, it was about new technology, discoveries and Grammys.”

One of the most common frames that is constructed as a result of misinformation is the European Dream. This is described well by many of the respondents and in particular by George who left his job and sold everything in Uganda so that he could make it in Europe (refer to the next section for the European Dream). The information one receives prior to going to Europe influences the experiences and expectations one will have. Being informed is being resourceful and prepared.

The main sources of information that were discussed by the respondents were; family abroad, friends, return migrants, and media (internet, TV, news, film and radio). Respondents that were informed about Europe through family members living abroad expressed different reactions. Those that received negative responses about Europe were reluctant to listen. George explained to me that,

“if my uncle would have told me that there is no work here, food is expensive, I would not have believed him, I would have thought he was trying to discourage me from coming, as the bible says, well take up the country which is growing honey and milk so I was expecting Europe to be a beautiful place, even the people [from Europe] you are seeing in Uganda, they are so hospitality and they love us which means if we go there in their country they can love us more and extend us their joy.” John shared similar sentiments,

“you wonder how can your family abroad say that life is tough, when we are seeing those return with pockets full of money, you have to think, maybe they were not lucky, I will go and try my luck if I have the chance”(John).

It seems that family was not enough to convince respondents that “The Western world is not a paradise as many of us think before getting there. It might have a good 'charisma', but we shouldn't forget that although roses are beautiful, they still have thorns”⁵⁵ In a case

⁵⁵ Ngwa; 2006: 179

where positive information was given, as was the case with Grace, her aunt is living in Belgium, she felt that her aunt had no reason to invent or pretend what life in Europe is like, and so she trusted what her aunt said about life in 'Europe'. She explained that the "[Dutch] people there are tall, friendly and like cheese." When respondents hear positive things about Europe and the life people live there, there are no questions raised. Positive stories are things people expect to hear, that when the opposite is told people become critical.

Henry and Kenneth explained that even now as they try to explain to friends and family about how tough life in Europe is people do not believe them. It is like:

"Do you know the verse in Matthews, where the disciples ask Jesus why he talks to his people in parables? It is the same, I tell people in Uganda what I am facing and they look at me like I am speaking in parables and they do not understand. It is like telling a pagan to believe in God. They think that in Europe you are in heaven. One time we also believed it"(Henry).

The one thing two respondents suggest is, it is better to inform and tell those back home to come to Europe organized, know where you are going (the language, customs, laws, etc) and know how you will sustain yourself, do not just leave everything in the hands of God and hope for the best. This is where most go wrong and end up in misfortune or confusion. (Brenda and Faith)

Information gathered from the media is tricky. Until recently news about Europe that was viewed and read by Ugandans was about sports, donations made to Africa, democracy and human rights, and new technological creations. This inevitably creates a false image of equity for all, prosperity and development; that people in Europe have no worry at all. Who wouldn't migrate if they were stuck in a culture of poverty and corruption? When faced with a black and white image, the decision to migrate is easy to make. The question once arriving in the Europe is how accurate was that description? To all the Ugandans interviewed not accurate at all. Life in the Netherlands is stressing, opportunities are scarce, and you cannot make money fast like in Uganda (Henry). *"The Europe I saw on TV is not the Europe that I am living"* (James). It is necessary that prospective migrants do not get blinded by fantasy and stuck in pipeline dreams.

Migrants who come back from Europe *"are the main problem, those that go to Europe and come back, start spending money like they have tapped an oil mine in Europe. They drive big fancy cars and spend lavishly. Other Africans watching also think that if I make it to Europe I too will come back a rich man. The fantasy is also fed by Europeans living in Africa, you do not see a white person living in poverty in Africa. They come from Europe with full wallets, feeding the image that there is plenty of money in Europe. Then you have the donor companies. Africans read in the papers that the Dutch are giving this many millions, that Africans create an image whereby Europe is a land overflowing with money, that they even have too much they are giving to Africa."*(George).

Why does this happen? Getting a ticket to go to Europe is perceived as 'a golden ticket' if you come back without money, people will wonder, what went wrong? They will think that you wasted money; they can't imagine that things are not good in Europe (Henry). This is not to say that all migrants who come back are not successful or are putting on a show, but the unfortunate aspect is, to those observing, a lot of information is missing. What is simply

understood is: 'go to Europe and you too will come back rich'. This also makes it difficult for migrants abroad, because families and friends send wish lists:

"going home is not only expensive because of the ticket, but everyone at home, from family and friends to the neighbors and village members expect something from me.. when they know that eyy a son of that woman is in Netherlands , they think that yea he has money, so if somebody died on the village they will go to her that ey can you please inform your son from Europe to send us money for a coffin, you understand" (George).

Another case shared by Sharon was a case of her friend who had come to the Netherlands as a student:

"you know it is difficult, a friend of mine has been living in the Netherlands not able to go back. She has been here for almost 5 years...she came as a a student, but was not doing well in school. You know when you get the chance to study abroad everyone back home looks at you differently. If you come back without the degree you become a laughing stock... it is too ashaming to go back. You cannot explain Europe is not the bed of roses we all expected...people don't go home because of failure is not acceptable in Africa, this lady has been here for 5 years, because she cannot face her family and is Africa of becoming a laughing stock...it is this mentality we need to change...she is no longer in school, now she helps me in the home once in a while. I try to create some work for her, but it is a pity. I tell her she should go home, but she doesn't want." (Sharon)

Expectations versus Reality

Many migrants leave Africa in the hope of a brighter future. Through TV and books young Africans are filled with misconception of what life in Europe is like. The idea is that everyone in Europe is driving around in a fancy car, owns a big house, and in general is surrounded by riches with no worry in life. The question however is are you really better off in Europe? Migrants are so absorbed in their pipeline dream of reaching Europe and being part of this world that they take big risks (illegal migration, dangerous paths, etc), sell off assets and work towards getting to Europe. All their resources are exhausted that coming back home once in Europe is not really an option. The dream is also fed by migrants who come back from Europe, and spend in large amounts and cultivate this image of Europe as a 'gold mine'.

Numerous cases exist of migrants who, once finally in Europe are hit by a severe culture shock. Culture shock is the "physical and emotional discomfort that arises when someone moves to a culturally different environment"⁵⁶. The ones who have arrived without knowing anyone, are haunted by questions of, where will I stay tonight? What will I eat? What will tomorrow bring? The images they once believed of Europe are crushed by insecurity, hunger, loneliness and fear. This was particularly evident in the series Surprising Europe. Granted the migrants interviewed consist of mainly illegal migrants. Migrants share a similar shock upon arrival, as they enter a country which is far from their expectations. Reading or watching a place on television is very different from being there.

⁵⁶ Webster's two new College Dictionary (2005)b

This is but one extreme; others do make it in Europe. In this case, the majority of successful migrants are well informed of what Europe has to offer, and have organized their stay in Europe.

When I asked my respondents if they had heard of the European dream or if that was their reason for leaving Uganda a majority of the respondents had heard of the European Dream and had admitted that this was part of the reason for leaving Uganda. In an extreme situation one of the respondents said that where he grew up in Uganda most of the youth want to 'make it to Europe or die trying'. This view can be coupled with a statement that was shared with a lot of my respondents: *'there is no future in Africa'*.

In cases where the European dream is not attained some agreed that there are so many expectations back home that you cannot go back unless with large sums of money, as coming to Europe is often described as the 'golden ticket'. There are many misconceptions with the migration process, in Africa it is linked with riches, secure future, wealth, big house, big car, etc. while as my respondents can attest to, this is not the case. *"Life in Europe is hard, everyday it is bills, bills, bills, they keep coming in, and you wonder how will I pay all of these?"* (Henry) The stress of trying to live the big dream has a negative effect on the migrants experience in the host country.

Experiences of arrival to the Netherlands

As aforementioned culture shock is inevitable phase when moving. Using the transitional cycle described in the first chapter, migration is a major change in a person's life. The migrant has to adjust to economic, social, environmental, and/or physical changes. Depending on the difference in expectations and reality the shock level can be higher or lower. This section looks at what migrants experienced upon arrival.

When leaving the country in a state of distress because of fear of persecution, the first feeling is not of culture shock, but relief of safety. The journey is unplanned but the destination is out of harm's way. Only after some time does it sink in, first migrants experience loss, everything they have known is now behind them. Once the shock of leaving the home country is over, migrants come to terms with the shock of being in an unfamiliar place. Joseph explained that one of his first feelings upon arrival in the Netherlands was a feeling of "inferiority", he explained that this was created by the environment, he felt that the Dutch people were not as welcoming. It made him feel like he did not belong. Patrick claimed *"one of the first things you realize is that you are one of the only black people in the airport [this is the opposite from Uganda]"*. Julius experienced mixed feelings; he was uncertain, excited and nervous. Uncertain, because *"you don't know if you will receive asylum, once you are there, everything is temporary...until you know you can stay"* (Julius).

Asylum seekers were uncertain and nervous when they reached the Netherlands. Arriving not knowing whether or not your private handler has arranged a place to stay, food to eat, or whether you will be granted asylum are at the top of your worries. You are directed towards the office of migration, and there you are at the mercy of the Dutch justice system. You are interrogated as a criminal; the questions are nonstop as they try to know everything about you.

In the case of Isaac, he was heading for the US, he was intercepted at Schiphol where he was detained for a couple of weeks, until they decided that he could be granted asylum. *"The worst part is the waiting"* one respondent exclaimed, you cannot think about anything in the future until you know whether or not you are granted asylum. James explained the procedure is long and tedious. While they are processing your information, you are not allowed to do anything but sit and wait, you are not granted a work permit, so you cannot try to earn some money, you are highly reliant on the allowance the government supplies you.

Students and return migrants, experience excitement and nervousness. Their journey is planned and pre-planned. Feelings of uncertainty are not experienced like the refugee, these migrants experience excitement before and after the move, the new change in environment is exciting. The move is by choice. In this case the excitement is part of the culture shock. One respondent claimed *"I was on honeymoon"* (Kenneth) another was nervous and excited she did not know what to expect, everything was arranged for her, her ticket, her visa, accommodation, and transport from the airport to the university (Grace).

Migrants in search for employment equally experience excitement, uncertainty and nervousness. Expectations of life are based on what people back home have explained and on myths built by media and returned migrants. George left Uganda excited, headed for green pasture, spirits were high until reality sunk in, and he experienced anxiety and worry (mentioned in previous section on European dream).

"At the airport my two eldest brothers and my sister and parents all came to bid me farewell, it was a sad day, my mother and sister began to cry, but I shed no tears, I was going to Europe! the land of milk and honey, I was going to be a kyeyo⁵⁷ man, how could I be sad?...when I look back, I didn't know for how long I would be away from home, but that I would return loaded" (Edward).

Through the different experiences one can see that depending on your reason for moving to the Netherlands your initial experience and degree of culture shock varies. Refugees and economic migrants experience uncertainty as well as excitement and nervousness. Students on the other hand experience excitement and nervousness until they meet their airport pick up. There is no uncertainty, you are in the Netherlands for the assigned time then you will go back. Similarly, migrants returning to a spouses country of origin, are excited and nervous as they are about to start a new chapter in their life. Nervous because this is not a temporary move (not a vacation) and going back is not entirely an option for now. The next chapter looks at how the degree and experience of culture shock can be minimized looking at the social capital of the migrant, and how through social ties with migrants from the same country, friends or colleagues from the destination country, and information provided by NGOs promoting integration. We will see that with time, migrants adopt some of the new cultural practices and some create hybrid cultures.

⁵⁷ A name given to a person who leaves Uganda; refers to a 'big' man.

PART B: BUILDING HOME

Part B explores the second part of this research, answering the question of *how do migrants build a home in the Netherlands?*. This part is divided into 3 chapters (chapter 3, 4 and 5). The first chapter looks at how migrants cope in the Netherlands, then I explore the usage of social capital in making the Netherlands home, then last I explore the future orientation of the migrants. I conclude this part with a section on the role of Dutch society on either impeding the process of migration or facilitating the process.

Chapter 3: Adjusting to the Netherlands

This next section explores how migrants are able to ‘cope’ in the Netherlands. It is here where migrants experience a clash in culture, social etiquettes are unknown, and one is placed in the unfamiliar. Embarrassing, uncomfortable, and upsetting situations occur because social codes are not written down, they are learned. These codes are cultural norms and values that are learnt at a young age, or through interaction with the host population. Whilst some migrants try to cling to the familiar and change no more than is necessary, differences between migrant’s values, beliefs and expectations of the host country become evident. This section looks at the challenges migrants have had to overcome in order to build a home in the Netherlands. This section is not placed in order of most important or pressing challenges discussed as this varied between interviews. It is in chronological order of what was discussed first.

Relationship with the neighbor

The relationship between the respondents and the neighbors is almost nonexistent. Only three of the respondents mentioned that they had an interactive relationship with their neighbor; interactive meaning they had a conversation that was more than just ‘hi’ and ‘bye’ (superficial). Two other respondents mentioned they knew who their neighbors were, but did not feel the need to communicate or interact as Henry put it, more interaction is not necessary because *“we are not from the same...we do not speak the same language, we do not share the same customs, even it wouldn’t help me because I do not expect much from them.”* 4 of the respondents could identify their neighbors and 6 of the respondents said they did not know who their neighbor was. For the respondents who did not know their neighbors, 2 were not bothered by it, while 4 would like to know their neighbors, but were not sure how.

Brenda explained that this is a *“European way of life”*. Even in Uganda the Europeans did not interact with neighbors.

“I would see the Europeans not mixing with their neighbors and I thought this was a lifestyle choice, that maybe this was the good life of Europeans, not having to know your neighbors. We used to see it as pride to not know your neighbors that you were someone big, but when I came here I see that it is not nice, this is loneliness, it is sad. Why would someone choose this?”(Brenda).

In Uganda it is common to have people around you constantly, neighbors are always over, or family members, that moving to the Netherlands without this type of interaction is

strange. But then if Ugandans are so sociable, why is it, when Ugandans come to the Netherlands they are reluctant to go meet their neighbors? Brenda and Charles explained that:

“when you meet other Africans living in the Netherlands they warn you to be careful and not to trust the Dutch, because the Dutch don’t like people who are in their business” (Brenda), and you should especially be weary “when the Dutch start asking you questions, about who you are, where you are from,... they might just call the police on you” (James).

It is this reason that many people who come to the Netherlands are scared to talk to their neighbors, they do not want to cause any unnecessary drama or attract any unwanted attention. Though in most cases, the respondents were just not sure how to talk to their neighbors. In Uganda, when you are new to an area or neighborhood, it is the responsibility of your neighbors to welcome you into the community, so when this does not happen, you are confused, and wonder should I be the one to take the initiative? By the time a decision is made to for instance go introduce yourself, you feel as though you have passed the time where it would have been appropriate to introduce yourself as the new neighbor. (Brenda).

Other stories about encounters between neighbors made some Ugandans feel like they do not want to know their neighbors. For instance Brenda was out of salt, so she went to her neighbor to ask if she could borrow a bit of salt, the neighbor gave her the whole packet. Brenda insisted she only needed a little bit, but the neighbor insisted back that she take the whole packet. This annoyed Brenda as she felt that the neighbor was being condescending “hmm poor African can’t afford salt” [Brenda imitated]. Brenda perceived this arrogance of the lady, as being Dutch, and chose not to interact with her neighbor again. Brenda did not understand why the neighbor could not understand that she just wanted some salt for her meal now, and was intending on buying a packet tomorrow. In such a situation there is a clash of custom, in Uganda it is quite normal to go to your neighbor and borrow some salt or sugar, but not be given a whole packet, such an act is perceived as showing off or displaying some form of superiority over the other.

