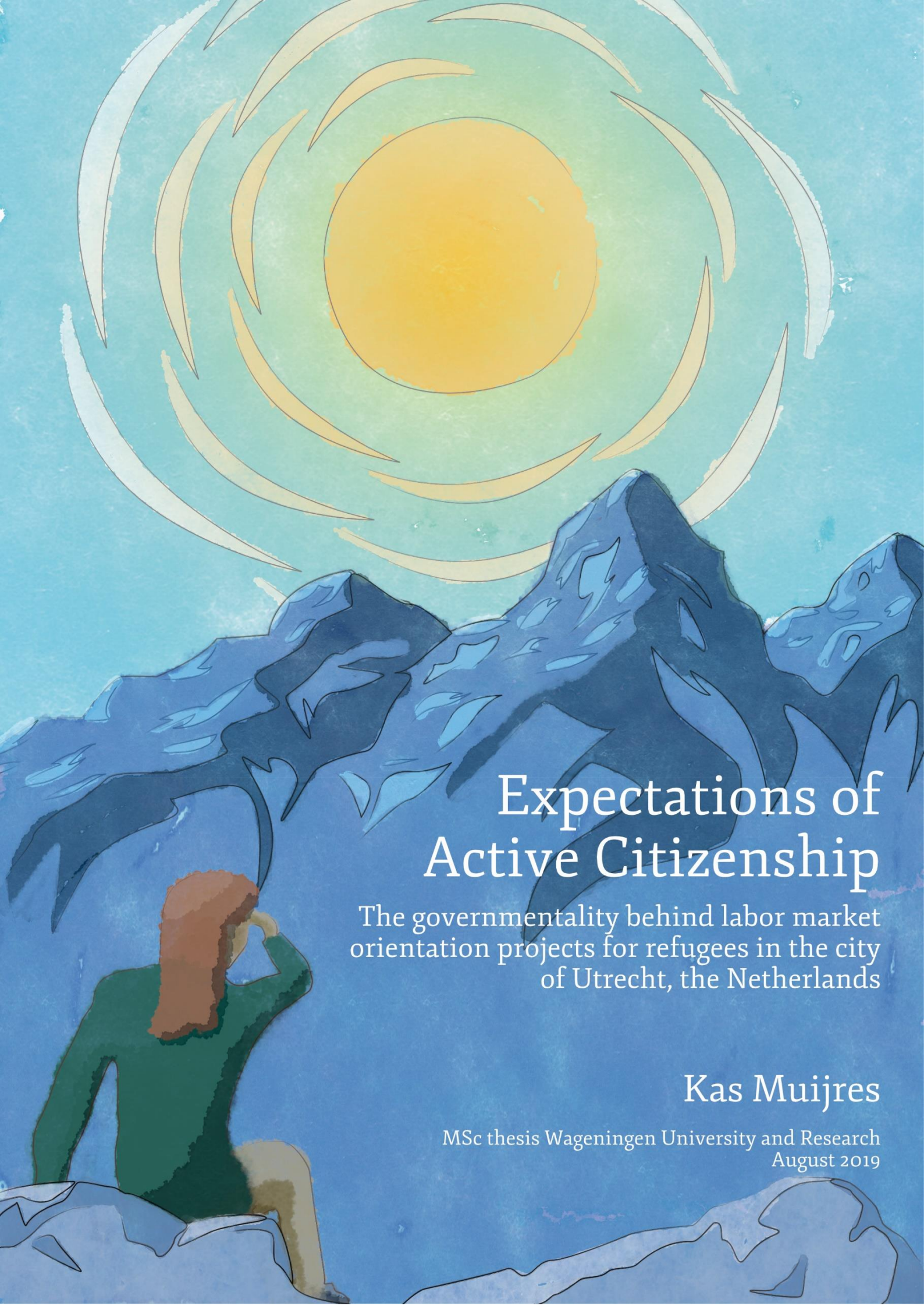

Expectations of Active Citizenship

The governmentality behind labor market orientation projects for refugees in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands

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MSc thesis Wageningen University and Research
August 2019

Picture on the frontpage: *"Aim for the sky and you will fall on the mountain."*[1] This West-African saying indicates that you must try to achieve your dream. Maybe you will not reach that dream, but at least you will be in a better place than you are now. In the end, this thesis is about people trying to achieve the best possible live for them in the Netherlands. Maybe, they will not achieve their dream, but in most cases, they'll be better off than they were before. The picture is made by Jornt van Dijk.

[1] Addae, NDC coordinator of the housing corporations training, in personal diary, Participant Observation 'Housing corporations training NDC' at Portaal, 15-11-2018

EXPECTATIONS OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

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Track	D Politics and Governance of Development
Course	Thesis Sociology of Development and Change
Course code	SDC-80436
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Place	Wageningen

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Glossary

AZC	*Asiel Zoekers Centrum*	*Asylum shelter*
COA	*Centraal Orgaan opvang Asielzoekers*	*Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers*
DUO	*Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs*	*Education Implementation Service*
IND	*Immigratie and Naturalisatie Dienst*	*Immigration and Naturalization Service*
NDC		*New Dutch Connections*
UAF	*Stichting voor vluchteling studenten Universitair Asiel Fonds*	*The Foundation for Refugee Students*
UNHCR		*The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees*
VCU	*Vrijwilligers Centrale Utrecht*	*Volunteering Center Utrecht*
VW	*VluchtelingenWerk*	*The Dutch Council for Refugees*

Summary

Expectations of Active Citizenship - The Governmentality behind Labor Market Orientation Projects for Refugees in the City of Utrecht, the Netherlands

This thesis describes and analyses the expectations of integration outcome of refugees, Dutch citizens and civil servants involved in the network of two labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht, the Netherlands. It aims to learn more about the experiences of refugees and Dutch citizens who set out to aid them and to learn more about the power relations at pay in integration practices by employing governmentality theory. This thesis argues that both the system surrounding these projects and the individuals within these projects, including the refugees, expect refugees to become active citizens in Dutch society. Active citizenship is the neoliberal ideal of a free, self-responsible, self-sufficient, rational and caring citizen who is engaged in various societal spheres. It is focused on what constitutes good and moral behavior in neoliberal society.

My research participants indicated that it was not enough for refugees to obtain formal, legal, citizenship through the asylum procedure to be integrated in Dutch society. They were expected to become moral, active, citizens as well. Not only the projects and Dutch citizens expect this of the refugees, the refugees also expect active citizenship of themselves. However, it appears hard for the refugees in these two cases to become active citizens. They face many limitations to find paid employment, some of which are individual, whereas others are structural to being a refugee in Dutch society, such as the asylum procedure, labor market discrimination and the perception of refugees as 'vulnerable victim.' This research finds that the participating refugees cope with the expectation of active citizenship by employing a discourse of themselves as moral/active and other refugees as immoral/inactive. This discourse may constitute an attempt to break away from the 'vulnerable victim' perception that comes with their refugee identity. However, this research also finds that refugees who continue to be unable to find paid employment and fulfil their own and Dutch citizen's moral expectations become frustrated. It also wonders whether it is at all possible for refugees to achieve active citizenship in Dutch society.

The power relations involved in these labor market orientation projects are analyzed using governmentality theory. Using this perspective, this research finds that the importance of the elements of activeness, participation and self-responsibility as well as the more structural elements in which these projects take up some former municipal functions would indicate that these expectations of active citizenship are derived from a neoliberal governmentality. Yet, this research also finds that the municipality employs a welfarist logic of wanting to take care of the refugees but meets its limitations within the existing national integration policy.

Keywords: *Active citizenship; Refugees; Integration Policy; Labor Market Orientation Projects; Neoliberal Governmentality*

Contents

Acknowledgements

'You have to thank your circle of influence. …, I advise you to think of three people who have helped you find your way here in the Netherlands. Three people whom you want to thank for their help. Think of your coach, or a friend, or anyone whom you hope will continue to help you to achieve your goal, your dream job.'[2]

Addae, the coordinator and trainer of the housing corporations training by NDC and himself a former refugee, advised the refugees participating in the housing corporations training to thank the people that have helped them. Here, I would like to thank the people that have helped me for this research project. I am very fortunate to be able to thank many people for their help with this research project.

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to all my research participants. Some of whom were, having had some unpleasant experiences with interviews from 'impersonal institutions,' hesitant to be interviewed by me. I would like to thank the Volunteering Centre Utrecht, New Dutch Connections, the housing corporations and Utrecht Municipality for your friendly and enthusiastic cooperation and your willingness to answer my many questions and to have me participate in your projects. I also wish to express my appreciation to the Dutch Council for Refugees, the UAF and the Mauritsgroep for the opportunity to speak with you and reflect on the '*system'* surrounding the labor market participation of refugees in Utrecht. Some of the interviews were almost philosophical in nature and have led me to a new understanding of this topic.

Most importantly, thank you Lotje for being my supervisor throughout this project. Thank you for your professional input, critical supervision, occasional motivation and clarifying oversight of my central argument. I have very much appreciated our conversations, often over quality coffee in the city center of Utrecht, which each time helped me a step further in this research project.

Finally, I would like to thank my team of quality cheerleaders, my emotional support system and occasional relativity check for your companionship, the provision of good food and drinks, reading and language checking my writing products or just the simple support of accompanying me to the university library for yet another long day of writing. Many thanks to my aunt and uncle Tejo and Tanja, my parents Huub and Cily, my crazy friend and guru Mirjam, my caring graphic design hero Jornt, and my study companions Felipe, Sabine, Silvester and Bertine for being there throughout this project.

[2] Personal diary, Participant Observation 'Housing corporations training NDC' at BO-EX, 29-11-2018

1. Introduction

> *'I try to find a job, I think that is a big factor to be able to participate. Language is also important. I think you reach a point that you become a productive person in society: you work, and you pay taxes, and this is my goal. I think that means that you are integrated.'*[3]

Karim, a refugee father of three and a former sales representative in his late thirties, tells me he aspires to become a 'productive person in society' in the Netherlands and that working is the way to achieve this goal. He is one of many refugees in Utrecht I spoke to who expresses a desire to find work in order to 'be someone'[4], 'make something of herself'[5], 'do something back for the Netherlands'[6] or 'be seen as a person.'[7] To achieve this my refugee research participants participate in labor market orientation projects. The people that work and volunteer at these projects and the 'workmatchers' of the municipality expressed an implicit expectation that the refugees they helped would become 'active citizens.' The term 'active citizenship' is rarely employed by my research participants, but when we look at the elements that constitute active citizenship and the expectations my respondents express, there is a clear overlap. This research looks at what expectations of integration outcome refugees[8] and Dutch citizens involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees have and how these expectations link to a neoliberal governmentality. The thesis assumes that in a neoliberal system the desired integration outcome would be 'active citizenship' and examines if these people involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees convey ideas about active citizenship.

This research is a qualitative case study of two labor market orientation projects in Utrecht, the Netherlands. The first case, 'Aan de slag', is a project in which asylum seekers participate in volunteer projects and permitholders are guided towards structural volunteer work by the Volunteering Centre Utrecht (Vrijwilligers Centrale Utrecht, VCU). The second case, the housing corporation training, is a training module for permitholders to learn more about the different jobs at the housing corporations in Utrecht by New Dutch Connections (NDC). Some other civil society actors such as the participation coaches of 'the Dutch Council for Refugees' in Utrecht, a job consultant of the foundation for refugee students (Stichting voor vluchteling studenten/het universitair asiel fonds, UAF), and the chair of the Mauritsgroup, a network of retirees who coach highly educated refugees towards employment, have been interviewed to obtain contextual knowledge on the general field of labor market orientation projects for

[3] Interview, Karim, 14-12-2018
[4] Interview, Khaled, 28-11-2018
[5] Interview Rahima, 10-01-2019
[6] Interview, Yasser, 27-22-2018
[7] Interview, Siran, 18-12-2018
[8] In this research I will use the term 'refugee' for both permitholders and asylum seekers. If a distinction between these categories is useful, I will refer to them as 'permitholders' and 'asylum seekers.' There is much discussion about what such categorizations do to the sense of self that refugees have. However, for the purpose of this research it is an important distinction to make (Bakker et al., 2017; Korac, 2003). For more information on definitions see appendix C.

refugees in Utrecht. The workmatchers of Utrecht Municipality have been interviewed to get to know more about what is expected of refugees when they come to live in Utrecht and how the municipality as local government thinks and talks about refugees.

Context

Before I outline the two cases under study in this thesis, I will provide more information on the 'refugee crisis' of 2015 which led to a high influx of refugees into Utrecht, and Europe in general. The refugee crisis inspired a lot of civilian action to do with refugees in Utrecht, which also had its effect on the two labor market orientation projects for refugees under study in this thesis. Another factor which is highly relevant for labor market orientation of refugees, is the reality of labor market participation of refugees in the Netherlands, or the lack thereof, and the influence of the asylum procedure on their lives.

- The Refugee Crisis

The refugee crisis in 2015 provided an important push to the two cases under study in this research and has had an important impact on the lives of some of my refugee participants. The refugee crisis influenced the political climate towards refugees in Europe, but also locally in Utrecht. In 2015, an unprecedented influx of, mostly Syrian, refugees entered Europe by crossing the Mediterranean Sea. The most important route to Europe for refugees from the Middle East and Africa was by boat from Turkey to Greece. These rickety boats were often unsuited for the open sea, which resulted in shipwrecks and deaths. Refugees who did complete the journey frequently ended up in makeshift refugee camps in Greece or Italy, which were unprepared for such a high influx of people. From there, they tried to go to Northern Europe. Often via the 'Balkan route' through countries like Hungary which were increasingly unwilling to facilitate the refugee flow. The word 'crisis' was inspired by the amounts of refugees coming into Europe in 2015. In the media the high death toll amongst refugees, the inability of governments to deal with the influx and the fact that refugees now became visible and 'close' were the most important topics of discussion (van Heelsum, 2017; Yazgan, Uktu, & Sirkeci, 2015). 2015 saw this big surge in refugee numbers, because it became clear to many Syrians that it would be unlikely they would be able to return to Syria on short notice. This prospect, coupled with the worsening conditions in refugee camps around Syria and the inability to receive a permanent residence permit in Turkey, led to the decision for many Syrians to go to Europe (Yazgan et al., 2015).

In the Netherlands, the refugee crisis caused a high strain on asylum shelters which could not accommodate the increased numbers of asylum seekers. There were 43.093 first time asylum applications in 2015, whereas the average number of applications in years before had been around 13.000 applications (VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2018, p. 2). In Utrecht, refugees were temporarily housed in a massive emergency shelter in the Jaarbeurs (Braat, 2017, p. 2). These emergency shelters were a far from ideal living space: many people sharing the same space; lack of privacy; and lack of facilities such as cooking areas and restrooms. This caused unsafe situations: theft, fighting amongst refugees, drug and alcohol abuse and outbreaks of scabies and the flu. The high influx, under capacity of the reception and shelter institutions and the strategy of the Dutch government to not become known as an attractive host country also

led to a considerable slowdown of the asylum and family reunification procedure (van Heelsum, 2017; Yazgan et al., 2015). The EU-Turkey deal on March 20, 2016, made an end to the high influx of refugees via the Mediterranean. The deal stipulated that for every irregular migrant returned to Turkey from Greece, the EU would relocate a refugee that lives in Turkey. In return, Turkish nationals gained easier access to the Schengen zone (Razenberg et al., 2018, p. 47).

In Utrecht, the influx of refugees led to fear and concerns for safety amongst Utrecht's civilians, but also inspired positive action with the creation of a total of 120 civil society initiatives to help refugees (Braat, 2017). Some of the refugees interviewed for this research were part of this influx in 2015 and many of the volunteers, civil servants and civil society agents I spoke to indicate that the refugee crisis either had an important influence on their work or was an important motivation for them to become involved.

- Labor market participation of refugees in the Netherlands

After 2015 the influx of refugees decreased and the question of integration for this cohort of refugees became pressing (Odé & Dagevos, 2018). Starting from 2020 the Dutch government will pay extra attention to the role of employment in the integration of refugees in Dutch society (Koolmees, 2018). The assumption is that employment doesn't only enable refugees to become financially independent, but that it also facilitates a social network, knowledge about the culture and language training (Odé & Dagevos, 2018; Razenberg, Kahman, Winter-Kocak & Gruijter, 2018; Koolmees, 2018). However, it seems to be difficult for refugees to find paid employment. Bakker, Dagevos, and Engbersen (2017) provide evidence in their quantitative study on refugee's labor market participation that a 'refugee gap' exists. Even though the probability for refugees to find paid employment seems to ameliorate now the Dutch labor market experiences a labor deficit, there still exists a 'refugee gap (SER, 2019).'

Refugees are less likely, even compared to other immigrants, to have paid employment. When they do have paid employment, they more often are on flexible contracts, in precarious jobs or are self-employed. Bakker et al's (2017) study shows that in the first five years of their stay in the Netherlands 40% of refugees have paid work for more than 8 hours per week, compared to approximately 60% of other immigrants and approximately 85% of Dutch citizens. The gap between labor market participation of immigrants and refugees becomes smaller over the course of 15 years after arrival in the Netherlands but doesn't fully close. Gender and country of origin seem to play a role in level of success on the Dutch labor market: female refugees are less likely to find a job than male refugees and Eritrean refugees are less likely to find a employment than Syrian refugees (Barslund, Di, & Ludolph, 2017; Maliepaard, Witkamp, & Jennissen, 2017).

- The asylum procedure

One possible explanation for the 'refugee gap' is that the asylum procedure has a significant effect on refugee's ability to participate on the labor market. Scholars argue that the time spend in the asylum shelter may make refugees 'docile and passive' because during this time they are kept separate from Dutch society and are not allowed to have paid employment or follow an official education (with the exception of minors) (Bakker et al., 2017; van Heelsum, 2017). The Dutch model of reception and integration of refugees has three stages and is mostly enacted by the COA (the central agency for the reception of asylum seekers), the IND (Immigratie en

Naturalisatie Dienst) and Military Police (Bakker et al., 2017; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Vreemdelingenwet 2000, 2000). During the first stage, the asylum request is processed, and the asylum seeker lives in an asylum shelter (COA, 2018; van Heelsum, 2017; Vreemdelingenwet 2000, 2000). The second stage starts with the reception of a temporary residence permit, or asylum permit. Once refugees have received a temporary residence permit, they become 'permitholders' and are matched with a municipality which will provide them with a house. This is also the moment the term of 3 years to pass the civic integration tests starts. Civic integration is meant to prepare all types of immigrants, including refugees, for their life in the Netherlands. It includes a variety of language tests, a test on knowledge about Dutch society, and a 'participation statement,' in which the refugee promises he or she will be an active participant of Dutch society (COA, 2016; Wet Inburgering, 2013). Permitholders have more rights, they are allowed to work and study, and have more certainty about their stay in the Netherlands (van Heelsum, 2017; Vreemdelingenwet 2000, 2000). The last phase is that of naturalization or longer residence. Refugees who wish to stay in the Netherlands have to apply for an indefinite residence permit or naturalization, to become Dutch (IND, n.d.).

Not every refugee follows all three stages. 35% of asylum seekers leave the Netherlands within 10 years (WODC, 2018). Others do not get accepted for a residence permit in the Netherlands and remain in the Netherlands illegally, an often precarious live (VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2018; WODC, 2018). All my refugee research participants are either still in the asylum procedure to receive a temporary residence permit or have received a temporary residence permit, none of them are naturalized, even though some were considering naturalization.

- The cases

Once permitholders have received their residence permit, they are expected to start looking for work. Initiatives by Dutch municipalities and civil society organizations provide help in the search for employment (Braat, 2017). In Utrecht, the municipality has an influential role in the labor market participation of refugees through its specialized case workers, called workmatchers, who monitor the progress in labor market participation of refugees on social welfare. The municipality works together with civil society organizations in the care for refugees.

One such civil society organization is the Volunteering Center Utrecht (VCU), to which the workmatchers of the municipality refer their clients to find volunteering opportunities. For this research I did participant observation and conducted interviews at *'Aan de slag'*; the project by the VCU which enthuses and helps asylum seekers to do volunteer work. The VCU holds information hours at the asylum seeker shelter every Tuesday and Thursday to inform asylum seekers about possible volunteering projects. The volunteering opportunities provided are mostly low-skilled, physical jobs for which language proficiency is not required, like: bike-repair, cooking for the elderly, helping at a lunch buffet in a nursing home, restoring second-hand furniture, helping at the foodbank and incidentally helping out at festivals.[9] The asylum seekers are picked-up at the asylum seeker shelter and dropped off at the volunteering location by Dutch volunteers, who also help with the introductions at the work locations to help smooth out the contact on the work floor. The main aim of the project is to keep asylum seekers active and get them engaged with Dutch society while they are living in the shelter and are awaiting the result

[9] Conversation, Dees, Coordinator New Utrechters VCU, 05-11-2018

of their asylum request.[10] This project carries out the policy of Utrecht municipality for asylum seekers to stay active while they await their procedure (Braat, 2017).

The other case of this research is the housing corporation training by New Dutch Connections (NDC), which functions mostly independently from Utrecht Municipality. This project focuses on permitholders, a target group with an outlook of spending at least three years in the Netherlands. The permitholders are trained in soft skills for the Dutch labor market, hard skills for various jobs at the housing corporations in Utrecht and helped in creating a useful social network during this training. The training lasted 12 weeks in which a group of 25 permitholders attended a weekly workshop on Thursdays and get coupled with a coach from one of the housing corporations and a Dutch buddy to hang out with. The training culminated in a 'Talent market' on the 6th of December, where the permitholders who participated in the training presented themselves to an audience of organizations. The main aim of the training was for permitholders to discover their talents, learn how to navigate the Dutch labor market and get to know a useful network which may help them towards the job they want.[11]

These two projects provide an interesting comparison because they work with refugees at different stages of their stay in the Netherlands. Both cases provide an insight into the way the logic around integration practices influences both the broader system of labor market orientation projects for refugees and the individuals involved in these projects; how the discourse of these projects influences practice; and into the role of formal citizenship status of refugees on their ability to participate and their ability to become moral citizens. These three dichotomies -that of the *system* and the *individual;* that of *discourse* and *practice;* and that of the *formal* and the *moral* – play an important role throughout this thesis.

Research Problem

Korac (2003) stresses in her comparative study of Yugoslavian refugees in Rome and Amsterdam that the experiences of refugees with integration mechanisms in the host country have an important effect on their integration. She indicates that quantitative studies sometimes portray an image which is better than reality because they do not provide a detailed account on how refugees experience integration mechanisms (Korac, 2003). Korac (2003) calls for more qualitative study of experiences of refugees with integration policies. This research is a response to this call and studies the experiences of refugees *and Dutch citizens* with two cases of labor market orientation projects in the city of Utrecht. As found by Van Heelsum (2017) this research assumes that expectations of integration outcome play a significant role in the experience of refugees in the host country. However, I expand this assumption to include the expectations and experiences of Dutch citizens in these labor market orientation projects which may also influence refugee expectation and experience.

[10] Vrijwilligerscentrale Utrecht (2018) '*Aan de slag'*: Asielzoekers doen vrijwilligerswerk. Retrieved November 7, 2018 from: https://www.vcutrecht.nl/AandeSlag; COA (2018) ''Aan de slag': vrijwilligerswerk door bewoners van azc's'. Retrieved November 7, 2018 from: https://www.coa.nl/nl/actueel/nieuws/aan-de-slag-vrijwilligerswerk-door-bewoners-van-azcs

[11] Interview, Lisa, intern housing corporations training NDC, 05-11-2018; NDC (2018) 'Aanbod Utrecht'. Retrieved November 7, 2018 from: https://www.newdutchconnections.nl/aanbod-utrecht/

This research thus assumes that all perspectives of the people involved in these projects – the refugees, volunteers, civil society agents but also the civil servants of the municipality involved in this topic - are relevant in the creation of expectations of integration outcome. This assumption is derived from the idea that integration is inherently a type of citizen-state relation, in which expectations of 'citizens to be' – in this case the refugees participating in the labor market orientation projects – says something about this relation (Joppke & Morawska, 2014; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).

In this thesis the citizen-state relation is seen as a complex and pervasive relation which is not merely two-way but engages a complex network of inter-dependent actors. In this sense, this thesis follows the tradition of governmentality studies, in which a governmentality, an underlying rationality, is created, subverted and renegotiated by a variety of societal actors including the government (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009). In governmentality studies there is often a consideration of the *system,* the involved network of organizations and institutions, but also of the *individual* who tries to cope in one way or another with the logic according to which the system functions and sometimes internalizes or subverts this logic (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015). In the two cases, we see this in the way individuals make sense of their role in the projects and how they shape their every-day practices. This governmentality is analyzed through the *discourse* and *practices* on refugees, integration and citizenship surrounding these projects; in which both *formal* and *moral* notions of citizenship are employed (Pykett, Saward, & Schaefer, 2010; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015; van Houdt, Suvarierol, & Schinkel, 2011).

The societal problem under consideration in this research is the integration of refugees into Dutch society and the 'refugee gap' (Bakker et al., 2017; Barslund et al., 2017; Klaver, 2015). The perceived solution of the current Dutch government to this problem is the construction of labor market orientation projects as central part of the integration process, which will be implemented starting from 2020 (Braat, 2017; Koolmees, 2018). This research provides an insight into the logic and practices of the current labor market orientation projects in the city Utrecht and may thus provide an inspiration for future such projects.

Objectives

The goal of this thesis is to learn more about the experiences of refugees and Dutch citizens involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees. Specifically, this thesis will focus the expectations of integration outcome of both refugees and those who seek to aid them. More theoretically, the goal is to analyze how we can see power relations at play in practice, these power relations are analyzed using governmentality theory. This research adds to existing integration theory, specifically on socio-economic integration, to citizenship theory and to governmentality theory. A practical objective of this research is to see how these labor market orientation projects for refugees are experienced by all participating actors. This is relevant because planned policy changes detail a larger role for labor market orientation for refugee integration.

Research Question

In order to cover the previously mentioned research problems and objectives I will attempt to answer the following two-part research question:

(1) What expectations of integration outcome do refugees and Dutch citizens involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht have and (2) upon what logic are these expectations based?

In answering this question, attention will be paid to three dichotomies which are derived from governmentality theory. Firstly, analysis centers around the *discourse* and *practices* concerning labor market integration of refugees by Utrecht municipality, by the two labor market orientation projects and those that work within them and by the refugees themselves. The use of this dichotomy enables me to discern the logic, the governmentality, behind this network of power relations and behind the expectations of integration outcome. Secondly, the dichotomy of the *system* and the *individual* forms a way for me to look at the way in which individuals – the workmatchers of Utrecht municipality, the civil society agents and volunteers of the projects and my refugee research participants - make sense of the logic presented in the projects or in their work and how they reproduce or subvert this logic in their own expressions of expectations of integration outcome. Lastly, the *formal* and the *moral* dimension play an important role in this research. Utrecht municipality has a *formal* role in the labor market integration of refugees in the city, but also employs a *moral* discourse in their expectations of what types of citizens the refugees must become as well as what constitutes *moral* behavior. The labor market orientation projects have a *formal* discourse in their communication of their goals in the projects as well as employing a *moral* discourse on desirable behavior by the refugees. Finally, for the refugees the *formal* plays a significant role for their future in the Netherlands in the form of their *formal* residence status. This *formal* status also determines their ability to aspire of a *moral* status of feelings of belonging to Dutch society and showing *moral* behavior. These three dichotomies come back throughout the thesis.

2. Theoretical Framework

The data gathered in the two cases showed a recurring expectation for refugees to become active and self-sufficient in Dutch society. In this research I inquire whether these expectations mean that refugees are expected, by themselves and others, to become active citizens. I also investigate how these expectations tie into broader power relations in the Netherlands. The Dutch government has ideas on what type of citizens refugees should become and I assume that these ideas influence the practices of labor market orientation projects for refugees. But power relations may also play a role between the projects and the municipality, within the projects themselves and maybe even within the individuals who take part in these projects. I research whether these power relations can be seen as a neoliberal governmentality: a network of power relations in which active citizenship is defined, redefined and normalized as a logical and attainable goal.

