

"Don't lose time, it is your life!"

A research on study-work programmes as a time-saving approach to increase the chances of labour market integration of refugees in the Netherlands



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Master Human Geography
Specialisation: Migration, Globalisation and
Development

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Radboud University



- Afraid to speak
- work together
- social network
- less confidence
- less motivation
- improvement Dutch language
- texts independent
- knowledge of Dutch system
- How to use skills in NL
- > job interview
- social network
- motivation
- confidence
- improvement Dutch language
- social + professional

management
living problems
public speaking
meeting
available
work hours
contact
people
meet manager
in management
budget
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self confidence
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Note: the illustration on the front page is a scan copy of notes made by the researcher during the analysis of the participatory appraisal techniques. The quote used in the title of this thesis is a quote by Ahmed, one of the participants of the study-work programmes analysed in this research.

Abstract

This dissertation utilises Bourdieu's framework on forms of capitals and Young's vision on equality and marginalisation to analyse a new form of compensational projects for refugees in the Netherlands, namely study-work programmes. These programmes bring different forms of capital together with the aim to enhance the labour market opportunities of this marginalized group. The findings are based on qualitative research methods which highlight the insider's perspective. By juxtaposing four case studies, this research draws out diversity and commonalities between the cases on the themes of organisation, recognition of experiences and combination of the aspects language-study-work. This research underlines the reality of inequality and structural exclusion of refugees in contemporary Dutch society. However, the cases mostly shine light on the potential of study-work programmes as a compensational project to enhance the opportunities of refugees on the Dutch labour market and slowly break the structure of exclusion.

Preface

“The distribution of wealth is too important an issue to be left to economists, sociologists, historians, and philosophers. It is of interest to everyone, and that is a good thing. The concrete, physical reality of inequality is visible to the naked eye...”

(Piketty, 2014, p.2)

What we see and experience shapes our judgements of what is and is not just. What I have seen and experienced during my active contact with refugees and other migrants in the Netherlands has shaped my opinion. Hence my opinion is fundamentally subjective. Personal involvement in social issues –which I perceive as unjust- is in my blood. For the past two years, this energy has been focussed towards injustices concerning refugees in the Netherlands.

We can discuss injustices endlessly and I am sure that my opinion on the topic of refugees will be contradicting to the perspectives of many others. However, injustice and conflict is not the focus of this research. I would rather focus on the positive innovations that are visible through all layers of society aimed at breaking structures of exclusion. It turns out that -exactly like Piketty states (see quote above)- justice and injustice is of interest to everyone, not only scholars. In my fieldwork for this research I have seen a combination of people from different spheres working together for change: what a beautiful thing to see.

I was inspired by the work of UAF and curious about bottom-up innovation concerning support of refugees. In a political landscape where multiculturalism is seen as a failure and the public debate around immigration and refugees often gets heated, I see great potential in projects such as the study-work programmes investigated in this dissertation. Being highly involved with UAF in the past and having interviewed many refugees in the Netherlands for former research, my motivation to contribute to the development of projects such as study-work programmes has only increased. I hope the findings of this research will be helpful for the development of the programmes.

I would like to thank all people who have supported me throughout this research. Firstly, my respondents for their openness, time and trust to speak about topics which are not always easy. I wish you all the best for your careers in the Netherlands.

Secondly, thanks to my informants for welcoming me in their institutions and talking openly about the positive and negative aspects of their hard work. I am looking forward to see what the future holds for your programmes.

Third, UAF deserves all acknowledgement for providing me with inside information and contacts. The effort and energy that all UAF employees put into their jobs is inspiring. I would like to bring special attention towards Stannie Maessen for her numerous intelligent insights. UAF brings hope to a lot of people, this is a special gift.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my supervisor Roos Pijpers for her endless flexibility, critical perspective and motivational talks. I greatly appreciate the adapted guidance you have provided me with. I am also grateful to my second reader José Muller for her quick adjustment during the last phase of this research.

Last but not least, I would like to warmly thank my family and friends for their never-ending support. Special thanks go to my parents Ed de Graaf and Mariet Kroonen, for opening up the quiet space of their home for me, and Pablo Riera Begué, for motivating me from a very far distance.

Personally, I believe in the potential of migrants and therefore I want to end this preface with a quote that serves as the base of this research. I believe we need to keep this positive note in mind: *“migration is not an undesirable phenomenon: what is needed is a concerted effort to channel the energy of migrants into productive activities.”* (Adepujo, 1977, p223)

I hope the stories of these people inspire you, just like they have inspired me.

Annelie de Graaf

Nijmegen, December 2017

Summary

Over the past years, thousands of people have fled their homes and turned to the Netherlands to seek international protection. These people bring skills and knowledge to their countries of destination. However, many experience obstacles integrating in the new society. One obstacle is that former working and learning experiences are not recognized. Furthermore, refugees often have to wait a long time before they are allowed to study or work. In the literature, it is suggested that integration projects should focus on saving time by combining different aspects of integration, include recognition practices and focus on the involvement of civil society actors. This has led to a new phenomenon in the Netherlands, namely study-work programmes. Within these programmes, different actors work together to combine language, study and work with the aim to enhance the chances at labour market integration of refugees.

This study takes a closer look at four study-work programmes in the Netherlands. The purpose of this research is to reflect upon study-work programmes and to gain insights in (1) the way different actors relate to each other in practice of study-work programmes, (2) processes of in- and exclusion regarding the recognition of former experiences of refugees, and (3) the way language-study-work come together. The main question of this thesis is: *To what extent do study-work programmes enhance the chances at labour market integration of refugees in the Netherlands?*

For this research, I focus on labour market integration and the broader concepts of distribution of capitals and equality of opportunity. To discuss and analyse the problem of lack of labour market integration of refugees, we need to start by taking a look at the phenomenon of inequality. This brings us to Bourdieu and his focus on societal positions of marginalized groups. According to Bourdieu, there are three types of capital which influence the position one has in the game of social reality, namely economic, cultural and social capital (1986). The more capital you have, the more chances you have to be successful. However, the game is not a level playing-field, it favours players from the upper-class. Refugees as a marginalized group have less chances at winning the game. This can be perceived as unequal or unjust. Several compensational projects arise in society attempting to give marginalized groups better chances. Study-work programmes could be perceived as such a project. However, as Young (1990) and Walzer (1983) state critically, we need to consider if such programmes which redistribute capitals to enhance the opportunities protect the structure of exclusion or whether they truly open doors for equality and justice.

To understand the ideas behind study-work programmes we need to discuss the concept of integration. I focus on labour market integration as a broad concept where different forms of integration come together. Labour market integration therefore also depends on many different elements, such as legal structures, social network, educational diploma's. This can be described by the concept of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007). This enormous diversity makes formulating integration policy an uneasy task. The upcoming phenomenon which is supposed to solve some

of the problems are study-work programmes. These programmes are based on the idea that (1) different actors should be involved (specifically civil society), (2) extra attention needs to be given to the recognition of someone's former experiences and knowledge and (3) waiting time could be reduced by combining language, study and work within one programme.

The findings of this research are based on a qualitative multiple case study which highlights the insider's perspective. I have conducted in-depth interviews, participatory appraisal techniques, participant observations and document analysis. By juxtaposing the finding of the four case studies, this research draws out diversity and commonalities between the cases on the themes of organisation, recognition of experiences and combination of the aspect language-study-work.

The analysis of the data leads to various conclusions. Firstly, we can argue that the organizational set-ups of the programmes differ per case. However, in all cases a collaboration is found between an educational institution, industry, and civil society. Sometimes a local government is involved. As described in the literature, civil society has great potential in the enhancement of integration in the Netherlands. The case studies underscore this idea by showing that the networking and substitutive role of civil society is of great importance to the formulation, execution and development of study-work programmes. Second, the cases highlight that recognition of former experiences remains a great challenge. Processes of exclusion can be seen throughout all levels of study-work programmes. However, all programmes are working on this. Positive recognition requires a customized approach that takes super-diversity into consideration. It is possible that these programmes will lead to a positive snowball effect that will reshape recognition practices. Third, the programmes combine the aspects language-study-work differently. This implies that there are different ways in which aspects of integration and the linked capitals come together. However, this study is too small to draw conclusions about the link between approaches and the amount of capitals gained. In general, we can state that there is a great potential for participants of study-work programmes to gain different kinds of capital during the programmes and in this way, enhance their chances in the labour market.

When we look beyond the above stated findings, we come to more abstract conclusions. In light of the experiences of my respondents I argue that study-work programmes, in content and in recognition practices, influence the mental well-being of the participants greatly. This mental well-being has influence on the chances of success in the labour market. Can we state that the programmes therefore deal with a fourth kind of capital, namely psychological capital or does the psychological aspect fit within one of Bourdieu's formulated capitals? This remains a question up for further investigation. Even though the current programmes do experience some obstacles, we can conclude from this case study that study-work programmes have influence on different aspects of integration –or in other words: different capitals- and therefore have great potential in enhancing the chances of refugees in the Dutch labour market.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. A waste of time and talent

“I came here as a refugee in 2009. I started my procedure immediately. The procedure lasted almost three years. I spent those years in an asylum seeker centre in Limburg. The first three years I was totally excluded from the population. I was not allowed to work, I was not allowed to study. Even though I wanted to and I could find a job for myself. I don’t need to be dependent of others. (...) This counts for many other people with a similar background.”

Samiir, participant of a study-work programme.

Samiir fled northern Africa many years ago. In his country of origin, he finished school and started working. When in 2008 he decided to flee, he left behind his home and family, but also his career. Samiir has been living in the Netherlands for over 8 years. During all this time, he has not been allowed to study nor work in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, he used his spare time in the Netherlands wisely, namely by joining organisations and volunteering. Now, he does not only have working experience from countries outside the Netherlands, but also plenty of useful experiences from within the Netherlands. Yet, Samiir experiences exclusion from the Dutch labour market and has to overcome many obstacles when trying to secure a position for himself.

The story of Samiir is not the only one. Over the past few years, thousands of people like Samiir fled their homes and turned to the Netherlands to seek international protection. This mobility of people also implies a mobility of knowledge (Andersson & Fejes, 2010). These people bring talents, expertise and experience to their countries of destination. Nevertheless, many experience obstacles integrating in the new society. Often former education and work experience are not recognized in destination countries and these people have to start from scratch (UAF, 2015; Pijpers et al., 2015). In addition, many of these people have to wait long periods before they are allowed to study or work (Brink, 1977, Engbersen, Dagevos, Jennissen, Bakker & Leerkes, 2015). Can this be seen as a sign of structural inequality and exclusion of refugees from the Dutch labour market?

The discussion around equal opportunities and distribution is a debate we will look at in this research linked to the lack of labour market participation of refugees. Even though many obstacles can be named when we look at labour market integration of refugees –like the lack of a network, professional down-grading, and the lack of linguistic knowledge– this research does not focus on the problems occurring in the context of refugees, but on the projects aimed at giving refugees equal chances in the Netherlands. An example of such projects are study-work programmes.

Study-work programmes are a relatively new phenomenon in the Netherlands. These programmes try to fill the gap between the labour market and refugees, and therefore are aimed at enhancing the process of integration. According to recent research, factors that can increase labour market participation of refugees are

accessibility to extra education in the Netherlands and a short stay in asylum seekers centres (Bakker, 2015; Engbersen et al., 2015). Education is seen as an important factor for integration and more research is done on how to value former learning (recognize and validate former diploma's and working experiences) to formulate a suitable career path for refugees. Former research concludes that a more integrated approach is needed, where language, study and work do not follow after each other, but are dealt with at the same time (Engbersen et al., 2015). This implies that different aspects of integration are combined within one programme. One project which focusses both on reducing waiting time and opening possibilities in the Dutch labour market by working on several aspects of integration simultaneously are study-work programmes.