Half of the respondents concluded that interaction between neighbors is low because of the *“mentality here, people are focused on me and myself”* (Ronald). However, John mentioned that this can be generalized to an urban thing, because also in Kampala (the capital city of Uganda) you do not know your neighbor, while in the rural areas, in the villages it is different. For example, a friend of his was staying in a small village in the North of Holland. There everyone wanted to meet him and the man became an object of curiosity; even the police came to the ‘Black man’, to find out who he was, what he was doing here and to welcome him to the village. In the city, life is too busy, and people are focused on themselves, there is no time to get to know your neighbor, and compared to the village, levels of trust are much lower in the city than in the villages. Foreigners are not seen as objects of curiosity but are treated with indifference and distrust.

Raising children in the Netherlands

Six of the respondents were parents raising children in the Netherlands; they expressed challenges with trying to raise their children without abandoning their Ugandan identity. All six respondents criticized the Dutch parenting as being too 'free'.

"Children are taught to do how they like. In our culture we teach the children they don't allow even to slap a young child. In our culture if a child makes a mistake I beat you. In Africa we cane children, here it is different, children are behaving the way they like, in our culture no. You found here an old person begging for a child... do this do that. how? I cannot beg for a child [pause] just slap you (Henry).

"[The] amount of freedom children are given can be overwhelming, that a child [like her daughter] who comes from Uganda, comes here and ends up mimicking friends, sometimes making bad/wrong decisions. Because of the amount of freedom children are given, bad habits are more common here than in Uganda." (Brenda)

"It is very rare to find the children at home. I have less control over what habits my children will take on, I know that my two older sons smoke, but I do not know how to talk to them, if we had raised them in Uganda maybe they would not have been smoking, and if I had caught them I would have just slapped them, here it is different." (Sharon)

Children at a certain age moving from Uganda to the Netherlands need mentoring. All respondents (parenting and non-parenting) commented that there was too much freedom in the Netherlands. Additionally, there are no neighbors, family members or friends around to comment on the behavior of the children. Henry explained to me

"spare the rod spoil the child... in the Netherlands they spare the rod this is why children here are spoilt, parents do not teach their children proper discipline, you need to slap the child or they will go astray"

Joseph emphasized that because *"you are far away from watchful relatives and nosey neighbors, especially young Ugandan ladies who come to the Netherlands, get boyfriends quite fast, and end up having sex at a young age, getting pregnant, or using drugs. This age group needs mentoring."* (Joan)

Mentoring is provided by one of the NGOs interviewed in this study, Pearl of Africa. *"When we get into touch with young Ugandans, guidance is offered. Children easily adopt cultures, especially through peer pressure, and at a young age children will do anything to feel like they belong"* (NGO representative)

Brenda tells her daughter that she is responsible for making the 'good choices' (Brenda). *"At the end of the day she needs to realize it for herself, that if she follows the students in her class that are misbehaving/smoking/dressing inappropriately/drinking/etc then at the end of the day she is the one who has to deal with the consequences."* Brenda mentioned that when they travel back to Uganda the habits that her daughter takes on, will be mimicked in her village, because everyone looks up to her, 'the girl who was in Europe', that the daughter has the ability *"to either develop the village or corrupt the village"*. (Brenda)

Children in the Netherlands are free to the extent of topic discussions in the home. Kenneth and George observed that parents are very open with their children. Children start speaking out at a young age. Expressing likes and dislikes, choosing their clothes, leaving the home as soon as they are 18,

“this is good because then the child is not shy to speak for themselves. Topics such as HIV and sex are topics that are not discussed at homes in Uganda while in the Netherlands they are. There is, as an effect, differences in the level of awareness. This dictates a lot about your personality actions” (Kenneth).

Language in the home is also becoming a challenge. Children of Ugandan migrants go to Dutch schools, where they are taught in Dutch. While Henry was the only one very optimistic about the opportunities and advantages this gives his children, because *“here children can learn four languages at a go; they can learn your local language, Dutch, English. Because there mined is fresh, so you are like cheating them if you tell them to speak one language.”* Joseph, George, Brenda and Joan explained that the majority of the day the child spends at school, where they are speaking Dutch, that at one point they start using English or Luganda less and less.

In the case of Joan, before they moved to the Netherlands the language which they spoke at home was English, over the last year English has slowly been replaced by Dutch (they have been living in the Netherlands for 3years). Her Dutch is not as fluent as her daughters, so at times they would experience a communication barrier.

“My daughter would come from school sometimes with an exciting story, she starts really fast in Dutch, and I have to ask her to slow down, otherwise I don't catch, I feel bad because by doing that I lose that connection with her, and sometimes she doesn't tell the story the way she wanted. She sometimes asks me, mama what happened to your Dutch? My Dutch is not so good, I am old now (hahaha) I speak English with my husband but I am trying with my Dutch. I think it is good that I keep talking to my daughter in Luganda, because we go back to Uganda once a year and I think it is very important that she can talk to her family. I notice that when we go back she is shy to speak, but she is good with languages and after a day or two she is confidently speaking with her grandparents.” (Joan)

A similar case can be seen in the family of Faith, where the daughter sometimes says things in Dutch which the parent does not understand or she says things to passer-bys and they as the parents are not sure if she said something bad or good. Parents are forced to learn Dutch in order to communicate with their children, or insist on speaking English and Luganda in the home as Henry does.

In the home of Henry, he explained to me that his children understand that it is Uganda at home and Netherlands outside. This way he claims his children will not neglect their culture, and will learn their culture, and be proud of it. That was mentioned as one of a parent's greatest fear, that *“our children will lose identity the moment that they can't speak their local language.”* (Brenda and Faith)

Brenda explained to me that though raising a child in the Netherlands has been difficult she remarked an interesting observation. In Uganda the daughter would most probably have been raised by family relatives or the house maid, as the mother would be too busy to raise

her. Here she has to make time for her daughter, and in essence, knows her daughter very well.

Setting aside beliefs: Homosexuality

There are a number of behaviors that are legal in the Netherlands that perceived as taboo in Uganda and are illegal. These are prostitution, drug (marijuana) and homosexuality. Culture shock occurs when you are confronted by a culture different to yours in values, beliefs, and ways of expressing yourself. Isaac explained that in Uganda *“homosexuality, prostitution and usage of drugs are taboo, and not spoken of in public in the Netherlands it is the opposite.”* All the other respondents agreed prostitution is not something uncommon in Uganda; it is officially illegal but occurs and is not controlled. In fact, the police are part of the reason that prostitution still occurs and at times in the RedPepper (local gossip magazine) you will find a picture of a minister buying a prostitute (James).

Homosexuality on the other hand, is a behavior that is not tolerated in Uganda. In Uganda homosexuals are prosecuted and condemned by society. Two of the respondents expressed their shame in Uganda the treatment of homosexuals in Uganda, calling it 'unfair', they wished that some of the laws in the Netherlands could be applied in Uganda, particularly related to the treatment of homosexuals. In October 2010, the Ugandan newspaper The Rollingstone published “photographs of several people it said were gay, with the headline ‘Hang them’”. The treatment bothered the two respondents because they strongly believed homosexuality is something you are born with, how can you punish someone for living?. In Uganda homosexuality is not something practiced publicly, like in the Netherlands, where it is not unusual to see two men or women kiss at the train station. All the respondents found it uncomfortable to see two men or women kiss. Half the respondents are still uncomfortable with homosexuality and think it is wrong, though they feel that as long as it is not directed at them or they do not come in to contact, then it is fine. The respondents tolerate it but do not accept it.

The first time Joseph saw two men kissing, he could not believe it, he was disgusted (as this is not common in Uganda, in fact this was his first time to see this). He has been living in the Netherlands for over 5 years, now he says he has grown 'tolerant' to public display of affection (PDA) of homosexuals and PDA in general. In Uganda it is inappropriate to display any form of PDA, however when a man and woman do, the feelings and attitudes towards this are not of disgust but more of shame. Henry, Edward and Ruth are completely against homosexuality and do not understand how someone can behave like this. They will not compromise their beliefs, because homosexuality is tolerated here.

Understanding sexuality is the missing element to accepting homosexuality as George put it:

“[Homosexuality is] a habit that one gets, you cannot control that one, it is not accepted in our country, myself I find it queer. How can a man sleep with another man? How? The way you think about it, I see it and I am still wondering how can a man fall in love with another man? Its queer. Me I'm a catholic that is the work of Satan, how? If you think about it, then you cant believe it, but it is going on, but myself I cant how? God made a man and a wife how? After years now I am used to it, but...” (Henry).

He like half of the respondents is baffled by the idea of two people of the same sex engaging in a relationship.

For respondents with children, they expressed discomfort with having to explain this behavior to their children. None would wish for their child to adopt this 'lifestyle'. It is difficult to explain to a child who was told before that it is taboo, and now, in the Netherlands it is part of the norm and is celebrated. One respondent explained that the best way is to inform the child about the different cultures, and just because these things are happening here does not make it the norm. The child should not forget who they are. Brenda felt the child should be informed and be allowed to make their own decision, but at the end of the day it is the child who will have to live with the outcomes of their actions.

It can be noted that through exposure and interaction with homosexuals respondents (except 3) have become more **liberal** toward the idea of homosexuality.

Is there racism in the Netherlands?

11 of the 18 respondents had experienced some form of racism in the Netherlands. Oddly, the Netherlands is praised for its tolerance towards foreigners, when people talk of racism, countries like Germany, Switzerland, and the UK are on the top of the list of worst destinations for black immigrants. However, since the deaths of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh and the increased support of Geert Wilders policies towards immigrants have become stricter. *"Holland is not as welcoming as before"* (Joseph) (refer to background chapter on migration trends in Uganda for more). Joseph explained that he *"thought that racism was something of the past and only existed in the films, it was a bit of a shock to experience it first hand in the Netherlands"*. A short anecdote from one of the respondents describes an event where he experienced racism

"This happened in the beginning when I had arrived to the Netherlands, I was in town in Groningen with a friend, when some white Dutch boys started yelling 'aap' (ape/monkey). At first we did not know who they were talking to, but being the only black men in plain sight my friend realized that they were talking to us. We could not do anything so we just continued walking. What can you do? It is better not to engage them and continue on your way. But it was something I never expected I would experience 'here'. Discrimination is not something of the past, discrimination exists." (Joseph)

Verbal abuse is not uncommon in the Netherlands, as one respondent exclaimed, the Dutch are known for calling a spade a spade. Though the term verbal abuse can be contested, the rude direct manner in which the Dutch express themselves is perceived as hostile, particularly because of the cultural difference. Ugandans are stereotypically passive, and will more frequently comply than contest; this is the opposite for the Dutch. Interestingly, if we look at the Dutch language there are words to identify minority groups which are racially stimulated. For instance, neger (very close to the word nigger, which is socially not acceptable to a non Dutch person because of the racial affiliation it has in the US), aap (monkey), koelie (coolie; unskilled Asian labor, usually Chinese), halfbloed (half-caste) (biracial; a person of mixed white and black ancestry), mulat (mulatto) (a person of mixed white and black ancestry), spleetoog (split eyes), and roodhuid (red skin). These classifications highlight a 'physical' or 'cultural' aspect which belittle the group. To an

outsider this way of classification is not politically correct, but to the Dutch it is and it is part of the language and some of the descriptions can be heard often.

Labor discrimination was mentioned by 6 of the respondents. *“When applying for a job and you are competing for a job against a white Dutch man, you know that the white man has a higher chance of getting the job than you”* (Edward). George (who came to the Netherlands looking for a job explains that it is difficult to find even low paying jobs because *“most of the Dutch people they think that men, they don't know how to clean the houses other they don't ask the men to leave them their houses. They think that if they leave the men in their houses maybe they can take their wives.”* In the case of Charles after graduating he wanted to stay and work in the Netherlands, he was offered a job in the North of Holland, but it was not an easy process obtaining a 'Tewerkstellingsvergunning' (work permit). This is where the company has to prove that it is in their best interest to hire him and that the job has been advertised for at least 6 weeks, and Dutch and EU candidates have been interviewed but he was the best person for the job. In the end he got the job, but it was a 'hassle' and the waiting was very stressful.

John had a somewhat unfortunate experience. He had applied for a job, and was told that he would receive a call for the interview. Things seemed opportune, as he had managed to get past the application phase, he was being asked to come for an interview. The call for the interview came and the company asked him to come the very same day for the interview in the afternoon. John was not living in the same area as where the interview was going to take place, and there was no way he could make it to the office in less than 1 hour. John tried to reschedule for another meeting, arguing that it was unfair to call a meeting the same day. Unfortunately the company did not allow him to reschedule and he was forced to cancel the interview subsequently giving up the job. Such treatment is unjust and unprofessional, John accused the Dutch of being racist because he claims that this would never happen to a Dutch.

In certain situations, it seems respondents assumed that a negative experience is related to their skin color. For instance Grace experienced it in class that the Professor called her out and tried to embarrass her, at first she thought, *“is it because I am black, that teacher is trying to embarrass me? Is it because I am a woman? Or [as a last thought] is he like this with everyone. [So nothing to do with her but related to the professors individual behavior]”*. Grace is not the only respondent who subconsciously thinks that when things do not go their way it is because they are black, and the Dutch are racist. Why? An explanation I might offer is related to the attribution theory where we try to explain others behaviors in a situation based on our past experiences, biases, beliefs and understanding of the situation. This can have a negative effect, as some people simply conform to the expectations that society place on them; self fulfilling prophecy.⁵⁸

The Dutch have also been criticized for the manner in which they celebrate Sinterklaas (St Nicholas Day) on December 5th. It is the Dutch version of Father Christmas; he is an old serious looking man with white hair and a long, full beard. He wears a long red cape over a traditional white bishop's alb, a red mitre, and holds a gold-colored crosier. He carries a big book that tells whether each individual child has been good or naughty in the past year. He

⁵⁸ Lee ; 1986

normally rides a white horse and has two Zwarte Piet's (Black Pete; his helpers). They have their faces colored black and have black curly hair, dressed in colonial time (17-th century) colorful clothes, with a lace collar and a feathered cap. Sinterklaas and Zwarte Piet carry around candy for the nice and children and a roe to spank naughty children.⁵⁹ The part which receives the most controversy is the fact that the helpers are colored black; to some critics this brings back pre-colonial sentiments of slavery. The Dutch tried to explain the coloring by saying that the Zwarte Piet's go down the chimney and are thus covered in soot. Consequently one respondent experienced this:

During December, I was with my wife at the supermarket, and a child came running to me asking me for sweets, my wife began laughing because she explained that the child thought I was 'Zwarte Piet'. The parents of the child came after the child and were a bit ashamed of what the daughter had done. 'Zwarte Piet' (Black Pete) is a person in a Dutch folklore. (Kenneth)

"I had a child come up to me and rub my arm because she thought I was dirty" (Charles)

The problem the explanation brings is that children think that black people are dirty. It is unfortunate that an event that is aimed at children has been/ is being tarnished by critics who highlight the negative racial connotations that arise from Zwarte Piet.