Governmentality

Ultimately, this thesis is about integration: about how refugees try to find their way in the Netherlands and what expectations they, and others, have of their ability to become members of Dutch society. Integration requires immigrants to become part of Dutch society; to become 'full' members of both the state and society. But what *is* the Dutch society? *Into what* are refugees required to integrate? The sociological debate on integration has its roots in the question of how to view society and questions if the term 'integration' should be used at all. After all, it is impossible to measure a 'society', a culturally coherent, integrated, bounded society does not exist in reality (Joppke & Morawska, 2014, p. 3). An alternative notion of society is that of a multiplicity of independent fields. In such a definition of society the notion of 'integration' becomes irrelevant because immigrants will be integrated and separated at the same time, just as each individual is integrated in one or several fields and separated from others (Joppke & Morawska, 2014, p. 4). I struggle with both definitions of society: while I recognize that the Netherlands is not one culturally coherent integrated society, I also do not recognize the other perception of independent fields. I recognize more in the Foucauldian notion of a complex network of power relations which functions according to a certain logic, a governmentality, which is at the same time reproduced and contested. In this line of thinking, society can be seen as a multiplicity of *inter*- dependent fields: it is seen as a heterogenic network of fields, which are ruled according to the same logic (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009).

Governmentality looks at the way, often subconscious, expectations and values influence practice. In the framework of this study, the fact that finding work becomes such a central focus for refugees and civil society agents says something about the implicit values that are being produced and reproduced in the process of integration. Somehow having paid employment is a very important element to belong to the Netherlands. Governmentality means a generally accepted way of thinking. This accepted way of thinking is self-evident and rarely questioned in daily life (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009). Governmentality is closely linked to the term 'biopower' or 'biopolitics', coined by Michel Foucault in his lectures at the Collège de France in 1979 called

'The Birth of Biopolitics'. In these lectures he discusses a 'new' form of power, called Biopower, which came up in the late 18th century alongside industrialization. He compares Biopower to Sovereign power and indicates that the new Biopower doesn't replace Sovereign power but exists alongside it. He detailed that Sovereign power is mostly concerned with disciplining its subjects through the state monopoly on violence. It is the traditional idea of power as an authority; such as a king ruling over a territory, through force if needed. Biopower is focused on managing life; on the well-being of its population, to render it more docile and productive. According to Foucault, managing the life, death, the ability to work and the health of the population became an important role of the state in the 18th century in order to maximize human capital for industrialization. Foucault's main concern was with how humans are rendered manageable subjects through Biopower. Biopower needs institutions, techniques and the creation, and acceptance, of a certain type of knowledge in order to make the population manageable. Power is thus inherently something productive: it makes things, it sets things in motion, it is not merely about repression. In Foucauldian thinking, power is about managing possibilities and structuring the possible actions of others. This is done through mobilizing a way of thinking, which he called a 'governmentality'. In sum, Sovereign power can be seen as an authority ruling over a territory and biopower consists out of a network of institutions managing the lives of a population which becomes accepted through a governmentality (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009).

Through governmentality a network of power relations becomes normalized. Governmentality is a combination between a discursive field which rationalizes the exercise of power and (everyday) practices in which individuals and groups are governed according to the logic of the discursive field (McKee, 2009, p. 466). The practices of the governmentality can be any type of project or technique which attempts to manage (parts of) the population (McKee, 2009; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015), in this research I see labor market orientation projects for refugees as practices by which these refugees are governed according to a governmentality. Governmentality is not per se something the state does to its population. The state is an important actor in defining the discursive field. It does so by identifying and talking about 'problems' and possible 'solutions'; by writing and enacting policy (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009). The state does this in interaction with other actors. For example, in this research, the state considers 'the lack of labor market participation of refugees' a central problem to which a solution needs to be found (Bakker et al., 2017; Braat, 2017; Koolmees, 2018). The Dutch state comes to this definition of the problem in consultation with civil society organizations such as 'the Dutch Council for Refugees,' and asks research institutions to gather data about this problem (Koolmees, 2018). As a result, civil society organizations and research institutions gain influence on the framing of the problem. Subsequently, a discursive field exists in which the state, civil society and research institutions identify 'lack of labor market participation of refugees' as a problem and 'more attention for labor market orientation in the civic integration process' as the solution to this problem (Bakker et al., 2017; Braat, 2017; Koolmees, 2018). Upon this definition of the problem and solution, projects are built. Individuals, civil society, private actors and the government normalize this discursive field and built practices, such as labor market orientation projects for refugees, on it. They internalize the governmentality, and do not need instructions by others to enact it. At the same time, they also instruct others to enact the

governmentality by the things they do and enable. They can also resist the governmentality by consciously making different choices than the norm and negotiating space to enact these alternatives (McKee, 2009, p. 468).

There are some advantages to using governmentality as a conceptual tool. My main reason to employ governmentality is to break away from thinking about power in the citizen/state (or refugee/state) relation as the state 'having' power and the citizen 'not having' power. It enables me to look at the messiness of power relations, at the way they work, by analyzing the 'taken-for-granted' notions and practices and the effects that these have (Fimyar, 2008, p. 4). Governmentality allows me to look at the subconscious aspects of being governed and it enables me to look at how individuals govern themselves and others, without focusing too much on the role of the Dutch state or Utrecht municipality (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009; Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde, 2006). In the two cases of this research, various actors are involved: the organizations behind the projects, the civil society agents who work in these organizations, volunteers who work in the projects and the refugees for which these projects are organized. Plus, these organizations often collaborate with the municipality.[12] Applying the governmentality lens enables me to see how each of these actors is involved in the 'conversation' on expectations of integration outcome without losing the ability to see how the individuals within the organizations make sense of integration. It also helps me pay attention to alternatives to the framing of the 'active citizen' as integration outcome. In other words, governmentality enables me to look at the effects of a certain rationality of governing in its broadest sense on the micro-level of labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht and the influence of the macro-level discursive field of the Dutch government on these projects (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009; Rose et al., 2006).

To illustrate how biopower and governmentality work, I'll provide an example. Think about the category 'Refugee'. The fact that states, and people, are concerned with refugees is an example of biopower. Sovereign power would not be interested in the types of people entering the country, as long as they accept the primacy of the sovereign within the territory. With biopower the state becomes interested in the types of people on its territory and in managing their lives and well-being. To be able to do this, the state needs to know a lot about these people. Refugees are deemed a separate category especially deserving of care. To know how to best provide care, the state processes all kinds of information about refugees in the asylum procedure. Governmentality is the way in which the category 'refugees' becomes normalized. The UN has 'invented' the category 'refugee' after the second world war and written the rules for who is deemed to be a refugee and who is not deemed to be a refugee in the Geneva convention in 1951 (UN General Assembly, 1951). By doing this the UN created a discursive field about refugees. Subsequently, states and state organizations enact this category through practices, programs and techniques which provide special protection for refugees. Other organizations also shape their practices according to this governmentality, like the two cases under study in

[12] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018; Conversation, Simone, Coordinator New Utrechters VCU, 22-11-2018; Interview, Merel, Coordinator Education and Work at The Dutch Council for Refugees in Utrecht, 13-11-2018; Interview, Johan, Chair the Mauritsgroep, 14-01-2019; Interview, Vanessa, job consultant at UAF, 23-01-2019

this research. They take care of refugees and refugees expect this care because they fall under the category of 'refugee'. Other immigrants do not get this level of help and protection (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015). The state does not have to tell these organizations or individuals that these people must be treated this way. The category 'refugee' is normalized and it is taken for granted that this is a special category which warrants care (McKee, 2009). However, this notion of 'refugee' as a deserving category is at times also resisted, as we see in the Dutch discourse of refugees as 'fortune seekers' indicating that refugees do not migrate because they have to but because they want to and are thus undeserving of special treatment (Suvarierol, 2015).

Foucault's discussion of governmentality has received thorough critique, some of which warrants some consideration. Both the article of Fimyar (2008) on using governmentality as conceptual tool in education policy research and McKee's (2009) article on using governmentality for critical social policy analysis provide an insightful oversight of the critique on governmentality. Firstly, they indicate that governmentality theory is critiqued to have a disregard of empirical reality. This critique is primarily focused on those governmentality studies focusing on discourse in policy which do not consider how this discourse plays out in practice (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009). In this research, I combine a consideration of discourse and practice in order to overcome this critique. The discourse is represented by integration policy and the way in which refugees, civil servants and civil society agents talk about integration and citizenship. The practices of the labor market orientation projects and refugees themselves are also considered. A second critique is that governmentality promotes an overly abstract view of governing in which it is represented as 'all encompassing' which leaves no space for the consideration of agency or resistance (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009). I try to see governmentality, in line with Foucault's interpretation (Lemke, 2001), as a 'conversation', in the sense that each actor in a network has its influence on framing the issue and its solution. However, we see that one framing of the issue is more successful to persuade all actors than other framings of the issue. The last critique of Fimyar (2008) and McKee (2009) indicates that governmentality underestimates and under-represents social inequalities, both in the way different social groups have differential access to ways of exerting power and in the way some less powerful social groups may be effective in grassroots-politics (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009). This research is about refugees, who are generally understood to be a vulnerable or less powerful population (Korac, 2003; van Heelsum, 2017). I consider them as part of the governmentality 'conversation'. I try to see how they handle the discourse on integration and citizenship, and what alternatives they find to the possibilities provided to them. Even though I recognize refugees are a vulnerable population, I am wary to see them simply as subjects of Dutch asylum and integration policies. In this way I try to overcome this critique.

Despite the critique on governmentality theory, there exists a large body of scholars who find this line of inquiry relevant and fruitful. Rose, O'Malley and Valverde (2006, p. 101) indicate that it is the insistence of this theory that to understand how people are governed we are required not to study grand theory and the state but instead investigate the role of the mundane and the everyday practices in the shaping of governable domains and governable people. To focus on the types of power which are shaped in these practices (Rose et al., 2006, p. 101).

Neoliberal Governmentality

Willem Schinkel, Friso van Houdt, Semin Suvarierol and Katherine Kirk theorize integration policy and practice in the Netherlands as representing a *neoliberal* governmentality (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Suvarierol, 2015; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015). Foucault said neoliberal governmentality instructs people with a desire to self-govern for the benefit of the state (Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009). Neoliberal governmentality works through the idea that citizens are free, self-responsible and want to be economically productive and consume (Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015, p. 249). Neoliberalism is seen as a way of thinking in which only a limited amount of options are seen as 'real' and 'good' options for organizing society. These options are those of the market economy, rational calculation and self-responsibility. According to scholars who write about neoliberal governmentality, the market form, neoliberalism, has become the dominant organizational principle for state and society (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009). Here, we can see a parallel with Dutch integration policy: the civic integration law 2013 says refugees are self-responsible for their own integration and the participation law 2013 indicates that everyone on social welfare[13] must participate in a productive way in society to their own capacity (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Bakker et al., 2017). If we would see this as a part of a neoliberal governmentality, the introduction of this law would mean that the only 'good' option for living in Dutch society is by being self-responsible and participating in a productive way: being an active citizen. This Dutch 'Participatiesamenleving' counts for everyone and expects of Dutch citizens to be self-reliant, thus stigmatizing welfare-dependency, and to take care of their fellow citizen, through informal care and civil society participation (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Suvarierol, 2015)

Neoliberalism, or advanced liberalism, is a way of thinking about the economy which gained influence in the 70s when politicians renounced their fate in Keynesian welfare policy. The US Reagan and the UK Thatcher government saw the slow economic growth, relatively high unemployment and inflation in the 70s as a result of the post- world war II Keynesian economic approach of increased government expenditures. Reagan and Thatcher followed the economic theory of the Chicago School of Economics which was highly influenced by Friedrich Hayek's and Milton Friedman's ideas of the free market economy (Dean, 2014; Lemke, 2001). One comprehensive policy strategy which is often referred to as summing up neoliberal doctrine is the Washington Consensus. This consensus is a set of 10 economic policy prescriptions which together formed the, mostly agreed upon, reform package for developing countries in financial crises promoted by Washington D.C.-based institutions in the 80s (such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) (Dean, 2014; Williamson, 1990). The 10 policies were: fiscal discipline, reducing public spending, tax reform (or lowering tax), keeping moderate interest rates, keeping moderate exchange rates, import liberalization, attracting foreign direct investment, privatization, deregulation, and the importance of property rights (Williamson, 1990). This so-called 'Washington Consensus', its linkage with neoliberalism and what constitutes neoliberalism are highly contentious (Dean, 2014; Lemke, 2001). Therefore, I choose to follow the Foucauldian perspective on neoliberalism as a governmentality. This perspective can be summarized as: the rationality behind post-welfare state politics in which the free

[13] In Dutch: 'Bijstandsuitkering'

market-economy becomes the ruling principle for societal organization and the government employs policies such as the reduction of public spending, privatization and deregulation to 'govern through freedom' by responsibilizing its citizens and private actors to take up government functions. This rationality is not only promoted by the government but internalized by individuals and organizations as well, who self-govern for the benefit of the state (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009; Rose et al., 2006).

According to various scholars on neoliberal governmentality, neoliberalism 'responsibilizes' individuals: because the assumption is that they make a rational calculation to come to individual action, they must also assume the effects of those actions. Therefore, when someone experiences the negatives of living in society, such as unemployment or integration problems, this is seen as a lack of 'self-care' and not a responsibility of the state. At the same time, the state has privatized some of its previous functions which dealt with the 'risks' of living in society (Lemke, 2001, p. 201; Rose et al., 2006, p. 91; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 699; Suvarierol, 2015; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015, p. 246). In the case of refugees in the Netherlands, civic integration and labor market integration projects for refugees were privatized. Much of the literature on neoliberal governmentality sees this governmental retreat, that is an integral part of neoliberal policy, as 'governing through freedom'. This paradoxical term indicates that governmental retreat responsibilizes civil society, individuals or private actors to deal with the risks of living in society (Fimyar, 2008, p. 7; Lemke, 2001, p. 201; McKee, 2009, p. 469; Rose et al., 2006, p. 91; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 699). If we follow this line of reasoning, we also see this in Utrecht. Civil society organizations organize labor market orientation projects, because the municipality under the current laws doesn't have the task and the means to organize such activities.[14] In lack of action by the municipality, civil society takes up the task to help refugees. At the same time, the municipality holds refugees individually responsible to overcome unemployment and integrating, through workmatchers who monitor the progress of individual refugees to find paid employment (Razenberg, Kahmann, & Gruijter, 2017).

Even though we can find neoliberal elements in Dutch integration policy and in the way Utrecht municipality approaches labor market integration of refugees, this does not mean that there is a neoliberal governmentality at play in Dutch integration policy. Rose, O'Malley and Valverde (2006, p. 97), in their detailed consideration of governmentality, warn that '*although elements of neo-liberal ways of thinking and acting can be found in most governing regimes and programs today – such as an emphasis on the market as a technology for optimizing efficiency – it is misleading to suggest that such contemporary arts of government are simply implementations of neo-liberal philosophies.'* Although, the studies of Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) and Suvarierol and Kirk (2015) find that the current Dutch integration policy is a representation of neoliberal governmentality, I need to remain critical and look for contrary evidence. It is therefore vital to focus on the specific practices in the two cases of labor market orientation projects for refugees and how these are influenced by governmental discourse and policy, both on the level of the project and on the level of the individuals within the projects and keep questioning whether these elements are part of a broader neoliberal rationality. Rose, O'Malley

[14] This will change in 2020 when the new integration policy comes into effect (Koolmees, 2018).

and Valverde (2006, p. 97) see exactly this way of looking at daily practice as the strength of governmentality to render neoliberalism visible in new ways and to understand its problems.

Active citizenship

Citizenship is a relationship between the citizen and the state: the citizen is a member of the state and has rights and duties that come with that membership. In return, the state provides services for its citizens. It is thus a reciprocal relationship. Citizenship is about in- and exclusion: the state provides services to its own citizens, and not to people who are not its citizens. Usually citizens are included into the state by birth or by parentage. In this way the world population is managed into separated groups of citizens per nation-state. Immigration confronts the state with the question of how to incorporate people (Joppke & Morawska, 2014; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). Joppke and Morawska (2014, p. 1) explain that scholars expected that the idea of a nationally fixed identity would slowly dissolve because of globalization. However, this is not entirely the case: while national identity has become less relevant to international elites, it has become more relevant in the form of borders to those who are less fortunate. The insecurities that come with globalization have led to a search for fixity in the responses to immigration, which, in Western Europe, has resulted in a new attention for citizenship (Joppke & Morawska, 2014; van Houdt et al., 2011, p. 409; Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019).

In the Netherlands, refugees must earn and learn their citizenship. Earn because they have to undergo the asylum and integration procedure before they can obtain formal citizenship. Learn because part of these procedures are civic integration courses in which refugees learn what it means to be a Dutch citizen (Pykett et al., 2010; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Suvarierol, 2015; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015, p. 250). Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) define two 'types' of citizenship: formal citizenship and moral citizenship. 'Legal' or 'formal' citizenship of the Dutch state entails getting a residence permit or naturalization; to be seen as Dutch citizens by the state and its institutions (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 697). 'Moral' citizenship means to be perceived as 'active' or 'good' citizen. This second type of citizenship has more to do with learning the Dutch norms and values and participating in different societal spheres; to be perceived as Dutch citizen by neighbors, contacts or potential employers (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 698). Schinkel and van Houdt (2010, p. 698) explain that in reality both types of citizenship are inseparable: the reason for the distinction is to analyze the relative weight at any given moment between the two (Pykett et al., 2010; van Heelsum, 2017).

Some academic debate exists on whether it is desirable to expand the term 'citizenship' outside its formal and legal meaning to include moral notions. One group of scholars sees citizenship as a synonym to citizenship status. Another group has an evolutionary idea of the concept of citizenship, continuously researching new areas (Pykett et al., 2010, p. 536). This thesis situates itself in the latter group. This way of looking at citizenship enables me to understand what expectations of citizenship mean to refugees and those involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees. It enables me to look at the lived experience of (trying to achieve) citizenship beyond the reception of a residence permit (Pykett et al., 2010). Moreover, because of its broader definition of citizenship, this thesis can tap into a large body of governmentality theory which explores the relation between the governmentality and the processes of

subjectivation, the way in which people are made into governable citizens and govern themselves (Fimyar, 2008, p. 4). This enables me to understand not only the lived experiences of citizenship but also the rationality behind these experiences (Fimyar, 2008, p. 4; Rose et al., 2006).

Joppke and Morawska (2014, p. 4) argue that whereas it has become easier over the years for migrants to receive formal citizenship in western states, it has become harder to be perceived as citizens, in other words: to obtain moral citizenship. Schinkel and van Houdt (2010, p. 704) also see this evolution of citizenship in the Netherlands: in the 90s formal citizenship was the objective for immigrants whereas now formal citizenship is the beginning of a process to enter into Dutch society, which can only be achieved through moral citizenship. Pykett et al. (2010, p. 523) see the framing of this 'moral' or 'good' citizenship as a way to persuade citizens to behave in a desirable manner. This framing can be seen as a discursive practice which is part of a governmentality (Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009). Suvarierol (2015), in his analysis of Dutch integration classes for migrants in The Hague, shows how this discourse works on a micro-level: within the classroom. He explains that immigrants are disciplined by a very strong normative discourse about citizen responsibility to find paid employment in their integration classes. According to him '*The Dutch citizenship ideals professed by civic integration are largely influenced by neoliberal policies aiming to discipline citizens to become self-reliant citizen-workers* (Suvarierol, 2015, p. 710)*.'* He concludes: '*A citizen-worker is the ideal citizen, and working is the condition to be a part of Dutch society* (2015, p. 714).' He goes on to explain that immigrants are expected to actively seek a way out of unemployment, with the support of professionals or programs if necessary (Suvarierol, 2015). The discourse on the citizen-worker as the good citizen in integration classes thus tries to persuade immigrants to undertake action to find work.

According to scholars on neoliberal governmentality, neoliberalism has its own framing of the 'moral' or 'good' neoliberal citizen: the active citizen (Lemke, 2001; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).. Suvarierol, van Houdt and Schinkel (2011) indicate that the Dutch government frames the 'good' citizen '*as the citizen who 'is able to cope for him/herself, has reached the age of majority, who is committed, which expresses itself not in the first place with claims, demands and appeals against the government, but in societal self-organization and initiatives* (van Houdt et al., 2011, p. 416)*.'* They, and other scholars, have dubbed this way of framing the 'good' 'moral' citizen as 'active citizenship', since it requires citizens to be active in taking responsibility over themselves and others in varying societal spheres, without looking at the government for help (Pykett et al., 2010; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). The active citizen is described as the neoliberal ideal of a free, self-responsible, self-sufficient, rational and caring citizen. The active citizen is engaged in varying societal spheres: someone who's effective, participative, publicly minded and politically literate (Pykett et al., 2010; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010, p. 700). Active citizenship is focused on the behavior of citizens: the type of behavior that is seen as 'good' and 'moral' in the neoliberal society (Pykett et al., 2010, p. 528).

According to Suvarierol (2015, p. 708), citizens are free from government control in a neoliberal society as long as they fulfil these responsibilities of being self-sufficient and taking care of others. But he indicates that when citizens are unable to fulfil these responsibilities, they are

subjected to *'increased surveillance, compulsory workfare schemes and sanctions for non-compliance* (Suvarierol, 2015, p. 708).' He writes specifically about welfare recipients and immigrants who still have to fulfil their civic integration obligation (Suvarierol, 2015). This is the situation in which most of my refugee research participants are. In this research I attempt to follow this line of inquiry into whether my research participants experience notions of active citizenship in labor market orientation projects for refugees, whether they reproduce such notions and what happens if they fail to fulfil this ideal type of citizenship. Scholars on neoliberal governmentality indicate that the expectation of active citizenship becomes a pervasive and taken for granted notion and is thus hard to criticize (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009; van Houdt et al., 2011). Van Heelsum (2017, p. 2139) in her study on refugee aspirations of integration outcome explains that '*when aspirations are not fulfilled, frustrations are unavoidable and can be multiple.*' This leads me to believe that if the refugees in my case do internalize notions of active citizenship and do not achieve active citizenship, this may lead to feelings of frustration.

It is important to note that both the formal and moral aspects of citizenship are highly contextual: what it means to obtain citizenship status and what it means to be a 'good' citizen depends on time, place and culture: it entails something different in the Netherlands than in other countries (Pykett et al., 2010, p. 525). It will also mean something different from person to person. Van Heelsum (2017), Pykett et all (2010) and Korac (2003) identify migration status as making an important difference in experiences of citizenship. These scholars explain that refugee status differs from other migration statuses in many ways: refugees often arrive to the host country unprepared, without resources, refugees spend time in asylum shelters, go through a stressful period of status determination by the IND and often cope with trauma and/or health issues. These factors to an important extent color the experiences of refugees (Bakker et al., 2017; Korac, 2003; van Heelsum, 2017). Moreover, according to Suvarierol (2015), Suvarierol and Kirk (2015) and Vandevoordt and Verschraegen (2019) refugees cope with the perception of being 'vulnerable victims' who have to be helped with building a life in the host society. According to these scholars it is challenging to overcome this image to one of 'active citizenship', especially since refugees try to individually overcome collective problems such as unemployment, integration and welfare dependency (Suvarierol, 2015; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015; Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019). Suvarierol (2015) specifies that in the perception of the host society, the Netherlands, refugees must be helped in their integration to overcome being a 'vulnerable victim'. He also indicates that this help often comes in the form of empowerment, which has its own power dynamic. This may also be the case in labor market orientation projects for refugees. As Barbara Cruikshank's (1999) work on *The Will to Empower* illustrates, empowerment can be seen as a power relationship, or mode of governing, by creating self-governing subjects. This is done through defining the participants to an empowerment project in terms of what they lack; by their inability to take care of themselves. Subsequently, they are helped to achieve what they lack. The personal goals of the participants are redefined and reconciled with what the organizers of the project want them to achieve. Cruikshank sees this as a type of governing and a type of subjectivation (Cruikshank 1999 in McKee, 2009, p. 472).

Conclusion

In sum, this chapter hypothesizes that there is a neoliberal governmentality at play in labor market orientation projects for refugees in the city of Utrecht and that this governmentality will influence the expectations of integration outcome of the people involved in these projects. I come to this hypothesis because Schinkel and van Houdt (2010), Suvarierol (2015) and Suvarierol and Kirk (2015) find that the Dutch integration policy and integration practices, such as civic integration courses, are part of a neoliberal governmentality. Which leads me to believe that labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht may also be part of a neoliberal governmentality. Furthermore, this chapter hypothesizes that if there is a neoliberal governmentality at play in these projects the rationality of the governmentality will also influence expectations of integration outcome towards the notion 'active citizenship'. Active citizenship is the neoliberal citizenship ideal in which the moral citizen takes responsibility both for himself and the community. The active citizen is framed as taking part in various societal spheres, self-reliant, productive and caring of their fellow citizen. In the Netherlands, refugees earn and learn moral citizenship through integration practices, an important precondition to which is obtaining formal citizenship through the asylum and integration procedure (Pykett et al., 2010; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Suvarierol, 2015).

The combination of the concept of 'neoliberal governmentality' and 'active citizenship' allows me to break away from looking at the citizen/state link as a reified relation in which the state has power and citizen as not having power towards a more intricate understanding of a network of power relations surrounding labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht. It allows me to look at the way in which power relations work in their everyday reality by analyzing the underlying logic of these practices and how that logic surfaces in 'taken-for-granted' notions and actions (Fimyar, 2008, p. 4). It also enables me to include both the practices of the projects and the discourse which surrounds these projects. Furthermore, employing neoliberal governmentality allows me to look both at the 'system' of the labor market orientation projects, both on a macro-scale at the governmental level and on a micro-level of the projects themselves, and at the 'individual' who may also internalize and express notions of citizenship. Lastly, the combination of notions of active citizenship looked at through a neoliberal governmentality lens allows me to look at the implications of the 'formal' process of obtaining citizenship for refugees and the 'moral' process and the interplay between the two. Even though, this combination is challenging both in research practice and in analysis, I do think it allows for a fruitful way of looking at the practice of these projects.

3. Methodology

Governmentality theory does not detail a subset of methods. Yet, scholars in this field typically employ historical text analysis, policy analysis, discourse analysis and qualitative methods to study this phenomenon (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009; Rose et al., 2006). I follow the methods and type of analysis proposed by Kim McKee (2009, p. 465) to combine discursive analysis with ethnographic methods to '*render visible the concrete activity of governing, and unravel the messiness, complexity and unintended consequences involved in the struggles around subjectivity.'* Moreover, McKee's (2009) approach seems common sense: to understand the logic behind practices one must study both the discourse about that logic and the practices themselves. She proposes to look at what logic underlies micro-level everyday practices (McKee, 2009). Other scholars on governmentality such as Fimyar (2008) and Rose, O'Malley and Valverde (2006) provide a similar account on methods, but do so in a less detailed manner. I furthermore used Hennie Boeije's (2010) '*Analysis in qualitative research*' as a guideline for choices on research methods and analysis.

Data collection

My empirical analysis relies on 33 qualitative interviews and participant observation data gathered in two labor market orientation projects and the municipality in Utrecht in the Netherlands. The data was gathered in the period of November 2018 until the end of January 2019. Following McKee (2009, p. 468) I had several lines of inquiry: the discursive field and everyday practices of the projects; the micro-level discourse and practices of the projects themselves and the macro-level discourse and policy of the Dutch government; and the individual experiences of my participants with the projects and the broader system of labor market orientation for refugees in Utrecht (McKee, 2009, p. 471). This research centers around three dichotomies: that of the *system* and the *individual;* that of *discourse* and *practice;* and that of the *formal* and the *moral.*

Starting point for data collection was participant observation into the micro-level everyday practices of the two labor market orientation projects and 21 semi-structured interviews with the civil society agents, volunteers and refugees involved in these projects. In relation to which the broader field in which these projects situate themselves was studied through six semi-structured expert interviews with civil society agents of other labor market orientation projects for refugees, five semi-structured interviews with the workmatchers of Utrecht municipality[15], one semi structured interview with a policy advisor from Utrecht municipality and a limited policy analysis of the most influential documents for labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht. One initial explorative life history interview was conducted with a refugee unrelated to either project to get an insight into the lived experience of integrating in the Netherlands for those who do not participate in labor market orientation projects. This combination of research practices allowed me to research what happens in practice, how people

[15] In 2019, there were 15 workmatchers specialized in permitholders at Utrecht Municipality (Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018).

think about and experience these projects, while also researching the influence of what authorities want with these practices (Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015).