In study-work programmes, refugees are able to get work experience, learn the language and continue their studies at the same time. Samiir (see quote p. 1) is now one of the participants of a pilot study-work programme in the Netherlands. This project enabled him to work on his professional development, learn the Dutch language and gain work experience at the same time. A small number of study-work programmes like the project of Samiir have been developed in the Netherlands in different sectors. The practical motive of this research relates to these pilot study-work programmes: how are these pilot programmes working? What are the good and bad practices? How can we improve them? This research combines the more practical matter of this study with theory around equality and distribution, which leads to the main research questions: *To what extent do study-work programmes enhance the chances at labour market integration of refugees in the Netherlands?* This research is conducted in cooperation with Foundation for Refugee Students UAF. UAF supports and guides refugees with their studies and careers and has been highly involved with the formulation and enactment of those pilot study-work programmes.

To sum up, this research focusses on pilot study-work programmes in the Netherlands. I will shed light on this relatively new time-saving phenomenon from an insider's perspective. This study will give insight in four recently developed programmes in different sectors that are aimed at providing equal chances for refugees to enter the Dutch labour market, so that time and talent will no longer be wasted.

1.2. Context: the refugee crisis and UAF

To understand the formulation of study-work programmes, and therefore also the need for this research, the following paragraphs will firstly elaborate on the context of the refugee crisis in the Netherlands. This will lead us to a major civil society actor involved with refugees in the Netherlands (Foundation for Refugee Students UAF) and the reasons behind the formulation of study-work programmes.

1.2.1. European refugee crisis and the situation in the Netherlands

The number of refugees worldwide has increased greatly since the beginning of the twenty-first century (Ormsby, 2017). By the end of 2013, over 16 million people were displaced because of conflict, persecution and human rights violations (UNHCR,

2013). Most of these people seek shelter in neighbouring countries, only a small percentage is able to reach Europe or Northern America (Bakker, 2015). In the Netherlands, the refugee crisis resulted in a growing influx of refugees from Syria and Eritrea (UAF, 2015; Engbersen et al., 2015). Even though a fair number of these people –especially from Syria- are high educated, they still experience difficulties entering the Dutch labour market.

An incoming stream of refugees in the Netherlands is not a new phenomenon (Engbersen, et al., 2015). For many decennia refugees made the journey to the Netherlands in search of safety and freedom. The lack of labour market participation of refugees throughout all those years raises voices of concern in the Dutch political and social landscape. Statistics teach us that only 1/3rd of working-age refugees with a legal status has a paid job and many of them are dependent on financial allowance for the long-run (Engbersen et al., 2015). This implies that many refugees, and other asylum seekers, are unable to find a job in the Netherlands. From these past experiences, we have learned a great deal about integration and the difficulties that many of these people experience. We now know that gaining a (temporary) residence permit in the Netherlands is just the first step in a long and complex integration process.

While many refugees experience exclusion from the Dutch labour market, at the same time the Netherlands is coping with shortage of qualified workers and will be doing so the coming years ('Nederland heeft 80.000 arbeidskrachten uit het buitenland nodig', 2017). To solve this shortage, a call for recruitment of qualified workers from foreign countries can be seen –especially now the Dutch economy is growing again (Ibid.). Civil society actors which are closely involved with refugees and migrants argue that we should not find solutions to the shortages in the labour market by recruiting qualified workers from neighbouring countries, but instead invest in the talents and expertise of the current immigrant group. There is great potential in the current migrant groups who recently migrated to Europe. Especially refugees from Syria often have benefited from a high education and have gained working experience in their field of expertise in their country of origin (UAF, n.d.).

But it is not so easy. Past research on migrants' participation in the labour market has shown that out of all sort of migrants, especially refugees experience problems integrating in the labour market of the country of destination (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2014). The reasons for these problems depend on the group, the individual, the municipality and many other factors involved, which will be further elaborated upon later in this research. The recent report of Engbersen et al. (2015) introduces two elements of great importance for the reduction of the gap between refugees and the labour market. As mentioned before, the two main elements are (1) a quicker asylum-procedure with more focus on the possibilities on the Dutch labour market, and (2) an approach is needed in which language, study and work experience do not follow after each other, but are dealt with at the same time. A project which focusses on both reducing waiting time and combining language, study and work, are the already mentioned study-work programmes. One of the main actors in the

Netherlands involved with the development of these programmes is Foundation for Refugee Students UAF.

1.2.2. Foundation for Refugee Students UAF and study-work programmes

Foundation for Refugee Students UAF is a civil society actor focussed on higher educated refugees in the Netherlands. UAF argues that ignoring the talents, knowledge and experience of refugees and asylum seekers is a missed opportunity (UAF, 2016). Therefore, UAF not only provides refugee students with individual advice and guidance, but also offers scholarships and financial support to lead refugees to study and work. Furthermore, the UAF provides advice and awareness raising activities for governmental and educational institutions. To wrap up, foundation for refugee students UAF is an important civil society actor in the Netherlands when it comes to refugees and their education and labour market participation.

In the light of the conclusions drawn in the Engbersen' report *Geen tijd te verliezen* (2015), Foundation for Refugee Students UAF has formulated a new strategy (Strategy 2020) wherein they adopt their vision to act upon the relatively big group of incoming refugees due to war in Syria and surroundings, and the changing Dutch society and labour market. Director of UAF, Mardjan Seighali, highlights the importance of early and quick recognition and validation of capacities of refugees and providing suitable, more customized, guidance to support these people with the continuation or start of higher education and/or career in the Netherlands (UAF, n.d.). To enhance the integration process and the participation in the Dutch labour market, the UAF calls for a quicker way to make use of those talents and a smoother and quicker matching between employers and potential employees with a refugee background. In strategy 2020, the UAF underscores the possibilities of cooperation between public and private networks on a more regional level, wherein the UAF will take a linking role (UAF, 2016).

In line with Strategy 2020 (UAF, 2016), UAF developed pilot study-work programmes where UAF works together with several actors to save time, optimize the use of talents of refugees and possibly open up opportunities for UAF-students to participate in the Dutch labour market more rapidly. In these study-work trajectories, refugees get the change to practice the language, study and gain work experience at the same time. These trajectories are aimed at reducing the gap between refugees and the Dutch labour market and provide refugees with a better chance at successful labour market integration. UAF is the linking actor within these study-work programmes.

As will be discussed in the relevance of this research, civil society actors –like UAF- can play an important role in the process of integration. Firstly, what is civil society? There is not one single definition of the concept of civil society (Armstrong et al. 2010). However, for this research, I will use the definition of David Held (1993): “civil society constitutes those areas of social life – the domestic world, the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction- which are organized by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups outside the control of the state”. UAF is an

interesting civil society actor in the context of integration projects, because they might have a significant role to play in the formulation of a new road to integration in the Netherlands

1.3. Relevance

There are several reasons why research on study-work programmes is both relevant on a societal and scientific level. The following sections will elaborate on the relevance of this study on both levels. Firstly, the societal relevance of this study will be explained with the use of past experiences and future assumptions concerning unemployment and integration. In addition, the social relevance of the focus on civil society actors is further elaborated on. The focus on civil society actors also leads us to the scientific relevance, where we can find a lack of knowledge about the potential roles of civil society to enhance the integration process. Furthermore, we will take a look at concepts such as distribution and capitals as an addition to the scientific debate around labour market integration.

1.3.1. Societal relevance

A study on study-work programmes is of high societal relevance due to the fact that Dutch society has been struggling with refugee integration for the past years (Engbersen et al., 2015). There are a couple of elements which are highlighted in this paragraph. Firstly, we will discuss the importance of studies on new forms of integration projects due to high unemployment rates and potential continuous dependency on financial allowance. Second, the importance of studies which focus on civil society as an important actor in integration projects is highlighted.

Since the refugee crisis started in 2015, Europe has experienced the biggest flow of asylum seekers in recent history (Kaasch, 2016). Due to the severe circumstances in the places of origin, these groups of refugees are highly likely to stay for at least 25 years (Migration Policy Group, 2016). We can conclude from past experiences with refugees that this group of people has problems with finding a job in the Netherlands (Engbersen et al., 2015). This implies that refugees are often depending on financial allowance for the long-run (Ibid.). Furthermore, the assumption is that Europe will have to deal with an influx of refugees continuously for the coming years (Engbersen et al., 2015). Even though it is complicated to make calculations about the size of this asylum-migration in the future, assumptions about the continuous character of this migration can be made due to structural tension in the Arabic world, parts of Africa and central Asia (Ibid). A lack of integration of these groups of people means that a growing number will be unemployed and depending on financial allowance, which will not benefit the dichotomy between refugees and the dominant population in contemporary society.

This research focusses on labour market integration of refugees in the Netherlands. Labour market integration is an important step for migrants to fully participate and contribute to their host society (Migration Policy Group, 2016). Furthermore, different aspects of integration come together in labour market

integration, e.g. economic independence and social network (See chapter 2). Besides the waste of human capital, the lack of labour market participation of this group of people also means extra and unnecessary load on financial assistance of local municipalities. However, it is often difficult for migrants to find employment on their own level and regularly end up with medium to low skilled jobs, or no job at all (Muysken et al., 2015). Therefore, it is of great importance to study new forms of integration projects that follow an innovative approach to prevent growing unemployment of refugees. This study will give insights in the practice of study-work programmes. Since these programmes are a relatively new approach to integration, it is necessary to evaluate and reflect upon these programmes and give recommendations for the future. This is of practical importance, since study-work programmes are most likely to be continued in the coming years.

Secondly, the focus on civil society actors is of great societal importance. Many projects on integration are put into the hands of local governments (Wittenberg, 2017 February 13). Research on the experiences of 160 refugees who recently moved to the Netherlands points out that projects of local governments are often insufficient and not suitable to help refugees fill the gap to the labour market (Ibid.). Elements where local governments fail are the lack of knowledge of the Dutch labour market and educational system, but also lack of intercultural communication skills and no knowledge of the background of refugees (Ibid.). It can be concluded that neither national government nor local municipalities are able to provide the proper guidance. State policies are often inflexible, unrealistic and inappropriate and therefore civil society may play a greater role in educational opportunities and labour market (Castles et al., 2014). The Migration Policy Group (2016) also highlights the role that civil society can play in this case and argues that civil society actors make integration reality. Therefore, it is of great relevance to study civil society as an actor in these programmes and gain more insight in how cooperation in the field of integration might look like.

To sum up, research on study-work programmes as a new phenomenon is of societal relevance since these programmes might be a step in the solution to unemployment among refugees. Furthermore, this study can explore the role that civil society can take in the practical problem of lack of labour market integration. This research can contribute not only to the vision of the UAF and the future of study-work programmes, but also to the local, national and European discussion on the long-term integration of migrants and the proper policy arrangements to increase the chances of refugees and enhance the integration of migrants in the labour market of the host country.

1.3.2. Scientific relevance

Besides the societal relevance for research on the role of civil society actors, this research will also give new scientific insights in the role of civil society within processes of integration. Literature points at that there is a great potential, still to be exploited, of civil society actors in enhancing a new model of integration (Zafrini, 2015). Several researchers have identified shortfalls in international and national

policies concerning recognition of experiences and integration and as stated above, projects of local governments are often insufficient (Webb, et al., 2016; Wittenberg, 2017 February, 13). A study on integration in the Dutch region of Arnhem-Nijmegen showed that many different initiatives were introduced by a variety of actors, like national or local authorities, local organisations and employers. However, it remains unclear how different actors relate to one another. The theoretical chapter of this research will elaborate further on the different actors involved.

Civil society actors are believed to offer support an accessibility to the labour market where national and local governments' projects seem to be insufficient. Study-work programmes are part of a new approach to integration as described by both the Engbersen report (2015) and UAF-strategy 2020 (UAF, n.d.). The new approach focusses partly on the cooperation between the different landscapes: local municipalities and civil society, but also educational institutions and businesses. According to Castles et al (2001), research on integration processes should not only focus on top-down policy by governments, rather new information should be found about the combination of different actors including civil society and educational institutions. The new insights about the role of civil society that this research brings can therefore serve as scientific innovation in the field of the role of civil society as an engine for integration.