To extend on the Dutch perception of Africans, while I was with some African friends at a BBQ, we were caught by surprise when he called us 'modern Africans'. It was unclear what his intentions were, but we gave him the benefit of the doubt and assumed he was talking about how we are up-to-date with series and movies, and that we spoke English fluently. One of my friends later mentioned to me his *"disappointment in the Dutch"*. He explained to me that by calling us modern Africans his image of Africans were of 'backward people'. I explained to my friend that it may not be racism but rather ignorance; the person simply had not had the chance to interact with other Africans, and only had an image of Africans that is given by the news of uneducated, poor, backward people.

Loss and Nostalgia

Whenever anyone moves from one place to another, there are the tangible and intangible things that make up that former place (or give their lives meaning) that get left behind. These 'things' are what make up 'your home'. A tangible possession becomes intangible loss when for instance the piece of furniture had a certain smell that reminded you of an experience, or the dinner table reminded you of the jokes that were shared on that table and the number of family dinners that took place on that table. These losses were experienced by all the respondents. When we spoke of loss they all mentioned the loss of lifestyle, more specifically the *"joints where I would go and meet friends, and have beers and sodas"* (Henry), *"walking down to the market and negotiating for a good price for vegetables and meat, the dynamic market life, the negotiating is a part of life, nothing is fixed"* (Patrick), *"the African way [being very slow; no hurry in Africa]"* (James), *"booming music on the sidewalks [sign of vibrant life]"* (James), *"the busy-ness of the city...dodging between vehicles to cross the street"* (Julius)

⁵⁹ Geer; 2011

Other forms of loss included loss of possessions. Respondents mentioned their *“land”*, *“house”*, and *“assets”*. Though these losses were evident, respondents were also experiencing hidden losses due to the move to the Netherlands. These losses included *“family presence”*, *“mom”*, *“social cultural life”*, *“friendliness; people are not as friendly here, if you say hello to someone, instead of saying hi back, they are questioning you, why is he saying hello, or in some cases they are about to run. They are afraid of black culture here”*, *“the sun”*, *“cheapness, everything here is so expensive”*, *“food [at any time of the day you can get something to eat quickly from the side of the road]”*, *“daily life”*, and *“the flexibility and simplicity of life”*. Realizing these losses, makes adjusting to the new environment difficult especially if you are uncertain whether you are going to stay in your new environment or not; as is the case for the respondents who came to the Netherlands as (political) asylum seekers. Their stay is uncertain, and *“after 5 years [of living in the Netherlands as asylum seekers] you have to have your diploma or else they will not extend your stay in the Netherlands.”* (Henry)

Through trying to create a home in the Netherlands, all the respondents experienced counterproductive situations. Rather than calling those situations obstacles they have been referred to as challenges, as these were situation that migrants chose to tackle, deal with, and subsequently grow from. The first noticeable challenge was, not knowing how things are done in the host culture. For respondents who have been to the Netherlands before, exposure was not enough to know for instance how to raise your child in a European setting or how to explain to your child about homosexuality. Respondents do their best to try to find a balance between what they observe amongst the Dutch and the Dutch way, with their way of living. This is referred to as a *“new hybrid consciousness ... from this cultural collision [between Dutch culture and Ugandan culture], a consciousness that embodies a “synergy of two cultures”⁶⁰*.

This section revisits the concept of cultural adjustment which we explored in the conceptual framework. Migrants have not adjusted culturally, but have rather integrated culturally, for some this integration has resulted in a hybrid identity; in effect finding a balance between Dutch culture and Ugandan culture

The next section will look at the role of social capital in minimizing challenges (preparation) and making the transition easier.

⁶⁰ Anzaldua 1987:78 in Ladha; 2005: 16

Chapter 4: Social Capital and Overcoming Challenges

Researchers have emphasized the importance of social networks when it comes to coping with migration. Networks can help in various areas, for instance finding a job, accommodation, psychological support, improving access to resources, reducing costs, exchanging expertise and information, and facilitating adaption in the host country and many other support mechanisms. In order for these networks to exist trust is an essential component.⁶¹ Trust is the first component that makes first time migrants depend on information they get from their friends and family who migrated earlier. Social capital can either build or destroy this trust influencing a migrant's experience. This next section relates social capital with facilitating migration.

From the challenges mentioned in the previous section⁶² methods to overcome the challenges were explained by the respondents. In this section these methods will be explored and the relevance of social capital will be delved into. Social capital as mentioned in the section related to theory has three components, First, social networks, this is the structural component, looking at the number and nature of relationships. Second, reciprocity and trust (social trust (having confidence in other people) and institutional trust (trust in the formal system)) this section looks at culture and values and how people are inclined to help others. Third, social support, this can be in the form of emotional (empathy, trust and caring), instrumental support (practical help, e.g. monetary or labor), informational support (the provision of advice and information leading to a solution to problems) and social companionship (spending social time with others)⁶³. Additionally, this section will explore what kind of social capital Ugandan migrants create, maintain, and/or destroy, and what impact these networks have on the Ugandan migrants in living in the Netherlands.

The Ugandan Network

The Ugandan community has been fairly invisible in the Netherlands, though recently this has been changing because of two main reasons. First their numbers are increasing, from 1,122 Ugandans in 2005 to 1,624 in 2011⁶⁴. Additionally, flights from Entebbe to Schiphol have also increased making it more realizable to travel to Schiphol; there are currently 6 different air lines to choose from ranging from about 534 Euro to 1.314 Euro one way. Second, they have become more organized. Out of the 18 respondents, 3 have set up NGOs (Pearl of Africa, BUDNET, and Stichting African United Women), creating platforms for interaction between Ugandans and Dutch, facilitating integration, raising awareness on integration issues, and creating platforms to share and cultivate Ugandan culture. Additionally, the network is also visible virtually, a Facebook group called 'Meet the

⁶¹ Graham and Thurston 2005: Researchers have also emphasised the importance of social networks when it comes to coping with migration (Galchenko and van de Vijver, 2007; Andreotti, 2006; Zlobina et al., 2006; Graham and Thurston, 2005; Halcón et al., 2004; Kasic, 2004; Ward and Kennedy, 2001; Dunn, 2000).

⁶² Building a relationship with the neighbor, raising children, compromising beliefs in order to adapt, racism and coping and acknowledging loss.

⁶³ Ryan:2008

⁶⁴ CBSb; 2011

Ugandans in the Netherlands' was created in 2009, which has added to the community's visibility and made members more vocal and more connected with each other. It is through these NGOs and other activities that the Ugandan Diaspora's voice has increased and become more organized. Additionally, through the NGO's and other medium, the publicity about Uganda has also increased, increasing their visibility. Events such as Uganda Day in The Hague (which happens yearly) increase awareness of the presence of Ugandans living in the Netherlands, and illustrate the links that exists between the Netherlands and Uganda; particularly in the development field. Other events include campaigning on the streets in Amsterdam to raise funds and awareness of the burning down of the Kasubi tombs⁶⁵, organizing concerts with Ugandan musicians, arranging sports events bi-annually in Amsterdam (Organized by Pearl of Africa) and arranging a yearly celebration of Ugandan Independence Day on October 8th.

The respondents interviewed did not know each other before coming to the Netherlands. They formed bonds in the Netherlands based on their nationalities. It was through events such as Uganda day, Africa day, Independence Day party, etc. that they met. In all cases they were searching for other Ugandans mainly to reduce the feelings of loneliness. All respondents expressed feeling like a stranger once they arrived in Schiphol:

"you look around and you realize that you are no longer in Uganda, the majority of the faces you see are white, people are speaking in a language you don't understand, you feel relieved when you see another black person"(Ruth).

Joseph explained that when he moved out of the Asylum center he was told by people working in the Asylum center that in Amsterdam he would find other Ugandans who he could stay with. These were 'strangers' but they shared a common nationality and were bound by this. An element of social capital is obligation; the Ugandans living in the Amsterdam were obligated as Ugandans to accommodate Joseph. This action is done as the person who accommodated Joseph trusts that their action will be rewarded through the development of the relations within the Ugandan community. Additionally, as the social capital theory suggests the action of the person who accommodated Joseph would be reciprocated in one way, enhancing and producing trust.

The respondent's description of their interaction with other Ugandans illustrates the formation of Ugandan communities in *clusters*, meaning that there is not one large Ugandan community in the Netherlands but many small ones all over the Netherlands. These community members share the same culture, the same language, food, and most important the same pride in Ugandan music and Uganda. The majority of the respondents (80 percent) identified themselves as part of a Ugandan community. In the Netherlands, all respondents presented themselves as Ugandans, this being their primary level of identity. The Ugandan respondents no longer distinguished themselves by tribe when talking to me; my respondents had to be probed in order to find out where in Ugandan they were from. Additionally, at a dinner I attended for a Ugandan community, there was no segregation along tribal or area of birth lines, as would sometimes have been the case in Uganda. I did notice on some occasions when a conversation came up about a certain person, to describe a person it could be done along those lines but with intentions to create a rift or bring out

⁶⁵ A UNESCO world heritage site where four Kabakas (kings of Buganda kingdom) are buried, the thatched structure was inexplicably burned down on the 16th March 2010. (GlobalPost;2010)

difference , for instance “the Achole woman” or “the man from Soroti” (from my observations at a Ugandan dinner in Wageningen).

Figure 4 An indication of the spreading of Ugandans in the Netherlands (Based on a description by Joseph)



(Amsterdam has the largest number of Ugandans living in the Netherlands, followed by Rotterdam and The Hague. The next big clusters are in Maastricht, Wageningen, Nijmegen and Groningen, where most Ugandans are students. (Based on Joseph observation/remarks)

Social networks: (1) Bonding, (2) Bridging and (3) Linking

Social capital can be divided into three kinds; bonding, bridging⁶⁶ and linking⁶⁷ (Woolcock 2001). Bonding refers to strong ties with close friends and family with a *similar* demographic characteristics, bridging is weak ties among people from *different* backgrounds but of similar socioeconomic status and linking capital refers to strong ties with close colleagues with different hierarchical positions ('friends in high places'). This section will explore the relationships my respondents have maintained, created and destroyed in relation to the different kinds of social capital.

1) Bonding Social Capital

Bonding refers to the relations between family members, close friends and neighbors, however bonding in the context of the Netherlands will refer to people who share a similar ethnic background (Ugandan relations with Ugandans in the Netherlands), while in Uganda it will refer to relations with family members, closer friends and neighbors.

⁶⁶ Putnam; 2000

⁶⁷ Woolcock; 2001

The notion 'blood is thicker than water' was used by one of my respondents to explain why bonds between family members and people who are ethnically related are stronger and easier to form than with people who are unrelated. 'Trust' was another explanation used by my respondents. Trust is a major component in social capital. People tend to trust those that are more alike than those who are different; this is also known as homophily ("birds of a feather flock together") "people are more likely to form friends with others who are similar in race/ethnicity, social class, education, age, etc."⁶⁸

When migrants arrive in a foreign country they are more likely to form bonding social capital than the other kinds. Reasons for this were explained by my interviewees:

"I always feel alone until I am surrounded by people who are similar to me"

"in the Netherlands, it happens that you are reminded that you do not belong or that you are a stranger, either by your surroundings [could you give an example] Always when i am surrounded by Dutch people and they start talking in Dutch, I immediately feel left out, I have no idea what they are talking about, I have no control on what is going on, because I do not understand"

"when I go to events organized by pearl of Africa I have a sense of belonging to a community, I no longer feel alone" (James). It is quite important to have a sense of what is familiar in order to feel at home.

Similar to the theory of homophily, people feel more comfortable around those that are similar, especially when in a new environment.

Relations with Ugandans in Uganda

Maintaining relations with family has become easier and affordable over time as a result of new technological advances; making it possible to maintain close ties back home. All my respondents kept in touch with family in Uganda and were quite up to date with what was going on at home. The main mean of communication was Mobile phone, as in most cases family members were living in the rural areas where internet was not so common or the family member was not very familiar with the internet. Respondents mentioned different programs which offered low calling rates such as Voip, Skype, Voipcheap, and Intervoi which they used to call home. All respondents mentioned sending back remittances, keeping up good relations with family, though as mentioned in the previous chapter this could be one of the drivers towards the image of Europe as Eldorado. Nonetheless in two cases family in Uganda offered emotional support to respondents who were feeling homesick and alone in the Netherlands. One respondent explained:

"thanks to Skype, whenever I am feeling sad or need to hear my wife's voice or need a motivational talk from my wife I can easily call her and talk to her. And with the video call I can see my children; it is almost as if I am there." (Ronald)

Although maintaining relations has been facilitated through technological advances four respondents mentioned not having as much influence on what goes on in Uganda. For instance, Brenda was having land issues. She said *"it is difficult to take care of affairs in*

⁶⁸ "Social Capital Glossary.";2009

Uganda while you are here". Her land is being sold and there is hardly much she can do from the Netherlands. She either has to pay extra money not to lose her land (but this option is not very reliable), or she has to fly to Uganda and give an appearance and prove that this land belongs to her. She tried to sort it out the legal way but there has been no progress. In Uganda issues of land rights are a problem. The land that she owns is on a very fertile area and the location is good.

"Someone sees a plot that is not being used he puts up a poster saying land for sale, someone buys it, and then you have lost your plot. This is how land grabbing happens, and from here you cannot do much, already the person has been building a large fence around the plot. I was able to stop the construction, but if I do not go back to Uganda and sort this out physically I will lose the land...I need to be there in order for things to happen, it is not enough to say something through the phone, you need to be there physical" (Brenda).

Similarly, Henry could not handle his affairs from here, and ended up turning over responsibility of his assets to his brothers. Henry added that

"Even when building a house you cannot build and stay in the Netherlands and hope that everything goes ok, people will cheat you, they will use bad equipment, they will not work, you need to be there" (Henry)

Not all respondents were able to maintain relations in Uganda, sometimes as a result of time and distance people change and relations diminish. Isaac explained that he does *"not connect (much) with Uganda anymore, he feels Ugandan but he cannot relate (a lot) to Uganda. When he was there for holiday he had intended to stay there for 5 weeks, but changed this to two because while he was there, he felt like an outsider, his accent was different, the language had changed (people were using different phrases), topics were different, he could no longer communicate. He was feeling uncomfortable."*

"Once you have been to Europe and then you go back, no one treats you the same, now you are the 'guy that was in Holland', everything changes. Some people idolize you and others resent you...when I go out with friends they expect me to pay...it becomes expensive in Uganda!" (Kenneth)

None of my respondents mentioned building new relationships with families, friends or neighbors in Uganda. When talking about relationships, maintaining and losing relationships were discussed.

One respondent brought up an issue that I found interesting, this was related to financial crisis and who they would turn to. He mentioned that in a time of financial crisis, though he has maintained a strong relationship with members back home, he would not turn to them if he was struggling with money. Interestingly, other respondents that I asked said the same. One reason that was mentioned was that *"people will not understand, they will think you are lying. They cannot imagine that you in the Netherlands are struggling to pay your bills (Henry)".* Additionally the shame of asking for help back home also plays apart. This illustrates that bonding social capital with people back home is mainly for information on what is going on at home (maintaining cultural behavior (i.e. language)), emotional support, social support and companionship, not financial support.