I selected these qualitative research methods, because I am convinced that inquiry into the experiences and the underlying logic of integration practices leads to richer findings and more understanding of the messiness of day-to-day life than a quantitative analysis would (Korac, 2003; van Heelsum, 2017). Participant observation was employed to get more insight into the context of the labor market orientation projects, how people talk and behave in these projects and what moral notions on citizenship the projects themselves employ. According to Boeije (2009, p. 59) participant observation is considered essential for detecting meanings, feelings and experiences. The method assumes that some things, such as culture, are implicit, and that sometimes even research participants are unaware of these things. This means that simple questioning in interviews is seen as insufficient to provide 'real' data on these implicit aspects (Boeije, 2009, p. 60; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010; Malinowski, 1922). Participant observation helped me to understand my research participants, which allowed for more fruitful interviews. It also enabled my research participants to get acquainted with me and vice versa, which was of great value to build trust (Boeije, 2009, p. 60; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). To overcome the pitfall of participant observation of not considering the particularity of each encounter (Crapanzano, 2010, p. 548), I kept meticulous notes of my experiences and I triangulated my data with interviews, policy analysis and literature review.

The second qualitative research method I employed was semi-structured interviewing. Korac (2003, p.5) states: '*Qualitative interviewing is an important way of learning from refugees because it permits fuller expression of refugee experiences in their own terms.'* This is what I tried to do, but I also wanted to learn more about civil society agent's and volunteers' experiences with labor market orientation projects, because these actors are all involved in the creation and maintenance of a way of thinking about the desired integration outcome of the projects. I started the interviews with an introduction of my research topic, and I would ask for informed consent.[16] The first question in the interviews was: '*Can you tell me a little bit about yourself?'* I deliberately chose such an open question to allow for the research participant to express him or herself in his or her own terms. Next, I could further inquire on elements of the response which bore relevance to my research topic allowing for an open an naturally flowing conversation (Boeije, 2009, pp. 61–63). The mean duration of the interviews was one hour and would center around the meaning of integration, the role of the Dutch state for integration and labor market orientation projects. I asked the research participants to choose the location of the interview. They were often conducted in cafes or, especially in the case of the civil society agents and the coaches of NDC, at their place of work.

When possible, the interviews were conducted in Dutch, otherwise they would be in English. Language presented an important limitation to this study. Since I don't speak Arabic or Tigrinya and most refugees in the Netherlands are from Arabic speaking countries or Eritrea (WODC,

[16] I would explain I would be recording the interview on my mobile phone, how I would process and analyze the data, that I would anonymize the data and that they would receive a summary of my thesis once it was finished.

2018, p. 38). I could not interview those refugees who did not know Dutch, English or Spanish. At times, during the project, I could ask another refugee to translate. But this was often at a level too basic to conduct a longer lasting interview. Due to time and financial constrains I was unable to find a professional translator who could help me translate in interviews.

The data collection process can be separated into three phases: exploratory interviews, focus on the two cases and focus on the broader field of the two cases. Firstly, at the start of the data collection period I conducted two influential interviews: one life history interview with a refugee who was unrelated to either case, Nouman, and an expert interview with a policy advisor of Utrecht municipality who is involved in the labor market participation of refugees on social welfare in Utrecht. Both interviews provided me with valuable background information: the first on what it is like to be a refugee in the Netherlands and the second on the activities the municipality undertakes regarding labor market participation for refugees.

In the second data collection phase I participated in the two cases. The first case, the housing corporations training by NDC, is a training module for permitholders to learn more about the different jobs at the housing corporations in Utrecht.[17] Gaining access to this project proved to be a continuous process of negotiation with NDC and the representatives of the housing corporations. It was quite challenging to convince all gatekeepers, but it was worthwhile since this process of gaining, and continuously negotiating access, provided me with more information about the project. I could participate in the weekly workshops with the refugees, be present at the intervision of the coaches, be present at the meetings of the organization of the project and be there at the weekly dinners of NDC with the refugees. NDC also asked me to take an active role in the project by facilitating a part of one of the workshops.

The second case, *'Aan de slag'* by the VCU, provides volunteering opportunities for refugees who live in the asylum seeker shelter. They also provide structural volunteering for refugees with a residence permit.[18] Gaining access to this project was relatively easy. The project coordinators were easily accessible and enthusiastic about my interest in their project. I participated by being present at the bi-weekly information hour at the asylum shelter and as a 'cycle volunteer' in the project, which entailed accompanying the participating refugees to the volunteering location. I also volunteered as a 'buddy' in the project for structural volunteering for permitholders: I helped an Eritrean woman find her way at her weekly volunteer work by walking along with her for four afternoons. The nature of the project of the VCU made it hard for me to interview the participants. The volunteering jobs were often one-off volunteering opportunities and most participants only spoke limited Dutch, English or Spanish. This made building trust and in-depth interviewing quite hard. Instead, data collection consisted mostly out of participant observation and regular informal conversations. The most important participants whom I had regular conversations with are included in appendix B. Because of the language barrier, informed consent posed a challenge. I resorted to explaining the refugees who took a larger role in my

[17] NDC (2018) 'Aanbod Utrecht'. Retrieved November 7, 2018 from: https://www.newdutchconnections.nl/aanbod-utrecht/
[18] Vrijwilligerscentrale Utrecht (2018) 'Aan de slag: Asielzoekers doen vrijwilligerswerk. Retrieved November 7, 2018 from: https://www.vcutrecht.nl/AandeSlag

research about my research and asking them for consent to use our conversations in an anonymized fashion.

My overt connection to the organizations influenced how my research participants saw me (Boeije, 2009, p. 40). I was at times perceived as a representative of NDC or the VCU. However, I made sure in the interviews that my research participants understood that I was conducting my personal research project, that the organization would not get insight into my data and that what they told me would be confidential. This connection to the organizations also had many advantages: I was able to participate in most aspects of the projects and because of my participation I could approach participants for my research in a relaxed fashion which enabled me to build trust with my research participants (Boeije, 2009; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010).

In the last phases of my research I focused on the broader field surrounding the projects and conducted expert interviews with five workmatchers[19] of Utrecht municipality and representatives of the most influential other civil society initiatives for labor market orientation for refugees in Utrecht[20], namely: two civil society agents and two 'participation' coaches of The Dutch Council for Refugees, a job consultant of the Foundation for Refugee Students (UAF) and the chair of the Mauritsgroup. These interviews focused on how these projects related to each other and to the municipality, what the approach of these projects was and what their ideas about integration outcome are. The interviews were conducted at their place of work and provided me with insight into the discursive field of labor market orientation projects. Furthermore, the interviews with the workmatchers of the municipality provided me with an understanding of in how far the municipality can shape its own practices within the broader national policy and how individual civil servants shape their understanding of refugees.

The last qualitative method used was policy analysis. According to Korac (2003, p. 6), Suvarierol and Kirk (2015) and Pykett et al (2010) the way in which refugees and citizenship are framed in laws and policy is an important indicator of how they are perceived. This 'discursive field' of policy was analyzed to ground the experiences of research participants in a wider context. Due to time restraints, I made a limited selection of the most influential documents for the context of labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht. These documents were considered as 'raw data' and analyzed in much the same way as the data from participant observation and interviews (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015). The selected documents were:

1. Laws
   The relevant parts of the participation law and the civic integration law 2013 (Participatiewet, 2013; Wet Inburgering, 2013).

2. National policy

[19] In total there are 15 workmatchers specialized in refugees at Utrecht municipality.
[20] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018; Interview, Lisa, intern housing corporations training NDC, 05-11-2018; and Interview, Merel, Coordinator Education and Work at The Dutch Council for Refugees Utrecht, 13-11-2018

A letter to parliament by the Minister of Integration, Wouter Koolmees, regarding the changes to the civic integration system starting from 2020 (Koolmees, 2018).
The evaluation report of the civic integration system by the supreme audit institution (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017).
The Participation Statement, a document which immigrants have to sign in which they vouch they will participate in Dutch society (Rijksoverheid, 2016)
Policy lines on how to implement the participation statement (Asscher, 2016).

3. Local policy
   The council letter regarding the local implementation of integration policy by Utrecht municipality (Braat, 2017).

These documents were selected because they proved influential to labor market orientation for refugees in Utrecht and their importance was confirmed in interviews.

My initial intention for the qualitative data collection was to allow for a comprehensive understanding of the concept I set out to research: integration as a *two-way* process (Korac, 2003, p. 4). I assumed that being involved in labor market orientation projects would lead to integration both for the involved refugees and for the involved Dutch volunteers (Bakker et al., 2017; Esser, 2004; Sam & Berry, 2010). But, after data collection I found my data did not indicate that the involved Dutch volunteers experienced integration and were insufficient to say something about a two-way process (Sam & Berry, 2010). The data did show that expectations about integration outcome played a significant role for all research participants. Moreover, the initial outset to research whether the logic behind these labor market orientation projects represented a neoliberal governmentality seemed to be upheld by the data. Therefore, the data initially collected to learn more about integration as a *two-way* process was analyzed along the lines of expectations of active citizenship as integration outcome and neoliberal governmentality. Throughout the interviews I rarely explicitly inquired about citizenship, since this was not my initial research topic. This is a limitation, but also an advantage since my data shows that the people involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht implicitly have ideas about citizenship (Boeije, 2009, p. 60), which ties into the role a governmentality might play in these projects (Fimyar, 2008; McKee, 2009; Pykett et al., 2010). Future research may inquire whether these subconscious expectations also find their way into conscious thinking and explicit speech about good citizenship.

Data analysis

The data recorded in field notes, diary notes, transcriptions of interviews and the policy documents were initially coded during the data collection phase in light of the initial research topic '*integration as a two-way process'.* After the data collection at the start of the data analysis I realized I did not have sufficient data on this topic and shifted focus to expectations of integration outcome. My approach to the analysis is based on Hennie Boeije's (2009, p. 90) 'spiral of analysis', which meant that I conducted an initial round of open coding during the data collection phase in order to identify gaps in the data and adapt data collection accordingly. After the data collection phase had ended, I finished open coding and I reconsidered the theory. I

developed my theoretical framework further and continued with a second round of 'axial coding' and 'selective coding' based on the topics provided both by the theory and the data (Boeije, 2009; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). In these rounds of coding the 'emic' terms derived from the initial round of open coding were matched with the 'etic' topics derived from the theory as detailed in the theoretical framework of this thesis (Boeije, 2009, p. 91).

Ethical reflections

Some ethical challenges have already been considered: that of me as researcher being perceived as part of the organization of the projects, the challenge of informed consent in the case of *'Aan de slag'* and the limits of language to data collection. A further ethical consideration is that of refugees as vulnerable research population (Bakker et al., 2017) and gender. Refugees are thoroughly scrutinized by various institutions to determine their refugee status and have often gone through dire circumstances in their flight from their homeland. They are trying to find their way in the Dutch society, might still be in uncertain circumstances about their residence status and might experience stress because of the asylum procedure, the uncertain situation of family members or psychological trauma (Razenberg et al, 2018). Therefore, it was extra important for me to consider the power dynamic between the researcher and research subject and to constantly reflect on this dynamic (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010).

I am mindful to see refugees simply as 'vulnerable research population'. My research criticizes the view of refugees as vulnerable and sees them as active actors in the governmentality 'conversation'. I study how refugees handle the discourse on integration and citizenship and what alternatives they find to the possibilities provided to them. I selected qualitative research methods, because of the ability of these methods to give voice to this population (Korac, 2003). I also tried to overcome ethical challenges by: building trust between me and my research participants so they could express their boundaries to me; actively paying attention to informed consent; and ensuring anonymity (Boeije, 2009; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010). Most importantly I approached my research participants in an open and friendly manner and was interested in what they had to say. I am convinced that my sincere attention for their circumstances was valued, especially because it came from an empathic and friendly attitude. Finally, I will provide my research participants with an English and a Dutch summary of my thesis so they have insight into what happened with the data (Boeije, 2009; DeWalt & DeWalt, 2010).

Another matter which has caused a bias in my study is gender. The participants of '*Aan de slag'* by the VCU and the housing corporations training by NDC were predominantly male refugees from Arabic countries. Being a Dutch woman researching, often single, male refugees has its own dynamic. I showed interest in these men, for my research, and continuously clarified that I was doing research. However, this research interest was sometimes, at least in one instance, interpreted as romantic interest. This dynamic causes a bias in the selection of research participants: I will not approach someone for an interview, if I am certain that they will interpret that interview as a date. On the other hand, I am certain that I was able to interview, and have informal conversations with, the few participating female refugees precisely because I am a woman. Moreover, the Dutch citizens involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees, but also the workmatchers at the municipality, are predominantly female. So, whilst my

interactions with the male refugees gave me an insight into the experience of their work, I could also level with them on this topic in interviews.

4. Utrecht Municipality

Utrecht Municipality has an important role in the labor market participation of refugees in Utrecht. The municipality works with civil society organizations to help refugees orient themselves on the Dutch labor market and has workmatchers who monitor the progress of refugees on social welfare towards labor market participation. The municipality has a formal role for the labor market participation of refugees stipulated by national policy, but it also has space to work on its own interpretation of refugee policy. Utrecht presents itself as a progressive, leftist municipality with a more caring attitude towards refugees. Next to the municipality's formal discourse on integration and labor market participation of refugees, the employees of the municipality also have their individual interpretation of their tasks and individually shape their work. They employ a moral discourse on what it means to be a refugee, what desirable behavior entails and what the integration goals for refugees should be. The objective of this chapter is two-fold: it provides background information on the rules and regulations that govern the lives of my research participants and it details the way Utrecht Municipality approaches the labor market participation of refugees.

National Integration Policy

The two laws most relevant to integration and labor market participation of refugees are the civic integration law (wet inburgering) 2013, which regulates civic integration[21] for immigrants, and the participation law (participatie wet) 2013, which regulates 'participation to ability' of all Dutch citizens on social welfare, or more practically, it regulates labor market participation (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Koolmees, 2018; Participatiewet, 2013; Wet Inburgering, 2013). Once refugees receive their temporary residence permits and move out of the asylum shelter, they fall under the civic integration and the participation law 2013. The civic integration law 2013 dictates that immigrants are self-responsible for their integration; civic integration courses became privatized and previous municipal functions in helping refugees find civic integration courses were cancelled. Refugees, and other immigrants, must choose between a variety of private schools and take a loan from the government organization DUO[22] to pay for these courses, without guidance from the municipality. The civic integration exams must be passed within a timespan of three years. Otherwise the permitholder does not fulfil his 'civic integration obligation', which will be punished with fines, the retraction of social welfare or being made to leave the country (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Bakker et al., 2017; Klaver, 2015).[23]

[21] 'Inburgeren' literally translated 'to become a citizen'.

[22] DUO stands for Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs, literally: Education Implementation Service. It is the government service which organizes student loans.

[23] The civic integration law 2013 indicates that immigrants who without reason neglect to fulfil their civic integration obligation within the set timeframe of 3 years will be made to leave the Netherlands. However, this is in opposition with international conventions and cannot legally be enforced (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Koolmees, 2018).

While refugees follow civic integration courses and learn the language, they are also expected to start looking for a way to earn an income. Since 2013, the labor market participation of refugees in the Netherlands is organized under the participation law 2013 (participatie wet) which delegated the responsibility for labor market participation of those on social welfare towards the municipalities (Bakker et al, 2017). The basic premise of the participation law, in correspondence with most social policy from 2013, is that it can be expected of every Dutch citizen that they contribute to society to their capacity and are self-reliant (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017, p. 5). Through the participation law, municipalities have a role in labor market participation of refugees, which requires them to monitor the progress of refugees in getting off social welfare and includes monitoring part of the process of civic integration (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Participatiewet, 2013; Wet Inburgering, 2013; Razenberg et al., 2017). Permitholders who recently received their refugee status are almost always reliant on social welfare because they were not allowed to have paid employment while their status was still pending (Bakker et al., 2017; Klaver, 2015; Rijksoverheid, 2018; van Heelsum, 2017). This means that once an asylum seeker becomes a permitholder, they get a case worker from the municipality, a workmatcher, whose focus is to get them off of social welfare as soon as possible (Braat, 2017; I. Razenberg et al., 2017). In Utrecht, these workmatchers are specialized in permitholders and keep their special situation in mind with the options they provide to their clients. Refugees get a workmatcher assigned to them until they've fulfilled their civic integration obligation (Koolmees, 2018; Zenberg & Gruijter, 2017).[24]

Both Schinkel and Van Houdt (2010) in their study on the effects of these laws for Dutch citizenship and the supreme audit institution in their policy evaluation on civic integration (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017), indicate that the assumption underpinning both laws is that refugees are knowledgeable consumers, who know which choices to make in the existing system and can be held responsible for their own integration. At the same time, we see elements of suspicion towards refugees in the enactment of these laws. They must show Dutch society that they are worthy to stay here by finishing the civic integration courses and finding employment. Moreover, there are consequences, such as fines, if they do not fulfil their obligations (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). The supreme audit institution concludes in its policy evaluation that the participation law and civic integration law 2013 and their policy outcomes have had a counter-productive effect (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017, p. 58; Razenberg, et al., 2018). The outcome is a cohort of refugees which, even though they have followed courses and did their best, do not have a sufficient command of the Dutch language to be able to participate in Dutch society (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Koolmees, 2018). This caused the Netherlands supreme audit institution to conclude that it cannot be expected of refugees to organize their own integration without guidance (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017).

The Dutch government took the conclusions of the supreme audit institution to heart. The Dutch minister of integration, Wouter Koolmees, details changes to the integration system in a letter to parliament from the summer of 2018. These changes are planned to start in 2020 and feature

[24] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018; Interview, Vanessa, job consultant at UAF, 23-01-2019

a central role for (voluntary) work and municipalities. Plans are for refugees to start their civic integration while still in the asylum shelter (voorinburgering) and to continue their integration trajectory after obtaining a residence permit with a Personal plan Integration and Participation (PIP – persoonlijk plan integratie en participatie). This plan combines learning the language and civic integration with (voluntary) work or schooling (Koolmees, 2018). Koolmees (2018) indicates the new plan still follows the same assumption of refugees as being able to take their own responsibility for their civic integration (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Koolmees, 2018). However, this appears to be only in writing, the proposed alterations make sure that refugees are firmly back under the care of the municipality, even outlining changes in which the municipality is in charge of refugee's finances during their initial months in the municipality and it appears to bring back the former policy of dual trajectories (Koolmees, 2018).

Dutch Integration policy shows some elements of active citizenship. Especially in the, problematic, premise of self-responsibility of refugees for their own integration in the post-2013 integration and participation laws. But also, in the human-image underpinning this premise, that refugees are knowledgeable consumers, who know which choices to make in the existing system and can be held responsible. The government assumes refugees already are active citizens and thus able to organize their own civic integration. However, it simultaneously finds that refugees must be educated to be active citizens, through civic integration courses, but also through the threat of consequences, such as fines.

Formal role Utrecht Municipality for Labor Market Participation of Refugees

'It makes a lot of difference in which municipality you come to live as a refugee, in what is possible for you. In Nieuwegein there are less possibilities than in Utrecht….. So municipal policy does make a lot of difference. You can be lucky with the municipality you end up in.'[25]

As Vanessa, one of the Job consultants at UAF[26], indicated, Utrecht municipality has a progressive approach to civic integration. It takes a flexible stance on allowing refugees to study and is generally more relaxed in pressuring refugees on social welfare to find employment. The municipality traditionally, like most big cities in the Netherlands, has a leftist council, meaning that it is often more willing to act on social issues such as refugee integration and labor market participation (Zenberg & Gruijter, 2017). Utrecht municipality collaborates with a variety of civil society organizations to help guide refugees. This begins at the asylum shelter where refugees are encouraged to do volunteer work by the VCU and continues once refugees live in the municipality with social assistance[27] from the Dutch Council for Refugees (Braat, 2017).[28]

Municipalities have some obligations towards refugees. Firstly, they must provide refugees with social assistance, which includes help with various bureaucratical steps which come with life in the municipality, such as: getting insurance, finding schools for refugee children and civic integration. Secondly, the municipality must provide a trajectory towards signing the

[25] Interview, Vanessa, job consultant at UAF, 23-01-2019
[26] The foundation for refugee students
[27] Own translation from 'Maatschappelijke Begeleiding'
[28] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018

participation statement, in which the refugee learns about his rights and obligations in Dutch society (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Asscher, 2016). In Utrecht both social assistance and the participation statement trajectory are outsourced to the civil society organization 'the Dutch Council for Refugees' (Braat, 2017; Zenberg & Gruijter, 2017). Furthermore, the municipality must aid anyone on social welfare towards work, a substantial percentage of which are refugees.[29]

Utrecht municipality sees integration as '*a local, obliging and reciprocal process with the purpose of increasing social and economic self-reliance of refugees as new Utrechters* (Braat, 2017)'. It has three policies to reach this goal. Firstly, Utrecht strives towards a housing policy for refugees based on a '*continuing line' (doorgaande lijn).* This '*continuing line*' entails that asylum seekers who live in the asylum shelter in Utrecht (on the Joseph Haydnlaan or in Leersum) continue to be housed in the municipality during the asylum procedure and after obtaining a residence permit. The assumption is that this stability in location will help make integration in Utrecht a continuing process because refugees continue to benefit from their previous investment in the city, for example from the social contacts they have in their time here. The second policy is *'activation from day one' (activering vanaf dag één)*, meaning: activating asylum seekers as much and as soon as possible. Refugees are encouraged to spend the waiting time in the asylum shelter productively by following courses, which are tailormade for asylum seekers, or by doing volunteer work with the VCU. These projects are meant for all asylum seekers, whether they will receive a residence permit or not. The purpose is to contribute to an active, fast and successful integration and to contribute to labor prospects, both in Utrecht and in the country of origin. The underlying logic of this activation is that asylum seekers will psychologically benefit from continuing to be active. Lastly, Utrecht strives to be an 'inclusive city' *(inclusieve stad),* meaning it has no target audience for its policy. All activities or projects open to refugees are also opened to other Utrechters. Consequently, newcomers are not treated as a special category that 'deserves' or 'needs' more help than other groups (Braat, 2017; I. Razenberg et al., 2017; Zenberg & Gruijter, 2017). Based on these three 'pillars' of integration, Utrecht can be called rather unique in its approach. The '*continuing line'* has also found its way to national policy and will be employed everywhere in the Netherlands starting from 2020 (Koolmees, 2018). Starting from 2020, municipalities will oversee integration again, and the municipality is preparing to bring back some of the facilities of the pre-2013 days.[30]

Utrecht municipality thus has a more caring attitude towards refugees than national policy instructs. It initially takes an open stance towards what the refugee wants. It tries to utilize the space it has within national policy to provide more care but isn't always able to provide this itself. Therefore, it turns to civil society organizations, with formal collaborations with 'the Dutch Council for Refugees' for social assistance of refugees and the VCU to help guide refugees towards volunteer work. The goal is '*increasing social and economic self-reliance of refugees as*

[29]Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018; The exact percentage is not displayed in the data on the municipal website. The policy advisor and a few workmatchers indicated that 10% of people on social welfare in Utrecht are refugees.
[30] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018

new Utrechters (Braat, 2017)'. The municipality envisions self-reliant 'new Utrechters' in its policy. The municipality realizes that the process of becoming this 'new Utrechter' is reciprocal, which means that the municipality also has to provide services[31] to help refugees and that refugees must show that they are willing to become 'new Utrechters'. One important service the municipality provides is the monitoring of progress on labor market participation of refugees by workmatchers.

Micro-practices of the Workmatchers

The previous section provided an insight into the formal role of Utrecht municipality. But, in my interviews with the workmatchers I realized there are some discrepancies between the policy discourse of Utrecht municipality and the daily practice of being a workmatcher for the municipality. Moreover, I noticed in the interviews that individual workmatchers make sense of their work in their own way and in that process, they construct a discourse about refugees as a special category deserving of care and a notion of good and bad behavior by refugees. This discourse is sometimes in line with what integration policy stipulates, but at times also subverts the policy.

- Refugees as a special category deserving of care

Utrecht Municipality, with its 'inclusive city' policy has no target audience policy. However, there are special workmatchers focused on refugees, with only refugees in their clientele. These refugees receive a different type of service than 'regular' people on social welfare. This differential treatment is justified by the image the workmatchers have of refugees as a special category deserving of special treatment with specific challenges. Maarten, a policy advisor of the department Work and Income of Utrecht municipality, explained this paradox:

'*Strictly speaking it is irrelevant to know whether someone is a permitholder or not to help them find employment. But we see that permitholders encounter limitations that are specific to them, which means they need specific services from the municipality. However, we assume that these services are only needed for the first phase.'*[32]

Maarten contradicts himself: he says permitholders are not a special category but goes on to explain that they experience specific limitations for which the municipality needs to provide specific services. Utrecht municipality has no target audience policy regarding labor market participation of permitholders, but it does detail its specific way of working with permitholders in letters to the municipal council and in practice there is a different way of treating permitholders versus 'regular' people on social welfare. There is, thus, a *de facto* target audience policy. Richard, a participation coach of 'the Dutch Council for Refugees' in his early fifties, had a strong opinion on the 'no target audience policy' policy of the municipality:

[31] Other services of the municipality, which are out of scope for this research, include: a Syrian contact person for the Syrian community who facilitates contact with the municipality; an employer's service desk which looks and lobbies for vacancies for permitholders and others on social welfare; subsidies, employee cheques and employers' cheques; and job coaching.

[32] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018

'*Of course, there is a target audience policy, Eritrean boys on social welfare are different than highly educated Syrians on social welfare and also different than Dutch people on social welfare. You have to do something else for these boys than for the others. You just don't call it policy for 'Eritreans' but you describe the target audience for the service very narrowly: illiterate youngsters with a big distance to the labor market and psychological problems. If there are others that fit those criteria than they can join. But you have to realize that you have to work harder for these people. … You have to have target audience policy. I also know that that is politically sensitive.'*[33]

Richard signals the discrepancy between the policy line 'inclusive city' and having special services for refugees and stipulates how the municipality can still provide extra care to specific target audiences without specifically naming an ethnic group as target audience. Maarten, the policy advisor, described something similar about the way they handle services for refugees, these services are also open to other Utrechters, but the criteria are defined so narrowly that mostly refugees apply. This is done because anything to do with refugees or ethnic groups is politically sensitive. If refugees get extra services from the municipality, other Utrechters will often protest this special treatment, saying it is unfair that newcomers get more help than 'real' Dutch people.[34] Thus, the municipality resorts to 'formally' not having a target audience, while still fulfilling their 'moral' sense of obligation to help refugees.

Nevertheless, the workmatchers specialized in permitholders are a type of service that is provided to refugees only. The municipality assumes that this special treatment to refugees on social welfare is only needed in the 'first phase', until the refugee has passed the civic integration exams, a maximum of three years after receiving a house in Utrecht. Maarten explained that the municipality assumed that, after passing civic integration, the refugees would speak enough Dutch to make use of the municipality's 'regular' work offers and were thus transferred to the 'regular' workmatching service (Razenberg et al., 2017).[35] As we have seen in the first section of this chapter, the assumption that refugees who have finished civic integration are able to do the same jobs as Dutch people is problematic (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017). The workmatchers specialized in permitholders recognize this and indicate they regularly try to keep their permitholder clients with them for a little bit longer after finishing their civic integration. Esther, an experienced workmatcher in her mid-fifties who is mostly involved with young permitholders, also indicated this:

'If I think it is the last bit until they'll get off social welfare, I try to keep them to myself a little bit longer. They have to go to the regular service when they're done with civic integration. But I believe most workmatchers will secretly keep them a little bit longer. Or at least they start another trajectory with them before they go to the regular service.'[36]

[33] Interview, Richard, Participation coach The Dutch Council for Refugees Utrecht, 29-11-2018
[34] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018; Interview, Richard, Participation coach The Dutch Council for Refugees Utrecht, 29-11-2018
[35] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018
[36] Interview, Esther, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018

Esther confirms that the workmatchers try to provide more care to their permitholder clients than the policy stipulates. The regular workmatchers are seen as less caring and a bit tougher than the workmatchers specialized in permitholders. In the regular service the person on social welfare sees a different workmatcher each time they get called in for a consultation. The workmatchers specialized in permitholders each have their own clients and they see the same clients regularly, in order to build a trustful relationship. They are supposed to see their clients every three months, but they indicate that they switch frequency depending on where their client is in the integration process. I asked Esther what makes permitholders different from other people on social welfare:

'*They really are different. A permitholder has a civic integration obligation. That has priority. If that person has classes three half-days per week, then those times are blocked, and they cannot study or work during those half days. There is also a cultural difference. I don't have regular youth as clients. I'm a bit afraid of them. I just have more experience with non-Dutch. Regular youth call out things like 'I have a right to this' and then I think 'but what about your duty?' Permitholders are often much more polite, they are also more afraid of the government. They are more suspicious, it takes a while before they trust you, and that is more familiar to me.'*[37]

Esther indicates that the differentiation between permitholders and 'regular' people on social welfare is a necessity, because they behave differently. She thinks that 'regular youth' on social welfare are intimidating and demand their right to social welfare, whereas permitholders are polite, have less time to work because of the civic integration classes, are afraid of the government and are culturally different. In order to help them towards employment she needs to build trustful relationships. The other workmatchers recognized some additional elements to what makes permitholders different: they came to the Netherlands unprepared so they have no social network which can help them find work; they do not know the Dutch work context and have no prior experience in the Netherlands; they do not speak Dutch; and they often struggle with trauma. Because of these special circumstances workmatchers see permitholders as deserving of extra care, as in need of empowerment to change from 'in need of care' to 'be activated'.