Second, as becomes clear from an extensive study of research done on the topic of integration by Castles et al. (2001), there is a lack of data about processes and factors of migrant and refugee integration. As will be described in chapter 2, different aspects of integration come together in labour market integration. Different aspects of integration, like social network and linguistic knowledge, can be linked to forms of capital by Bourdieu (1986). As we will see further on in this research, there is an unequal distribution of those capitals. Study-work programmes can be seen as a form of a compensational project to re-distribute capitals, and therefore provide more equal chances on the labour market. The in-depth case-studies analysed in this research offer the possibility to critically investigate the coming together of several aspects of integration (or capitals) within a compensational programme such as study-work programmes. Furthermore, this research will give insight in how these programmes relate to structural inequality in the context of labour market integration in contemporary society.

On a more methodological note, this research takes an insider's perspective. A call for more detailed studies on labour market experiences of migrants and refugees can be seen (ibid.). There is a need for a more emic perspective on integration processes and methods that make the voices of immigrants and refugees more representative (Castles, et al., 2001). Therefore, this study will shine light on the insider's perspective on integration by using qualitative methods that allow respondents to actively participate in the scientific and practical development of integration programmes.

1.4. Research objectives and questions

1.4.1. Research objective

This research reflects upon study-work programmes and therefore can be seen as a more practical study. However, this study is profoundly guided by theory. It is the objective of this research to gain insight in (1) the way different actors relate to one another in the practice of study-work programmes (2) processes of in- and exclusion regarding the recognition of former experiences of refugees, and (3) the way different language-study-work come together by conducting multiple-case study research from an insider's perspective.

This research will be conducted in collaboration with the UAF. Therefore, besides more general scientific objectives, this research will also result in an evaluation of the currently running pilot work-study programmes where UAF-students are involved. In the empirical chapters that will follow, practices will be compared which will lead to recommendations for the shaping of future work-study programmes and the formulation of the roles of the different actors, UAF included. This research aims to further develop the knowledge on the role of civil society organisations in general, and specifically the case of the UAF, in the integration process with a focus on education and labour market integration.

1.4.2. Research questions

The interest of this research lies within the concepts of equality of opportunity and distribution of capitals (see chapter 2), and how study-work programmes can enhance the chances of refugees in the Dutch labour market. Therefore, the main research question is as follows:

To what extent do study-work programmes enhance the chances at labour market integration of refugees in the Netherlands?

In order to answer this question, several sub questions have been formulated. The sub questions are divided in three themes: (1) the involvement of and relations between different actors, (2) recognition of experiences and (3) reducing waiting time by combining different elements of integration. These themes lie at the base of the vision of study-work programmes and the idea of a new approach to integration. These themes are further elaborated on in chapter 2. The vision implies that the combination of these three elements might lead to more chances for refugees to integrate in the labour market. But, how does this turn out in practice: does the combination of these elements actually lead to increased chances? To answer this question, we need to ask the following sub questions:

- (1) How do different actors relate to each other in study-work programmes?*
- (2) How do study-work programmes deal with the recognition of refugees' former study and work experiences?*

(3) *How do different aspects of integration come together within study-work programmes?*

As states above, the sub questions cover the three themes that lie at the base of the phenomenon of study-work programmes. The first sub question will give insight in the *how*: how are these programmes organized? The cases described in this study all developed as a part of a cooperation between a variety of actors. As described before, several academic and political actors advocate the importance of civil society in the integration process and ask for further research on the role that civil society actors play. Which actors are involved in study-work programmes, what is their relation to one another and which roles do actors take upon themselves?

The second sub question focusses on processes of in- and exclusion by recognition, and therefore pay attention to the *who*: for whom are these programmes? Who is included? As seen in the literature and in more practical cases, the (lack of) recognition of experiences is an obstacle for refugees to gain access to the labour market. The lack of recognition of former experiences of these people can be seen as a form of structural exclusion. It can be concluded from former research that it would be beneficial for both society and refugees if policies and practices concerning recognition were revised (Webb et al., 2016). How do study-work programmes aimed at including people in the labour market deal with the recognition of people's former study and work experiences in practice and what does this tell us about the structures of exclusion in contemporary society?

Lastly, the third sub question focusses on the *what*: what are these programmes? The content of the different programmes and how the balance between the different aspects of integration is organized will be investigated. Different aspects of integration are linked in this research to capitals of Bourdieu, which will be described in chapter 2. As we have seen in the previous paragraphs, there is a great need for projects that bring together different aspects of integration simultaneously (Engbersen et al., 2015). Study-work programmes are aimed to do so, but how does this turn out in practice?

To sum up, the sub questions will lead to an overview of the work-study programmes in practice and if these programmes do increase chances on the labour market. Next, due to the future potential of study-work programmes, the questions will lead to recommendations on how to make study-work programmes more beneficial and inclusive for the future. On a more abstract note, the answers will give further insights in study-work programmes as a compensational project aimed at equalizing opportunities by the distribution of capitals (see chapter 2).

1.5. Structure of the thesis

This dissertation is divided in 8 chapters. Chapter 2 will elaborate on theoretical ideas starting with inequality in society and will narrow down to labour market integration and study-work programmes. In chapter three, the methods and techniques used are described and explained. Furthermore, we will take a look at the limitations of the methodological choices made. From chapter 4 onwards, the empirical data will be

described. Firstly, the different case studies will be introduced. The sub questions form the basis of the empirical chapters 5, 6 and 7. Those chapters are divided in themes as found in the analysis of the theory and data. Each theme will be described per case and the cases will be compared with each other and with the literature. Chapter 5 will start with the organization of the cases by discussing how the different actors relate to each other. In chapter 6 the selection processes of in- and exclusion will be described, followed by chapter 7, which provides an overview the content of the different programmes: how does language-study-work come together and what are the outcomes of the programmes? Each empirical chapter will finish with a comparison between the cases and link this to theoretical ideas. We will conclude this study with a discussion and conclusion, including recommendations to improve study-work programmes for the future and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Theorizing labour market integration: from theories on equality to study-work programmes.

The process by which newcomers adjust to their new livelihood situations has gained scientific interests from different disciplines throughout the years, including anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists (Castles et al., 2001). Researchers have focussed on many different aspects of the integration process. Most agree on the notion that integration should be understood as a process where cultural identity is maintained by individuals and groups, while actively participating in the larger societal framework (Ibid.). This implies that there are other issues concerned with the integration process, like identity, belonging and processes of in- and exclusion, but also the structure of society should be looked at. Therefore, this chapter will not only elaborate on the concept of (labour market) integration and the specific study-work programmes, but will start broader with social and political theory. First, we will start with descriptive theories on (in)equality in society as a foundation for explaining the phenomenon of exclusion as dealt with in this study. We will link the descriptive theories to more normative theories on justice and how to deal with inequality. Secondly, we will narrow down towards migration studies and theories on (labour market) integration and study-work programmes. Lastly, a conceptual model is presented where the different theoretical concepts and ideas come together.

2.1. Social and political theory

To discuss problems within modern day multicultural societies, we need to start by taking a look at theories concerning society as a whole to understand the inequalities that form the basis of multiculturalist discussions. How come we find inequalities in our society and what is done to reduce these inequalities? In this subchapter, we will discuss several social and political theories and link those to the specific problems of (and solutions to) integration as described in chapter 1. Even though social and political theories are very different dimensions, in the case of this research the different perspectives can be very well places besides each other.

The first paragraph will deal with social theory. Social theory tends to explain "*how societies are made and remade over time*" (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012, p.208) and can describe social phenomena like inequality. In their book *An Invitation to Social Theory* (2012), Inglis and Thorpe analyse many social theorists and movements within social thought. According to them, social theorists in the twentieth century could not properly explain how societies are made by individuals and their actions, and at the same time shaped by social forces, institutions and structures. However, a relatively new dimension of social thought, structuration, attempted to fill the gap of these unsatisfactory social theories. Structuration scholars argue for an explanation of society where both social reproduction (how social order is reproduced) and social transformation (how social order is changed) are combined equally, instead of one dominating the other. Consequently, structuration solves the previous problems of

social theory and created a solid base for the discussion on integration and inequality. In this sense, structuration theorist Bourdieu -and his theory on forms of capital (1986)- will serve as an important part of the theoretical framework, due to his focus on the societal position of marginalized groups. His theory on capitals is useful to describe the phenomenon of exclusion of refugees we find in contemporary society.

The second paragraph will lead us to political theory. Next to social theory, which explains social phenomena, political theory plays an important role in the discussion of integration. Political theory addresses more normative topics like liberty and justice. Especially justice is a concept which receives attention within the discussion of integration. Is it unjust that immigrants do not receive the same opportunities as the dominant group? How do we make opportunities equal to populations and is it just to give a certain group special treatment? I will discuss these topics on the basis of Young's *Justice and the politics of difference* (1990). Young's work focusses on distribution and social groups. Her arguments focus on oppression and domination and can be well linked to the debate on how to deal with inequality.

2.1.1. Bourdieu's forms of capital linked to migration studies

Bourdieu's theories are focussed on different forms of social suffering by marginalized groups and the nature of domination: the higher classes over the lower, men over women and ethnic majorities over ethnic minorities (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012). It is interesting to apply his theory on inequalities in society to the topic of this study: the lack of labour market integration of refugees. I will discuss his theory on forms of capital on the basis of his own article *The Forms of Capital* (1986) and an interpretation of his theory by Inglis and Thorpe (2012).

Bourdieu's theory on forms of capital tends to explain class-based social inequalities in contemporary capitalist societies (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012). Inglis & Thorpe describe Bourdieu's theory of society as a game where the winners keep tending to win and the losers keep tending to lose (Ibid.). In the game of social reality, there are three types of capital according to Bourdieu: economic capital (money), social capital (social connections and network) and cultural capital (knowledge of the legitimate culture and qualifications of education) (1986). The positions of players in the social game depend on the amount and the type of capital the players have. All sorts of capital are important to succeed in the game (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012). How different forms of capital are distributed represents social reality: "*the set of constraints, inscribed in the very reality of that world, which govern its functioning in a durable way, determining the chances of success for practices*" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 46). The field (social reality) where players play the game is not a level playing-field (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012). It always favours players from the upper-class or dominant groups, because the dominant group is better prepared for the game. For players from a lower-class or marginalized group, it is complicated to gain capital in the game, because they came badly equipped for the game in the first place (Ibid.).

Critics of Bourdieu say that, even though Bourdieu claims to be more balanced between structure and agency, his theories still put too much stress on how structures dominate the agency of the individual (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012). Bourdieu on the other

hand states that he believes his theory does balance structure and agency out and he leaves space open for social transformation, where the lower-class might unexpectedly win (Ibid.) I find his theory highly applicable on the current situation of exclusion of refugees in the Dutch labour market. Especially because my research emphasizes structure as a potential obstacle for the inclusion of refugees in the labour market (structural exclusion), and investigates projects that influences the chances and strategies of refugees to gain the needed capital. The game of capitals can be well used to describe the phenomena of unequal distribution and unequal chances and therefore Bourdieu's theory serves as the basis framework of this thesis.

Bourdieu's concept of capitals has been linked to empirical cases concerning migration and integration more often. Many studies in different settings focus on social and cultural capital concerning the position of migrants, and often place one type of capital above the other (see for example Hagan, 1998; Cranford, 2005; Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2005; Van Meeteren et al, 2009; Portes, 2000; De Vroome & Tubergen, 2010). We can find two main distinctions in migration-studies linked to Bourdieu's capitals: the processes by which migrants gain capital themselves and the distribution of capital by political action. We start with the processes of gaining capital. Just like Bourdieu, several studies on empirical cases describe the development of certain kinds of capital as instrumental: it serves a certain goal (Van Meeteren et al, 2009; Portes, 2000). An interesting study on the position of irregular migrants in Belgium shows that specific aspirations of migrants require specific forms of capital (Van Meeteren et al, 2009). This study concludes that the success of migrants depends not only on the possession of capital, but also on the right combination of the forms required for the specific aspiration. Even though this study focusses on irregular migrants, it seems applicable in the context of refugees as well. For the second element, the distribution of capital by political action, we can see that political action and policies play a major role in the distribution of capital and therefore also have a great say in the chances of migrants (Bloch, 2000; De Vroome & Tubergen, 2010). From empirical cases, it can be concluded that special integration programmes offered by the host country to gain capital in certain fields (like language training or specific education) have a positive effect on integration (De Vroome & Tubergen, 2010). How political action, such as special programmes, influence the chances of refugees will be further elaborated on in paragraph 2.2.2.