Relations with Ugandans in the Netherlands

Reasons for coming to the Netherlands affected the type of social capital that a person depended on at the start. For instance, upon arrival both asylum seeker and student were dependent on linking social capital, whilst economic migrants and migrants returning to a country of the spouse relied on bonding social capital to facilitate their migration. Asylum seekers are dependent on the relationship with their lawyer, whilst students are dependent on the school to pick them up from the airport and facilitate their arrival. In both cases, needs shift once the situation changes. For instance, for the asylum seeker, after being granted asylum, he/she is no longer reliant on the lawyer but begins to focus on creating bonds with people who they can relate to and who are similar. For the student after being dropped off at the school and receiving the information needed to get started, he/she now focuses on bonding relationships. Needs shift from relying on those responsible for you to trying to create bonds with people around you who are similar to you. 5 of the 8 asylum seekers were directed to stay in places where there were other migrants of similar ethnic background, inevitably resulting in the formation of bonding capital. Student migrants are either contacted by the coordinator of the Ugandan community or by oral communication are told that there are other Ugandans living in the area.

One of the reasons bonding capital was the most common form of social capital was that 80 percent of the respondents mentioned not feeling welcome in the Netherlands. Reasons being “[the Dutch] *pretend to not speak English*”(James), “*the political environment*” (Brenda), the new political environment has put pressure on migration policies and is becoming increasingly strict towards migrants, the respondents hinted at feeling excluded and lonely, and subsequently searching for other people like themselves who they can relate to – fellow Ugandans, who would close these gaps and fill the holes of emptiness. The respondents found it much easier and more comfortable to network with Ugandans than any other ethnic group (particularly the Dutch).

Creating new networks in the Netherlands was easier between Ugandans, a common background was shared and there was a level of understanding which one could not find with the Dutch. However this was dependent on reason for coming to the Netherlands. Respondents who were here as refugees felt strongly about not being able to relate with the Dutch and were in constant search for other Ugandans, while those that were here as students or were working had existing platforms where they could interact with Dutch, for instance the workspace, group work/projects, parties, etc. George felt that as a refugee he really had to make an effort to mix with the Dutch, but already felt that some Dutch already had a prejudice towards migrants. Colleagues and class mates meet and interact on a similar or rather ‘fair’ level playing field and already have an entrance to the Dutch society, but as a refugee you are branded with a certain image (grace á the media), and you are not sure how to approach Dutch people.

Bonding relations provided a system of support for Ugandans; support was explained in three forms, financial, emotional and informational. An example of monetary support was given by a respondent. Ugandans came together as a community in Amsterdam to raise funds for the repatriation of a Ugandan man who had died.

“They were going to cremate him here in the Netherlands, which is a custom which is not common in Uganda and in fact is not part of Ugandan culture...[had they been able to bury

the body here, there is a yearly fee that if you do not pay] in the Netherlands they exhume bodies and cremate them after a while to make space for new bodies.” (Joseph)

An example where emotional support was given was when:

“A lady had lost her child 3 weeks upon arriving to the Netherlands, she was living alone in the South of Holland, and did not know anyone, she should not have had to manage such things alone. The community should have been present. [However, though the community was not there to support her in taking care of her child] Now she is being looked after by a Ugandan lady. We are there for her.”(Joseph)

“It was very hard for me in the beginning, being away from my family, in a new environment...I came during the Winter, so it was very cold. I could not imagine this is what I left my family for. Once I got to my student room, I put the heater on to maximum, but it was still very cold. I do not know how the Dutch manage their weather... I was on my own for the first couple of days, too scared to get out of my room. I wondered what trick everyone was using to go outside. One day, my bell rang; I did not know anybody, so I was surprised... I went to the door and there were two ladies at the door, when I opened they greeted me with ‘Olioty’ [Greeting in Luganda], I was very excited for a moment I was back in Uganda...I asked them how they had managed to find me, they explained that someone had told them there was a Ugandan living in this building who had just arrived, so they searched for me. They thought that I might be lonely, as they remembered how it was like when they first arrived...I was lonely and feeling homesick” (Charles)

All the universities that were visited had a department allocated to support international students in integrating and making their stay as comfortable as possible. However, from Charles’ experiences it was not only the support provided by the university that he needed, a feeling of being back at home with other Ugandans helped decrease his loneliness and make his stay in the Netherlands more comfortable.

Additionally, the Universities give a general overview of the city, without a local insider perspective on for instance which shop is good for what, which shop is expensive, where not to buy your meat, etc.. Grace called the information supplied by the University as tourist information. Furthermore as a new person to the place you do not know to ask, if the shops are open on Sunday (as in Uganda they are), or where there is a cheaper option from buying a ticket every time on the bus (as a bus card contract does not exist in Uganda), or whether it is more effective to get a phone contract or prepay (as contract is not an option in Uganda). Grace explained that informational support was an essential form of support that the Ugandans she met willingly gave her.

“it was a Ugandan man that first took me to the Lidl to do my grocery shoppings, he even explained to me that this was the shop that gave good prices. That same day he took me to a place, which I would never have found, to get a second hand bike, which he explained was a necessity in the Netherlands. I was new to this but he explained it knowing that once upon a time he was exactly where I was standing. Completely in a new surroundings, new cultural, people were riding bikes to get to places. When I met another woman from Uganda she came to get me on Sunday so that we could go to church together!” (Grace)

Two respondents admitted that during the orientation some of this information was provided, specifically on how the transport system works; but being told is very different than going and actually doing it for yourself. For instance, on Faith's first time to use the train alone, she had no idea how to use the ticket machines, for a while she would always go to the ticket service center. At the orientation they explained that you can use the ticket machines to buy tickets but they never explained how. Faith explained that she used to prefer to use the service center even though they over charged for the administration costs because she did not want to be embarrassed trying to figure out how to use the machine. She feels that the orientation should not just be theoretical but should include a practical part. She knows how to use the ticket machines now, because a friend of hers showed her how. The story of Faith is shared by many of the respondents when I asked them about their first experience using public transport in the Netherlands.

One of the NGO's interviewed, Pearl of Africa provides a platform for Ugandans to come together and share experiences. It is experiences like the one of Faith and the others described so far that are shared on these platforms, in order for people not to feel as though they are going through them alone. However, not all respondents make use of these platforms. All respondents had heard of Pearl of Africa, 75 percent were members, and only 6 respondents (30percent) were active members. Though the NGO has the potential to be a platform or networking hub for Ugandans living in the Netherlands, most of the respondents were not very enthusiastic when they spoke of Pearl of Africa, mainly because they felt they have not benefited much from them. Those that did benefit felt that Pearl of Africa created a "home away from home" (Joseph) you are surrounded by likeminded people, and you feel comfortable to express yourself. The NGO is open to all Ugandans and host activities for both Ugandans and non-Ugandans. In essence the NGO increases social cohesion amongst the Ugandans who are involved and through its many activities aims to support Ugandans and promotes Ugandan pride. It is set up by Ugandans and thus becomes and NGO that is no longer a charity, but is Ugandans helping Ugandans.

Respondents explained many ways that they met other Ugandans, illustrating how multi stranded the ties were. Respondents explained meeting Ugandans at more than one event, they met at churches, school events, workshops, events organized by Ugandans and events organized for Ugandans (Africa day/Uganda day), shopping, and through Facebook. As they shared a similar background, it was easier to start a conversation and forge a tie. It is important to note that part of my access to having an interview with some of the respondents, was my background, I had lived in Uganda. Two respondents mentioned agreeing to be interviewed because I had some affiliation to Uganda, and they considered me their sister, and were willing to help out 'their sister.'

Maintaining relations with Ugandans was dependent on the value of the relationship, for some respondents once the value depreciated and they no longer needed the community, maintaining it became "*a waste of time*" (Isaac, Grace and Edward). The community no longer provided something that the respondent needed. For any relationship to succeed, there are two important factors that need to exist, there should be a common interest and there should be complementarity/mutual interdependence⁶⁹. If one of these is lacking it is inevitable that the relationship ceases to exist.

⁶⁹ Leeuwis; 2004: 21

A product of bonding social capital as we see from the interviews and experiences is maintaining Ugandan-ness within the Netherlands, in particular a form of ethnic assertion through for instance language retention. In effect the community also maintains the norms and values of Uganda, becoming a sort social control, encouraging people in a community to behave as they would in Uganda (which is approved by society in Uganda)⁷⁰

2) *Bridging Social Capital (with citizens)*

Bridging capital is generally the most uncommon form of social capital amongst new migrants, as it requires people to get out of their closed social circles and relate with ‘the other’. Bridging capital is a horizontal relationship with people who are not like you (i.e. different age, different ethnicity, different religion, etc.) but are from a similar socio-economic background. Mark Granovetter argues that bridging capital has the potential to improve job opportunities and increases access to resources. He theorizes that weak ties can be strong, in expanding a person’s social ties. Individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends⁷¹. To distinguish when my respondents were bonding and when they were bridging, I have separated the two amongst ethnic ties, where bonding is bonding with people of similar ethnic origin, and bridging is relating to people with different ethnic origins. Bridging relationships will thus focus on relationships with Dutch people (neighbors, distant friends, colleagues, citizens and civil servants) and non-Dutch non-Ugandan relationships

Relationship with Dutch

Relationships are too complex to generalize, and therefore, the aim is not to generalize the experiences but to illustrate the complexity and document the experiences shared. Each experience is unique and can only be useful when it is shared. All respondents had at least one Dutch friend, two women were married to Dutch men and nine respondents were working with Dutch people. From the numbers provided, interaction and relations between two ethnically different groups is evident. The nature of the relationships will be explored in this section and it will be interesting to deduce the influence this relationship has on living in the Netherlands.

The interviews with the respondents revealed mixed opinions on interaction with the Dutch community. One respondent described the Dutch as:

“very hard working and kind people” (Brenda),

while another respondent described them as:

“the Dutch weather changes like the Dutch people. One moment they are laughing and joking with you, then the next they are angry” (James).

Two respondents (James and Patrick) felt that the Dutch were *“arrogant and unhelpful”*, *“unhelpful [because] they are afraid of Black culture...it is difficult to talk to them if they are afraid of you”* (Patrick).

⁷⁰ Coleman; 1990 and 1988

⁷¹ Granovetter; 1983: 1360-1380

Experiences were dependent on how the respondents met the Dutch person. For instance, in cases where the experience was negative these were random encounters, for instance at a train station and in a bar. Experiences that were positive occurred in school, at work, or in scenarios where someone was directly introduced to you. However, one respondent explained to me that in the

“classroom where the program was fully announced as an English program, the lecturer allowed Dutch students to ask questions in Dutch, do their exams in Dutch (giving them an unfair advantage as the teachers native language is Dutch), and in some instances responded to questions in Dutch!... During group work as well, if one was unfortunate enough to be in a group with majority Dutch, students would communicate in Dutch, when they speak English very well, ‘intentionally’ excluded the foreigner” (Ronald).

Ronald resolved the group communication issue by voicing his opinion, and expressing his objections with the situation. Ronald is probably one of the only ‘African’ who I have encountered who has spoken out about this. A friend of mine from Kenya told me that rather than make a big fuss, she just sits quietly unnoticed and lets the Dutch make the decisions; she complained to me that the classroom environment inhibits her true potentials. She told me that this happens often.

Respondents who were unemployed and asylum seekers found it difficult to form bridging capital for three main reasons, they had different interests (in the sense that they could not relate), different topics of conversation (could not find common ground, too many awkward silences), did not understand Dutch humor (found it rude).

Two of the women interviewed were married to Dutch men and through the husband were introduced to their Dutch family. Sharon explained how welcoming the parents of her husband were and how there were so many similarities with Uganda. For instance when she would be busy the grandparents would take care of the children. Although she did mention a language barrier, as when she first arrived, she felt very isolated and alone because she could not be part of conversations. Though her husband tried to make her feel as welcome as possible, it is inevitable that feelings of inferiority arise because of difference in language. Over time, Sharon could communicate with the parents, which had its good and bad points, as with any family, arguments arise, now she too was included in that part. Disagreements occurred on how to renovate the house (as the parents were living no too far, and owned the house), using the car (they had two shared cars), her method of raising the children, (*The list is endless*). Joan was not too talkative about her husband’s parents; I had to probe her to find out what type of relationship they had. She explained eventually, that the relations are good, but they do not meet as often as they live in different cities. Though they had moved to the Netherlands because the husband wanted to be closer to home; his mother was not well. The parents are ‘crazy’ about Africa and speak English, which made interaction much easier. She did not have much to say other than they are nice people.

Respondents who were working explained about their relationship with colleagues, these too were mixed. Grace interacts a lot with her colleagues from work, to the extent that they go out for drinks together. Two other respondents, felt that the working environment is very different compared to Uganda. In the work environment *“different style of management to what I was used to in Uganda, it had a negative effect on my performance, as I first had to adjust to the casual laid back horizontal relationship with the boss (Kenneth).”* At work

people are undiplomatic, straight forward, unprofessional (even in their dressing (in behavior and attire)), and you do not get fired for voicing your opinion. People assume that you are shy or stupid because you are always quiet, when in fact one is just unaware of the etiquette (how things work) (Grace).

In a recent newspaper article it suggested that the "Employees from the Netherlands are the happiest in the world."⁷² With the informal, horizontal working structure, it is to a certain extent understandable. Edward explained that he forced a relationship with his colleagues because he felt that he needed to network with the Dutch in order to advance professionally. This puts emphasis on the aim of the kind of social capital; bonding social capital is important for 'getting by', while bridging social capital is used for 'getting ahead'⁷³.

An event which I participated in and felt really promoted the most interaction between Ugandans and Dutch was Uganda day. This annual event started in 2007. It is an event for everyone with a passion for Uganda. The idea of this event is to illustrate that "Jointly we can do more than individually, and so everybody who through expertise, experience, interest and/or enthusiasm has a link with the beautiful Uganda is invited to visit this day and share their passion."⁷⁴ It is organized by both Ugandans and non-Ugandans and is a brilliant example of a space that has been created to forge interaction between Ugandans, friends of Uganda and Dutch society in general. The event consisted of seminars, information market, workshops, dance and cooking. I was particularly interested to know what my respondents who attended felt about the day. 7 of the respondents had attended the Uganda day; 3 felt it was a great opportunity to meet other Ugandans, but also interesting to see how linked the Netherlands and Uganda are; 2 felt that the event was good until it became political, "*it should have been about celebrating Uganda not trying to solve issues in one day.*"(Patrick)

NGO's

All three organizations were founded by Ugandans living in the Netherlands and have at least as one of their aims to build relationships between Ugandans and Dutch. Pearl of Africa initiates events such as the biannual summer sports activities which aim at creating a space where interaction between Dutch and Ugandans (and other East African countries) can occur. Additionally, Pearl of Africa hosts a number of information sessions on issues that are relevant for understanding how things work in the Netherlands differently from Uganda (i.e. insurance, education system, parenting, work, etc.). Workshops are also held where people are introduced to Dutch people and can build relationships with locals. BUDNET has two aims the first is to promote Ugandan culture and provide a platform where Ugandans can practice and share their culture and second link the Baganda kingdom in Uganda with relevant Dutch individuals and groups that can become partners, for instance schools. SAUW aims to mobilize African women to efficiently integrate them into the Dutch system.