Refugees are not a homogenous group, the workmatchers indicate that the way they work with their clients differs greatly per case. Highly educated Syrian men, for example, were deemed to be easier to help towards employment or education, because they often came to the first consultation with a readily developed plan. Another group who were deemed easy to guide towards employment were refugees with some fluency in English and a background in construction work, because of the shortage on the labor market in that sector. Two groups were considered to be quite challenging by the workmatchers: refugee women with a middle eastern background and Eritreans. The workmatchers indicated it was hard to enthuse these women to start working since they typically take up childcare and the husband often sees it as his task to be the provider. The workmatchers explained that this dynamic creates a risk of social isolation for these middle eastern refugee women. To counteract social isolation for refugee women the

[37] Interview, Esther, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018

municipality organizes a 'positivity training', to 'build self-esteem', and day activities for refugee women.

Another 'challenging group,' according to the workmatchers, are Eritreans. The workmatchers indicate that it is hard to build a trustful relationship with Eritreans, because Eritreans have a different understanding of labor, are often very suspicious of the government or any type of organization, often cope with trauma and are, relatively often, unaccompanied minors. The workmatchers explain these difficulties by what they perceive to be the 'Eritrean culture', which, according to them, is completely different from the Dutch culture. They say these cultural differences make it difficult to come to an understanding and build trust with Eritreans. Moreover, the workmatchers explain that they meet very few highly educated Eritreans and that a lot of them are illiterate, which means they often must start with a literacy course and some sort of schooling before they are able to work in the Netherlands. But even the basics, like knowing they must go to a consultation with the workmatcher and being on time is a challenge with Eritreans according to the workmatchers.

In short, the municipality sees refugees as a special category deserving of extra care. The assumption is that refugees need to be empowered to be activated to be able to fully participate in Utrecht's society. This contrasts with the formal 'inclusive city' policy of the municipality, in which they indicate not to make use of target audiences. Refugees are only deemed to be 'special' until they have finished civic integration, whereafter they are assumed to know enough Dutch to make use of the same offers in employment as the 'regular' people on social welfare. The workmatchers recognize that this transition is problematic, because after civic integration their clients often still are unable to speak enough Dutch to function in a Dutch work context. Therefore, the workmatchers sometimes go beyond their formal role to provide extra care for their permitholder clients. We also see some notions of 'good' and 'bad' behavior in discussions about different groups of refugees: highly educated Syrian men are deemed an 'easy' group because they, relatively often, are well-prepared, have plans and are active; refugee women are deemed a difficult group because there is a threat of social isolation with them, so they need to 'build self-esteem' so they will be able to take self-responsibility and participate in society; Eritreans are also deemed to be a difficult group, mostly because they typically are distrustful of the government and are deemed to be culturally different. In these ways of talking about refugees we see some neoliberal notions, and some notions about active citizenship. The official policy to not have target audiences, for example, can be seen as a neoliberal policy, in which everybody is to be treated equally according to market principles and take self-responsibility. However, there is a type of *de facto* welfarism policy, in the sense that refugees are treated differently by the municipality and that workmatchers try to help their refugee clients more than policy stipulates. Refugees are seen as 'active citizens to be', they are still in need of help but have the potential to become full participants in Utrecht's society.

- What type of special care?

The workmatchers specialized in permitholders indicate that they work differently than their colleagues in the 'regular service.' After receiving a house in the municipality and after receiving social welfare, permitholders first have an 'information meeting' about 'rights and duties' with

the municipality. Another initial step is the 'NOA assessment', which is a test which provides an indication of the level of education, work experience, self-sufficiency, limiting factors including trauma, employment searching behavior, language proficiency in English and Dutch, learning capability, personality and competences of the refugee.[38] In their first meeting, the workmatcher and refugee discuss the outcomes of this test and the plans of the refugee to find work, if he or she has any. Workmatchers indicate that refugees have more time than regular people on social welfare, they aren't pushed directly to start working but can take some time to settle in the Netherlands and improve their skills. In order to find the type of work they would like to do. Subsequently, the workmatcher and refugee, often accompanied by someone from 'the Dutch Council for Refugees' who mediates on behalf of the refugee, make a plan of action consisting of activities for the refugee to prepare for work in a Dutch work context alongside the civic integration classes. Ivy, a workmatcher in her mid-twenties, explained why the workmatchers don't just tell refugees what job they must do:

'*No, if it had worked like that than a lot more people would have a job. There is a lot of work, so much we can't fill all vacancies. But we rather look for something that someone would like to do so that person can flow out sustainably.'*[39]

That is why they make a plan of action with the permitholders: to enable them to take some time to get to know the Dutch labor market and find what they would like to do. The workmatchers indicated that they'd ideally send their clients to school to get a Dutch diploma. Because Dutch employers value a Dutch education more than they value an education from a foreign country. They say that '*the lower the level of education, the bigger the chance that you will keep returning to social welfare*.'[40] However, sometimes it is not possible for refugees to study. If studying doesn't work out, workmatchers advice their clients to look for a 'work experience position' or a place where they can do volunteer work to get some work experience in the Netherlands and to learn the language in a work context. Moreover, they indicate that it is also to the benefit of the permitholder to get their house, civic integration courses and the school for their children settled before they start looking for paid employment. By first finding unpaid employment, they can find employment more fitting to their talents, which means they will have less chance to return to social welfare because they will do a job they like. Some workmatchers, like Esther, go beyond their formal role to help their clients find work:

'*I often walk along the shops at the train station here in Utrecht with my younger clients. We go in at places where they have a poster in the window with 'looking for employees.' Then I send them in to apply and I wait outside. They really need a push to step across that threshold, and then at least they have a part-time job next to their civic integration classes.'*[41]

As Esther indicates, she helps refugees find work, even though, strictly speaking, it is only her task to monitor refugee's progress in looking for work and monitor whether the refugees stick

[38] NOA-VU. (n.d.). Persoonsprofielscan Vluchtelingen. Retrieved June 10, 2019, from https://noa-vu.nl/producten/online-tests/re-integratietests/persoonsprofielscan-vluchtelingen/
[39] Interview, Ivy, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 08-01-2019
[40] Interview, Esther, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018
[41] Interview, Esther, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018

to their proposed 'plan of action'. Mirjam has a similar 'caring' approach to her work. She indicates that once her clients follow an education, do volunteer work or have a part-time job, she doesn't make appointments with them anymore because they are fulfilling their 'participation obligation'. But she does regularly call or email these clients to check how they are doing:

'*These follow-up conversations aren't only about civic integration or volunteering, but also about how they are doing and whether they have family coming over or have contacts or friends in the neighborhood. Those are important things you talk about. They have to build a new network here. You really start a new life here.'*[42]

Others, like Loïs, a workmatcher in her late twenties, strictly stick to the rules:

'*I need to give you permission to not work or follow an education. I'm also not an employment agency, so I won't be looking for a job for you. You have to find work and make sure you get off social welfare. I always tell them to look within their network. What we have are the low-skilled Dutch jobs. If you don't follow some sort of education or training, I can't give you permission to receive social welfare. Low educated people I sent to 'Maatwerk',*[43] *they make sure that someone receives a paid job within 6 months, make sure that that person flows out. That is ideal for me. For highly educated people I have nothing on offer, I usually refer them to 'the Dutch Council for Refugees' or UAF.'* [44]

Loïs keeps to her designated role as workmatcher to monitor progress. Workmatchers, thus, individually give shape to their work and have various interpretations of what they should and should not do for their clients. The workmatchers have various possibilities to refer refugees to (civil society) organizations, such as Maatwerk (Maatwerk, n.d.), the UAF, the VCU and 'the Dutch Council for Refugees.' These organizations aid refugees in finding an education in the Netherlands, finding volunteer work to get work experience in the Netherlands or in finding paid employment. If the refugee doesn't participate in some sort of education project or training the workmatcher does have to pressure them to apply for a low-skilled job from the municipal vacancy bank, such as cleaning or maintenance of the green areas in the city. Even though the workmatchers specialized in permitholders can give their clients more time to get used to the Netherlands, there is some pressure on refugees to find work. The goal of the workmatchers is for their clients to 'flow out' of social welfare. This is signaled by the way in which the workmatchers talk about 'dream jobs' and 'bread jobs':

'*At the start you look for the highest achievable, but at some point, towards the end of the civic integration, you look for a bread job. You cannot stay on social welfare forever.'*[45]

Initially, the workmatcher will try to help their permitholder clients to find work fitting to their skills and education level. They want their clients to find a job they like, because this will help

[42] Interview, Mirjam, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 20-12-2018;
[43] Maatwerk. (n.d.). Utrecht. Retrieved June 10, 2019, from http://maatwerkbegeleiding.nl/reintegratie-pgb-utrecht-jobcoaching
[44] Loïs, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018
[45] Interview, Ivy, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 08-01-2019

them to stay out of social welfare. However, once the plans of the permitholder appear to be infeasible, or the permitholder doesn't have a plan, they will indicate to the permitholder that he or she must take paid employment. Once the permitholder finishes his or her civic integration and is still on social welfare, he or she goes into the 'regular' workmatching service where he or she will be pressured to take whichever paid employment they can find. Rifat, one of my refugee research participants, had some experience with this:

'The municipality tells you 'you have two options: you go clean this garden or street or you go work in the catering industry.' But that is not my profession. I don't want to do that. I paid a lot of money to study, I stayed in the middle of the war to earn my diploma, I don't want to work in catering. And I know that if I start to work in catering, I will not get to the other side, I know I will stay in catering. Because I am a refugee, because I am not Dutch. Right now, I have social welfare, but if I start to work, I will not have social welfare anymore and it is hard for me to get a loan as a refugee. Plus, once I work in the catering, I will not be paid enough to sustain myself, let alone do any of the projects I want to be doing.'[46]

Rifat has perfectly reasonable reasons not to take a cleaning or catering job: he is trained to be an architect; he worries about receiving a low income when he takes these jobs; he will not be able to do the things he wants to do when he takes these jobs; and it will lose him his income from social welfare. Rifat explained that the jobs he wants to do don't hire him for money and that the municipality will not keep giving him social welfare. So, he is caught between a rock and a hard place: take a job that is low-paying and low-skilled, a 'bread job', or suffer the consequences from the municipality. We see here that Rifat is held individually responsible to overcome structural circumstances such as labor market discrimination and welfare dependency. This is in line with what Suvarierol and Kirk say about the discourse in civic integration classes (Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015).

Maarten, the policy advisor, called taking on a job that is considerably lower-skilled than the one you did in the country of origin 'status fall.' Especially higher educated refugees who had a highly skilled job in the country of origin go through this when they look for work in the Netherlands. Mirjam explained how she handles these cases:

'*When someone was an engineer, for example, you know that that is probably not the job they'll get here. Firstly, you have to learn Dutch, and, secondly, the chance that you'll find work as an engineer here is very small. So, then we'll tell someone that and we ask what else they would be able to do. We often compare it to a set of stairs. In your country of origin, you were at the top of the stairs. Here you'll have to start a couple of steps lower in order to be able to climb up.'*[47]

Workmatchers try to manage the expectations of refugees about the possibilities to find work in the Netherlands, and, at some point, also pressure refugees to take whatever employment they can in order to have a 'bread job' and get off social welfare.

[46] Interview, Rifat, 19-11-2018
[47] Interview, Mirjam, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 20-12-2018

In short, the main type of special care refugees receive is that they get extra time to orient themselves on the Dutch labor market. As we have seen in the previous section, refugees are perceived as 'in need of help', this translates into the everyday practice of the workmatchers in the sense that they try to guide permitholders towards becoming self-reliant and taking self-responsibility. The workmatchers do this through firstly making the 'start position' of the refugee measurable through various tests. Then, the refugee and workmatcher make a plan of action, this plan is monitored by the workmatcher, and can be seen as a 'responsibilization tool', since the refugee is held responsible for completing this plan of action and will be disciplined when he or she doesn't undertake action. The workmatchers see education and unpaid employment (in the form of volunteer work or work experience places) as an initial investment of the refugee to find out what they want to, and can do, in the Netherlands, which will pay-off when the refugee finds 'sustainable' paid employment. This way of thinking resembles a neoliberal logic, in which market mechanisms, such as cost-benefit analyses, are applied to human-relations. The investment by the workmatcher must pay-off by having less refugees return into social welfare when they find paid employment. Moreover, we see that the refugee is trained into taking self-responsibility through the monitoring by the workmatcher, who focusses the attention towards the individual refugee and his or her actions. There is some pressure to 'participate' and 'be active'. If the refugee doesn't come to paid employment within a passable timeframe, he or she is pressured into taking a 'bread job' with as main goal to get off social welfare. Here we see a strong link with Barbara Cruikshank's (1999) work on *The Will to Empower*. The refugees are defined by what they lack (integration and employment) and are subsequently empowered to take self-responsibility to achieve what they lack: their personal goals are aligned with the goals of the municipality to get them off social welfare (Cruikshank 1999 in McKee, 2009, p. 472). On the other hand, we also see that workmatchers, in their individual practice, provide more care than policy stipulates: they stay in-touch with their clients, they keep clients with them a bit longer than strictly necessary and they help them find paid employment even though, strictly speaking, their main task is to monitor.

- Disciplining action by the Municipality towards refugees

The workmatchers don't only have a 'soft' side in which they help refugees, but also have a 'hard' disciplining side. If a permitholder refuses to take a 'bread job' and isn't part of some education project. Or, in other words, if a permitholder continues to be 'inactive' after several warnings. They have several measures they can employ to show the permitholder they really have to find work. Loïs, a workmatcher in her late twenties, explains one case:

'*I had a single father who had an 11-year-old son. He did not manage to work sixteen hours per week. When his son called him, he'd drop everything and go to his son. I did not manage to get through to him with my explanation that that is not okay. You have to explain [*to your supervisor*] why you have to leave. Eventually, I had to give him a measure of a 100%. That means that you retract a 100% of their social welfare for one month because he didn't fulfil his rights and duties. …. Before you do that, a lot has happened. He had already fulfilled his civic integration obligation and during his civic integration he did not manage to fulfil a program of 16 hours per week and now he had to work fulltime. We tried a lot with him, but I just didn't manage to get through to him. Also, when I gave him this measure, he said to me: 'So, are you going to feed my*

son?' Now I am the culprit. According to him everything was fine. He could take care of his kid and work a couple of hours in the week. I've been busy with this guy for so long that I just want to see whether this works.'[48]

Loïs obviously had a tough time with this client and felt retracting his social welfare was a hard move. But indicated that this man was unwilling to work, was being inactive, and that this was not permissible to the municipality as long as he was on social welfare. Loïs was quick to explain the difference between a measure and a punishment to me:

'But a measure is not a punishment. A fine is a punishment. With a fine you've done something wrong, with a measure we hope to inspire behavioral change. We hope that he shows us he'll adhere to the rights and duties. That he'll get day-care for his son and start communicating with his supervisor. But I am not holding my breath.'[49]

Loïs thus wanted to inspire behavioral change in this man, because he was showing 'bad behavior' by prioritizing his son over his employment and not communicating with his supervisor. He was being inactive and had to change this behavior to active behavior. The workmatchers indicated that it often wasn't necessary to use measures, since their clients are still busy with civic integration and are not expected to do a lot more besides that. The regular service apparently applies measures more often. This experience by Loïs shows that Suvarierol's (2015, p. 708) findings that when citizens are unable to fulfil their responsibilities, they are subjected to *'increased surveillance, compulsory workfare schemes and sanctions for non-compliance,'* also applies to this care. Here we see that the refugees on social welfare are 'surveilled' or monitored by the workmatchers, that they must find employment and that when they do not comply, they will get a 'measure.'

- Discourse on Active versus Inactive

Another way the workmatchers talk about active versus inactive behavior of their clients is in the discourse about '*welfare syndrome'.* Esther, an experienced workmatcher in her mid-fifties, explains what this means:

'*If you're used to a monthly income from the municipality then the 'welfare syndrome' becomes a threat. The idea that money will come, and everything is alright. Try to explain a hole of three years on your resumé to an employer. What did you do? Spend three half-days per week on Dutch classes for three years? Sit on the couch? Then you won't get hired.'*[50]

Esther indicates that the '*welfare syndrome'* is an impediment to working for refugees. She sees it as one of the many things that refugees must be helped with to overcome so they can find work and have a full and productive live in the Netherlands. With sitting on the couch, she means 'not working' or 'being inactive'. Spending some time per week on integration classes and otherwise not showing productive behavior is not a good option to her. She indicates that possible employers don't value this type of behavior, but also signals that it is inadmissible to

[48] Loïs, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018, section between [] added as clarification.
[49] Loïs, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018
[50] Interview, Esther, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018

her when her clients don't do something they could put on their resumé next to their civic integration classes. Even tough refugees often have good reason not to work during civic integration: sometimes they are still coping with trauma, want to be with their children or simply want to spend as much time as possible on learning the language (van Heelsum, 2017).

Workmatchers would also advice their clients to do volunteer work, for them to 'stay active' and use the Dutch language in a work environment. Mirjam talks about this:

´For that we are in touch with the Volunteering Centre. Can they already start doing something? The goal is speaking the language, as long as you are in a situation in which you have to speak Dutch. So that is where you start, then you plan follow-up conversations to stay up to date.'[51]

Mirjam and the other workmatchers explained that they would greatly encourage anyone who doesn't have paid employment to do volunteer work. But that they especially advise their clients who have some level in Dutch but must improve their Dutch to get to a sufficient level to use on the work floor, and clients who have little to no social network and have to be 'activated'. They indicated that refugees must get experience with the way in which employment works in the Netherlands, and that volunteer work is a great way to do that. They see volunteer work as a way to show potential employers that the refugee already has some work experience in the Netherlands. It is better to do volunteer work than to do 'nothing.'

The workmatchers even indicated it is better to have low paid, low skilled employment, with which the refugee may earn less than they'd get from social welfare, than to 'do nothing':

'*With us the rule is that employment comes first. You have to accept employment. I do explain it to them: you can't stay on the couch for the rest of your life, you have to be useful.'*[52]

The workmatchers indicated that work is: 'more than just money'[53], it is social contacts,[54] being busy,[55] it is fun[56], it is a way to develop yourself, a way to get ahead in life, it is a way to get work experience in the Netherlands which will help you to find a well-paying job.[57] They did know and regret that it happens that people get paid less that they would on social welfare, but said the benefits to working, to being active, outweighed the drawbacks of being paid less.

According to the workmatchers being 'active' is an example of good behavior. Being active entails showing productive behavior in the form of paid work, volunteer work, being involved in community projects or showing self-responsibility. Whereas being 'inactive' is an example of

[51] Interview, Mirjam, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 20-12-2018
[52] Loïs, Workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018
[53] Interview, Esther, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018
[54] Interview, Loïs, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018; Interview, Esther, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018
[55] Interview, Loïs, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018; Interview, Ivy, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 08-01-2019; Interview, Mirjam, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 20-12-2018; Interview, Esther, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018
[56] Interview, Esther, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018
[57] Interview, Mirjam, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 20-12-2018

bad behavior which may be punished by the retraction of social welfare. Being 'inactive' is signaled by discourse on 'sitting on the couch', 'not working' and dropping work to go home.

- The goal of the workmatchers

Workmatchers thus want their clients to be active and to find work. When their clients are willing and take initiative the workmatchers try to facilitate, when their clients aren't actively looking for work, doing volunteer work or engaged in some form of education workmatchers first try to persuade their clients to take up these activities and ultimately, they may take disciplining measures, such as the retraction of social welfare. I asked the workmatchers and the policy advisor what their goal for their clients was. Maarten, the policy advisor, explained:

'We want you to participate as a full citizen in Utrecht. Participating is more than just a job. It is participating in the activities in your neighborhood, voting, being a member of associations. Yeah, making use of the facilities.'[58]

Maarten has ambitious goals for the permitholders in the municipality, but participation seems to be the key word in all responses of the workmatchers to my question. Ivy was a bit less ambitious for her clients:

'Someone has to be able to build their life in the Dutch society. In all spheres. That they can participate as much as possible. I spoke to a woman, who barely speaks Dutch, but has a lot of contacts in her neighborhood, she drinks tea with the neighbors every week. She wouldn't be able to work, because of physical limitations. I found that she was very integrated. But, for others it can be something else, completely learning the Dutch language and making money to take care of their family. So, I think it is different for everyone. Participating in your own way.'[59]

Ivy here describes 'participation to ability', which coincides with national policy regarding labor market participation (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017; Participatiewet, 2013). One key element, according to the workmatchers, is paid work, but even when you are unable to find paid employment then still the normative message is that you must find some way to 'participate' in Dutch society and be active. Other elements the workmatchers named as their objective for their clients are independence and self-reliance: getting off social welfare, being able to feed your family of your own income and knowing your way around in Dutch society, being able to solve your own problems. They realize that, for most refugees, this won't happen during the first three years in which they monitor them as their workmatcher, so they try to make sure that their clients take the initial steps during these years.

- Critique of workmatchers on current policy

The workmatchers are excited for the 'new' integration policy starting from 2020, in which they will be able to expand their activities beyond monitoring the labor market participation of their clients to their entire civic and social integration. Maarten, the policy advisor, detailed some of the plans:

[58] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018
[59] Interview, Ivy, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 08-01-2019

'*Officially, we have no integration policy at the municipality. But in the new approach, which we are developing in advance for the new national policy which starts in 2020, integration is a task we stand for. We see integration as a multi-dimensional two-way process. It comprises all domains: work, social integration (you know, getting to know people), and participating in society. We categorize it under the guise of 'everybody has to be able to participate in Utrecht.' Civic integration and integration are means to achieve that goal.'*[60]

The municipality is thus excited to let go of some of the responsibilizing features of the current policy and looks forward to being more in charge of integration and letting go of the sole focus on employment. Esther, an experienced workmatcher in her mid-fifties, explained what her work used to look like before 2013:

'Before, it was good, very good. I also had people who didn't have a civic integration obligation whom I could sent to school. That was a lot of fun. I also did not nibble on the social welfare of people. Now we have measures, we did not have that back then. It was very diverse, people from all around the world. A couple of difficulties. And then, it changed to 'you yourself are obliged to'. If I imagine looking on a Chinese website, in Chinese, to find out how I could integrate. (Esther sighs and looks at me ironically) That is what some people face now.' [61]

Esther explains that currently refugees are themselves responsible for a lot of things the municipality used to take care of before 2013. Now, people must find their own language school (online on a Dutch website), whereas before 2013 the employees of the civic integration bureau at the municipality, where Esther used to work, would send them to the municipal language school, take care of day-care for their children and catch up with them to hear how they were doing. They did much more than urge them to find employment. Moreover, the municipality used to have fewer disciplining tools, they did not use to retract social welfare. Overall, Esther paints a friendly picture of the past, whereas now the municipality has a tougher stance towards refugees. Esther later expressed her hope that the future policy will bring back some of the services they used to have, as did the other workmatchers. Since they see the current policy as overly responsibilizing and harsh towards refugees.

Conclusion

Utrecht municipality has a more caring approach towards refugees than is expected from Dutch national policy, both in its formal policy and in its everyday practices. We can see this in the accounts of the workmatchers on 'looking forward to the new policy starting from 2020' and in the fact that the workmatchers use the freedom they have in their job to do more for their clients than policy stipulates. It is obvious that the municipality finds the responsibilizing nature of the current national integration and participation policy problematic. The formal municipal policy is already more caring of refugees through the provision of specialized workmatchers and its policy lines on *'activation from day one'* and the '*continuing line'*. Individual workmatchers take this a step further in their daily practice by giving their clients more chances to show up, helping them find employment and checking up with them socially. These practices depend on

[60] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018
[61] Interview, Esther, workmatcher Utrecht Municipality, 21-12-2018

the individual wish of the workmatcher to provide more care where possible. The leniency of the municipality towards permitholders appears to disprove that the integration policy on municipal level is neoliberal, since they employ more welfarist elements in the way they work with refugees.

However, the logic of initial investment in permitholders for them to find sustainable employment and stay out of social welfare points towards a neoliberal logic of cost benefit analysis. Other elements which point towards a neoliberal logic are the idea that permitholders must be helped to become self-reliant, self-responsible and active participants in Utrecht's society and the delegation of some municipal tasks to civil society organizations. The municipality envisions a specific type of citizen who is active and engaged in the city and is willing to act for its fellow citizen: the active citizen. But refugees still need to learn how to be active citizens and thus have a specific time period to learn this once they arrive in the municipality. The municipality realizes that integration is *reciprocal*; that it goes both ways, which means that the municipality itself needs to create the right environment for refugees to become this type of citizen. The purpose of integration remains the '*social and economic self-reliance of refugees as new Utrechters',* indicating that they see self-sufficiency as important aspect of refugees' membership to Utrecht. We could say that both neoliberal and welfarist notions intermingle in municipal practice concerning refugees, with as main purpose for refugees to become active citizens. This active citizenship thus is quite a successful notion, since it reaches both policy and practice on the national, municipal and individual level of the state.

5. Labor market orientation projects

I am in a meeting with the organization of the housing corporations training by NDC, representatives of each of the three participating housing corporations, the creative director of NDC and the intern who's most involved with the housing corporations training are present. The representatives of the housing corporations complain about the commitment of the participating refugees in the training. There are 25 participants, and there are only 10 to 15 participants present at the weekly workshops. The housing corporations worry about the approaching talent market, at which each of the participants is supposed to man a market stall about their 'talents' and for which the housing corporations invite their network of contacts. The representatives don't want to lose face by only having a few of the refugees present at the talent market.

The creative director of NDC interjects: 'We will look at how we can solve this. I propose that we call all the participants the coming week to ask them how they are doing, whether they will be present at the workshop and whether they've been in touch with their coach. You have to remember that we often come from cultures in which there is no formal contact, everything goes via family or friends of family. It is not without reason that 90% of the refugees don't have jobs.[62] *After the asylum procedure you fall in a big hole. During the procedure here, you learn to be inactive. Then you get a house and monthly money. If you are from a country where the most important reason to work is to survive, then you will not go to work when you receive social welfare. Especially, if you do not know your way around and there is no family to tell you what to do. There are many reasons refugees don't have jobs. They sometimes think they will lose their house if they get a job. Also, they sometimes just don't have the equipment to look for a job. Somebody told me there was a man who flattened his shirt under his mattress, because he didn't have an iron and ironing board.*

So, keep in mind that people often have good reasons not to come to the workshop. It is not easy to be a refugee. But people often don't know they can let you know that they are busy with family reunification, furnishing a house, or secretly have an informal job. That is why I am hesitant to tell the participants that they must come to the workshop. It is much better, more positive, to let them know that we are thinking about them, that we have not forgotten about them and that we are curious about how they are doing. And then we can ask them if they are able and willing to keep coming to the workshop.[63]'

[62] There are no exact figures available on the percentage of unemployed permitholders. There are a few estimates however, with almost 90% being unemployed in 2018 (Bakker et al., 2017). At the time of writing (summer 2019) more optimistic news about the level of employment of permitholders has come out. Due to an economic increase there is more employment amongst permitholders. However, the bleak picture of relatively little labor market participation, compared to other immigrants, remains realistic (SER, 2019).

[63] Personal diary, Participant Observation 'Meeting coordinators housing corporations training NDC' at Portaal, 12-11-2018

This moment was illustrative to me of how the way we think about refugees can impact the way we treat them and create projects to help them. The housing corporations in this example employ a business-like logic in which the refugees have made a commitment to be at the weekly workshops of the training and fail to fulfil this commitment. The housing corporations have their own interests in this project which also must be honored. They want to show to their network of contacts that they take social responsibility, for which they need enough refugees to be present at the talent market. Additionally, they invested time and resources in these refugees and want to see these were spent effectively. Following this logic, the commitment of the refugees to the project must be questioned and that the solution is to ask the refugees to be present each week. However, the creative director of NDC interjects with a different logic. He paints a picture of what it is like to be a refugee in the Netherlands and changes the conversation to one about humans in a difficult situation, who are trying to deal with a new country and a new culture. Also, note how he initially talks about 'we' about refugees and then changes to 'they' and 'refugees'. He seems to invoke his own refugee background to show that he intimately knows what he is talking about, but then changes when he starts to talk from his role as creative director again.