First, let us apply Bourdieu's game of capitals to the situations of refugees in the Dutch labour market. When we do so, we can see that refugees have to compete on the labour market with the dominant group who already have an advantage in the game because of their capital. The dominant group, the Dutch, will feel more at ease in this game. Refugees enter the game poorly equipped with capital and are likely to lose. Most refugees have an unfavourable position in the game and lack all three capitals: economic capital due to unemployment, social capital due to being new in a society and lack a social network with people from other groups, and cultural capital due to the fact that most refugees did not grow up in the dominant culture and their education is not recognized at the same level as the dominant culture. This does not mean that refugees will never gain capital and win the game, but their chances are less.

We can also link the more empirical cases of migration studies and capitals to this research. Study-work programmes are a way to gain extra (economic, social and cultural) capital for refugees, and therefore, have a better chance at winning the game. Unlike seen in other empirical studies, study-work programmes focus on the development of all capitals at once due to a new paradigm in integration policies where the main vision is that the combination of different parts of the integration process in a time-saving approach will be more beneficial (Engbersen et al., 2015). Economic capital will be gained by getting an income during the study-work programme -which is not always the case. Nevertheless, once the program is finished, the candidates will have a bigger chance at getting a 'real' contract and so gain economic capital themselves. Social capital will be gained by newly formed contacts between candidates and their Dutch colleagues. Lastly, cultural capital will be gained by getting acquainted with the dominant (working) culture. Furthermore, continuing language and professional training and possible receiving recognition for their former and current education is a big part of gaining cultural capital as well. In study-work programmes we can see that three forms of capital are set besides each other (not one above the other) and will supposedly be gained at the same time.

2.1.2. Multiculturalism and (in)equality

If we apply Bourdieu's theory of capitals to refugees in the labour market, we can describe the phenomenon of inequality and exclusion of refugees from the Dutch labour market. This brings us to more normative questions about justice and equality: is the position of refugees in the game 'unfair'? Are their chances not the same as others and should this be changed? In contemporary societies, several political actions arise attempting to give citizens equal chances, like the study-work programmes that form the cases of this research. What does the literature say about these kinds of 'preferential' or 'compensation' programmes?

Equality of opportunities stands at the base of this discussion. In this specific case of inequality, we need to firstly take a look at multiculturalism and cultural groups. According to Kelly (2002), the recent migration flows and the intermingling of national, ethnic and religious cultures, form circumstances of multiculturalism in contemporary societies. In Multiculturalist societies, there is more than one (cultural) group, but this does not necessarily mean that different groups oppose each other. Nevertheless, often multiculturalism is associated with conflict, and issues as discrimination and disadvantages for minorities arise. Within multiculturalist theories, where the equal recognition of (cultural) groups is defended, two main concepts can be described: culture and equality (Kelly, 2002). In this study, especially the concept of equality attracts my attention: when is something equal and what makes opportunities equal?

We can make a distinction between different strands of arguments on the connection between culture and equality. Firstly, liberal multiculturalists, believe that as long as the distribution to different (cultural) groups is equal (equal rights, welfare or resources), the outcome does not necessarily have to be equal (Kelly, 2002). Different actors use their opportunities in different ways, this will result in different outcomes. As long as the distribution is fair -this includes compensation for disadvantages actors-

the outcome does not matter (Kelly, 2002). Liberal multiculturalist policies do include special treatment to accommodate cultural difference and disadvantage (Ibid.). We can see study-work programmes for refugees as a project which attempts to 'compensate' the disadvantage of the group on the labour market.

Not everyone totally agrees with these kinds of compensation policies for minority groups. Young states that the more dominant approaches to justice "*tend to presuppose and uncritically accept the relations of production that define an economic system*" (1990, p.21). Radical multiculturalists, such as Young, claim that liberal multiculturalism fails to address unequal power relations which are at the base of unequal opportunities. Young argues that the problem is not the distribution to groups, but the underlying social norms and structures that shapes the opportunities in the first place (Young, 1990). Kelly describes Young's viewpoint as: "*opportunities are never neutral but are always social constructions that carry with the inequalities of power and relations of domination and subordination*" (Kelly, 2002, p.12).

According to Young, a conception of injustice should begin with the terms domination and oppression. This is in line with Michael Walzer's idea that it would be more appropriate to criticize the structure of dominance itself, than solely the distribution of the dominant good (1983). Young criticises the structure and states that "*oppression consists in systematic institutional processes which prevent some people from learning and using satisfying and expansive skills in socially recognized settings. Domination consists in institutional condition which inhibit or prevent people from participating in determining their actions of the condition of their actions*" (1990, p.38). In this sense, oppression is the disadvantage and injustice certain people suffer because of everyday practices; because of unquestioned norms, habits and symbols in our societies.

Young distinguishes five categories of oppression: exploitation, marginalization powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence (1990). Even though all categories could be in one way or another applied to the situation of refugees, I would like to focus on marginalization. Marginalization can be described as the process of exclusion (Young, 1980) and, in the case of this study, exclusion from the labour market. Not everyone gets the chance to develop and exercise their capacities and needs, and many refugees suffer from inhibition of their ability to do so. We can see this as a form of oppression according to the definition of Young. Some societies have acknowledged marginalization of certain groups and came up with a number of policies to reduce marginalization -like special services aimed at reducing the inequalities and giving more chances to marginalized groups to 'win the game'.

Even though Young is critical about solely focussing on distribution, she does argue for politics that recognizes the differences between groups and therefore stands behind policies that treat groups differently. Radical multiculturalists, like Young, focus more on group representation and proportions of the social groups within the dominant culture to address inequality and oppression (Kelly, 2002). However, they do see that equal distribution and compensational programs can be a part of the solution (Ibid.). But we have to be aware that, because injustice and oppression are rooted in our everyday lives, we cannot get rid of them by changing some laws or organizing special services (Young, 1990).

As we have seen before, work-study programmes can be seen as a project of compensation to the disadvantaged group. In this situation, the project attempts to equalize the opportunities on the labour market and break the structure of inequality. If we link Young's argument to study-work programmes, we can see that, indeed, these projects do not change the systematic disadvantages of migrants in the labour market directly, but can be seen as a step in the right direction. Once refugees have gained a spot in the labour market in line with their capacities, their representation and proportion in the dominant culture will change as well. It is of great importance to consider whether certain political actions and projects protect the cultural hierarchies and will maintain the structure where winners keep winning, or whether they open doors for equality and justice as described by Young and Walzer. Do the cases of this research lead to equality and justice where one can develop and exercise one's capacities, express one's experience, participate in determining one's action and the condition of one's action (Young, 1990)? We keep this in mind when analysing the study-work programmes.

2.2. Integration

Study-work programmes can be seen as a way to combat unequal opportunities for refugees on the Dutch labour market. To understand the ideas behind study-work programmes, and integration policies in general, we need to make the switch from theories on inequality in society to the concept of Integration. Integration is generally seen as, using Bourdieu's terminology, a way to successfully 'play the game' in Dutch society. As a base of a conceptualisation of the controversial term integration, I have combined literature on the concept of integration from different perspectives. In the following paragraph, we will discuss the controversiality around the concept of integration and take a look at integration as a social process and as a societal norm.

2.2.1. The concept of integration

Integration takes place in every level and sector of society and involves a variety of different actors, such as political actors, employers, neighbours, non-governmental associations, and of course immigrant and refugees themselves (Castles et al., 2001). The term integration can be described as normative, due to the different implication the term integration can mean for different actors (Ibid.). Often, the concept of integration is used with many different meanings and is "*understood differently by most*" (Robinson, 1998, p.118). Castles also sees problems of unifying the controversial concept of integration: "*There is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration*" (2001, p.12). According to Castles, the meaning of integration differs per country, per time period and is depending on the interests, values and perspectives of the people concerned. Often a distinction is made between different kinds of integration (for example Korac, 2001; Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2014).

We can make a rough separation between social integration and functional integration as described by Korac (2001). Social integration involves speaking the

language, knowledge of the traditions, norms and values and being able to create a network. Functional integration concerns involvement in structures and systems in society. Labour market integration (or economic integration) is part of functional integration. In the light of refugee integration, integration is often understood as functional integration (Castles et al., 2001). This can be explained by the special rights of refugees, which involve functional elements like access to social services and facilitation to provide integration for refugees.

However, when we look at the reality of integration (and labour market integration) it is clear that different integration elements come together. As we have discussed in the previous paragraphs, we can see that social, economic and cultural elements intertwine in the integration process. Therefore, when studying integration in practice, the separation of social and functional integration does no longer make sense. functional integration has been less explored in relation to social integration. When we speak of migration studies in general, we can see that in the past era, the integration debate was focussed on socio-cultural differences between incoming migrants and the Dutch society, and not so much on labour market integration (Huijink et al, 2014). This research will link together different element of integration that come together in labour market integration.

It should be clear by now that there are many difficulties in defining the concept of integration of immigrants and refugees (Castles et al., 2001). To come to a useful definition of the concept of integration for this research, we will take a look at a distinction made by Castles (2001). Castles distinguishes two usages of the concept of integration. In the first usage, integration has a normative significance, due to the implication that newcomers should change until they 'fit in' in the dominant way of life. I agree with Castles that this is a problematic notion in today's multicultural society, because it implies that there is one mono-cultural society where a newcomer has to integrate into. second usage establishes integration as a two-way street: "*it requires adaptation on the part of the newcomer, but also by the host society*" (Castel et al., 2001, p.113; Korac, 2001). Castles argues that to reach successful integration, it is necessary for the host society to provide access to jobs and services, but also acceptance in the social domain (Ibid.) The struggle to define integration suggest that there is a need for a clearer conceptualization of the concept. Within the debates around the definition of the concept, the model of integration given by Kuhlman (1991) has gained my attention:

If refugees are able to participate in the host economy in ways commensurate with their skills and compatible with their values; if they attain a standard of living which satisfies culturally determined minimum requirements (standard of living is taken here as meaning not only income from economic activities, but also access to amenities such as housing, public utilities, health services, and education); if the socio-cultural change they undergo permits them to maintain an identity of their own and adjust psychologically to their new situation; if standards of living and economic opportunities for members of the host society have not deteriorated due to the influx of refugees; if friction between host population and refugees is not worse than within the host

population itself; and if the refugees do not encounter more discrimination than exists between groups previously settled within the host society: then refugees are truly integrated. (p.7)

Kuhlman's perspective includes different aspects of integration, like economic, social, political, etc. Here we can see again that it is not so easy to separate different elements of integration, because the different elements of integration are intertwined in reality. The definition of Kuhlman is in line with the second usage on integration as described by Castles: integration as a two-way street. This usage is gaining more attention in integration studies and this notion also lies at the basis of this research. While I acknowledge the problems concerning the conceptualization of integration, I will use the term integration in this research as conceptualized by Kuhlman, with a focus on a two-way street and an intertwining of different elements of integration.

2.2.2. Labour market integration

Labour market integration can be seen as an important part of integration, because employment covers many relevant issues regarding overall integration, like economic independence, planning the future, meeting members of the host society, develop language skills, restoring self-esteem and self-reliance (Ager & Strang, 2008). As we have seen in paragraph 2.2.1, this means that within integration different elements intertwine and different kinds of capital come together. This also means that to be successful in the labour market, different kinds of capital need to be acquired and this can form an obstacle to enter the labour market in the first place.

