



# **CLUSTERED OR DISPERSED?**

**A research on housing and the integration of Eritrean refugee status holders in Nijmegen**

Niels van Liessum



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refugee status holders in Nijmegen**

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## **ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)**

A recent enlargement of the housing mandate and limited availability of local housing cause many municipalities in the Netherlands to be flexible and to come up with creative solutions regarding the housing of refugee status holders. In September 2015, the municipality of Nijmegen decided to house 96 young male Eritrean refugee status holders at the former student complex Griftdijk in Nijmegen. It is the first project within the Netherlands that accommodates Eritrean status holders on a large scale and a rather long-term basis.

The clustered housing of Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk complex generated a discussion on their integration in Nijmegen. This discussion in Nijmegen is both the occasion and the starting point for this research. Many integration stakeholders assume that Eritrean status holders are better off integrating in dispersed housing, spread out across neighbourhoods in Nijmegen. A wide range of assumptions exists, but hard, evidence-based facts on the integration of this relatively new refugee group are lacking. As such, this research seeks to monitor and compare the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. The setting in Nijmegen provides a unique opportunity to compare the integration process of refugees that have the same nationality and legal status, but who are assigned different types of housing in different local contexts.

It was found that integration has a multidimensional nature and that it always bears a normative element, as it is based on the idea of a successfully integrated society. After arguing for a 'local turn' in integration studies, local integration policies and other data sources were used to establish a conceptual framework. The framework consists of dimensions and indicators that are seen to constitute successful integration in Nijmegen. Subsequently, a hypothesis on the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders was formulated for each integration dimension.

Quantitative survey research was found to be the most suitable method for comparative monitoring of the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders. On the basis of the conceptual framework, a survey questionnaire was drafted and presented to sampled Eritrean status holders. Twenty clustered Eritreans and eighteen dispersed Eritreans completed the questionnaire. After a comparative analysis of survey data, empirical findings were mirrored against the formulated hypothesis.

The research concludes that it is difficult to state that one group is better integrated than the other, due to the multidimensional nature of integration. Clustered and dispersed housing each provide access to certain opportunities for Eritrean status holders, while they also continue to disadvantage them in certain aspects of integration. More specifically,

empirical findings indicate that dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are significantly better integrated than clustered Eritrean status holders on the dimensions housing and the neighbourhood and safety and stability. Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are found to be better integrated on the dimension language and culture. No significant differences are found between the two groups on the dimensions health, social participation, education and employment.

Because clustered and dispersed housing each provide advantages and disadvantages and because neither clustered Eritrean status holders nor dispersed Eritrean status holders are found to score better on most of the established integration dimensions, it is likely that the public debate on housing and the integration of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen will continue to take place.

## ABSTRACT (DUTCH)

Een recente ophoging van de gemeentelijke taakstelling en een beperkte beschikbaarheid van lokale huisvesting zorgen er voor dat veel Nederlandse gemeenten flexibel en creatief moeten omgaan met de huisvesting van statushouders binnen hun grenzen. In september 2015 besloot de gemeente Nijmegen om 96 jonge, mannelijke Eritrese statushouders te huisvesten op voormalig studentencomplex Griftdijk in Nijmegen-Noord. Het is het eerste project in Nederland waarbij Eritrese statushouders voor een langere tijd op grote schaal gehuisvest worden.

Het geclusterd huisvesten van Eritrese statushouders op het Griftdijk complex leidde tot een maatschappelijke discussie over hun integratie in Nijmegen. Deze discussie in Nijmegen vormt zowel de aanleiding als het uitgangspunt van dit onderzoek. Veel actoren nemen aan dat Eritrese statushouders beter integreren in het geval van zelfstandige huisvesting, verspreid over diverse wijken in Nijmegen. Er bestaat een breed scala aan aannames, maar concrete, empirisch onderbouwde kennis over de integratie van deze relatief nieuwe vluchtelingengroep ontbreekt vooralsnog. In dit onderzoek worden daarom de integratieprocessen van geclusterd en zelfstandig gehuisveste Eritrese statushouders in kaart gebracht en met elkaar vergeleken. De situatie in Nijmegen biedt een unieke mogelijkheid om de integratieprocessen te vergelijken van vluchtelingen met eenzelfde nationaliteit en juridische status, maar die in verschillende woningtypen in verschillende leefomgevingen zijn gehuisvest.

Integratie blijkt een multidimensioneel begrip te zijn en bevat altijd een normatieve component, omdat het begrip gebaseerd op het idee van een succesvol geïntegreerde samenleving.

Na te hebben gepleit voor een ommezwaai naar het lokale niveau in integratiestudies, is op basis van lokaal integratiebeleid en andere bronnen een conceptueel model voor succesvolle integratie in Nijmegen opgesteld. Het conceptueel model bestaat uit diverse dimensies en indicatoren, waarvan gedacht wordt dat ze belangrijk zijn voor en/of bijdragen aan een succesvolle integratie in Nijmegen.

Daarna is voor elke dimensie van succesvolle integratie een hypothese opgesteld over het integratieproces van geclusterd en zelfstandig gehuisveste Eritrese statushouders.

Er is vervolgens aangetoond dat kwantitatief survey-onderzoek de meest geschikte methode is om de integratieprocessen van geclusterd en zelfstandig gehuisveste Eritreeërs in kaart te brengen en te vergelijken. Op basis van het conceptueel model is een vragenlijst opgesteld die gepresenteerd is aan Eritrese statushouders die in een steekproef opgenomen zijn. Twintig geclusterd gehuisveste en achttien zelfstandig gehuisveste Eritreeërs in Nijmegen hebben hun medewerking verleend en de vragenlijst ingevuld. De

empirische bevindingen zijn na een vergelijkende analyse van de enquêteresultaten aan de eerder geformuleerde hypothesen gespiegeld.

Vanwege het multidimensionele karakter van integratie is het lastig om te stellen dat zelfstandig gehuisveste Eritrese statushouders beter geïntegreerd zijn dan hun geclusterd gehuisveste tegenhangers, of vice versa. Geclusterde en zelfstandige huisvesting bieden elk kansen voor Eritrese statushouders in Nijmegen, terwijl diezelfde huisvesting hen op bepaalde aspecten van integratie ook hindert. Empirische bevindingen tonen aan dat zelfstandig gehuisveste Eritrese statushouders in Nijmegen op de dimensie huisvesting en omgeving en op de dimensie veiligheid en stabiliteit aanzienlijk beter geïntegreerd zijn dan geclusterd gehuisveste Eritrese statushouders. Geclusterd gehuisveste Eritrese statushouders in Nijmegen zijn daarentegen beter geïntegreerd op de dimensie taal en cultuur. Tussen beide groepen zijn geen significante verschillen gevonden op de dimensies gezondheid, sociale participatie, educatie en werk. Omdat geen van beide groepen aanzienlijk beter geïntegreerd is op een merendeel aan integratiedimensies, is het waarschijnlijk dat de maatschappelijke discussie over huisvesting en de integratie van Eritrese statushouders in Nijmegen voortgezet zal worden.

## PREFACE

My thesis entitled *Clustered or dispersed? A research on housing and the integration of Eritrean refugee status holders in Nijmegen* is the concluding piece of my master's programme in Human Geography at Radboud University. Writing this thesis has been difficult at times and took considerably longer than initially planned, but has been a valuable and eye-opening experience. As cliché as it may sound, I could not have completed my research without the help and support of others.

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Should you have any questions regarding this thesis, please do not hesitate to contact me by e-mail.

On a final note, I would like to point out that the names of Eritrean respondents have been fictionalised throughout the thesis in order to ensure their anonymity.

Niels van Liessum

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

In alphabetical order:

|       |                                       |
|-------|---------------------------------------|
| COA   | Centraal Orgaan opvang Asielzoekers   |
| ELF   | Eritrean Liberation Front             |
| EPLF  | Eritrean People's Liberation Front    |
| HRW   | Human Rights Watch                    |
| MVJ   | Ministerie van Veiligheid en Justitie |
| UNHRC | United Nations Human Rights Council   |
| VNG   | Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten  |
| VWON  | VluchtelingenWerk Oost Nederland      |

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## CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Research context

A vast majority of refugees that arrive in the Netherlands start an application for asylum in order to retrieve a temporary residence permit that allows them to stay in the country. Once they go through an (extended) asylum procedure, their application is either granted or rejected (Centraal Orgaan Opvang Asielzoekers [COA], n.d.; VluchtelingenWerk, n.d.-a). Refugees that have a well-founded fear of persecution in their country of origin are often granted a 5-year temporary residence permit in the Netherlands, giving them the predicate 'status holder' or 'permit holder'. Once the permit is obtained, the refugee is subject to several rights and obligations during the permit term. An important obligation is that the refugee is expected to integrate into Dutch society, which in the Netherlands is sometimes referred to as the Dutch word *inburgeren* (literally: 'becoming a citizen'). It is seen as wishful and as a basic principle that status holders participate and integrate into Dutch society as good as possible (Rijksoverheid & Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten [VNG], 2016). On the other hand, the status holder now has the right to reside in the Netherlands and the right to access and participate in the Dutch labour market. Furthermore, the status holder has the right to be assigned housing within the Netherlands, although he/she has more or less the obligation to accept the accommodation regardless of what is being offered (VluchtelingenWerk, n.d.-a). Thus, the refugee has hardly any say in terms of housing and the residential area he/she will be living in.

Appointing housing to status holders is carried out decentralised as it is determined by law as an obligatory task of all municipalities in the Netherlands (COA, n.d.; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a).<sup>1</sup> Every six months, the Dutch government provides each municipality with a mandate to house a certain number of status holders within its administrative borders (COA, n.d.; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). The height of the mandate is based on the population of a municipality and municipalities are obliged to fulfil the government mandate within three months (VluchtelingenWerk, n.d.-a). In 2015, the mandate was enlarged considerably. This was mainly the result of an increased influx of refugees from Syria and Eritrea in comparison to previous years (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). Refugees from these countries are often granted a temporary permit residence upon completing their first application – thus becoming a status holder (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). As a result, municipalities are responsible to accommodate an increasing number of refugee status holders, causing the housing queue to stretch and making it harder to accommodate status holders within the set three months. Consequentially, municipalities are less flexible

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<sup>1</sup> As in accordance with Huisvestingswet 2014 art. 1 (Dutch Housing Act): <http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0035303>



and forced to come up with creative solutions regarding the housing of status holders (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a; Klaver, Mallee, Odé, & Smit, 2015).

Subsequently, in September 2015, the city council of the Dutch city of Nijmegen approved to house approximately 100 young male Eritrean refugee status holders in former student complex Griftdijk in Lent, a district of Nijmegen situated on the northern bank of River Waal (Huisman, 2015). In the Netherlands, the Griftdijk complex is known as the first location that accommodates a large number of Eritrean status holders in clustered form. Eritreans have been arriving starting from October 2015 (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). This clustered type of housing generated a discussion on housing policies, segregation and their integration into society. Proponents of placement at the Griftdijk complex point at the housing shortage in Nijmegen and argue that the Eritreans can help each other to integrate into society, whereas opponents view clustered housing as undesirable. They coin the term 'Eritrean Ghetto' and plead that the Eritreans will be better off integrating when spread out across Nijmegen, living mixed with 'ordinary' Dutch citizens (Huisman, 2015). Hence, it is seen that housing somehow affects the integration of Eritrean status holders, being conducive, or on the contrary, a hindrance.

## **1.2 Research objective and research question**

In sum, there is a public debate in Nijmegen whether the clustered housing of Eritrean refugee status holders has positive or negative implications for their integration into the city. A wide range of assumptions exists, but empirical research on the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders is lacking. The municipality of Nijmegen, responsible for the housing of these status holders, indicates that there is a need for evidence-based facts on the integration of this relatively new refugee group. Empirical findings may be used as a reference for future housing and/or integration policies (Gemeente Nijmegen, personal communication, 4 April 2016). According to the municipality, *"Monitoring is to be seen as a basic principle. Not just in terms of housing, but also most certainly when it comes to the results of integration. In order to assess how successful integration is, key indicators and solid measure moments are necessary"* (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a: 3). Therefore, the objective of this research is to *resolve if and how clustered and dispersed housing affect the integration of Eritrean refugee status holders in Nijmegen, in order to develop a better understanding of the integration process of Eritrean status holders, and in order to give guidance to the municipality of Nijmegen, who is responsible for the housing of these status holders.*

On the basis of the public debate in Nijmegen and the need for monitoring integration, the following main research question is formulated in consultation with the municipality of Nijmegen:

*To what extent are clustered and dispersed Eritreans refugee status holders integrated in Nijmegen? Can we say that one group is more integrated than the other and what preconditions must then be met?*

In order to answer this research question, the research seeks to monitor and compare the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. The setting in Nijmegen provides a unique opportunity to compare the integration of refugees that have the same nationality and an equal legal status, but who are assigned different types of housing in different local contexts.

### **1.3 Research relevance**

Now, after formulating the above research question, it is important to argue what relevance can be found in answering this question. This section will clarify the scientific and societal relevance of the research. In overall, the thesis is to be characterised as a social-scientific research project trying to tackle a societal issue.

Recently, the Netherlands experienced a strong increase of Eritrean refugees applying for asylum. In 2015, Eritreans constituted the second largest nationality that was granted a temporary residence permit, only being surpassed by refugees from Syria (VluchtelingenWerk, n.d.-a). Dutch politicians and government institutions have called the increased influx of Eritreans rather unexpected (Ministerie van Veiligheid en Justitie [MVJ], 2014; Rijksoverheid, 2014). In a recent report entitled “*No time to lose*”, The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy states that little is known about the integration of Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands and endorses further in-depth research on this topic (Engbersen et al., 2015: 1). In support of this, Leerkes & Scholten (2016) note that the arrival of relatively new refugee groups such as those from Eritrea requires more focus on their integration perspectives. Not doing so could lead to integration issues, as is evident from past experiences in Nijmegen. A former city council member of the municipality of Nijmegen acknowledges that the lack of information and attention regarding the integration of Somali refugees in Nijmegen has resulted in various integration issues for this particular group, including debt and education problems (Cloin, 2016a).

Research on the effects of clustered housing on integration has been conducted in the past. These studies mainly concerned the residential segregation and integration of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants (Boschman, 2012; Musterd & Ostendorf, 2009; Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). What has been lacking, however, is research addressing Eritrean

refugees. As for clustered housing of Eritreans, there have been some concerns and initial assumptions that the clustering has negative consequences for the integration of Eritreans into Dutch society (Bolwijn, 2015; Engbersen et al., 2015), as also has been the case with Eritrean status holders that were accommodated in Nijmegen-Lent (Huisman, 2015). As the Nijmegen case is unique, the consequences of this clustered type of housing are not clear (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). Hence, this research might bridge an identified knowledge gap, and fulfil a societal call by politicians, government institutions, advisory bodies and media for research on clustered housing and the effects on the integration of Eritrean status holders. Therefore both scientific and societal relevance can be found in answering the main question.

As a master thesis in the field of Human Geography, this research is also scientifically relevant in a sense that it contributes to a geographical debate. Swiss geographer Benno Werlen (2005: 47) illustrates that many social phenomena can be seen as geographical by stating that *“a significant number of social processes and problems involve some spatial component”*. The Nijmegen case can arguably be classified as such. The debate on housing refugee status holders and their integration is intrinsically a geographical one, since housing involves a certain placement in residential space, causing different spatial variations and spatial patterns, as became clear from the public debate. To put it in more geographical terms, it is assumed that residential space influences the integration of status holders. This notion also corresponds with the assumption of French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1991) who argued that space shapes and affects all kinds of social relations and interactions.

Moreover, socio-political relevance can be found. The high acceptance rate of Eritrean status holders underscores the importance of formulating solid integration strategies and policies (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). The results of this study could lead to evaluation and refinement of (local) strategies and policies regarding the housing and integration of status holders. The research might help municipalities to determine and assign housing types to status holders and to become aware of the effects of clustered housing. Subsequently and finally, a better understanding of housing and issues in integration, and refinement of policies might support the integration and living conditions of Eritrean refugees themselves.

#### **1.4 Research populations and research locations**

As stated, the setting in Nijmegen provides an opportunity to compare the integration of refugee status holders of the same country of origin who are assigned to either clustered or dispersed types of housing and who are thus accommodated in different local contexts.

The following section aims to introduce the research populations and research locations that are central to this thesis.

#### 1.4.1 Clustered housing of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen

According to internal data of the municipality of Nijmegen, 139 Eritrean status holders live within municipal borders as of October 2016 (Gemeente Nijmegen, internal data, October 2016). More people of Eritrean descent reside in the municipality, but this research solely focuses on status holders – those who were granted a temporary residence permit. Over two third of the Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are accommodated in a clustered form of housing at former student complex Griftdijk, situated at the Griftdijk Noord in the district of Lent, on the North bank of the river Waal (see Figure 1.1). Previously, Lent has been known as a small horticultural village with a rural character. By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, the municipality of Nijmegen annexed Lent and the town became an integral part of the municipality. Since then, Lent and several surrounding areas rapidly transformed into an urban district. The Griftdijk complex is located in a relatively remote and quiet area of Lent, with a reasonable distance to most urban development and the city centre of Nijmegen.



*Figure 1.1: Research location. The blue dot demonstrates the location of clustered Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk complex in Nijmegen. Dispersed Eritreans are housed throughout several residential neighbourhoods of the city. Due to privacy reasons, their exact location is not shown. The red line demarcates municipal borders; the red dot in the inset map reveals the geographical location of Nijmegen within the Netherlands (Data based on Google Maps and open source maps – edited by author).*

In July 2015, the municipality of Nijmegen acquired the Griftdijk complex from student housing corporation SSHN. Although the municipality preferred a dispersed form of

housing for status holders, the former student complex Griftdijk was considered an acceptable housing alternative to fulfil the enlarged housing mandate (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). A study then revealed that the structural condition of the Griftdijk complex was regarded well enough for the next 3.5 years, without the need to make costly investments in the property. Subsequently, the municipality approved the housing of status holders at the Griftdijk complex until May 2019. In 2019, the complex is most likely to be closed and dismantled due to several reasons. First, by the end of 2019, the complex is expected to be deteriorated technically. Second, the site of the Griftdijk complex has been designated as a new location for urban development starting in 2019. Third and last, clustered housing in the complex is only seen as a temporary solution in order to cope with the high influx of status holders. The prediction is that the housing mandate will remain rather high over the next couple of years, but that it will eventually be followed up by a period of relative calm (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). Despite being of temporary nature, the clustered form of housing at the Griftdijk complex is unique and can be seen as a pilot project, as it is the first project within the Netherlands that accommodates Eritrean status holders on a large scale and on a relatively long-term basis.

The Griftdijk complex is designated to accommodate young Eritrean men from 18 to 22 years old. These young status holders are deliberately housed together due to a shortage of alternative housing in Nijmegen that is found to be suitable to accommodate young adults. Furthermore, the lower rent of clustered housing at Griftdijk is more affordable for young adults under the age of 23, as they are not yet entitled to receive full social welfare and are likely to have a tight budget. Moreover, it is believed that housing at Griftdijk eases monitoring of their development and also eases the provision of assistance for these young status holders. Eritreans who reach the age of 23 are relocated to a dispersed form of housing outside of the Griftdijk complex (Gemeente Nijmegen 2015b).

The Griftdijk complex is made up of several blocks. Initially, the complex had seven blocks, with every block consisting of eight living units and every living unit containing four bedrooms. In order to offer the Eritrean status holders more living space and privacy and to reduce the likelihood of tensions, changes in the complex layout have been made (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). As can be seen in Figure 1.2, blocks C and G have been dismantled. Additionally, every fourth bedroom of a living unit has been transformed into a common room that has been integrated with the kitchen area. Each living unit then houses a maximum of three Eritreans who have their own bedroom and who share kitchen, common room, shower and toilet. Before the arrival of the Eritreans, housing association De Gemeenschap arranged basic furnishing in all living units. Bedrooms contain a bed, desk and a closet; common rooms contain a couch, television, table, fridge and a washing machine (Opnieuw Thuis, 2015). The outdoor area surrounding the living blocks at the complex offers plenty of space for leisure activities.





*Figure 1.2: An aerial overview of former student complex and research location Griftdijk. Prior to the arrival of the first group of Eritrean status holders in October 2015, some changes have been made. Block C and Block G have been fully dismantled (Data based on Google Maps – edited by author).*



*Figure 1.3: Side view of former student complex and research location Griftdijk (Own work).*

In October 2015, the first group of approximately twenty Eritrean status holders has been housed in block B of the complex. In November 2015 and January 2016, two other groups of Eritreans arrived, occupying blocks C and D respectively. With the arrival of the last group in block F, the complex reached its maximum intended capacity in February 2016. According to internal data of the municipality of Nijmegen, 96 Eritrean status holders reside at the Griftdijk complex as of October 2016 (Gemeente Nijmegen, internal data, October 2016). Characteristics of this clustered group can be seen in Table 1.1.

In addition to the status holders, approximately twenty Dutch students of the HAN University of Applied Sciences live in block A (Opnieuw Thuis, 2015). This separate block is located the closest to the main street and the complex entrance. Dutch students and Eritrean status holders share neither living units nor building blocks, with a reasonable distance between these blocks and with the far majority of inhabitants of the Griftdijk complex being Eritrean.

The term *clustered housing* in this thesis refers to the current situation at the Griftdijk complex, where a number of living units are grouped together in rather close proximity to each other, and where these living units are also shared by status holders of the same ethnicity, forming a separate community within the surrounding population.

*Clustered housing: “situation [...] where a number of living units are grouped together in rather close proximity to each other, and where these living units are also shared by status holders of the same nationality, forming a separate community within the surrounding population.”*

Upon arrival at the Griftdijk complex, the language proficiency of the Eritrean status holders has been tested. Immediately afterwards, most Eritreans started going to school, where they are supposed to attend five half-day sessions a week learning the Dutch language and culture. Clustered Eritreans, like every new status holder in Nijmegen, are also entitled to receive social assistance of The Dutch Council for Refugees in the Eastern Netherlands (VluchtelingenWerk Oost Nederland [VWON]) for approximately one year. Status holders are assigned a personal contact of VWON on whom they can fall back in case of any questions. The goal of the assistance by VWON is to increase the self-reliance of newly arrived refugee status holders. After the VWON trajectory ends, the status holder is still eligible for legal assistance by VWON and other social assistance through municipal service channels. Also, the Eritreans are directed towards study and work as soon as possible, especially in the case of well-performing status holders (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a).

Besides the regular assistance for status holders as described above, the municipality of Nijmegen believes that the clustered housing of almost 100 young male Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex requires additional commitment. In addition to going to school, status holders at the complex are appointed a language coach of VWON – as far as available – who assists in learning Dutch language and culture. Likewise, if available, status holders are also appointed a Dutch host family where they can cook and eat occasionally. Furthermore, the status holders can participate in empowerment training and information sessions (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). Other optional activities for the status holders at Griftdijk, such as cooking, playing games and sports are being organised on

weekly basis by local initiative ‘Welcome to the neighbourhood’ and by several students (Opnieuw Thuis, 2015).

#### 1.4.2 Dispersed housing of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen

In addition to the Eritreans that were accommodated in a clustered form of housing at the Griftdijk complex, several dozens of Eritrean status holders reside in a dispersed, non-clustered form of housing in Nijmegen. These Eritreans are spread out across different neighbourhoods of Nijmegen and live either individually or with their family. Contrary to clustered housing, dispersed Eritreans have their own facilities such as kitchen and bathroom, which they do not have to share with other Eritreans. Furthermore, they are housed relatively far from other Eritreans – neighbours are often Dutch. When it comes to housing types, their homes are of the same type the majority of the population lives in, ranging from terraced housing to housing in an apartment building.

The term *dispersed housing* in this thesis refers to the current situation in Nijmegen, where status holders of a certain ethnicity are housed either individually or with their family in the same housing types as the majority of the population lives in, scattered throughout residential neighbourhoods and mixed among the rest of the population.

*Dispersed housing: “situation [...] where status holders of a certain ethnicity are housed individually or with their family in the same housing types as the majority of the population lives in, scattered throughout residential neighbourhoods, mixed among the rest of the population.”*

According to internal data of the municipality of Nijmegen, 43 Eritrean status holders are living dispersed within municipal borders of Nijmegen as of November 2016 (Gemeente Nijmegen, internal data, October 2016). The characteristics of this dispersed group are shown in Table 1.1. In contrast with the clustered population, there are persons over the age of 23 among the dispersed Eritreans. Moreover, a few dispersed Eritreans form a couple and have young children. Their children, however, are purposefully left out of the research due to their perceived inability to participate in the research. As a result, the research population only covers Eritrean status holders who are 18 years and older.

Another difference between the groups can be found in the amount of social assistance provided. Equal to their clustered counterparts at the Griftdijk complex, newly arrived dispersed Eritrean status holders are supposed to attend school, entitled to receive social assistance and a personal coach of VWON for approximately one year (Gemeente



Nijmegen, 2015a). However, the dispersed Eritreans do generally not receive the same level of assistance as the clustered Eritrean population.

| Research population             |                             | Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen  |        |       |  |        |       |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|--------|-------|--|--------|-------|
|                                 |                             | Clustered status holders in Nijmegen (Griftdijk)   |        |       | Dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen  |        |       |
|                                 |                             | Male   | Female | Total | Male   | Female | Total |
| Age                             | 18                          | 5  | 0      | 5     | 1  | 1      | 2     |
|                                 | 19                          | 26   | 0      | 26    | 3  | 0      | 3     |
|                                 | 20                          | 21   | 0      | 21    | 1  | 0      | 1     |
|                                 | 21                          | 23   | 0      | 23    | 1  | 0      | 1     |
|                                 | 22                          | 21   | 0      | 21    | 4  | 1      | 5     |
|                                 | 23                          | 0  | 0      | 0     | 13   | 0      | 13    |
|                                 | 24-26                       | 0  | 0      | 0     | 6  | 0      | 6     |
|                                 | 27-29                       | 0  | 0      | 0     | 1  | 0      | 1     |
|                                 | 30-39                       | 0  | 0      | 0     | 5  | 3      | 8     |
|                                 | 40+                         | 0  | 0      | 0     | 1  | 2      | 3     |
|                                 | <b>Total</b>                | 96   | 0      | 96    | 36   | 7      | 43    |
|                                 | <b>Average age in years</b> | 20.30  | -      | 20.30 | 24.82  | 31.93  | 25.98 |
| <b>General level of support</b> |                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Supposed to attend Dutch language and culture lessons at school, five half-day sessions a week;</li> <li>- Social assistance and personal coach by VWON for approximately one year</li> <li>- Assistance through regular (municipal) service channels;</li> <li>- Directed towards study and work as soon as possible, especially in the case of well-performing status holders;</li> <li>- Language coach of VWON (if available);</li> <li>- Dutch host family (if available);</li> <li>- Empowerment trainings and excursions on a regular basis;</li> <li>- Recreational activities organised by neighbour initiative 'Welcome to the Neighbourhood'.</li> </ul> |        |       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Supposed to attend Dutch language and culture lessons at school, five half-day sessions a week;</li> <li>- Social assistance and personal coach or contact by VWON for approximately one year;</li> <li>- Assistance through regular (municipal) service channels;</li> <li>- Status holders age 26 and under are directed towards study and work as soon as possible.</li> </ul> |        |       |

Table 1.1: Characteristics of the research populations: clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a; Gemeente Nijmegen, internal data, October 2016; VWON, internal data, November 2016).

## 1.5 Thesis outline

The thesis consists of eight chapters.

Chapter 2 studies the background of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. What are characteristics of this relatively new and unknown refugee group? What is known about their trajectories and what circumstances led to their migration?

Chapter 3 describes and discusses theoretical concepts of integration. What is integration and what are key understandings? After critical exploration of integration and its characteristics, a working definition can be established. This is followed by an overview of national and local integration policies and a discussion on housing policies and their effects on integration.

Chapter 4 is the first of two methodological chapters. This chapter discusses a research strategy of comparative monitoring and the composition of a conceptual framework. What is the added value of monitoring integration? And what are conditions and challenges for assembling a conceptual framework that eventually serves to monitor the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen?

Chapter 5 presents a conceptual framework of successful integration in Nijmegen. The framework consists of dimensions and indicators that are thought to constitute successful in Nijmegen. For each of the established integration dimensions, the chapter also formulates a hypothesis regarding the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

Chapter 6 is the second methodological chapter. This chapter addresses the research design, operationalisation of the conceptual framework, data analysis and ethical and practical considerations.

Chapter 7 presents the empirical findings of the research. These empirical findings are mirrored against the formulated hypotheses, after which conclusions can be drawn regarding the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

Finally, Chapter 8 presents a summary of the research findings and intends to answer the main research question. This chapter also discusses limitations of the research and provides recommendations for further research and the municipality of Nijmegen.

## **CHAPTER 2 – ERITREA AND THE BACKGROUND OF ERITREAN REFUGEE STATUS HOLDERS**

### **2.1 Chapter purpose**

In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that Dutch politicians and government institutions have called the increased influx of Eritreans rather unexpected (MVJ, 2014; Rijksoverheid, 2014). As the research population in this thesis consists of Eritrean refugee status holders, there is a strong need to study the background of this new group of status holders from Eritrea. In support of this, Leerkes & Scholten (2016) argue that the background of a migrant is likely to influence its integration process. Therefore, characteristics of the migrant and his/her country of origin should be taken into consideration when studying the integration process of refugee status holders. Doing so might also contribute to the development of further theoretical and methodological insights in this thesis. This chapter aims to provide an overview of country of origin Eritrea, Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands, and their journey in-between. The chapter draws from existing literature, conversations with Eritrean status holders and experts, and observations at research locations.

### **2.2 Eritrea: a young country entrenched in its past**

The recent influx of Eritrean refugees can be linked to the turbulent past of Eritrea. Eritrea is a young country in the Horn of Africa and has long been colonised and controlled by foreign administrations (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2009; Iyob, 1997; Reid, 2005). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Eritrea was proclaimed an Italian colony. 50 years later, during World War II, it came under British occupation. Then, several years after the war, Eritrea was put under federal Ethiopian administration. In 1961, however, Eritrea was fully annexed by Ethiopia and consequently became an Ethiopian province. The annexation sparked the beginning of a long and bloody war for Eritrean independence. Two pro-Eritrean movements, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and Eritrea's People Front (EPLF), fought against the Ethiopian occupation of Eritrea. While both movements had the same objective, i.e. Eritrean independence, they also clashed with each other in a civil war. Eventually, the ELF was pushed out of Eritrea and the EPLF became the main belligerent (HRW, 2009; Iyob, 1997). In 1991, EPLF forces managed to defeat the Ethiopian forces and Eritrea became a de facto independent country, recognised by the United Nations in 1993. Independence paved the way for leadership by president Isaias Afewerki and his EPLF party, who remain in power today (HRW, 2009; Reid, 2005).

The de facto independence of Eritrea and its subsequent recognition as a sovereign nation gave hope for optimism. The post-independence era, however, has so far been precarious,

as it has been characterised by economic difficulties, fierce political and social repression by the ruling EPLF party, troubled international relations, and new border wars with neighbouring country Ethiopia (HRW, 2009; Mekonnen & Estefanos, 2011; Plaut, 2016; Reid, 2005). On the one hand, these problems can arguably be seen as remnants of the devastating independence war. On the other hand, however, they can be partly attributed to the EPLF government (Reid, 2005). According to Reid (2005: 468), the EPLF holds on to the era of the liberation struggle, and is therefore *“frozen by its own perception and interpretation of the past”*.

The mindset of the EPLF, and hence the way Eritrea is governed, is largely built on a long history of nationalism, militarism and distrust. Having been under foreign rule for decades, Eritrea strongly rejects its colonial past, and it condemns the lack of international support during its struggle for independence. Due to these historical events, Eritrea trusts absolutely no one. It feels betrayed by the international community and chooses to isolate itself from the international scene (Reid, 2005).

Nationally, Eritrea is ruled with an iron fist. Afraid to be compromised in its hard-won sovereignty, the country maintains an enforced military service (HRW, 2009; MVJ, 2014). The rationale is that conscription had been successful in the past and eventually led Eritrea to its long-awaited independence (Reid, 2005). As Eritreans reach the age of 18, they are obliged to attend the national service program at Sawa, an immense military boot camp in the remote desert of northwestern Eritrea. In order to minimise draft evasion, all high-school students complete their final year at Sawa (HRW, 2009). At Sawa, the new recruits are exposed to the ideological programme of the EPLF, effectively starting their military training at once or upon graduation. Conscription is actively enforced by the military police and evasion likely leads to extrajudicial and severe punishment (Reid, 2005). While enforced military service is a phenomenon that is also present in several other states, conscription in Eritrea distinguishes itself in a sense that it is often of indefinite duration, despite the service period being lawfully limited to 18 months. In practice, military service often takes over a decade. Only very few Eritreans are released from their military duties. Several authors have reported that military training at the Sawa camp is very tough and it is mentioned that conscripts are systematically exposed to inhumane conditions and cruel military punishments. Reports of rape, torture and disappearance are widespread (HRW, 2009; Mekonnen & Estefanos, 2011; United Nations Human Rights Council [UNHRC], 2016). According to a former Sawa trainee who is currently residing in Nijmegen, the military training programme is very intensive and conditions are dreadful. Food at the camp is often scarce, monotonous and of very poor quality, with the risk of getting sick. The camp is constantly packed with people and there is no such thing as privacy. The heat in the desert is intense. Fitness exercises such as hiking with heavy packing and running take place in the mornings and late afternoons. Shooting exercises are done at the hottest time of the day. On a regular basis, one is forced to participate in construction work at the camp. Refusal or a perceived lack of commitment results in punishment. A common method is to tie the

hands together behind the back and then force the victim to lie down in the hot sand at midday (personal communication, 31 May 2017).