This example shows how the housing corporations rationalize their exercise of power on a micro-scale through a discursive field, from which stems the intervention to oblige the refugees to be present at the workshop. This discursive field is then subverted, changed, and a different type of intervention is proposed by the creative director of NDC. It isn't that this rationality is consciously created by the housing corporations, it is something they believe. This chapter considers what logic underlies the everyday, 'on the ground,' practices of the two labor market orientation projects and those civil society actors and volunteers that work with them. The discursive field is analyzed through the way *'Aan de slag'* by the VCU and the housing corporations training by NDC talk and write about refugees, their take on integration and the way they talk and write about desirable behavior for refugees. This discourse also surfaces in the practices of these projects and in the way the involved individuals make sense of their role. The volunteers and civil society agents in these projects both strengthen and subvert the logic professed by the projects. These projects, and the people that work with them, want refugees to dream big and to try to achieve the best life in the Netherlands. However, this is a bit harder in practice than in reality.

The goals of the two projects, and the different organizations involved in the two projects, provide some background for the logic upon which practices in the projects were built. We see that *'Aan de slag'* by the VCU is less ambitious than the housing corporations training by NDC. Because *'Aan de slag'* focuses on asylum seekers, who have less certainty of staying in Utrecht, than the permitholders on which the housing corporations training focuses. The formal residence status of the refugees thus also had an impact on these projects. The main aim of *'Aan de slag'* is to keep asylum seekers active, in order to prevent psychological problems, and as a side effect for the asylum seekers to get acquainted with the Dutch labor market. This is, for the part of the asylum process asylum seekers are in, quite a challenging task, since asylum seekers are often in quite uncertain circumstances, do not speak the language and are often combatting trauma. *'Aan de slag'* takes up a part of the governmental responsibility (or at least COA's) to

take care of the refugees who are housed in the asylum shelter and provides substance to the municipal policy line of 'activation from the first day'. This could be interpreted as a way in which governmental drawback responsibilizes civil society (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). In the housing corporations training the goals of the project are contested. NDC formally communicates that its goal is for the refugees to get acquainted with the Dutch labor market, but informally communicates towards the refugees that their goal is to get them their dream job. The housing corporations, on the other hand, did not want to promise to hire the refugees. They saw this project as a way to be socially responsible and get to know their target audience. In the housing corporations training, we see an ongoing negotiation between the different stakeholders in which two logics come together: that of NDC, the 'peers' of the refugees, and that of the housing corporations with their business-like logic.

How do the projects talk about refugees?

Both *'Aan de slag'* and the housing corporations training by NDC work from an idea of what it means to be a refugee and how they want to treat refugees. There is some discrepancy between the formal discourse on refugees of these projects and the way the people who work at these projects talk about refugees. This way of thinking and talking about what it means to be a refugee also had its effects on the practices of the projects.

I noted an uneasiness in how to talk about refugees at *'Aan de slag'* of the VCU. The coordinators of the project and volunteers are very aware that the term they use signals inclusion or exclusion. They know they are dealing with human beings and all the diversity that comes with human beings. They want to prevent the refugees they work with from being equated with their status or being seen as vulnerable victims. They thus came up with a more inclusive term, New Utrechter. But this term does not solve the fact that they are still dealing with and having to talk about the 'other'. The VCU has a firm stance on what to call refugees. Annemarie, one of the interns who was very involved in the VCU's projects with refugees, explained why they use the term 'New Utrechters':

'We talk about 'New Utrechters' not about refugees, because they don't want to be called refugee and don't want to be seen as refugees. At some point you're not a refugee any more, but you can still have trouble with finding your way. So, during the volunteering activity, we try to be in the here and now, we don't ask about someone's flight story. Of course, you can talk about it, if they bring it up, otherwise we try to just be busy with the activity.'[64]

Annemarie implies that there is a stigma on the term 'refugee'. Apparently, the term refugee is a 'bad' term having to do with being a vulnerable victim. So, at the VCU, they try not to define refugees by wat happened to them in the past but want to look at where they are now and where they are going. However, applying the term 'New Utrechters' to asylum seekers, is problematic, since they have no legal permission to stay in the Netherlands and thus are in a liminal phase in which they may be 'Utrechters to be' but are not 'Utrechters' yet and may not become 'Utrechters' at all. The 'new' aspect of 'new Utrechters' and Annemarie's mention of '*still have trouble finding your way'* also implies that they see refugees as still having a lot to

[64] Interview, Annemarie, Intern New Utrechters VCU, 12-12-2018

learn and in need of help. The VCU tries to emphasize the potential of asylum seekers, but simultaneously talks about them as in need of help to fulfil that potential.

Interestingly, the term 'New Utrechters' is also employed by the municipality of Utrecht. Used in the combination: '*refugees as New Utrechters* (Braat, 2017).' It also echo's the national government's use of '*Newcomers*' as term for all immigrants (Koolmees, 2018). It is hard to say if the term New Utrechter started at the municipality and was then copied by the VCU. But the usage of the term, and the fact that a large portion of the funding for the VCU comes from the municipality,[65] does signal a connection between the two. It is important to note that whereas the VCU officially chooses to call refugees 'New Utrechters', they, in practice, use all terms interchangeably.

Annemarie subsequently explained the philosophy of the project on cultural differences:

'*You should also know more about cultural differences. In the Netherlands we have a very individualist culture. But the 'New Utrechters' often come from a collectivistic culture in which the group and shame play an important role and communication is more indirect.'*

The 'us' and 'them' discourse is quite strong in this quote of Annemarie. 'New Utrechters' thus are a different type of people than you and me. They are different from the volunteers and coordinators of *'Aan de slag'*. The main message of the VCU with the usage of the term 'new Utrechters' and their explanation of cultural differences is for the volunteers to understand that refugees are not to be seen as victims and that they may have a different way of doing things but that that doesn't necessarily mean that their way is the wrong way to do things.

Cheyenne, another intern of the VCU involved in the projects with New Utrechters, explained that her perception of refugees had changed through being part of this project:

'*I only had an image from the media, that they are dangerous or something. I did not really feel any resentment, but I was a bit scared to begin here. A lot has changed since then, I think they are beautiful people, especially when you work with them and hear their stories. The image my family has of refugees is that they only come to the Netherlands to take our money, but since I work with this target audience, I see that they really want to learn, learn the language, and really want to work.'*[66]

Cheyenne comes from a working-class background, a background which, generally speaking, is often considered to have a rather negative perception of refugees. Cheyenne's family thinks of refugees as 'fortuneseekers' that want to profit from the Netherlands without contributing something to Dutch society. However, Cheyenne was interested in working with refugees and started at *'Aan de slag',* which has greatly changed her perception of refugees. She defines her good experience with refugees by their 'good' behavior of being eager to learn the Dutch

[65] Vrijwilligerscentrale Utrecht. (2018). *Jaarrekening 2017 Stichting Vrijwilligerscentrale Utrecht*. Utrecht. Retrieved July 1, 2019 from https://www.vcutrecht.nl/sites/default/files/u10002509files/Jaarrekening 2017.pdf

[66] Interview, Cheyenne, Intern New Utrechters VCU, 20-12-2018

language and eager to work. Cheyenne sees 'being active' as good behavior, whereas inactively profiting is bad behavior.

At NDC the term refugee was used unproblematically in conversations. Nevertheless, just like at the VCU, the connotation of the term 'refugee' as 'vulnerable victim' is challenged. At NDC they talk about refugees as 'talents', people with unfulfilled potential, who bring a rich background to the Netherlands and just need to be helped to find their way in a new country. This is a strong theme on their website as well as in the workshops of the housing corporations training. It states on the website that:

'One of the goals of NDC is coupling young refugees with businesses so they get motivated to work on their talents and build a network (New Dutch Connections, n.d.).'[67]

This translated into practice in the housing corporations training, where the participating permitholders (not all of them were young) were coupled with coaches, people who work at the housing corporations, to get motivated to work on their talents and build a network; to get motivated to 'aim for the sky.' This quote from the website indicates that all the housing corporations would have to do was to motivate the permitholders and that they would subsequently know how to, and be able to, work on their talents and build a network. The reality was a bit less straightforward as became clear in the way the coaches talked about the preparation of the crowning jewel of the training; the 'talent market' at which the refugees would show off their talent at their own market stall which would be visited by companies and organizations. The intention of the talent market was for the refugees to make contacts, build a network, which could eventually lead to paid employment. The coaches talked about how the refugees they coached often took little initiative, weren't communicative or simply weren't ready yet to start working. Some weren't ready to start working because they still needed to learn a lot more Dutch, were moving into their new house, were busy with family reunification or had to learn a lot more about the Dutch labor market before they could find paid employment. Mila, a project manager in her late forties, explained her experience with 'her' permitholder:

'Now the contact has to come from him. I am not going to try to move a dead horse. He doesn't always take initiative. I am also not going to keep sending him reminders. We made a couple of agreements and I think he knows what to do.'[68]

Mila coaches a very capable young man, who already has a job, but wants to make a career switch. Even with him she felt like he didn't take enough initiative and was a bit shy. Stijn, an employee at the helpdesk of one of the housing corporations in his mid-thirties, had a bit more trouble with his coachee, who had a lot more trouble finding his way in the Netherlands:

'*You do notice that not everyone is as enthusiastic. My coachee really wants to work, but you don't see that when you look at him. Somebody else [a colleague] has a very introverted person*

[67] Own translation from: '*Een van de doelen van NDC is het koppelen van jonge vluchtelingen aan het bedrijfsleven, zodat zij gemotiveerd worden om aan hun talenten te werken en een netwerk kunnen opbouwen* (New Dutch Connections, n.d.)'
[68] Interview, Mila, coach NDC, 04-12-2018

[as coachee] … I learned a lot about the reality. Finding a job is hard: language, no relevant prior education, all those documents, no social network.'[69]

Stijn coached a permitholder who really wanted to work but was coping with health issues and was a naturally quite introverted and timid person, which did not help him in presenting his 'talents' to potential employers. He also describes the experiences of one of his co-workers, who also had an introverted coachee. The coaches from the housing corporations had more trouble with their coachees than the positive image of 'talents' which NDC paints of refugees. The coaches agree that the permitholders they coach have potential but do indicate that they had expected them to take more initiative, be more communicative, more assertive and more active.

Of course, there were also a few coaches who had a different experience with 'their' permitholder. Gerard, a project manager of one of the housing corporations in his late fifties, coached a very enthusiastic permitholder who had, during his asylum procedure, lived with a Dutch family and had thus made a head start in getting to know the Netherlands and was very active in all kinds of labor market orientation projects:

'*I have quite an easy participant, very enthusiastic, always busy. He has a lot of experience, has a lot of vigor, is not afraid and can show you an extensive portfolio. He speaks English quite well. Internationally he can find work in no time. … He is very sympathetic and kind. I trust him completely.'*[70]

Gerard has a different experience from the other coaches I interviewed. The coaches agreed that they were coaching kind and well-willing permitholders, but most felt their permitholder had quite some things to overcome and could be a bit more active in overcoming these. Whereas Gerard indicates that his permitholder is successful in overcoming the obstacles presented to him. He names all kinds of positive qualities of his permitholder: experience, vigor, unafraid, trustworthy and active. Qualities which the other coaches hoped their coachee would also portray.

Labor market discrimination, the inability to learn the language to a 'sufficient level'[71] and having to get used to the Netherlands are structural obstacles. Most refugees experience these obstacles. The coaches recognize these obstacles as being structural. Mila explains how she now sees the reality of these structural obstacles from up close in the interaction with her coachee:

'*You notice that everything you have done in your country of origin simply does not count. Your work experience from the country of origin does not get appreciated. You really start over. That*

[69] Interview, Stijn, coach NDC, 23-11-2018, section between [] added as clarification.

[70] Interview, Gerard, coach NDC, 04-12-2018

[71] Eijberts & Ghorashi (2017, p. 170) found that many migrant women who are proficient in Dutch feel like their level of Dutch will never be good enough. Moreover, they found that while learning the language initially has a positive relation with feelings of belonging to the Netherlands, once language proficiency increases and migrants become more able to understand the negative discourse in the media about migrants, these feelings of belonging decrease.

is really sad. There is also just a lot of discrimination on the labor market. You know that it exists and now you experience it.'[72]

Mila sees that her coachee experiences a 'status fall' upon arrival in the Netherlands, it will take a long time for him (if ever) before he can achieve the same social economic status here in the Netherlands as he had had in his country of origin. She also notices that her coachee gets discriminated against when he applies for jobs but also on the work floor of his current job. These are structural factors which apply to most refugees, or even to most migrants. Mila, as well as the other coaches from NDC, see behavioral change of their permitholder as the solution to overcoming these structural obstacles. Mila indicated her coachee could be more active and assertive. Only Gerard thinks his coachee had the best possible behavior to overcome these structural obstacles. This resembles the neoliberal discourse of individual responsibility to overcome structural barriers (Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015).

NDC also sees these structural barriers and takes a dual approach: both on the 'system' and on the 'individual' level. NDC tries to teach individual refugees how to take control over their own lives in the Netherlands, through building social networks and teaching them to define their goals and develop steps towards their goals. NDC calls this being an 'entrepreneur of your own future' and explains to the refugees that they have to dream big.[73] Moreover, there was a strong discourse in the housing corporations training towards the refugees of '*you are not alone in this situation*' and '*ask for help when you need it*'.[74] Instead of focusing on how the individual should take individual responsibility to overcome structural barriers, NDC tries to subvert the neoliberal discourse on 'individual responsibility' by focusing refugees on their social network and building a social network which can be useful to them. But NDC also tries to constitute systemic change, through organizing projects in collaboration with organizations, which, in this way, get acquainted with and become more well-willing towards refugees and through lobby activities towards Utrecht municipality and the ministries involved in integration.[75]

The coaches explained that their image of refugees had not really changed but that they now had more intimate knowledge of the experience of coming to the Netherlands and the types of obstacles one encounters. They indicated that they were motivated to join this project because they wanted to help refugees, as a group in need and deserving of help. Elske, an HR employee of one of the housing corporations in her mid-forties, has been involved in projects with refugees for longer, since the refugee crisis. She looks back at her initial interest to start volunteering with refugees:

'*When I saw that newspaper, everything fell in its place, also because the news increasingly reported on the refugee influx. I just really wanted to do something for this issue. It seemed beautiful to be able to mean something to one person.'*[76]

[72] Interview, Mila, coach NDC, 04-12-2018
[73] New Dutch Connections (n.d.). Ondernemen in je eigen toekomst. Retrieved June 12, 2019, from https://www.newdutchconnections.nl/ondernemen-in-je-eigen-toekomst/
[74] Personal diary, Participant Observation 'Housing corporations training NDC' at Portaal, 15-11-2018
[75] Conversation, Daniel, Creative Director NDC, 30-10-2018
[76] Interview, Elske, coach NDC, 20-11-2018

Elske really wanted to mean something to refugees specifically. Especially because of the dire circumstances the media reported about during the refugee crisis. Stijn, an employee at the helpdesk of one of the housing corporations in his mid-thirties, felt he had to help people because he was capable to do so and thought refugees are a good group to help:

'I wanted to help refugees in one way or another, but I didn't really know how and now I got this message. Also, I have the idea that I am capable to help people and I think that this is a group of people for which you can have a relatively big impact with little effort: a friendship, talking about the language or helping someone towards paid employment.'[77]

Both Stijn and Elske, but also the other coaches, talk about refugees as a group deserving of care. They spoke about how refugees have been uprooted by violence, are victims, and thus are deserving of care. Elske indicated she really wanted to do something because of the terrible things that had been happening to refugees during the refugee crisis. Stijn explained that he thinks that if you are capable to help people, then you should help people. The other coaches expressed a similar sense of duty and that they saw being able to help as something beautiful. This desire to help can be seen as the own way of the coaches to give shape to their own 'active citizenship' by taking responsibility for the 'vulnerable people' in society. It is part of the practical implementation of the Dutch notion of the 'participation society (Participatiewet, 2013).' It also makes clear that the coaches do think about refugees as vulnerable victims.

Some negative perceptions of immigrants and refugees surfaced in the interviews with the coaches from the housing corporations training. Gerard implied that he thinks that the other refugees, the ones who are not in the housing corporation training, may be half criminal:

'*I think we have the young ambitious men in this training. New Dutch Connections makes a selection, they are not going to spend time on half criminals or people who are not ambitious of course. So, I think we have a good group of refugees.'*[78]

The 'selection' by NDC was less thorough than Gerard implies. Anyone who wanted to sign up and could provide the right documents (including a residence permit) could sign up, which, in effect, meant the selection criterium was for refugees to have their paperwork in order and to be interested in this project. However, Gerard is right to state that quite a capable group of refugees participated in the training: a lot of them were highly educated, most were proficient in English and/or Dutch and they were all quite motivated to work. He also implies that he thinks that there are some 'bad' 'unambitious' refugees out there, with whom he doesn't want to get in touch. Gerard thus makes a distinction between known/good/active refugees and unknown/bad/inactive refugees.

Mila explained how her friends and family thought about refugees and how she would counter those ideas:

'I tell them that I think that once these people are here, we better make sure that they get to know their way around and can add something useful. The interesting thing is that the people I

[77] Interview, Stijn, coach NDC, 23-11-2018
[78] Interview, Gerard, coach NDC, 04-12-2018

talk to think the Turkish guy on the corner is a very nice man, but all foreigners are evil. It is the people they don't know who are evil…. I understand that people think refugees quickly get social housing. Yeah, they don't know that that refugee has been waiting in the asylum shelter for three years. But yeah, in Amsterdam you need to have 20 years on the waiting list before you can get a house. I also think about my own children. I know that it will be hard for them to get a house. [my coachee] has a house, my children don't. That is hard to explain.'[79]

Mila has a pragmatic approach, she feels responsible to make sure that the people that end up in the Netherlands know their way around and can be productive once they are here. She understands that her social environment finds it unfair that refugees receive housing whereas it takes a long time for Dutch people to get social housing. But she thinks it is a necessity to provide housing to refugees and later explains that she sometimes feels like Dutch people are selfish by not being willing to take responsibility and provide care for refugees. She also indicates that, like Gerard, her social environment thinks the immigrants they don't know are 'evil' whereas the ones they do know are 'good'.

The way these organizations talk about refugees, their target audience, says something about how they see and treat refugees. Seeing refugees as 'New Utrechters' or 'talents' says something about their potential for Dutch society, about them being an added value, worthy of investment by organizations, volunteers and coaches. At the same time, this potential still needs to be fulfilled through this investment, they need to be helped, which simultaneously is the justification for the existence of these projects. They are defined by what they lack, so the project can help by empowering them to achieve what they lack (Cruikshank 1999 in McKee 2009). The search for alternative ways of talking about refugees, signals what Cheyenne, Mila and Gerard also explain, that the term refugee seems to have become infected with meanings such as vulnerable victim, fortune seeker, but also 'dangerous other' who tries to profit from Dutch society without investing. At NDC there is a discrepancy between the very enthusiastic positive way of describing participants by the organization and the experiences of the coaches with the permitholders. However, the organization and coaches agree that the permitholders have unfulfilled potential and that they need to be helped to fulfil this potential.

How do the people in the projects see integration?

Both organizations also portray some idea of integration or at least on what refugees must do and learn to be able to find work in the Netherlands. They don't necessarily see integration as their goal but do recognize they contribute to integration. However, when I asked about integration in interviews, I often got an ironic or uneasy response from civil society agents and volunteers active in *'Aan de slag'* and the housing corporations training of NDC. They are weary about the term integration but when pressed for a response a few recurrent themes became apparent: the Dutch language, norms and values, the difference between assimilation and integration and participation.

[79] Interview, Mila, coach NDC, 04-12-2018, section between [] added to maintain anonymity of research participant.

Firstly, the Dutch language was unequivocally seen as essential to integration. Some also expressed their frustration with the fact that refugees in the current civic integration system only have language classes for 12 hours per week. The people involved in the projects indicated they would try to help the refugees to learn the language and that they had realized through being part of these projects how important proficiency in the Dutch language is to be able to participate in any part of the society. Stijn, an employee at the helpdesk of one of the housing corporations in his mid-thirties, talked about the importance of the Dutch language in a work context:

'*Language remains a problem. He (his coachee) speaks Dutch quite well. On the work floor, his Dutch won't be sufficient, and he thinks that that will come once he works there. But without a sufficient level of Dutch you won't get there.'*[80]

Stijn signals here, as did many of the coaches of NDC, that before someone starts working, to get hired in a Dutch work context, they already need to know the language quite well. Elisa, a high-placed employee at one of the housing corporations in her early forties, explained the necessity to be able to speak Dutch from an employer's perspective:

'It is really important that you speak Dutch when you come to work at the housing corporation, especially when you'll be in touch with our renters. … We are now seriously considering hiring someone for our maintenance service. There are some difficulties with that: he speaks insufficient Dutch so he will have to be in the van with a colleague, which is more expensive. … I also think that we have to give them a full salary right away, but they can't do full work right away.'[81]

Elisa indicates that employees who cannot function independently put a serious strain on the resources of the organization. The ability to speak Dutch means that the employee will be able to communicate with the renters of the housing corporation and do his maintenance work individually. Employees who are unable to speak Dutch need help, which is expensive for the organization. With *'Aan de slag'* of the VCU getting acquainted with the Dutch language is one of the goals of the project, the project works with asylum seekers, so it does not require any language proficiency to participate, but the jobs the refugees can choose from are all in a Dutch speaking context:

'*We experimented a bit with the different volunteering jobs that we offer asylum seekers. One element we think is important is that they speak Dutch at the volunteering job. So, the people can get a little bit experience with the language. Sadly, that doesn't always happen at the bike repair but that is a job the people really like.'*[82]

It is thus important for the VCU that the asylum seekers that go to the volunteering jobs get acquainted with the Dutch language. As Dees, the coordinator of *'Aan de slag'* in her early sixties, says, getting experience with the Dutch language is one of the goals of the project, but this is

[80] Interview, Stijn, coach NDC, 23-11-2018
[81] Interview, Elisa, coach NDC, 14-01-2019
[82] Conversation, Dees, Coordinator New Utrechters VCU, 13-12-2018

not the case with the bike repair workshop. It is thus more important for *'Aan de slag'* that people have fun at the jobs and are active than that they learn the language.

A second theme which recurred in the discussions about integration was the difference between assimilation and integration. Whereas NDC does not communicate a specific philosophy on integration to the people who work with them, the VCU does have a clear philosophy on integration. Annemarie, the intern involved in all projects relating to 'New Utrechters' for the VCU, explained it to me:

'*We strive towards integration in this project, not assimilation. Integration is the preservation of the own culture while combining it with the Dutch culture. This is a way of working for us. We try not to impose the Dutch way of doing things. We leave space for the own approach of the New Utrechter. You can get to the same result with a different approach. … The Netherlands strives towards assimilation, letting go of the own culture. You can see this in the communication materials of the IND. … But we also see this on the work floor. People really think you have to do things a certain way.'*[83]

Integration, according to the VCU, is adapting to the Dutch culture or context while maintaining the own culture. Annemarie contrasts this with what 'the Netherlands' (in this case the Dutch national government or integration policy) wants, which is full assimilation even though it is called integration by the Dutch government. Interestingly, the coaches of the NDC housing corporations training, who did not get instructions on integration, expressed a similar vision on integration. All the coaches indicated that according to them it would be a pity if their coachees gave up their culture and that they should maintain their culture and learn some things about living in the Netherlands instead. They also indicated that they felt the Dutch government expected of refugees that they would assimilate, give up their culture to completely become part of the Dutch mainstream culture. Stijn, an employee at the helpdesk of one of the housing corporations in his mid-thirties, explained his ideas on integration:

'*My ideal image would be that it isn't about assimilation, so that you don't lose where you come from, but that you take a little bit of your culture with you. So that you understand the way of life in the place you end up in, that you respect that way of life and that you adopt some features of it. Things like: can somebody do his job in that society? Does someone follow the law? And does someone function well in social relationships? That may even be the hardest part: integrating in the social world.'*[84]

The goal for the people who work in *'Aan de slag'* and the housing corporations training is for the participating refugees to integrate, not assimilate, to keep aspects of their own culture but also adapt to the Dutch work context and culture. Most volunteers and civil society agents seemed to assume that immigrants can assimilate, integrate or segregate into the mainstream Dutch society.

[83] Interview, Annemarie, Intern New Utrechters VCU, 12-12-2018
[84] Interview, Stijn, coach NDC, 23-11-2018

Thirdly, Dutch norms and values, or culture appeared to play a role in integration. I asked my research participants whether they taught the refugees something about the Dutch culture. The coaches of NDC and the volunteers at the VCU often responded they did not, but later in my conversations and interviews would come back to this question with some aspects they had taught the refugees they interacted with. They indicated that they taught the refugees to be more assertive, take initiative, be on time and that they could be less formal and more direct with their co-workers or bosses. Mila detailed the things she explained to her coachee:

'*In [his country of origin] he had to stand up when his boss came into the room. He was very surprised when I told him that here we make jokes with our bosses. I advised him to try it. He liked it, but thought it was weird. Also, that you talk informally amongst colleagues and look each other in the eyes. He does do it.'*[85]

Henk, one of the volunteers of *'Aan de slag'* also tried to teach the participating asylum seekers something about the Netherlands:

'I like to learn a few words in their language and in that way teach them a few Dutch words. When they speak English, I always try to tell them a little bit about the Netherlands about what we do and don't do, that we are very direct people. That kind of stuff.'[86]

Of course, the things Henk talked about were a bit simpler than the type of things Mila explained, since at *'Aan de slag'* the asylum seekers often know a lot less English or Dutch than the permitholders who participated in the housing corporations training by NDC. Also, Henk doesn't see the same asylum seekers regularly so doesn't built a trustful relationship with them. However, they both tried to explain something about the behavior of Dutch people, indicating that that type of behavior is normal here. Mila took it a step further, she explained she did not want to 'have to' change her behavior for the people from different cultures that come to the Netherlands.

'*I don't think that we have to adapt to the people who also live here. I don't think we should discard our culture for the people that move here. But that doesn't mean I am not open to different cultures.'*[87]

Mila indicated that she expects of immigrants that they adapt to the Dutch majority culture, instead of the other way around. She explained that she always likes to learn about different cultures and that that was one of the reasons she joined the housing corporations project of NDC. But that she is also fearful that the influx of immigrants has an influence on the Dutch culture, especially on Dutch gender roles. This is something which came to the fore in several interviews and conversations about 'norms and values.' At the VCU, where most of the volunteers and most of the employees were Dutch women, and most of the participants foreign men, I started a conversation about gender roles after I had my own experience with one of the

[85] Interview, Mila, coach NDC, 04-12-2018, section between [] added to maintain anonymity of research participant.
[86] Conversation with Henk, Personal diary, Participant Observation '*Aan de slag*' at the Bike repair, 03-12-2018
[87] Interview, Mila, coach NDC, 04-12-2018

(male) translators who showed an obvious interest in me. I talked about this experience with one of the coordinators and a volunteer, who indicated that the translator 'still had a lot to learn' about proper behavior towards women and that it indeed would not be a good idea for me to be alone with him. They indicated that it was sometimes hard to be taken seriously by the male refugees they worked with and that they saw this as understandable but undesirable. They indicated that these men had to learn that in the Netherlands women were to be treated as equals.

Finally, a broadly agreed on element of what integration means to my participants was that it was often either equated with participation or that participation was seen as a very important element:

'Just participate in society, as much as you can and in any way you can. That means something different to everyone, for one person it can be doing volunteer work and for another it is having paid employment, a hobby and having Dutch friends.'[88]

Responds Richard, a participation coach of 'the Dutch Council for Refugees' in his early fifties, when asked about the term integration. Richard implies, and later in the interview tells me, he sees the second option with more participation as the more desirable option. He wants his clients to 'achieve the highest level of participation possible. He indicates that he has low expectations 'just participate in society' but does have high hopes for the refugees he coaches. This is a theme which came back in a variety of manners in my other interviews as well. Finding paid employment was simultaneously seen as the effect of successful integration and as the way to effectively integrate. This also has to do with the philosophy of the projects themselves: the assumption is that through getting to know the Dutch labor market, the refugee learns something about it and is eventually able to find his or her way on the Dutch labor market. The goal is, ideally, for them to find paid employment which will help them become self-sufficient.