Immigrants and refugees are often perceived as unwilling to integrate (Liempt, 2011). Nevertheless, a distinction should be made between unwilling and being unable to integrate. The group of people I focus on in this research are not unwilling to integrate in the labour market. On the contrary, they are prepared to earn their own living, but experience obstacles in finding an entrance to the Dutch labour market (Hulshof et al., 1992).

The process of gaining access to the labour market for migrants varies among the 'group' of migrants. In general, different groups experience different integration obstacles. Of course, there are many more factors involved. The obstacles, and the approach to overcome these obstacles, differ per individual, his or her background, current political situation etc. (Brink, 1997). This can be described by the concept of super-diversity, which implies a level of complexity within society which highlights the recognition of differences between and within groups (Vertovec, 2007). Vertovec explains the condition of super-diversity in society as "*a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants*" (2007, p.1024).

The notion of super-diversity can be very well linked to the group of asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands. For this group, the chances to integrate differ per individual and his or her circumstances. Take for example age, gender, faith, ethnicity, culture, educational system in the country of origin, family situation, etc. (Morrice, 2013). In general, we can see that labour market integration is more complex

for asylum seekers and refugees, due to their limited rights (Schunk & Münz, 1998). The access to the labour market and the availability of special measures to gain access to the labour market are highly dependent on the legal status of an individual migrant (Ibid.). We can see that for asylum seekers, the access to the labour market is restricted and, therefore, it is possible that they are unable to integrate instead of unwilling to. Engbersen et al. highlight the long asylum procedure, the busy period after gaining a legal status (family reunion, getting a house, etc.), mental health and language obstacles as factors of a slower labour market integration of refugees and asylum seekers. (Engbersen, et al., 2015). Matching this with Bourdieu and Young, we can see that the migration and integration policies (structure) play a big role in whether refugees can get access to certain kinds of capitals to be able to participate in the labour market in the first place.

Besides legal structure that influence the chances of refugees in the game, many migrants experience difficulties in ensuring their educational qualification and validation of former working experiences (cultural capital), which has great influence on their ability to participate in the labour market (Webb, et al. 2016; Tomlinson and Egan, 2002; Bloch, 1999). Generally speaking, a high level of education is perceived as a good condition for integration (Schunk & Münz, 1998). However, it remains difficult for migrants to find employment on their own level. Regularly, migrants end up in medium to low skilled jobs, or no job at all (Muysken et al., 2015, Ager & Strang, 2008). There is a general agreement that the recognition of qualifications and skills is of great importance for labour market success of migrants (Ven & Voitchovsky, 2015, Ager & Strang, 2008). Even if refugees are able to produce proof or qualification of former education, employers often do not recognize them. According to Brink the main reason for high unemployment among refugees is the "*denial by potential employers of former work experience and diploma's*" (1997, p.201). A big group of the current flow of refugees is high educated, nevertheless, as we follow previous studies and statistics, we might find an increasing number of refugees in low-skilled jobs (or unemployed) in the years to come.

Besides the acknowledgement of qualifications (cultural capital), Immigrants often a disadvantaged position when it comes to a lack of supporting networks (social capital) (Schunk & Münz, 1998). The Netherlands is getting more and more a *network society*, where one's network is of great importance in social and professional life (UAF, 2016). Studies on social capital and employment of immigrants conclude that social capital has a positive effect on migrant's employment and wages and that the promotion of opportunities that can create social capital will benefit migrants' labour market integration (Piracha et al. 2016).

As we can see, for immigrants, especially refugees and asylum seekers, it is hard to secure a qualified position in the Netherlands. Labour market integration is dependent on many different elements (including legal structures, lack of network, lack of educational diploma's) which vary per community and individual (super-diversity). Generally speaking, the labour market segregation between refugees and Dutch citizens, and refugees and other migrant groups, might lead to poor communities, economic inequality and increased social divisions (Webb, et al. 2016).

However, when refugees are able to successfully integrate in the labour market, many elements of integration (like social network, economic independence, getting acquainted with cultural norms and values) will come together. Thus, it is of great importance to invest in a proper labour market integration of refugees. There have been many different forms of political action concerning labour market integration of immigrants. In the following paragraph, we will discuss the political paradigms on (labour market) integration policies in the Netherlands.

2.3. (Labour market) Integration policy in the Netherlands

There have been many changes in Dutch refugee and asylum seeker policy throughout the years. The paradigm on distribution and responsibility has shifted within the context of immigration and integration. As described in the paragraphs on grand theories, different immigration and integration policies serve a decisive role in the distribution of capitals and therefore have a role in the successful integration of the people concerned (Van Meeteren, Engbersen & San, 2009). This paragraph will shortly summarize the Dutch shifts in policies to understand the change in paradigms towards the current vision behind study-work programmes.

2.3.1. Dutch immigration and integration policy throughout the years

Immigration and integration policy in the Netherlands is based on two concepts (Muus, 1997). Firstly, the respect for human rights, the wish to receive people who are in need of international protection. Second, the desire to manage social issues (Ibid.). These two key concepts can be recognised throughout all policies of the past decades. Even though this paragraph will describe the broader immigrant policies and scholars focusing on immigrants in general, they can be applied to asylum seekers and refugees as well, since they form a part of the immigrant population.

Dutch immigration and integration policy can roughly be summarized as shifts from welcoming restricted numbers of invited refugees towards restricting access to asylum seekers and their participation and integration in society (Muus, 1997). The first policies were concerned with small groups of incoming invited refugees (Ibid.). Later, when the influx of asylum seekers grew, the government introduced centralised policy, this can be seen as the start of 'management' of immigration and policy was based on the idea of lessening the attractiveness of the Netherlands as a destination country (Muus, 1997). In this second phase, policies increasingly portray immigrants and diversity as a negative phenomenon (Hoekstra, 2015). We can see a phenomenon of problematizing immigrants and a strong focus on the problems that they create, instead of the problems that they have (Schrover & Schinkel, 2013). It is interesting to note that it is in this use of language that policies and practices of in- and exclusion are legitimized (Ibid).

Even though the focus is shifted towards stricter 'management', it cannot be argued that humanitarianism -as one of the key concepts of Dutch policy- has disappeared (Muus, 1997). Muus states that certain issues seem to be resolved, like accommodation and Dutch language tuition. However, "*access to the labour market and*

to appropriate vocational or additional education remains a problematic issue” (Muus, 1997, p.94). Muus argues that real integration will never take place if the vast majority of refugees and humanitarian status holders are in practice excluded from the Dutch labour market.

The shift to a more restrictive policy can be traced back to the supposed failure of multiculturalism, the growing influx of migration and expanding feelings of xenophobia (Muus, 1997). The current policy focusses on individual responsibility and resulted in more obligatory measures for immigrants (Ibid.). Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) call this combination of individualizing (individual participation and responsibility) and de-individualizing (adaption to cultural values and norms of the dominant culture) neo-liberal communitarianism (2010). According to Schinkel and van Houdt (2010), two conclusions can be drawn from the recent changes in policies: (1) citizenship is something that needs to be earned through moral conversion (the migrant needs to ‘convert’ to the norms and values of the dominant culture) and (2) more emphasis is placed on duties and responsibilities of immigrants.

When we link these two conclusions of Schinkel and van Houdt (2010) the definition of integration that I have adopted from Kuhlman (1991) and Castles’ (2001) perspectives on integration as a two-way street, we can see that this policy is mostly focused on a one-sided adaption: a newcomer has to fit in in the dominant way of life. The policy puts efforts of immigrants under firmer control, while Dutch institutions and companies are under no legal pressure to integrate newcomers (Muus, 1997). Furthermore, According to Muus, the arguments on changes in integration policies are formulated on the basis of the assumed consequences of those policies on the attractiveness of the Netherlands as a destination country, rather than the desired effects policies could have in terms of integration of the persons involved. Looking from these perspectives, it is questionable if the past and current policies were or will be successful.

The described shift in Dutch immigration and integration policies are focussed on immigrants in general, including asylum seekers and refugees. In the specific case of refugee integration policy, policies have been focussed on the issue of how to manage the increasing influx of refugees throughout the years (Muus, 1997). Since the refugee crisis started in 2015, the Netherlands agreed to receive a bigger group of refugees and has attempted to speed up the asylum procedure, especially for refugees from Syria and Eritrea (Klaver, 2016). Nevertheless, voices from within society can be heard that the current refugee policy is not working (for example: De Jonge & Klaassen, 2016; ‘Rekenkamer: inburgering nieuwe stijl werkt niet’, 2017; ‘Huidig system voor inburgering faalt’, 2017). Therefore, in the next paragraph, we will discuss the upcoming paradigm concerning refugee integration.

2.4. The upcoming phenomenon: combine aspects of integration to reduce waiting time and involve different actors

It is clear by now that formulating integration policy is not an easy task. The current obstacles concerning labour market integration have suggested a need for a rethinking

of migration and the policy domains relevant to migration. In the previous paragraph, we have discussed the changes in visions on integration policies of immigrants in general. When we turn to specific refugee integration, we can note that both the political and academic debate call for a change in approaches (Engbersen et al., 2015; Zafrini, 2015; Tomlinson & Egan, 2002). The call for a new approach consists out of several elements: the involvement of different actors, the recognition of someone's former experiences and knowledge, and reduce waiting time by combining aspects of integration. The following paragraphs will shortly describe the vision behind the different elements. The different elements will be combined with the cases of this study in the empirical chapters.

2.4.1. Involve different actors

From actors at European and national government level to local voluntary sectors; different actors in different levels and sectors are involved in the process of integration. Recent studies have focussed more on the local dimension of policymaking and integration efforts (Hoekstra, 2015; Scholten, 2013; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008), because *"migrant integration is in many respects a local process"* (Scholten, 2013, p.151). Most of these studies focus on how the local practices can diverge from national integration models. It is field of growing interest since the decentralisation of integration policies and budget cuts leave more responsibility at the local level. The local level includes local government, but also local migrant organisation or NGO's. Study-work programmes organized by different local actors (e.g. NGO's, businesses and local government) are part of this local level of integration practices.

Several differences can be seen between national and local level. An important difference in local and national vision is that on the local level, often diversity is already seen as an asset rather than as a problem (Hoekstra, 2015). Furthermore, local policymakers are closer to the implementation and daily practices and therefore focus on pragmatics and efficiency (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). This is even more the case for civil society actors. Therefore, the main actor within this research is a civil society actor. As stated in chapter 1, there is a great potential for civil society actors, still to be explored (Engbersen et al., 2015). Tomlinson's and Egan's study on training and employment services for refugees point out that the task of civil society organisations is to *"mediate between the 'otherness' of refugees and the resistance of groups and institutions within the so-called mainstream"* (2002, p.1041). In this sense, the task of civil society actors is to be the link between refugees and their profiles, and the mainstream labour market that often expresses suspicion towards refugees.

For the new approach to be successful, different actors need to cooperate. A mistake often made is a cooperation between different actors without taking the perspective of the main actor into account: the needs and aspirations of refugees (Tomlinson & Egan, 2002). Tomlinson and Egan (2002) stress the importance of refugee involvement in providing services. It can be concluded from their study that when the actors (refugees) had a passive role in the services, they were disempowered by the experience. This can be linked to Young's idea that in these kinds of situations there is no change in the structure of oppression. However, Tomlinson and Egan noticed

positive experiences with training programmes when refugees were actively engaged in reconstructing and representing themselves (2002), which can be linked to the ideas of justice of Walzer and Young. We will keep all the above factors –cooperation between different actors, the significant role of civil society and the perspective of refugees- in mind when analysing the cases of this research.