Alongside or after completion of military training, conscripts are largely assigned to forced labour activities. One is often deployed in civilian development programmes and burdened with heavy tasks, such as the development of infrastructure and other construction works. Conscripts are also forced to work within private enterprises, with their salary paid by the government (UNHRC, 2016). Wages are very low and are most likely insufficient to comply with the needs of their families. Conscripts that are forced to work within the private sector receive an income that is many times less than they would earn during regular employment on the same job. Moreover, years of military service withholds conscripts from generating an additional income. Despite harsh working conditions, absence from forced labour activities is still viewed as desertion under military law and therefore not accepted. Due to a large number of forced labour activities, military service is widely referred to as 'national service' (HRW, 2009).

In sum, conscripts are subject to an indefinite duration of military service, have no freedom of movement, lack a future perspective, have the duty to participate in back-breaking work under severe conditions while being paid a minimum wage, and are exposed to the ever-present threat of punishment, torture and/or imprisonment without any form of judicial process (UNHRC, 2016). As such, authors have characterised the Eritrean military service as human trafficking and/or slavery (Mekonnen & Estefanos, 2011; UNHRC, 2016). Eritrean officials are in control of the lives of Eritrean conscripts, and thus conscripts "*are at the mercy of the state*" (HRW, 2009: 44). Due to its repressive character, military service has become widely unpopular throughout the years and can at present be seen as the main motive for fleeing Eritrea. While some Eritreans flee directly from the Sawa camp, others do so in fear of being conscripted into military service (HRW, 2009).

At present, Eritrea is an authoritarian state without press freedom, political freedom and religious freedom. There is no freedom of speech and there are no independent media; political opposition is not tolerated and only four religious movements are allowed in the country: Eritrean Orthodox, Sunni Islam, Roman Catholic and Lutheran. Other religions and beliefs, including atheism, are prohibited and have few to hardly any followers (MVJ, 2014; UNHRC, 2016). Consequently, in addition to (future) conscripts that escape military service, journalists, government critics and members of unrecognised religions are among the people that flee from Eritrea. People from these groups are in danger of persecution and detainment, and it is reported that many detainees disappear while held in custody (HRW 2009, UNHRC, 2016). At the same time, Eritreans who flee from Eritrea might also have economic motives, seeking to earn a feasible income abroad to fulfil the needs of their families (Mekonnen & Estefanos, 2011).

### 2.3 Fleeing from Eritrea: a migrant's trajectory

Fleeing from Eritrea is a risky undertaking and is seen as high treason by the Eritrean authorities. Fugitives are at risk of being caught and shot at the border. After having fled the country, a safe return to Eritrea is virtually impossible (HRW, 2009). In Eritrea, family members of refugees could also be made accountable for the disappearance of relatives and could consequently face reprisal (UNHRC, 2016). Eritreans are often aware of this and as a result, many flee their homeland with a sense of shame and feel guilty about leaving their family (HRW, 2009). Initially, many Eritrean refugees have been fleeing to Israel, using the so-called Sinai route that crosses Sudan and Egypt. However, Israel's construction of a large fence on its border with Egypt forced Eritrean migrants to look for alternative routes (Mekonnen & Estefanos, 2011; Plaut, 2016). In recent years, the majority of Eritreans aimed to reach Europe, using a route through Sudan and Libya. Having left Eritrea, they often head for the Sudanese capital Khartoum, where they pay people traffickers to cross the Sahara desert all the way to the Libyan coast. This route involves many dangers, notably due to the unstable situation in Libya. It is reported that Eritreans have been stranded in the Sahara, extorted and tortured by human traffickers, as well as attacked, kidnapped and murdered by bandits and extremists. If Eritreans make it to the Libyan coast, a dangerous journey by boat to Europe awaits (Plaut, 2016). In accordance with the above, many Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen seem to have taken the prevailing Libyan route. Tesfay, an Eritrean living at the Griftdijk complex in Nijmegen, explained that he escaped the Sawa camp in Eritrea and travelled through the Sudanese cities Kassala and Khartoum before heading to Libya. He preferred not to talk about his experiences in Libya, calling it "*the worst place on Earth*" and willing to forget what happened there (personal communication, 17 February 2017). Two other Eritreans in Nijmegen, Dawit and Samuel, also went through Libya and met each other on a boat to Italy. Now they are housemates and share a living unit at Griftdijk (personal communication, 21 October 2016).

It is to be noted, however, that not all Eritreans migrate in exactly the same way and at the same pace. Samsom, who lives independently in Nijmegen, fled from Eritrea's capital Asmara eight years ago. He took the Sinai route to Israel, but poor conditions there eventually led him to friends in Ethiopia, after which he spent some time in Uganda and South-Sudan before getting to Europe via Sudan and Libya (personal communication, 24 January 2017). Samsom's story corresponds with research of Schapendonk (2012), who emphasises the dynamics of migration and argues that the trajectory of migrants is not always a simple, linear process from a country of origin to a pre-selected country of destination. This is also illustrated by the fact that the Netherlands not always has been the anticipated destination country for every Eritrean in Nijmegen. Tesfay from the Griftdijk complex explains that while in Eritrea, he had not planned to come to the Netherlands. Once fled from Sawa, no longer able to return to his country of origin, he decided to head towards Europe. About his choice for the Netherlands, he says: "*My greatest desire was to*

*be free. During my journey, other migrants informed me that there was freedom in the Netherlands”* (personal communication, 17 February 2017). While Tesfay’s destination became clear halfway his journey and he eventually managed to reach the Netherlands, others failed to do so or ended up in the Netherlands by chance. For some Eritreans in Nijmegen, the Netherlands may only be a long-term stopover, as many have relatives and/or friends that fled to other European countries such as Germany, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Hence, they could seek to reunite and relocate themselves abroad. A similar moving trend has been observed for other refugee groups originating from the Horn of Africa. Since 2000, a considerable number of Somali status holders in the Netherlands has moved onwards to the United Kingdom, settling close to family members (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016; Van Liempt, 2011). Resettlement to country of origin Eritrea, however, seems very unlikely in the short term. Nevertheless, Tesfay from the Griftdijk complex says that he would love nothing more than to return to Eritrea as soon as it is safe (personal communication, 17 February 2017).

## **2.4 Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands: statistics and characteristics**

Although the recent high influx of Eritreans has been called relatively new and unexpected, smaller groups of Eritreans have been migrating to the Netherlands since the 1980s. Roughly three main flows of Eritreans can be distinguished.

Until 1991, a first group of Eritreans came to the Netherlands during the independence war with Ethiopia. As these Eritreans left in the pre-independence period and experienced the liberation struggle, many of them have a strong sense of Eritrean nationalism.

A second group of Eritreans arrived in the Netherlands between 1998 and 2000 and mainly fled for violence during the Eritrean-Ethiopian border war. Most of them originate from southern Eritrean regions that border Ethiopia (Pharos, 2016).

The third flow of Eritreans started in 2014 and is still ongoing. The research population – Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen – belongs to this group. Flight motives and trajectories of these Eritreans have already been described in the two above paragraphs. From 2014 to 2016, there have been 83,075 first time asylum applications in the Netherlands. 12,689 of these applicants were from Eritrea, making Eritreans the second largest group of asylum seekers in the Netherlands during this period, after Syrians. Due to the profound seriousness of the situation in Eritrea, asylum for Eritreans was mostly granted, resulting in a sharp increase in the number of Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands (VluchtelingenWerk, n.d.-a). It is estimated that ninety per cent of these newly arrived Eritreans belongs to the Tigrinya ethnic group – one of the nine main ethnicities of Eritrea. While Tigrinyans constitute only a slight majority of the total population in Eritrea, they mostly live in the southern, heavily militarised regions of Eritrea at the border with Ethiopia (Pharos, 2016). Furthermore, the group of recently arrived Eritreans mainly consists of young male adults, while there is also a relatively high number of unaccompanied minors.

The latter is not entirely surprising, as it is often boys and young men that are (to be) conscripted into indefinite Eritrean military service.

It is reported that there is a major difference between the above mentioned Eritrean migrant groups in terms of political vision and sense of nationalism. This is especially the case between Eritreans of the first flow and Eritreans of the third, current flow (Pharos, 2016). Some Eritreans of the former group seem to have ties to the Eritrean government and/or openly show their support, while that same Eritrean government is the fleeing motive for Eritreans of the latter group (Bolwijn & Modderkolk, 2016; De Volkskrant, 2016). Media have reported that Eritreans in the Netherlands have been subjected to intimidation by loyalists of the Eritrean government. It is reported that these loyalists urge Eritreans in the Netherlands to avoid criticism on their country of origin and to donate money to the Eritrean government (Bolwijn & Modderkolk, 2016). Thus, current Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands could continue to feel the strong influence of Eritrean nationalism, resulting in a continuation of a culture of fear that was already present in Eritrea, and causing tensions and distrust among Eritreans in the Netherlands (Pharos, 2016). However, there are no concrete signals that Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are bothered and/or fear the so-called 'long arm' of the Eritrean regime (PreciesAdvies, personal communication, 6 September 2016).

It is to be noted that Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands, including these in Nijmegen, come from a country with a very low level of human development and are used to different rules, cultures and traditions (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). Consequently, Eritreans status holders have completely different perceptions. A personal coach of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen (personal communication, 6 September 2016) says that *"the Eritreans in Nijmegen are to be born again [...] Everything is different here. Even going to a Dutch bathroom has to be learned."*

Furthermore, Eritrean status holders generally have a relatively low level of education for Dutch standards (Pharos, 2016). Particularly young Eritreans who fled Eritrea may have missed out on education in their country, and have often not followed any education during their journey to Europe. However, there may be a major difference in the education level of Eritreans who originate from urban and rural areas in Eritrea. Eritreans from rural areas do not always have access to (secondary) education, and as a result, their level of education is generally lower than the level of their urban counterparts (Pharos, 2016).

Illiteracy is limited among Eritreans (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). However, there is a possibility that some Eritrean status holders are linguistically deprived in their own language and thus are functionally illiterate. Furthermore, some Eritreans might be unable to read the Latin alphabet, as their mother language uses a different writing script



(PreciesAdvies, personal communication, 6 September 2016). However, some Eritreans have had basic English education (Pharos, 2016).

In addition to differences between rural and urban areas, there are also major differences between Eritrea's capital city Asmara and other cities, as is apparent from the story of Tesfay, who currently lives at the Griftdijk complex in Nijmegen. While Barentu serves as the provincial capital and is an important hub and market town in Eritrea, the city still has a very rural character and relatively few inhabitants for Dutch standards. Tesfay grew up in a simple house in which cattle were kept and modern technologies were absent. On the contrary, Asmara is by far the largest and most developed city in Eritrea and offers more educational opportunities and facilities (personal communication, 17 February 2017).

In Eritrea, it is very common for (multiple generations of) families to live under one roof. Most Eritrean status holders are accustomed to a collectivist culture where family comes first and one has little privacy (PreciesAdvies, personal communication, 6 September 2016). Within Eritrean households, there is often a traditional, hierarchical role distribution. The upbringing of children and running a household is predominantly seen as a maternal task. Fathers are seen as cost-winners and have a corrective role in the household. However, they are often absent due to their indefinite conscription. Eritrean parents generally raise their children in a conservative way, although parents from cities tend to be more liberal than parents from the countryside. Upbringing is also dependent on several other factors such as the education level and religion of the parents (Pharos, 2016).

Traces of a collectivist mindset can also be observed among Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. Tesfay, living at the Griftdijk complex, explains that in Eritrea, cooking is predominantly seen as a task for women (personal communication, 17 February 2017). Tesfay, however, is a skilled cook. Since not everyone at the Griftdijk complex has this ability, he teaches several male Eritrean neighbours how to prepare *enjera*, a typical Eritrean flatbread. It is striking that there is always plenty of food available in order to feed unexpected guests that join for dinner. In addition to cooking, the men at the complex help each other with a variety of things.

It is said that a conservative upbringing and the repressive political climate in Eritrea cause Eritrean status holders to be rather timid and distrustful of strangers. One is not used to formulating and expressing an opinion. This is more often the case with Eritreans who grew up in rural areas (PreciesAdvies, personal communication, 6 September 2016). Furthermore, it is reported that problems of psychosocial nature are present among Eritrean status holders. These problems are often the result of experiences in their country of origin Eritrea, during their stay in the Netherlands or the journey in-between and may involve depression, loneliness, fear and other social problems. It is estimated

that up to 80% of all asylum migrants face these psychosocial problems (Engbersen et al., 2015; Leerkes & Scholten, 2016).

## **2.5 Chapter summary**

This chapter sought to provide an overview of the recent group of Eritrean status holders that found their way to the Netherlands, their country of origin Eritrea, and also shed light on their trajectory. It became clear that Eritrean status holders come from a country with a very low level of development and a repressive political climate. Many Eritreans, predominantly young men, appear to flee repression and conscription into indefinite military service. Those fleeing from Eritrea await a very dangerous and uncertain journey that often eventually leads towards Europe.

While this research attempts to formulate statements about a group of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, this chapter found that there are considerable differences between Eritrean status holders and that each individual is different. This is crucial to keep in mind throughout the research process and might also contribute to the development of further theoretical and methodological insights.

## CHAPTER 3 – THEORIZING INTEGRATION

### 3.1 Chapter purpose

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and to discuss theoretical concepts that are relevant to answer the main research question. First, the chapter aims to establish a working definition of integration. Second, national as well as local integration policies are discussed. Third and last, the chapter focuses on refugee housing policies and their effects on integration.

### 3.2 Integration: characteristics and definition

According to Ager and Strang (2008: 167), *“integration has become both a key policy objective related to the resettlement of refugees and other migrants, and a matter of significant public discussion”*. While integration into society is a concept that is indeed sharply debated in public, a wide spectrum of definitions and interpretations of integration also appears in academic literature. Nevertheless, there are a number of recurring elements in notions of integration.

First, there seems to be lack of consensus on what integration is. Robinson (1998: 118) underscores this as he mentions that integration is a rather *“chaotic”* concept, as it is *“used by many but understood differently by most”*.

Second, as can be derived from the work of Castles, De Haas and Miller (2014), another important characteristic of integration is that it is not fixed across space and time. Hence, the conceptualisation of integration is highly contextual, as Sigona (2005: 120) puts it, *“in any case relational and relative to the chosen contexts”*.

Third, following from the second characteristic, the nature of integration is to be seen as normative. Integration always bears a normative element, as it is based on the idea of a successfully integrated society. The ideal of an integrated society, then, could differ from country to country and from person to person (Stolz, 2011). Integration ideals in the Netherlands, for example, could diverge from ideals in the United States or Germany, or perhaps even contrast them.

The above brings us to a fourth characteristic. Bosswick and Heckmann (2006), Murphy (2013), and Scholten and Penninx (2016) note that these normative debates and discourses of integration are initially framed at the level of the nation-state, as beliefs of national identity often influence and shape the ideal of successful integration.

Fifth, Murphy (2013) outlines the multidimensional and therefore complex nature of integration processes as they are interwoven with many other policy domains. Integration is often referred to as a single concept, but it cannot be understood without knowing the normative (interwoven) dimensions that constitute successful integration into society.

Sixth, Bosswick and Heckmann (2006) and Penninx (2003) argue that integration is primarily a process. However, despite integration being a long-term process, it is widely acknowledged that the integration process can be monitored within a smaller timeframe (Penninx, 2009).

Seventh, the integration process involves interaction between both immigrants themselves and the host society receiving the immigrants. Therefore, integration is driven by the interaction between two bodies and is to be seen as a two-sided process (Penninx, 2009; Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016). A more classical interpretation of this two-sided notion can be found in the work of the Swiss developmental psychologist Jean Piaget, who argued that the adaption of an individual in an environment is the result of interacting efforts between both the environment and the individual (Piaget, 1976). Hence, outcomes of the integration process are the result of efforts of status holders to adapt into society on the one hand, and the willingness of the society to accept and respect the status holders on the other hand.

Eight, integration, like migration, is not to be seen as a straightforward and linear process that works out the same for every individual (Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016). Chapter 2 already argued that the background of a migrant is likely to influence its integration process, and concluded that there are considerable individual differences between Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

Now that several characteristics of integration are unfolded, a crucial question remains. Why is integration widely perceived as something to pursue? Stolz (2011) points out that in societies, successful integration is often seen as desirable because it is believed to prevent the violation of existing societal norms, and understood to invoke sympathy for fundamental rights of the integrating group. Moreover, successful integration into society is believed to lighten the pressure on social services and social welfare that are provided by governments (Rijksoverheid & VNG, 2016).

Then, how can we define integration? Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas (2016) provide a general definition of integration and describe it as the process by which immigrants are successfully accepted into a society. I would like to take on board this rather open definition and expand it with several of the above-identified characteristics. Consequentially, this research views integration as the long-term, contextualised, multidimensional, normative, two-sided and non-linear process in which migrants are successfully accepted into a society. As this working definition suggests, the focus of this research lies on social integration, which involves *“the integration of actors into a given social system”* (Stolz, 2011: 89). The question then arises what actors integrate into what social system, or in other words, as Sigona (2005: 118) poses a helpful question in framing integration research: *“who or what is integrating into whom or what?”*

This research concerns the integration of Eritrean status holders into Nijmegen. In this context, Eritrean status holders can be seen as actors that integrate. Then, following a

thesis by Friedmann (1986) that cities are to be seen as spatially integrated social systems at a given location, the city of Nijmegen can be assessed as the social system in which the actors integrate.

*Integration: "...the long-term, contextualised, multidimensional, normative, two-sided and non-linear process in which migrants are successfully accepted into a social system."*

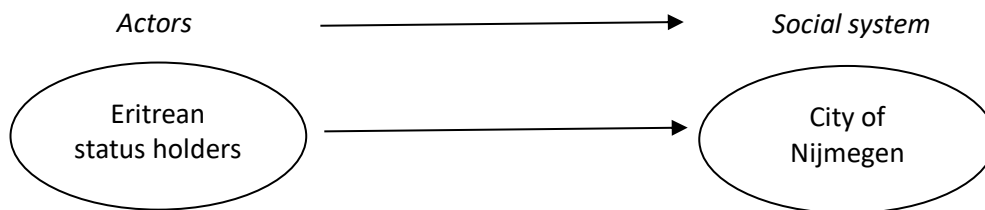


Figure 3.1: Social integration in the context of this research: Eritrean status holders (actors) integrating into Nijmegen (social system).

### 3.3 The Netherlands: a shift in national policies and discourse<sup>2</sup>

As various scholars have argued that normative integration debates and discourse initially originate at a national level (Bosswick & Heckmann, 2006; Murphy, 2013; Scholten & Penninx, 2016), it is useful to gain insight in Dutch national debates and discourse regarding integration. Studying discourse can be useful, as Derrida (2000) notes that discourse on refugees could influence the way these refugees are accepted in society. In addition to drawing from debates and discourse, Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas (2016) argue that the study of national integration policies can also prove to be valuable as the core aim of these policies is to guide integration processes.

Integration debates and policies in the Netherlands have seen prominent changes throughout the past years. While multiculturalism had long been the paradigm, and even though the Netherlands had been praised for its multiculturalist approach, the integration discourse shifted from multiculturalist to assimilationist by the end of the 1990s. The focus on assimilation was accompanied by a sharp politicisation of integration issues (Bruquetas-Callejo, Garcés-Mascreñas, Penninx & Scholten, 2007; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). As forms of public policy, multiculturalism and assimilationism have in common that they both seek to incorporate immigrants into society (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2014). A distinction between the terms can be found in the fact that multiculturalism acknowledges and advocates cultural difference. Immigrants are not

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<sup>2</sup> Minor parts of this paragraph are based on my contributions during the Human Geography course Multiculturalism, Diversity and Space, completed in January 2016 at Radboud University.

expected to give up their own cultural practices and have the right to equally participate in a society, as long as they embrace some core values (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2014). On the other hand, assimilation can be seen as a form of absorption. It is rather one-sided and expects immigrants to abandon their former cultural practices. Immigrants are urged to become an indistinguishable part of society, identical to the majority of the population (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2014).

From the 1960s, the Netherlands started recruiting labour migrants from Morocco, Turkey and South European countries, labelled 'guest workers'. Furthermore, migrants arrived from former Dutch colonies such as Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. These migrant groups were initially seen as a temporary phenomenon and were eventually expected to repatriate (Borkert, Bosswick, Heckmann & Lüken-Klaßen, 2006). So-called 'two-track policies' had a collective character. These policies served to integrate groups of immigrants economically but meanwhile allowed these groups to maintain their cultural practices. The latter was done to facilitate their foreseen return to the country of origin (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008).

At the end of the 1970s, contrary to predictions, it became clear that most labour migrants intended to stay, as their migration was followed up by migration of family members (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007). This resulted in the development of the multiculturalist Minorities Policy that focused on individual immigrants in addition to immigrant groups (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). This 'accommodating' policy catered to the needs of specific minority groups and aimed to integrate (individuals of) these minorities. It aimed to achieve their equity and participation within society. As a characteristic of multiculturalism, immigrants were allowed to retain their cultural practices. The sovereignty of migrant groups was respected, as it was believed to stimulate integration into society (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007). According to Borkert et al. (2006: 21), "*minorities were considered integral parts of Dutch society*".

In 1989, the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy published a report criticising the multiculturalist Minority Policy. It stated that the Minority Policy could ease the separation of societal groups, and hamper the integration of individuals into society. The Council advised the implementation of a new integration policy designed to improve the independence of minority groups, in order to make them less dependent on public services (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid [WRR], 1989). Other public as well as political critiques increased in the early 1990s and eventually led to the emergence of the so-called Integration Policy in 1994. The former multiculturalist group approach was now substituted by an individual approach that stimulated achieving Dutch citizenship and active socio-economic integration (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007). Immigrants were obligated to attain proficiency in the Dutch language and to learn about Dutch society as part of a citizenship course (Bijl & Verweij, 2012). The approach aimed to foster a broad

and active migrant participation in Dutch society and to dissolve group boundaries (Borkert et al., 2006).

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw a fierce politicisation of the integration debate. Scheffer (2000) was one of the first to criticise the Integration Policy, stating that the policy had severe shortcomings and that the Dutch multicultural society turned out to be a farce. These critiques intensified after several events, such as the September 11 attacks in the USA and the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh (Uitermark, 2012). Another call that exacerbated the integration debate was made by the populist politician Pim Fortuyn (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2007). Following these events, Poppelaars and Scholten (2008: 341) conclude that *“a gradual turn toward assimilationism was set in motion”*. Eventually, a citizenship approach became a policy paradigm in designing integration policy, focusing on what citizens have in common. Every immigrant, with no exception for refugees, is obligated to strive for good Dutch citizenship (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). National history, culture, values and norms were put central in designing integration policies (Scholten & Penninx, 2016). In the Netherlands, this resulted in the Integration Policy New Style (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008).

The Integration Policy New Style, currently being the dominant integration policy of the Dutch government, follows a citizenship approach and can be characterised as a double helix of cultural assimilationism and neo-liberalism (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). The latter implies that the government puts a neo-liberal emphasis on individual responsibility and participation of the individual citizen. It involves the broader process of making individuals responsible for integrating themselves. Neo-liberalism can be seen as a political rationality, in which citizenship is reduced to self-care (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). On the other hand, the Dutch citizenship approach is based on cultural assimilation. As explained, cultural assimilation aims at immigrants becoming a full part of Dutch society, pertaining to Dutch norms and values through a one-sided process (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2014). Thus, the national integration policy in the Netherlands is based on assimilation and involves a high degree of individual responsibility of the migrant in order to obtain Dutch norms and values and integrate into society (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).

Based on the above sections, Table 3.1 summarises the Dutch integration policies that were used in the past decades. It depicts a shift in national integration policy and illustrates that there has not been one uniform integration policy. In sum, it can be concluded that the Dutch integration policies have seen notable changes over the past decades, shifting from a multiculturalist, accommodating approach, to an assimilationist, citizen approach.

| <i>Timeframe</i>    | <i>Policy</i>                | <i>Normative characteristics/ideas</i>   |
|---------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Until end of 1970s  | No integration policy        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Immigrants were allowed to retain cultural practices and identities</li> <li>- The Netherlands was not foreseen as an immigrant country</li> </ul>  |
| End of 1970s – 1994 | Minorities Policy            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Multiculturalism, open multicultural society</li> <li>- Accommodating approach catered to the needs of specific minority groups</li> <li>- Equity and participation of minority groups</li> </ul> |
| 1994 - 2003         | Integration Policy           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increasing focus on the individual</li> <li>- Active citizenship and integration</li> </ul>   |
| From 2003           | Integration Policy New Style | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cultural assimilationism</li> <li>- Neo-liberalism and individual responsibility</li> <li>- Citizenship approach that is mainly based on common citizenship and national identity</li> </ul>      |

*Table 3.1: National integration policies of the Netherlands (based on Scholten, 2011 – edited by author).*

### **3.4 Towards a local turn in integration**

National assimilationist approaches to integration have been subject to criticism and lack of understanding. An often heard critique is that these approaches have been based on the one-sided assumption that newcomers should become an indistinguishable part of the majority of the ‘native’ society, identical to the majority of the native Dutch population (Walz, 2014). Likewise, Caponio and Borkert (2010) note that assimilationist models focus too much on adapting to national ideological norms and problems instead of involving cultural-ethnic diversity.

Despite these criticisms, the focus on national integration policies has been abundant in academic integration research. Sticking to the study of integration on a national level has its shortcomings, however. Such a narrow focus neglects advances and implications at other levels and could consequentially hamper the theoretical development of integration research (Scholten & Penninx, 2016). Therefore it is relevant, if not essential, to unravel what arguments point in favour of studying integration on a local level.

Scholten and Penninx (2016: 98) describe the sudden and increasing interest for the local level in integration research as the “*local turn*”. In support of this ‘local turn’, scholars have made several claims that underscore the importance of studying the local level of integration policymaking.

First, as illustrated in the previous section, the current national integration policy emphasises the individual responsibility of status holders to integrate into society. This neo-liberal focus implies a form of decentralisation and is intertwined with an increasing workload for local governments. Municipalities are expected to arrange housing, to



stimulate active social participation and to provide several other amenities to assist individuals in their integration process (Odé, Witkamp & Kriek, 2016). Providing these might not be a primary concern of the national government (COA, n.d.; Rijksoverheid & VNG, 2016).

Second, following the previous point, several authors (Caponio & Borkert, 2010; Penninx, 2009; Ray, 2003) have noted that local governments do not only implement national integration policies but that they increasingly formulate local integration policies as well. Large, diverse European cities, including Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands, increasingly tend to formulate their own policies (Penninx, 2009).

Third, national and local integration policies are sometimes characterised by a high divergence of interests (Bruquetas-Callejos, 2007; Scholten & Penninx, 2016). In the Netherlands, the assimilationist citizenship approach that is outlined at the national level implies that once trickled down to a local implementation level, no policies or measures specifically aimed at certain communities of migrants should exist, in order to avoid privileging groups and to avert a clash of civilisations. On the contrary, local integration policies are sometimes characterised by a pragmatic problem coping and reflect similarities with an accommodating approach, catering to the needs of the individual (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). The latter corresponds with the notion of Ray (2003) that cities are entities that draft actions in response to the needs of individuals. It is argued that local policymakers often tend to have a better understanding of key issues in integration.

Fourth, although integration is a phenomenon that can be outlined at the national level, it is mainly lived at the local level. As we have seen, integration process involves interaction between the migrant and the host society, and this interaction takes place in local city spaces such as streets, neighbourhoods and working places (Penninx, 2009). In support of this, Ray (2003) notes that cities are increasingly becoming the stage of immigrant settlement.

Following the above four points, several cities embody their cultural diversity as a basic principle for formulating local integration policies.

First, diversity is seen by several scholars as an inevitable condition of urban life (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011; Van Leeuwen, 2008). Even more, some pertain to a classical notion that cultural diversity is a fundamental characteristic of cities in order to flourish and attain economic growth (Ray, 2003).

Second, the integration of newcomers is intrinsically linked to cultural diversity, as status holders of different ethnicities carry certain cultural practices, norms and values of the country origin towards the host country (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011)

Third, as illustrated previously, local city governments have a legal responsibility to formulate policies that manage diversity and assist the integration of status holders (Ray, 2003).

Fourth, as mentioned before in the above section, it is the local level where everyday encounters with (aspects of) diversity are lived (Scholten & Penninx, 2016).

Fifth and subsequently, Penninx (2009) notes that local policymakers often tend to have a better understanding of key issues in cultural diversity and integration in comparison to their national counterparts.

Sixth and last, studies show that migrants themselves tend to identify more with their city of residence instead of identifying themselves with the nation and its ideologies (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011).

Due to the above points, local integration policies are often accommodative of diversity and tend to involve local stakeholders for the effective management of diversity in the city (Caponio & Borkert, 2010). National integration policies generally oppose local integration policies and are more likely to experience bottlenecks coping with cultural diversity in an effective way (Scholten & Penninx, 2016).

In sum, this paragraph stressed the importance of the local level in integration research. While national governments often outline the vague contexts of integration policies, the above section illustrated that cities have become the centrepiece of integration. Integration in the Netherlands became a decentralised phenomenon that increasingly sees commitment and policymaking of local governments. The crucial role of cities is too often underestimated and therefore not to be neglected (Ray, 2003). Contrary to national integration policy, it was shown that cities often tend to embody diversity as a basic principle for their integration policies.

The above findings require shifting the focus to the local level of integration policies. As this thesis aims to monitor the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, it is essential to study integration policy and discourse at the local level in Nijmegen.

### **3.5 Local integration policies in Nijmegen**

As a result of the recent increased influx of admitted asylum seekers and the enlarged housing mandate, the Association of Dutch Municipalities (VNG), an organization that represents the interests of all municipalities in the Netherlands, including Nijmegen, presented a shared rationale to stimulate the integration and participation of refugee status holders (Rijksoverheid & VNG, 2016). The aim is to ensure the independent and full participation of status holders, so they make a positive contribution to the Dutch society (Rijksoverheid & VNG, 2016). A premise for status holders that is mentioned in the VNG agreement is that *“if you want to stay, you are expected to participate”* (Rijksoverheid & VNG, 2016). From a municipalities’ perspective, this premise makes sense, as active integration and participation seem to lighten the pressure on social services and social welfare that municipalities provide for refugee status holders (Odé et al., 2016; Rijksoverheid & VNG, 2016). The premise also shows similarities to the neo-liberal

individual responsibility of the status holder, which involved the broader process of making individuals responsible for integrating themselves.

Despite an often common emphasis on a neo-liberal individual responsibility of the status holder, it was illustrated in the previous paragraph that national and local integration policies in the Netherlands could highly diverge from each other (Scholten & Penninx, 2016). It was argued that national integration policy follows a neo-liberal assimilationist citizenship approach, whereas local integration policies are sometimes characterised by a pragmatic problem coping and reflect similarities with an accommodating approach (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). It was also shown that the integration of status holders is intrinsically linked to cultural diversity and that local integration policies often tend to embody diversity as a basic principle for formulating integration policies (Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011; Van Leeuwen, 2008). Local integration policy in Nijmegen seems to meet several of the above features and could therefore arguably be characterised as being accommodative and focused on diversity.

From a historical point of view, the municipality of Nijmegen has always been quite optimistic when it comes to integrating refugees within its territories. Also, public support for refugees within Nijmegen has been - and still is - relatively high compared to other municipalities. Due to a strong politicisation on national level, however, integration issues also rose to prominence on the municipal agenda in Nijmegen. In 2004 this resulted in the so-called '*Deltaplan voor integratie*', a multifaceted plan in order to stimulate the integration of status holders. The plan consisted of several projects in the areas of employment, social contacts and education, which were aimed at stimulating and improving the integration of status holders into Nijmegen. But while the national paradigm regarding integration shifted to an assimilationist approach, and the climate towards migrants became rather unfavourable, the local plan mainly retained the idea of the multicultural society and the goodwill in Nijmegen was maintained to a large extent (Cloin, 2016a).

More recent and current municipal policies of Nijmegen seem to reflect neo-liberal elements in accordance with national integration policies, but these local policies still diverge from the national assimilationist approach as they explicitly embody diversity and retain multiculturalist elements. In Nijmegen, diversity is a common thread in formulating all kinds of social policies. Proper interaction between people of diverse cultures is a core value. The municipality focuses on the empowerment of vulnerable groups such as refugee status holders, to ensure that all residents of Nijmegen have equal opportunities and equal access to public facilities (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2014). This aim also becomes clear when analysing specific policies designed for status holders.

In the most recent municipal policy document concerning the integration of status holders, entitled '*Status... en dan? Actieplan integratie van vergunninghouders 2016-2018*', it is mentioned that the city of Nijmegen always has had warm feelings for status holders. It is seen as important that people with different cultural backgrounds feel at home in the municipality and are able to participate in society equally. In order to facilitate and stimulate maximal integration of refugee status holders, the municipality formulated several objectives (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016b). First, the integration of status holders should start at an earlier point, by attaining relevant information of the status holder as early as possible. Second, a greater emphasis on the opportunities and talents of the individual status holder. These opportunities and talents serve as a basis for providing tailor-made approaches when it comes to integration. Approaches are demand-oriented. Third, to facilitate an integral approach to integration in cooperation with other integration partners. Nevertheless, the status holder remains responsible for his/her own integration process. Fourth and last, a local approach to integration, where existing structures and facilities in neighbourhoods are used as much as possible and citizen participation is stimulated (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016b).

Apart from the above objectives, the municipal policy explicitly attaches great value to participation and self-reliance of the status holder (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016b).

On the basis of the above section, it can be concluded that the integration policy of the municipality of Nijmegen reflects a neo-liberal focus on the self-responsibility of the migrant. This is in accordance with Dutch national integration policies. Despite this commonality, however, local integration policy in Nijmegen differs considerably from the national policy, following a local and two-sided, accommodative approach, embracing diversity and catering to the needs of the individual status holder.