'*I often explain the goal of doing* volunteer work*: it is a way to integrate more easily, that it is very good to be able to show you've done* volunteer work *when you look for a job, that it helps with learning Dutch and getting to know people. That kind of stuff.'*[89]

At *'Aan de slag,'* volunteer work is seen as a first step in later finding paid employment, and as a type of participation which helps integration. The housing corporations training didn't only talk about participation in the labor force in the Netherlands, but also considered neighborhood participation in one of the workshops:

The trainer tells us: 'What would be nice is that, once you move into your new house, that you write a little letter to your neighbors about yourself. Especially when your Dutch is not that good.' Tell them: My name is Ahmed, my Dutch is not that good, but I am very kind. Just make a joke about it. Tell them that they can come over for coffee whenever they like. Then we will drink

[88] Interview, Richard, Participation coach The Dutch Council for Refugees Utrecht, 29-11-2018
[89] Interview, Cheyenne, Intern New Utrechters VCU, 20-12-2018

coffee and get to know each other. … Maybe also tell them a little bit about your skills, maybe you are a very good carpenter, then tell them in the little letter.'[90]

Addae, the coordinator and trainer of the housing corporations training by NDC and himself a former refugee, explained that moving into a house in the Netherlands can be a bit of a disillusion. In some countries the neighbors will stop by to get to know you, but in the Netherlands the neighbors don't come unless they are explicitly invited. Here Addae explained how to initiate contact with the neighbors. In the rest of the workshop two employees from the housing corporations explained about 'neighborhood participation', how important it is to be there for your neighbors and what type of volunteering projects the housing corporations had to volunteer in your own neighborhood. The main message these employees wanted for the refugees to take home was a desire to initiate contact with their neighbors. However, the refugees I talked to after the workshop indicated that the workshop had worried them about how normal it apparently is in the Netherlands not to be in touch with your neighbors.

Both projects thus conveyed a normative message about the desirability of participation. Participation is understood to be any type of interaction with Dutch society, this can be on the work floor through paid employment, but it can also be through contacts in the neighborhood as long as the refugee gets out of the house. Participation and integration were often equated by the volunteers and coaches, Elske, one of the coaches of the housing corporations training, summarized it quite nicely:

'*I think you are well-integrated when you can participate on all levels in the Netherlands. That means that if you're able to work, that you'll also have a job.'*[91]

Integration is not only participation according to my participants. It also means you speak the Dutch language, you know the Dutch culture (especially concerning gender roles) but at the same time it means that you don't completely let go of your own culture. Even though, the people involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees recognize that integration is something you do together, is reciprocal, they still seem to place the responsibility for integrating, or participating, with the individual refugee. They do see how structural factors, such as the inaccessibility of the Dutch labor market for foreigners, might play a role in their inability to do so, but simultaneously indicate that they must learn to overcome these factors. I see a parallel here with the literature on moral citizenship: the volunteers, coaches and civil society agents seem to think that having formal citizenship, a residence status, is not enough to be part of the Netherlands, the highest attainable goal for the refugees is to find paid employment and be self-reliant; they expect the refugees to actively participate in various societal spheres. They expect them to become active citizens.

How do the projects help refugees to become active citizens?

'*Aan de slag'* by the VCU and the housing corporations project by NDC each have their own practices to help refugees orient on the Dutch labor market. The logic behind the projects which consists of their goals, their image of what it entails to be a refugee and their philosophy on

[90] Personal diary, Participant Observation 'Housing corporations training NDC' at Portaal, 15-11-2018
[91] Interview, Elske, coach NDC, 20-11-2018

integration also translate into the everyday practices of the projects. At the housing corporations project of NDC this translated into their focus on refugees having to develop and show their talent to the world. They also give off a strong message towards the refugees on how to do that: by choosing one goal, making a plan to achieve that goal and being assertive in getting in touch with people, in developing a network, which can help them achieve that goal. A very illustrative moment was when Addae, the coordinator and trainer, explained this in one of the weekly workshops:

'Addae says: 'You are all going to make an action plan for what to do after the training. Do you know what an action plan is?' Karim answers: 'Yes, an action plan, you plan your actions step by step.'
Then, Addae looks around and asks the group of 15 refugees sitting in a half-circle in the cafeteria of Portaal: 'Who has talked to their coach about making an action plan?' Khaled says he already has made plans to talk about making an action plan with his coach. A few indicate they already have one, but most of the participants seem not to know what Addae is talking about.
Addae explains: 'I will give you a small example: what do you do when you want to get married next year?' Now everyone in the training is engaged. Someone says: 'You buy gold.' Addae replies: 'Yes, you buy gold. You buy a beautiful golden ring. But do you have a girlfriend already?' Another refugee says: 'You have to talk to the mother in law.' A lot of the refugees start to smile and joke about mothers in law. Addae explains a bit more: 'Yes that is a good one. Talk to the girl's mother, make her love you. The papa has to love you too.'
He goes on: 'I tell you this, because if you want to get married by December 6 next year, then you have to start planning now. Of course, you have to find a girl first, and you have to save money, and buy gold, and get in touch with the mama and the papa to help organize. It works the same way for finding a job, you have to get to know people, maybe you have to get a diploma, maybe you have to learn Dutch. So, you think about your dream and then you look at what you have to do to reach your dream…. To reach your goals you have to practice and persevere. Don't stay at home in your bed all day. Keep getting out of the house. To reach your big goal you have to take little steps. Every day you can take a little step. I know some of you think "I have to have a job NOW," but that will give you stress. That way it is not going to work. You have to accept that you do not control all things. Like the IND, you cannot tell them 'give me status now.' That is not the way it works, you have to accept that they are busy, and you have to wait. But that doesn't mean that you cannot do anything in the meantime.'[92]

Addae sets a strong example: he is a former refugee from West-Africa and often tells about his own experiences when he first came to the Netherlands. He is very charismatic and most of the participating refugees told me they were very impressed by him. Hence, he himself is the example that it is possible to come to the Netherlands and build a new life, to achieve your dream. In this part of the training he explained how to do this: by being assertive, showing perseverance but especially by staying active, by getting out of the house and making a little step towards your goal each day. We see a link with active citizenship and with neoliberal

[92] Personal diary, Participant Observation 'Housing corporations training NDC' at Portaal, 15-11-2018

governmentality: the message is for the refugees to take self-responsibility to reach their dream job, to not just wait on the IND but to do something in the meantime. At '*Aan de slag*' the way their logic translated into practice was more implicit. One experience which was illustrative to me was when I helped Mariam as her 'buddy' for the first time:

'I arrive at the nursing home, Mariam is already waiting in the waiting room. Simone, one of the coordinators of the VCU, makes a quick visit to help make the introductions between me, Mariam and the head-waitress at the restaurant of the nursing home. Today, I am Mariam's 'buddy'. Mariam introduces herself with a handshake but otherwise Simone does most of the speaking. She explains Mariam is from Eritrea and that she does speak Dutch, but not very well yet, and that she was a little insecure about volunteering by herself. She explains that that is why I am here, that the VCU asked me to be Mariam's 'buddy', to walk along with Mariam for the first couple of times she goes to the restaurant to volunteer. Simone explains to the head-waitress that Mariam will be doing all the work, and that I am just here to help Mariam when she is a bit insecure or doesn't understand something. As Simone goes away the head-waitress walks us into the restaurant. She is very friendly and really takes her time to explain what a normal evening at the restaurant looks like. However hard she tries to engage Mariam, though, the conversation is quickly between me and her since Mariam doesn't really seem to reply to questions.

Together, we set the tables for the people at the nursing home who'll be arriving soon to dine at the restaurant. The head-waitress shows Mariam how she has to set the table. But Mariam makes many mistakes in trying to copy the table setting. I try to explain to het that the forks go left, and the knives go right. But she doesn't seem to understand what I say, and the head-waitress indicated that the guests would be arriving soon. So, eventually, Mariam sets the tables, and I correct her work.'[93]

Mariam obviously did not have much experience with cutlery. At the other two times I was her buddy I realized Mariam had been very shy to speak the first time. So, she did understand more Dutch than I realized the first time. However, each time communication remained a challenge. This made it hard to let Mariam do the work the way she wanted to do it. So, the implementation of the VCU's vision on integration as a way of working was a challenge. I could have let Mariam set the tables her way, but the guests would have expected their forks to the left and their knives to the right. I did notice that the logic of the VCU of seeing volunteering as a good way to integrate did work for Mariam's case. The second and the third time I helped her, she was already more active and communicative and started to be a bit more comfortable with using the language. I am convinced that Mariam would not have gotten this job if she would have wanted to be paid for it and I do think the job greatly improved her Dutch. This case illustrates how the coordinators told me they attempted to encourage refugees to be active and get acquainted with a Dutch work context, but also shows the difficulties of implementing this.

Conclusion

The logic of active citizenship is quite pervasive in the discourse of NDC and the VCU. We see this logic in expressions about what 'good' behavior in the Netherlands entails and what

[93] Personal diary, Participant Observation being a Buddy for Mariam for the VCU, 12-12-2018

refugees must learn to integrate and be desirable for the Dutch labor market. In *'Aan de slag'* this discourse was less obvious because the project works with asylum seekers who are still unsure about their residence status and can thus not yet fully prepare for their life in Utrecht. We see elements of discourse on active citizenship in *'Aan de slag'* in their main goal for asylum seekers to be active: to be able to do something productive while they await a decision about their refugee status in the asylum shelter. But also, in their side goals for the refugees to participate in Dutch society, learn the Dutch language and get acquainted with the Dutch labor market. In the housing corporations training, permitholders were actively prepared for the Dutch labor market. Here, we see a discourse on active citizenship mainly in the way the coaches spoke about the refugees. The expectations of the coaches about the refugees were not being met, the refugees took less initiative, were less communicative and were less ready to start working as they had expected. Yet, the coaches simultaneously expressed their trust that if the refugees became empowered by the project and built a social network, they would be able to fulfil their potential. Other elements of active citizenship such as participating in various societal spheres, self-responsibility and self-reliance also surfaced in the housing corporations training. Participation was central to the project, both in the form of labor market participation and in the form of neighborhood participation. The refugees were taught that participating in various societal spheres is desirable behavior. Lastly, the coaches saw that many of the problems of the refugees were caused by structural obstacles. But they saw the solution to these problems for the refugees to take self-responsibility to overcome those obstacles and for them to become self-reliant. NDC itself took a slightly different approach: within the project the focus was on what refugees could individually do to become self-reliant. An important way of taking individual responsibility, however, was by building a social network, by building a support structure which can help you to get your dream job. But NDC also had a systemic approach, by collaborating with organizations and staying in touch with the municipality and the ministries on integration, they also tried to build more governmental well-willingness to combat structural obstacles for refugees.

Both projects framed refugees as having unfulfilled potential and in need of help in order to fulfil that potential. They want to change the 'vulnerable victim' connotation of the term 'refugee' towards a more positive connotation of 'new Utrechters' or 'talents.' Yet, in conversations with the volunteers and coaches of the organizations I noticed this connotation did not fully change. The image of refugees as vulnerable victims persisted and provided the reason to participate in the projects for some of the volunteers. The refugees were defined by what they lacked: integration and employment. The projects would subsequently empower them to achieve that what they lacked. In that sense my findings in the projects coincide with Barabara Cruikshank's work on *The Will to Empower*(Cruikshank 1999 in McKee, 2009, p. 472). In the next chapter we will see to what extent the refugees' expectations are aligned with the expectations of the people projects as well.

Participation in these projects also formed a way for the volunteers to give shape to their own active citizenship. The people working at the labor market orientation projects see refugees as having potential: they can become active citizens. This became obvious in the discourse about good behavior of refugees: being eager to learn the Dutch language and to work; showing vigor

and ambition; and taking action. But also, in the discourse about integration: the centrality of learning the Dutch language, the Dutch culture, while simultaneously maintaining the own culture, and the importance of participating in various societal spheres. Formal citizenship, a residence status, is thus considered as insufficient to be 'integrated', to be part of the Netherlands. Refugees are expected to obtain moral citizenship by the volunteers, coaches and civil society actors in the projects. In the projects, they were taught they could achieve this active citizenship through actively participating in society, by becoming self-reliant and by contributing something to the Dutch society.

In this discourse on active citizenship and the practices of the projects there are some elements of a neoliberal governmentality. Firstly, both projects fill a 'gap' in integration policy in helping refugees to get acquainted with the labor market and preventing psychological problems of asylum seekers in the asylum shelter. This can be seen as a way in which governmental drawback responsibilizes civil society (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). One counter argument for the case of *'Aan de slag'* could be that since the municipality is the major funder of the VCU, any activity they undertake can be seen as an extension of governmental action. Secondly, we see neoliberal governmentality in the businesslike logic of the housing corporations in the housing corporations training of NDC. However, this logic is contested by NDC as we have seen in the start of this chapter in which the creative director of NDC changed the conversation with the housing corporations from one about 'refugees having to fulfil their commitment' to one about 'humans in a difficult situation'. We see an ongoing negotiation between the different stakeholders in which these two logics come together. Hence, I can only conclude that there are some elements of a neoliberal governmentality at play in the two labor market orientation projects.

6. Refugees

'I meet Nouman in a café close to the asylum shelter. He is a serious looking 19-year-old, with short curly hair. Nouman has very concrete dreams for his life in the Netherlands: he wants to learn Dutch, study business at the university of applied sciences and eventually start his own shop. But it is hard for him to start working on those dreams because he is the primary caretaker for his mother and brother. His brother is severely epileptic and has anger issues. He gets regular epileptic seizures which can be caused by loud noises, flickering lights and stressful situations. He is also not feeling well: he is down and inactive, spends his days watching clips on YouTube and doesn't want to learn Dutch. Sometimes, he gets angry and yells at Nouman and their mother. One time, he threw plates at Nouman. One plate shattered and a shard cut Nouman's thumb. The muscles in his thumb were severed and had to be operated on. The muscle function in his thumb will never fully return. Nouman's mother is diabetic and has high blood pressure. She finds it hard to live in the Netherlands. She is very fearful, doesn't speak Dutch or English and is afraid to get out of the house by herself. One time, Nouman asked his mother to do the groceries by herself. She ended up anxiously wandering the streets for hours, because she couldn't find her way back and didn't know how to ask for directions in Dutch or English.

Nouman is afraid that his brother will get a seizure and that his mother won't know what to do. That is why he doesn't dare to get out of the house for longer periods and when he does get out of the house, he is constantly worried about his mother and brother. They do not know many people in the Netherlands, and certainly no one that can help with their situation. There are two ladies from the same country of origin who live in the neighborhood and who sometimes spend time with Nouman's mother. But otherwise all neighbors are busy with their own lives. The Dutch Council for Refugees only helps with 'social affairs', which means they help him with paperwork, but do not have the capacity to help with his home situation.

*His psychologist told Nouman he needs to move out of the house so his mother and brother will learn to take care of themselves and he can get on with his live. Nouman sighs: '*I cannot do that. He doesn't understand that is not a possibility in my culture. I have to be loyal to my family and take care of them. I'm lucky that I am not here by myself. Like my sister, she is alone in Turkey.' *They had to leave his sister behind, because the people smuggler didn't have enough place on his boat. She was supposed to come on the next boat and they'd already paid the fare. But there never came a next boat and they'd spend all their money already. Nouman and his mother and brother had to get out of Greece right away when they came ashore; they went straight to the Netherlands. His sister was left in Turkey. Nouman helps pay her bills with the social welfare he receives; a serious pressure on their living budget. Their lawyer promised his sister would get family reunification within six months. But the procedure changed, and it will take a lot longer.*

It would help Nouman a lot if his sister could come over, then she could help with their mother and brother and he would be able to work and study.'[94]

The story of Nouman shows the difficulties many refugees face when they start living in the Netherlands. Policy discourse about integration and participation often seems not to account for the complexities of refugee's lives (Korac, 2003, p. 6; van Heelsum, 2017, p. 2138). When we look at Nouman's story we see he would very much like to participate in Dutch society, but that there are many limitations for him. Nouman is not a typical participant for my research: we met coincidentally, and I interviewed him to understand the reasons not to participate in labor market orientation projects. He names many limitations which my other refugee participants also experience, such as: care for family members, both here and overseas; health issues; trauma; lack of social network; cultural differences; financial problems; and the asylum and family reunification procedure. Despite all these limitations Nouman wants to be an active citizen: he wants to participate in Dutch society and would like to be more active.

This chapter is about the experiences of the refugees who participated in in the housing corporations training by NDC and *'Aan de slag'* by the VCU. These refugees are the success stories, since they are able, both mentally and physically, to participate in these projects. There are many more, like Nouman's mother and brother, who are unable to participate in these projects and risk ending up in social isolation (Bakker et al., 2017, p. 14; Maliepaard et al., 2017, p. 12). I spoke to my research participants about what work means to them and about their experiences in the asylum procedure and labor market orientation projects. In these conversations they expressed their aspirations for their lives in the Netherlands. I noticed that the asylum procedure has an important effect on the aspirations refugees have.

The meaning of work

Work, or paid employment, has more meaning to my participants than just a way of getting an income. Of course, their finances are an important factor as well: surviving on social welfare is challenging and some expressed their financial troubles. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, when asked about their desire to find work my participants responded they wanted to find work in order to become a *'productive person in society'*[95]*, do something back for the Netherlands'*[96]*, 'be someone'*[97]*, 'make something of herself'*[98] *or 'be seen as a person.'*[99] There are various layers to these responses, which tie into my participant's reasons to participate in labor market orientation projects. There were three themes I could recognize in my refugee participant's responses to what work meant to them: work as a means of integration, a way of self-identification and a way to do something back.

[94] Interview, Nouman, 12-11-2018
[95] Interview, Karim, 14-12-2018
[96] Interview, Siran, 18-12-2018
[97] Interview, Khaled, 28-11-2018
[98] Interview Rahima, 10-01-2019; Interview, Yasser, 27-22-2018
[99] Interview, Siran, 18-12-2018

Firstly, work was a means to become a '*productive person in society*' as Karim, a father of three and a former sales representative in his late thirties, told me.[100] Work is a way to be productive, to have something to do, to have a reason to get out of the house. Others explained to me how their trauma started acting up when they had nothing to do and were alone at home and how fulfilling it is to have had a productive day. Yasser, an energetic former construction project manager in his early forties, showed me pictures of his time in Turkey (he spent a couple of months in Turkey before came to the Netherlands) where he was working in construction and told me how proud he had felt that he was able to be part of something productive and how he hoped he would be able to find a way to put his energy and knowledge to use in the Netherlands.[101]

There is another layer to this expression of becoming a '*productive person in society'.* My research participants, not only the refugees but also the civil servants and civil society agents, expressed that they think that having work is the outcome of successful integration and, at the same time, the best way to integrate. The assumption is that the best way to integrate is through labor market participation because it enables the refugee to learn the language, get to know the Dutch culture, and participate in society. Firash, a friendly former development agency employee and business administration student in his late thirties, is optimistic about his integration:

'To integrate, I think you have to look at other people and see what they are doing and learn from that for yourself. You have your studies and work. You should be like them, make your life here. You should not always think that you are from another country and feel like you are from another country here. But if you try, you will be better than the people here. Why not? You can study, you can work. You should be the same as the other people of the society.' [102]

Firash notes that working is a good way to integrate. But he doesn't see it as the only way: any way of having contact with Dutch people and adapting to this society is a way to integrate. He also notes that integration has to do with not always feeling like you are from a different country: it has to do with feelings of belonging. Firash is optimistic and thinks this will work out for him. Others were less optimistic. Yasser, the former construction project manager, and Karim, the former sales representative, for example, noticed that the Dutch people of Moroccan and Turkish descent they had been in contact with identified as Moroccan or Turkish, not as Dutch. They both considered this problematic and hoped that their children would not have the same experience. Something else that my refugee participants indicated was that they knew that however hard they may try, they could never become Dutch. Karim, the former sales representative, stated the following:

[100] Interview, Karim, 14-12-2018
[101] Interview, Yasser, 27-22-2018
[102] Interview, Firash, 15-11-2018

'But the question remains, how do I integrate? What do I have to do to become a Dutch? And I hear it when I talk to my friends: 'I can't get a job, because I can't be Dutch, my skin is not Dutch.'[103]

Karim expects he will never become Dutch, because he is not white. He knows this because his friends experience one of the structural limitations for refugees to find work: labor market discrimination. He indicates that he feels quite welcome in the Netherlands, that he has never had any bad experiences and that he doesn't feel discriminated against. But at the same time, he hears stories of his friends about discrimination and he realizes he will never be perceived as Dutch. Rifat, a quiet and creative architect in his thirties, stated it differently:

'I don't want to remove my culture, because it's part of me. Maybe it will work for my son in the future. I'm not going to delete who I am to be a Dutch.'[104]

Rifat feels like the Dutch integration requirements ask of him to delete a part of his identity, his culture, and he is not willing to do that. Rifat experiences the pressure by the Dutch state for refugees to 'assimilate.' So, whereas Karim is focused on how the Dutch will perceive of him, Rifat is more concerned with self-identification.

Secondly, work is a way of self- identification. Not only Rifat identified his nationality or culture as a basis for self-identification. I start my interviews with the question: '*Can you tell me something about yourself?*' All my refugee participants responded with their nationality first, and their profession in the country of origin second. Employment is thus also an important source of self-identification (Bakker et al., 2017; Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019). This was also reflected in the response of my participants to the question why they wanted to find work. They expressed they wanted to *'be someone'*[105]*, 'make something of herself'*[106] *or 'be seen as a person.'*[107] These expressions combined with another theme of unexpressed capabilities which regularly came up in the interviews points to the status and pride that participants derived from the type of jobs they used to do in their country of origin. The type of work my research participants used to do is part of their identities. However, employment as part of the identity becomes problematic upon arrival in the Netherlands since it is hard for permitholders to obtain the same job here as they had in their country of origin.

My refugee participants experienced a drop in social status, or status fall.[108] The status, position or job they had in the country of origin is not recognized in the Netherlands and they must start 'at the bottom of the ladder' (De Vroome & Van Tubergen, 2010, p. 396; van Heelsum, 2017, p. 2145). Siran, a talkative civil engineer in her late fifties, expressed her experience:

[103] Interview, Karim, 14-12-2018
[104] Interview, Rifat, 19-11-2018
[105] Interview, Khaled, 28-11-2018
[106] Interview Rahima, 10-01-2019; Interview, Yasser, 27-22-2018
[107] Interview, Siran, 18-12-2018
[108] Interview, Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income at Utrecht Municipality, 21-11-2018

'I do not want to remember what I had. I used to have my own company, with three employees. I only had to write and organize things. Now I am here, and I have a new life. Luckily it is not in my character to hold on to these things. I used to be the boss, but I don't mind starting at the bottom again. But it is not easy.'[109]

Whereas Siran indicates that she can let go of her pride and her identity as a 'boss', others expressed that it was humiliating to them to apply for jobs that are below their rank or to be told that they had to go back to school even though they had had a good education in their country of origin. Some indicated they were told by their workmatcher that they had to do cleaning or waitressing jobs so they could get off social welfare and indicated this was deeply humiliating to them. Others spoke about the social pressure and misunderstanding they felt from their relatives and friends. Rifat, the architect, for example:

'First week here in the Netherlands I started volunteer work to clean the street, to remove cigarettes and stuff. I thought I am in the Netherlands, I have to do something. And I didn't like the response of our community, …. They were talking like: 'He is architect, why is he working for free in cleaning.'[110]

Work, or rather the former employment in the country of origin, is an important means of identification for my research participants, which can be re-enforced by their social environment who question them on why they are not doing the same things they did in the country of origin. However, in the process of trying to find work in the Netherlands, they realize they must let go of this identity, since it will be very hard for them to obtain the same position as they did in the country of origin. This is a tough process in which they notice they sometimes are seen as a 'refugee' or 'vulnerable victim' by the Dutch people they interact with and other times they are seen, like Rifat, as their former employment by their fellow countrymen. So, they have to work with multiple contradicting identities: a 'vulnerable victim' is rarely simultaneously seen and treated as 'an influential architect demanding respect.' Yasser, the former construction project manager, noticed how he was treated when people saw him as a 'refugee':

'*I hope the talent market won't be that they take a photo with me and not help me. That is what a refugee feels that people just want to take photos and not give us a job.'*

Yasser really wants help to find employment, for which the 'vulnerable victim in need of help' connotation would be useful, but he has found himself in situations in which Dutch people of whom he thought would be able to offer him a job were only interested in taking pictures with him and showing others they were being 'socially responsible.' In the stories of Siran, Rifat and Yasser we see multiple ways of coping with the contradicting identities of 'refugee' and 'employment in country of origin.' Siran tries not to think back of the time in which she was the boss and set low expectations. Rifat is struggling with the expectations of his community from

[109] Interview, Siran, 18-12-2018
[110] Interview, Rifat, 19-11-2018

the country of origin and his own desire to do something productive in the Netherlands. Yasser tries to strategically employ his refugee identity to get ahead in the Netherlands, but simultaneously sees that employing his refugee identity also has its drawbacks. Yasser tries to strategically use the logic of 'refugees as vulnerable victim', he tries to work the governmentality, the system, to his advantage. But whereas it is apparently easy for him to get attention by employing his refugee identity, it appears hard for him to find paid employment while employing this identity. He is not entirely capable of shedding the 'vulnerable victim' connotation of being a refugee. Yasser makes an interesting example of how people try to individually give shape to the governmentality, by both subverting and using its logic (Fimyar, 2008; Lemke, 2001; McKee, 2009). Yasser is being an active citizen, by individually taking responsibility for obtaining paid employment, but it doesn't seem to work.

A final theme that came back repeatedly when talking about the meaning of work with my refugee participants was that they saw it as an opportunity to do something back for the Netherlands. As Khaled, a serious-looking former accountant in his fifties, put it:

'I really feel sorry for myself. My job as a [volunteer] is good, it is useful, but I can do more, this is not what I am educated for. I can do more for myself and for the community.'[111]

Khaled signals here both his experience of his decline in status (he is now doing volunteer work even though he was educated to be an accountant) and his desire to do something for the community. But Khaled is not satisfied with just volunteering to do something for the community, he wants to do more. Khaled is not meeting his own expectations for his own life in the Netherlands. Siran, the former civil engineer, and Rahima, a friendly twenty-something stay-at-home mother, had the same experience, they were both very active volunteers at different locations. They see this as a valuable way to contribute something to the Netherlands, as a way to get to know more people, and as a way to stay active. But they also feel like these volunteer jobs are under-appreciated and they would like to have paid employment at a higher level.

This discourse on moral obligation to do something back for the Netherlands, or the own community, and to stay active frequently came back in my interviews. When talking about 'doing something back' and 'staying active', I also saw that my refugee participants often talked about other refugees as 'inactive'. Firash, the former development agency employee, mentioned it when I asked him what the other people in the asylum shelter were like:

'Honestly, most of them are not active. Because of different reasons: problems in their countries, they left their families, thinking about people that are not here. I also have a lot of tensions, but I think about what can I do here to help my family? And I am not helping by doing nothing. This

[111] Interview, Khaled, 28-11-2018; section between [] added to maintain anonymity of research participant.

will not help them. This is also the advice that I give to my friends. It doesn't help if you just sit there. I see that most people in the camp are not active, some are active, but most are not.'[112]

Firash here talks about himself as a 'good' example: as an active refugee. Whereas according to him most refugees in the asylum shelter show 'bad,' inactive, behavior. Firash doesn't just wait on his asylum procedure while he is in the asylum shelter, he takes control by undertaking activities while he waits for the IND to decide on his residence status. Khaled, the former accountant, explained why he thinks most people are 'inactive':

'*The biggest part of the refugees stays within the own bubble. Also, because people hear a lot of negative stories about refugees in Dutch society, but mostly because they have never learned to be flexible and have contact with people outside of the family. People are not entrepreneurial, they don't learn the language, and many are afraid. Just 10% of the refugees has work, that is not just because it is hard to find work, but also because they do not take initiative. People also think 'I only have residence status for a little while and then I have to go back, so why should I make the effort?' That insecurity whether you can stay or not makes it hard for people to become active.'*[113]

Khaled is a bit more nuanced than Firash. He understands why people would be inactive: negative stories about refugees, no previous experience with having to be flexible, it is challenging to be in touch with strangers and the insecurity about the residence status which causes a lack of incentive to invest in the Netherlands. Khaled indicates that he understands this behavior but that he does consider it 'bad' behavior. He implies that it is the fault of the refugees themselves that they do not have paid employment because of their lack of initiative. However, Khaled himself also doesn't have paid employment and, in his case, this is not due to a lack of initiative. Khaled is failing his own expectations of being a productive member of Dutch society.