2.4.2. Recognition of experiences

We can distinguish two discourses around refugees: one where refugees are seen as a problem, and the other where they are seen as a potential contribution for society (Tomlinson and Egan, 2002). This last notion, refugees as a contribution to society, lies at the very base of the new approach to integration. Seeing refugees as a contribution to society implies the recognition of former working and learning experiences of newcomers. As described before, the lack of recognition and validation of former experiences is a main obstacle for labour market integration and can be seen as a form of (structural) exclusion. Duke, Sales and Gregory argue that successful settlement is depended on covering skills and qualification so that they can be used in the new situation (1999). This paragraph focusses on the different kinds of learning experiences and the recognition of one's *profile*.

A lot of learning takes place outside the formal educational institutions, but these experiences are often overlooked and ignored. Roughly three types of education could be distinguished: formal, non-formal and informal. For the explanation of the different types I use the description of Eaton (2010). Formal education is intentional and organized, and often guided by a formal curriculum. Formal education leads to a diploma or degree which is recognized by the government. Non-formal learning can be organized in some way, but no formal credits are granted. This means that non-formal learning experiences do not result in a recognized diploma. Informal learning is not organized, but it is experiential and spontaneous. As an example, the migration experience of refugees can be seen as an informal learning experience. From this point on, the recognition of learning experiences and working experiences will be called the recognition and acknowledgement of *the profile* of a person. This profile includes learning and working experiences, but also competences and motivations. Validation is making the outcomes of these non-formal and informal learning experiences visible and valuable (CEDEFOP, 2015). The council of the EU (2012) defines validation of a profile as "*the process of assessment and confirmation by an authorised body that an individual has acquired learning outcomes measured against a relevant standard*". This research focusses on the integration of refugees in the labour market by going beyond formal education and taking various kinds of learning experiences into account.

Recognition in the context of refugees is a challenge, because this group of people did not come to the host country because of a lack of workers (Andersson & Fejes, 2010). Therefore, refugees' "*knowledge is not necessarily recognised in terms of employment in vocation where their prior learning could be utilised*" (Ibid., p. 202). However, for the current group of refugees in the Netherlands, the recognition of one's profile could make a difference for their integration in the Dutch labour market. Tomlinson and Egan point out very sharply that, if the requirement for employment are skills,

certificates and references, then *“equipping refugee with qualifications and skills should enable refugees to find a job”* (2002, p1032). However, it remains interesting to find out if this is the case or if –as Young (1990) points out- structure of oppression and domination still prohibits refugees to enter the labour market even though their profile has been recognized.

2.4.3. Reduce waiting time by combining capitals

The current integration process takes a lot of time. We can separate the procedure in time spend in an asylum seeker centre and time after an actor receives legal status. Asylum seekers and refugees in the Netherlands are not allowed to work or enter public education depending on their legal status. Often, the legal procedure takes years and only tuition in the Dutch language and recreational facilities are offered in asylum seeker centres (Brink, 1997). When people finally receive a legal status, and are allowed to stay and work, many years have passed and often extra education is needed. All of this makes it complicated to enter the labour market (Brink, 1997). The lack of resources and insecurity about the future can be called post-migration stress (Bakker, Dagevos & Engbersen, 2013). Studies on post-migration stressors in the Netherlands and other countries have concluded that a long waiting time in asylum accommodation negatively affects refugees’ mental health, which hinders their socio-economic integration and can lead to psychological problems as depression and PTSD (Bakker, Dagevos & Engbersen, 2013; George, 2012; Steel, et al. 2006) Furthermore, insecurity about the future and reduced confidence due to a long waiting time affects refugee’s chances of successful integration in the Dutch labour market in the long run (Ibid). Besides the post-migration stressors, refugees also have to deal with pre-migration and migration traumas and difficulties, which influences their mental health and performance in the host country (Steel, et al. 2006). To decrease the amount of stress of refugees it is of great importance to reduce parts of the migration-stressors that the host country can influence: the waiting time.

In the current overall process of labour market integration three stages can be seen: learning the language, getting additional education or training, and lastly entering the labour market (Brink, 1997; Engbersen et al., 2015). The idea is that actors pass through the different stages chronologically. It turns out that passing the three stages takes a lot of time and not all actors go through the different stages in that specific order (Brink, 1997). The different stages can be linked to different forms of capital. Learning the language and receiving vocational training of education can be seen as gaining cultural capital. As seen in paragraph 2.3.1, where we discussed the Dutch policy paradigms, it is an important element of integration policy that immigrants are able to adapt themselves into the culture of the dominant group and in this sense, gain cultural capital. However, as discussed in paragraph 2.2.2, for entering the labour market a combination of capitals is needed. In the three stages, social capital and economical capital stay behind, plus cultural capital of the country of origin is often not recognized.

Engbersen et al. point out that it is of high importance that a quicker integration program is formulated where relevant factors (capitals) are combined: language, study

and work (2015). The new approach combines different elements of integration into a process where actors work on all capitals at the same time, instead of different phases which actors have to go through chronologically. This will save actors a lot of time and, therefore, leads to quicker (labour market) integration. The cases of this research are in line with the approach of the report by Engbersen et al. and aims to reduce waiting time by combining different elements of integration.

2.5. Conceptual model

After discussing social and political theory, and linking this to more empirical migration studies, we can formulate a conceptual model. Figure 1 represents the conceptual model which summarizes the theoretical perspective and empirical case of this study. In the conceptual model, the more descriptive theory of society of Bourdieu is combined with more normative theory of Young. Study-work programmes are an example of a practice that focuses on a just distribution of possibilities (Young), and aims to create more equal chances by organizing a service where marginalized groups can gain more capital (Bourdieu).

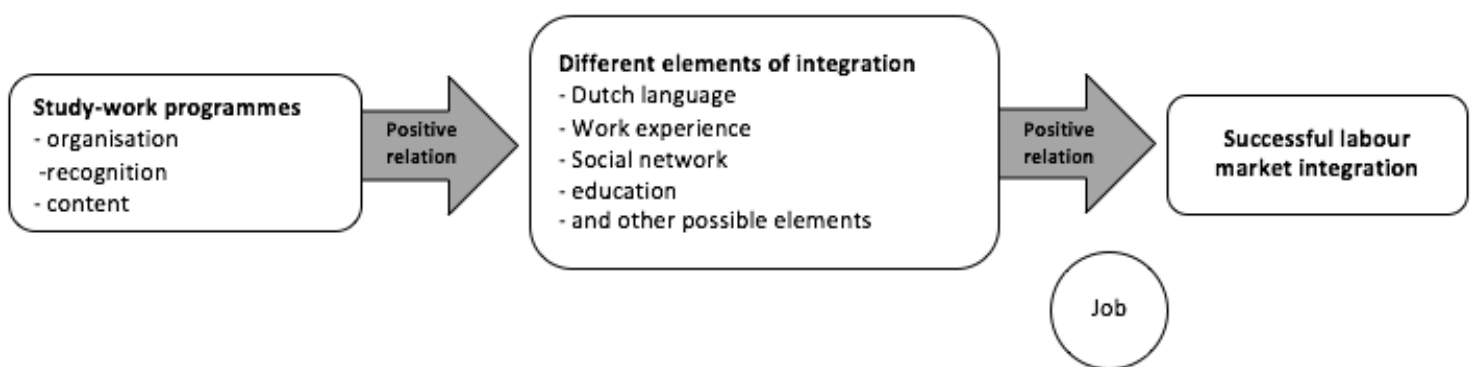


Figure 1: The conceptual model

The model starts with the empirical case of this research, namely study-work programmes. The study-work programmes taken as cases for this research can all be divided into three parts: The organisation, the recognition practices and the content of the program. The four cases have certain parts of the organisation, recognition and content in common. However, the specifics differ per programme.

Study-work programmes are aimed at having a positive relation to different elements of integration. For example, the study-work programme could have a positive influence on improving the Dutch language, gaining a broader social network –described by Bourdieu as different forms of capitals. The study of the different cases will clarify to which elements of integration study-work programmes contribute, and to which not.

It is assumed that the different study-work programmes have a positive influence on different elements of integration. The improvement of the different elements of integration supposedly has a positive relation to finding a job. As described in the theoretical chapter, to be successful in the labour market, a person will need a combination of the right capitals. Study-work programmes aim at helping

participants gain more capital, and therefore study-work programmes indirectly might have a positive effect on overall labour market integration

This study will gain insight in several fields of the conceptual model. The circle in figure 2 illustrate the fields where this study aims to find answers to. The circle covers the field of the study-work programmes. This study will mainly gain insight in the different forms of organisation, recognition practices and content of study-work programmes, and aims to find to which extent these forms have a positive relation to the development of different element of integration –or in other words the gaining of different forms of capital. This research does not cover the actual successful labour market integration of the respondents, due to the fact that the study-work programmes just started. Therefore, we cannot conclude anything on the impact of these programmes on labour market integration in the long run. We can only make statements about the positive relation between study-work programmes and the different elements of integration (the gaining of different forms of capital).

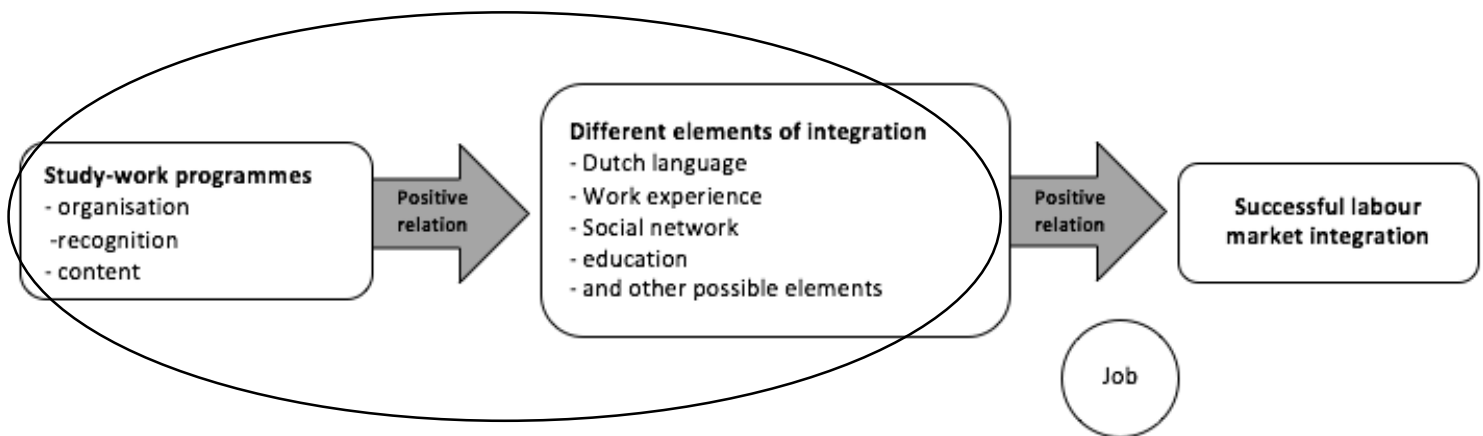


Figure 2: The conceptual model and the focus of this research

Chapter 3: Methods

The following chapter explains the methodological approach and techniques used in this study. Firstly, we will take a look at research strategy of this study. Second, the different data collection techniques will be explained. The third paragraph will elaborate on how the acquired data is analysed, and finally, we will reflect on the methodological choices that have been made and the shortcomings of these choices.

3.1. The research strategy

In this research, I describe and explain the phenomenon of a special programme to increase labour market participation of refugees. For this research, I have decided to focus on an intensive approach (qualitative), rather than an extensive approach (quantitative), as I will explain in the following paragraphs (Swanborn, 2010). In order to gain insight into these study-work programmes, the opinions and experiences of the participants and other actors involved, I have chosen a case study as my research strategy. My research strategy can be described by a couple of elements: qualitative methods, multiple cases, multi-sited and multi-moment, and an emic perspective.