### **3.6 Refugee housing policies and their effects on integration**

Now that a definition of integration has been established and both national and local integration policies have been discussed, this paragraph addresses refugee housing policies and their consequences for refugee integration.

National governments have increasingly identified housing as a key strategy for refugee integration, the goal often being to assist new migrants to achieve decent, safe and secure integration. Some countries have established laws concerning the housing of refugees (Phillips, 2006). In the Netherlands, as mentioned, this implies that the allocation of housing to refugee status holders is a decentralised and mandatory task that is carried out by municipalities on a local level (COA, n.d.; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). This makes municipalities key players in the housing of status holders. Municipalities, however, could face challenges as they strive to fulfil the housing mandate. They have to cope with a recent

enlargement of the mandate, which is often paired with limited availability of local housing (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a; Klaver et al., 2015; Phillips, 2006). In addition to availability, affordability of accommodation could also prove to be a constraining factor in regard to housing options of municipalities. Housing in poor areas, for example, will generally be more affordable than housing in richer areas. Thus, it can be concluded that the housing of status holders is dependent on fluctuations in the local housing market (Phillips, 2006). These challenges force many municipalities to be less flexible and to come up with creative solutions regarding the housing of status holders (Klaver et al., 2015; Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). In the municipality of Nijmegen, as introduced, this reduced flexibility resulted in the clustered housing of a group of Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk complex, despite an initial municipal preference for dispersed housing (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). Clustered housing at the Griftdijk complex contrasts municipal housing policies of the past, as status holders had typically been housed dispersed, spread out across Nijmegen (Cloin, 2016a).

Research by Phillips (2006) indicates that reduced flexibility of municipalities regarding the housing of refugees could possibly affect desired integration outcomes. Different housing involves different local conditions, different local opportunities, and different local experiences (Phillips, 2006; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015). As an example, Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015) note that forced housing of refugees in an area of relative poverty could lead to local tensions affecting both the refugee and local residents. Likewise, research by Phillips (2006) illustrates that some refugees that were assigned housing at a certain place experienced racist harassment from locals, whereas those settled in another place did not encounter this as much and mainly experienced a lack of contact with people of a similar background (Phillips, 2006). Furthermore, Phillips (2006) argues that housing could clearly affect a migrants' sense of security and belonging and also influence their structural access to healthcare, education, employment, and community relations.'

The above findings indicate that the integration process of refugees is intimately linked to their resettlement, and moreover, they justify a similar assumption in Nijmegen that housing either stimulates or hinders the integration process of status holders (see paragraph 1.1).

With above knowledge, it can be assumed that there is a difference in the integration process of the Eritrean status holders that were housed clustered at the Griftdijk complex on the one hand, and the Eritrean status holders that were housed dispersed throughout Nijmegen on the other hand.

*General assumption: housing stimulates or hinders the integration process of refugee status holders, and as such, there is a difference in the integration process of Eritrean status holders who were housed clustered at the Griftdijk complex and those who were housed dispersed throughout Nijmegen.*

The challenge is first to make the above general assumption more specific, and then to find out how the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders is in practice. This is done in the upcoming chapters, after discussing methodological principles of the research.

### **3.7 Chapter summary**

The first aim of this chapter was to establish a working definition of integration. Integration was found to constitute *“the long-term, contextualised, multidimensional, normative, two-sided and non-linear process in which migrants are successfully accepted into a social system.”* The chapter then continued by providing an overview of national integration policy in the Netherlands. While it was learned that the vague contexts of integration policy are often outlined by national governments, it became clear that cities have increasingly become the centrepiece of integration. This stressed the importance of studying the local level in integration research. Thereafter, it was concluded that the local integration policy in Nijmegen follows a two-sided accommodative approach, embracing diversity and catering to the needs of the individual status holder.

Eventually, it was argued that housing stimulates or hinders the integration process of refugee status holders, and as such, it was assumed that there is a difference in the integration process of Eritrean status holders who were housed clustered at the Griftdijk complex and those who were housed dispersed throughout Nijmegen.

## CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGY PART I: ASSEMBLING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 4.1 Chapter purpose

Now that relevant theoretical concepts have been introduced, it is important to explain which methodological approaches and techniques are used in this study. This is done in two different chapters. The following chapter discusses a research strategy of comparative monitoring and the composition of a conceptual framework. Further methodological considerations are addressed in Chapter 6.

### 4.2 Comparative monitoring of integration

In order to determine what research methods are most suitable for this research, it is helpful to have another look at the formulated research objective:

*Resolve if and how clustered and dispersed housing affect the integration of Eritrean refugee status holders in Nijmegen, in order to develop a better understanding of the integration process of Eritrean status holders, and in order to give guidance to the municipality of Nijmegen, who is responsible for the housing of these status holders.*

In order to fulfil the above objective, monitoring the integration processes of both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen is required. As described in Chapter 3, the integration process of a refugee can be monitored within a small timeframe, despite its long-term nature (Penninx, 2009). Then, what is the added value of monitoring the integration process of a refugee?

Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016) note that the study of public debates and policy documents - that serve as an input for integration processes - does not provide any information on the actual practice of integration. This is where monitoring integration becomes helpful. Being an analytical, evidence-based approach to immigrant integration, it offers an insight into integration outcomes and, in case of repeated monitoring, development of these outcomes (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016).

Monitoring is especially useful for (local) public institutions concerned with the integration of status holders. Strengths and weaknesses in the process are exposed and can serve as the basis for (re)specifying integration policies (Penninx, 2009). This is desirable, as one of the objectives of this research is to give guidance to the municipality of Nijmegen, who is responsible for the housing of Eritrean status holders.

Furthermore, Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas (2016) add that monitoring integration helps to gain insight into the diversity of the integration process itself, and lastly, Castles, De Haas and Miller (2014) argue that monitoring integration could prevent the social exclusion of refugees.

As for monitoring the integration of refugee status holders, the municipality of Nijmegen states that *“Monitoring is to be seen as a basic principle. Not just in terms of housing, but also most certainly when it comes to the results of integration. In order to assess how successful integration is, key indicators and solid measure moments are necessary”* (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a: 3). The municipality emphasises that it has insufficient insight into the integration process of status holders that have been accommodated in Nijmegen from 2013 onwards, and that a catch-up effort is needed (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016b).

Policy advisors of the municipality of Nijmegen also emphasize the great need of monitoring the integration of clustered Eritrean status holders, and more specifically the need for hard, evidence-based facts rather than interpretations, as the wide range of existing assumptions does not provide clear information on the integration process of these Eritrean status holders (Gemeente Nijmegen, personal communication, 4 April 2016).

*“Monitoring is to be seen as a basic principle. Not just in terms of housing, but also most certainly when it comes to the results of integration. In order to assess how successful integration is, key indicators and solid measure moments are necessary”* (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a: 3).

The relevance of monitoring integration has now been made clear. As this research aims to monitor the integration process of both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, the research takes on board a strategy of comparative monitoring. According to Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas (2016), comparative monitoring is key in integration research, as it helps to expose commonalities and differences in the integration process of migrants. A challenge in comparative monitoring, however, is to rule out variability between research groups as much as possible. In this perspective, the setting in Nijmegen is ideal, providing an opportunity to compare the integration process of refugees who are assigned different housing types in different local contexts, but who nevertheless acquired an equal legal status, share the same nationality, have similar pre-arrival experiences, arrived in Nijmegen in the same time frame, and, to some extent, have similar demographic characteristics.

The previous chapter established a working definition of integration and untangled several of its characteristics. It was found that integration is a long-term, contextualised, multidimensional, normative and two-sided process in which actors are successfully



accepted into a social system, with Eritrean status holders being the actors and the municipality of Nijmegen being the social system in the context of this research. Furthermore, it was illustrated that integration is based on the idea of a successful integrated social system, and that it consequently always bears a normative element (Stolz, 2011). On the basis of these findings, it is first of all necessary to find out what dimensions are thought to constitute successful integration in Nijmegen. Successful integration is, after all, still a rather vague normative concept at this point, and thus in need of further conceptualization. Establishing dimensions brings more meaning to the concept, but nevertheless, a certain degree of abstraction remains. Therefore, each of the established dimensions will consist of multiple indicators (see Figure 4.1). These indicators comprise concrete conditions for successful integration in Nijmegen and will later contribute to a careful operationalisation of the research.

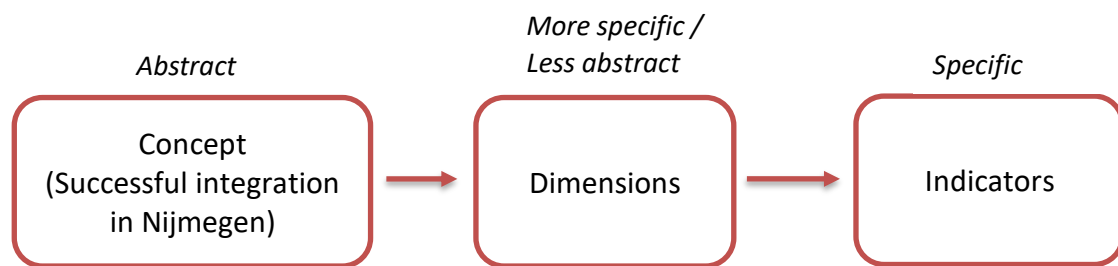


Figure 4.1: Multiple dimensions and indicators are used to conceptualise successful integration in Nijmegen.

In addition to establishing these dimensions and indicators of successful integration, a hypothesis on the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders can be formulated. It was assumed, after all, that there is a difference in the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. Nevertheless, it would not be thoughtful to formulate one general hypothesis stating that one group is more successfully integrated than the other, due to the multidimensional nature of integration. What can be done, however, is formulating a hypothesis for each of the established integration dimensions. Eventually, in order to monitor the integration process of clustered and dispersed status holders, these formulated hypotheses can be mirrored against empirical findings.

In sum, comparative monitoring of the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen requires considering integration dimensions and indicators that constitute successful integration in Nijmegen, as well as the formulation of hypotheses for each of these integration dimensions. Doing so eventually allows us to compare Eritrean status holders in clustered and dispersed housing situations on dimensions of successful integration in Nijmegen.

### 4.3 Assembling a conceptual framework

Integration dimensions and hypotheses regarding these dimensions for Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen can be linked in an analytical and coherent conceptual model. The conceptual framework forms the starting point for structuring the data collection of the research. Assembling such a framework comes together with a few challenges and should meet several conditions that are based on previous theoretical and methodological findings of the research (see also Table 4.1). First, as it was found that repeated monitoring of integration provides an insight in recent integration developments (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007), the aim is to develop the framework in such a way that it is qualified to monitor the integration process of (Eritrean) status holders in Nijmegen at future moments. Second, a key challenge is to develop the framework in such a way that it reflects normative understandings of successful integration in Nijmegen (see also Ager & Strang, 2008). Yet, it is important to avoid normative thinking on the side of the researcher and to work in a value-neutral and analytical way in order to retain a form of conceptual coherence. Third, the framework should reflect all characteristics of integration that were previously determined in paragraph 3.2. It should, for example, be capable of reflecting the multidimensional nature of integration. Fourth, the framework should be drafted in coherence with local, municipal policies in Nijmegen that were discussed in paragraph 3.5. Fifth, a challenge in assembling a conceptual framework is to incorporate the effects of housing into the framework, as it was found in paragraph 3.6 that different housing types affect integration experiences and outcomes. Sixth and last, the framework should take into account characteristics of the status holder and his/her country of origin (as discussed in Chapter 2) that could potentially influence the integration process in Nijmegen. This may include prior education and work experience of the status holder in the country of origin, as well as the alleged long arm of the Eritrean regime.

|   |
|---|
| 1. The framework should be qualified to monitor the integration process of status holders at future moments;  |
| 2. The framework should reflect normative understandings of successful integration in Nijmegen but meanwhile retain a form of conceptual coherence;             |
| 3. The framework should reflect the multidimensional, non-linear, two-sided nature of integration;  |
| 4. The framework should be drafted in coherence with local, municipal policies of the municipality of Nijmegen;   |
| 5. The framework should acknowledge and incorporate the effects of housing as different housing types are found to affect integration experiences and outcomes; |
| 6. The framework should take into account characteristics of the status holder and his/her country of origin.   |

*Table 4.1: Summary of conditions and challenges for assembling a conceptual framework that serves to monitor the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.*

Assembling a conceptual framework that consists of normative integration dimensions and hypotheses and that meets the above conditions requires an approach of explorative and

inductive nature. In this context, qualitative research is preferred, as it is useful in order to explore a newly emerging field of interest (i.e. dimensions and hypotheses regarding the successful integration of status holders into Nijmegen) on the basis of diverse data sources.

In order to establish the conceptual framework, a variety of qualitative data sources are used. These data sources are presented in Table 4.2. Triangulation of these sources enhances the validity of the conceptual framework.

As the framework should reflect local policies of the municipality of Nijmegen, it is first and foremost important to draw from municipal documents dealing with integration (policies) or integration-related issues. Second, observations are carried out at internal meetings of the municipality of Nijmegen, particularly at meetings of the refugee project team. Third, observations are carried out at external meetings with integration experts and stakeholders. In the case an external meeting was not attended by the author, information was drawn from written meeting reports as well as from internal reports by colleagues. Fourth, retrieved dimensions and hypotheses are substantiated by academic literature on integration, particularly drawing from academic journals and reports. Fifth and last, analysis of other local documents and events such as newspapers and (documents of) integration debates provides further insight into local integration discourse.

| What?  | Drawing from...   | Where?   |
|--|---|--|
| - Municipal integration policies                                   | - Municipal documents dealing with integration (policies) or integration-related issues |  |
| - Internal meetings at the municipality                            | - Internal conversations<br>- Internal discourse<br>- Internal documents                | - Mainly carried out at and around internal meetings of the refugee project team at the municipality of Nijmegen |
| - Meetings involving external integration experts and stakeholders | - External conversations<br>- External discourse<br>- External documents                | - External meetings at the municipality of Nijmegen<br>- External meetings held elsewhere                        |
| - Academic literature  | - Academic journals<br>- Academic reports   |  |
| - Other local documents and events                                 | - Newspaper articles<br>- (Documents of) Integration debates                            |  |

*Table 4.2: Overview of data sources that were used in order to develop the conceptual framework.*

In order not to lose track of the large number of data sources and in order to analyse the content of these sources in a structured way, qualitative coding is done using ATLAS.ti, a program for the analysis of qualitative data. First, written and visual material from the

above data sources is bundled in one data file. Then, coding of data parts is done on the basis of their similarity, frequency, sequence and causation. Dominant patterns and themes that are revealed through coding eventually serve to establish dimensions and hypotheses that form the conceptual framework of the research.

#### **4.4 Chapter summary**

In this chapter, it was argued that comparative monitoring is an appropriate strategy in order to fulfil the research objective. Comparative monitoring of the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen requires considering integration dimensions and indicators that constitute successful integration in Nijmegen, as well as the formulation of hypotheses for each these integration dimensions. These hypotheses can eventually be mirrored against empirical findings. Dimensions, indicators and hypotheses are based on a variety of data sources and will be bundled in one analytical and coherent conceptual framework.

## CHAPTER 5 – CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: DIMENSIONS, INDICATORS AND HYPOTHESES OF SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION IN NIJMEGEN

### 5.1 Chapter purpose

On the basis of the data sources that were presented in Table 4.2, this chapter aims to identify integration dimensions and indicators that constitute successful integration in Nijmegen, as well as to formulate hypotheses regarding the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritreans on these dimensions. The established dimensions, indicators and hypotheses are grouped in an analytical, coherent and dynamic conceptual framework that eventually serves to monitor the integration process of both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the challenges and conditions of Table 4.1 are taken into account when developing the framework.

### 5.2 Dimensions, indicators and hypotheses of successful integration in Nijmegen

The below dimensions are thought to constitute successful integration in Nijmegen. These form the backbone of the conceptual framework. As argued, each dimension consists of multiple indicators, and a hypothesis is formulated for every dimension. The inclusion of these dimensions and its indicators, as well as the formulation of hypotheses, is based on the data sources that were presented in Table 4.2.

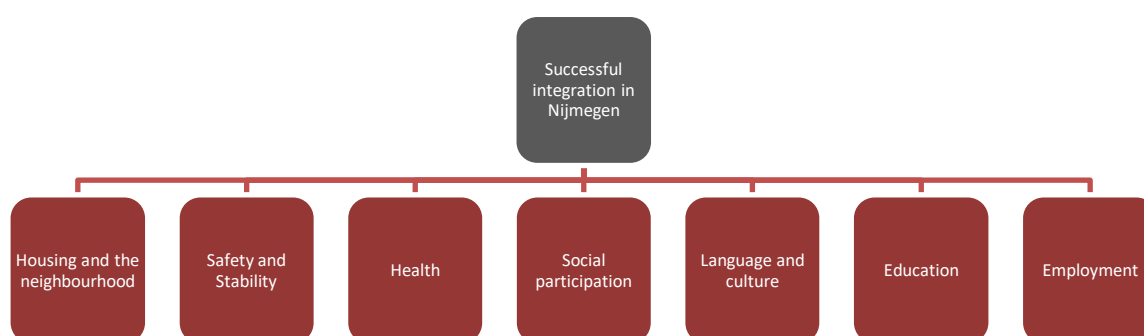


Figure 5.1: Dimensions that constitute successful integration in Nijmegen.

In Chapter 3, it was illustrated that integration is a relational and non-linear concept. As such, it is likely that many of the established dimensions and indicators are interconnected and able to influence each other over time. This way, successful integration on one of the above dimensions might have a positive effect on one or more other dimensions. Failed integration on one of the dimensions might hinder integration on other dimensions. Also, certain indicators could complement and/or partially overlap each other.

### 5.2.1 Housing and the neighbourhood

Moving from one country to another inevitably involves acquiring new needs in the host country, such as housing (Penninx, 2003). The importance of housing for refugees becomes clear in a survey that was conducted by Phillips (2006) among British refugees. It was concluded that over two-third sees housing as a primary condition for improving their everyday lives. A Somali woman stated: *“All I want is a nice place to live for me and my family [...] for a peaceful life”* (Phillips, 2006: 551). This seems fairly logical from a refugee’s perspective. Some refugees have been forced to abandon their houses, whereas others underwent an uncertain journey and were exposed to traumatic events while moving from place to place. The study of Phillips (2006) concluded that decent, secure housing in a safe environment was seen as one of the prerequisites for successful refugee integration.

A study by Ager and Strang (2008) also concludes that housing is vital for the integration of refugees. In addition to good physical housing, it is particularly emphasised that a refugee must be able to feel at home. A house needs to be a home. This is also stressed by the municipality of Nijmegen. Safe and stable housing is a core principle in their current integration policy. Status holders need to feel safe at their housing facilities and be able to feel a sense of domesticity (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). Integration stakeholders from the Nijmegen region have a similar desire: status holders *“...just need to be able to live in a good way”* (Dialogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016).

The importance of housing for a refugee is also apparent from the lived-space theory of the German philosopher Otto Friedrich Bollnow. Bollnow (1961) argues that every fugitive on Earth is in need of a solid dwelling place. One needs the dwelling as a protected area, as a place in which he/she can retreat and can be relieved of all his/her fears and anxious feelings. A house offers a quiet and inviolable area of peace, and it is differentiated from a chaotic outside world, where potential dangers lie ahead. Bollnow argues that the boundaries between the inside and the outside world are set by the individual and that they most obviously can be found in the walls of the house. The walls of a house carve out a private space within a universal and open space. Or, in Bollnow’s words, they separate an inner space from outer space. However, it is not just the safety of the inner space that matters. Life develops in both inner and outer space, and as such, the challenge for the fugitive is to find an opening to the environment surrounding the house. After all, one would languish if staying in his/her house forever (Bollnow, 1961).

With the above knowledge, it can be concluded that a refugee benefits from good, safe housing, and that housing cannot be seen separately from its surroundings. Therefore, housing and the neighbourhood are jointly considered as one dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen.

A common indicator of housing integration is the *overall housing satisfaction* of refugees. (Phillips, 2006; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015). This indicator is also of use in Nijmegen. The municipality of Nijmegen and integration stakeholders in the Nijmegen region hope to ensure that all refugees are satisfied with the housing that has been offered to them (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a).

It was found that housing cannot be seen separately from its surroundings. In addition to housing satisfaction, it is therefore valuable to study the *neighbourhood satisfaction* of a refugee. Research by Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015) among refugees in the United Kingdom illustrates that there are major differences in terms of neighbourhood perception. Refugees in Sheffield were generally satisfied with their surroundings, whereas refugees in Hull were dissatisfied with their neighbourhood and spoke of a “*bad area*” (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015: 484). It is therefore interesting to find out how refugees perceive the local area in which they are housed. In Nijmegen, are clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders satisfied with the area surrounding their house?

Another frequently mentioned indicator is the *quality of housing* for refugees. The argument is that a poor housing quality could have adverse effects on other aspects of integration, such as safety and health (Phillips, 2006; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015). Quality of housing is also relevant in this study, as decent housing for refugees is an objective of the municipality of Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). Research by Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015) in the United Kingdom revealed that refugees were most dissatisfied with the limited size of their homes and with poor conditions inside their house. In this study, quality of housing mainly concerned physical aspects of housing, such as housing size and housing interior. It also involved the level of safety at home (Platts & Fowler & Robinson, 2015). In another study on refugee housing in the United Kingdom, overcrowding is also seen as a component of housing quality (Phillips, 2006). Based on these findings, it is useful to test the housing quality of both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen: how do they perceive the size and the interior of their house? Do they feel safe and do they have sufficient privacy at home?

In Chapter 1, it was illustrated that a status holder has hardly any say in terms of housing and the residential area he/she will be living in. Therefore, it might prove useful to study the *housing and neighbourhood preferences* of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. What are their actual preferences in terms of housing? Would they like to continue to live in their house? And would they like to continue to live in Nijmegen? In a previous integration monitor of the municipality of Nijmegen, ‘attachment to the city’ was regarded a measure of successful integration (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2006).

On the basis of the above findings, the housing and the neighbourhood dimension can be divided into four indicators. These are shown in Table 5.1.

| Dimension                        | Indicator                             | A status holder is successfully integrated in Nijmegen if he/she...      |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Housing and the neighbourhood | Overall housing satisfaction          | ... is satisfied with the housing that has been provided.                |
|                                  | Neighbourhood satisfaction            | ... is satisfied with the neighbourhood where he/she has been housed.    |
|                                  | Housing quality                       | ... has been provided housing of decent quality.                         |
|                                  | Housing and neighbourhood preferences | ... would like to continue to live in the same house and/or in Nijmegen. |

Table 5.1: Indicators of the dimension housing and the neighbourhood.

Unlike dispersed housing, the Griftdijk complex is a form of temporary, improvised housing, in which relatively small living units, as well as many facilities within these units, are shared among residents. Building inspection revealed that the complex has a number of structural defects. However, shortcomings had been resolved prior to the housing of Eritrean status holders (Gemeente Nijmegen 2015a). Nevertheless, an Eritrea-expert who is closely involved in the housing of Eritrean status holders is critical of the state and the interior of the complex. The complex would not feel like a home for its Eritrean residents (Cloïn, 2016a).

Therefore, it is likely that clustered Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk complex are generally less satisfied with (the quality of) their homes than dispersed Eritreans. As such, the following hypothesis can be formulated for the housing and the neighbourhood dimension:

*H1 – Housing and the neighbourhood: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

### 5.2.2 Safety and stability

According to Ager and Strang (2008), safety and stability are core principles of a successful integration. It is argued that every refugee is in need of a place of safety, security and stability (Ager and Strang, 2008). Although the municipality of Nijmegen, integration experts and integration stakeholders in Nijmegen do not explicitly speak of safety and stability, they do frequently mention a number of topics that are considered as indicators under this heading.

First of all, frequent attention in Nijmegen is drawn to tolerance and openness of the receiving society. It is believed that successful integration occurs more quickly when status



holders *feel welcome and accepted* in the neighbourhood and the city where they are housed. The aim is that one should be able to get such a sense of acceptance anywhere in the city (Cloin, 2016a; Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). Similarly, Ager and Strang (2008: 180) conclude that *“friendliness from the settled community was very important in helping refugees to feel more secure and persuading them that their presence was not resented”*. In this context, friendliness was often being referred to as a lack of conflict and a sense of acceptance. Perceived friendliness was understood to support aspects of a successful integration (Ager and Strang, 2008; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015). Moreover, if a friendly environment is lacking and refugee newcomers face hostility, they may feel forced to move elsewhere (Phillips, 2006).

An earlier integration monitor of the municipality of Nijmegen already discussed the acceptance of residents with a non-Western migrant background. The monitor mainly focused on discrimination and warned for polarisation and a lack of acceptance (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007; 2008). Engbersen et al. (2015) also point to the risks of the refugee discrimination for other facets of integration, such as employment.

On the basis of these findings, it is useful to study how clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders perceive their neighbours and fellow residents of Nijmegen: do they feel accepted and welcome in the city?

In line with being accepted is the *personal safety* of a status holder. In the first instance, two forms of harassment are being distinguished that negatively impact the personal safety of a refugee. These are verbal harassment, such as insults or racial abuse, and physical harassment (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015). According to Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015: 485), *living in fear of abuse or harassment can undermine well-being and serves to limit opportunities for interaction, engagement, and participation*. Personal safety, however, goes beyond verbal abuse and actual violence: it is also about a general feeling of safety as perceived by a refugee. Ager and Strang (2008) *“Refugees often indicated that if they did not feel physically safe in an area they could not feel integrated”* (Ager and Strang, 2008). It is thus interesting to study the personal safety of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

The municipality of Nijmegen and integration stakeholders share a view that status holders should know their way around in the city. *Knowledge of their physical surroundings* is desirable for the purpose of self-reliance (Dialogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). Moreover, Ager and Strang (2008) emphasise that a good familiarity with their surroundings could result in better access to social services for refugees. The above gives rise to the question whether Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen know their way around the city.

For the purposes of self-reliance and stability, it is also important that status holders learn how to handle their financial matters (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a; Phillips, 2006). The

municipality indicates that status holders often have troubles managing their income and expenditure. This could jeopardise their *financial security*. In the past, several status holders got in debt, something which the municipality tries to prevent (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a; 2016a). Integration experts from the Nijmegen region stress the value of monitoring the finances of status holders and suggest to assess whether they have sufficient financial resources (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016).

Status holders in Nijmegen face lots of legislation and generally experience much bureaucracy. Clustered Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk complex are said to particularly have difficulties in coping with letters by mail (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). This threatens the *administrative security* of status holders, which, according to integration experts from the Nijmegen region, is also important for the purpose of self-reliance (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016).

As a result of the aforementioned legislation and bureaucracy, status holders are relatively often in contact with various public authorities. Ager and Strang (2008) argue that refugees benefit from a good relationship with these authorities. Good social links, i.e. connections between an individual and public authorities, enable refugees to have equally good access to social services as native residents and could consequently help their integration. Good social links may be difficult to achieve in the case of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. In Chapter 2, it was concluded that the political situation in country of origin Eritrea gave rise to a general culture of fear and distrust among Eritreans. As a result, Eritreans in Nijmegen may have less faith in public authorities. Therefore, it is useful to study Eritrean status holders' *perception of the Dutch public authorities*.

Chapter 2 addressed the influence of the so-called 'long arm' of the Eritrean regime on Eritreans in the Netherlands, potentially causing a continuation of a culture of fear that was already present in Eritrea, and resulting in tensions, distrust and instability among Eritreans in the Netherlands (Bolwijn & Modderkolk; 2016; Pharos, 2016). Integration stakeholders warn that this long arm might also affect Eritreans in Nijmegen in a negative way, hindering them in making independent choices that could benefit their integration into society (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016). These concerns give reason to analyse Eritrean status holders' perception of the Eritrean government: do they fear the *long arm of the Eritrean regime*?

In short, the above findings give reason to consider safety and stability as facilitators of integration. Jointly they constitute one dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen, which is thus embedded into the conceptual framework. As depicted in the table below, the dimension consists of seven indicators.

| Dimension            | Indicator                                  |
|----------------------|--|
| Safety and stability | Feeling accepted                           |
|                      | Personal safety                            |
|                      | Familiarity with physical surroundings     |
|                      | Financial security                         |
|                      | Administrative security                    |
|                      | Perception of the Dutch public authorities |
|                      | Long arm of the country of origin          |

*Table 5.2: Indicators of the dimension safety and stability.*

As became clear in the previous section of this paragraph, the above indicators could affect the safety and stability of both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. It is likely, however, that both groups score differently on several of these indicators.

Ager and Strang (2008) mention that dispersed housing strategies lead to less stability for refugees. Moreover, it is emphasised that refugees generally experience less harassment and abuse and subsequently feel safer in places where more refugees are accommodated (Ager & Strang, 2008). In view of the above, it is likely that clustered Eritreans at Griftdijk, living between fellow Eritrean refugees, experience more safety and stability than dispersed Eritreans, who are mostly housed between native Dutch and in areas where refugee settlement is less prevalent.

Clustered housing at the Griftdijk complex is more affordable than dispersed housing elsewhere in Nijmegen. Consequently, clustered Eritreans pay less rent, which could benefit their financial security (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). Integration stakeholders in Nijmegen, however, remark that clustered housing could hinder the self-reliance of Eritrean status holders. It is said that several Eritreans at Griftdijk hand over their administrative matters to housemates and other residents (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016). This could manifest itself in a lower administrative security in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.

In places where refugee settlement is more prevalent, governments usually offer more social services that serve to stimulate the integration of refugees (Ager & Strang, 2008; Phillips, 2006; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015). This is also the case in Nijmegen, as was found in the first chapter. Clustered Eritreans at Griftdijk have increased access to social services that were initiated by the municipality in comparison to their dispersed counterparts. This may result in more stability and a better perception of the public authorities among clustered status holders.

It is difficult to estimate to what extent clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are affected by the long arm of Eritrea. Due to the sustained collectivism and a

lesser degree of privacy at the Griftdijk complex, it is likely that clustered Eritreans have a more anxious perception of the Eritrean regime than dispersed Eritreans. In addition, aforementioned risks at Griftdijk, such as peer pressure and mirroring, cause clustered Eritreans to be more prone to a potential influence of the regime.

Although it is expected that both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen have issues in terms of safety and stability, the above findings suggest that the position of the former is slightly better than the position of the latter. This gives rise to the following hypothesis regarding the employment dimension:

*H2 – Safety and stability: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly better in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

### **5.2.3 Health**

Although health was mentioned less frequently than other dimensions, both the municipality of Nijmegen and integration experts in the Nijmegen region acknowledge that good health, in the broadest sense, is vital for the successful integration of status holders (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016). Experts emphasise that it is important to assess status holders' state of health, due to a relatively high risk of health problems. In this way, early prevention can take place, and health services can be better attuned to status holders' state of health (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016).

Ager and Strang (2008) argue that attention should be paid to specific health problems and risks among refugee groups. In the case of refugees of Eritrean origin, some physical health problems have been identified in the past. These include scabies, malaria, hepatitis and tuberculosis (Pharos, 2016).

In Chapter 2 it was mentioned that it is very common for (multiple generations of) Eritrean families to live under one roof, and that most Eritreans are accustomed to a collectivist culture (PreciesAdvies, personal communication, 6 September 2016). Physical contact between Eritreans is therefore common, increasing the risk of physical health problems (Pharos, 2016). As such, it is useful to assess the *physical health* of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

In Chapter 2 it was also found that mental problems of psychosocial nature are present among Eritrean status holders. As specified, these problems are often the result of experiences in their country of origin Eritrea, during their stay in the Netherlands or the journey in-between (Engbersen et al., 2015; Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). Problems that are

mentioned frequently include stress, anxiety, fatigue, insomnia and bad dreams (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016; Pharos, 2016).

Engbersen et al. (2015) state that people with a poor mental health are less likely to find work. This is also evident from the story of a 'first flow' Eritrean who ended up in Nijmegen during the late 90s. Mental problems hindered finding work and moreover strengthened depressive feelings and isolation (Cloïn, 2016b). It is therefore desirable to study the *mental health* of the Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen and thus to incorporate mental health as an indicator in the conceptual framework.

It is said that health problems are hardly discussed among young Eritreans. In particular, there would be a taboo on discussing mental problems. Moreover, own health problems are often relativised and compared to the suffering of others (Pharos, 2016). This may be related to the image of Eritreans that was outlined in Chapter 2: due to a conservative upbringing and the repressive political climate in Eritrea, Eritrean status holders are likely to be rather timid, distrustful and not used to formulating an opinion and expressing themselves (PreciesAdvies, personal communication, 6 September 2016).

Integration stakeholders in Nijmegen have previously estimated that half of the clustered Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk complex do not independently make use of the general practitioner and other health care services (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016).

With regard to the above, it is interesting to study how both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders *cope with illness*. Are health problems discussed and with whom? And does one find its way to health care services in case of illness?

Both the municipality of Nijmegen and integration experts from the Nijmegen region recognise the importance of prevention in order to tackle health problems among status holders (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen 2016a). Prevention may include promoting a healthy lifestyle and limiting potential addiction risks (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). The municipality also focuses on prevention, among which information about alcohol and drug use (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a).

Research of Pharos (2016) addresses potential addiction risks among young Eritreans in the Netherlands. It is concluded that these young Eritreans are more vulnerable to addictions such as alcohol and drugs. A young age and little (parental) supervision are believed to cause this. Possibly a traumatic past, lack of daytime activities and difficulty in handling freedom also play a role (Pharos, 2016). On the basis of the above findings and given the relatively low age of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, it is useful to examine their *lifestyle and the risk of addiction*.

In conclusion, health constitutes a dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen and is therefore incorporated in the conceptual framework. As depicted in the table below, the dimension consists of four indicators.

| Dimension | Indicator                       |
|-----------|---------------------------------|
| Health    | Physical health                 |
|           | Mental health                   |
|           | Coping with illness             |
|           | Lifestyle and risk of addiction |

*Table 5.3: Indicators of the dimension health.*

As became clear by now, young refugees from Eritrean origin have an increased chance of mental and physical health problems. It is likely that this applies to both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. Nevertheless, it is assumed that there are health differences between the two groups.