Both Firash and Khaled talk about inactive behavior as bad and active behavior as good. Vandevoordt and Verschraegen (2019, p. 46) also signal this type of discourse in their study of citizenship amongst Syrian refugees in Belgium. They indicate that the discourse of wanting to do something back for the host country and the distinction between the 'self' as 'active' and 'others' as 'inactive' can be seen as a way for refugees to think of themselves as honorable, well-intending individuals, rather than passive victims. They also indicate that it '*serves as a practical strategy to take back agency over their own lives, out of the hands of the hosting and disciplining state (Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019, p. 46).'*

In sum, from my interviews with refugees I can derive that they see work as an important means of integrating in the Netherlands, as a way to feel productive, as a type of self-identification, and as a way to do something back. My refugee participants participate in labor market orientation projects to become 'productive persons in society'. They show 'good' moral behavior by being active, other refugees are being inactive and thus show bad behavior. This discourse may be employed in order to take back agency in the face of the Dutch state and to create an honorable

[112] Interview, Firash, 15-11-2018
[113] Personal conversation with Khaled in Personal diary, Participant Observation 'Housing corporations training NDC' at Portaal, 15-11-2018

picture of themselves. However, as we have seen in the case of Khaled. Even being active in finding employment doesn't mean one will find employment. Khaled embodies expectations of active citizenship and is afraid he will continue to fulfil this ideal image.

The role of formal citizenship for aspirations of moral citizenship

Until now, this chapter established that refugees experience difficulties to participate in Dutch society, that my refugee research participants aspire to find work and that some feel like they are failing their aspirations. My refugee participants take part in labor market orientation projects to learn more about the Dutch labor market, get help finding a job or simply to spend time. I realized that the different phases of the asylum procedure, of formal citizenship, color the experiences of my participants. I discerned three phases: the 'asylum seeker'-phase, the 'recent permitholder'- phase and the 'permitholder' or 'being in the Netherlands for longer'-phase. Each of these phases has its own characteristics and legal connotations, which shape the aspirations refugees have of their future lives in the Netherlands or their aspirations of moral citizenship (Pykett et al., 2010).

- Asylum seekers

'*Once I arrive at the asylum shelter, I meet Cheyenne at the reception. The shelter in Utrecht looks like an army base. The reception is much like a guardhouse and has a crossing gate. Behind it are the parking lot and the two buildings of the shelter. The building on the left contains the rooms of the refugees. The building on the right contains offices of different organizations which do not necessarily have anything to do with the asylum shelter. Around the building, there are refugees hanging around, a lot of them smoke, others are playing with their children. Most do not really pay attention to me. Once I walk around the accommodation building, its immense size comes into perspective. It is shaped like a horse shoe, in the middle of the horse shoe is a playground for the kids. For the 'Aan de slag information hour' we take place on the parking lot, behind the reception building.'*[114]

This was my first impression of the asylum shelter. Later, once I realized that people were free to come and go as they pleased, and as I spend more time there, the building itself felt more normal and less controlled than my first impression conveyed. However, the image of refugees just hanging around aimlessly never changed. Asylum seekers are not allowed to have paid work or participate in formal schooling (except for minors) (Bakker et al., 2017; van Heelsum, 2017). So, they do not have many opportunities to participate in Dutch society. However, there increasingly are projects for asylum seekers to follow courses and do volunteer work (Braat, 2017; Koolmees, 2018). *'Aan de slag'* by the VCU is one of these projects. This section will first go into the experiences of my research participants during their time in the asylum shelter, then it will describe the experiences of participants of *'Aan de slag'* and it will conclude with how asylum seekers expressed aspirations of active citizenship.

[114] Personal diary, Participant Observation 'Aan de slag' information hour at the asylum shelter, 13-12-2018

My research participants expressed feelings of vulnerability, insecurity and boredom about their time in the 'camp'.[115] Like Firash, the former development agency employee, who indicated how unsafe he had felt:

'It is really not safe in the camp. Everyday there is an ambulance or a police car to deal with things that happen there. Some people are there just to spend time, they know they won't get status or anything, they have nothing to lose.'[116]

Firash feels unsafe in the camp because of the other refugees who have 'nothing to lose' in the asylum shelter. The regular use of the word 'camp' by the refugees also conveys their experience with the asylum shelter: a place where they are held like cattle, not much different from refugee camps in other places in the world. Rifat, the architect, expressed something similar; he had an exceptionally bad experience because he arrived in the Netherlands during the 'refugee crisis'. This meant that due to the high number of refugees coming into the country and the lack of capacity of the asylum shelters at that time, Rifat was shipped around to seven different asylum shelters in different cities and villages around the Netherlands within the first eight months after his arrival. He spent a maximum of two months in each shelter, in most shelters he spent two weeks. Rifat had a bad experience in the jaarbeurs in Utrecht:

'I was in de jaarbeurs, in a really big hall with so many people from all over the world. I felt very unsafe. There were no beds, just a mat on the floor. We were 700 people in one space without walls. I did not feel safe. It was very difficult for me. I know in [my home country] there is war, but I never felt the way I felt in the jaarbeurs… I came here, and I didn't have anything. In the AZC I was like a sheep, they told me to go there and I went there. I was sick and nobody cared, that feeling still comes back sometimes. I will never lose that feeling.'[117]

Rifat expresses a fear of the rest of the people in the asylum shelter, but also a feeling of being at the mercy of the institutions, of being 'like a sheep'. Yasser, the former construction project manager, also expressed his dissatisfaction with the institutions:

'I hate COA. When they treat with you, they treat you as a liar. They do not trust you at all. And sometimes they are right, there are a lot of dangerous refugees. But in my case, they were not right, I wanted to go to Utrecht to study. I need to do something in this country. They said: 'no your ability is good.' It wasn't logical what they said, but someone told them to say that. That I should work in a restaurant or cleaning. I said, okay I can work there, but I will not be talented in this work, it will break me.'[118]

Others[119], didn't really mind living in the asylum shelter. They indicated they had all the basic necessities they needed and that they just minded their own business. I think this is due to which

[115] The asylum shelter is often referred to as camp, like refugee camp.
[116] Interview, Firash, 15-11-2018
[117] Interview, Rifat, 19-11-2018; section between [] added to maintain anonymity of research participant.
[118] Interview, Yasser, 27-11-2018
[119] I spoke to Darius, Hadi and Mohammed during various 'jobs' of '*Aan de slag*'. My informal conversations with them are recorded in various sections of my participant observation notes. Their experiences of living at the camp were specifically discussed during: Personal diary, Participant

asylum shelter they were in, the timing of being in the shelter and the location of the shelter. The ones who were positive about the asylum shelter, lived in Utrecht in the second half of 2018. My other refugee participants had either arrived in Utrecht during the 'refugee crisis' or had been located in different asylum shelters around the country, some of which in very remote locations. Even though some had a more positive experience than others, everyone indicated to have experienced anxiety about the asylum procedure. Indicating they really wanted to stay busy to keep their mind of off things. Everyone felt at the mercy of the IND and COA.

'*On the way back of one of the jobs of 'Aan de Slag' to the asylum shelter, I talk to Hadi. He explains that he has now been in the Netherlands for 4 months. He travelled via Libya to Italy to the Netherlands. A tough journey. He was taking medicines for a while which made him gain a lot of weight. He says: 'Now I am in the asylum shelter and don't have a lot to do. So, I try to lose all that wait by running along the canal every evening.'… I ask him what else he spends his time with. He says: 'I talk to my sister and her husband and kids in Colombia every day. I ask them to speak slowly in Spanish so I can understand. I also take the English language courses for business in the shelter and I try to go to the Dutch language café.' He explains that learning Dutch is now the most important thing to him. He approaches it the same way as he did for learning Spanish: just speak and see whether people understand you. I ask him whether he volunteers for the VCU a lot. He says: 'Sometimes, but the language classes are more important, this just keeps me busy and the people are nice.'*[120]

Hadi explained most people participate in *'Aan de slag'* to have something to do while they are in the asylum shelter, to meet Dutch people and practice their Dutch or English: to stay active. He also indicated that *'Aan de slag'* was not the most important project for asylum seekers to join. The courses to learn English at the asylum shelter and language cafés to learn Dutch were of more use than doing volunteer work according to him.[121] Cheyenne, Annemarie and Dees, two of the volunteers and the coordinator of *'Aan de slag',* confirmed Hadi's reading of the situation that working the different jobs of *'Aan de slag'* did not receive much priority and that the asylum seekers would participate to spend time. But they indicated that this was also what the project was meant for: for asylum seekers to be able to take part in Dutch society in some capacity and to get their minds off the asylum shelter and procedure.[122]

At the bi-weekly information hour the VCU tried to recruit refugees for the various volunteering opportunities. I mostly hung around, helped, and chatted with the refugees. A pattern in the conversations became apparent: many refugees responded they did not see use in doing 'work for free.' Upon which the refugees who were active participants of *'Aan de slag'* would respond with dismay. One of the regular translators of the VCU, Hamza, a thirty-something permitholder who has been living in the Netherlands for a couple of years now, expressed his frustration about the unwillingness of some asylum seekers to be active:

Observation '*Aan de slag*' at the Bike repair, 03-12-2018 and Personal diary, Participant Observation '*Aan de slag*' at the Nursery home, 04-12-2018.

[120] Hadi in Participant Observation '*Aan de slag*' at the Nursery home, 04-12-2018

[121] Personal diary, Participant Observation '*Aan de slag*' information hour at the asylum shelter, 13-12-2018

[122] Interview, Dees, 13-12-2018; Interview, Cheyenne, 20-12-2018; Interview, Annemarie, 12-12-2018

'*They stay in their room all day, some people sleep from eleven in the evening until noon the next day, and then they are complaining about being sad and feeling terrible. They have the opportunity to do something, but some choose to stay in in their own misery.'*[123]

Hamza clearly sees this inactive behavior as bad behavior. He doesn't understand why people would sleep so much and 'stay in their own misery.' Annemarie, one of the interns who was very involved in the VCU's projects with refugees, explains that this is normal behavior for traumatized people but does indicate people often psychologically benefit from being active.

In the above, we see some elements of active citizenship. Firstly, the way in which asylum seekers express themselves about their volunteer work with *'Aan de slag'* and how they showed dismay about others being negative about volunteer work is another expression of 'being active' versus 'being inactive'. In which the active is seen as something good and the inactive as something bad. Secondly, the reflections on 'feeling like a sheep', 'hating COA' and expressing anxiousness because of the insecurities about the residence status indicate some sort of relationship to the institutions that represent the Dutch state. Most refugees express they feel at the mercy of the Dutch bureaucracy.

The asylum procedure is argued to both enable and constrain citizenship for refugees. On the one hand, the procedure is the start of the bureaucratic procedure to obtain formal citizenship. On the other, the uncertainty of the procedure and the fact that refugees are not allowed to participate in Dutch society are constraining to the possibility to become moral citizens for refugees. It is only once they receive legal residence status that they are treated as potential citizens by the institutions (Bakker et al., 2017; Korac, 2003; van Heelsum, 2017; Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019). Korac (2003), Van Heelsum (2017) and Vandevoordt and Verschraegen (2019) suggest that the asylum procedure renders refugees manageable subjects through the normalization of bureaucratic processing. These studies see this way of 'processing' of refugees as a conscious means of the state to create docile citizens; conditioning newcomers to fear and respect Dutch bureaucratic institutions (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; Suvarierol & Kirk, 2015; Korac 2003; van Heelsum 2017). Korac (2003) focuses on the effects of being kept separate from Dutch society during the asylum procedure. She indicates that being kept separate, including the fact that the Dutch system provides in the basic necessities of refugees at all stages of the asylum procedure, led to feelings of exclusion amongst the Yugoslav refugees she studied. They felt like they had little space for making their own decisions on housing and little agency in becoming self-sufficient (Korac, 2003). Van Heelsum (2017) indicates that the refugees she interviewed characterized the empty waiting time in the asylum shelter as causing psychological trauma. What these studies and my data on asylum seekers have in common, is that the perceived impossibility to participate in the host society and the insecurity of the asylum procedure creates an incentive for refugees to be inactive and can cause resentment towards, or feelings of powerlessness in the face of, the Dutch institutions. The asylum procedure and

[123] Personal diary, Participant Observation 'Aan de slag' information hour at the asylum shelter, 13-12-2018

time in the asylum shelter thus seems to create the opposite of 'active' citizens; it presents an important limitation to my research participant's ability to become active citizens. '*Aan de slag'* by the VCU presents an opportunity for asylum seekers to overcome this limitation.

- Recent permitholders

'The people who have just started here [at the Dutch Council for Refugees] are not only enthusiastic, but also proud. Especially Syrians, I think we have to make a differentiation by country of origin, have a lot of pride. They say: 'I will do this and this, I can do that.' You have to use that [as a caregiver], there is energy behind that pride, which they need to be able to push through. Sometimes they overestimate themselves or they underestimate the obstacles they will encounter on the Dutch labor market. They underestimate the importance of language, reading and writing, on your ability to function in our society.'[124]

Richard, a participation coach of 'the Dutch Council for Refugees' in his early fifties, signals something that I also noticed in my data. With 'people who have just started here,' he means recent permitholder who have just received their house in Utrecht. He indicates that recent permitholders are very enthusiastic and proud. They are ready to start their life in Utrecht and have big dreams. Once refugees receive their residence permit, they have more rights: they are allowed to get paid employment and formal schooling (Bakker et al., 2017; van Heelsum, 2017). So, for many of my research participants the period after receiving their residence permit and house was a joyful one. Richard explains that he sees that initially, people who have just receive their residence permit, have a lot of energy and plans, but that as they proceed in Dutch society they slowly come across obstacles, which may cause them to be unable to fulfil their expectations about their lives in the Netherlands.

After receiving their residence permit and having gotten a house, my research participants expressed that they felt they had some stability and now their life in the Netherlands could finally start. They were often optimistic about learning the language, finding paid employment and enthusiastic about discovering a new country. Firash, the former development agency employee, worded it beautifully:

'Now I have my house, my permit, I can stay, it is more stable, safe. The kids go to school and I do not have to be afraid that they die when they do. You know in [my home country] I was constantly afraid when they were at school.'[125]

Firash feels stable now he has his house and residence permit. He is not as afraid as he was in his country of origin. As quoted in a previous section, Firash felt that now he had his basis in the Netherlands, and he could start with his integration and maybe become even better than the Dutch. Yasser, the former construction project manager, expressed something similar:

[124] Interview, Richard, Participation coach The Dutch Council for Refugees Utrecht, 29-11-2018, section between [] added as clarification.
[125] Interview, Firash, 15-11-2018; section between [] added to maintain anonymity of research participant.

'But now I feel I am stable. When I came to this country I was lost. I didn't know what I was doing here. But when I started with the courses with New Dutch Connections. I got to know people. And until now I didn't have a job, but we will see what happens. I will find something.'[126]

Yasser is optimistic. He has his stability back, he is getting to know new people and is optimistic that he will find work. My refugee research participants who had recently received their residence permit often expressed ideas about what they wanted to do in the Netherlands: '*find the best school for their children*'[127], '*find work at an international organization*'[128], and '*get an education*'[129]. They expressed worries about the integration tests and moving into their new house, but the general tone of the interviews was optimistic and about strategies to get to the job or the education they wanted. They were ready to become active after a period of inactive waiting in the asylum shelter, which provided an important incentive to sign up for the housing corporations training by NDC.

Some of the refugees in the '*Housing corporations training*' by NDC had recently received their residence permit. They started the training very enthusiastically thinking that following this training would guarantee them a job at one of the housing corporations. Yasser, the former construction project manager, explained his reading of the situation:

'The first day we were with 30 people, and it started to become less and less and less. Why do you think? I think the main reason why they are not coming anymore is the trust. People think: 'they will not help me. It is a waste of time for me to go there because I will not find a job. … I am also not taking the course for Portaal or Mitros,[130] *I am taking the course for Addae [the trainer]. It means a lot, to see someone that came here, a refugee, that has made it. When he talks, I feel it. He is very inspiring. I didn't tell him that. The last lecture he was speaking, and I wanted to cry. I felt like he was talking about me. That gives me the motivation to go on.'*[131]

Karim, the former sales representative, also noted that many participants had started the training with the idea they would get a job at the housing corporations if they participated, and that they'd dropped the course once they realized they wouldn't. To some, the training thus was a disappointment. This was also due to the initial communication of NDC towards refugees. They'd implied the refugees would have a job by the end of the training and had thus set the expectations quite high. Yasser explained it was about trust: the trust of the participating refugees was damaged because of the realization they could not get a job at the housing corporations as easily as they had expected. Yasser then goes on to talk about the housing corporations, institutions, and Addae, a person. He implies that his trust is not in these institutions, but in the person. Addae, with his refugee background, is highly inspiring and motivational to him. It is a human face to relate to, to build a personal connection with, amongst

[126] Interview, Yasser, 27-11-2018
[127] Interview, Yasser, 27-11-2018
[128] Interview, Firash, 15-11-2018 and Interview, Karim, 14-12-2018
[129] Interview Rahima, 10-01-2019
[130] Portaal, Mitros and BO-EX are the three housing corporations which worked together with NDC in the housing corporations training.
[131] Interview, Yasser, 27-11-2018

impersonal institutions. We can derive from the stories of Yasser and Karim that they do not place trust in impersonal institutions. After having experienced the asylum procedure, and possibly because of experiences with institutions in their country of origin, personal contacts are more important to them.

This premise recurs in the one element of the training which was consistently reviewed as positive by the refugees: the coaches. The employees of the housing corporations who coached the refugees represented another person with which they could develop a personal bond. The coaches often went out of their way to make something happen for their coachee. Like Yasser's coach who organized an internship for him at an architecture bureau. Or the coach of another refugee who made sure he could get a job at a woodworking company. The coaches help the refugees find their way in the Netherlands. In the coaching sessions the refugees came to important insights: they realized that before they could get paid employment in an interesting field, they would first need some sort of credentials or experience in that field in the Netherlands. They realized their work experience or education from their home country was not as valuable in the Netherlands as it had been in the country of origin. Especially for the recent permitholders this was new information, they had to come to terms with their fall in status: set more realistic expectations. Simultaneously, NDC urged them to dream big in their part of the workshops, whereas the coaches helped the refugees to come up with realistic 'first steps' they could take to be able to reach that dream. Not everyone experienced a status fall. The refugees who were interested in construction work did not. Because of the shortage of labor in the sector, the housing corporations were eager to hire them as their handymen. Some of them were immediately able to receive paid employment (some within the housing corporations, others with contacts of their coach). Others could go on a 'walk-along' day or get a training to obtain a safe construction work permit.

This discourse on personal contact as positive and trustful contact contrasted by impersonal institutional contact as negative provides a parallel with the study of Vandevoordt and Verschraegen (2019) about experiences of citizenship amongst Syrian refugees in Belgium. They explain that their participants expressed negative experiences with street-level bureaucrats who treated them impersonally. These experiences centered around the hierarchy in the client-assistant relationship and around the stigma of depending on an impersonal institution. The Syrians in Vandevoordt and Verschraegen's (2019) study only trusted those people whom they knew personally, a logical principle in a country with a dictatorial regime(Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019)(Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019)(Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019)(Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019)(Vandevoordt & Verschraegen, 2019). Not all my research participants were Syrian, but most did come from countries with dictatorial regimes. Moreover, my participants were very positive about their personal contacts with Addae, the trainer, and with their coach and were predominantly negative when talking about institutions. It thus seems plausible that my research participants would have the same experiences.

The distrust of my refugee research participants towards institutions can be seen as a limitation for their citizen-state relationship, for their capacity and willingness to become 'active citizens.' On the other hand, I noticed the aspiration to become active citizen most in those refugees that had just received their residence permit and had gotten a house. They were enthusiastic to be

able to participate in Dutch society, where happy to have started the housing corporations training and optimistic about their labor market prospects. They expressed a feeling of 'now my new life can start'. Still, they saw moving into their new house, the integration tests and the road to find employment in the Netherlands as a challenge. Those refugees that had just received their residence permit were much more optimistic when they went into the housing corporations training by NDC than those who had been in the Netherlands for longer and were still looking for employment.

- Being in the Netherlands for longer

Receiving a residence permit creates a boost for refugees, but this boost wears off once they are more settled and still haven't fulfilled their expectations about living in the Netherlands and found paid employment.[132] They have come across difficulties and disappointments and realized that some doors will remain closed. Moreover, they realize that their involvement with impersonal institutions continues, through having to prolong their residence permit and contacts with the municipality for their social welfare.

The story of Rifat, the architect, is a striking example of how disappointments and bad experiences can lead to withdrawal. He worded it beautifully:

'*You know that when you are alone that is not easy. I sometimes feel like I am a chicken without clothes and that there are a thousand lions that want to use the chicken or eat the chicken. This is too difficult to deal with. I never had that feeling before. It is so different here than in [my home country]. [There] if anything were to happen to me, it would be fixed with one phone call. Here, I don't even know.'*[133]

Rifat had various experiences which have left a feeling of vulnerability. Firstly, Rifat arrived in the Netherlands during the 'refugee crisis', which meant he spend more time in asylum shelters in more precarious circumstances than would normally have been the case. Secondly, Rifat suffered a cardiac arrest when he had just moved into his house in Utrecht. He was living with his wife and she did not know where to go for help. When she finally figured out that she had to call 1-1-2 for an ambulance, Rifat woke up bewildered by the fact that he had almost died in his own house in what was supposed to be the safe country he had fled to. Later, after his divorce, which had also caused a feeling of vulnerability and loneliness, Rifat did a work-experience internship. He was working with people with less work experience than him who were paid more. He was barely scraping by on his social welfare and internship compensation and did not feel like he was learning anything, let alone Dutch, as he was often left alone in the office.[134] He felt like he was being used and quit the internship. Because of these experiences, Rifat feels very vulnerable in the Netherlands. He is suspicious that people will try to take advantage of him. To deal with these feelings Rifat tries to focus on his network of friends who all come from the same country of origin.[135]

[132] Interview, Vanessa, 23-01-2019; Interview, Esther, 21-12-2018
[133] Interview, Rifat, 19-11-2018, Edits between [] made to maintain anonymity of research participant.
[134] Interview, Rifat, 19-11-2018
[135] Interview, Rifat, 19-11-2018

Khaled, the former accountant, and Siran, the former civil engineer, have also been in the Netherlands for longer and expressed feelings of vulnerability and a fear of being taken advantage of. Contrary to Rifat, they express a certain resignation. They both still have some ideas about the type of work they would like to do, but also consider it unlikely that with their age —they are both in their fifties—they will find paid employment.[136] Van Heelsum (2017, p. 2145) in her study about aspirations and frustrations of refugees with integrating in the Netherlands indicates that frustrations about the Dutch labor market often add up. Refugees do not know how the Dutch labor market works when they arrive in the country, and as they realize the complexity of it, they also see how little chance they get to participate. Education and work experience in the country of origin is lower valuated on the Dutch labor market, many skilled jobs require diplomas from western universities. Moreover, many jobs require a very high level of proficiency in Dutch, so even finding an unpaid work experience internship can be hard (De Vroome & Van Tubergen, 2010; van Heelsum, 2017). This is also what my refugee participants who had been in the Netherlands for longer experienced, and it had led to feelings of frustration with which they dealt through resignation and withdrawal into the own social network. They felt like they had failed in fulfilling their aspirations for their lives in the Netherlands: they hadn't found paid employment and thus had failed to become active citizens. Moreover, they feared they would continue to fail.

Despite their many frustrations and negative experiences with the Dutch labor market I met these refugees who had been in the Netherlands for longer at the '*housing corporation project*' by NDC. I asked Khaled, the former accountant, why he was participating in the project:

'Just my character. I don't give up. Some people give up easily. But some days I feel so much bad energy around me that I don't go out of the house, I stay inside for a couple of days until it is over. I think about what I can do. … This loneliness starts jumping in your brain and then the bad thoughts start to come. If you work or study, you don't have this. I often think: what am I doing with my life?[137]'

The reason for Khaled to participate in the project by NDC was to have something to do, to get out of the house and because he didn't want to give up. Siran, the former civil engineer, and Rifat, the former architect, both expressed that for them the main reason to participate in the project was to expand their social network. Whereby Rifat was more concerned with spending some more time with other refugees and Siran was hoping to learn more about the Dutch construction and renovation sector. I asked Rifat, the former architect, whether he would go for a job at the housing corporations:

'Yes, if I can get a good salary and they respect me. If they don't look at me as a refugee, but as an architect. But I know that that will never happen. I am working, but I am not getting paid as well. There is a bad perspective for refugees. People say: 'look at him he's poor he need the money, he's a refugee.' I don't like this. If you don't like my work, you can tell me, if you do like it, great. Architecture is not only talking, people have to see your work, and they have to tell you

[136] Interview, Khaled, 28-11-2018; Interview, Siran, 18-12-2018
[137] Interview, Khaled, 28-11-2018

what is wrong with your work. I can deal with that. But if you don't say anything, because I am a refugee (Rifat sighs).'[138]

Rifat's previous experiences have made him skeptical about the possibility of being taken seriously as an architect. We see his struggle between two identities: the one of 'refugee' and the other of 'architect.' Rifat wants to be seen and treated as an architect, which means that he wants to receive a fair wage and critique on his work when necessary. Instead he notices he often gets treated as a refugee: people try to take care of him, see him as a vulnerable victim and are thus unwilling to pay for his labor. Currently, Rifat isn't really focused on architecture anymore, he is sometimes able to get an odd job to design a renovation for free, but he is more focused on his performance group with which he is developing a play, which he greatly enjoys even though there is very little money in that either. Rifat is frustrated because he has not met his own expectations. He has failed in becoming an active citizen: in becoming the ideal type citizen which is obstructed by his refugee identity as vulnerable victim. Khaled is still focused on finding paid employment and explained why he joined the housing corporations training and his experiences in trying to find work:

'Because I want to find a job. They give me a coach, and he tried and tried. But he did not find me anything. Because we focused on accounting, but that is hard, because I have zero experience in this country and without experience nobody will give me a job. So, I focus on office work, but the same story: I don't know the language well enough and I have zero experience in this country. So that is where we are. Zero points to get a job.
When I started this course, I spoke to Lisa [the intern at NDC] and someone else. I told them: I know it is hard to get job, but maybe I can get a work experience place. But even that did not work out and I don't understand. I don't think it is much to ask, someone will come work for you for free, why not? And this is what I find strange about this country. In my country, if you say: 'I want to train,' everyone will say come, as long as you don't ask for money. But here, it is very hard. I don't know why.
Well, I am looking for work experience or a job. But I think that that isn't going to work. So, I am also starting training about the tax system. Because too many refugees have problems with their taxes. They don't know much about this system. I want to research how it works and maybe start a company for myself to help people with their tax return. That is my plan for 2019, I try to find work for 2-3 months, if that doesn't work out, I will start this. I will cost me money, but what can I do? I must find my way.'[139]

Khaled has made a detailed plan with his coach. During the course they had already tried to apply for various positions. He is frustrated and baffled by the fact that the places he applied to won't even hire him for a work experience place, for an unpaid position. Simultaneously, Khaled is developing a plan to start his own business to help refugees with their tax return. It is obvious that Khaled really wants to work, and Khaled shows me he is being active in trying to find work, that he is trying to persist. He has a similar experience as Rifat has. He is not meeting his own

[138] Interview, Rifat, 19-11-2018
[139] Interview, Khaled, 28-11-2018

expectations of integration in the Netherlands. He has been here for 5 years and hasn't had a paying position. He cannot fulfil the ideal image of active citizenship. However, Khaled is not ready to give up and has devised some plans to find paid employment.

Siran, the former civil engineer, also had a similar experience and explains a little bit about the work she did before she started the housing corporations training:

'*I applied for an office job [at the place where I volunteer]. But I didn't get the job. Nobody tells you why. I understand why they would rather hire Dutch people than they would hire me. It is smarter for the government to make sure Dutch people get out of social welfare than me. Because they get much more money from the social welfare than I do. … My age also doesn't help, I am 57 years old, nobody will hire me. It is not realistic I will find a job. I also know Dutch people my age, who have a Dutch diploma, who do not find a job. So, I am realistic. … Most Dutch people have a big diploma, but that doesn't help you find a job. They are looking for workers, old and young workers: cleaning, construction and plumbing. It is even hard to find work in trade; the Netherlands is not so open to trade. Now I have the idea to start something myself, in renovating buildings. That is also hard. I thought I would build with workers from [my country of origin]. They are better than the construction workers here. Here they do not think, don't look for a solution, they do robot work. In [my country], workers do not have an education, but they have real craftmanship and have knowledge of materials.'*[140]

Siran, the former civil engineer, had a very long trajectory before concluding she wanted to start her own business. She had participated in many labor market orientation projects in the Netherlands with NDC, with the Dutch Council for Refugee and with the university of Utrecht. She applied to many vacancies. She even did an internship with one of the housing corporations and is a very active volunteer. None of it had led to a paid job. She tells me she had studied for 11 years to become a civil engineer, but that she now wishes she was skilled in any type of manual labor, because those kinds of jobs are readily available in the Netherlands, whereas there is nothing for her in her field. She also told me that she wished she had been younger when she came to the Netherlands, that even her workmatcher told her it is highly unlikely with her age that she will find paid employment.