The intensive (or qualitative) approach of this research has allowed me to study the phenomenon of this research in depth and gave insights in the social world of the research object (Flick, 2009). One might suggest a more quantitative approach to collect data for similar research, such as surveys, to gain better understanding of the big picture, and therefore gain more useful insights for additions to theory and current practices (Boeije, 2010). Nevertheless, I argue that qualitative methods are appropriate in this study because of the in-depth information that has been gathered with these techniques and because of the focus on the *process* of labour market integration instead of solely focussing on the *results*. I worked with a small number of research units and tried to gain qualitative insights to explain and compare results, instead of trying to generate numbers and percentages. Qualitative methods have enabled me to use non-structuralized data collection methods which can be adapted to the context and the respondent. This has been of great importance since all respondents and cases differ greatly from each other (Vertovec, 2007). During this study, a variety of qualitative methods have been used. The triangulation of different methods ensures the quality and reliability of the data (Clifford et al. 2016). A combination of mixed qualitative methods contributes to not only the wider theory on labour market integration, but can also be put to use in the rephrasing of the current system of study-work programmes on small scale of the cooperation in the Netherlands and on a broader level.

In line with the objective of this research, an adequate methodological choice is a case study. A case study is appropriate because of its small-scale in-depth nature which can built upon the knowledge of the wider issue (Clifford et al., 2016). In general, not many study-work programmes exist in the Netherlands. Therefore, quantitative data is not even possible to acquire. It is of better use to gain in-depth knowledge about the small number of cases and participants that exist. The case study

of this research is a combination of an explanatory, evaluative and instrumental case: how the current system works is explained and evaluated, and at the same time the case illustrates the wider issue of missed opportunities and phenomena of exclusion of refugees in the context of the (European) refugee crisis.

Furthermore, as described in chapter 2, labour market integration takes place in different places and differs per actor (Kuhlman, 1991; Ager & Strang, 2008; Castles et al., 2002; Vertovec, 2007). The diversity within the group of refugees, but also within the approach of study-work programmes –e.g. different sectors- lead towards the choice of multiple case studies. I have decided to not focus on 1 case, but on 4 different –though similar- cases of study-work programmes in the Netherlands. This study applies a nested approach to case-study research, which implies a variety of cases within a broader case. In this research, the four study-work programmes serve as the variety of cases which are ‘nested’ within the broader case of study-work programmes as a phenomenon in general (Lotz-Sistika & Raven, 2004). collection of the individual ‘nested’ cases illustrates the practice and development of the phenomenon of study-work programmes. The selection of the cases went according to a comparative strategy, which highlights the insights gained by comparing similarities and differences across sites/cases (Ragin, 1987). The different cases are explained in chapter 4. Even though this research is not a single case study –single case studies are often questioned on its applicability and generalisation (Yin, 2013)- the data collection of this research is still too small for generalizations of an entire population, group and/or programmes. However, this study gives some insights in the solutions offered by study-work programmes in the problem of exclusion from the labour market.

The use of multiple case studies in this research also implies the multi-sited characteristic of this research, because the different cases are located in different sites. Multi-sited research does not necessarily mean multiple sited in different countries, but rather that the researcher moves around and conducts interviews, observation, e.g., in more than two places with the use of multiple techniques of juxtaposing data (Falzon, 2009). I have conducted interviews, observations and PA-techniques in five different sites, namely the UAF-office in Utrecht and the locations of the four different cases (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hilversum and Leiden).

Furthermore, this study can be described as a multi-moment or multi-phase study because of the differences in ‘time’ of the cases. Two of the study-work programmes were finishing the project, while the other two just started. This means that the participants were in different phases – ‘times’- in their study-work programmes. Two of the four cases were in the end phase of the programme, while the other two just started. This implies that the amount of data on the first two cases is far greater. Unfortunately, due to practical reasons, I was not able to speak to the respondents in two places in time: during and after the programme for example. Moreover, we can also argue that the cases are multi-phased because of the differences in development of the individual cases. Some of the cases have had former experience with work experience positions for refugees, while others did not.

Besides the multiple cases and the multi-sited character of this case study, another element of this research is the *emic* –or insiders- perspective. An emic

perspective on this study is of great importance to understand specific culture and specific obstacles that occur because of that culture or identity. Study-work programmes exist in the first place to support refugees, and therefore, the opinions and experiences of refugees themselves about these programmes are most useful. This study provided an emic perspective on study-work programmes and on a potential new model of integration.

3.2. Data collection

Four methods have been used to collect the data necessary to answer the research question: document analysis, participatory appraisal techniques (PA-techniques), observations and interviews. A combination of the mentioned methods is used to give answer to the research questions. However, before elaborating on the different methods, I will firstly discuss the research population. Once the research population is discussed, we continue with an explanation of all conducted methods and the importance of combining them to give solid answer to the research question.

3.2.1. Research population

To find respondents for this study I used purposive sampling, which means my respondents need to meet with a couple of criteria (Ritchie, Lewis & Elam, 2003). My criteria were: a person who is (1) a refugee, and (2) recently moved to the Netherlands (max. 10 years), who (3) has former work- and educational experience in a country outside the Netherlands, and who (4) participates in a study-work programme where UAF is involved. All my respondents meet with these criteria. The country of origin was not a specific criterion, but my respondents are mostly from Syria, namely 75%. The other 25% are from Ethiopia and Iran. All of my respondents are –or are becoming– clients of UAF. To be able to participate in a study-work programme, the former working and educational experiences need to be in line with the sector of the specific study-work programme, e.g. work experience as a journalist for a study-work programme in the media sector. The head of the job support department of UAF has enabled me to access the UAF-database with candidates who meet the above-mentioned criteria. My respondents speak about him/herself and his/her experiences with the Dutch labour market and the study-work programmes.

Besides respondents, I have also spoken with informants. Informants are people who do not speak about themselves, but about someone/something else. In this case, my informants are employees of UAF and coordinators of study-work programmes. Within UAF, my main informants have been the head of the Job Support department and her colleagues. My informants of the study-work programmes differ in function, but are all involved with coordinating the study-work programmes. In this research, the distinction between respondent and informant cannot be made so strictly. The informants spoke mostly about the content of the programme and the participants, but also mentioned their own experiences and aspirations. Therefore, they could also be seen as respondents. Nevertheless, to make the difference clear between participants of study-work programmes and coordinators or personnel of UAF, I will use the

division. Appendix 1 provides an anonymous list with respondents and informants to give an overview of the research population.

3.3.2. Methods of data collection

The first method used is document analysis. This started before arriving at the case study and lasted all throughout the period of data collection. This method is particularly important to understand the (historical) context of the issue of labour market exclusion and the UAF, and to get acquainted with current practices. The collected documents are ordered according to time, date and location (Clifford et al., 2016). I have gained access to internal documents of UAF on their (shifts in) policy and their ideas about study-work programmes for the future. This has been the main document source.

In this research, most data are generated by conducting interviews and Participatory Appraisal-techniques with respondents and informants. Interviews provide data on the individual's perception, opinion and experiences with work-study practices (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). In terms of numbers, I have conducted twelve in-depth semi-structured interviews, from which eight with participants of the study-work programmes and four with the coordinators of the programmes. From every case I have interviewed two participants and one coordinator, with one exception where I have interviewed two coordinators at the same time. Due to the focus on an emic perspective, I have interviewed more participants of study-work programmes than other actors involved. If we look at this number more closely, we can see that in general, I have spoken to 1/3rd of the participants of the four study-work programmes. All interviews were face-to-face interviews with open questions, as described by Verschuren and Doorewaard (2007). These were formal interviews, which implies that they were planned and the audio was recorded. An interview guide was used during all the interviews organized according to themes that arose from literature study and conversations with UAF before the data collection. Themes in the interviews with the participants were: profile, content of the programme (balance study-learn-language), guidance, good & bad practices (reflection) and potential outflow into labour market. The themes in the interviews with coordinators were: content of the programme, intentions, good and bad practices (reflection), cooperation between different actors and the potential outflow into the labour market. The length of the interviews differed between 20 minutes to 2 hours. In appendix 2 and 3 we can find the interview guides (including open-interview questions and PA-techniques) for the participants (appendix 2) and the coordinators (appendix 3).

The interviews with the participants included Participatory Appraisal-techniques (PA-techniques) to get more information and to stimulate the expression of the respondent's own experiences and ideas. The idea behind PA-techniques is that a phenomenon or issue is studied with the full engagement of those who are affected by it (Glifford, French & Valentine, 2016), which is in line with the wish to look at this phenomenon from an emic perspective. Through the use of PA-techniques, a range of different opinions on the specific issue and case can be identified (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). PA-techniques have allowed participants of the different study-work programmes to think about the procedures, practices and experiences themselves, and

formulate their own solutions. This has given an insiders opinion and a clear idea about the current procedures and practices concerning study-work programmes and labour market integration, and potential flaws and obstacles in the system. Furthermore, the PA-techniques supported the language obstacle in the interviews and was a way to double check the answers of the respondents.

The PA-techniques I have used are a timeline and a profile-sketch. These techniques were proposed by employers of UAF because of their previous experiences with interviewing refugee students. See appendix 4 for an example of both these methods. During the timeline exercise, the respondents were asked to make a timeline from the moment they heard about the study-work programme until the moment of the interview. Most timelines start with the application for the position and go through the different phases within the trajectory: e.g. selection procedure, start of the job, evaluation moments, training sessions, etc. The completed time-line was placed in front of the respondent during the whole interview and the respondent was always allowed to add points whenever he/she came across another topic or theme. The different topics that the respondent wrote down on the timeline served as a basis for the further questions. The profile-sketch exercise is an assignment focussed on self-reflection. Two papers were placed before the respondent: one for the profile-sketch before participation in the study-work programme, and the other for the profile-sketch during/after participation. The respondent was asked to write down qualities and capacities of him/her self before and after the programme, e.g. knowledge of Dutch language or knowledge of the specific sector. While the respondent wrote things down, the researcher asked questions about the different points and about why they have changed or not changed. These assignments have visualized the topics we were discussing and therefore might have helped my respondents with their language barriers and to get a proper overview of their own experience. Both techniques are combined with the audio of the interviews for the analysis, because the respondents talk about what they are writing down and why. For the four respondents that did not yet start with their study-work programme it was not fitting to use PA-techniques. The interviews with the coordinators and did not include PA-techniques and existed solely out of open questions.

I have conducted three participant observations. Observations give the researcher more feeling with the different organisations involved and with the practices and procedures (Gobo, 2008). Furthermore, observations are a considerable tool to build trust between the research and the employees of UAF and migrants (ibid.). This has been of great use for the individual in-depth interviews and PA-techniques, since some of the respondents had already seen me and spoken to me during a training session where I took an observing role. The observations have been carried out according to Spradley's nine dimensions: space, actors, activities, objects, acts, events, time, goals and feelings (1980). Participant observation is an important method to find aspects which will not be found in interviews, since people see certain aspects as self-evident and therefore will not notice or mention it (Gobo, 2008). Repetition of observations and triangulation is essential to be sure of the reliability of the data. Therefore, I have conducted several observations and was able to combine

these with the interviews and PA-techniques. The participant observations took place at different locations. One at the UAF office, where a CV-training took place for candidates of one of the study-work programmes. The second observation took place at the University of Amsterdam during a training for potential participants of the UvA study-work programme. The last observation took place at an UAF-event organized by the job support department for employers to get involved in offering work-experience positions for refugees.

Besides these 'formal' data collections, I also have had many conversations 'off the record' with participants, UAF employees and coordinators. Informal conversations have been of great importance since in an informal setting, it is easier to speak of more personal feelings and ideas than during a recorded official interview. The combination of formal and informal data collection has been meaningful to get a complete overview of the programme and the existing ideas around innovation of the programme.

3.3. Data analyses

All the acquired data was evaluated and organized. Because of the choice of qualitative methods, all my data is non-numerical. Therefore, all of the interviews were literally transcribed, a report was written about each observation and PA-technique. To guarantee confidentiality, all names of people and organisations in reports and transcripts are made anonymous by the use of pseudonyms. The quotes used in this report are translated from Dutch to English and are sometimes slightly corrected to form a structured and grammatically correct sentence. This is done to make the quotes fit within the rest of the text and to make the text reader-friendly. The content and 'atmosphere' of the quotes is obviously never changed.