Because it is very common for Eritreans to live together under one roof, integration stakeholders in Nijmegen point out that clustered housing at the Griftdijk complex allows Eritreans to support each other in coping with possible trauma's, which in turn could have a positive influence on their mental health. Other stakeholders, however, emphasise that clustered housing could also cause stress and tensions among Eritreans. Therefore, it cannot be taken for granted that clustered Eritreans have a better mental health than their dispersed counterparts (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016).

As aforementioned in this paragraph, Eritreans in the Netherlands generally have an increased chance of physical health problems, due to their familiarity with a collectivist culture in which physical contact between Eritreans is common. Collectivism and physical contact are likely to sustain in the case of clustered housing of Eritreans. It is therefore expected that physical health problems are more likely to occur among clustered Eritreans than among dispersed Eritreans.

Moreover, it is likely that clustered Eritreans are more prone to addiction in comparison to dispersed Eritreans. It is believed that clustered housing may cause peer pressure and mirroring among Eritreans. Consequently, this could increase the chance of excessive alcohol abuse and addiction (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Pharos, 2016).

Although it is expected that both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status might experience some difficulties regarding health, the above findings suggest that the position of the latter is slightly better than the position of the former. This brings us to the following hypothesis regarding the employment dimension:

*H3 - Health: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

#### **5.2.4 Social participation**

In a previous municipal integration monitor concerning the integration of non-Western migrant groups, social participation constituted one of the main dimensions of integration. Then, social participation was broadly defined as the general participation in society (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). Currently, social participation is still considered a meaningful dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen. As is shown in the following section, two of its components are frequently mentioned: social contact and participation in social activities.

The municipality of Nijmegen and integration experts from the Nijmegen region almost unanimously emphasise the importance of social contact, making it one of the most relevant components of successful integration. Social contact in both the neighbourhood and in the city is seen as necessary in order to be able to integrate well in Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). It helps the status holder to build a social network and may also be beneficial for other facets of integration, such as learning the Dutch language and finding work (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). At the same time, social contact could contribute to a sense of acceptance and community building in the neighbourhood (Cloïn, 2016a, Expertmeeting Integration, personal communication, 10 May 2016). The latter is also emphasised by several local residents that live near the clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen-Lent. These residents hope for good social contact between Eritreans and original neighbourhood residents, eventually resulting in close ties and equal relations between the two groups (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Wijkraad Nijmegen-Noord, personal communication, 7 April 2016).

In the above situations, it is striking that social contact mostly refers to contact between refugee status holders and the native Dutch population. Ager and Strang (2008) describe this kind of contact between different communities as *social bridging*. As such, it is useful to study the social bridging among clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders. To what extent do they have contact with their Dutch neighbours and fellow citizens? Are they aware of the importance of social bridging?

In addition to social bridging, Ager and Strang (2008) distinguish another form of social contact that they believe is essential for the successful integration of refugees: *social bonding*. The difference with social bridging is that social bonding is not about contact between different communities, but about contact within a community that has been

formed on the basis of ethnicity, nationality or religion. In a study among refugees in the United Kingdom, it was concluded that “*involvement with one’s own ethnic group (bonding capital) influenced ‘quality of life’ independently of involvement with the local community (bridging capital)*” (Ager and Strang, 2008: 178). A good level of social contact with co-ethnicities would particularly help refugees in the early stages of their integration, for example in coping with possible trauma’s (Ager & Strang, 2008). Vice versa, Phillips (2006) argues that a lack of contact with people of a similar ethnic background could lead to feelings of isolation and depression.

In a previous integration monitor of the municipality of Nijmegen, it became clear that many non-Western migrants in the city attach great value to social bonding. This makes it interesting to study the social bonding of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. To what extent do they have contact with other Eritreans in Nijmegen and in the Netherlands? How do they value these contacts?

In addition to social contact with native Dutch, integration experts and the municipality of Nijmegen attach great importance to the *participation of status holders in social daytime activities*, preferably in the neighbourhood where they are housed (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). The view is that the participation of status holders in these activities enhances other facets of integration, such as their contact with native Dutch, their knowledge of the Dutch language, and their acceptance in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, passivity and boredom are believed to hamper the integration of status holders. Thus, meaningful daytime activities for status holders are desired (Cloïn, 2016a, 2016b; Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a).

Dutch neighbours of the clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen-Lent indicate that it would be nice if regular activities were organised by the Eritreans themselves. Nevertheless, they acknowledge that status holders are often dependent on activities that are organised by neighbourhood initiatives and VWON. Local residents in Lent find it particularly desirable that status holders participate in sports activities, for example at local sports clubs. There would be a high demand for this among Eritreans (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Wijkraad Nijmegen-Noord, personal communication, 7 April 2016). In addition to sports activities, integration experts would like to see Eritrean status holders participate in cultural activities, such as cooking, making music and dancing (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). A distinction between sports activities and cultural activities has previously been made in an earlier integration monitor of the municipality of Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007).

Corresponding with the above views in Nijmegen, research by Ager and Strang (2008) in the United Kingdom illustrates that both refugees and non-refugees consider participation in social activities as evidence that integration occurs. Hence, it is useful to study the participation of Eritrean status holders in social daytime activities. Are they aware of the



importance of (participation in) these social activities? And are they satisfied with the number of activities that are being organised?

| Dimension            | Indicator                          |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Social participation | Social bridging                    |
|                      | Social bonding                     |
|                      | Participation in social activities |

*Table 5.4: Indicators of the dimension social participation.*

A previous integration monitor of the municipality of Nijmegen revealed that residents with a non-Western immigrant background generally lagged behind in terms of social contact and participation in activities. Their participation in sports activities and cultural activities turned out considerably lower than the participation of native Dutch residents. (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). There is a chance that the abovementioned backlogs also apply to Eritrean status holders, but this should not be taken for granted. A study by Musterd and Ostendorf (2009) illustrates that there are generally large differences among ethnic groups in terms of their social contact (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2009).

Various integration stakeholders in Nijmegen are sceptical about the clustered housing of Eritreans. They believe that cohabitation reduces the need for Eritreans to go out and to get in contact with native Dutch neighbours. As such, clustered housing at the Griftdijk complex would hinder the social bridging between Eritreans and native Dutch. (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016). An integration stakeholder believes that the extra support for the clustered Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex is helpful, but that it does not outweigh the social contact that is generated in case of dispersed housing across the city. Despite additional commitment of the municipality, there is a fear of separate living environments (Cloïn, 2016a).

The above views in Nijmegen are based on the idea that spatial concentration diminishes the stimulus for ethnic minorities to come into contact with native Dutch. Van der Laan Bouma-Doff (2007) describes this idea as the 'isolation thesis' and argues that this is a widely held vision in both the general public as well as in integration policies. A study among ethnic minorities in Rotterdam subsequently confirmed that their spatial concentration led to less intercultural contact (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007).

With the above knowledge, it is likely that clustered Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk have a lower level of social bridging and participation in social activities than their dispersed counterparts. It is plausible, however, that clustered Eritreans have more contact within the Eritrean community, and thus a higher level of social bonding than dispersed Eritreans. A study by Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015) among refugees in the United Kingdom illustrates that refugees who are housed across the city experience difficulties maintaining regular contact with other refugees, as a result of their dispersal (Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015). This may also apply to dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

Although it is expected that both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen have issues in terms of social participation, the above findings suggest that the position of dispersed Eritreans is better than the position of clustered Eritreans. This gives rise to the following hypothesis for the social participation dimension:

*H4 – Social participation: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

### **5.2.5 Language and culture**

Both the municipality of Nijmegen and integration experts in the Nijmegen region consistently identify language and culture as meaningful measures of successful integration (Cloin, 2016b; Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen 2016a).

First, a sufficient *proficiency in the Dutch language* is seen as highly important. According to experts, a good command of the Dutch language forms the basis of several other facets of integration, such as employment and social participation (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). The municipality of Nijmegen emphasises that language deficits for status holders should be prevented (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). This is also acknowledged by Ager and Strang (2008). Not speaking the language of the host country could lead to barriers and backlogs in terms of integration and may require additional effort of government institutions and communities to keep services accessible for status holders. As an example, language difficulties could hinder smooth communication of refugees with health care professionals (Ager & Strang, 2008). Additionally, status holders are often considered difficult to employ due to their lack of proficiency in Dutch (Engbersen et al., 2015; Razenberg & De Gruijter, 2016).

In order to obtain a good command of Dutch, it is desirable that status holders actively learn the language. *Participation in language classes* can thereby be of great value (Engbersen et al., 2015; Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). Moreover, municipalities in the Netherlands see language education as the most suitable instrument for participation on the labour market (Razenberg & De Gruijter, 2016).

Apart from attending language courses, it is essential that status holders put their language skills into practice on a regular basis. *Support in learning the Dutch language* is therefore helpful, for example in the form of a Dutch language buddy who helps status holders in learning the language (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). In line with this, Ager and Strang (2008) note that learning

the language of a host country is usually a lengthy process, and that language support for refugees is likely to be of significance.

In a previous integration monitor of the municipality of Nijmegen, it was perceived that proficiency in the Dutch language is linked to *knowledge of Dutch culture and customs* (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). At present, the municipality continues to recognise the importance of learning about Dutch culture and core values of the Dutch society, in addition to learning the Dutch language (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). Likewise, integration experts and stakeholders share a view that status holders should not limit themselves to focusing on their own cultures. Knowledge of Dutch culture and customs could help them to participate in society (Dialogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). Research by Ager and Strang (2008) also highlighted the value of a broader cultural knowledge in enabling the successful integration of refugees, having positive effects for both the receiving community and refugees themselves. In the United Kingdom, many refugees seemed aware of this. It was found that “*refugees [...] generally acknowledged their need to develop an understanding of cultural expectations in the areas in which they were living*” (Ager & Strang, 2008: 182-183).

Knowing that proficiency of the Dutch language and knowledge of Dutch culture and customs are seen as key principles in Nijmegen, and that learning the language and culture can be a goal of refugees themselves, it is useful to consider an Eritrean status holder’s *perception of Dutch language and culture*. How do the clustered and dispersed Eritreans in Nijmegen perceive the Dutch language and culture? Is a status holder aware of the importance of learning the Dutch language, culture and customs?

In addition to learning about Dutch culture and customs, Eritreans should also have the possibility to maintain their own cultural identity, given the two-sided nature of integration that was argued for in this research. Eritreans in the Netherlands particularly express their identity through religion (Pharos, 2016). Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, who nearly all have an Orthodox Christian belief, also seem to attach great importance to their religious identity. Religious services are often organised at the clustered Griftdijk complex and attract Eritreans from far and wide. As such, several integration stakeholders in Nijmegen advocate to include the role of religion in the integration perspective of the Eritrean status holders. Religion could, for example, help Eritreans cope with traumas and acculturation stress (Dialogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016). Similarly, based on previous experiences with refugees from Eritrea’s neighbouring country Sudan, it is argued that religion could help Eritreans in coping with difficult events and to keep on the straight and the narrow. In addition, church attendance is seen as a way to get in touch with fellow Eritreans, stimulating social bonding (Pharos, 2016). Finally, in favour of Christian Eritreans

is that refugees with a Christian background were found to have a greater chance of participating in the labour market in Western countries (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016).

Nevertheless, the positive influence of religion on integration is disputed. Concerns have been voiced by integration experts from the Nijmegen region. Their main concern is that great devotion to a religion, e.g. very frequent participation in religious services, is at the expense of other aspects of a successful integration, such as participation in language classes and social activities, inter-ethnic contact with native Dutch and education (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). Similarly, a policy advisor of the municipality of Nijmegen emphasises that it is important to keep a balance between devotion to religion and other aspects of integration (Gemeente Nijmegen, personal communication, 7 July 2016).

Based on the above views on religion and integration, it is interesting to look at the role of religion for clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. How do the Eritreans value religion? And do they have adequate facilities to practice their religious beliefs? However, the answers to these questions are for information purposes only. Due to the lack of consensus in Nijmegen on the role of religion in integration, religion will not serve as an indicator in the conceptual framework of successful integration.

In sum, language and culture are jointly considered as one dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen. The dimension consists of five indicators. These are depicted in the table below.

| Dimension            | Indicator                                     |
|----------------------|---|
| Language and culture | Dutch language proficiency                    |
|                      | Participation in language and culture classes |
|                      | Support in learning the Dutch language        |
|                      | Knowledge of Dutch culture and customs        |
|                      | Perception of Dutch language and culture      |

Table 5.5: Indicators of the dimension language and culture.

In Chapter 2 it was illustrated that Eritrean status holders come from a country with a very low level of human development and an entirely different culture (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). It was also found that some Eritreans are linguistically deprived in their own language and thus functionally illiterate. As such, learning the language and culture of the host country can be a challenging and lengthy process for several Eritreans in Nijmegen. In addition, Favell (2008) argues that the receiving Dutch society could also form an obstacle for newcomers in learning the Dutch language. He emphasises the inconsistency of the Dutch society: on the one hand, all newcomers are expected to learn and speak the Dutch language, but on the other hand, doing so has not been made easy for newcomers. Favell (2008: 144) explains that *“the Dutch have long mastered a double game with English and their own language, that ensures that fluency in the former – that is fully functional, open, and automatic across much of society – while preserving an inner world of Dutch*

*communication – to which it is extraordinarily difficult for foreigners to get access.” Favell (2008) clarifies that Dutch natives have a way of imposing English on many situations, regardless of a newcomer’s proficiency in Dutch.*

On the basis of above findings and due to a relatively short presence in Nijmegen, it is assumed that both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen do not score very well in terms of language and culture. In the past, relatively large language deficiencies have already been detected among non-Western migrants in Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2008).

Based on extensive research in Rotterdam, Van der Laan Bouma-Doff (2007) argues that the spatial concentration of ethnic minorities in Dutch urban areas is likely to lead to a preservation of own language and culture, rather than a good command of the Dutch language and culture. The underlying idea is that these ethnic minorities live isolated from native Dutch and therefore have limited intercultural contact. Consequently, they have less need to learn the Dutch language and to orient themselves on the Dutch culture and customs. In turn, this could hinder the successful integration on other integration dimensions. The above reasoning is referred to as the ‘isolation thesis’ (Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007).

The municipality of Nijmegen seems to be aware of the above and believes that the clustered housing of Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex requires additional commitment in the field of language and culture. To reduce language deficits, clustered Eritreans are appointed a language coach of VWON – as far as available – who assists in learning the Dutch language and culture (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). Nevertheless, the clustered Eritreans, as a form of spatial concentration of an ethnic minority and even more, a form of ethnic cohabitation, will have less need to learn the Dutch language and to orient themselves towards Dutch culture and customs in comparison to their dispersed counterparts that were housed spread out across Nijmegen.

In sum, although expected that both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders do not score well in terms of language and culture, the isolation theory of Van der Laan Bouma-Doff (2007) suggests that the position of the latter is better than the position of the former. This brings us to the following hypothesis regarding the language and culture dimension:

*H5 – Language and culture: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

### 5.2.6 Education

The municipality of Nijmegen attaches great importance to education programs for status holders in Nijmegen. According to the municipality, education contributes to their successful integration (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a, 2016c).

The value of participation in education programs in Nijmegen is evident from research by De Greef (2011). Participants experienced multiple positive effects in the field of language control, the labour market and their social inclusion (De Greef, 2011)

This is in line with the view of Ager and Strang (2008: 172), that *“education clearly provides skills and competencies in support of subsequent employment enabling people to become more constructive and active members of society.”*

Attention for education is not a new phenomenon. Education was one of the four focal points of former integration policy (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2008). Then, an important point of action was valuing the previous education that status holders attained in their country of origin (Cloïn, 2016b; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2008). However, valuing previous education is difficult in practice. A major constraint is that status holders often do not possess (correct) diplomas to enter the Dutch labour market (Engbersen et al., 2015; Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). Consequently, Leerkes and Scholten (2016) argue that high-level previous education in the country of origin does not guarantee the successful integration of a status holder in the host country. However, it is acknowledged that well-educated status holders are generally more successful than status holders refugees with little to no previous education (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). For this reason, it is useful to analyse the *education in the country of origin* of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

In addition to previous education in the country of origin, Engbersen et al. (2015) specifically underline the importance of attending education in the Netherlands. It is argued that there are more work opportunities for people who complete education in the Netherlands rather than those who completed their education in the country of origin. Schooling in the Netherlands greatly improves the chance of labour participation by refugee groups (Engbersen et al., 2015). Earlier research by the municipality of Nijmegen revealed a similar positive link between attending education in Nijmegen and labour participation (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007).

Now, both the municipality of Nijmegen and integration experts from the Nijmegen region attach high priority to education for status holders. In addition to language education, that was already classified as an indicator of the language and culture dimension, there is primarily a focus on vocational and professional education, such as obtaining a basic qualification and participation in retraining programmes (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). It is therefore essential to take into account the *current professional education* of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

Not surprisingly, education could also be an objective of status holders themselves (Cloin, 2016b). It is therefore helpful to consider a status holder's *perception of education*. How do they look at education? Is a status holder aware of the importance of professional and vocational education?

Apparent from research by Ager and Strang is that the education system in a host country is often vastly different from the system in the country of origin. A lack of information about the new education system causes unfamiliarity among refugees, which could hinder the potential of education to support successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008).

A proper provision of information is therefore important, in order to create an *awareness of educational opportunities*, subsequently allowing refugees to make a sensible choice in terms of education (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016).

In sum, the dimension education is included in the conceptual framework and consists of four indicators, as depicted in the table below.

| Dimension | Indicator   |
|-----------|---|
| Education | Education in the country of origin                  |
|           | Current vocational or professional education        |
|           | Perception of vocational and professional education |
|           | Awareness of educational opportunities              |

Table 5.6: Indicators of the dimension education.

In Chapter 2 it was shown that Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands generally have a low level of education for Dutch standards (Pharos, 2016). Furthermore, previous research by the municipality of Nijmegen revealed that residents with a non-Western migrant background have a low education participation in comparison to residents of Dutch origin (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). On the basis of above conclusions and due to a relatively short presence in Nijmegen, it is assumed that both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen do not score well in terms of education. However, Musterd and Ostendorf (2009) point to the educational prospects and qualities of younger people in comparison to the elderly. The low age of many Eritreans in Nijmegen may provide many educational opportunities.

The municipality of Nijmegen is putting extra effort in guiding clustered Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk complex towards education (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a). Consequently, clustered Eritreans might have a slight advantage when it comes to educational participation. However, given their low age, it is probable that they have a lower level of previous education in comparison to dispersed Eritreans, where the average age is somewhat higher. Young Eritreans who fled may have missed education in Eritrea, and have often not followed any education during their journey to Europe (Pharos, 2016).

It is mentioned, however, that there does not necessarily have to be a link between segregation of ethnic minorities and education, due to the qualitatively good Dutch education system that is easily accessible for everyone in the Netherlands (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009).

The above reasoning suggests that the position of clustered Eritrean status holders does not differ significantly from the position of their dispersed counterparts. This brings us to the following hypothesis regarding the education dimension:

*H6 - Education: clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score the same.*

### **5.2.7 Employment**

The importance of employment for successful integration is abundant in academic literature (see Ager & Strang, 2008; Phillips, 2006; Platts-Fowler & Robinson, 2015). Ager and Strang (2008) note that employment comprises perhaps the most researched area of refugee integration.

Employment is also considered a meaningful measure of successful integration in Nijmegen. The municipality of Nijmegen assumes that employment particularly contributes to having a goal and a structure in life – something which is helpful in order to foster the successful integration of status holders (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a, 2016c). Consequently, the municipality aims for a rapid entry of status holders into the labour market. It is believed that access to work should be central from the very start of the integration process (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). This is a view that is shared by many municipalities in the Netherlands (Engbersen et al., 2015).

In addition, the importance of employment for rapid integration is recognised by integration experts and stakeholders from the Nijmegen region (Cloin, 2016b; Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). Experts in Nijmegen emphasise that a status holder's *work experience in the country of origin* is conducive to finding work in the Netherlands – and subsequently to a successful integration (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). This is in line with the view of Leerkes & Scholten (2016) that the background of a migrant could potentially influence its integration process. The municipality of Nijmegen made earlier efforts to value work experience of status holders in the '*Deltaplan voor integratie*', a multifaceted integration plan that was published in 2004 (Cloin, 2016b).

In addition to previous work experience, a status holder's *current employment* is widely regarded as a major indicator of successful integration into Nijmegen. One of the present aims of the municipality of Nijmegen is to stimulate active participation of status holders



on the labour market (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016b). This has also been a core principle in earlier municipal integration policies (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2008) and was moreover addressed in a municipal integration monitor regarding the integration of non-Western migrant groups. At the time, the monitor concluded that these groups were underrepresented in the labour market. It is, therefore, useful to consider the current position on the labour market of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). In support of this, 95 per cent of all municipalities in the Netherlands indicate that it is helpful to monitor the entry of status holders into the labour market (Razenberg & De Gruijter, 2016).

Two forms of labour are often mentioned in Nijmegen: paid work and unpaid/voluntary work (De Greef, 2012; Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016c). Both are perceived as positive for social contact and gaining work experience (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). However, paid work is unsurprisingly the most desirable of the two, as municipalities are responsible for issuing and coordinating social welfare to status holders. Thus, the participation of status holders in the labour market could relieve municipal spending on social welfare (Rijksoverheid & VNG, 2016). Furthermore, paid work is preferred from a status holders' perspective because it allows them to generate an income and to become increasingly self-sufficient (Dialogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). The above makes unpaid/voluntary work seem less important, but research of Razenberg & De Gruijter (2016) reveals that municipalities in the Netherlands are most often committed to voluntary work in order to stimulate participation on the labour market.

In addition to being a goal of the municipality of Nijmegen, active participation on the labour market is often an aim of status holders themselves. This is evident from the story of a Somali status holder in Nijmegen, who states that he did not come to the Netherlands just to be safe. He intends to make the most out of life, and therefore he actively aims for a job in electrical engineering. The story, as penned by Cloin (2016b), depicts an ambitious status holder who has a positive attitude towards employment. Such an attitude is preferred by integration experts in the Nijmegen region, as it is believed that motivated status holders are likely to integrate at a faster pace (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016). Moreover, in accordance with its focus on the self-responsibility of the migrant, the municipality of Nijmegen indicates that it primarily supports motivated status holders in finding work (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016c). Therefore, it is helpful to take into account a status holder's *perception of employment*. Is a status holder aware of the importance of work?

Another focal point of the municipality of Nijmegen is to rely on talents and abilities of status holders. It is seen as important that status holders know where their skills lie and what kind of work they can do well (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10

May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a). In line with the view of the municipality, focusing on talent is a desire of integration stakeholders regarding the Eritrean status holders at the Griftdijk complex – the idea is that one of them may well be the future Eritrean president (Dialoogavond Griftdijk, personal communication, 14 April 2016).

Experiences from earlier integration policies reveal that status holders benefit from a proper provision of information (Cloïn, 2016b). It is important that they have knowledge of the labour market supply and the diversity of professions. A status holder should then be *able to make a more sensible choice in terms of work*: for the purpose of employment, it is seen as helpful that status holders know what kind of work they want to do (Expertmeeting Integratie, personal communication, 10 May 2016; Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016c). Along the same line, many municipalities in the Netherlands identify the unfamiliarity of refugees with the Dutch labour market as a bottleneck for entry into the labour market (Razenberg & De Gruijter, 2016). Furthermore, research by Ager and Strang (2008) indicates that a lack of information on employment options for refugees constraints the potential for successful integration.

In short, employment is to be seen as a major dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen and is thus embedded in the conceptual framework. The dimension consists of four indicators. These are depicted in the table below.

| Dimension  | Indicator   |
|------------|---|
| Employment | Work experience in the country of origin                |
|            | Current employment: paid work and voluntary/unpaid work |
|            | Perception of employment                                |
|            | Ability to make a sensible choice in terms of work      |

Table 5.7: Indicators of the dimension employment.

Based on previous patterns and experiences, it is assumed that the employment rate of status holders will remain relatively low, and that a substantial part is likely to experience difficulties in finding work (Engbersen et al., 2015; Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). Causes include an imperfect matching of labour supply and demand, lack of recognition and/or absence of qualifications, a limited command of language, and the successive structure of integration policies (Ager & Strang, 2008; Engbersen et al., 2015; Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). It is expected that these difficulties will also concern Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands (Leerkes & Scholten, 2016). Moreover, many Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are likely to have an additional disadvantage on the labour market due to their short presence in the city. Their employment rate is therefore expected to be fairly low. Previous research by Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015) in the United Kingdom revealed that only few newly arrived refugees were able to find work within 18 months after their resettlement in cities.

A traditional view exists that the segregation of ethnic minorities results in various negative effects, including a restricted labour participation (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2009). The aforementioned 'isolation thesis' is rooted in a similar view. The argument here is that ethnic concentration of minorities hinders inter-ethnic contact with native Dutch and proficiency in the Dutch language, which in turn limits possibilities for participation on the labour market. This assumed negative effect on employment, however, is mainly based on experiences in the American 'ghetto', and needs further examination in the Netherlands. Evidence in the Dutch context is limited (Van Der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). Furthermore, in contrast to the above views, Ager and Strang (2008) state that the concentration of ethnic minorities may be conducive to their employment, enabling them to make greater use of their ethnic network for the purpose of finding work. Following this reasoning, immediate access to a large ethnic network may be an advantage for clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen in terms of employment. In addition, the clustered Eritreans could benefit from the additional commitment of the municipality of Nijmegen, VWON, and other local initiatives, allowing them to participate in empowerment training and information sessions (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a; Opnieuw Thuis, 2015). This likely increases their ability to make a sensible choice in terms of work.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to assess whether clustered Eritrean status holders score significantly better than their dispersed counterparts, due to the lack of consensus regarding the effects of ethnic concentration on employment. Therefore, it is expected that the position of clustered Eritrean status holders does not differ significantly from the position of dispersed Eritrean status holders. This gives rise to the following hypothesis regarding the employment dimension:

*H7 - Employment: clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score the same.*

### **5.3 Chapter summary: a conceptual framework of successful integration in Nijmegen**

This chapter sought to conceptualise successful integration in Nijmegen. The dimensions and indicators that were found to constitute successful integration in Nijmegen, and hypotheses regarding the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders on each of these integration dimensions, jointly form the analytical, coherent conceptual framework of Table 5.8. Now, an operationalisation of the framework is required to make it usable for monitoring the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. This is done in paragraph 6.3.

| Dimension                        | Indicator                                  | A status holder is successfully integrated in Nijmegen if he/she...                           | Hypothesis  |
|----------------------------------|--|---|---|
| 1. Housing and the neighbourhood | Overall housing satisfaction               | ... is satisfied with the housing that has been provided.                                     | <i>H1 - clustered Eritrean status holders score worse than dispersed Eritrean status holders.</i>                       |
|                                  | Neighbourhood satisfaction                 | ... is satisfied with the neighbourhood where he/she has been housed.                         |   |
|                                  | Housing quality                            | ... has been provided housing of decent quality.  |   |
|                                  | Housing and neighbourhood preferences      | ... would like to continue to live in the same house and/or in Nijmegen.                      |   |
| 2. Safety and stability          | Feeling accepted                           | ... feels welcome and accepted in both the neighbourhood and in Nijmegen.                     | <i>H2 - clustered Eritrean status holders score slightly better in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.</i> |
|                                  | Personal safety                            | ... feels safe in Nijmegen and does not suffer from verbal and physical harassment.           |   |
|                                  | Familiarity with physical surroundings     | ... has sufficient familiarity with his/her physical surroundings in Nijmegen.                |   |
|                                  | Financial security                         | ... has sufficient financial means to get by.   |   |
|                                  | Administrative security                    | ... is able to handle administrative matters.   |   |
|                                  | Perception of the Dutch public authorities | ... has no distrust against the Dutch public authorities.                                     |   |
|                                  | Long arm of the country of origin          | ... is not affected by a long arm of the country of origin.                                   |   |
| 3. Health                        | Physical health                            | ... has a good physical health.   | <i>H3 - clustered Eritrean status holders score slightly worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.</i>  |
|                                  | Mental health                              | ... has a good mental health.   |   |
|                                  | Coping with illness                        | ... seeks medical attention in case of illness  |   |
|                                  | Lifestyle and risk of addiction            | ... has a healthy lifestyle and limits the use of tobacco, alcohol and drugs.                 |   |
| 4. Social participation          | Social bridging                            | ... has regular inter-ethnic contact with native Dutch and is aware of its importance.        | <i>H4 – clustered Eritrean status holders score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.</i>           |
|                                  | Social bonding                             | ... has regular contact with people of the same ethnicity, nationality, or religion.          |   |
|                                  | Participation in social activities         | ... regularly participates in social activities and has a meaningful way of spending the day. |   |

| Dimension               | Indicator   | A status holder is successfully integrated in Nijmegen if he/she...  | Hypothesis  |
|-------------------------|---|--|---|
| 5. Language and culture | Dutch language proficiency                          | ... has a good command of the Dutch language.  | <i>H5 – clustered Eritrean status holders score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.</i> |
|                         | Participation in language and culture classes       | ... attends language and culture classes in order to learn the Dutch language, culture and customs.  |   |
|                         | Support in learning the Dutch language              | ... experiences sufficient support in learning the Dutch language.   |   |
|                         | Knowledge of Dutch culture and customs              | ... has a good knowledge of Dutch culture and customs.   |   |
|                         | Perception of Dutch language and culture            | ... is aware of the importance of learning the Dutch language, culture and customs.  |   |
| 6. Education            | Education in the country of origin                  | ... had a good level of education in his/her country of origin.  | <i>H6 - Education: clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score the same.</i>            |
|                         | Current vocational or professional education        | ... is enrolled in vocational or professional education in the Netherlands   |   |
|                         | Perception of vocational and professional education | ... is aware of the importance of vocational and professional education.   |   |
|                         | Awareness of educational opportunities              | ... is well informed on educational opportunities and subsequently able to make a sensible choice in terms of education.   |   |
| 7. Employment           | Work experience in the country of origin            | ... has gained work experience in his/her country of origin.   | <i>H7 - Employment: clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score the same.</i>           |
|                         | Current employment: paid and voluntary/unpaid       | ... currently has paid and/or unpaid employment.   |   |
|                         | Perception of employment                            | ... is aware of the importance of employment.  |   |
|                         | Ability to make a sensible choice in terms of work  | ... is aware of his/her abilities and interests, as well as opportunities on the Dutch labour market, and is subsequently able to make a sensible choice in terms of work. |   |

*Table 5.8: Conceptual framework of the research, consisting of dimensions and indicators of successful integration in Nijmegen, and hypotheses regarding the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders on each of the formulated dimensions.*

## **CHAPTER 6 – METHODOLOGY PART II: QUANTITATIVE SURVEY RESEARCH**

### **6.1 Chapter purpose**

This chapter discusses further methodological considerations of the research. It will address the research design, operationalisation of the conceptual framework, data analysis and ethical and practical considerations.

### **6.2 Quantitative survey research**

The previous methodological chapter illustrated that comparative monitoring of the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders has several advantages. It was argued that it is the most appropriate strategy in order to fulfil the research objective. As mentioned, policy advisors of the municipality of Nijmegen also emphasised the great need of monitoring the integration of clustered Eritrean status holders, and more specifically the need for hard, evidence-based facts rather than interpretations, as the wide range of existing assumptions does not provide clear information on the integration process of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, personal communication, 4 April 2016). In order to come up with these hard facts and to allow for comparative monitoring, a quantitative approach is preferred. By means of quantitative research, dimensions and indicators of the conceptual framework can be made measurable. Empirical outcomes then pave the way for generalised conclusions on the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. Although it was concluded in Chapter 2 that there are considerable differences between Eritrean status holders, the main research question asks for generalised findings on the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders.

Quantitative survey research is a quantitative research method that is suitable for comparative monitoring of the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders. Its purpose is to produce quantitative descriptions about some aspects of a research population. It also allows for standardised measurement, ensuring that comparable data can be obtained. Furthermore, a practical feature of survey research is that it generally makes use of sampling: information is collected about a part of the population in order to generalise findings for the entire research population (Fowler, 2014). This is useful, as it will not be possible for all clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders to participate in the research.

### 6.2.1 Sample strategy

Sampling is an important component of survey research. To be able to make generalised statements about an entire research population, information is collected about a part of the population, a sample (Fowler, 2014). In this study, samples can be drawn from the research populations, i.e. clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, to make generalised statements about the integration process of both groups.

The chosen sample strategy affects the quality of the survey data that is obtained, and thereby also the reliability of generalisations drawn from these data. It is therefore important to make a deliberate choice regarding sampling. In order to prevent sample bias, samples should reflect the research population in the best way possible. As such, probability sampling is desirable. This implies that all members of the research population should have an equal chance to be drawn in a sample.

Probability sampling requires that the entire research population (i.e. sampling frame) is known to the researcher. Up-to-date contact details and characteristics of the research population need to be available. After all, all members of the research population need to be eligible to participate in the survey research.

An internal list containing the contact details and personal characteristics of Eritrean status holders residing in Nijmegen has been requested from the municipality (see also Chapter 1). It was then tried to verify contact details in the list with the help of internal data of VWON. This has been successful for dispersed Eritrean status holders, resulting in an up-to-date list of the dispersed research population. A number of dispersed Eritreans from this list will be randomly approached and invited to participate in the survey research.