Pearl of Africa is the oldest organization as it was established in 2003, while BUDNET (2010) and SAUW (2009) were only recently registered. This could explain why the majority of the

⁷² Dutch Daily news; 2011

⁷³ de Souza; 2003

⁷⁴ Oeganda Dag; 2012

respondents had heard more about Pearl of Africa (75 percent had heard of Pearl of Africa). 6 respondents had heard of BUDNET, and 2 respondents had heard of SAUW. However, when I spoke to the founder of BUDNET he explained that he had over 1000 members (he did not state how many are actually active). It was not possible to verify this number, as there was no list of members, and the website was currently under construction. SAUW currently has about 30 members, this number could also not be verified as I did not attend any meetings and did not receive a list with the member's names. SAUW targets women from all over the world who are living in the Netherlands. Contrary to the other two organizations, this one is not concentrated on Ugandans alone. In all three organizations the board consisted of both Ugandans and Dutch people, making them not exclusively for Africans, providing already within the board an example of Dutch/Ugandan collaboration.

The activities carried out by Pearl of Africa make it a more well-known NGO compared to BUDNET and SAUW. Though SAUW has carried out numerous activities which include trade shows, open houses, seminars, sponsorships to community fairs, sports events, and educational activities, these are not as well-known as the events organized by Pearl of Africa. The number of partner organizations that are listed on the website of Pearl of Africa emphasizes their position as a well-established NGO. BUDNET is still a young NGO as is SAUW. Both have the potential of growing into NGOs that will support the integration of Ugandans (African women) in the Netherlands, as well as promote the development of Uganda.

Pearl of Africa has been most relevant to the paper in understanding the importance of creating a social network of Ugandans. Most of the activities that Pearl of Africa organizes are aimed at the wider Ugandan population in the Netherlands. Members range from Ugandan immigrants living in the Netherlands to friends of Uganda to other nationalities of Ugandan origin to Ugandan students. Pearl of Africa has taken the role of being a support system for Ugandans living in the Netherlands.

Getting people to integrate is primarily dependent on the person, he/she needs to encourage himself. For this reason the NGO focuses on the adult group, because they already have their own ideas of what they want. Workshops are set up to inform this group about the Dutch way. For instance there was a workshop held about homosexuality, since this is one of the major issues. Many Ugandans do not understand this; they find it disgusting and not part of the norm. During this workshop, homosexual Dutch men were invited to talk to Ugandans to illustrate that they are just the same, that homosexuality is not a disease but rather a lifestyle choice. The workshop provoked interaction between Dutch gays and Ugandans. Another workshop that was held focused on Education in the Netherlands. Everything about education was discussed, from fees to curriculums to social life. Another workshop that was held was on remittances, and how these can be put to good use. Information was exchanged on cheaper methods of sending money, for instance the introduction of a private Ugandan guy with a license who is cheaper than money gram (NGO representative).

A workshop on raising children was held 2 years ago (2010). The workshop was held because girls between the ages of 15-18 are easily influenced by some of the negative Dutch culture. The NGO representative explained that when these girls arrive in the Netherlands they are often overwhelmed with the amount of freedom that is given to them. They are given a bank card and are at the liberty to spend money how they want, they see shoes they

want they buy it. There have been at least 3 cases where women have gotten pregnant; the girls are simply unaware or inconsiderate of the consequences of their actions. Other than this age group, there are also issues where children go to Dutch schools and are unable to communicate with the parents. Moreover, the children are always put a year behind because of the language. It is not only a challenge in the school, but in the home language becomes a challenge. Parents are forced to learn the language, but at the same time try to retain some of their ethnic culture by trying to get the children to speak both (or all three including English).

The aims of the workshops are to confront assumptions, inform and offer advice. It is better to know what you are up against than to assume, this goes for Dutch and Ugandans. All my respondents expressed their challenges trying to bypass prejudices and assumption. *"The Dutch assume we should know how things work in 'their country'"* Charles. The NGO representative mentioned something quite important which many Ugandans I have noticed expect from the Dutch society *"When you enter a new place you cannot expect the host country to change for you, you have to either try to adapt or compliment the environment, otherwise you experience conflict and stress."*(NGO representative of Pearl of Africa) Part of integration is bringing together different cultures on a common playing field (for instance a football match; as is done bi-annually by Pearl of Africa). It is believed that through more interaction and understanding of each other there will be fewer assumptions and Ugandans will experience fewer hurdles in the migration process. The information that is shared during the workshops is available on the Pearl of Africa website forum.

Relationship with non-native Dutch and non-Ugandan

Wilfred Ngwa mentioned in his book a reaction that I saw in my respondents towards other black people. In one of the stories one of the migrants explains a need to greet every African he saw, even if that African was on the opposite side of the street. This attitude was similar to my respondents' feelings towards other black Africans in the Netherlands. Not being able to explain why, James explained that without needing to know who the black guy (African) was he would either nod his head or greet him in some subtle way. He does not do this to white people. There is the notion that Africans are brothers and sisters, and that because of this degree of similarity a bond is shared.

While in the asylum centers, respondents who were there explained interacting with other immigrants. James expressed his pity for Somali people, he claimed, *"they are really struggling here, they do not speak English or Dutch, you see them trying to explain with hands but nowhere, it is really sad."* In general, respondents who had met other Africans in asylum centers did not have much to say about their interaction with other Africans, other than that they were all experiencing the same thing; uncertainty. Brenda mentioned however, that *"at the asylum center they would place you in groups according to your nationality. In one case two Rwandan girls were put in one room, but they were from different tribes (tutsi and hutu). One of the girls was more aggressive than the other one and would threaten the other one and say "I will kill you"...Nothing was done about this, the girl complained but nothing was done. Even when the other girl was put with other women she would yell at the other women telling them she would kill them too.. the Dutch do not think about your background they place you in rooms and think we are all the same. But that is*

not true." This is why Brenda sees it as a personal goal to teach Dutch people about Africa as such issues can be avoided.

The stereotypic image of Nigerians as trouble makers, aggressive, and cons, is very much present in the Netherlands. Historically, Nigeria is "littered with political coups and upheaval. It is named as one of the most corrupt countries in the world... [and consists of 250 ethnically different groups]"⁷⁵ (BBC). Consequent to this image of Nigerians, the majority of the Dutch cannot tell the difference between a Nigerian and Ugandan, and thus assume that every black man is a Nigerian you should be cautious around them. *"Nigerians have ruined the image of Africans, with their drug trafficking, prostitution and illegal activities"* (George). For this reason George explains some Ugandans are treated with hostility.

Relationships with Surinamese Dutch people is almost nonexistent, experiences with interactions with them was mostly negative. One of the respondents was co-habiting with a Surinamese lady for 10 years. He felt that there were many similarities between African culture and Surinamese culture, for instance, the cooking style, the large families, the vibrant conversations, the music and dancing, and the close ties with extended families. Currently however, they are experiencing a hitch in their relationship. Contrary to what happens in Uganda, the partner asked him to leave the house. *"In Uganda if the women is unhappy with her marriage she leaves the husband and goes back home, if she is not able to sustain herself, but break ups are not common in Uganda"* (Isaac). The description of Surinamese culture that Isaac describes leaves me to wonder why Ugandans would not form a relationship with people who are culturally similar. A study done by Geoffrey Mwakikagile, illustrates the reason why black Americans and Africans do not get along. The theory says that "There is a perception among a significant number of Africans, backed up by empirical evidence derived from personal experiences with black Americans, which their brothers and sisters, or cousins, in the United States, don't want to be closely identified with Africa." This same theory can be applied to the relationship between the Surinamese and the Africans living in the Netherlands. Similar to the case in the US, they do not want to be associated with the world's most backward, disease ridden and poverty stricken continent (as conventional wisdom goes). Surinamese people are Dutch, not Africans in terms of national identity and upbringing; although they resemble Africans in the genealogical sense. They were born and raised in the Netherlands and live with Dutch culture in terms of mentality, attitudes, values, and the way they look at the world.⁷⁶

3) Linking Social Capital

"Linking social capital pertains to connections with people in power, whether they are in politically or financially influential positions."⁷⁷ The importance of building linking social capital is similar to bridging connections. Linking ties enable people to access resources and information outside their own social network, consequently improving the chances of having the right kind of contacts for various purposes, thus providing access to new information and resources, enhancing people's actual control and improving their ability to solve various problems. In extreme cases "communities with high levels of bridging and

⁷⁵ BBC News; 2006

⁷⁶ Mwakikagile; 2007: Ch 5

⁷⁷ Woolcock; 2001

linking social capital may also have the power to influence political decisions in society.”⁷⁸
Linking social capital in relation to migrants refers to their relationship with people outside their community and in higher socio-economic statuses.

Student migrants used linking social capital to facilitate migration to the Netherlands; these weaker ties formed while in Uganda facilitated their resident permit applications, helped to arrange their transport to the University upon arrival and provided access to accommodation during their stay in the Netherlands.

Asylum seekers needed to engage in linking networks in order to create a tie with their appointed lawyer. In this type of relationship the lawyer being the one in a higher economic status was in a more influential position than the migrant, and was also in control of the migrant's migration procedure.

“It is completely out of your hands, they give you someone who will arrange your stay and defend you. But the lawyer is also part of them. The lawyer is helping them to make you fail. But if you are smart then he helps you to suit the system. Because you are not the one who is paying him, so he is helping you to fail, but if you are smart then he helps you to succeed. Unless if you get your private lawyer and they pay him/her that when you can be for sure... He gets credit when he fails as many as possible if he fails you on the process because the government doesn't want you to enter.” (Henry)

Based on the description given by Henry the relationship between the lawyer and the migrant is not equal. Henry was convinced there was a conspiracy going on. I could not find any evidence to substantiate his claims. None of the other asylum seekers expressed similar concerns with their appointed lawyers. One had developed a good relationship with his lawyer and today still consults him. When there are issues related to the law that he does not understand, for instance Julius was wrongfully accused of causing trouble at a bar, he was taken in by the police. They let him go the next day, but told him to come to a court hearing. Julius did not know what to do, and ended up contacting his migration lawyer who explained that according to the report he had been involved in misconduct and was being fined. If he disagreed with the report he could defend himself at the court. The lawyer agreed to be present at his hearing. His hearing is in April. Julius repeatedly told me that the charges were unjustified.

Linking social capital also becomes important when immigrants want help from local government, health care services, financial or legal institutions. Through the NGO's opportunities are created to mingle with Dutch local government, but linkages were not created, this was more of a onetime meeting.

Becoming a citizen also requires you to invest in linking capital. In most cases however, respondents used bonding capital to get information on where to get health care, which bank to use, how legal procedures work; the Dutch system in general. Dutch courses are given to foreigners, which include lessons on language and lessons about the Dutch system. These are also attainable via the net, thus lessons and the need to find someone outside your group to teach you was not necessary. Furthermore, all three NGO's assisted in preparing for the inburgering test.

⁷⁸ Ferlander ; 2007: 10

The only form of linking social capital that was evident throughout my interviews was the one that was created through the NGO's. All the NGOs are involved in networking, and trying to find partner organizations and funding. Pearl of Africa has a very large network of both African (Nedas, Ofuga, Afroneth, The Voice, Kenya Platform, UKEA, DSOR, GLARO, Sudanese forum, Afro-Euro) and Dutch organizations (Oxfam-NOVIB, VON, SVO, Kerkinactie, NCDO, ICCO, Cordaid, SMS, SNV, BBO, DFD.). This provides a gateway for its members.

Four of the respondents are reliant on government subsidies. Julius explained to me that he will not try looking for a job as he feels this is the responsibility of the Dutch government. The allowance that is given to the migrant is just enough for the month, and according to Patrick and Julius' description of their lives in Uganda, has required them to lower their standards of living considerably.

"In Uganda life is cheap; I have two homes there, one in the rural area where my family stays and one in the city. Back home everything is cheap, renting a place like I have now would be 50 Euros per month not the 300plus that this one costs...at home I did not have to cook, I learnt how to cook from here...Every Friday I would go out with my friends, we would eat meat [showing with his hands that it is overflowing on his plate], we lived like kings compared to here. I would be driving to get from place to place. Even public transport is cheap, here it is 2 Euros to get to the center. With 2 Euros you could travel from Kampala to Jinja and back!" (Patrick)

Linking social capital was not as common among my respondents as bonding capital. Bonding capital contrary to the definition at the start is what the migrants used to gain access to information and resources. The role of the NGO in providing a link cannot be denied, however, none of my respondents seem to be taking advantage of this link to obtain a job or resource.

Bonding social capital was the most common form of social capital amongst migrants. However, asylum seekers and students were reliant on linking social capital upon arrival to the Netherlands. These relationships were however temporary, and as the need for relationships that offered social support rather than formal support arose, migrants focused more on creating bonding social capital. Bonding social capital provided migrants with accommodation, financial support, social support (advise, companionship, instrumental, informational and/or emotional), and resource support. Bridging social capital was more common among students and the employed as this group already had a gateway to meeting and interacting with people who are different (Dutch/non Ugandan). Though the Surinamese are culturally similar a bond between these two was very common. Migrants complained that especially the Surinamese were unfriendly or unwilling to bond, superiority complex.

Trust and value of the relationship (reciprocity) were important factors for the continuation of bonding relationships both with Ugandans in Uganda and Ugandans in the Netherlands.

The role of the NGO was quite important in connecting Ugandans with other groups. However, my respondents did not make use of this networking platform.

Chapter 5: The Netherlands as home?

After illustrating the challenges and coping strategies my respondents experienced while living in the Netherlands, this next section expands on future plans of the respondents. In any case when a person migrates to an area, prior to migration he/she has three choices, resettle in the host country, return or resettle somewhere else. The options are limited depending on reason for migration. Often asylum seekers are not at liberty to choose the option of going back, as the reason for leaving was fear of prosecution, it would be dangerous to go back. Additionally, as was the case with 5 of the respondents the Netherlands was chosen despite their wishes (and in one case without their knowledge). Student migrants strategically chose to go to the Netherlands, the decision to return after their studies varies on the options they have after studies, for instance further studies, job etc. A labor migrant can choose almost without restriction from all three choices, the main factor is affordability and permission to stay. With this in mind the next section will explore in greater depth why each group (Student, Labor migrant, Asylum seeker, and return migrant), either resettles, returns and or resettles somewhere else. Subsequently in the decision to stay we will look at elements of making the Netherlands home.

Student

According to the OECD in 2007 the stay rate of international students in the Netherlands was 15% (refer to table below). This number is relatively low.