Interestingly, even though they had had to stomach many disappointments, Rifat, the former architect, Khaled, the former accountant, and Siran, the former civil engineer, expressed feelings of belonging to the Netherlands. Siran even expressed that she wanted to get Dutch nationality:

'*Receiving Dutch nationality would really be an honor to me. It is emotional to me. When I fled here, I didn't know anything about this country. I really didn't understand anything about all those institutions. But everyone you get to know helps you. Everyone in their own way. The Netherlands is special. Maybe you don't feel that when you are Dutch. But it is different from France and Germany. The Netherlands has a quiet character, people listen to you and try to*

[140] Interview, Siran, 18-12-2018

understand. Yes, I would like to get the Dutch nationality. Once I have it and they ask me to choose, I would choose the Dutch nationality.'[141]

Khaled and Rifat were much more practical. They indicated they felt at home, after so many years here, especially in their houses in Utrecht. Rifat still expressed he felt mostly at home here in the Netherlands with his friends from his country of origin. Khaled explained that he did not have many friends, but that he had found his way here in the Netherlands and that he liked the fact that he had a quiet and easy life here, which was a lot better than the unsafety and violence he had experienced in country of origin.

These feelings of belonging and the emphasis of these research participants on their persistence to find paid employment or to participate in Dutch society signal elements of active citizenship. Khaled and Siran expressed they kept trying different ways to find paid employment and that they did volunteer work, to not do nothing and give something back to the Netherlands. Rifat expressed he was mostly active within his own community, and that he was happy with that. Moreover, we see elements of self-reliance and self-responsibility in the feelings of loneliness of these participants: they have been left to their own devises and indicate that they are struggling because of it. We see that for all three it is quite hard to find paid employment, that they are frustrated and feel like they have failed. They are afraid that they will continue to fail to become active citizens and devise plans to find paid employment and employ a discourse in which they show that they are being active (in the own community or through volunteer work).

But why is it so bad for them to not be perceived as active citizens? Firstly, not having paid employment means being on social welfare and when you are on social welfare you have a workmatcher who monitors your progress in trying to find work. So, they have to keep looking for work, it is unacceptable not to. Only Siran doesn't get monitored anymore because her workmatcher told her she was too old to find paid employment. However, even Siran employs a discourse of 'being active' and tries to find paid employment. Which brings me to the second point: they want to be moral citizens. They follow the governmentality of Dutch integration policy, the municipality and the projects that in order to be a good citizen they must be self-sufficient. But not only are they expected by others to become active citizens, they also expect this of themselves, and not fulfilling this image causes frustrations. On the other hand, I wonder whether it is at all possible to be perceived as an active citizen when you are a refugee in the Netherlands. The ideas of integration policy, the workmatchers, civil society actors and volunteers involved in the labor market orientation projects are not univocal. Each individual has his or her own idea of what it means to be a moral citizen, which makes it impossible to fulfill everyone's expectations.

Conclusion

Active citizenship is self-responsibility and participating in various societal spheres. It is the fulfilment of the neoliberal ideal of the citizen who cares for himself and others, while being economically productive. The participants of my research expressed aspirations to achieve

[141] Interview, Siran, 18-12-2018

active citizenship for their future lives in the Netherlands. They expressed their desire to find paid employment for various reasons: to integrate, to reaffirm their self-identification and to do something back for their community and the Netherlands. However, refugees encounter many limitations. Some of these limitations are individual, such as care for family members, both here and overseas; health issues; trauma; lack of social network; cultural differences and financial problems. Others are structural to Dutch society, such as the asylum and family reunification procedure, the way in which of the Dutch labor market functions and moral expectations of refugee integration.

In each phase of the asylum procedure expressions of 'being active' often paired with an indication that others were 'inactive' was a recurrent topic. This can be seen as establishing oneself as an 'active citizen' already. This outcome finds resonance with a study by Vandevoordt and Verschraegen (2019, p. 46), who indicate that the distinction between the 'self' as 'active' and 'others' as 'inactive' can be seen as a way of refugees to think of themselves as honorable, well-intending individuals, rather than passive victims. The refugees who have been in the Netherlands for longer, however, employ a discourse of being frustrated next to this discourse of 'being active.' They show that they have been very active in their search for employment, but that it is hard to become self-sufficient as a refugee in the Netherlands, that it is hard to overcome the image of 'vulnerable victim.' They are frustrated about their inability to fulfil moral expectations of their integrations and fear they will continue to fail. These findings are in line with Van Heelsum's (2017, p. 2139) finding that '*when aspirations are not fulfilled, frustrations are unavoidable and can be multiple.*' This leads me to believe that the refugees in my case internalize expectations of active citizenship and that, when these expectations are not met over time, this may lead to feelings of frustration. It is thus not only the municipality and the labor market orientation projects who expect the refugees to become active citizens, but the refugees expect this of themselves as well.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis I applied McKee's (2009) approach to research governmentality: to study both the discourse and the practices built on that discourse through the application of ethnographic methods and discourse analysis. I studied the 'micro-level every day practices' of '*Aan de slag'* by the VCU and the housing corporations training by NDC through participant observation and semi-structured interviewing. The underlying logic of these projects was studied through paying attention to discourse in the participant observation, interviews and through a limited policy analysis both in the two cases themselves and in the wider network concerned with labor market participation of refugees in Utrecht. These methods were employed to answer the following two-part research question:

(1) What expectations of integration outcome do the refugees and Dutch citizens involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht have and (2) upon what logic are these expectations based?

In the results section I set out to answer this research question from the perspective of each of the actors involved in the network of the two labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht. The first results chapter, chapter 5 'Utrecht Municipality,' detailed the experiences of the workmatchers of the municipality, what they expect of the refugees and what they tell them they must do. The second results chapter, chapter 6 'Labor Market Orientation Projects,' contained the experiences of the interns, volunteers and coordinators of '*Aan de slag'* and the experiences of the coaches of the housing corporations training. Chapter 6 also detailed the practices and goals of the two projects and how these link to expectations of integration outcome. The last results chapter, chapter 7 'Refugees,' described the aspirations of my refugee research participants for their lives in the Netherlands and how these aspirations were connected to their *formal* citizenship status. Throughout the results section, attention was paid to what *discourse* and *practices* the *system* of the projects or the municipality employs and how the *individual* civil society agents, volunteers, civil servants or refugees make sense and behave in this *system.*

Another dichotomy which has a prominent role in this thesis is that of the *formal* and the *moral*. This dichotomy is based on the distinction between *formal* and *moral* citizenship as detailed by Schinkel and van Houdt (2010, p. 697). Following this distinction, we see that for my refugee research participants the *formal* dimension of citizenship, in the form of the asylum procedure, plays a significant role for their aspirations of *moral* citizenship. Furthermore, my other research participants – the workmatchers of the municipality, civil society agents and volunteers – express expectations of *moral* citizenship for the integration outcome of the refugees. My research finds, in line with Joppke and Morawska (2014, p. 1) and Schinkel and van Houdt (2010), that *formal* citizenship is considered insufficient to be seen as 'integrated' in Dutch society, that refugees are also expected to obtain *moral* citizenship.

These expectations of *moral* citizenship as integration outcome, to answer the first part of the research question, were expressed in different ways by my research participants. Firstly, my

refugee research participants expect and aspire to '*become productive persons in society*', in which aspirations of self-reliance, self-responsibility, 'doing something back for the Netherlands' but also restoring a basis for self-identification through paid employment play a large role. The participants face many limitations to find paid employment, some of which are individual, whereas others are structural to being a refugee in Dutch society, such as the asylum and family reunification procedure, the way in which the Dutch labor market functions; in which education and work experience from the country of origin are lesser valued.

The structural limitations of the asylum procedure also come back in the way the various stages of *formal* citizenship (being an asylum seeker, obtaining a residence permit and having been in the Netherlands for longer) influenced the refugee's aspirations to become *moral* citizens: asylum seekers appear to be less eager than those who've received a residence permit, and those who've been in the Netherlands for longer appear to have built up some frustrations and have become less optimistic. This is in line with van Heelsum's (2017, p. 2139) study, who found that unfulfilled expectations of integration outcome by refugees of themselves lead to frustrations. My refugee research participants expected of themselves that they would become active citizens. We see this in the way they talk about good behavior and how they try to construct a moral image of themselves: through the discourse of 'being active' which was often paired with an indication that other refugees were 'inactive.' This finding also coincides with findings by Vandevoordt and Verschraegen (2019) in their study of Syrian refugees in Belgium. According to them, these expressions can be seen as a way of the refugees to think of themselves as honorable, well-intending individuals, rather than passive victims. This discourse may indicate that my refugee research participants try to break away from the connotation of 'vulnerable victim' of their refugee status by establishing an image of being an active, moral, citizen already. However, the vital part of being an active citizen, self-sufficiency, appears to be out of reach for many of my research participants because they are unable to find paid employment. So, the moral image they construct of themselves of being 'active' doesn't completely fulfil this image of the active citizen.

The Dutch citizens in my research, the workmatchers of the municipality and people involved in labor market orientation projects for refugees, expressed that they expected the refugees to learn the Dutch language, participate on various levels of Dutch society and for them to learn the Dutch norms and values while simultaneously retaining their own culture. But most importantly, they expected the refugees to be active and take self-responsibility. The municipality, the civil society agents, the volunteers and the refugees who participated in this study expected the refugees to become active citizens through integration in Dutch society, of which labor market integration was seen as an important element. This became apparent in the discourse and practices of the labor market orientation projects and the workmatchers.

In the labor market orientation projects, both '*aan de slag'* and the housing corporations training attempted to activate the refugees. In '*Aan de slag'* they did this through enthusing asylum seekers to do volunteer work. In the housing corporations training the refugees were taught that it was desirable for them to participate in various societal spheres, not only through work but also in the neighborhood for example. So, the *system* of the projects promoted active citizenship as integration outcome. On the individual level, we have seen that the coaches in the

housing corporations training also had many expectations of the refugees: they expected them to become more active, take initiative and be assertive. Moreover, the coaches expected the refugees to individually overcome the structural limitations they face. However, this notion was contested by the project itself in the approach of NDC. The trainers of NDC laid the focus in the training on what refugees could individually do to become self-reliant, an important element of which was building a social network to build a support structure which could help the refugees to get their dream job. But NDC also had a systemic approach, by collaborating with organizations and staying in touch with the municipality and the ministries on integration, they tried to build more governmental well-willingness to combat structural obstacles for refugees.

In the discourse and practices of the workmatchers expectations of active citizenship also came back. I saw this in the practices of the workmatchers who ultimately pressure refugees, who haven't found paid employment within a passable timeframe, into taking a 'bread job.' Being active is even valued by the workmatchers if it doesn't pay: the workmatchers indicated they often enthused refugees to take a work experience place, to do volunteer work or to find an education. The workmatchers also effectively train refugees to take self-responsibility through monitoring the refugee's 'action plan' to obtain employment, which focusses the attention towards the individual refugee and his or her actions. This is in line with Barbara Cruikshank's (1999) study on empowerment as a power relationship which creates self-governing subjects through redefining and reconciling the personal goals of participants to an empowerment project with what the organizers of the project want them to achieve (Cruikshank 1999 in McKee, 2009, p. 472). Additionally, we see that the workmatchers (reluctantly) employ disciplining measures on those refugees who are perceived to be inactive. These findings confirm Suvarierol's (2015, p. 708) findings that when citizens are unable to fulfil their responsibilities of being self-reliant and active, they are subjected to 'increased surveillance, compulsory workfare schemes and sanctions for non-compliance (Suvarierol, 2015, p. 708).'

On the *system* level, the municipality has a formal discourse which employs elements of active citizenship. The purpose of integration, according to the municipality, is the '*social and economic self-reliance of refugees as new Utrechters',* indicating that they see self-sufficiency as important aspect of refugees' membership to Utrecht. The municipality envisions a specific type of citizen who is active and engaged in the city and is willing to act for its fellow citizen: the active citizen.

In sum, we have seen throughout this thesis that the rationality of active citizenship is quite pervasive and rarely subverted in these two cases: most participants in this research either expect active citizenship of others and themselves or attempt to construct an active image of themselves in order to be perceived as good or moral. We see some alternative approaches in the way Rifat, the former architect, decides to primarily focus on his network of friends from his own country of origin and in the logic of NDC to enthuse refugees to create their own support structure to help them become self-reliant instead of following the neoliberal premise of individual responsibility. Another facet of active citizenship for refugees which creates a power relation is that they are mostly perceived of as 'in need of help' to fulfil their active citizenship potential. Even though the projects try to engage a discourse of seeing refugees as 'talents' or 'New Utrechters', it appears hard to let go of this image of refugees. This perception puts

refugees in a dependent position and some of my findings suggest that this image of 'in need of help' may keep refugees in a dependent position. These findings confirm the existing governmentality literature by Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) and Suvarierol and Kirk (2015) on integration in the Netherlands and shed further light on the implications for the context of Utrecht.

Furthermore, to answer the second part of the research question:

Upon what logic are these expectations based?

In the theoretical framework, chapter 2, I hypothesized that a neoliberal governmentality influenced the expectations of integration outcome in these labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht. Active citizenship is an understanding of citizenship linked to neoliberal governmentality. In a neoliberal system, citizens are required to take self-responsibility as well as responsibility for others because of the drawback of the state. In this way, citizens, and civil society take up some of the former functions of the state (Lemke, 2001; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). If we follow this understanding of the linkage between active citizenship and neoliberal governmentality, the recurrence of expectations of active citizenship integration outcome for refugees, both by the Dutch citizens in this research and by the refugees themselves, would signal that there is a neoliberal governmentality at play in this network of organizations in Utrecht.

We do see some elements of a neoliberal governmentality at play. One example is the logic of the workmatchers that an initial investment in permitholders would lead them to find sustainable employment and stay out of social welfare. This logic is an example typically neoliberal cost/benefit analysis. Another example is that the projects fill a 'gap' in integration policy in helping refugees to get acquainted with the labor market and preventing psychological problems of asylum seekers in the asylum shelter. The fact that these organizations feel responsible to fill this gap and that this gap exists shows a form of neoliberal 'governing through freedom' which responsibilizes civil society (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).

However, the reality is more complicated. In the case of '*Aan de slag'* one could argue that since the municipality is the major funder of the VCU, any activity they undertake can be seen as an extension of governmental action. For the case of the housing corporations training we see an ongoing negotiation between the 'neoliberal' business-like logic of the housing corporations and the 'focus on the human in a difficult situation' logic of NDC. Moreover, in the expectations of the refugees of themselves we also see a struggle. We see that they expect of themselves to become active citizens through obtaining paid employment. They also employ a discourse of themselves as active already, through their participation in projects and/or volunteering. This would suggest that they fully follow a neoliberal logic of having to be economically productive to be a moral citizen. On the other hand, some try to subvert this logic by retreating into a community of the own country of origin, like Rifat does, or resigning to their position, like Nouman who had his hands full with his home situation.

Hence, I can only conclude that there are some elements of a neoliberal governmentality at play in the two labor market orientation projects. Moreover, Rose, O'Malley and Valverde (2006, p.

97) caution that elements of neoliberal ways of thinking can be found in most programs, which does not mean that these elements are always implementations of neoliberal philosophies. This is also the case for this research, I cannot conclude there is a neoliberal governmentality at play since we see multiple logics at play in and around the project. On the state-level, nationally, and at Utrecht municipality as well, there may even be a move away from a neoliberal integration system towards a more welfarist one with the planned policy changes for 2020. We also see this in the hopes of the workmatchers of this future policy: they hope that with this policy the municipality can take a more prominent role in integration. Furthermore, the municipality is, under the current policy, already more caring towards refugees than national integration policy requires, both in its formal policy and in the everyday practices of the workmatchers.

In conclusion, I cannot fully answer the second part of the research question concerning the logic behind the expectation of 'active citizenship' as integration outcome for refugees. The importance of the elements of activeness, participation and self-responsibility as well as the more structural elements in which these projects take up some former municipal functions would indicate that these expectations are derived from a neoliberal governmentality. Yet, we also see that the municipality employs a welfarist logic of wanting to take care of the refugees but meets its limitations within the existing national integration policy. The first part of the research question on the expectations of integration outcome of the people involved in '*Aan de slag'* by the VCU and the housing corporations training by NDC does have a univocal answer. Refugees are expected to become active citizens by themselves and by the people involved in the two cases of labor market orientation projects for refugees in Utrecht. Merely obtaining a formal residence status is perceived as insufficient to be integrated in Dutch society. However, refugees are simultaneously seen as in need of help. This image appears hard to shed and provides a limitation to refugee labor market integration.

Some methodological limitations of this research may have caused my inability to fully answer the second half of the research question concerning the logic behind the expectations of integration outcome in the two cases of labor market orientation projects for refugees. To fully be able to analyze the governmentality surrounding these projects it would have been necessary to conduct a more thorough policy analysis including more policy documents. However, for the scope of this research, I made the decision to spend more time documenting the experiences of the people involved in these projects over conducting a policy analysis. This has enriched my answer to the first part of the research question concerning expectations of integration outcome to the detriment of being able to conclude more about the governmentality behind these expectations. I made this decision based on the objective of this research to meet Korac's (2003) call for more qualitative study of experiences of refugees with integration policies. Future research may include a more thorough discourse analysis of policy concerning integration in Utrecht.

Finally, while writing this thesis I realized a significant hiatus in my data collection, which has also led to an omission in this thesis. Foucault, in his lectures at the Collège de France on governmentality, recognized an important role for state racism in the dynamics of power relations in society. Fimyar (2008, p. 6) describes Foucault's interpretation of the role of racism as follows: '*The dividing practices of bio-politics seek to prevent, sustain or eliminate certain*

groups within the population. Foucault warns us against these practices, which can clearly lead to bio-political racism or modern racism of the state whereby race appears as a defence mechanism of the life and welfare of the population against internal and external threats.' For the scope of this research, I could have inquired into how refugees from different countries of origin receive differential treatment, not only by the Dutch state and Dutch citizens but from their fellow refugees as well. Future research may include the role of race in labor market discrimination in the Netherlands, as well as in the ability of refugees to be perceived as 'integrated.'

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Appendices

a. Dutch Summary/ Nederlandse Samenvatting

Verwachtingen van Actief Burgerschap- De governmentality van arbeidsmarktoriëntatie projecten voor vluchtelingen in de stad Utrecht

Deze scriptie beschrijft en analyseert de verwachtingen van integratie uitkomst van vluchtelingen, Nederlandse burgers en ambtenaren van de gemeente die betrokken zijn in het netwerk van twee arbeidsmarkt oriëntatie projecten voor vluchtelingen in de stad Utrecht. Het doel van deze scriptie is om meer te leren over de ervaringen met integratieprojecten van vluchtelingen en Nederlandse burgers die hen proberen te helpen en om meer te leren over de machtsrelaties die een rol spelen in integratie door middel van het toepassen van governmentality theorie. Het centrale argument van deze scriptie is dat zowel het systeem rondom deze projecten als de individuen in deze projecten, waaronder de vluchtelingen, verwachten dat vluchtelingen actieve burgers in de Nederlandse samenleving worden. Actief burgerschap is het neoliberale ideaal van vrije, verantwoordelijke, zelfvoorzienende, rationele en zorgende burgers die betrokken zijn in verschillende onderdelen van de maatschappij. Dit ideaaltype burger wordt beoordeeld aan de hand van zijn of haar morele gedrag in de neoliberale maatschappij.

De onderzoek participanten van deze studie gaven aan dat het niet genoeg is voor vluchtelingen om formeel burger te worden via de asielprocedure om geïntegreerd te zijn in Nederland. Er wordt in de twee arbeidsmarkt oriëntatie projecten van ze verwacht dat ze morele, actieve burgers worden. Maar het zijn niet alleen de projecten die dit van de vluchtelingen verwachten, de vluchtelingen verwachten dit ook van zichzelf. Het blijkt echter moeilijk voor de vluchtelingen om aan dit ideaal te voldoen. Onder andere omdat het moeilijk voor hun is om betaald werk te vinden vanwege de individuele en structurele belemmeringen die vluchtelingen in Nederland ondervinden, zoals de asielprocedure, arbeidsmarkt discriminatie en beeld van vluchtelingen als 'kwetsbaar slachtoffer.' Een van de bevindingen van dit onderzoek is dat de deelnemende vluchtelingen proberen om te gaan met de verwachting van actief burgerschap als integratie uitkomst door een discours over zichzelf als moreel/actief te construeren, terwijl andere vluchtelingen inactief/immoreel zijn. Dit discours zou een vorm kunnen zijn om hun identiteit als 'kwetsbaar slachtoffer' te overkomen. Dit onderzoek bevindt ook dat als vluchtelingen langere tijd in Nederland verblijven en niet in staat blijven om betaald werk te vinden en aan hun eigen verwachtingen van actief burgerschap te voldoen dat zij gefrustreerd raken. Hoewel, de vraag ook rijst in hoeverre het überhaupt mogelijk is om actief burger te worden voor vluchtelingen.

De machtsrelaties in deze arbeidsmarkt oriëntatie projecten voor vluchtelingen worden in deze scriptie geanalyseerd aan de hand van governmentality theorie. Aan de hand van dit perspectief kunnen we zien dat het belang van actief zijn, participeren in de samenleving en zelfverantwoordelijkheid en de meer structurele elementen in dit netwerk waarin de projecten een aantal voorheen gemeentelijke functies overnemen wijst op een neoliberale

governmentality. Aan de andere kant zien we ook dat de gemeente Utrecht een aantal elementen van de verzorgingsstaat probeert te behouden in haar gemeentelijke beleid en handelen met betrekking tot vluchtelingen maar dat het daarin de grenzen van het nationale beleid treft.

Sleutelwoorden: *Actief burgerschap; Vluchtelingen; Integratiebeleid; Arbeidsmarkt oriëntatie projecten; Neoliberale governmentality*

b. The Numbers[142]

- Worldwide there were 68,5 million people forcibly displaced as a result of persecution, conflict or generalized violence in 2017[143]. Most of these people, 40 million, are displaced within their own country. 16,2 million of these people were newly displaced in 2017. Of these newly displaced, 4,4 million were displaced outside of their country and thus fall under the category of asylum seekers. Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey are the top three countries in hosting refugees relative to their population (UNHCR, 2018, p. 2).
- Europe hosted 6,6 million refugees in 2017, of which 3,5 million in Turkey. In the same year 914.100 people fled to Europe (UNHCR, 2018, p. 13).
- In 2017, 234.957 immigrants came to the Netherlands. 23% of these immigrants were asylum seekers. The rest came to the Netherlands to work, study or be united with loved ones. 35% of asylum seekers leave the Netherlands within 10 years after their initial arrival (WODC, 2018).
- The top 5 countries of origin of asylum seekers in the Netherlands in 2017 were (1) Syria, (2) Eritrea, (3) stateless people, (4) Iraq and (5) Morocco (WODC, 2018, p. 38). Not all asylum seekers receive a residence permit. In 2017, two-thirds of the requests were denied by the IND (WODC, 2018, p. 39). According to Statistics Netherlands, 25.815 temporary residence permits were granted in 2017 (CBS, 2018).
- Approximately 2.867 permitholders lived in Utrecht on the 1st of January 2018, according to the '*Basisregistratie Personen*'. This is 0,8% of the total population of Utrecht. This number excludes those who've received Dutch citizenship or moved out of Utrecht. In 2017, Utrecht municipality received the task to find a home for 668 new permitholders (Utrecht Monitor, 2018).
- Less than 11% of adult asylum seekers who received a residence permit in 2014 had paid employment in 2017. A large share of those who were employed worked in catering (30%) or were temporarily employed through employment agencies (24%). 84% of the permitholders who received their residence permit in 2014 and are between 18 and 65 years old were dependent on welfare in 2017 (Sociaal-Economische Raad, 2018, p. 5).

[142] Why numbers? In the Dutch media refugees are often portrayed as posing a threat to the Dutch people, just by the sheer number of refugees that enter the country. I wish to put this into perspective by providing some relevant numbers.

[143] I use numbers for 2017, because not all data for 2018 are available at the moment of writing.

c. Definitions

Refugee/ Permitholder

'Individuals recognized under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, its 1967 Protocol, the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, those recognized in accordance with the UNHCR Statute, individuals granted complementary forms of protection, and those enjoying temporary protection(UNHCR, 2018, p. 61).*'*

Being a 'refugee' is a legal status based on the criteria of the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. In the Netherlands, the IND (Immigratie and Naturalisatie Dienst) ascertains whether someone is a refugee or not. When someone is deemed to be a refugee, he or she receives a residence permit to the Netherlands and is referred to as a 'Statushouder' or Permitholder (VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2018, p. 47).

Asylum-seekers

'(with 'pending cases') are individuals who have sought international protection and whose claims for refugee status have not yet been determined (UNHCR, 2018, p. 61).*'*

In the Netherlands, asylum seekers go to the reception facility in Ter Apel upon arrival. There they start their application procedure for refugee status. Then, they get transferred to an asylum shelter somewhere in the Netherlands, where they await the outcome of their application procedure (COA, 2018)

After-travelers

Family members who apply for family reunification within the 'after-traveler' term of three months or who are already reunited with a permitholder (VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2018, p. 7).

d. Research Participants

Nr.	Pseudonym	Gender	Education Level	Amount of time in NL	Type conversation
1	Nouman	M	High School	1,5 years	Life History
2	Firash	M	University BA	5 months	Interview
3	Rifat	M	University BA	3 years	Interview
4	Yasser	M	University BA	4 months	Interview
5	Khaled	M	University MSc	5 years	Interview
6	Karim	M	University MSc	5 months	Interview
7	Siran	F	University BA	5 years	Interview
8	Rahima	F	High school	9 months	Interview
9	Mariam	F	High school	2 years	Informal conversations
10	Darius	M	Practical school carpentry	2 months	Informal conversations
11	Hadi	M	Practical school construction	4 months	Informal conversations
12	Mohammed	M	Unclear	5 months	Informal conversations
13	Hamdi	M	High school	5 months	Informal conversations
	NDC				
10	Lian, coach	F	University MSc		Interview
11	Elske, coach	F	HBO		Interview
12	Stijn, coach	M	University MSc		Interview
13	Gerard, coach	M	HBO		Interview
14	Mila, coach	F	HBO		Interview
15	Elisa, coach	F	University MSc		Interview
16	Daniel, Creative director New Dutch Connections	M	High School		Conversation
17	Addae, Coordinator Housing corporations training	M	HBO		conversation
18	Lisa	F	HBO		Interview
	VCU				
19	Henk, volunteer	M	High School		Conversation
20	Annemarie, volunteer	F	University MSc		Interview
21	Cheyenne, volunteer	F	High School		Interview
22	Dees, Coordinator	F	MBO		Conversation
23	Simone, Coordinator	F	HBO		Conversation
24	Hamza, translator	M	High School		Conversation
	The Dutch Council for Refugees				

24	Deeba, Coordinator VIP The Dutch Council for Refugees Utrecht	F	X		Conversation
25	Merel, Education and Work Coordinator the Dutch Council for Refugees Utrecht	F	HBO		Conversation
26	Richard, participation coach	M	University MSc		Interview
27	Vincent, participation coach	M	University MA		Interview
	Utrecht Municipality				
28	Maarten, Policy Advisor Work and Income	M	University MSc		Interview
29	Mirjam, workmatcher	F	HBO		Interview
30	Loïs, workmatcher	F	HBO		Interview
31	Esther, workmatcher	F	HBO		Interview
32	Ivy, workmatcher	F	HBO		Interview
33	Rebecca, workmatcher	F	HBO		Interview
Other organizations					
34	Johan, Chair of 'de Mauritsgroep'				
35	Vanessa, Job consultant at UAF				
36	Iffat, refugee, walks along with Vanessa at UAF				