After checking the data of clustered Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex, it appeared that the internal list was somewhat outdated. Personal characteristics of Eritreans were usually correct, but in some cases, contact details were no longer up-to-date. Furthermore, a few inconsistencies were discovered in the data. As a result, random sampling would not be an appropriate strategy in the case of the clustered Eritrean population. There is a chance, after all, that a small number of clustered Eritreans cannot be approached to take part in the survey research due to incorrect details. Here, use of random sampling is likely to increase non-response and may lead to non-response bias. For the above reason, clustered Eritreans are sampled using so-called convenience sampling. As will be argued in the following paragraph, this is a useful sample strategy that should enable reaching clustered Eritreans whose details are outdated. Although respondents at the Griftdijk are approached in random fashion, convenience sampling is widely regarded as a form of non-probability sampling. A risk of convenience sampling (and non-probability sampling in general) is that sample bias might occur. This would imply that the sample is not a good reflection of the entire research population (Fowler, 2014). As such, there is a risk that the sample of clustered Eritreans does not reflect the entire clustered research population,

causing variability between the clustered and dispersed research populations. However, paragraph 7.3 will show that the characteristics of clustered Eritreans in the sample are representative of the clustered research population.

Another factor affecting sample bias is the size of the sample taken in relation to the research population. A relatively large sample will generally lower the risk of missing crucial insights from the population and reduce sample bias (Fowler, 2014). Due to limited resources, however, it is not possible to draw large samples from both clustered and dispersed research populations. Therefore, the sample size for both populations is set at 25. This means that 25 clustered and 25 dispersed Eritreans are approached and invited to participate in the survey research.

### **6.2.2 Approaching respondents**

Having decided on sample strategies for both research populations, the next step then would be to consider how to approach Eritrean sample members in accordance with these strategies. This requires careful planning. As described in Chapter 2, Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen have often experienced severe traumatic events during their journey to Europe. Moreover, it is believed that a conservative upbringing and the repressive political climate in country of origin Eritrea gave rise to a general culture of fear and distrust among its inhabitants. As a result, Eritrean culture as well as the migrants' journey are believed to have undermined the trust of the Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, and could cause the Eritreans to be rather timid and distrustful to strangers (PreciesAdvies, personal communication, 6 September 2016). Thus, when approaching clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders, developing trust can be seen as a key challenge for a researcher the Eritreans are not yet familiar with. In a similar way, Boeije (2010) argues that a crucial concept within a research is winning the trust of any survey respondent as it could lead to an increased participation.

Then, how can a researcher approach the Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen and win their trust? As argued in the first chapter, every status holder is appointed a personal coach or contact of VWON, with the aim to increase the self-reliance of the status holder (VluchtelingenWerk, n.d.-b). VluchtelingenWerk (n.d.-b) notes that there is often a bond of trust between coach and status holder. One of the coaches at the Griftdijk complex underscores this: *"Some of them call me their mother"* (personal communication, 6 September 2016). On the basis of this supposed bond of trust, it is preferable to approach Eritrean sample members via their personal coach or contact of VWON. In addition to a possible distrust of unknown Dutch people, this is also linked to the sensitivity of the research, possible earlier invitations to participate in studies, and a possible language barrier.



Dispersed Eritrean status holders, who are sampled randomly, may well be approached through their personal coach or contact. As an up-to-date list of the entire dispersed population is available, the contact details of the associated coaches and contacts can be easily requested via VWON. Subsequently, personal coaches and contacts receive an e-mail containing extensive information about the survey, as well as an invitation for their Eritrean client(s) to participate. Coaches and contacts that are willing to help could act as an intermediary and assist in establishing (the first) contact with the dispersed Eritreans sample members. A disadvantage of this approach is the dependency on the willingness of coaches and contact persons to get the researcher in touch with their clients.

The above method is more difficult to apply to clustered Eritrean status holders that are sampled through convenience sampling, due to the outdated details of the clustered population. After being introduced to the Griftdijk complex by a personal coach, sampling of clustered Eritrean status holders is done on-site at the complex. The complex is well suited for this method because of its compactness. Eritreans who reside here are approached outside or in their living units and invited to participate in the survey research. This is done until the desired sample size of 25 clustered Eritreans is reached. Although convenience sampling is widely regarded a form of non-probability sampling, the aim is to work in an arbitrary manner. Clustered Eritreans will not be excluded from participation in the survey on the basis of their suitability.

Because several clustered Eritreans have been approached to participate in previous studies, their willingness to cooperate in this survey research might be lower than the willingness of dispersed Eritreans who were not involved in earlier research projects. However, the direct, spontaneous on-site approach of convenience sampling at the Griftdijk complex may increase the enthusiasm of its clustered residents. It is said that clustered Eritreans are generally enthusiastic to get in touch with their Dutch peers. This approach is also favourable as experts report that making punctual agreements is not embedded in the Eritrean culture (PreciesAdvies, personal communication, 6 September 2016).

### **6.2.3 Survey design: preparing and presenting a questionnaire**

A chosen survey design has implications for the quality of survey data, and as such, the design should be considered carefully. In this research, a survey is conducted in the form of a questionnaire, containing a predefined series of questions that are to be answered by the clustered and dispersed Eritrean sample members.

In paragraph 3.6, it was illustrated that different housing leads to different local integration experiences of refugees. Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015), however, criticise the fact that

many integration studies are insensitive to these experiences. It is therefore important that Eritrean status holders fill in the questionnaire independently, in order to capture their lived experience in the best possible way. How do they experience the aspects of integration in Nijmegen, as defined in the conceptual framework? The (partial) completion of the questionnaire by a personal coach or contact could give an incorrect impression of the Eritrean respondent and is to be avoided.

The questionnaire is initially drafted in Dutch and in English. However, it is expected that most clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders do not have sufficient knowledge of these languages. Therefore, an Eritrean expert translated the questionnaire into Tigrinya, the mother language of almost all Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. A Tigrinya version may enhance the trust and enthusiasm of Eritreans to participate in the research, and will consequently reduce non-response. A questionnaire in their mother tongue will also lead to a better interpretation of questions and answers, and consequently to more reliable survey data. As some respondents might not be familiar with the use of a computer, a paper version of the questionnaire in Tigrinya will be presented. Nevertheless, paper versions in Dutch and English are also available at the request of the respondent.

In case of nearly all respondents, the questionnaire is conducted in a face-to-face setting. This implies that the researcher is physically present when conducting the questionnaire. This face-to-face design has several benefits. First, it allows the survey to be arranged in a way that is comfortable and convenient for the participant to take part in. It could, for example, take place at the home of a participant, making him/her feel more at ease. After all, it was described by Bollnow (1961) that a house offers a quiet and inviolable area of peace, in which one can retreat and can be relieved of all his/her fears and anxious feelings. Subsequently, and second, this design generally has a higher response rate in comparison to other designs (Neuman, 2012). Third, a face-to-face setting allows capturing additional verbal and non-verbal signals as well as emotions and behaviour of a respondent. Fourth and last, the setting allows the researcher to keep the respondent focused, to explain questions and to assist the respondent in completing the survey.

A disadvantage of a face-to-face setting is that it is relatively time-consuming due to the presence of the researcher in conducting the survey. Furthermore, a potential pitfall of a face-to-face setting is a so-called biased interpretation of the researcher (Neuman, 2012). Researcher bias, however, is minimised as respondents fill in the questionnaire independently. Assistance of the researcher is kept to a minimum and only provided upon request of a respondent.

The background of the Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen (as discussed in Chapter 2) requires drafting a simple questionnaire. Therefore, questions and corresponding answers are formulated clear and straightforward, so that they can be understood by most clustered

and dispersed Eritrean respondents. Moreover, questions are put in a certain order that is believed to facilitate the completion of the questionnaire.

In Chapter 2, it was illustrated that Eritreans are not used to formulating an opinion and expressing themselves due to a conservative upbringing and the repressive political climate in Eritrea. For this reason, open questions in which respondents are asked to formulate an answer themselves do not seem suitable for use in the questionnaire. Moreover, the use of open questions would be very time consuming for both respondent and researcher, and would increase the risk of research bias and inaccuracies. Answers to these questions would first have to be translated from Tigrinya and are then to be correctly interpreted and categorised. Therefore, the questionnaire makes use of closed questions, in which respondents can choose from a number of answer categories. Closed questions are more appropriate for Eritrean respondents and lend themselves to quantitative analysis.

The same questionnaire is distributed to both clustered and dispersed Eritrean respondents. Accordingly, every respondent is asked to fill in the same questions with the same answer categories. As this research takes on board a strategy of comparative monitoring, standardised measurement that is consistent across all respondents ensures that comparable data can be obtained. Subsequently, this allows the production of meaningful statistics (Fowler, 2014).

Along with questions in the questionnaire, response scales need to be formulated in a way that they can be well understood by respondents. For each closed question in the questionnaire, a response scale is used that is believed to be suitable for Eritrean status holders. In practice, this implies that different answer scales are used throughout the questionnaire. In most cases, a 5-point Likert scale is used. 3-point and dichotomous 2-point Likert scales are chosen for complex and sensitive questions. Despite the use of different response scales, frequent alternation of these scales is avoided to prevent possible confusion among respondents.

Although closed questions may be easier and faster to fill in by respondents, only a limited number of questions can be put in the questionnaire in order not to overwork the respondent's goodwill and patience. Moreover, despite the use of closed questions, a face-to-face setting still requires a significant time investment by the researcher. A further disadvantage of closed questions is that these types of questions force respondents to choose between alternatives, instead of offering them the opportunity to answer in their own words. This might lead to missing some important insights. To prevent this as much as possible, closed questions are complemented with other methods. Information obtained through these methods will, in contrast to the closed questions, not be subject to statistical analysis but will later contribute to an improved interpretation and clarification of quantitative research results.

First of all, in addition to answering closed questions, the Eritrean respondents are encouraged to write their own input in the form of ideas, remarks, questions and problems in the questionnaire. When necessary, this input is translated from Tigrinya into Dutch.

Second, as aforementioned, a face-to-face setting is ideal for capturing additional verbal and non-verbal signals, as well as emotions and behaviour of a respondent. These findings are written down as field notes.

Third and finally, careful observations are carried out at the respondent's home in case the survey questionnaire is taken there. Attention can be paid to the way of living of respondents and to domestic items. These are normally hidden from the view of outsiders and could tell something about their (every day) integration experiences. The findings from observations are also written down as field notes.

### **6.3 Operationalisation**

As argued, a survey questionnaire is the chosen instrument in order to monitor the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritreans in Nijmegen.

The questionnaire is prepared on the basis of the established conceptual framework of successful integration (Table 5.8). Indicators of the framework are made measurable through one or more closed questions with a Likert response scale. Each of these questions is seen as a variable that later lends itself to quantitative analysis.

While the previous paragraph discussed the survey design and guidelines for questions, it has not yet become clear which questions have been formulated and included in the questionnaire. These can be seen in the operationalised framework in Table 6.1. The questionnaire itself, as presented to participants, can be found in Appendices A and B. This also includes the response scales for each question.

A few comments are to be made in reference to the formulated questions in Table 6.1.

First of all, the questions are not listed in numerical order. Question number correspond with question numbers in the actual questionnaire. This implies that the questionnaire does not follow the order of the conceptual framework. As mentioned, questions in the questionnaire are placed in a certain order that is believed to facilitate the completion of the questionnaire by Eritrean respondents.

Furthermore, the questionnaire consists of more questions that are not listed in Table 6.1. However, these additional questions are not based on dimensions and indicators of the conceptual framework. These have been added at the request of the municipality of Nijmegen or out of personal interest and do not necessarily measure successful integration. The answers to these questions are for information purposes only and are not subject to quantitative analysis.

Finally, it should be noted that ten questions are inversely formulated in regard to the conceptual framework of successful integration. In Table 6.1, these questions are marked with an asterisk. For example, question number 11 of the dimension 3. Health '*I drink alcohol*' should have been formulated as '*I drink no alcohol*'. After all, the conceptual framework indicates that a successfully integrated status holder drinks little or no alcohol. However, negative question-wording in surveys is to be avoided to prevent possible confusion among Eritrean respondents. Negative question wording can be avoided by inversely formulating questions. These inversed questions also require reversing corresponding response scales. However, in order to maintain consistency among response scales, this is done after all respondents completed the questionnaire.

Before presenting the questionnaire to respondents, colleagues of the municipality of Nijmegen were asked for feedback. The refugee project team was consulted for substantive feedback and the research and statistics department was consulted for methodological feedback. The questionnaire was also reviewed by an Eritrean expert and tested by a member of the clustered Eritrean research population. The questionnaire was generally well received and completion by the test respondent did not lead to any problems in terms of difficulty or duration.

| Dimension                        | Indicator                                | A status holder is successfully integrated in Nijmegen if he/she...      | Corresponding question(s) in the questionnaire ( <i>dependent variables that are suitable for analysis</i> ) |
|----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| 1. Housing and the neighbourhood | A. Overall housing satisfaction          | ... is satisfied with the housing that has been provided.                | 2. I am happy with my current home   |
|                                  | B. Neighbourhood satisfaction            | ... is satisfied with the neighbourhood where he/she has been housed.    | 9. I am happy with the surroundings of my home   |
|                                  | C. Housing quality                       | ... has been provided housing of decent quality.                         | 3. I feel safe at my current home  |
|                                  |  |  | 4. I have sufficient privacy in my home  |
|                                  |  |  | 5. I am happy with the size of my current home   |
|                                  |  |  | 6. I am happy with the furnishings in my current home  |
|                                  |  |  | 7. I am happy with the bathroom in my current home   |
|                                  |  |  | 8. I am happy with the kitchen in my current home  |
|                                  | D. Housing and neighbourhood preferences | ... would like to continue to live in the same house and/or in Nijmegen. | 13. I prefer to live in close proximity to Dutch people  |
|                                  |  |  | 16. In the future, I would like to continue to live in Nijmegen  |
|                                  |  |  | 17. In the future, I would like to continue to live in the Netherlands                                       |

| Dimension               | Indicator                                     | A status holder is successfully integrated in Nijmegen if he/she...                 | Corresponding question(s) in the questionnaire ( <i>dependent variables that are suitable for analysis</i> ) |
|-------------------------|---|---|--|
| 2. Safety and stability | A. Feeling accepted                           | ... feels welcome and accepted in both the neighbourhood and in Nijmegen.           | 1. I feel that other Eritreans in Nijmegen welcome and accept me   |
|                         |   |   | 2. I feel that Dutch neighbours near my home welcome and accept me   |
|                         |   |   | 3. I feel that people in Nijmegen welcome and accept me  |
|                         | B. Personal safety                            | ... feels safe in Nijmegen and does not suffer from verbal and physical harassment. | 5. I feel safe in Nijmegen   |
|                         |   |   | *11. People in Nijmegen give me mean looks on the street   |
|                         |   |   | *12. People in Nijmegen bother me on the street  |
|                         |   |   | *13. People in Nijmegen have physically attacked me in the past  |
|                         | C. Familiarity with physical surroundings     | ... has sufficient familiarity with his/her physical surroundings in Nijmegen.      | 4. I am finding my way in Nijmegen   |
|                         | D. Financial security                         | ... has sufficient financial means to get by.                                       | 6. I have enough money to get by   |
| 3. Health               | E. Administrative security                    | ... is able to handle administrative matters.                                       | 7. I know what to do with letters coming by post   |
|                         | F. Perception of the Dutch public authorities | ... has no distrust against the Dutch public authorities.                           | 8. I trust the Dutch government  |
|                         | G. Long arm of the country of origin          | ... is not affected by a long arm of the country of origin.                         | *9. I fear the Eritrean government   |
|                         | A. Physical health                            | ... has a good physical health.   | 1. My body feels well  |
|                         |   |   |  |
|                         | B. Mental health                              | ... has a good mental health.   | *8. I feel anxious   |
|                         |   |   | *9. I feel tired   |
|                         |   |   | *10. I have scary dreams in my sleep   |
|                         | C. Coping with illness                        | ... seeks medical attention in case of illness                                      | 3. If I am not feeling well, I talk about this matter with other Eritreans                                   |
|                         |   |   | 4. If I am not feeling well, I talk about this matter with Dutch persons                                     |
|                         |   |   | 5. I know what to do when I am not feeling well  |
|                         | D. Lifestyle and risk of addiction            | ... has a healthy lifestyle and limits the use of tobacco, alcohol and drugs.       | 2. I eat well  |
|                         |   |   | *11. I drink alcohol   |
|                         |   |   | *12. I am taking drugs   |

| Dimension               | Indicator  | A status holder is successfully integrated in Nijmegen if he/she...                                 | Corresponding question(s) in the questionnaire ( <i>dependent variables that are suitable for analysis</i> )      |
|-------------------------|--|---|---|
| 4. Social participation | A. Social bridging                               | ... has regular inter-ethnic contact with native Dutch and is aware of its importance.              | 1. I talk to Dutch neighbours near my home  |
|                         |  |   | 2. I talk to Dutch persons in Nijmegen  |
|                         |  |   | 10. I think it is important to talk with Dutch persons  |
|                         | B. Social bonding                                | ... has regular contact with people of the same ethnicity, nationality, or religion.                | 3. I talk to other Eritreans in Nijmegen  |
|                         |  |   | 4. I talk to other Eritreans in the Netherlands   |
|                         |  |   | 9. I think it is important to talk with other Eritreans   |
|                         | C. Participation in social activities            | ... regularly participates in social activities and has a meaningful way of spending the day.       | 6. I take part in sports activities (for example running, cycling, football)                                      |
|                         |  |   | 7. I take part in cultural activities such as singing, making music, dancing or cooking                           |
|                         |  |   | *8. I feel bored and do not know what to do   |
|                         |  |   | 12. I think it is important to take part in sports activities   |
|                         |  |   | 13. I think it is important to take part in cultural activities such as singing, making music, dancing or cooking |
|                         |  |   | 14. There are plenty of activities that are being organized and that I can take part in                           |
| 5. Language and culture | A. Dutch language proficiency                    | ... has a good command of the Dutch language.   | 3. I speak Dutch  |
|                         | B. Participation in language and culture classes | ... attends language and culture classes in order to learn the Dutch language, culture and customs. | 5. I am currently taking classes to learn the Dutch language  |
|                         |  |   | 7. I am currently taking classes to learn about Dutch culture and customs   |
|                         | C. Support in learning the Dutch language        | ... experiences sufficient support in learning the Dutch language.                                  | 6. I do currently have a buddy who helps me to learn the Dutch language   |
|                         |  |   | 9. I get enough support to learn the Dutch language   |
|                         | D. Knowledge of Dutch culture and customs        | ... has a good knowledge of Dutch culture and customs.  | 4. I know the Dutch culture and customs   |
|                         | E. Perception of Dutch language and culture      | ... is aware of the importance of learning the Dutch language, culture and customs.                 | 8. I think it is important to learn the Dutch language  |
|                         |  |   | 10. I think it is important to learn about Dutch culture and customs  |

| Dimension     | Indicator  | A status holder is successfully integrated in Nijmegen if he/she...  | Corresponding question(s) in the questionnaire ( <i>dependent variables that are suitable for analysis</i> ) |
|---------------|--|--|--|
| 6. Education  | A. Education in the country of origin                  | ... had a good level of education in his/her country of origin.  | 2. In Eritrea, I attended primary school   |
|               |  |  | 3. In Eritrea, I attended secondary school   |
|               |  |  | 4. In Eritrea, I attended university   |
|               |  |  | 5. In Eritrea, I attended a military academy   |
|               | B. Current vocational or professional education        | ... is enrolled in vocational or professional education in the Netherlands   | 1. In the Netherlands, I am currently enrolled in professional education                                     |
| 7. Employment | C. Perception of vocational and professional education | ... is aware of the importance of vocational and professional education.   | 6. I would like to part in professional education in the Netherlands   |
|               | D. Awareness of educational opportunities              | ... is well informed on educational opportunities and subsequently able to make a sensible choice in terms of education.   | 7. I know what kind of professional education is available for me in the Netherlands                         |
|               | A. Work experience in the country of origin            | ... has gained work experience in his/her country of origin.   | 1. I had a paid job in Eritrea   |
|               |  |  |  |
|               | B. Current employment: paid and voluntary/unpaid       | ... currently has paid and/or unpaid employment.   | 2. Currently, I have a voluntary/unpaid job in the Netherlands   |
|               |  |  | 3. Currently, I have a paid job in the Netherlands   |
|               | C. Perception of employment                            | ... is aware of the importance of employment.  | 4. I think it is important to have a job in the Netherlands  |
|               | D. Ability to make a sensible choice in terms of work  | ... is aware of his/her abilities and interests, as well as opportunities on the Dutch labour market, and is subsequently able to make a sensible choice in terms of work. | 5. I know what kind of work I want to do in the Netherlands  |
|               |  |  | 6. I know what kind of work I can do well in the Netherlands   |

Table 6.1: The operationalised conceptual framework with dimensions, indicators and corresponding questions. The numbering of questions in the table is based on the numbering in the questionnaire (see appendices A and B). Reversed questions are marked with an asterisk. Their response scales will be recoded prior to starting the analysis of questionnaire data.



## 6.4 Further ethical and practical considerations

Conducting research is to be seen as a human practice that often involves direct contact with a research participant. Inevitably this contact brings along certain practical values, ethical issues and moral dilemmas that need to be discussed prior to starting field research (Boeije, 2010). The following section will elaborate on several ethical principles and practical strategies which were not yet addressed in previous methodological paragraphs. First, survey respondents have the right to know the purpose of the data collection and to decide if and how they wish to take part in the research, which Boeije (2010: 45) describes as the “*informed consent*”. Therefore, it is my aim to be as transparent and clear as possible to the Eritrean respondents. Following a personal introduction, respondents are explained about the research objective, the data collection, where the results will be presented, and what is done with their personal details.

Second, while conducting the survey, sensitive political issues and questions about the journey to the Netherlands should be avoided, due to the repressive political climate in Eritrea and due to possible traumatic experiences of respondents. This way, the trust and willingness of respondents to cooperate in the research will not be undermined, and respondents will be less quickly overwhelmed by emotions.

Third, as several media have reported that Eritreans in the Netherlands have been subject to intimidation by loyalists of the Eritrean regime (Bolwijn & Modderkolk, 2016), it is important to act with discretion and to respect the privacy of the Eritrean respondents as much as possible. During the survey questionnaire, no interview recorder is used to record conversations with respondents. Moreover, anonymity is guaranteed to all participants. Personal details of the respondents will only be known to the researcher and supervisors. Survey data is processed anonymously and is presented in such a way that cannot be traced who participated in the research. Fictitious Eritrean names are used throughout the thesis.

## 6.5 Data analysis

After conducting the questionnaires, an overview will be given of the response and of the Eritrean respondents. Then, the answers of the respondents will be analysed using the SPSS analysis program. Closed questions from the survey questionnaire are computed as variables. Answers of the respondents on these questions are subsequently entered as quantitative data for each variable. This creates a data set on which statistical operations can be carried out. The following paragraph illustrates that this is primarily done through descriptive statistics, and later through inferential statistics.

As was illustrated in paragraph 6.3, the response scales and data of some questions need to be reversed prior to starting the analysis of survey data. This concerns the questions that are marked with an asterisk in Table 6.1. A next step to allow data analysis is to scale the

response scales of all variables in such a way that they are identical to each other. To prevent reducing the accuracy of existing scales, a five-point scale is used for each variable. To ensure reversing and rescaling, variables are recoded in SPSS. After recoding, this means that for all variables, a value of 1 is to be seen as the most positive for successful integration, and a value of 5 as the most negative.

Variables (questions) will then be used to compute new variables for each indicator and dimension. This is done on the basis of the structure of the operationalised conceptual framework (Table 6.1). The value of an indicator (variable) is equal to the average value of all questions (variables) that are covered by this indicator. The value of a dimension (computed variable) can then be calculated on the basis of the average values of all indicators (computed variables) that are covered by this dimension.

After recoding and calculating the average scores per indicator and dimension, Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) is computed to measure the internal consistency of all variables per dimension. Cronbach's alpha says something about the reliability of the survey questionnaire (Field, 2009). This will be further elaborated on in paragraph 7.4.

After testing the consistency of the questionnaire, descriptive statistics of each dimension and indicator of successful integration are presented for both clustered and dispersed Eritrean respondents. This is done in paragraph 7.5. These descriptive statistics are complemented with qualitative findings that are based on written input of respondents in the questionnaire, verbal signals, emotions and behaviour of respondents, and domestic observations (see paragraph 6.2). These findings may lead to a better understanding of the quantitative descriptive statistics.

Next, it must be argued what statistical test is suitable to test the hypotheses that were formulated regarding the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders. First of all, it is checked whether the obtained survey data is parametric. This is important because many inferential statistics are based on parametric data. The use of a parametric statistical test when the data is not parametric could result in unreliable test results.

In order for the data to be parametric, several assumptions need to be true. By checking these assumptions it can be determined whether survey data is parametric, and subsequently, it can be decided what statistical test is the most appropriate.

First of all, it is important to check whether the sampling distributions are normally distributed. This is necessary because many parametric tests have an assumption that data follows a normal distribution (Friend, 2009). This assumption is tested in paragraph 7.6 by using a Shapiro-Wilk test.

The data is then checked for homogeneity of variance. This assumption is based on an equal variance for all groups of data (Friend, 2009). This assumption is tested in paragraph 7.7 by using Levene's test.

After carrying out the above checks, Chapter 7 will conclude that Welch's t-test is the most reliable test for this study. The test is conducted in paragraph 7.8 and aims to compare the mean scores of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders. On the basis of Welch's t-test, the formulated hypotheses can be either accepted or rejected, and conclusions regarding the integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders can be drawn.

## **6.6 Chapter summary**

This chapter discussed further methodological considerations of the research. It addressed the research design, operationalisation of the conceptual framework, data analysis and ethical and practical considerations. In order to monitor the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, this study uses quantitative survey research. Clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders that are sampled from the research population were asked to fill in a survey questionnaire. This survey questionnaire is based on an operationalised conceptual framework of successful integration into Nijmegen. Welch's t-test is used in order to compare the mean scores of clustered and dispersed respondents, after which formulated hypotheses regarding the integration of Eritrean status holders can be either confirmed or rejected.

## **CHAPTER 7 – EMPIRICAL FINDINGS**

### **7.1 Chapter purpose**

This chapter will present the empirical findings of this research. The chapter discusses the survey response and the characteristics of Eritrean respondents and provides descriptive statistics of each dimension and indicator of successful integration. Eventually, Welch's t-test is used in order to compare the mean scores of clustered and dispersed respondents. after which formulated hypotheses regarding the integration of Eritrean status holders can be either confirmed or rejected.

### **7.2 Response**

During a three month period from late October 2016 until late January 2017, 25 clustered and 25 dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen were approached to participate in the survey questionnaire. Approaching these Eritreans and conducting the questionnaire in a face-to-face setting proved to be a time-consuming and intensive task. Completing the questionnaire took respondents half an hour to an hour and a half. In general, the questionnaire was well received by respondents. Use of the Tigrinya language often fueled their interests. Many respondents indicated that they rarely read things in their mother language in the Netherlands. Questions and corresponding response scales in the questionnaire were generally well understood. However, some respondents criticised the questionnaire for being too long. Although respondents were not required to answer all questions, all questionnaires were fully completed, resulting in no missing answers. All completed questionnaires are considered useful for analysis.

The enthusiasm of many Eritreans led to a fairly high response rate: twenty clustered (80% of the sample) and eighteen dispersed Eritreans (72% of the sample) participated in the research by completing a questionnaire. As such, the non-response exists of five clustered and seven dispersed Eritreans. These clustered Eritreans indicated that they would rather not cooperate, often due to their participation in one or more previous studies. Dispersed respondents preferred not to participate or did not respond to invitations.

Non-response could possibly lead to non-response bias. This form of bias arises when the characteristics of sample members that refused to participate deviate from the characteristics of actual respondents (Fowler, 2014). However, non-response bias is limited to a minimum in this research. The response rate of the survey questionnaire is fairly high, and the questionnaire was carefully designed and tested to prevent non-response as much as possible (see paragraph 6.2).

### 7.3 Respondent characteristics

Several characteristics of the twenty clustered and eighteen dispersed Eritrean respondents are presented in Tables 7.1 and 7.2. The tables cover their sex, age, and the number of months that they lived in Nijmegen at the time the survey was taken. The latter is relevant because surveys were taken during a 3-month period.

As can be seen, there are no significant differences between the characteristics of both respondent groups. This is important, because comparative monitoring requires to rule out the variability between groups as much as possible.

In addition to ruling out variability between respondent groups, respondents need to be representative of the research population. The average age of clustered respondents (20.55 years) is very similar to the average age of the clustered research population (20.30 years). More difference is found between the average age of dispersed respondents (23.89 years) and the average age of the dispersed research population (25.98 years). Nevertheless, ages are reasonably similar.

At the time the survey questionnaire was conducted, there were no respondents that have lived in both clustered and dispersed housing situations.

| Respondents (N) |                          | Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen              |          |           |   |          |           |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--|----------|-----------|---|----------|-----------|
|                 |                          | Clustered status holders in Nijmegen (Griftdijk) |          |           | Dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen |          |           |
|                 |                          | Male   | Female   | Total     | Male  | Female   | Total     |
| Age             | 18                       | 1  | 0        | 1         | 0   | 0        | 0         |
|                 | 19                       | 3  | 0        | 3         | 3   | 0        | 3         |
|                 | 20                       | 5  | 0        | 5         | 0   | 0        | 0         |
|                 | 21                       | 6  | 0        | 6         | 0   | 0        | 0         |
|                 | 22                       | 5  | 0        | 5         | 1   | 0        | 1         |
|                 | 23                       | 0  | 0        | 0         | 8   | 0        | 8         |
|                 | 24-26                    | 0  | 0        | 0         | 3   | 0        | 3         |
|                 | 27-29                    | 0  | 0        | 0         | 0   | 0        | 0         |
|                 | 30-39                    | 0  | 0        | 0         | 2   | 1        | 3         |
|                 | 40+                      | 0  | 0        | 0         | 0   | 0        | 0         |
|                 | <b>Total</b>             | <b>20</b>  | <b>0</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>0</b>                                      | <b>0</b> | <b>18</b> |
|                 | <b>Mean age in years</b> | <b>20.55</b>                                     |          |           | <b>23.89</b>                                  |          |           |
|                 | <b>Std Deviation</b>     | <b>1.191</b>                                     |          |           | <b>3.563</b>                                  |          |           |

Table 7.1: Descriptive statistics of both groups of respondents sorted by age.

| Respondents (N)  |                      | Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen              |        |           |   |        |           |
|--|----------------------|--|--------|-----------|---|--------|-----------|
|  |                      | Clustered status holders in Nijmegen (Griftdijk) |        |           | Dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen |        |           |
|  |                      | Male   | Female | Total     | Male  | Female | Total     |
| Number of months that respondents lived in Nijmegen at the time the survey was conducted | 7                    | 0  | 0      | 0         | 1   | 0      | 1         |
|  | 8                    | 7  | 0      | 7         | 2   | 0      | 2         |
|  | 9                    | 5  | 0      | 5         | 2   | 0      | 2         |
|  | 10                   | 6  | 0      | 6         | 8   | 0      | 8         |
|  | 11                   | 2  | 0      | 2         | 2   | 1      | 3         |
|  | 12                   | 0  | 0      | 0         | 0   | 0      | 0         |
|  | 13-15                | 0  | 0      | 0         | 0   | 0      | 0         |
|  | 16-18                | 0  | 0      | 0         | 1   | 0      | 1         |
|  | 19+                  | 0  | 0      | 0         | 1   | 0      | 1         |
|  | <b>Total</b>         | 20   | 0      | <b>20</b> | 17  | 1      | <b>18</b> |
|  | <b>Mean months</b>   | <b>9.55</b>                                      |        |           | <b>10.56</b>                                  |        |           |
|  | <b>Std Deviation</b> | <b>1.504</b>                                     |        |           | <b>2.935</b>                                  |        |           |

Table 7.2: Descriptive statistics of both groups of respondents sorted by the number of months that respondents lived in Nijmegen at the time the survey was conducted.

## 7.4 Reliability analysis

It is important that the measuring instrument, i.e. the established survey questionnaire, has sufficient reliability to measure the integration of Eritrean status holders. Renewed completion by respondents should produce the same results. One way to test the reliability of the questionnaire is to look at the internal consistency of its scales. A frequently used measure to test the consistency of multiple Likert items is the Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ). Cronbach's alpha will be calculated for each integration dimension. Its value will vary between 0 and 1. A 0 indicates an unreliable scale, and a 1 indicates a reliable scale (Field, 2009). The value for each dimension is presented in Table 7.3.

| Dimension/scale                  | Number of questions/items | Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Housing and the neighbourhood | 11                        | 0.867                         |
| 2. Safety and stability          | 12                        | 0.621                         |
| 3. Health                        | 10                        | 0.727                         |
| 4. Social participation          | 12                        | 0.759                         |
| 5. Language and culture          | 8                         | 0.613                         |
| 6. Education                     | 7                         | 0.512                         |
| 7. Employment                    | 6                         | 0.619                         |

Table 7.3: Reliability analysis, using Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) to test the internal consistency of questionnaire scales.

A general rule of thumb is that a Cronbach's alpha above 0.7 indicates a 'good' level of reliability. In social sciences, however, values are often lower and accepted (Field, 2009). As seen in Table 7.3, the scales of dimensions 1, 3 and 4 have a good level of consistency,

whereas the consistency of dimensions 2, 5 and 7 is not great but acceptable for this research. With an alpha of 0.512, the consistency of dimension 6 is rather low. Nevertheless, following Nunnally (1967), an alpha between 0.5 and 0.6 can still be accepted. Therefore, while not desirable, the consistency of dimension 6 is seen as viable and workable for this research. In an attempt to enhance the values for each dimension and thus to increase the consistency of the questionnaire, it can be decided to remove one or more questions. However, SPSS indicates that deleting items hardly increases or even lowers the alpha value for dimensions, making removal undesirable.

## **7.5 Descriptive statistics**

Prior to testing the formulated hypotheses, the following section illustrates how the clustered and dispersed Eritrean respondents responded to the survey questionnaire. Descriptive statistics are presented for each dimension and indicator of successful integration. These statistics are broken down by respondent group. Full descriptive statistics, including statistics for each question, can be found at the end of this thesis in appendix C.