Table 3: Stay rate of international students in selected OECD countries in 2007

OECD (2010)

	Status changes (number)	Distribution			Stay rate ¹⁵ (percent)
		Work	Family	Other	
		(percent)			
Austria	200	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	18,0
Belgium	280	66	17	17	n.a.
Canada (temporary)	12,830	70	n.a.	30	18,8
Canada (permanent)	10,010	76	20	4	14,7
France	14,680	56	39	5	27,4
Germany	10,180	46	47	7	29,5
Japan ¹⁶	10,260	100	n.a.	n.a.	19,8
Netherlands	1,010	65	34	1	15,0
Norway	660	80	18	2	22,5

The article suggests the reason many migrants are often tempted to stay is “Many industrialized countries discovered international students as a potential source to overcome shortages of qualified workers within their domestic labor markets. To attract qualified workers, many industrialized countries have thus lowered hurdles for high-skilled migration as such and in particular for international students who intend to stay after completing their education.”⁷⁹ This is also the case in the Netherlands; students are given one search year to look for a job within the Netherlands. However, the search year conflicts with the Nuffic aim of “us[ing] your new knowledge and skills to support your employing organisation and your

⁷⁹ Wrona; 2011: 4

country. Nuffic urges you to return to your home country upon finishing the course or programme to meet the NFP aim in the most effective way.”⁸⁰ Thus on one end you have the country facilitating the stay of international students and on the other end you have the Nuffic encouraging return of the migrant.

The article continues to suggest that “Despite these efforts to attract foreign students for domestic labor markets, recent empirical evidence suggests that only a minority of foreign students actually decides to stay in the host country after graduating”. All the student respondents in this study stayed longer in the Netherlands prior to graduating or indicated not having plans to go back to Uganda after graduating. When I asked my respondents about other Ugandan students most explained that a larger percentage of the Ugandan students go back home after graduating. This information was supported by a number of other students and was true for both the University of Wageningen and Groningen. Reasons for returning varied; the two most common reasons were first, to use the knowledge obtained in the Netherlands and apply it at home and second, the weather was too cold. Other reasons included not being able to manage life in the Netherlands (1 student), being sent by an employing organization and having come specifically to improve their skills to get a promotion or higher paying job (4 students), not knowing about the 1 year search period (2 students), getting a job in a different country (1 student), and returning to family after studies (2 students).

The reasons my respondents had planned to stay in the Netherlands after studies were to continue further studies (PhD) (2 respondents), stay with their husband (1 respondent), look for a job (making use of the search period) (2 respondents). In one case a student migrant considered resettling in another country. The reason for this is based on their area of study, it would not make sense for him to study in Uganda, as the best place for them to do a Post Doc in cell biology is abroad possible somewhere in Europe or America. It is quite evident that for the time being going back to Uganda now meant going back to *visit*. Returning is not a plan for in the next 5 years, but was more of an “in the end plan” the place where they would ‘eventually’ settle, “Uganda is my permanent home, while the Netherlands is a temporary residence” (Charles). I inquired further to ask my respondents *what makes a place a home?*

“Home for me is where I feel comfortable and safe, where I can be me” (Faith)

“it is easier to answer the question where is home, home is where family and friends are, where things are familiar...but to come back to your question what makes a place a home [pause] it would have to be the people and the feeling you get, like a feeling of satisfaction. I used to think the place I grew up in for 20 years was my home, but this place is my parent’s home. It is full of childhood memories and it is the one place where I really felt at home, but as I grow older and now I am here, it is time for me to build my own home with my wife” (Kenneth)

“It is all to do with the feeling you have and if you feel you fit in” (Isaac)

“Any place can be your home, before I came to the Netherlands I was living in the capital, away from my parents. I made my new place home, I invested in the place to make it as

⁸⁰ NUFFIC; 2011

comfortable as possible; I made it my own. In essence home is where I am, it is up to me to make it cozy. Of course there are external factors that can make it harder or easier to call a place a home, for instance relations with people around you; they can make you feel welcome or not, but at the end of the day the place where you have created to make yourself feel comfortable is home.” (Joan)

Home can be concluded as a place where one is most comfortable and a place where one belongs. Responds made the Netherlands home, but Uganda was the home where it became the “safe and still place to leave and return to, and a principle focus of [their] concern and control.”⁸¹

It is evident from how my respondents describe that as a result of changing circumstances, environmental (weather is too cold), social (living manners and standard of living (from a house to a student flat)) and economical (everything is more expensive in the Netherlands), adjustment to the new living in the Netherlands takes time, and often people hold on to idyllic images of home as they criticize the host country. Over time, as can be seen from their responses home is a variable term; it can change depending on the circumstances people find themselves in, home in Uganda can mean something completely different to home in the Netherlands.

Migrant in search of employment

Two of my respondents came to the Netherlands looking for work; attracted by the foreign lifestyle and higher wages in the Netherlands. Both migrants had different experiences. George was disappointed with what ‘Europe’ had to offer and explained that as soon as he manages to get back to Uganda he will stay there. His expectations were confronted by reality; he shifted from a relatively high, respectable occupation and status to a rather low, menial occupation and status. Edward on the other hand was not ready to give up on his expectations of Europe, on his first visit to the Netherlands, he had arrived on a tourist visa hoping to extend once he found a job, his application to extend his visa was denied so he went back to Uganda, on his second attempt he arrived in the Netherlands as a student, and now works and studies in the Netherlands.

George had sold everything and exhausted all his resources in Uganda so that he could make the trip to the Netherlands, thus return to Uganda was not an option for him at the start. Additionally, initially the shame of telling family and friends that he had not been successful in the Netherlands, explains why he was in the Netherlands for more than 5 years. Furthermore, he was responsible for providing for the family, he could not return empty handed. George explained that with all the pressure back home and people’s expectations of him he was forced to stay in the Netherlands until he made enough money to go back home. George returned home, and swore not to go back. His mother explained that she wished he would return to the Netherlands and make more money.⁸² George did not want other Ugandans to go through his similar fate, and consequently made a documentary about his life in the Netherlands which he showed in Uganda and on Dutch national television. He tried to explain to Ugandans of the realities that await them abroad, but to a certain extent these warnings fell on to deaf ears.

⁸¹ Rapport; 1998: 6

⁸² Surprising Europe Documentary; Eye witness report (Al Jazeera); 2011

"It is hard to convince people not to go to Europe, they think that you are lying when you say that it is tough, they are stuck with the image of Europe as the place where they grow honey and milk. All I can do is inform them so that they are better prepared than I was" (George). George ended up returning to the Netherlands after his visit to Uganda, to finish his documentary. His future plans involve going back to Uganda, but for now he is working on a campaign to inform other prospective migrants about the do's and don'ts of migrating abroad, he calls it *"a project impossible"* (George).

Edward will stay in the Netherlands. He has no plans of going back. It is a 'blessing' (Edward) that he made it the second time to the Netherlands; he will not tempt fate by going back. He is ready to take on Dutch culture and become Dutch. He speaks the language almost fluent. I was surprised by how Dutch he had gone that I finally asked him if there was anything Ugandan left inside him. He laughed and said

"of course, I will always be Ugandan by birth,[pause] the blood that flows inside my veins is Ugandan, my mother and my father are Ugandan. I am a Ugandan on the inside, but I wear my Dutch suit outside. If I want to stay here it is better I become a Dutch... Now I just need a white woman [he chuckled at the end]." (Edward)

The respondents represent different cases, illustrating how too simplistic it would be to generalize migration experiences, expectations and future decisions of labor migrants. What is evident is that this group is not homogenous. Future choices can be individually drawn or based on a collective decision as was the case of George, his family pressured him to stay in the Netherlands as he was providing for them. Research such as this can add to understanding why certain migrants chose to resettle, return or resettle elsewhere.

Asylum seekers

Asylum seekers migrate because of fear of persecution; subsequently they only have two secure choices; resettle or resettle elsewhere. The struggle of finally getting to the Netherlands and being granted asylum and refugee status is an incentive to stay rather than resettle and start the procedure all over again in another country. The option of return is only feasible when there is near to no fear of persecution, for instance for a political asylum seeker, a possible regime change would make it possible for the migrant to return.

Marije Braakman and Angela Schlenkhoff's article "Between Two Worlds: Feelings of Belonging While in Exile and the Question of Return" carried out a field research which explored issues of belonging of Afghan refugees in Germany and Britain and their search for *Watan* (homeland; ideally 'a geographical and social area where one feels at home and upon which one's identity is based, a place where one's family and friends live and where security, social warmth and a strong connection to the soil are experienced). The concept of *Watan* does not necessarily have to be in Afghanistan but *Watan* describes a place where one belongs and has a sense of identity within that country, this they argue is "often based on a sense of closeness to a social network of relatives and friends, personal and collective memories, language, and cultural products and practices."⁸³ The refugees hold on to an idyllic memory of Afghanistan which they would rather preserve from a distance as Afghanistan today in reality is not Afghanistan of then. "Returning to Afghanistan is not a

⁸³ Braakman;2007: 5

dream but more of a nightmare...The need for safety, economic security, education for the children, housing, medical care, the comfort of running water, electricity and heating and closeness of kin may be fulfilled better outside Afghanistan.”⁸⁴

Similarly to the Afghans in Germany and the UK, Ugandans seeking asylum would prefer to stay in the Netherlands, where they are safe, economically secure, their children are educated, they receive insurance, and there is generally a higher quality of life. Initially the most important motivation for staying in the Netherlands is security, the other elements are bonus. The search for home comes after their first needs of security are met.

Eisenstadt suggests four stages in the refugee absorption process; “first, the acquisition of language, norms, roles, customs; second, learning to perform a host of new roles and hence to handle the many new situations that will occur; third, development of a new identity and status-image, new values about oneself--a basic personal adjustment; and fourth, movement from participation in the institutions of the new ethnic group to participation in the institutions of the host society.”⁸⁵ Within this study group one recognizes the stages described. However, stage four will not be discussed as migrants already participate in the institutions of the host society as a requirement to gaining refugee status additionally many of the migrants are religiously affiliated and within a year's time are part of a religious institution. None of my respondents had just arrived in the Netherlands, thus stage 1 will not be discussed.

Respondents who have been living in the Netherlands for about a year (Patrick, Julius and James) portray experiences described in the second stage. They are past the experience of being stressed from being in a new environment. They are learning new roles and are getting to grips with their ‘new life’. At this stage they are ready to assimilate into the dominant culture, which means that they will ‘abandon’ their cultural identity and ‘absorb’ into Dutch culture. The respondents argued you will not be able to get along with the host country if you are closed to their culture. These respondents accept that they are in a foreign country and want to make their stay as easy and smooth as possible. A significant amount of adjustment takes place, as they are trying to survive; life must go on. However, through observation it was clear that there was ethnic retention within the home. At home we discussed politics, which they eagerly got into discussion about and in the background we listened to Ugandan music. Additionally, etiquettes such as drinking tea with milk were also practiced within the home. In general they all agreed it is hard to predict where they will be in the future. They are surviving now, and are trying to settle in the Netherlands and make Netherlands home.

Henry who has been living in the Netherlands for almost 5 years has elements of both stage two and three. He has adjusted just enough that he can get by, he knows the culture and behavior of the Dutch, but is far from embracing it. It was not his choice that he is in the Netherlands and his expectations were tarnished by reality ‘Europe is not the Europe that people were talking about at home’. He is experiencing drastic changes which are increasing his stress and which he is not getting to grips with, but slowly he is accepting his situation. Stress is increased because he is paying more than what he earns and in the Netherlands as a refugee you are expected to pass the inburgering exam within 5 years, if you do not pass the government does not extend your stay in the Netherlands (this has added to his stress).

⁸⁴ Braakman; 2007: 12

⁸⁵ Eisenstadt (1954) in Stein; 1981: 329

Henry is experiencing nostalgic reactions to his situation; he criticizes the Netherlands, he has deep desires to return to Uganda (homesick), he cannot pay his bills making him dependent on money from his business in Uganda to sustain his family here and he says that the Netherlands is not the same anymore as before, things are harder now.

Brenda, Isaac, Joseph and Ruth have been living in the Netherlands for over 7 years and are display elements of Eisenstadt's third stage. Respondents are acculturated and have assimilated into Dutch cultural. Within this group three of the respondents have tried to find a balance between Ugandan culture and Dutch culture, while the other has tried to conform. To borrow Gordon's (1964) model of assimilation, three have assimilated to the extent of cultural pluralism, while one respondent (Isaac) to the point of host-conformity (where he has become like the native, completely accepting the dominant culture, where it does not conflict with his values (i.e. homosexuality and prostitution promotion).

Cultural pluralism in the sense that "the refugee will acculturate to the dominant pattern particularly for politics, play, education and work, but will preserve his communal life and much of his culture."⁸⁶

Brenda like Joseph is actively involved in trying to facilitate integration of other Ugandans living in the Netherlands by approaching both Dutch and Ugandan people. Living together in unity is an important factor for making people comfortable in a community. Brenda feels that a home can be built if people are willing to live together in harmony:

"I really feel, that rotterdammers we should learn to unite without minding about who doesn't speak the language well, as well as somebody has the need to do something, and also to see that African women, we are like a group, like a group also as women, but I'm talking as an African woman. We come here when we have gone through sometimes a lot but when we come here, you find yourself you have to speak or learn the language it is really hard that you have to learn the language until you speak it perfect, but if something can be done that little we know or those who really want to come up that they can be helped in a special way so that we can achieve something. My message for Rotterdam people is unity, let stop looking at each other with differences lets learn to know that Rotterdam is our ar—(she was going to say area) our home, a home is a place where people live together that with unity and understanding. So if you are able to unite then Rotterdam will be our home and if you are in a home everybody is responsible pick rubbish from the dustbin⁸⁷ or anything that you do, you do it together, no do not wait for another person, if it needs to do something, so that we unite and we make Rotterdam to become our home" (Brenda)

Home becomes a place where people live together in unity. Brenda in the future wants to take a course on women and children empowerment. Additionally, she will be taking a course on interaction of different cultures. When she speaks of empowerment she sees that her ideas would be best suited for places in Africa and not here. However, she currently lives a dual life; belonging to more than one home. While she is here in the Netherlands, she is also busy in Uganda supporting four children and helping her sister run a street children home. She is passionate about Uganda and feels it possible to be part of both worlds.

⁸⁶ Gordon (1964) in Stein; 1981: 329

⁸⁷ I think she meant to say, pick rubbish from the floor and put it into dustbins

Currently the Netherlands is home; her daughter is in the Netherlands, her NGO is in the Netherlands, Netherlands is home.

Joseph and Ruth also consider the Netherlands home but maintain close ties in back home (Uganda). They are living double lives, one in Uganda and one in the Netherlands. Brenda, Joseph and Ruth in migration terminology are perceived as transnational migrants. They are simultaneously engaged in Uganda and the Netherlands, moving ideas, goods and money back and forth⁸⁸.

Isaac has been living in the Netherlands for more than 10 years. When he first arrived to the Netherlands he resettled after 5 years to Sweden then the UK, ultimately he returned to the Netherlands; 'home', the place where he felt most comfortable. The Netherlands was the place that he felt most familiar with, where his friends lived, his co-habital partner and where he had established a life of his own. When Isaac went back to Uganda for a 5 week vacation he felt like an outsider, his accent was different, the language had changed (people were using different phrases), topics were different, and he could no longer communicate. He ended up changing his vacation to 2 weeks. He could no longer relate to Uganda like before; he felt uncomfortable. To a certain extent Isaac was confronted by an unfamiliar reality whereby home may not be home by the time you decide to go back; "myth of return"⁸⁹. Isaac had held on to a nostalgic past that he tried to realize when he went back, but Uganda then is not Uganda now.