In order to compare the response of clustered and dispersed respondents, particular attention is paid to the differences in mean scores between the two groups. In addition to these mean scores, standard deviations and minimum and maximum scores of respondents are presented. The mean, minimum and maximum scores are to be interpreted as a rating scale. A value of 1 is to be seen as the best possible value for a successful integration and a value of 5 as the most negative value. As stated in paragraph 6.5, the descriptive statistics of an indicator are calculated by using the average score of all questions that are covered by this indicator.

Furthermore, descriptive statistics are complemented with qualitative findings that are based on written input of respondents in the questionnaire, verbal signals, emotions and behaviour of respondents, and domestic observations (see paragraph 6.2). These findings may lead to a better understanding of the quantitative descriptive statistics.

### **7.5.1 Housing and the neighbourhood**

The descriptive statistics of dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood are presented in Table 7.4. It is evident that the mean score of dispersed respondents is lower, and therefore better than the score of clustered respondents.

Dispersed respondents are generally satisfied with their housing and neighbourhood, while there is more dissatisfaction among clustered respondents. A large difference between the

respondent groups can be seen in terms of neighbourhood satisfaction (indicator B). Dispersed respondents are remarkably satisfied with their neighbourhood, while they are housed at different locations with different surroundings. Clustered respondents, on the other hand, are not very enthusiastic about their neighbourhood, despite the rural, green environment surrounding the Griftdijk complex. Further questioning revealed that many clustered respondents feel somewhat isolated from city life and would like to live in more urban areas.

Many clustered respondents also express dissatisfaction with their quality of housing (indicators A and C). Little living space, noise nuisance and a lack of privacy are particularly seen as disruptive.

Furthermore, in terms of housing and neighbourhood preferences (indicator D), most clustered Eritreans state that they would rather not live together with other Eritreans, as is currently the case. While conducting the questionnaire, many clustered respondents indicate that they have a strong desire to leave the Griftdijk complex, in order to live elsewhere in Nijmegen. Clustered respondent Tekle, however, is an exception to this. He explains: *“I am having a good time here. I prefer to live together with other Eritreans, or at least nearby them”* (personal communication, 15 November 2016). Following Tekle, and unlike most clustered respondents, many dispersed respondents state that they prefer to live in close proximity to other Eritreans.

Eritrean respondents’ opinions on Dutch persons are less ambiguous. Nearly all clustered and dispersed respondents prefer to live in close proximity to residents of Dutch origin. Respondents of both groups, especially those at the Griftdijk complex, are moderately positive about cohabitation with Dutch persons.

Furthermore, both respondent groups are generally very pleased with Nijmegen as their city of residence. A majority of respondents would like to continue to live here. This feeling is more present among clustered respondents.

Despite traces of a collectivist mindset (see Chapter 2), observations show that Eritrean respondents attach great value to personal space. In general, the homes of dispersed respondents and the personal bedrooms of clustered respondents are very clean and tidy, often decorated with colourful ornaments and religious posters. In the case of clustered respondents, this contrasts with the rather messy and uninspiring common rooms of the living units. For clustered Eritreans, their own bedroom is a place where they can retreat and where they can receive personal guests.



| Indicator/dimension                                       | Respondents      | N         | Min.        | Max.        | Mean        | SD          |
|---|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Indicator A. Overall housing satisfaction</i>          | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.30        | 1.52        |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.94        | 1.11        |
| <i>Indicator B. Neighbourhood satisfaction</i>            | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.90        | 1.48        |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.00        | 1.56        | .78         |
| <i>Indicator C. Housing quality</i>                       | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.18        | 1.04        |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.50        | 2.17        | .91         |
| <i>Indicator D. Housing and neighbourhood preferences</i> | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 3.67        | 1.75        | .76         |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 3.67        | 1.83        | .75         |
| <b><i>Dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood</i></b>  | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>4.54</b> | <b>2.78</b> | <b>1.01</b> |
|   | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>3.38</b> | <b>1.88</b> | <b>.64</b>  |

Table 7.4: Descriptive statistics of dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood.

### 7.5.2 Safety and stability

The descriptive statistics of dimension 2. Safety and stability are presented in Table 7.5. It is evident that the mean score of dispersed respondents is lower, and therefore better than the score of clustered respondents.

In general, clustered and dispersed respondents feel safe and accepted in Nijmegen (indicators A and B). Only few respondents indicate that they had to deal with verbal and/or physical harassment. Clustered respondents are significantly more negative about their acceptance by other Eritreans in Nijmegen in comparison to dispersed respondents.

Both respondent groups do not score well in terms of financial security (indicator D). While conducting the questionnaire, many respondents verbally indicate that they do not have sufficient financial means to get by. Dispersed respondent Amanuel tells: *“I do not have enough money to pay for everything”* (personal communication, 21 December 2016). Dispersed respondent Kifle says that he is worried about his financial situation and that there is little money left for grocery shopping (personal communication, 21 December 2016). Similar financial concerns were expressed through written input in the questionnaire. Another dispersed respondent, Samson, writes that his social welfare payment is insufficient to pay the rent of his house, forcing him to borrow money from friends on a regular basis. Further questioning reveals that he is worried about his situation. He has heard stories about Eritreans being evicted from their homes (personal communication, 24 January 2017).

Although respondents were not asked for their spending habits, domestic observations show that various clustered respondents smoke tobacco. This could potentially harm their financial security.

Dispersed respondents score better in terms of administrative security than clustered respondents (indicator E). According to a personal coach, one particular issue at the Griftdijk complex is the incorrect delivery of mail. This causes various clustered Eritreans to miss out on letters coming by post and already resulted in reminders and fines for some residents (personal communication, 21 October 2016).

Furthermore, dispersed respondents are considerably more positive of the Dutch public authorities than clustered respondents (indicator F). It seems that a few clustered respondents do not have much confidence in the local government, mainly due to dissatisfaction with their housing situation. Clustered respondent Abraham explains that representatives of the municipality of Nijmegen previously visited the Griftdijk complex in order to talk with residents. However, he has the idea that he is not being listened to and that his complaints will not change and improve his housing situation (personal communication, 17 February 2017).

Finally, most respondents of both groups indicate that they still have fear of the Eritrean government (indicator G). This is particularly the case among clustered respondents, potentially due to a lack of privacy at the Griftdijk complex. It is difficult to determine, however, whether this fear makes respondents more vulnerable to the so-called long arm of the Eritrean regime.

| Indicator/dimension  | Respondents      | N         | Min.        | Max.        | Mean        | SD         |
|--|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Indicator A. Feeling accepted</i>                           | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 4.00        | 2.28        | .85        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 2.33        | 1.74        | .44        |
| <i>Indicator B. Personal safety</i>                            | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 2.75        | 1.46        | .48        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 2.75        | 1.36        | .44        |
| <i>Indicator C. Familiarity with physical surroundings</i>     | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.55        | 1.32       |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.00        | 2.33        | 1.03       |
| <i>Indicator D. Financial security</i>                         | Clustered        | 20        | 2.00        | 5.00        | 4.05        | .83        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.89        | 1.28       |
| <i>Indicator E. Administrative security</i>                    | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.85        | 1.35       |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.50        | 1.34       |
| <i>Indicator F. Perception of the Dutch public authorities</i> | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.50        | 1.32       |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 3.00        | 1.61        | .70        |
| <i>Indicator G. Long arm of the country of origin</i>          | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.95        | 1.57       |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.56        | 1.54       |
| <b>Dimension 2. Safety and stability</b>                       | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>1.71</b> | <b>3.61</b> | <b>2.81</b> | <b>.44</b> |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.14</b> | <b>3.49</b> | <b>2.42</b> | <b>.61</b> |

Table 7.5: Descriptive statistics of dimension 2. Safety and stability.

### 7.5.3 Health

The descriptive statistics of dimension 3. Health are presented in Table 7.6. It is evident that the mean scores of clustered and dispersed respondents are approximately equal to each other. However, larger differences can be observed in the scores of indicators.

In terms of both mental and physical health (indicators A and B), clustered respondents score somewhat better than dispersed respondents. Dispersed respondents appear to be more often affected by anxiety. Moreover, while conducting the questionnaire, several dispersed respondents verbally indicate that they experience mental stress due to their financial situation, past experiences and/or loneliness.

In comparison to dispersed respondents, clustered respondents more frequently discuss their physical and mental problems with both Dutch and Eritrean persons in their surroundings (indicator C). When not feeling well, all clustered respondents indicated that they share their issues with other Eritreans. Clustered respondent Dawit tells: *“I got to know my housemate Samuel on the boat from Libya. We are good friends, he is like my brother. We discuss everything together”* (personal communication, 21 October 2016). Another clustered respondent, Semere, recently broke his arm during a game of football. His housemate Henok took care of him and accompanied him to the hospital for support. The above findings suggest that the Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex are, to some extent, able to support each other in coping with illness, mental difficulties and trauma’s (personal communication, 2 November 2016).

In terms of lifestyle and risk of addiction (indicator D), clustered respondents score worse than dispersed respondents. The former group eats less healthy and consumes more alcohol. Many clustered respondents indicate that they never drink, but this could be questioned on the basis of domestic observations. In any case, alcohol seems to be consumed on special occasions. Smoking also seems more common among clustered Eritreans.

Striking is that the use of alcohol and tobacco greatly varies between living units, which may indicate mirroring among residents of a living unit. Living units with very religious residents generally seem to abstain from alcohol and smoking.

| Indicator/dimension                          | Respondents      | N         | Min.        | Max.        | Mean        | SD         |
|--|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| Indicator A. Physical health                 | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.80        | 1.06       |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.94        | 1.21       |
| Indicator B. Mental health                   | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 3.67        | 1.93        | .76        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.15        | 1.23       |
| Indicator C. Coping with illness             | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 3.67        | 1.93        | .71        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 3.33        | 2.22        | .76        |
| Indicator D. Lifestyle and risk of addiction | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 3.67        | 1.80        | .70        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 3.33        | 1.43        | .58        |
| <b>Dimension 3. Health</b>                   | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>3.00</b> | <b>1.87</b> | <b>.50</b> |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.17</b> | <b>3.92</b> | <b>1.94</b> | <b>.71</b> |

Table 7.6: Descriptive statistics of dimension 3. Health.

### 7.5.4 Social participation

The descriptive statistics of dimension 4. Social participation are presented in Table 7.7. It is evident that the mean scores of clustered and dispersed respondents are approximately equal to each other. However, larger differences can be observed in the scores of indicators.

The statistics show that clustered respondents score better in terms of social bridging (indicator A) than dispersed respondents. In general, the former group has more social contact with residents of Dutch origin. Further questioning reveals that this mainly involves contact with their personal coach, host family, and/or language buddy. While conducting the questionnaire, clustered respondent Petros enthusiastically tells that he cooks and eats with his host family once a week. He proudly shows some pictures of his ‘new family’ (personal communication, 23 November 2016).

A personal coach of several clustered respondents mentions that apart from coaches and host families, not many Dutch people come to visit the Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex. As such, the clustered Eritreans do not see many new faces (personal communication, 21 October 2016).

The latter is even more the case for dispersed Eritreans. Dispersed Eritreans do generally not receive the same level of social assistance as the clustered Eritrean population. Absence of a host family, a language buddy, or local neighbourhood initiatives results in less social contact. In the questionnaire, many dispersed Eritrean respondents indicate that they have little to hardly any contact with people of Dutch origin. One dispersed respondent states that he, to his regret, never talks with Dutch people. His participation in this research marks one of the first times that he receives a Dutch guest at home.

Furthermore, many respondents of both groups indicate that they have no or hardly any contact with their Dutch neighbours. An exception to this is dispersed respondent Amanuel, living in a small flat that mainly houses older adults. He tells that he regularly talks to his elderly neighbours, but that he sees the age difference as an obstacle to make good contact. According to a coach at the Griftdijk complex, Eritreans are in need of contact with their Dutch peers: *“The personal coaches of the Eritrean boys are often much older. Some of them are retired. There is a risk that the age difference complicates contact between coach and client”* (personal communication, 21 October 2016).

Despite limited contact with Dutch people, both respondent groups are well aware of its importance. While conducting the questionnaire, many respondents indicate that they are eager to establish more contacts. Clustered respondent Semere says that he would like to get in touch with more Dutch people, but that he does not know where to start. He argues that it is difficult to meet new friends at the Griftdijk complex (personal communication, 2 November 2016).

In sum, close to all Eritrean respondents are in need of more social contact with Dutch people, but find it difficult to establish and maintain these contacts. On the basis of the above findings, it can be concluded that dispersed housing of Eritrean status holders does not guarantee more contact with other residents of Dutch origin. Due to extra social assistance and local initiatives, clustered Eritrean respondents tend to have more contact with Dutch people. This mainly involves contact with their personal coach, host family and/or language buddy.

In terms of social bonding (indicator B), clustered respondents score worse than dispersed respondents. Most clustered respondents indicate that they only have occasional contact with Eritreans outside the Griftdijk complex. Contact between clustered Eritreans is more common. Domestic observations show that Eritreans at the complex regularly seek each other’s company and enter each other’s living units. There are exceptions, however. A personal coach tells that some clustered Eritreans do not get on well with other Eritreans. Petros, a clustered respondent, does not talk much with his Eritrean housemates. He often isolates himself in his bedroom (personal communication, 2 November 2016).

Most dispersed respondents indicate that they have occasional to frequent contact with other Eritreans in Nijmegen and in the rest of the Netherlands. They are much more likely to seek the company of other Eritreans instead of Dutch. A few dispersed respondents, however, speak negatively about the clustered Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex. They prefer not to go there. Dispersed respondent Habtom indicates that he often calls and meets with other Eritreans in Nijmegen and in the Netherlands, but continues: *“I do not talk much with the Eritreans at Griftdijk. Some of them sleep too much and drink too much, which is not good for me. I want to be active”* (personal communication, 24 January 2018).

Furthermore, two dispersed respondents indicate that they have virtually no Eritrean and Dutch contacts. They seem rather lonely and to live a secluded life.

In terms of participation in social activities, clustered respondents score better than dispersed respondents (indicator C). A large difference between the two respondent groups can be found in the field of sport. All clustered respondents at the Griftdijk complex indicate that sport is very important to them. Therefore, most clustered respondents participate in one or more sports and/or sports activities. While conducting the questionnaire, several clustered respondents enthusiastically tell about their sport. Haile has much talent for cycling. After his arrival at the Griftdijk complex, he was part of a refugee cycling team and went on a training camp in San Sebastian, Spain (personal communication, 21 December 2016). Yohannes is a member of the local cycling team and passionately shows his racing bike (personal communication, 21 October 2016). Dawit tells that he often visits the gym with his housemate (personal communication, 21 October 2016). In overall, clustered respondents seem to share a passion for sports and seem to transfer their enthusiasm to housemates.

Dispersed respondents, on the other hand, participate much less in sports activities. However, sports are also considered important by most of them. Furthermore, many dispersed respondents indicate that they value cultural activities, such as singing, making music, dancing and cooking. These are found to be relatively less important by clustered respondents.

In general, both groups of respondents are satisfied with the number of activities that are being organised for them or in which they can participate. However, answers by respondents vary widely. Several dispersed respondents complain about a lack of meaningful daytime activities and being ignored. With a touch of jealousy, they point at the Griftdijk complex, where neighbourhood initiatives and others organise activities on a regular basis. However, organising these activities does not seem to guarantee the participation of all clustered Eritreans. A personal coach of several clustered Eritreans mentions the passivity of some clients: *“If I come to visit my boys, they are often sleeping. They prefer to be at home rather than going outdoors”* (personal communication, 2 November 2016).

| Indicator/dimension                                    | Respondents      | N         | Min.        | Max.        | Mean        | SD         |
|--|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Indicator A. Social bridging</i>                    | Clustered        | 20        | 1.67        | 3.67        | 2.32        | .45        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.00        | 2.65        | .90        |
| <i>Indicator B. Social bonding</i>                     | Clustered        | 20        | 2.00        | 5.00        | 2.82        | .70        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.41        | 1.10       |
| <i>Indicator C. Participation in social activities</i> | Clustered        | 20        | 1.50        | 3.17        | 2.44        | .47        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.00        | 2.67        | .74        |
| <b><i>Dimension 4. Social participation</i></b>        | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>1.89</b> | <b>3.44</b> | <b>2.53</b> | <b>.37</b> |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>4.00</b> | <b>2.57</b> | <b>.82</b> |

Table 7.7: Descriptive statistics of dimension 4. Social participation.

### 7.5.5 Language and culture

The descriptive statistics of dimension 5. Language and culture are presented in Table 7.8. It is evident that the mean score of clustered respondents is considerably lower, and therefore better than the score of dispersed respondents.

Clustered respondents generally indicate that they have a reasonable knowledge of the Dutch language (indicator A). This is in contrast to dispersed respondents, who often report language difficulties and consider their knowledge of Dutch to be a lot worse. The considerable difference in language proficiency between the two groups is somewhat remarkable because questionnaire results illustrate that both respondent groups have more or less the same level of education.

Observations can substantiate the language discrepancy between clustered and dispersed respondents. While conducting the questionnaire, clustered respondents seemed to have a better command of Dutch and to use it with more confidence and enthusiasm. In overall, they needed less explanation in completing the questionnaire.

Many clustered and dispersed respondents indicate that they are not satisfied with their current language proficiency and/or want to improve it. Clustered respondents are particularly critical about their language skills and that they often relate this to their clustered housing situation. Semere tells: *“I would like to leave this place, so that I have more opportunities to practice my Dutch”* (personal communication, 2 November 2016). Idris clarifies: *“It is not good that we all live here together. Living alone is better, so that we can improve our Dutch. Here, we only speak Tigrinya with each other”* (personal communication, 21 October 2016). However, the statistics of indicator A indicate the opposite. It can be concluded that dispersed housing of Eritrean status holders does not guarantee a better proficiency in the Dutch language.

Dutch culture and customs are generally not well understood by respondents and lead to even more confusion than the Dutch language (indicator D). Again, dispersed respondents experience more difficulties than clustered respondents in understanding Dutch culture and customs.

Despite differences in knowledge of language and culture, respondents of both groups are well aware of the importance of learning the Dutch language and culture (indicator E). Particularly, all respondents acknowledge that it is important to learn Dutch. It is therefore not surprising that nearly all respondents indicate to take Dutch language classes. One single dispersed respondent is not enrolled in a language school.

Through written input in the questionnaire, two respondents express that they would like to learn the English language, in order to make themselves understood abroad.

Clustered respondents are generally quite satisfied with the support they receive in learning the Dutch language. This is in stark contrast to the response of dispersed respondents, who often indicate that they do not receive enough support (indicator C). The results of the questionnaire reveal that 5 out of 18 dispersed respondents have a language buddy who supports them to learn the Dutch language, compared to 16 out of 20 clustered respondents. This leads to misunderstanding among several dispersed respondents. Through written input in the questionnaire, dispersed respondent Amanuel writes: *“I want a language buddy too. I have often asked for one, but I am still waiting.”* He continues in broken Dutch: *“I often watch Dutch TV to practice listening. Listening is going well, but speaking is very difficult. I do not have a language buddy who helps me in learning the Dutch language. The Eritreans in Lent... they do have one! I do not understand why. It is unfair”* (personal communication, 24 January 2017).

Lastly, while not serving as an indicator in the conceptual framework of successful integration (as argued in paragraph 5.2.5), the Eritrean respondents were asked about their religion. One clustered respondent is Muslim, and all other respondents have an Orthodox Christian belief. Religion appears to play an important role in the life of nearly all respondents. Just one single clustered respondent says to have little regard for religion. Several clustered respondents indicate that they do not have sufficient facilities to practice their religious beliefs.

The important role of religion in the lives of the Eritrean respondents is also apparent from domestic observations. Respondents of both groups often have colourful religious posters and religious attributes in their homes. Several respondents wear religious jewellery. It should be emphasised, however, that there is a difference in religious practice. Some clustered Eritreans attend church service nearly every day, fast now and then, and pray before and after meals. Others are less strict. At the Griftdijk complex, religious practice often seems to differ per living unit. As such, it is possible that residents of a living unit influence each other in their religious behaviour.

Five times a week, a church service is organised at the Griftdijk complex, which is frequented by several Eritreans from Nijmegen and surroundings. During the weekends, many dispersed Eritreans attend services of the Eritrean Orthodox Church, which take place in various cities in the Netherlands. The story of dispersed respondent Habtom illustrates that religion influences his housing wishes. Habtom tells: *“Every Saturday and Sunday, I go to church in Amsterdam. I feel at home over there. The church is very important for me. I go by train. Because it is far away, I stay for the entire day. I would like to move to Amsterdam, close to the church and to all the Eritrean people that I met over there”* (personal communication, 24 January 2017).



| Indicator/dimension   | Respondents      | N         | Min.        | Max.        | Mean        | SD         |
|---|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Indicator A. Dutch language proficiency</i>                    | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.90        | .91        |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.72        | 1.07       |
| <i>Indicator B. Participation in language and culture classes</i> | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 3.00        | 1.80        | 1.01       |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.22        | 1.22       |
| <i>Indicator C. Support in learning the Dutch language</i>        | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.90        | 1.21       |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.50        | 3.22        | 1.25       |
| Indicator D. Knowledge of Dutch culture and customs               | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.65        | 1.14       |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 3.00        | 5.00        | 4.17        | .92        |
| <i>Indicator E. Perception of Dutch language and culture</i>      | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 2.50        | 1.45        | .46        |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 2.00        | 1.42        | .39        |
| <b><i>Dimension 5. Language and culture</i></b>                   | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>1.60</b> | <b>3.00</b> | <b>2.34</b> | <b>.42</b> |
|   | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.40</b> | <b>4.20</b> | <b>2.95</b> | <b>.96</b> |

Table 7.8: Descriptive statistics of dimension 5. Language and culture.

### 7.5.6 Education

The descriptive statistics of dimension 6. Education are presented in Table 7.9. It is evident that the mean score of dispersed respondents is lower, and therefore better than the score of clustered respondents.

The level of education of clustered and dispersed respondents are fairly low and reasonably similar (indicator A). Two respondents from each group did not attend primary education in country of origin Eritrea, and therefore did not receive any prior education. They originate from remote areas in Eritrea and/or the militarised border with Ethiopia. Approximately three-quarters of both respondent groups attended secondary school. 9 out of 18 dispersed respondents and 8 out of 20 clustered respondents were conscripted and enrolled in a military academy. Lastly, two dispersed respondents and one clustered respondent indicate that they attended university.

Following a relatively low level of previous education in Eritrea, the statistics of indicator B also show a very low participation in terms of professional education in the Netherlands. Two dispersed respondents indicate to attend professional education. At the time the questionnaire was conducted, nearly all respondents were still taking Dutch language classes in order to pass their integration exams. Consequently, many respondents did not yet have the opportunity to attend further professional education.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Later on, in September 2017, several Eritrean status holders made a start with a first learning track in professional education. In the coming semesters, more clustered and dispersed Eritreans are expected to start with this program.

Lastly, respondents of both groups are generally well aware of the importance of education in the Netherlands (indicator C) and indicate to have a good overview of educational opportunities (indicator D).

| Indicator/dimension   | Respondents      | N         | Min.        | Max.        | Mean        | SD         |
|---|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Indicator A. Education in the country of origin</i>                  | Clustered        | 20        | 2.00        | 5.00        | 2.90        | .97        |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.00        | 2.72        | 1.02       |
| <i>Indicator B. Current vocational or professional education</i>        | Clustered        | 20        | 5.00        | 5.00        | 5.00        | .00        |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 4.33        | 1.53       |
| <i>Indicator C. Perception of vocational and professional education</i> | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.65        | 1.09       |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 3.00        | 1.44        | .62        |
| <i>Indicator D. Awareness of educational opportunities</i>              | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.05        | 1.15       |
|   | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.00        | 2.06        | 1.06       |
| <b>Dimension 6. Education</b>   | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>2.50</b> | <b>4.00</b> | <b>2.90</b> | <b>.42</b> |
|   | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>3.75</b> | <b>2.64</b> | <b>.67</b> |

Table 7.9: Descriptive statistics of dimension 6. Education.

### 7.5.7 Employment

The descriptive statistics of dimension 7. Employment are presented in Table 7.10. It is evident that the mean score of clustered respondents is lower, and therefore better than the score of dispersed respondents.

Half of the clustered respondents and one-third of the dispersed respondents indicate that they have had a paid job in their country of origin Eritrea (indicator A). This is different in the Netherlands. Following low participation in professional education, labour participation among Eritrean status holders is limited (indicator B). Two clustered and two dispersed respondents do voluntary work. One single clustered respondent says to have a paid job in horticulture.<sup>4</sup>

Through written input in the questionnaire, a couple of respondents express their desire to do voluntary work. Dispersed respondent Samsom says he wants to do voluntary work in order to keep busy and to get in touch with Dutch people. He says he realises that it will be difficult to find a paid job without having adequate education (personal communication, 24 January 2017).

Lastly, respondents of both groups generally indicate that they are well aware of the importance of employment in the Netherlands (indicator C) and able to make a sensible choice in terms of work (indicator D). In the Netherlands, many Eritrean respondents seem to aspire professions they previously practiced in Eritrea or professions that are well-known

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<sup>4</sup> Later on, in the summer of 2017, a limited number of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders found temporary employment in horticulture and in the restaurant business.

in Eritrea. A dream of dispersed respondent Kifle is to repair bicycles and to open his own bicycle shop. In Eritrea, he repaired bicycles as well (personal communication, 21 December 2016). Another dispersed respondent, Tesfay, was trained to be a construction worker and plumber in Eritrea. In the Netherlands, he hopes to continue to work in one of these professions (personal communication, 17 February 2017).

| Indicator/dimension  | Respondents      | N         | Min.        | Max.        | Mean        | SD         |
|--|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>A. Work experience in the country of origin</i>           | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.00        | 2.05       |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.67        | 1.94       |
| <i>B. Current employment: paid and voluntary/unpaid</i>      | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 4.70        | .98        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 3.00        | 5.00        | 4.78        | .65        |
| <i>C. Perception of employment</i>                           | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 3.00        | 1.45        | .61        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 3.00        | 1.33        | .69        |
| <i>D. Ability to make a sensible choice in terms of work</i> | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 4.50        | 1.95        | .89        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.50        | 2.08        | 1.17       |
| <b>Dimension 7. Employment</b>                               | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>1.50</b> | <b>4.38</b> | <b>2.78</b> | <b>.69</b> |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.50</b> | <b>4.25</b> | <b>2.97</b> | <b>.86</b> |

Table 7.10: Descriptive statistics of dimension 7. Employment.

## 7.6 Testing for normality

After presenting and discussing descriptive statistics for each dimension, it is to be decided what statistical test is suitable for testing the formulated hypotheses. Because many parametric tests have an assumption that data follows a normal distribution, it is important to check whether the sampling distributions are normally distributed. This assumption is tested by using a Shapiro-Wilk test. In this research design, the Shapiro-Wilk test is preferred to other tests, because it is useful for small samples and better able to detect deviations in normality (Field, 2009). The test is performed for every dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen and separately for clustered and dispersed Eritrean respondents. The results of the test are presented in table 7.11. When the test shows a significant value ( $\alpha = .05$ ), this indicates the absence of a normal distribution.

| Dimension                        | Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen (Griftdijk) |           |              | Dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen |           |              |
|----------------------------------|---|-----------|--------------|---|-----------|--------------|
|                                  | N   | Statistic | Significance | N   | Statistic | Significance |
| 1. Housing and the neighbourhood | 20  | .956      | .470         | 18  | .954      | .497         |
| 2. Safety and stability          | 20  | .962      | .575         | 18  | .945      | .357         |
| 3. Health                        | 20  | .970      | .747         | 18  | .850      | <b>.008</b>  |
| 4. Social participation          | 20  | .948      | .341         | 18  | .969      | .780         |
| 5. Language and culture          | 20  | .916      | .372         | 18  | .983      | .955         |
| 6. Education                     | 20  | .825      | <b>.000</b>  | 18  | .959      | .387         |
| 7. Employment                    | 20  | .975      | .851         | 18  | .928      | .182         |

Table 7.11: Testing for normality using a Shapiro-Wilk test ( $\alpha = .05$ ).

In most cases, the test results in a non-significant value, indicating a normal distribution. A significant value is shown twice. The dimension 6. Education has a value of .000 for clustered respondents and the dimension 3. Health has a value of .008 for dispersed respondents. These significant values indicate the absence of a normal distribution and this might be problematic for performing a parametric test, such as a t-test. In order to prevent possible errors, it is possible to opt for a nonparametric test that is not based on a normal distribution, such as a Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon test. A study by De Winter and Dodou (2010) illustrates, however, that there are only minor differences in the results of a t-test (parametric test) and a Mann-Whitney-Wilcoxon test when these are used for analysing 5-point Likert data of two independent samples. Both tests are more or less equally robust when analysing this kind of data (De Winter & Dodou, 2010). Using a parametric t-test for significant dimensions will therefore only lose little robustness compared to non-parametric tests.

## 7.7 Testing for homogeneity of variance

In addition to an assumption of normality, many parametric tests assume homogeneity of variance. This implies that all groups that are compared should have the same variance. It is therefore important to check whether the variance of clustered Eritrean respondents equals the variance of dispersed respondents. This is tested by using Levene's test. The test is performed for each dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen. The results of the test are presented in Table 7.12. When the test shows a significant value ( $\alpha = .05$ ), this indicates unequal variance.

| Dimension                        | Levene Statistic | Significance |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Housing and the neighbourhood | 6.390            | <b>0.016</b> |
| 2. Safety and stability          | 1.125            | 0.296        |
| 3. Health                        | 1.062            | 0.310        |
| 4. Social participation          | 7.757            | <b>0.008</b> |
| 5. Language and culture          | 1.029            | 0.078        |
| 6. Education                     | 1.012            | 0.118        |
| 7. Employment                    | 1.091            | 0.303        |

Table 7.12: Testing for homogeneity of variance using Levene's test ( $\alpha = .05$ ).

The table shows a non-significant value for five out of seven dimensions, indicating an equal variance between clustered and dispersed Eritrean respondents. A significant value is shown for two dimensions. Dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood has a value of 0.016 and dimension 4. Social participation has a value of 0.008. These significant values indicate inequality of variance and this might be problematic for performing a number of parametric tests.

## 7.8 Comparing means and testing hypotheses

In paragraph 7.6, a Shapiro-Wilk test revealed a deviation in normality for two dimensions. It was illustrated, however, that a parametric t-test is suitable for the analysis of both normal and non-normal distributed data. In paragraph 7.7, Levene's test revealed equal variance for five dimensions and unequal variance for two dimensions. On the basis of these findings, a statistical test can be chosen to test the formulated hypotheses for each dimension of successful integration.

The parametric Welch's t-test is an independent samples t-test that tries to find differences in the mean scores of two groups with unequal variances. In this research, Welch's test is preferred to the popular, frequently used Student's t-test, which assumes homogeneity of variance. In the case of unequal variance, Welch's t-test is less sensitive to errors than the Student's t-test (Delacre, Lakens & Leys, 2017). Moreover, in the case of homogeneity of variance, Delacre, Lakens and Leys (2017) state that Welch's t-test loses little robustness compared to the Student's t-test. Furthermore, Welch's t-test is suitable for comparing the means of two different sized respondent groups. On the contrary, use of student's t-test could lead to biased and invalid statistics (Delacre, Lakens & Leys, 2017). On the basis of the above findings, it is preferable to use Welch's t-test for both dimensions with equal and unequal variance.

### 7.8.1 Housing and the neighbourhood

The hypothesis of dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood is as follows:

*H1 – Housing and the neighbourhood: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

This means that the average score of clustered Eritreans on this dimension must be higher than the average score of dispersed Eritreans, after all, 1 is the best possible score and 5 the worst possible score.

To test the hypothesis of this dimension, a null hypothesis and an alternative hypothesis are formulated. These are as follows:

$$H1_0: \mu_1 - \mu_2 > 0$$

$$H1_A: \mu_1 - \mu_2 \leq 0$$

In which  $\mu_1$  represents the average dimension score of clustered respondents and  $\mu_2$  represents the average dimension score of dispersed respondents.

| Dimension                        | T     | Significance<br>(one-tailed) | Mean<br>difference |
|----------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Housing and the neighbourhood | 3.345 | 0.001                        | .91                |

Table 7.13: Welch's t-test for equality of means of dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood.

As can be seen in Table 7.13, Welch's t-test is conducted to compare the mean scores of dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood for clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. At a significance level of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ), a significant difference is found between the mean scores of clustered Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.78$ ,  $\sigma = .42$ ) and the mean scores of dispersed Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 1.88$ ,  $\sigma = .67$ ). This requires confirming the null hypothesis  $H_{10}$  and rejecting the alternative hypothesis  $H_{1A}$ . It confirms the hypothesis that clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse than dispersed Eritrean status holders in terms of housing and the neighbourhood.

### 7.8.2 Safety and stability

The hypothesis of dimension 2. Safety and stability is as follows:

*H2 – Safety and stability: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly better in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

This means that the average score of clustered Eritreans on this dimension must be lower than the average score of dispersed Eritreans, after all, 1 is the best possible score and 5 the worst possible score.

To test the hypothesis of this dimension, a null hypothesis and an alternative hypothesis are formulated. These are as follows:

$$H_{20}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 < 0$$

$$H_{2A}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 \geq 0$$

In which  $\mu_1$  represents the average dimension score of clustered respondents and  $\mu_2$  represents the average dimension score of dispersed respondents.

| Dimension               | T     | Significance<br>(one-tailed) | Mean<br>difference |
|-------------------------|-------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 2. Safety and stability | 2.184 | 0.019                        | .38                |

Table 7.14: Welch's t-test for equality of means of dimension 2. Safety and stability ( $\alpha = .05$ ).

As can be seen in Table 7.14, Welch's t-test is conducted to compare the mean scores of dimension 2. Safety and stability for clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. A positive T statistic requires rejecting the null hypothesis  $H_{20}$  and confirming the alternative hypothesis  $H_{2A}$ . At a significance level of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ), a significant difference

is found between the mean scores of clustered Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.81$ ,  $\sigma = .44$ ) and the mean scores of dispersed Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.42$ ,  $\sigma = .61$ ). This rejects the hypothesis that clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly better than dispersed Eritrean status holders in terms of safety and stability and illustrates that the former group scores significantly worse than the latter group.

### 7.8.3 Health

The hypothesis of dimension 3. Health is as follows:

*H3 - Health: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

This means that the average score of clustered Eritreans on this dimension must be higher than the average score of dispersed Eritreans, after all, 1 is the best possible score and 5 the worst possible score.

To test the hypothesis of this dimension, a null hypothesis and an alternative hypothesis are formulated. These are as follows:

$$H_{30}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 > 0$$

$$H_{3A}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 \leq 0$$

In which  $\mu_1$  represents the average dimension score of clustered respondents and  $\mu_2$  represents the average dimension score of dispersed respondents.

| Dimension | T      | Significance<br>(one-tailed) | Mean<br>difference |
|-----------|--------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 3. Health | -0.340 | 0.368                        | -.07               |

Table 7.15: Welch's t-test for equality of means of dimension 3. Health ( $\alpha = .05$ ).

As can be seen in Table 7.15, Welch's t-test is conducted to compare the mean scores of dimension 3. Health for clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. A negative T statistic requires rejecting the null hypothesis  $H_{30}$  and confirming the alternative hypothesis  $H_{3A}$ . At a significance level of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ), no significant difference is found between the mean scores of clustered Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 1.87$ ,  $\sigma = .50$ ) and the mean scores of dispersed Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 1.94$ ,  $\sigma = .71$ ). This rejects the hypothesis that clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly worse than dispersed Eritrean status holders in terms of health and illustrates that there is no significant difference between the two groups.

#### 7.8.4 Social participation

The hypothesis of dimension 4. Social participation is as follows:

*H4 – Social participation: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*

This means that the average score of clustered Eritreans on this dimension must be higher than the average score of dispersed Eritreans, after all, 1 is the best possible score and 5 the worst possible score.

To test the hypothesis of this dimension, a null hypothesis and an alternative hypothesis are formulated. These are as follows:

$$H_{40}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 > 0$$

$$H_{4A}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 \leq 0$$

In which  $\mu_1$  represents the average dimension score of clustered respondents and  $\mu_2$  represents the average dimension score of dispersed respondents.

| Dimension               | T      | Significance<br>(one-tailed) | Mean<br>difference |
|-------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 4. Social participation | -0.233 | 0.409                        | -.05               |

Table 7.16: Welch's t-test for equality of means of dimension 4. Social participation ( $\alpha = .05$ ).

As can be seen in Table 7.16, Welch's t-test is conducted to compare the mean scores of dimension 3. Health for clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. A negative T statistic requires rejecting the null hypothesis  $H_{40}$  and confirming the alternative hypothesis  $H_{4A}$ . At a significance level of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ), no significant difference is found between the mean scores of clustered Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.53$ ,  $\sigma = .37$ ) and the mean scores of dispersed Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.57$ ,  $\sigma = .82$ ). This rejects the hypothesis that clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly worse than dispersed Eritrean status holders in terms of social participation and illustrates that there is no significant difference between the two groups.

#### 7.8.5 Language and culture

The hypothesis of dimension 5. Language and culture is as follows:

*H5 – Language and culture: clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.*



This means that the average score of clustered Eritreans on this dimension must be higher than the average score of dispersed Eritreans, after all, 1 is the best possible score and 5 the worst possible score.

To test the hypothesis of this dimension, a null hypothesis and an alternative hypothesis are formulated. These are as follows:

$$H_{5_0}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 > 0$$

$$H_{5_A}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 \leq 0$$

In which  $\mu_1$  represents the average dimension score of clustered respondents and  $\mu_2$  represents the average dimension score of dispersed respondents.

| Dimension               | T      | Significance<br>(one-tailed) | Mean<br>difference |
|-------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 5. Language and culture | -3.227 | 0.002                        | -.61               |

Table 7.17: Welch's t-test for equality of means of dimension 5. Language and culture ( $\alpha = .05$ ).

As can be seen in Table 7.17, Welch's t-test is conducted to compare the mean scores of dimension 2. Safety and stability for clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. A negative T statistic requires rejecting the null hypothesis  $H_{5_0}$  and confirming the alternative hypothesis  $H_{5_A}$ . At a significance level of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ), a significant difference is found between the mean scores of clustered Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.34$ ,  $\sigma = .42$ ) and the mean scores of dispersed Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.95$ ,  $\sigma = .96$ ). This rejects the hypothesis that clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly worse than dispersed Eritrean status holders in terms of safety and stability and illustrates that the former group scores significantly better than the latter group.

### 7.8.6 Education

The hypothesis of dimension 6. Education is as follows:

*H6 - Education: clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score the same.*

This means that the average score of clustered Eritreans should not deviate from the average score of dispersed Eritreans.

To test the hypothesis of this dimension, a null hypothesis and an alternative hypothesis are formulated. These are as follows:

$$H_{6_0}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 = 0$$

$$H_{6_A}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 \neq 0$$

In which  $\mu_1$  represents the average dimension score of clustered respondents and  $\mu_2$  represents the average dimension score of dispersed respondents.

| Dimension    | T     | Significance<br>(two-tailed) | Mean<br>difference |
|--------------|-------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 6. Education | 1.424 | 0.165                        | .26                |

Table 7.18: Welch's t-test for equality of means of dimension 6. Education ( $\alpha = .05$ ).

As can be seen in Table 7.18, Welch's t-test is conducted to compare the mean scores of dimension 6. Education for clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. At a significance level of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ), no significant difference is found between the mean scores of clustered Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.90$ ,  $\sigma = .42$ ) and the mean scores of dispersed Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.64$ ,  $\sigma = .67$ ). This requires confirming the null hypothesis  $H_{60}$  and rejecting the alternative hypothesis  $H_{6A}$ . It confirms that there is no significant difference between clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in terms of education.

### 7.8.7 Employment

The hypothesis of dimension 7. Employment is as follows:

*H7 - Employment: clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score the same.*

This means that the average score of clustered Eritreans should not deviate from the average score of dispersed Eritreans.

To test the hypothesis of this dimension, a null hypothesis and an alternative hypothesis are formulated. These are as follows:

$$H_{70}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 = 0$$

$$H_{7A}: \mu_1 - \mu_2 \neq 0$$

In which  $\mu_1$  represents the average dimension score of clustered respondents and  $\mu_2$  represents the average dimension score of dispersed respondents.

| Dimension     | T      | Significance<br>(two-tailed) | Mean<br>difference |
|---------------|--------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 7. Employment | -0.744 | 0.462                        | -.19               |

Table 7.19: Welch's t-test for equality of means of dimension 7. Employment ( $\alpha = .05$ ).

As can be seen in Table 7.19, Welch's t-test is conducted to compare the mean scores of dimension 7. Employment for clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. At a significance level of 5% ( $\alpha = .05$ ), no significant difference is found between the mean scores of clustered Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.78$ ,  $\sigma = .69$ ) and the mean scores of dispersed Eritrean status holders ( $\mu = 2.97$ ,  $\sigma = .86$ ). It confirms that there is no significant difference between clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in terms of education.

## 7.9 Chapter summary: an overview of empirical findings

| Dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen | Hypothesis  | Confirmed/ Rejected | Empirical findings   |
|---|---|---------------------|--|
| 1. Housing and the neighbourhood                | Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.           | Confirmed           | -  |
| 2. Safety and stability                         | Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly better in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders. | Rejected            | Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.          |
| 3. Health                                       | Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score slightly worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.  | Rejected            | No significant difference was found between the scores of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. |
| 4. Social participation                         | Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.           | Rejected            | No significant difference was found between the scores of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. |
| 5. Language and culture                         | Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score worse in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.           | Rejected            | Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score better in comparison to dispersed Eritrean status holders.         |
| 6. Education                                    | Clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score the same.   | Confirmed           | -  |
| 7. Employment                                   | Clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen score the same.   | Confirmed           | -  |

Table 7.20: Overview of hypotheses and empirical findings.

After performing Welch's t-test and testing the hypothesis of each dimension of successful integration, generalised statements can be made about the differences in integration between clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. Table 7.20 provides an overview of tested hypotheses and empirical findings.

In conclusion, as can be seen in Table 7.21, dispersed Eritrean status holders are found to score better in housing and the neighbourhood and in safety and stability. Clustered Eritrean status holders are found to score better in language and culture. No significant differences were found between both groups in health, social participation, education, and employment.

| <i>Who scores better on which dimension of successful integration in Nijmegen?</i> |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <b>Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen</b>                               | <b>No significant difference found between both groups</b>    | <b>Dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen</b>  |
| Language and culture   | Health<br>Social participation<br><br>Education<br>Employment | Housing and the neighbourhood<br>Safety and stability |

*Table 7.21: Summary of empirical findings.*

## CHAPTER 8 – CONCLUSION

### 8.1 Conclusion

A recent enlargement of the housing mandate and limited availability of local housing cause many municipalities in the Netherlands to be flexible and to come up with creative solutions regarding the housing of refugee status holders. In September 2015, the municipality of Nijmegen decided to house approximately 100 young male Eritrean refugee status holders at a former student complex. This clustered type of housing generated a discussion on their integration in Nijmegen. Many integration stakeholders assumed that they would be better off integrating in dispersed housing, spread out across neighbourhoods in Nijmegen. The public integration debate in Nijmegen gave rise to the following main research question:

*To what extent are clustered and dispersed Eritreans refugee status holders integrated in Nijmegen? Can we say that one group is more integrated than the other and what preconditions must then be met?*

In order to answer the main research question, this research sought to monitor and compare the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. The setting in Nijmegen provided a unique opportunity to compare the integration process of refugees that have the same nationality legal status, but who were assigned to different types of housing in different local contexts.

It was found that integration has a multidimensional nature and that it always bears a normative element, as it is based on the idea of a successfully integrated society. After arguing for a 'local turn' in integration studies, local integration policies and other data sources were used to establish a conceptual framework of dimensions and indicators that constitute successful integration in Nijmegen. Subsequently, a hypothesis on the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders was formulated for each integration dimension.

Then, it was argued that quantitative survey research is the most suitable method for comparative monitoring of the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. On the basis of the conceptual framework, a survey questionnaire was drafted and presented to sampled Eritrean status holders. Twenty clustered Eritreans and eighteen dispersed Eritreans completed the questionnaire. After comparative analysis of survey data, empirical findings were mirrored against the formulated hypothesis.

The most important and striking empirical findings for each integration dimension are as follows.

On the dimension housing and the neighbourhood, it is evident that clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are generally unsatisfied with (the quality of) their housing and the neighbourhood in which they have been housed. This contrasts with the general housing satisfaction of dispersed Eritrean status holders. Despite differences in housing and neighbourhood satisfaction, both groups are very pleased with Nijmegen as their city of residence.

In terms of the dimension safety and stability, empirical findings show that clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders generally feel safe and accepted in Nijmegen. Many clustered Eritreans, however, do not feel accepted by other Eritreans in Nijmegen. Furthermore, many clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders indicate that they do not have sufficient financial means to get by and/or that they are worried about their financial security. Lastly, clustered Eritreans have more distrust of the Dutch public authorities than dispersed Eritreans.

In regard to the dimension health, clustered Eritrean status holders indicate that they commonly discuss their physical and mental health problems with other Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex, and often with their Dutch coach or contact. Furthermore, clustered Eritreans have a less healthy lifestyle and drink more alcohol than dispersed Eritreans. Mirroring seems to take place among clustered respondents, increasing their risk of addiction.

In terms of the dimension social participation, both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders express their need for (more) social contact with residents of Dutch origin, but they indicate that it is difficult to establish and maintain these contacts. Contrary to popular belief, clustered Eritreans maintain more social contact with Dutch residents than dispersed Eritreans. This often involves contact with their coach, language buddy and/or host family. Dispersed Eritreans tend to have more contact with Eritreans living elsewhere, but generally maintain little contact with Dutch people. Some of them seem rather lonely and secluded. Dispersed housing of Eritrean status holders does not guarantee social contact with Dutch neighbours and other residents in Nijmegen. Lastly, dispersed Eritreans are less satisfied with their daytime spending than clustered Eritreans.

On the dimension language and culture, clustered Eritrean status holders indicate that they have a reasonable knowledge of the Dutch language; dispersed Eritrean status holders indicate that they have a poor command of Dutch. Dutch culture and customs are not well understood by both groups and lead to even more confusion than the Dutch language. It is striking that clustered Eritreans are particularly critical about their Dutch language skills and relate this to their clustered housing situation. Dispersed housing of Eritrean status

holders, however, does not guarantee a better command of the Dutch language. A lack of support in learning the Dutch language and culture seems to play a major role here. Unlike clustered Eritreans, dispersed Eritreans often do not have a language buddy.

Finally, empirical findings suggest that clustered and dispersed housing so far have little impact on the education and employment. The scores on the dimensions education and employment are very low for both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders, and consequently, there is lots of room for improvement on these dimensions.

In regard to the main research question, it is difficult to state that one group is better integrated than the other, due to the multidimensional nature of integration. Clustered and dispersed housing each provide access to certain opportunities for Eritrean status holders, while they also continue to disadvantage them in certain aspects of integration. Empirical findings indicate that dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are significantly better integrated than clustered Eritrean status holders on the dimensions housing and the neighbourhood and safety and stability. Clustered Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen are found to be better integrated on the dimension language and culture. No significant differences are found between the two groups on the dimensions health, social participation, education and employment.

Because clustered and dispersed housing each provide advantages and disadvantages and because neither clustered Eritrean status holders nor dispersed Eritrean status holders are found to score better on most of the established integration dimensions, it is likely that the public debate on housing and the integration of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen will continue to take place and that it will be shaped by future developments concerning the housing of status holders.

Some comments need to be made regarding the above conclusions.

While this research sought to study the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders as a group, it is important to acknowledge that there are considerable differences among these Eritreans. In addition to having different backgrounds, large differences were found in the way they completed the survey questionnaire. Each Eritrean experiences integration in a different way.

Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that the above-mentioned integration dimensions are seen to constitute integration in Nijmegen. As integration is a contextual and normative concept, understandings of successful integration differ from place to place. As such, the conceptual framework of this research is not to be seen as a universal blueprint for monitoring successful integration. Application of the conceptual framework in other (Dutch) cities requires a careful revision of the framework.

## 8.2 Limitations and recommendations for further research

A limitation of this research is that members of the research population, i.e. clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders, only have been residing in Nijmegen for a relatively short period. Integration, however was found to be a long-term process. This might explain why on some dimensions, such as education and employment, no significant differences have so far been found between clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders. Therefore, in this research, monitoring the integration process of these two groups can be seen as a baseline measurement. In order to track developments in their integration process, repeated monitoring is strongly recommended. The conceptual framework of successful integration in Nijmegen is suitable for repeated monitoring, but may be in need of revision after a certain time. Integration, after all, was found to be a normative concept, and as such, the idea of successful integration in Nijmegen is likely to change over the years.

Another limitation is that, as a result of a debate in Nijmegen, this research only covers clustered and dispersed housing types. The implications of other housing types on the integration of Eritrean status holders are beyond the scope of this research and are in need of further exploration. Limited availability and/or affordability of local housing may continue to force the municipality of Nijmegen to come up with alternative housing solutions for status holders.

From a methodological point of view, this study also has some shortcomings.

First, due to limited resources, relatively small sample sizes were used. Consequently, a relatively small number of clustered Eritrean status holders participated in the research. Moreover, clustered Eritrean status holders were sampled using so-called convenience sampling, which is widely regarded as a form of non-probability sampling. For more reliable results, future studies are encouraged to make use of larger sample sizes that are strictly drawn at random.

Second, integration was found to be a broad and complex concept, consisting of lots of dimensions and indicators. As such, it is difficult to extensively assess every dimension and indicator of successful integration in Nijmegen through one quantitative survey questionnaire. Only a limited number of questions were put in the survey questionnaire that was presented to the Eritrean respondents, in order not to overwork their goodwill and patience. Conducting further qualitative research on each of the dimensions and indicators is recommended in order to clarify and substantiate the quantitative findings of this research. Doing so will eventually result in more specific, in-depth insights on the integration process of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen.

Third, members of the research population, i.e. clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders, completed the survey questionnaire independently, in order to capture their integration experiences in the best possible way. Therefore, this study relies on the honest perceptions of the Eritrean respondents. Future studies are advised to take more account



of the perspectives of people who are concerned with the integration of Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen. Doing so could contribute to a more objective view of the clustered and dispersed Eritrean research populations.

### **8.3 Recommendations for the municipality of Nijmegen**

One of the objectives of this research is to provide guidance to the municipality of Nijmegen, who is responsible for the housing of Eritrean status holders and for the formulation of policies regarding their integration. Empirical findings of this research may be used as a reference for future municipal housing and/or integration policies.

The integration of clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders could generally be improved by focusing future integration policies on the integration dimensions with poor results. Key concerns in the integration of both clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders include limited social contact with residents of Dutch origin, a poor financial security, and low participation in terms of education and employment. For dispersed Eritrean status holders, additional concerns are the lack of a meaningful daytime spending, a risk of isolation, and a poor knowledge of the Dutch language. For clustered Eritreans, additional improvements can particularly be made in terms of housing satisfaction and security.

When formulating integration policies, policymakers are urged to make less distinction between clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders. The empirical findings of this research indicate that clustered Eritreans at the Griftdijk complex benefit from the additional commitment of the municipality of Nijmegen, local neighbourhood initiatives, and social assistance of VWON in the form of a language buddy, host family and/or personal coach. Dispersed Eritreans do generally not receive the same level of support. This makes them vulnerable to issues in integration and causes these issues to be less visible.

Furthermore, policymakers should take into account that in Nijmegen, contrary to popular belief, the dispersed housing of Eritrean status holders does not automatically lead to a more successful integration. More specifically, dispersed housing does neither guarantee social contact with residents of Dutch origin, nor a good proficiency in the Dutch language.

Finally, when assigning future housing to Eritrean status holders in Nijmegen, is it advisable to carefully consider the effects of clustered and dispersed housing on integration. As considerable differences between clustered and dispersed Eritrean status holders were found on the dimensions housing and the neighbourhood, safety and stability, and language and culture, particular attention is to be paid to these aspects of integration.

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### Cover image

Edition version of photo by I. Ovsyanykkov (Fancycrave):  
<https://unsplash.com/photos/cMOpU7Xg4Hc>

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## APPENDIX A – SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE IN TIGRINYA



**Radboud University Nijmegen**

### መሕትት

ሰላም! ስመይ Niels van Liessum ይበሃል። ኣብ ራድባውድ ዩኒቨርሲቲ (Radboud University) ናይ ጂኦግራፍ ተመሃራይ ኮይነ። ብዛዕባ ተሞክሮኹምን ትዕዛብትኹምን ኣብ ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) መጽናዕቲ ዝገበር ዘለኹ እየ። ነዚ ዝስዕብ መሕትት ተገዲስኩም ክትመልእዎ ፍቓደኛታት ብምዃንኩም የመስግነኩም። እትህብዎ መልሲ ብምስጢር ዝዕቀብ ንመጽናዕቲ ዘገልግል ስለዝኾነ፡ ስምኩም ምጥቃስ ውን ኣየድልን እዩ። ምጽኢት ናይዚ መጽናዕቲ ንዝግዘዘ ተሳትፎ ኣብ ሕብረተሰብ ሆላንድ ምርኩስ ብምግባር ንምምሕዳር ከተማ ናይመኸን (municipality of Nijmegen) ሓያለ ካልኣት ኣካላትን ከነካፍሎ ኢና። የቐንየለይ!

ብኽብረትኩም ኣብታ ንመልስኹም ትውክል ሳንዱቕ ምልክት ግበሩ፡ **ንኣብነት፦**

|                          | ኣጸቢቕ<br>ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማ<br>ዕ | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | ኣይሰማማዕን | ብፍጽም<br>ኣይሰማማዕ<br>ን |
|--------------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|---------|---------------------|
| ኣብዚ ዘለኹዎ መንበሪ ገዛይ ሕጉስ እየ |               |           | X             |         |                     |

| 1. መንበሪ ገዛ ዝምልከት                                     |                         |       |            |                   |              |
|--|-------------------------|-------|------------|-------------------|--------------|
|  | ኣብ ናይ ባይነይ መንበሪ ገዛ ይቐመጥ |       |            | ብሓባር ምስ ካልኣት ይቐመጥ |              |
| 1. ኣብዚ ሕጂ ሰዓት ኣብ.....                                |                         |       |            |                   |              |
|  | ኣጸቢቐ ይሰማማዕ              | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብላይን | ኣይሰማማዕን           | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 2. ኣብ ዝነበረሉ ዘለኹ ገዛ ሕጉስ እየ                            |                         |       |            |                   |              |
|  | ኣጸቢቐ ይሰማማዕ              | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብላይን | ኣይሰማማዕን           | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 3. ኣብ ዝነበረሉ ዘለኹ ገዛ ውሕስነት ይስምዓኒ                       |                         |       |            |                   |              |
|  | ኣጸቢቐ ይሰማማዕ              | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብላይን | ኣይሰማማዕን           | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 4. ኣብ ዝነበረሉ ዘለኹ ገዛ እኹል ብሕታውነት ኣለኒ                    |                         |       |            |                   |              |
|  | ኣጸቢቐ ይሰማማዕ              | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብላይን | ኣይሰማማዕን           | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 5. ብግዝፊ ወይ ዓቕን ናይ ዝነበረሉ ዘለኹ ገዛ ዕጉብ/ሕጉስ እየ            |                         |       |            |                   |              |
|  | ኣጸቢቐ ይሰማማዕ              | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብላይን | ኣይሰማማዕን           | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 6. ብትሕዝቶን ንብረትን ናይ ዝነበረሉ ዘለኹ ገዛ ዕጉብ/ሕጉስ እየ           |                         |       |            |                   |              |
|  | ኣጸቢቐ ይሰማማዕ              | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብላይን | ኣይሰማማዕን           | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 7. ብትሕዝቶ ሽንትቤትን መሕጸቢ ነብስን ናይ ዝነበረሉ ዘለኹ ገዛ ዕጉብ/ሕጉስ እየ |                         |       |            |                   |              |

|  | አጸቢቸ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል ? |
|--|------------|-------|------------|----------|---------------|
| 8. ብትሕዝቶ ኸሸነ ናይ ዝነብረሉ ዘለኹ ገዛ ዕጉብ/ሕጉስ እየ    |            |       |            |          |               |
|  | አጸቢቸ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል ? |
| 9. ብኣከባቢ ናይዚ ዝነብረሉ ዘለኹ ገዛ ዕጉብ/ሕጉስ እየ       |            |       |            |          |               |
|  | አጸቢቸ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል ? |
| 10. በይነይ/ንውልቅይ ክነበር ይመርጽ                   |            |       |            |          |               |
|  | አጸቢቸ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል ? |
| 11. ምስ ካልኣት ኤርትራውያን ብሓባር ዝነብረሉ መንበሪ ይመርጽ   |            |       |            |          |               |
|  | አጸቢቸ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል ? |
| 12. ምስ ሆላንዳውያን ብሓባር ዝነብረሉ መንበሪ ይመርጽ        |            |       |            |          |               |
|  | አጸቢቸ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል ? |
| 13. ኣብ ከባቢ ወይ ጎረቤት ሆላንዳውያን ዝነብረሉ መንበሪ ይመርጽ |            |       |            |          |               |
|  | አጸቢቸ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል ? |
| 14. ኣብ ከባቢ ወይ ጎረቤት ኤርትራውያን ዝነብረሉ መንበሪ ይመርጽ |            |       |            |          |               |

|   | አጸቢቸ<br>ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማዕ<br>? | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማዕ<br>? |
|---|---------------|-------|---------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 15. ንቐጻሊ ወን ንመጻኢ ኣብዚ ዘለኹዎ<br>መንበሪ ክነብር ይመርጽ       |               |       |               |             |                     |
|   | አጸቢቸ<br>ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማዕ<br>? | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማዕ<br>? |
| 16. ንቐጻሊ ወይ ንመጻኢ ኣብ ናይመኸን<br>(Nijmegen) ክነብር ይመርጽ |               |       |               |             |                     |
|   | አጸቢቸ<br>ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማዕ<br>? | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማዕ<br>? |
| 17. ንቐጻሊ ወይ መጻኢ ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ<br>ክነብር ይመርጽ           |               |       |               |             |                     |

| 2. ውሕስነትን ርግኣትን   |           |      |            |        |               |
|---|-----------|------|------------|--------|---------------|
|   | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 1. አብ ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) ዝርነብሩ ኤርትራውያን ብፍሕሹው ገጽ ዝቐበሉኒ ኮይኑ ይስመዓኒ |           |      |            |        |               |
|   | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 2. አብ ጎረቤተይ ዝነበሩ ሆላንድውያን ብፍሕሹው ገጽ ዝቐበሉኒ ኮይኑ ይስመዓኒ             |           |      |            |        |               |
|   | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 3. ነበርቲ ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) ብፍሕሹው ገጽ ዝቐበሉኒ ኮይኑ ይስመዓኒ             |           |      |            |        |               |
|   | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 4. አብ ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) መእተውየይን መውጽእየይን ይፈልጥ                   |           |      |            |        |               |
|   | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 5. አብ ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) ውሕስነት ወይ ድሕነት ይስመዓኒ                    |           |      |            |        |               |
|   | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 6. ከንቀሳቕሶኒ ዝኸኸል እኩል ገንዘብ ኣለኒ                                  |           |      |            |        |               |
|   | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 7. ብፖስታ ዝመጽእ ምምሕዳራዊ ደብዳቤታት እንታይ ክገብሮ ከምዘለኒ ብግቡኣ ይፈልጥ          |           |      |            |        |               |

|  | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል  | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
|--|------------|------|------------|--------|---------------|
| 8. ኣብ መንግስቲ ሆላንድ እምነት ኣለኒ                              |            |      |            |        |               |
|  | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል  | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 9. ኣብ መንግስቲ ኤርትራ ስግኣት ወይ ፍርሒ ይስምዓኒ                     |            |      |            |        |               |
|  | አጸቢቅ ይሰማል  | ይሰማል | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይሰማልም | ብፍጽም አይሰማልም ? |
| 10. ሂወት ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ ከምቲ ኣቐዲመ ዝተጸበኸዎ ጸኒሕኒ                |            |      |            |        |               |
|  | እወ፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ |      | እወ፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ |        | ኣጋጢምኒ ኣይፈልጥን  |
| 11. ኣብ ጎደናታት ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) ሰባት ብሕማቕ ዓይኒ ይጥምቱኒ       |            |      |            |        |               |
|  | እወ፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ |      | እወ፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ |        | ኣጋጢምኒ ኣይፈልጥን  |
| 12. ኣብ ጎደናታት ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) ሰባት የሸግሩኒ                |            |      |            |        |               |
|  | እወ፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ |      | እወ፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ |        | ኣጋጢምኒ ኣይፈልጥን  |
| 13. ኣብ ጎደናታት ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) ሰባት ኣጥቂዖምኒ ወይ ወቂዖምኒ ይፈልጡ |            |      |            |        |               |

| 3. ጥዕና                                       |            |       |            |          |              |
|--|------------|-------|------------|----------|--------------|
|  | አጸቢቅ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል? |
| 1. አካላዊ ጥዕናይ ጽቡቅ ይስምዳኒ                       |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | አጸቢቅ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል? |
| 2. ጽቡቅ አመጋግባ የዘውትር                           |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | አጸቢቅ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል? |
| 3. ጽቡቅ ምስዘይስምዳኒ ኩነታተይ ንካልኦት ኤርትራውያን የካፍል     |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | አጸቢቅ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል? |
| 4. ጽቡቅ ምስዘይስምዳኒ ኩነታተይ ንካልኦት ሆላንድውያን የካፍል     |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | አጸቢቅ ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ የብላይን | አይሰማማል ? | ብፍጽም አይሰማማል? |
| 5. ጽቡቅ አብዘይስምዳኒ ግዜ እንታይ ከገብር ከምዘለኒ ብግቡእ ይፈልጥ |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ግዜ |       | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ግዜ |          | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥ? |
| 6. አብዚ እዋን አብ ዶክቶር ይረካይ አለኹ                  |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ግዜ |       | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ግዜ |          | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥ? |
| 7. አብዚ እዋን መድሃኒት ይወስድ አለኹ                    |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ግዜ |       | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ግዜ |          | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥ? |
| 8. ፍርህ ወይ ምርባሽ ይስምዳኒ                         |            |       |            |          |              |

|                             | እው፣ ብዙሕ ግዜ | እው፣ ሳሕተ ግዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 9. ድኻም ይስምዳኒ                |            |            |              |
|                             | እው፣ ብዙሕ ግዜ | እው፣ ሳሕተ ግዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 10. አብ ድቃሰይ ዘፍርሕ ሕልምታት ይሓልም |            |            |              |
|                             | እው፣ ብዙሕ ግዜ | እው፣ ሳሕተ ግዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 11. መስተ የዘውትር               |            |            |              |
|                             | እው፣ ብዙሕ ግዜ | እው፣ ሳሕተ ግዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 12. ዕጸ ፋርስ ይወስድ/የዘውትር       |            |            |              |



| 4. ተሳትፎ አብ ትነብረሉ ቦታ  |            |            |              |
|--|------------|------------|--------------|
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 1. ምስ አብ ከባብየይ ዝርከቡ ጎረባብቲ የዕልል                                       |            |            |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 2. ምስ ሆላንዳውያን የዕልል   |            |            |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 3. ምስ ካልአት ኤርትራውያን አብ ናይመኸን (Nijmegen) ዝርከቡ የዕልል                     |            |            |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 4. ምስ ካልአት ኤርትራውያን አብ ነዘርላንድስ ዝርከቡ የዕልል                              |            |            |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 5. ምስ መዛኖይ/መሳተይ የዕልል   |            |            |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 6. አብ ስፖርታዊ ንጥፊታት ይሳተፍ (ንኣብነት ጉያ፡ ቅድድም ብሸክለታ፡ ኩዕሶ እግራ፡ ኩዕሶ መርበብ ወዘተ) |            |            |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 7. አብ ባህላዊ ንጥፊታት ይሳተፍ ንኣብነት ምድራፍ፡ ሙዚቓ ምቅንባር፡ ሳዕስዒት፡ ምኽሻን ወዘተ         |            |            |              |
|  | እው፣ ብዙሕ ጊዜ | እው፣ ሳሕቲ ጊዜ | ኢጋጢምኒ አይፈልጥን |
| 8. አዝዩ ይስልኸውኒ፡ እንታይ ክገብር ከምዝኽእል ውን አይፈልጥን                            |            |            |              |

|   | አጸቢቅ<br>ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማልን |
|---|---------------|-------|---------------|---------|-----------------|
| 9. ምስ ካልአት ኤርትራውያን ምዕላል<br>ጠቓሚ/አገዳሲ ኮይኑ ይስምዓኒ   |               |       |               |         |                 |
|   | አጸቢቅ<br>ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማልን |
| 10. ምስ ሆላንዳውያን ምዕላል<br>ጠቓሚ/አገዳሲ ኮይኑ ይስምዓኒ   |               |       |               |         |                 |
|   | አጸቢቅ<br>ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማልን |
| 11. ምስ መዛኑ/ወሳኑ ምዕላል<br>ጠቓሚ/አገዳሲ ኮይኑ ይስምዓኒ   |               |       |               |         |                 |
|   | አጸቢቅ<br>ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማልን |
| 12. አብ ስፖርታዊ ንጥፊታት ምስታፍ<br>ጠቓሚ/አገዳሲ ኮይኑ ይስምዓኒ   |               |       |               |         |                 |
|   | አጸቢቅ<br>ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማልን |
| 13. አብ ባህላዊ ንጥፊታት ማለት<br>ምድራፍ፡ ሙዚቃ ምቅንባር፡ ሳዕስዒት፡<br>ምኽሻን ወዘተ ምስታፍ ጠቓሚ/አገዳሲ<br>ኮይኑ ይስምዓኒ |               |       |               |         |                 |
|   | አጸቢቅ<br>ይሰማማል | ይሰማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይሰማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይሰማማልን |
| 14. ኣነ ክሳተፎ ዝኸለል ብዙሕ ንጥፊታት<br>ከምዘሎ ይፈልጥ   |               |       |               |         |                 |