Eisenstadt's fourth stage does not apply to refugees in the Netherlands because as a refugee there are requirements that one has to fulfill in order to be allowed to stay in the Netherlands. When you are granted asylum in the Netherlands you have 5 years to take an inburgering test in order to prove that you have successfully integrated into Dutch culture. If you fail the exam it is possible that your stay in the Netherlands does not get extended. The exam consists of two parts; 1) language and 2) Customs and culture. The *Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers*, (WIN; Newcomers Integration Act) came into effect to facilitate integration. "According to the law, all new immigrants – with the exception of students and temporary workers – had to take 600 hours of language and societal orientation classes, which were followed by assistance in starting an education or finding employment".⁹⁰ All the respondents in this group felt the requirement were quite demanding, "*we don't ask that of them when they come to our country*" (Brenda).

In one sense this is a good initiative yet on the other end as a multicultural country (social equality and participation and cultural recognition) such a law is forceful as it is mandatory and stands between you and your approval to stay in the Netherlands. Unfortunately, immigrants are now required to pay for the integration courses themselves, although loans are available from the municipality. Until 2007 the entire course was paid for by the state.⁹¹

Intermarriage

This form of migration was different than the other groups presented, in some sense the

⁸⁸ Mazzucato; 2005

⁸⁹ Brah; 1996: 36

⁹⁰ Focus migration; 2011

⁹¹ Focus migration; 2011

migrants were going home. It was known where they were going, and they were going to be with family from the husband's side. However, when I questioned whether they felt at home in the Netherlands, both respondents said no. They were more at home in Uganda; the Netherlands is their husband's home. Both women experienced feelings of loneliness and feeling like the outsider. At family gatherings the language was Dutch, which none of them knew how to speak. Subsequently it is hard to feel comfortable if you are excluded (unintentionally).

Sharon explained that moving to the Netherlands was not really a choice, the husband was unemployed, so they went 'back' to the Netherlands to stay on their farm. Their four children all speak Dutch fluently now, and so does she, the language at home is now Dutch. Yet she still feels that something is missing, a sense of comfort and belonging. They own the house they are living in, but home is not just a place of residence, she explained there are more things that make a home a home. *Such as? "Memories, places from childhood, family, friends, jokes, language and smell [pause] things that are familiar"* (Sharon). I noticed that in her house she has tried to create a mini Uganda, with handmade crafts (typical of Uganda) surrounding the house and while I was there she made matoke and Ugali (local food) which brought back smell. She explained she cooks local food often because she wants her children to know their local food and not be fully conformed to the Dutch way. Interestingly both she and her husband felt more at home in Uganda. They had lived there together for 10 years. She explained that the husband looks quite depressed living in the Netherlands, we both miss the tropical weather, the easy way of life, but we go there at least once a year, with the whole family to visit family in Uganda. Sharon has property in Uganda which they are currently renting, but having property in both the Netherlands and Uganda shows they are both committed to the Netherlands and Uganda. She explained *"we [my husband and I] did want to go back, but now I don't know, I think we will stay here and continue with our farm and campsite. Then who knows."* It is uncertain where they will be 5 years from now or 10 years, but what does remain fact is that this family has two homes; one in Uganda and one in the Netherlands.

Joan unanimously decided with her husband to move to the Netherlands. She was *"mentally prepared"* (Joan) for the Netherlands, in the sense that she had been there before, she was ready for environmental changes (language, weather, people, etc), but still after 5 years she does not consider the Netherlands her only home, she has two homes, one in the Netherlands and one in Uganda. The one in the Netherlands is home because that is where she lives, where her nuclear family is, and where she will be living for a while. Uganda is her first home, because that is where she grew up, it is the only place she knows best, it is where her parents are, where her friends are, where she got married, and most important it is the place she feels most herself. Additionally, they have bought a piece of land in Uganda; ensuring that they will be back. This is where they will build their retirement house. Both the husband and wife want to retire in Uganda, away from the harsh winters in the Netherlands, and back to the simple life in Uganda.

In the end a majority of the respondents (80%) mentioned that the Netherlands was their second home, while Uganda would always remain their first home. People cling on to a memory of home which may not be the reality when they go back, as was the case with Isaac. Nostalgic feelings of life back home were common amongst my respondents. To

counter these feelings all migrants either engage in activities that remind them of home, for instance cooking Ugandan food, listen to Ugandan music, dressing in Ugandan clothes, engaging in activities with other Ugandans, and forming relationships with other Ugandans and surrounded themselves with objects that reminded them of home, for instance handcrafts. This all to diminish feelings of homesickness and to expose to those that visit an element of pride they have in their culture.

Chapter 6: Role of Dutch society

The Role of Dutch society in facilitating and/or limiting the process of migration and the creation of home has been explored throughout the paper; however these have not been made explicit. This chapter will focus on these two salient issues because this paper is set in the Netherlands, making it appropriate to explore these roles.

Limiting role of Dutch society

Limiting factors refer to circumstances and issues that hinder, prevent or constrain a migrant to get their needs and experience migration in the most comfortable manner. Two themes come about which are the focuses of the limiting factors within Dutch society; policy and social behavior.

Policies towards migrants are becoming stricter and more restrictive. Three examples are explained in this research, first the fact that if you enter the Netherlands seeking asylum, you are highly dependent on the state for support. One does not have access to a work permit, so cannot become self sufficient. This has had some negative consequences as through dependency people stop to dream and envision goals for themselves. Furthermore, as you are not yet sure whether you can stay in the Netherlands, migrants have expressed not planning in the future, as such planning is considered futile. Second, recently (in 2007), with the attempt to make migrants more responsible for their own integration, the state became detached from integration courses, consequently making the lessons no longer free. The state is now only concerned with the results of the inburgering test. Migrants are expected to pay for their language and civic courses. This manner of making migrants autonomous is not seen as a positive move by the migrants interviewed. All my respondents felt that this was a strategic move on the part of the Dutch government to make migrants fail and therefore decrease the number of migrants. Third, one of the respondents could not find work in the Netherlands because her degree was not recognized. She was not even given a trial period, as she did not qualify academically. She was not given the chance to prove her knowledge. The restrictiveness of the system left her unemployed and pushed her to take a similar course in a Dutch university, in order to get the recognized qualification.

The second theme is related to social behavior. Culturally the Netherlands and Uganda are very different; consequently social codes are also not universal. Therefore a number of clashes occur because of differences (in 'the way of doing things' occur). The first most limiting issue is that of racism. This was experienced by 11 of the 18 respondents. Racism was related to the Dutch bluntness in their way of talking, it clashes with Ugandan culture which is more passive and politically correct. But racism does not consist of verbal abuse; it was also experienced when trying to find a job. Three respondents experienced having trouble getting a job as a 30plus African man, "no one will hire me" (George). Racism places

Ugandans in a secondary position limiting their possibilities of growth, and creates discomfort, making it difficult to feel at home.

Referring back to cultural differences, the experiences with neighbors has been a popular topic amongst my respondents. In Uganda a neighbor is also a friend, it is uncommon to not know your neighbor. The one who arrives in the neighborhood is normally welcomed and the guest is not expected to go round to peoples home to introduce themselves but rather people come and welcome them to the neighborhood. It is understandable then when a Ugandan arrives in a neighborhood in the Netherlands, that he/she feels uncomfortable and unhappy when he/she does not know their neighbors. The social life of Uganda is not replicated in the Netherlands, as that is not the way of the Netherlands. People are described as "individualistic" "unsocial" and only think of "me myself and I". This culture is limiting for Ugandans in making a home, as it is lonely when you do not know your neighbors. "It is like being the new kid in a classroom and no one tries to be your friend or welcome you" (Ruth). A third social behavior which is restrictive towards the migrant's progression is the pre-defined images Dutch people seem to have of Africa in general. The image is negative and always related to poverty, sickness and corruption. The image can work in the favor of the migrant for instance a student, as teachers underestimate the potential of the student, however, for an asylum seeker and employment seeking migrants this poses as an obstacle because one finds themselves always needing to prove themselves, if they get that chance. Additionally, this framing of Africans can be uncomfortable, but was not mentioned as a reason for not being able to create a home in the Netherlands. Lastly, intentional exclusion, this was particular for students working in groups with Dutch students. Dutch students would start talking Dutch, while my respondent does not speak Dutch. The university is an English speaking University, yet Dutch students talk in Dutch amongst themselves, making it very difficult for non Dutch speakers to become involved in the conversation. My student respondents felt that this behavior was very unfriendly and made them feel as if they were not wanted there. The environment that is created is not enabling.

Many of the limiting factors are issues that can be altered into facilitating factors. Social behavior for instance is an element that through interaction and sharing people can change in a manner which promotes harmonious living, if both groups are interested. Policy can be improved to facilitate integration, the inburgering courses are an important aspect in ensuring that a migrant is able to get by in the Netherlands and understands how things work in the Netherlands, and making migrants pay for this can only have unpleasant results.

Facilitating role of Dutch Society

Facilitating factors refer to circumstance that are enabling and support the migrants experience, growth and ability to build a home in the Netherlands. Similar to limiting

factors, this will also be divided in policies that enable migration and social behaviors that promote the migration process.

First of all related to asylum seekers, the Netherlands opens its borders to people seeking asylum and facilitates the first part of the migration process until arrival. This has been changing recently, but the Netherlands that most migrants spoke about during their migration to the Netherlands, was a tolerating country. For students, all of them had been granted a NUFFIC scholarship which is awarded by the Dutch government; therefore it was the Dutch government that promoted their stay in the Netherlands. Additionally, at each school, orientations are prepared to facilitate integration of the new students, language courses are offered but are not mandatory and students are given accommodation which is already furnished with basic necessities (bed, desk, chair and cupboard). Students who come to the Netherlands on a scholarship are held by the hand for the first stage of migration. Furthermore, after graduating the IND (De Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst; Immigration and Naturalization Service, department of the Dutch Ministry of Justice) allows each student a period of one year to search for a job. This allows students to dream of a future in the Netherlands, as a search period is given. Generally, high skilled migrants are given a red carpet when they are in the Netherlands, students sincerely are better off than low skilled migrants, asylum seekers, unrecognized degree migrants seeking employment, and migrants starting from scratch in trying to build a network outside the Ugandan one. Students enter and immediately become part of a rich network, which is not the case with the other migrants; placing them in an advantageous position.

The former Inburgering policy used to facilitate integration, and help make migrants feel at home. Though the respondents I spoke to found the courses tedious, in the end those that have benefited from it agreed that 'forcing' migrants to learn Dutch really influences how comfortable their stay in the Netherlands will be. "When you speak to a Dutch person in Dutch, they do not expect it, and are taken back, and quite pleased to respond to you. You are more likely to meet resistance when you ask a question in English than in Dutch" (Isaac). Migrants in my study did not have to pay for their inburgering test, but mentioned that migrants are less likely to pay for the courses, as "now they are free and some people don't show up, imagine if we have to start paying for it, no one will come, most of the lessons you can find online anyway." (James)

Socially, in the Netherlands families are closed. At home it is just the nuclear family; your children are brought up by mother and/or father, not by an Aunt, Grandmother or Maid. One respondent mentioned how this brought her family closer together. "It is too expensive to hire a nanny, so you really have to plan with the family, and you end up doing more things together... In Uganda you just drop your child to your mother, or an aunt, or leave them at home with the maid" (Joan). To Joan, this has made her closer to her daughter, and she feels more in control of what is going on. Although she is restrictive in her movements, she spends a lot more family time than they did in Uganda.

Migrants who had invested in bridging networks and moved away from their safe bonding networks, benefited in two aspects, first in gaining knowledge about Dutch culture that you cannot learn in a book, but which you learn practically and second when applying for jobs, “it is not what you know, but who you know” and this links came in handy. This form of network was used by migrants who stayed after graduating; they used the bridging networks they had formed to obtain jobs in their fields. Additionally, by mingling with Dutch society these migrants had access to resources and information outside their own social network, this brings us to Mark Granovetter theory which states the strengths of weak ties, theses expand a “person’s social ties. Individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends”⁹². NGO’s try to improve networks of migrants who do not have this access; however this is dependent on Dutch society participating in workshops and seminars that aim at integration.

Dutch society enables migrants who are already part of their network. Migrants who do not have access or a gateway to these networks have a harder time in accessing resources and information to facilitate their stay in the Netherlands. Policies are in place to facilitate integration; however these policies are becoming more restrictive, making it more difficult for non-student migrants in my study. One major social element of Dutch society was mentioned in facilitating home creation this is the close knit within the family. I will end this section with a dutch proverb that was told to me “Het kost een hoop van het leven van een huis een thuis” – It takes a heap of living to make a house a home.

⁹² Granovetter;1983: 2

5. Conclusion and Discussion

5.1 Conclusion and Discussion

Viewing the migration process through a transitional cycle perspective the thesis took us on a journey exploring the challenges, coping strategies and future plans of the 18 Ugandan migrants to living in the Netherlands. Subsequently, I explored the usage of social capital in facilitating the transition cycle of migration and eventual interaction and participation to life in the Netherlands. By means of this research I aimed to learn about Ugandan migrant experiences living in the Netherlands and understand the process of migration experienced by the migrants. In this conclusion and discussion, I will first go back to my central question: *How are Ugandan migrants experiencing migration to the Netherlands and how are they able to build a life in the Netherlands?* Which I will come to answer through my sub questions. Then I will reflect upon the theory used in this study with regards to my findings.

My research began as a response to my curiosity for how people are able to build a home away from their country of origin. As a third culture kid⁹³ I have been dealing with this myself, and as a result could identify with some of the challenges that the migrants were coping with. The paper documents many experiences that would have gone untold if not for this paper; oral history is an important tool in learning from the past in order to make present experiences more comfortable.

To answer the first question, *what are the reasons for migration to the Netherlands of my respondents? And how do experiences differ accordingly?* Four reasons for migrating to the Netherlands existed amongst my respondents. These were, search for asylum, further education, economic opportunities (pull factor) and migration to one of the spouses home (lifestyle migrant). The four reasons illustrate the complexity in trying to generalize the migration process, as each case is unique. The Ugandan migrants represent a heterogeneous group.

Major differences could be seen in relation with whether a migrant was experiencing forced migration (asylum seeker (plus economically aspiring migrant) or voluntary migration (student and return to country of one spouse). Migrants who were forced to migrate, as asylum seekers had no expectations, in flight they were looking for somewhere safe and away from the current place of residence. *“When you have expectations or dreams it means you have a plan. When you come here as a refugee everything is set, your dream is set, it is not yours, you are on the move, things are temporary”* (Henry). Expectations for migrants with no plan prior to migration (economic migrant) were far from reality. Migrants who came as students were taken care of by the University, and were helped to slowly adjust to the culture shock. Return migrants had been to the Netherlands before and knew what to expect.

Focusing on expectation of the migrants brings us to the third question; *what is the source and reliability of information about the migration process prior to migration? And how are*

⁹³ Children who spend a significant period of their developmental years in a culture outside their parents culture(s). (Pollock(2009)The TCK frequently builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture may be assimilated into the TCK's life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background

migrant experiences in the Netherlands different or similar to their expectations based on the information? My study revealed that the sources of information were very important in reflecting the 'truth'. This 'truth' creates the expectations the migrant paints of life in the Netherlands. From the respondent's responses, the information prior to emigrating came from four main sources: media, return migrants, friends and family abroad. The source family was quite interesting, as family reflected both exaggerated and 'true' stories of life in Europe. Family who are living in shame abroad where not able to reveal the truth about life in the Netherlands and instead recreated the dream that many fall trap to in the 'south', however family who were doing ok where more accurate in their description of what life in the Netherlands has to offer, and how one can take advantage of the opportunities there. The media, particularly the television and the majority of return migrants were the most responsible for the exaggerated Eldorado image of Europe. Friends did not give accurate descriptions of what to expect either. This was because of shame as making it to Europe was seen as a golden ticket that if you failed, you became a laughing stock.