| 5. ቋንቋን ባህልን                               |            |       |            |         |              |
|--|------------|-------|------------|---------|--------------|
|  | እዝዩ ጽቡቅ    | ጽቡቅ   | ማእከላይ      | ትሑት     | አዝዩ ትሑት      |
| 1. ቋንቋ ትግሪኛ ይዛረብ                           |            |       |            |         |              |
|  | እዝዩ ጽቡቅ    | ጽቡቅ   | ማእከላይ      | ትሑት     | አዝዩ ትሑት      |
| 2. ቋንቋ እንግሊዘኛ ይዛረብ                         |            |       |            |         |              |
|  | እዝዩ ጽቡቅ    | ጽቡቅ   | ማእከላይ      | ትሑት     | አዝዩ ትሑት      |
| 3. ቋንቋ ዳች ይዛረብ                             |            |       |            |         |              |
|  | እዝዩ ጽቡቅ    | ጽቡቅ   | ማእከላይ      | ትሑት     | አዝዩ ትሑት      |
| 4. ናይ ሆላንድ ባልን ወግዕን ይፈልጥ                   |            |       |            |         |              |
|  | እወ         |       | አይፋል       |         |              |
| 5. ኣብዚ እዋን ስሩዕ ትምህርቲ ቋንቋ ዳች ይወስድ ኣለኹ       |            |       |            |         |              |
|  | እወ         |       | አይፋል       |         |              |
| 6. ኣብዚ እዋን ቋንቋ ዳች ዝሕግዘኒ መሓዛ/ሓጋዚ ኣለኒ        |            |       |            |         |              |
|  | እወ         |       | አይፋል       |         |              |
| 7. ኣብዚ እዋን ስሩዕ ትምህርቲ ባህልን ወግዕን ዳች ይወስድ ኣለኹ |            |       |            |         |              |
|  | አጸቢቕ ይስማማዕ | ይስማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብለይን | አይስማማዕን | ብፍጽም አይስማማዕን |
| 8. ቋንቋ ዳች ምምሃር ጠቓሚ/ኣገዳሲ ኮይኑ ይስምዓኒ          |            |       |            |         |              |

|  | አጸቢቸ<br>ይስማማል | ይስማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይስማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይስማማልን |
|--|---------------|-------|---------------|---------|-----------------|
| 9. ቋንቋ ዳች ንምምሃር እኹል ሓገዝ/ደገፍ<br>አለኝ                   |               |       |               |         |                 |
|  | አጸቢቸ<br>ይስማማል | ይስማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይስማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይስማማልን |
| 10. ባህልን ወግዕን ዳች ምምሃር<br>ጠቓሚ/አገዳሲ ኮይኑ ይስምዳኝ          |               |       |               |         |                 |
|  | አጸቢቸ<br>ይስማማል | ይስማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይስማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይስማማልን |
| 11. ሃይማኖት ንዓይ አገዳሲ እዩ                                |               |       |               |         |                 |
|  | አጸቢቸ<br>ይስማማል | ይስማማል | ርእይቶ<br>የብለይን | አይስማማልን | ብፍጽም<br>አይስማማልን |
| 12. ሃይማኖተይ ወይ እምነተይ<br>ዘዘውትረሉ/ዘመርሓሉ እኹል መሳለጥያ<br>አለኝ |               |       |               |         |                 |

| 6. ወግዓዊ ትምህርቲ  |            |       |            |          |              |
|--|------------|-------|------------|----------|--------------|
|  | እው         |       |            | ኣይፋል     |              |
| 1. ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ ወግዓዊ ትምህርቲ ይወስድ ኣለኹ                          |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | እው         |       |            | ኣይፋል     |              |
| 2. ኣብ ኤርትራ መባእታ ትምህርቲ ወዲኦ                                  |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | እው         |       |            | ኣይፋል     |              |
| 3. ኣብ ኤርትራ ማእከላይ ደረጃ ትምህርቲ ወዲኦ                             |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | እው         |       |            | ኣይፋል     |              |
| 4. ኣብ ኤርትራ ናይ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ደረጃ ትምህርቲ ወሲዶ                         |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | እው         |       |            | ኣይፋል     |              |
| 5. ኣብ ኤርትራ ወተሃደርዊ ኣካዳሚ ወሲዶ                                 |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | ኣጸቢቕ ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብላይን | ኣይሰማማዕ ? | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 6. ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ ወግዓዊ ትምህርቲ ክወስድ ምደለኹ                         |            |       |            |          |              |
|  | ኣጸቢቕ ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብላይን | ኣይሰማማዕ ? | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 7. ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ ንዓይ ዝበቐዕ/ዝኸውን ኣንታይ ዓይነት ወግዓዊ ትምህርቲ ከምዘሎ ይፈልጥ |            |       |            |          |              |

| 7. ስራች  |            |       |            |         |              |
|---|------------|-------|------------|---------|--------------|
|   | እው         |       |            | አይፋል    |              |
| 1. ኣብ ኤርትራ ዝኸፈለሉ ስራሕ ኔሩኒ                          |            |       |            |         |              |
|   | እው         |       |            | አይፋል    |              |
| 2. ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ ኣብዚ እዋን ዘይክፈሎ ናይ ወለንታ ስራሕ ይሰርሕ      |            |       |            |         |              |
|   | እው         |       |            | አይፋል    |              |
| 3. ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ ኣብዚ እዋን ዝኸፈሎ ስራሕ ኣለኒ                |            |       |            |         |              |
|   | ኣጸቢቕ ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብለይን | ኣይሰማማዕን | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 4. ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ ስራሕ ክህልወካ ኣገዳሲ ኮይኑ ይስምዓኒ            |            |       |            |         |              |
|   | ኣጸቢቕ ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብለይን | ኣይሰማማዕን | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 5. ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ እንታይ ዓይነት ስራሕ ክሰርሕ/ክህልወኒ ከምዝደሊ ይፈልጥ |            |       |            |         |              |
|   | ኣጸቢቕ ይሰማማዕ | ይሰማማዕ | ርእይቶ የብለይን | ኣይሰማማዕን | ብፍጽም ኣይሰማማዕን |
| 6. ኣብ ነዘርላንድስ ኣብ እንታይ ዓይነት ስራሕ ከምዘድምዕ ይፈልጥ        |            |       |            |         |              |

| 8. ሓፈሻዊ ሕቶታት |                |       |      |                 |     |                |
|--------------|----------------|-------|------|-----------------|-----|----------------|
|              | ተባ             |       |      | አን              |     |                |
| 1. ጾታ        |                |       |      |                 |     |                |
|              | ተዋህዶ<br>አርቶዶክስ | ምስልምና | ካቶሊክ | ፕሮተስታንት<br>/ክንሻ | ካልእ | ሃይማኖት<br>የብሉይ? |
| 2. ሃይማኖት     |                |       |      |                 |     |                |

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| 3. ዕድሜ:                                 | ..... |
| 4. ዕድሜ/ክ/ኪ አብ ነዘርላንድስ ዝኣተኸሉ ግዜ          | ..... |
| 5. ዕድሜ/ክ/ኪ አብ ናይመኻን (Nijmegen) ዝመጸኸሉ ግዜ | ..... |

ተወሳኺ ሓበሬታ ወይ ክትምልእዎ ትደልዩ ሓሳብ ምስዝህሉ ኣብዚ ታሕቲ ዝርከብ ሳጹን ተጠቐሙ።

መሕትት ኣብዚ ይዛዘም!!  
ብዝገበርኩምላይ ምትሕብባር ኣዝየ የመስግን!!

## APPENDIX B – SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE IN ENGLISH



**Radboud University Nijmegen**

### **Questionnaire**

---

Hello! My name is Niels van Liessum. I am a geography student at Radboud University and I am doing research on your experiences in Nijmegen. It would be great if you are willing to fill in the questionnaire below carefully. Your answers will be treated anonymously and confidentially. Therefore please do not fill in your name. The results of the research will be shared with the municipality of Nijmegen and several other organizations. Thank you!

Please check the box that best corresponds to your answer for each question. Example:

|                                 | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
|---------------------------------|----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------------------|
| I am happy with my current home |                |       | X       |          |                   |



| 1. Housing  |   |       |         |                                   |                   |
|---|---|-------|---------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
|   | I live all alone without any housemate(s) |       |         | I live together with housemate(s) |                   |
| 1. Currently I live...                                |   |       |         |                                   |                   |
|   | Strongly agree                            | Agree | Neutral | Disagree                          | Strongly disagree |
| 2. I am happy with my current home                    |   |       |         |                                   |                   |
|   | Strongly agree                            | Agree | Neutral | Disagree                          | Strongly disagree |
| 3. I feel safe at my current home                     |   |       |         |                                   |                   |
|   | Strongly agree                            | Agree | Neutral | Disagree                          | Strongly disagree |
| 4. I have sufficient privacy in my current home       |   |       |         |                                   |                   |
|   | Strongly agree                            | Agree | Neutral | Disagree                          | Strongly disagree |
| 5. I am happy with the size of my current home        |   |       |         |                                   |                   |
|   | Strongly agree                            | Agree | Neutral | Disagree                          | Strongly disagree |
| 6. I am happy with the furnishings in my current home |   |       |         |                                   |                   |
|   | Strongly agree                            | Agree | Neutral | Disagree                          | Strongly disagree |
| 7. I am happy with the bathroom in my current home    |   |       |         |                                   |                   |

|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 8. I am happy with the kitchen in my current home                   |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 9. I am happy with the surroundings of my current home              |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 10. I prefer to live all alone without any housemates               |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 11. I prefer to live in a home that I share with other Eritreans    |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 12. I prefer to live in a home that I share with Dutch persons      |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 13. I prefer to live in close proximity to Dutch persons            |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 14. I prefer to live in close proximity to Eritreans                |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 15. In the future I would like to continue to live in the same home |                       |              |                |                 |                          |

|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
|---|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 16. In the future I would like to continue to live in Nijmegen        |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|   | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 17. In the future I would like to continue to live in the Netherlands |                       |              |                |                 |                          |

| <b>2. Safety and stability</b>                                     |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|--|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 1. I feel that other Eritreans in Nijmegen welcome and accept me   |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 2. I feel that Dutch neighbours near my home welcome and accept me |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 3. I feel that people in Nijmegen welcome and accept me            |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 4. I am finding my way in Nijmegen                                 |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 5. I feel safe in Nijmegen   |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 6. I have enough money to get by                                   |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 7. I know what to do with letters coming by post                   |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 8. I trust the Dutch government                                    |                       |              |                |                 |                          |

|  |                        |                       |                  |                 |                          |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b>  | <b>Agree</b>          | <b>Neutral</b>   | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 9. I fear the Eritrean government                              |                        |                       |                  |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b>  | <b>Agree</b>          | <b>Neutral</b>   | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 10. Life in the Netherlands is as I expected beforehand        |                        |                       |                  |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Yes, very often</b> | <b>Yes, sometimes</b> | <b>No, never</b> |                 |                          |
| 11. People in Nijmegen give me mean looks on the street        |                        |                       |                  |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Yes, very often</b> | <b>Yes, sometimes</b> | <b>No, never</b> |                 |                          |
| 12. People in Nijmegen bother me on the street                 |                        |                       |                  |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Yes, very often</b> | <b>Yes, sometimes</b> | <b>No, never</b> |                 |                          |
| 13. People in Nijmegen have physically attacked me in the past |                        |                       |                  |                 |                          |

| 3. Health  |                 |                |           |          |                   |
|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-------------------|
|  | Strongly agree  | Agree          | Neutral   | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 1. My body feels well  |                 |                |           |          |                   |
|  | Strongly agree  | Agree          | Neutral   | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 2. I eat well  |                 |                |           |          |                   |
|  | Strongly agree  | Agree          | Neutral   | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 3. If I am not feeling well, I talk about this matter with other Eritreans |                 |                |           |          |                   |
|  | Strongly agree  | Agree          | Neutral   | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 4. If I am not feeling well, I talk about this matter with Dutch persons   |                 |                |           |          |                   |
|  | Strongly agree  | Agree          | Neutral   | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 5. I know what to do when I am not feeling well                            |                 |                |           |          |                   |
|  | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |          |                   |
| 6. I am seeing a doctor  |                 |                |           |          |                   |
|  | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |          |                   |
| 7. I am taking medicines   |                 |                |           |          |                   |
|  | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |          |                   |
| 8. I feel anxious  |                 |                |           |          |                   |

|                                     |                        |                       |                  |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
|                                     | <b>Yes, very often</b> | <b>Yes, sometimes</b> | <b>No, never</b> |
| 9. I feel tired                     |                        |                       |                  |
|                                     | <b>Yes, very often</b> | <b>Yes, sometimes</b> | <b>No, never</b> |
| 10. I have scary dreams in my sleep |                        |                       |                  |
|                                     | <b>Yes, very often</b> | <b>Yes, sometimes</b> | <b>No, never</b> |
| 11. I drink alcohol                 |                        |                       |                  |
|                                     | <b>Yes, very often</b> | <b>Yes, sometimes</b> | <b>No, never</b> |
| 12. I am taking drugs               |                        |                       |                  |

| 4. Taking part  |                 |                |           |
|---|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
|   | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |
| 1. I talk to Dutch neighbours near my home  |                 |                |           |
|   | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |
| 2. I talk to Dutch persons  |                 |                |           |
|   | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |
| 3. I talk to other Eritreans in Nijmegen  |                 |                |           |
|   | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |
| 4. I talk to other Eritreans in the Netherlands   |                 |                |           |
|   | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |
| 5. I talk to my peers   |                 |                |           |
|   | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |
| 6. I take part in sports activities (for example running, cycling, football, volley)    |                 |                |           |
|   | Yes, very often | Yes, sometimes | No, never |
| 7. I take part in cultural activities such as singing, making music, dancing or cooking |                 |                |           |



|   | Yes, very often |       | Yes, sometimes |          | No, never         |
|---|-----------------|-------|----------------|----------|-------------------|
| 8. I feel bored and do not know what to do  |                 |       |                |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree  | Agree | Neutral        | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 9. I think it is important to talk with other Eritreans   |                 |       |                |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree  | Agree | Neutral        | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 10. I think it is important to talk with Dutch persons  |                 |       |                |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree  | Agree | Neutral        | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 11. I think it is important to talk with peers  |                 |       |                |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree  | Agree | Neutral        | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 12. I think it is important to take part in sports activities   |                 |       |                |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree  | Agree | Neutral        | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 13. I think it is important to take part in cultural activities such as singing, making music, dancing or cooking |                 |       |                |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree  | Agree | Neutral        | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 14. There are plenty of activities that are being organized and that I can take part in                           |                 |       |                |          |                   |

| 5. Language and culture   |           |      |         |      |             |
|---|-----------|------|---------|------|-------------|
|   | Very well | Well | Average | Poor | Very poorly |
| 1. I speak Tigrinya   |           |      |         |      |             |
|   | Very well | Well | Average | Poor | Very poorly |
| 2. I speak English  |           |      |         |      |             |
|   | Very well | Well | Average | Poor | Very poorly |
| 3. I speak Dutch  |           |      |         |      |             |
|   | Very well | Well | Average | Poor | Very poorly |
| 4. I know the Dutch culture and customs                                   |           |      |         |      |             |
|   | Yes       |      | No      |      |             |
| 5. I am currently taking classes to learn the Dutch language              |           |      |         |      |             |
|   | Yes       |      | No      |      |             |
| 6. I do currently have a buddy who helps me to learn the Dutch language   |           |      |         |      |             |
|   | Yes       |      | No      |      |             |
| 7. I am currently taking classes to learn about Dutch culture and customs |           |      |         |      |             |

|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
|--|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 8. I think it is important to learn the Dutch language               |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 9. I get enough support to learn the Dutch language                  |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 10. I think it is important to learn about Dutch culture and customs |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 11. Religion is important for me                                     |                       |              |                |                 |                          |
|  | <b>Strongly agree</b> | <b>Agree</b> | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Disagree</b> | <b>Strongly disagree</b> |
| 12. I have enough facilities to practice my religion                 |                       |              |                |                 |                          |

| 6. Professional education  |                |       |         |          |                   |
|--|----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------------------|
|  | Yes            |       | No      |          |                   |
| 1. In the Netherlands I am currently enrolled in professional education              |                |       |         |          |                   |
|  | Yes            |       | No      |          |                   |
| 2. In Eritrea I attended primary school  |                |       |         |          |                   |
|  | Yes            |       | No      |          |                   |
| 3. In Eritrea I attended secondary school  |                |       |         |          |                   |
|  | Yes            |       | No      |          |                   |
| 4. In Eritrea I attended university  |                |       |         |          |                   |
|  | Yes            |       | No      |          |                   |
| 5. In Eritrea I attended a military academy  |                |       |         |          |                   |
|  | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 6. I would like to take part in professional education in the Netherlands            |                |       |         |          |                   |
|  | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 7. I know what kind of professional education is available for me in the Netherlands |                |       |         |          |                   |

| 7. Work   |                |       |         |          |                   |
|---|----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------------------|
|   | Yes            |       |         | No       |                   |
| 1. I had a paid job in Eritrea                                |                |       |         |          |                   |
|   | Yes            |       |         | No       |                   |
| 2. Currently I have a voluntary/unpaid job in the Netherlands |                |       |         |          |                   |
|   | Yes            |       |         | No       |                   |
| 3. Currently I have a paid job in the Netherlands             |                |       |         |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 4. I think it is important to have a job in the Netherlands   |                |       |         |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 5. I know what kind of work I want to do in the Netherlands   |                |       |         |          |                   |
|   | Strongly agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
| 6. I know what kind of work I can do well in the Netherlands  |                |       |         |          |                   |

| 8. General questions |                                  |       |          |            |       |                                |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------|----------|------------|-------|--------------------------------|
|                      | Male                             |       |          | Female     |       |                                |
| 1. Sex               |                                  |       |          |            |       |                                |
|                      | Eritrean<br>Orthodox<br>Tewahedo | Islam | Catholic | Protestant | Other | I do not<br>have a<br>religion |
| 2. Religion          |                                  |       |          |            |       |                                |

|                                      |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| 3. Age:                              | ..... |
| 4. Age of arrival in the Netherlands | ..... |
| 5. Age of arrival in Nijmegen        | ..... |

Is there anything else you would like to let me know? You can write it down below:

-- End of questionnaire --

Thank you for your cooperation!

## APPENDIX C – FULL DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF QUESTIONS, INDICATORS AND DIMENSIONS

In order to conduct a correct analysis that is in line with the established conceptual framework of successful integration, the response scales of some questions had to be reversed (see also paragraph 6.3). Concerning questions are marked with an asterisk. The statistics of these questions should be interpreted reversely.

### *Descriptives of dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood*

| Question in questionnaire/indicator/dimension                         | Respondents                    | N                | Min.                 | Max.                 | Mean                 | SD                   |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 2. I am happy with my current home                                    | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 3.30<br>1.94         | 1.52<br>1.11         |
| <b><i>Indicator A. Overall housing satisfaction</i></b>               | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>3.30<br/>1.94</b> | <b>1.52<br/>1.11</b> |
| 9. I am happy with the surroundings of my home                        | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>4.00         | 2.90<br>1.56         | 1.48<br>.78          |
| <b><i>Indicator B. Neighbourhood satisfaction</i></b>                 | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>4.00</b> | <b>2.90<br/>1.56</b> | <b>1.48<br/>.78</b>  |
| 3. I feel safe at my current home                                     | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.50<br>1.83         | 1.47<br>1.15         |
| 4. I have sufficient privacy in my home                               | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>4.00         | 3.55<br>1.72         | 1.40<br>.83          |
| 5. I am happy with the size of my current home                        | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 3.55<br>2.17         | 1.50<br>1.43         |
| 6. I am happy with the furnishings in my current home                 | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 3.75<br>2.44         | 1.37<br>1.50         |
| 7. I am happy with the bathroom in my current home                    | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.90<br>2.39         | 1.55<br>1.50         |
| 8. I am happy with the kitchen in my current home                     | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.80<br>2.44         | 1.40<br>1.42         |
| <b><i>Indicator C. Housing quality</i></b>                            | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>4.50</b> | <b>3.18<br/>2.17</b> | <b>1.04<br/>.91</b>  |
| 13. I prefer to live in close proximity to Dutch people               | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 1.75<br>1.72         | 1.07<br>.96          |
| 16. In the future I would like to continue to live in Nijmegen        | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 1.70<br>2.11         | 1.13<br>1.28         |
| 17. In the future I would like to continue to live in the Netherlands | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>4.00         | 1.80<br>1.67         | 1.24<br>0.97         |
| <b><i>Indicator D. Housing and neighbourhood preferences</i></b>      | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.67<br/>3.67</b> | <b>1.75<br/>1.83</b> | <b>.76<br/>.75</b>   |
| <b><i>Dimension 1. Housing and the neighbourhood</i></b>              | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>4.54<br/>3.38</b> | <b>2.78<br/>1.88</b> | <b>1.01<br/>.64</b>  |

## Descriptives of dimension 2. Safety and stability

| Question in questionnaire/indicator/dimension  | Respondents                    | N                | Min.                 | Max.                 | Mean                 | SD                   |
|--|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. I feel that other Eritreans in Nijmegen welcome and accept me                                   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>4.00         | 2.90<br>1.44         | 1.21<br>.51          |
| 2. I feel that Dutch neighbours near my home welcome and accept me                                 | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 4.00<br>3.00         | 1.85<br>2.00         | .93<br>.69           |
| 3. I feel that people in Nijmegen welcome and accept me  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>3.00         | 2.10<br>1.78         | 1.17<br>.73          |
| <b>Indicator A. Feeling accepted</b>   | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>4.00<br/>2.33</b> | <b>2.28<br/>1.74</b> | <b>.85<br/>.44</b>   |
| 5. I feel safe in Nijmegen   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>3.00         | 1.65<br>1.78         | .75<br>.65           |
| *11. People in Nijmegen give me mean looks on the street ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )        | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>3.00         | 1.90<br>1.44         | 1.21<br>.86          |
| *12. People in Nijmegen bother me on the street ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )                 | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>3.00         | 1.20<br>1.11         | .62<br>.47           |
| *13. People in Nijmegen have physically attacked me in the past ( <i>reversed response scale</i> ) | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>3.00         | 1.10<br>1.11         | .45<br>.47           |
| <b>Indicator B. Personal safety</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>2.75<br/>2.75</b> | <b>1.46<br/>1.36</b> | <b>.48<br/>.44</b>   |
| 4. I am finding my way in Nijmegen   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>4.00         | 2.55<br>2.33         | 1.32<br>1.03         |
| <b>Indicator C. Familiarity with physical surroundings</b>   | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>4.00</b> | <b>2.55<br/>2.33</b> | <b>1.32<br/>1.03</b> |
| 6. I have enough money to get by   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 2.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 4.05<br>3.89         | .83<br>1.28          |
| <b>Indicator D. Financial security</b>   | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>2.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>4.05<br/>3.89</b> | <b>.83<br/>1.28</b>  |
| 7. I know what to do with letters coming by post   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.85<br>2.50         | 1.35<br>1.34         |
| <b>Indicator E. Administrative security</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>2.85<br/>2.50</b> | <b>1.35<br/>1.34</b> |
| 8. I trust the Dutch government  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>3.00         | 2.50<br>1.61         | 1.32<br>.70          |
| <b>Indicator F. Perception of the Dutch public authorities</b>                                     | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>3.00</b> | <b>2.50<br/>1.61</b> | <b>1.32<br/>.70</b>  |
| *9. I fear the Eritrean government ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )                              | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 3.95<br>3.56         | 1.57<br>1.54         |
| <b>Indicator G. Long arm of the country of origin</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>3.95<br/>3.56</b> | <b>1.57<br/>1.54</b> |
| <b>Dimension 2. Safety and stability</b>   | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.71<br/>1.14</b> | <b>3.61<br/>3.49</b> | <b>2.81<br/>2.42</b> | <b>.44<br/>.61</b>   |



### Descriptives of dimension 3. Health

| Question in questionnaire/indicator/dimension                              | Respondents                    | N                | Min.                 | Max.                 | Mean                 | SD                   |
|--|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. My body feels well  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 1.80<br>1.94         | 1.06<br>1.21         |
| <b>Indicator A. Physical health</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>1.80<br/>1.94</b> | <b>1.06<br/>1.21</b> |
| *8. I feel anxious ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )                      | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>5.00         | 1.30<br>1.78         | .73<br>1.40          |
| *9. I feel tired ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )                        | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.20<br>2.00         | 1.20<br>1.41         |
| *10. I have scary dreams in my sleep ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )    | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.30<br>2.67         | 1.34<br>1.41         |
| <b>Indicator B. Mental health</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.67<br/>5.00</b> | <b>1.93<br/>2.15</b> | <b>.76<br/>1.23</b>  |
| 3. If I am not feeling well, I talk about this matter with other Eritreans | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>5.00         | 1.65<br>2.33         | .59<br>1.19          |
| 4. If I am not feeling well, I talk about this matter with Dutch persons   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>4.00         | 2.15<br>2.44         | 1.14<br>1.04         |
| 5. I know what to do when I am not feeling well                            | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>3.00         | 2.00<br>1.89         | 1.17<br>.96          |
| <b>Indicator C. Coping with illness</b>                                    | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.67<br/>3.33</b> | <b>1.93<br/>2.22</b> | <b>.71<br/>.76</b>   |
| 2. I eat well  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>4.00         | 2.20<br>1.61         | 1.11<br>.78          |
| *11. I drink alcohol ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )                    | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.10<br>1.67         | 1.21<br>1.19         |
| *12. I am taking drugs ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )                  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>1.00         | 1.10<br>1.00         | .45<br>.00           |
| <b>Indicator D. Lifestyle and risk of addiction</b>                        | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.67<br/>3.33</b> | <b>1.80<br/>1.43</b> | <b>.70<br/>.58</b>   |
| <b>Dimension 3. Health</b>   | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.17</b> | <b>3.00<br/>3.92</b> | <b>1.87<br/>1.94</b> | <b>.50<br/>.71</b>   |

#### Descriptives of dimension 4. Social participation

| Question in questionnaire/indicator/dimension   | Respondents                    | N                | Min.                 | Max.                 | Mean                 | SD                  |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. I talk to Dutch neighbours near my home  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 3.10<br>3.22         | 1.02<br>1.35        |
| 2. I talk to Dutch persons in Nijmegen  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.50<br>3.22         | 1.10<br>1.17        |
| 10. I think it is important to talk with Dutch persons  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 2.00<br>2.00         | 1.35<br>1.50         | .49<br>.51          |
| <b>Indicator A. Social bridging</b>   | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.67<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.67<br/>4.00</b> | <b>2.32<br/>2.65</b> | <b>.45<br/>.90</b>  |
| 3. I talk to other Eritreans in Nijmegen  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 3.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 3.20<br>2.56         | .62<br>1.29         |
| 4. I talk to other Eritreans in the Netherlands   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.80<br>2.44         | 1.11<br>1.15        |
| 9. I think it is important to talk with other Eritreans   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.45<br>2.22         | 1.05<br>1.26        |
| <b>Indicator B. Social bonding</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>2.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>2.82<br/>2.41</b> | <b>.70<br/>1.10</b> |
| 6. I take part in sports activities (for example running, cycling, football)                                      | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 1.70<br>3.00         | 1.17<br>1.53        |
| 7. I take part in cultural activities such as singing, making music, dancing or cooking                           | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 3.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 4.60<br>4.33         | .82<br>1.19         |
| *8. I feel bored and do not know what to do ( <i>reversed response scale</i> )                                    | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.40<br>2.44         | 1.47<br>1.50        |
| 12. I think it is important to take part in sports activities   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 2.00<br>5.00         | 1.45<br>1.72         | .51<br>1.02         |
| 13. I think it is important to take part in cultural activities such as singing, making music, dancing or cooking | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.70<br>2.39         | 1.38<br>1.20        |
| 14. There are plenty of activities that are being organized and that I can take part in                           | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 1.80<br>2.11         | .89<br>1.18         |
| <b>Indicator C. Participation in social activities</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.50<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.17<br/>4.00</b> | <b>2.44<br/>2.67</b> | <b>.47<br/>.74</b>  |
| <b>Dimension 4. Social participation</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.89<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.44<br/>4.00</b> | <b>2.53<br/>2.57</b> | <b>.37<br/>.82</b>  |

*Descriptives of dimension 5. Language and culture*

| Question in questionnaire/indicator/dimension                             | Respondents                    | N                | Min.                 | Max.                 | Mean                 | SD                   |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 3. I speak Dutch  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.90<br>3.72         | .91<br>1.07          |
| <b><i>Indicator A. Dutch language proficiency</i></b>                     | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>2.90<br/>3.72</b> | <b>.91<br/>1.07</b>  |
| 5. I am currently taking classes to learn the Dutch language              | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 1.00<br>5.00         | 1.00<br>1.22         | 0.00<br>.94          |
| 7. I am currently taking classes to learn about Dutch culture and customs | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.60<br>3.22         | 2.01<br>2.05         |
| <b><i>Indicator B. Participation in language and culture classes</i></b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>1.80<br/>2.22</b> | <b>1.01<br/>1.22</b> |
| 6. I do currently have a buddy who helps me to learn the Dutch language   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 1.80<br>3.89         | 1.64<br>1.84         |
| 9. I get enough support to learn the Dutch language                       | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>4.00         | 2.00<br>2.33         | 1.03<br>1.14         |
| <b><i>Indicator C. Support in learning the Dutch language</i></b>         | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>4.50</b> | <b>1.90<br/>3.22</b> | <b>1.21<br/>1.25</b> |
| 4. I know the Dutch culture and customs                                   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>3.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 3.65<br>4.17         | 1.14<br>.92          |
| <b><i>Indicator D. Knowledge of Dutch culture and customs</i></b>         | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>3.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>3.65<br/>4.17</b> | <b>1.14<br/>.92</b>  |
| 8. I think it is important to learn the Dutch language                    | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>2.00         | 1.25<br>1.17         | .55<br>.38           |
| 10. I think it is important to learn about Dutch culture and customs      | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>3.00         | 1.65<br>1.67         | .59<br>.59           |
| <b><i>Indicator E. Perception of Dutch language and culture</i></b>       | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>2.50<br/>2.00</b> | <b>1.45<br/>1.42</b> | <b>.46<br/>.39</b>   |
| <b><i>Dimension 5. Language and culture</i></b>                           | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.60<br/>1.40</b> | <b>3.00<br/>4.20</b> | <b>2.34<br/>2.95</b> | <b>.42<br/>.96</b>   |

### Descriptives of dimension 6. Education

| Question in questionnaire/indicator/dimension  | Respondents      | N         | Min.        | Max.        | Mean        | SD          |
|--|------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 2. In Eritrea I attended primary school  | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.40        | 1.23        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.44        | 1.29        |
| 3. In Eritrea I attended secondary school  | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.00        | 1.78        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.89        | 1.71        |
| 4. in Eritrea I attended university  | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 4.80        | .89         |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 4.56        | 1.29        |
| 5. In Eritrea I attended a military academy  | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.40        | 2.01        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 3.00        | 2.06        |
| <b>Indicator A. Education in the country of origin</b>                               | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>2.00</b> | <b>5.00</b> | <b>2.90</b> | <b>.97</b>  |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>4.00</b> | <b>2.72</b> | <b>1.02</b> |
| 1. In the Netherlands I am currently enrolled in professional education              | Clustered        | 20        | 5.00        | 5.00        | 5.00        | .00         |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 4.33        | 1.53        |
| <b>Indicator B. Current vocational or professional education</b>                     | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>5.00</b> | <b>5.00</b> | <b>5.00</b> | <b>.00</b>  |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>5.00</b> | <b>4.33</b> | <b>1.53</b> |
| 6. I would like to part in professional education in the Netherlands                 | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 1.65        | 1.09        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 3.00        | 1.44        | .62         |
| <b>Indicator C. Perception of vocational and professional education</b>              | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>5.00</b> | <b>1.65</b> | <b>1.09</b> |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>3.00</b> | <b>1.44</b> | <b>.62</b>  |
| 7. I know what kind of professional education is available for me in the Netherlands | Clustered        | 20        | 1.00        | 5.00        | 2.05        | 1.15        |
|  | Dispersed        | 18        | 1.00        | 4.00        | 2.06        | 1.06        |
| <b>Indicator D. Awareness of educational opportunities</b>                           | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>5.00</b> | <b>2.05</b> | <b>1.15</b> |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>4.00</b> | <b>2.06</b> | <b>1.06</b> |
| <b>Dimension 6. Education</b>  | <b>Clustered</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>2.50</b> | <b>4.00</b> | <b>2.90</b> | <b>.42</b>  |
|  | <b>Dispersed</b> | <b>18</b> | <b>1.00</b> | <b>3.75</b> | <b>2.64</b> | <b>.67</b>  |

### Descriptives of dimension 7. Employment

| Question in questionnaire/indicator/dimension                 | Respondents                    | N                | Min.                 | Max.                 | Mean                 | SD                   |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. I had a paid job in Eritrea                                | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 3.00<br>3.67         | 2.05<br>1.94         |
| <b>A. Work experience in the country of origin</b>            | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>3.00<br/>3.67</b> | <b>2.05<br/>1.94</b> |
| 2. Currently I have a voluntary/unpaid job in the Netherlands | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 4.60<br>4.56         | 1.23<br>1.29         |
| 3. Currently I have a paid job in the Netherlands             | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>5.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 4.80<br>5.00         | .89<br>.00           |
| <b>B. Current employment: paid and voluntary/unpaid</b>       | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>3.00</b> | <b>5.00<br/>5.00</b> | <b>4.70<br/>4.78</b> | <b>.98<br/>.65</b>   |
| 4. I think it is important to have a job in the Netherlands   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 3.00<br>3.00         | 1.45<br>1.33         | .61<br>.69           |
| <b>C. Perception of employment</b>                            | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>3.00<br/>3.00</b> | <b>1.45<br/>1.33</b> | <b>.61<br/>.69</b>   |
| 5. I know what kind of work I want to do in the Netherlands   | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 4.00<br>4.00         | 1.85<br>2.00         | .88<br>1.24          |
| 6. I know what kind of work I can do well in the Netherlands  | Clustered<br>Dispersed         | 20<br>18         | 1.00<br>1.00         | 5.00<br>5.00         | 2.05<br>2.17         | 1.23<br>1.25         |
| <b>D. Ability to make a sensible choice in terms of work</b>  | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.00<br/>1.00</b> | <b>4.50<br/>4.50</b> | <b>1.95<br/>2.08</b> | <b>.89<br/>1.17</b>  |
| <b>Dimension 7. Employment</b>                                | <b>Clustered<br/>Dispersed</b> | <b>20<br/>18</b> | <b>1.50<br/>1.50</b> | <b>4.38<br/>4.25</b> | <b>2.78<br/>2.97</b> | <b>.69<br/>.86</b>   |