The source of the information that a migrant receives is important in determining the gap between reality and expectations.

Question 4 explored the next stage of the transition cycle after the point of arrival, the question was: *what are the challenges being faced by Ugandan migrants living in the Netherlands?* The challenges experienced could not be ranked from most pressing to least as the challenges experienced were unique to the respondent. Challenges that were discussed included compromising ones beliefs in order to get along with society, creating a relationship or interacting with neighbors, raising children, coping with loss (both tangible and non tangible) and racism. The stories boiled down to two important issues, first the importance of learning social etiquettes of the Dutch society, and two, the important potential that Dutch society has in either facilitating or limiting the migration process.

Question five dealt with coping strategies that were used to overcome the challenges described in question four. The question that was answered was; *what are the coping strategies that migrants use?* For a few respondents the creation of a hybrid identity was one way of coping with the differences in cultural beliefs and trying to find a balance without rejecting one. The other coping strategy was attending workshops and seminars that dealt with integration. Time and tolerance was another coping strategy that was mentioned especially when coping with homosexuality and the legality of prostitution. Though respondents would have tolerated certain behaviors and ways of life, this did not mean that they accepted them: *"there are something's which are out of your hands, rather than going against the current and make life difficult for yourself, it is better you go with the current to the extent where it does not harm you"* (Brenda). Lastly the use of social networks as a support system was described as essential to managing life in the Netherlands. This was the most valued coping strategy.

One of the coping strategies of particular interest in this study was social capital. The significance of networks and relationships that were formed was an interesting outcome of the preliminary discussion with students in Wageningen. For this reason it was made into a sub-question after exploring other coping methods. The question that was investigated was; *to what extent have migrants used social capital to facilitate migration to the Netherlands?* Individuals were able to find a home within the Netherlands through the networks that

were created with other Ugandans. Experiences were shared and solutions were collectively drawn. Loneliness arose when respondents did not know of these networks, as one put it *"it was not until I met other Ugandan that I felt at home"* (Patrick). Relationships in Uganda were also important, although these were used for emotional and informational support (i.e. first-hand information of what is going on in Uganda).

My study revealed that upon arrival migrants are highly dependent on bonding capital. Bridging capital was encouraged through Pearl of Africa (who initiated integration workshops, mixing Dutch and Uganda people in order to stimulate multicultural education) but participation of such events was highly dependent on the willingness of individuals. Student and asylum seekers were dependent on linking social capital at the start of their migration process, but this link was short lived as soon as the need for the relationship diminished (asylum seekers were granted asylum and students were dropped off at the university and given an orientation), migrants were now more concerned with satisfying their social needs (accommodation, emotional support, companionship etc).

When the value of the network ceased to exist, the network dissolved, as there was no longer interest in maintaining that relationship. Bonding social capital was the most common form of social capital in the settling stage of the migrant's migration process, however as time passed and the value of the relationship diminished and migrants moved on, the network dissolved, in effect making social capital essential only for a specific period of time and during specific stages of the migrant process.

The next question (Question 6) investigated the future orientation of the respondents; *what are the future plans of the respondents?* The majority of the respondents told me that the place they would want to end up is Uganda, when that could not be identified; making this more of a wish than a defined goal. Only two of the respondents could tell me where they wanted to be 10 years from now. The other respondents had short term plans, but nothing concrete. For asylum seekers the plans were dependent on how long they had been in the Netherlands, if they had just arrived they knew that they were in the Netherlands for at least 5 years. Migrants that had been in the Netherlands for 5 years and more were engaged in dual lives (trying to keep up with what is going on there and here). Students and economic migrants that stayed in the Netherlands stayed because they felt that for now Uganda did not have much to offer, but in the end they would want to go back to Uganda.

The final question explored the role of Dutch society. The question asked *what impact does Dutch society have on the migration process (limitation and facilitating factors)?* This section explored the two elements, policy and social behavior. These were the two factors that were discussed by my respondents. Limiting factors looked at policies such as the making migrants pay for the incoming courses and restrictive policies in granting asylum. Social factors were mainly associated with cultural differences, looking at racism and interaction with neighbors. Both these issues were obstacles in facilitating migration and creating a place that enabled a migrant to build a home. Factors that promoted building a home and the migration process were mainly focused on students. This group of migrants enters the Netherlands and become part of a network that other migrants do not have access to, these networks facilitate their stay and inform them of ways to improve their stay.

All the migrants were actively building their lives in the Netherlands, participating in social events, learning Dutch, establishing NGO's, etc. They were actively adding to Dutch society,

in effect creating a place within Dutch society. It was concluded however, that a majority of the respondents (80%) felt that the Netherlands was their second home, while Uganda would always remain their first home.

My study illustrated how 18 Ugandan migrants have experienced life in the Netherlands and the eventual creation of a home outside Uganda. Though the focus of the research was on the Ugandan migrants, the role of the Dutch society was looked at and the interaction between the Dutch society and Ugandan migrants. The information uncovered in this thesis has decreased the knowledge gap on experiences of Ugandans living in the Netherlands and has illustrated the potential of Dutch society in limiting and or facilitating the migration process.

5.2 Recommendation

Subsequent to this research I have drawn up to recommendation, one related to Ugandan migrants and the other to Dutch society:

- 1) There was an obvious information gap depicted at the start of migration. Information had a great influence on the migration process; it is powerful tool in preparing for an event and its impact (whether negative or positive). However, the source of information posed a challenge, as one can never be too sure how accurate it is. The study illustrated how difficult it is to get a realistic image of life in Europe. For this reason, there is a great need for an information point for prospective migrants. Information should be given in the country where the migrant is emigrating from. This can be done for instance by creating an association to inform prospective migrants about 'true' life in Europe and what they can expect. Providing up-to-date information, practical tips and useful facts; a sort preparation to migration to Netherlands or any other country.
With proper information migrants are able to make informed decisions about migrating. A campaign along these was part of the producer of Surprising Europe's plan. He explained to me that soon he will start a campaign called 'be informed', the plan is that it will be a mobile campaign about providing information to prospective migrants (particularly students as this is the largest group migrating) about what to expect when migrating to Europe (abroad) and how to be prepared. He explained that rather than trying to stop them from migrating, as this has not been successful, *"the best we can do is provide information, so that they can be as prepared as possible."* (Ssuna Golooba)
- 2) The paper has also tried to address the role that Dutch society can play in either restricting or encouraging interaction between Ugandan migrants and Dutch society. Through the seminars and social events created by Pearl of Africa, interaction between Dutch society and Ugandan migrants is encouraged, it is believed that through more contact between different cultures understanding is increased and harmony is produced.

6. References

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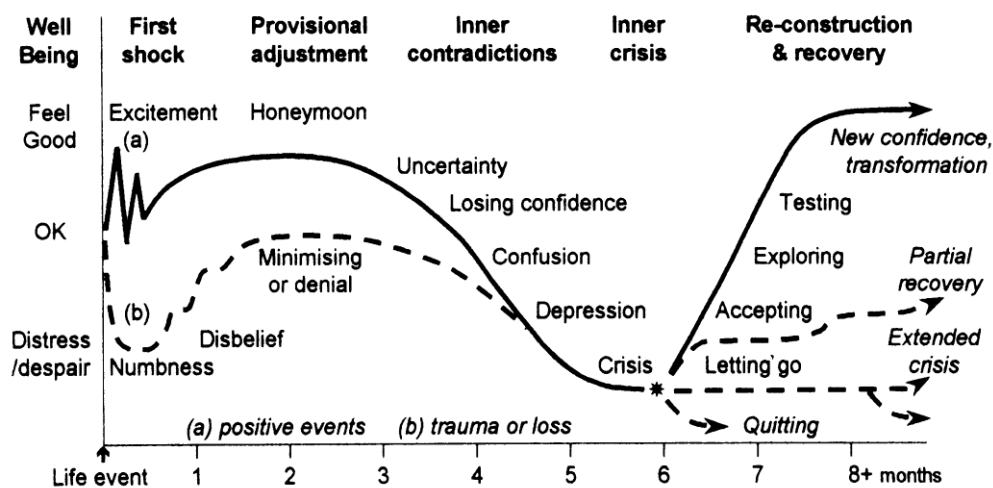
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7. Appendix

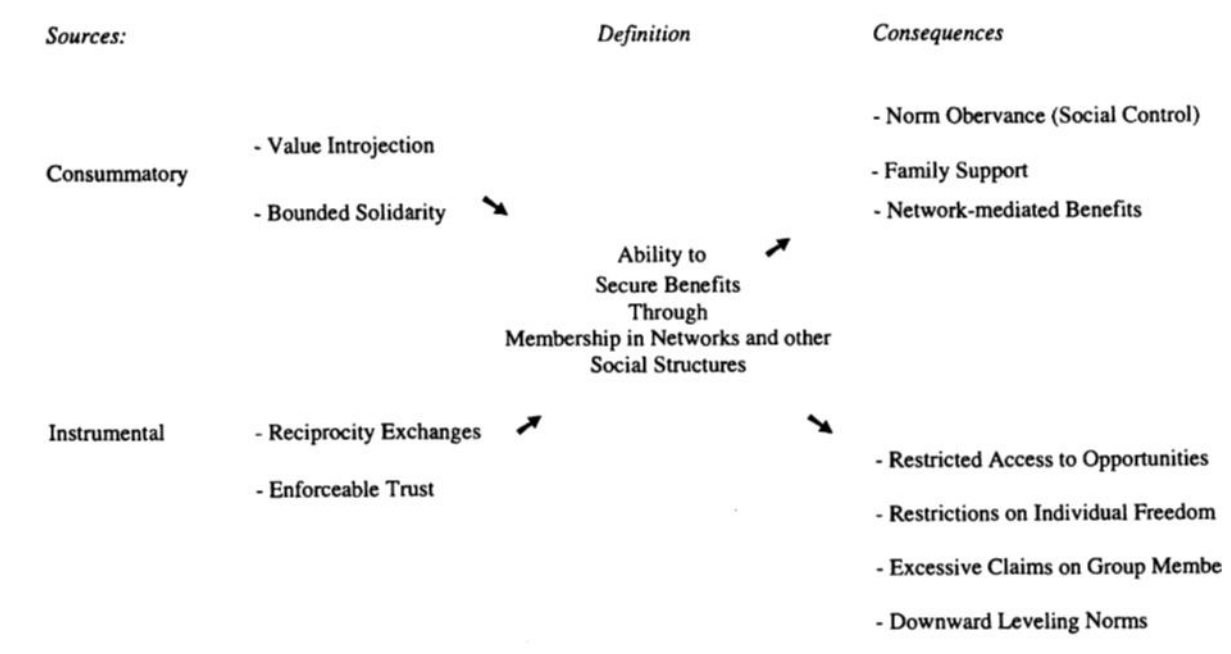
- 1) **Transitional Cycle** : This is a psychological perspective on the migration experience. At a symposium on 'Transition Psychology', organized by the British Psychology Society in Blackpool on 6 January 1999. A template was made to depict the human response to change. This is relevant in order to illustrate the types of change that migrants could experience. The diagram shows the different stages a migrant could go through from the moment of arrival to the moment of settlement/return looking at the life event (time) and comparing this to the persons wellbeing.

Available at: <http://www.eoslifework.co.uk/transmgt1.htm>



2) The Four Sources of Social Capital

In this diagram Alejandro Portes illustrates four motivations for support and visually explains that these can have both negative and positive consequences.



3) Stages of Cultural Adjustment: "Cross-cultural transitions and wellness: Dealing with culture shock", Michael Kim Zapf (1991)

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Table 1. Stages of cultural adjustment

Author	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
Oberg 1954, 1960	Incubation	Crisis	Recovery	Full Recovery
Lysgaard 1955	Spectator	Crisis	Coming to Terms	Regained Adjustment
Smalley 1963	Fascination	Hostility/ Frustration	Adjustment	Biculturalism
Gullahorn and Gullahorn 1963	Excitement	Disillusionment	Confusion	Positive Adjustment
Ex 1966	Uprooting	Frustration	Habituation	Restoration
Lifton 1969	Confrontation	Emptying	Reordering	Renewal
Rhinesmith and Hoopes 1970	Arrival	Unfreezing	Moving	Refreezing
Pfister-Ammende 1973	Transplantation	Uprooting	Resettlement	Adjustment
Curle 1973	Separation	Trauma/Shock	Reconnection	Adjustment
Richardson 1974	Elation	Depression	Recovery	Acculturation
Adler 1975	Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Autonomy
Klein 1977	Spectator	Stress	Coming to Terms	Decision
Kealey 1978	Exploration	Frustration	Coping	Adjustment
Harris and Moran 1979	Awareness	Rage	Introspection	Integration
Kohls 1979	Initial Euphoria	Hostility	Gradual Adjustment	Adaptation
Hertz 1981	Arrival	Impact	Rebound	Coping
Furnham and Bochner 1982	Elation/ Optimism	Frustration	Confusion	Confidence/ Satisfaction
Zwingmann and Gunn 1983	Impact/ Uprooting	Loss	Recovery	Reaction
Berry 1985, 1985b	Honeymoon/ Contact	Conflict	Identity Crisis	Adaptations

4) Table illustrating the different life history terminologies. Ojermark (2007)

Box 1: Life History Terminology

Biographical research: Research undertaken on individual lives employing autobiographical documents, interviews or other sources and presenting accounts in various forms (e.g. in terms of editing, written, visual or oral presentation, and degree of researcher's narration and reflexivity).

Ethnography: Written account of a culture or group.

Family history: The systematic narrative and research of past events relating to a specific family, or specific families.

Narrative: A story, having a plot and existence separate from life of the teller. Narrative is linked with time as a fundamental aspect of social action. Narratives provide the organization for our actions and experiences, since we experience life through conceptions of the past, present and future.

Oral history: Personal recollections of events and their causes and effects. Also refers to the practice of interviewing individuals on their past experiences of events with the intention of constructing an historical account.

Case history: History of an event or social process, not of a person in particular.

Case study: Analysis and record of a single case.

Life history: Account of a life based on interviews and conversation. The life history is based on the collection of a written or transcribed oral account requested by a researcher. The life story is subsequently edited, interpreted and presented in one of a number of ways, often in conjunction with other sources. Life histories may be topical, focusing on only one segmented portion of a life, or complete, attempting to tell the full details of a life as it is recollected.

Life story: The account of a person's story of his or her life, or a segment of it, as told to another. It is usually quite a full account across the length of life but may refer to a period or aspect of the life experience. When related by interview to the researcher it is the result of an interactive relationship.

Narrative inquiry: Similar to 'biographical research', or 'life history research', this term is a loose frame of reference for a subset of qualitative research that uses personal narratives as the basis of research. 'Narrative' refers to a discourse form in which events and happenings are configured into a personal unity by means of a plot.

Testimonio: The first-person account of a real situation that involves repression and marginalization.