The transcripts and reports were carefully read and labelled with codes. The data was broken down into groups or categories to visualize common and recurring themes. The basis of these codes are the themes of the interview guides and the outcomes of the literature study. When new themes were found in the transcripts, a new theme (or code) was added to the list. Different groups of codes that fit together are regrouped in code families. The main categories are in line with the literature and are also the structure of the empirical chapters of this study. In appendix 5 we can find an overview of codes and code families. With the help of these coded groups, I was able to reveal similarities and differences, find patterns and meaning, and through that way indicate specific elements of good and bad practices. These elements form the basis for the analysis and recommendations.

3.3.1. The concept of triple helix to analyse the link between actors

A specific theme of this research is the link between different actors. This link is of great importance for UAF and the actors involved to further develop the phenomenon of study-work programmes. As a helpful tool to analyse data concerning the different roles of actors involved, I have used the concept of the triple helix (Etzokwitz, 2008). The triple helix concept is used within documents of UAF to describe and develop the

programmes. The cooperation between the various actors can be described according to the triple helix concept of university-industry-government as formulated by Etzkowitz (2008). The triple helix concept encourages academia, industry and government to work together for the benefit of society. The concept of triple Helix is often used when it comes to challenges facing the economy, like unemployment (Smith & Leydesdorff, 2016). All different actors have their own vision and mission, but when they overlap (in the middle of the circle) we can speak of a positive triple Helix. This study will use the concept of triple helix because it was found in the methodology behind the phenomenon of study-work programmes. The use of the concept is corresponding with the third sub question of this research. In the case of this research it is interesting to see which roles different actors should take and how the overlap will look like. Figure 3 illustrates the triple helix concept. The triple helix model can be used as a methodological tool for researchers to define the overlay between academia, industry and government and processes of innovation and the underlying dynamics (Leydesdorff & Etzkowitz, 1998). The concept is used during the analysis to gain insight in how the different ties between the actors arise and what these specific ties look like.

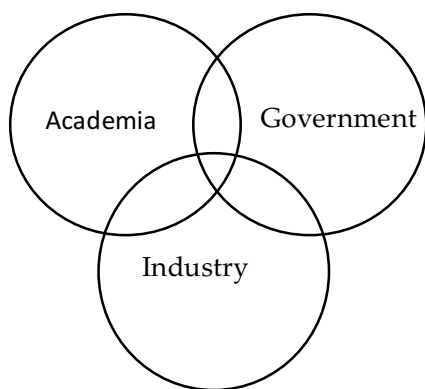


Figure 3: Model of a positive triple helix university-government-industry

3.4. Methodological reflections

As a researcher choosing a qualitative research strategy, one has to be conscious of the limitations that those strategies, methods and techniques can bring along. Qualitative research is time-consuming and can cause some ethical dilemmas, especially when speaking with a marginalized group about exclusion. When reflecting on my methodological choices, I came across four main shortcomings in this research: the selection of the group, the obstacle of time and distance, the language barrier, and my role as a researcher.

Firstly, the selection of the group of respondents and informants can be seen as one-sided. I depended on the cooperation of UAF when selecting my respondents and informants. UAF provided me with a list of contact information of candidates that I could reach out to. This means that the respondents I spoke to were all UAF-clients,

even though also non-UAF-clients are participating in study-work programmes. This implies that the selected respondents all have had former years of work experience, a high education and receive study/work guidance from the UAF. That means that this group of people already has a considerably higher chance of successful labour market integration than the group without work experience, diploma's or guidance. Moreover, most of my respondents are from Syria and there is a lack of participants from other countries. This can be explained by the current large number of Syrian refugees in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that all the participants of study-work programmes that I spoke to were male. The percentage of female participants in study-work programmes is very low and I was unable to speak to any of them, simply because of the fact that no female participant responded to my request for an interview. The low percentage of women in study-work programmes might be explained by the statistics around male-female balance of incoming migrants. In 2015, 60% of the asylum requests came from males (CBS, 2017). Women and children enter the country more often later under the notion of family reunion (Ibid.).

Second, time and distance played a major role in the number of interviews, observations and PA-techniques I was able to conduct. To make it easier for respondents to participate in this study, I decided to go to their workspace or school instead of asking them to come to me. In practice, this implied that I spend a lot of time on the road to Utrecht, Amsterdam, Leiden, Rotterdam and Hilversum. Do to practical reasons concerning time and distance, I was unable to speak to all participants of the projects. The number of respondents I was able to interview turned out to be around 1/3rd of the total number of participants of study-work programmes that I took as my cases. Nevertheless, it would have improved my analysis if the vision and experiences of more participants were included in this research. Especially when I interviewed two participants who had the same experience, like at the University of Amsterdam. It would have been interesting to explore the experiences of the others participants.

Third, language can be seen and one of the main barriers of this research. I have chosen to conduct the interviews and PA-techniques in Dutch, because this is the official language of UAF and the used language in the study-work places. My respondents who were/are participants of study-work programmes do not speak Dutch (nor English) as a mother tongue. These people have been living in the Netherlands for a short amount of time (differing from 2 to 8 years). All of them have been busy studying the Dutch language and officially reached level B2. Nevertheless, the level of understanding of the Dutch language differed profoundly between the individual respondents. Therefore, it could occur that the essence of my questions did not always come across in the right way. In some interviews, I had to reformulate questions multiple times and give additional explanation for assignments. Also, because of a struggle with the Dutch language, the respondents did not always know how to find the proper words to describe their feelings and ideas. I have to be aware of the potential misinterpretation. To overcome this problem, I have tried to repeat their answers and asked for confirmation to the respondents if this is what they meant. Also, I used materials to visualize the main ideas behind the questions and asked the respondents to visualize their answers as well. In this way, I have checked the data

back with the sources. When speaking to other respondents or informants, like coordinators of study-work programmes or employees of UAF, no language problems occurred due to the fact that the Dutch language was their native language.

Fourth, a limitation of this research is the differences in phases of the study-work programmes at the moment of the interviews and observations. While two cases had already finished the programme, two others hardly started. One programme had only started for a month and the other did not start the study and work experience element of their programme yet. This means that respondents and informants from the two cases that finished were able to reflect on the different aspects of the content of the programme, while respondents and informants of the other two could hardly say anything about it. I have decided to still compare all four cases, because from the data collected we can still find important similarities and differences in the approach to study-work programmes which are important for the analysis.

Lastly, I have some concerns regarding my role as a researcher due to my close cooperation with UAF. The fact of being closely involved with UAF enabled me to get in contact with respondents, which otherwise would have been a great problem due to privacy matters. Many of my respondents saw me as an employee of UAF, and therefore trusted me with their stories. My respondents were mostly greatly appreciative of UAF and the guidance and support that UAF had given them. Nevertheless, this might also imply that when more negative aspects of study-work programmes came across in the interviews, my respondents might not have felt at ease to tell their honest opinion. I have decided to deal with this problem by explicitly stating before the interview that (1) I am an objective researcher and not part of UAF, and (2) that the interview is anonymous and that my respondents are allowed to say anything. Furthermore, me being a young and female researcher questioning men older than me and with a different cultural background, most likely influenced the way I was perceived as a researcher and the way my questions were answered.

Chapter 4: Introduction to the cases

This chapter will introduce the four cases of this research. The four different cases will be described in a more general manner, while chapters 5, 6 and 7 will dive deeper into specific themes and aspects of the programmes. The analysis of the different aspects looked at in this study does not lead to an argumentation of which programme is the 'best' or 'most successful'. The programmes are all very different, so are the participants and coordinators, and therefore no such ranking can be made.

This chapter serves as a basis for the understanding of the cases and the coming empirical analyses. Therefore, the following description will not be linked to the theory yet. This will be done in the coming empirical chapters. This chapter focusses on introducing the cases by shortly discussing history, intention and content. The introduction of the cases is organized as follows: (1) University of Amsterdam, (2) NPO New to the Netherlands (3) ICLON and (4) BIM. In the following chapters the cases will be abbreviated in this manner: UvA, NPO, ICLON and BIM.

4.1. Case 1: University of Amsterdam

The University of Amsterdam (UvA) has been involved in work experience programmes for 'people with a distance to the labour market' for many years. Projects focussed on refugees are part of these wider programmes. The idea behind study-work programmes at the University of Amsterdam is based on a deep-rooted feeling of societal responsibility as a university. One of the coordinators describes this as idea as: *"we as a societal organisation should give a piece back of all the subsidy and money to people with a distance to the labour market"*.

The decision to increase work experience positions for refugees came from a higher level of the university's management. The coordinator states that the university wanted to react to the growing influx of refugees. The inclusion of refugees is also in line with the universities diversity policy. According to the coordinators of the current program, the University of Amsterdam is a good spot for study-work programmes for refugees, due to the fact that they offer research positions and their supportive staff is high educated. This implies that they have many working positions available at a high level, which fits well with the idea that many newly incoming refugees are high educated.

On a more personal note, the Coordinators of the study-work programme explicitly expressed their intrinsic motivation and intention of coordinating such a programme. Both coordinators are touched by the influx of refugee's due to war, and therefore want to work on this societal cause in their daily lives. They were pleased with the fact that the university wants to take more responsibility. One of the two coordinators has worked with refugees for the past 10 to 15 years, while the other recently started working in this field.

As stated above, the University of Amsterdam has been organizing work experience programmes during the past years. The past work experience programmes were smaller, in the sense that there were only positions for a small group of

participants. This year the university started with a bigger project where six refugees could start a work experience trajectory. In addition to the enlargement of the programme, it also experienced some financial rearrangements. The current trajectory lasts for six months. While conducting the interviews, the first group (of six participants) had just finished and the second group was in the process of selection and placement. For the second group a maximum of 10 study-work programme positions are offered.

The study-work programme was divided into the three basic elements as explained in the previous chapters: language training, professional development workshops and work experience positions. However, the main activity of this programme was the work experience position. The six participants were placed at different departments within the university and worked there for three to four days a week on mostly administrative activities like filling out databases. One day a week training was organized, this could be focussed on language or professional development.

The work experience positions are unpaid, due to a lack of finances. The coordinators state that if UvA would offer a salary, then even less participants would be able to join the programme due to the costs. The participants received financial allowance from the local municipality during their participation. Both coordinators agreed that programme still needed some development and fine-tuning for the coming programmes to be more successful.

4.2. Case 2: NPO New to the Netherlands

The NPO is the Foundation for Dutch public broadcasters. The idea to develop a project for refugees at the NPO started when in 2015 many refugees came to the Netherlands and the NPO felt the need to take action. The project started as an online platform for immigrants in the Netherlands to make necessary information accessible in other languages. This online platform is called “New to the Netherlands” (Net in Nederland) and offers articles and videos with Arabic and English subtitles. The intention was to make refugees feel welcome and provide them with the necessary information to start their lives in the Netherlands. At first, the project did not include refugees as editors. Only after the NPO concluded that the first project was not as successful as planned, the project was adjusted and opened up work experience positions for refugees.

In 2016, the NPO in cooperation with other Dutch public broadcasters started a work experience programme for refugees with a background in journalism and media. Study-work programmes fitted well with the diversity policy of the NPO. The idea to include refugees as employers came from the coordinator, who thought that it was necessary to incorporate the population that the platform was aiming to reach. The coordinator states that the intention to start a study-work programme for refugees was to at least help a small group of people to gain quicker access to the labour market and to learn how to function in a Dutch environment. The editorial department aimed at offering two participants of the programmes a real contract after the programme was

finished.

Before refugees were included as editors, the platform did not reach the aimed population due to the fact that many refugees were living in asylum seekers centres at that time and did not have access to the platform. Once the platform included refugees as editors, the number of visitors quadrupled. We can conclude that through this programme not only participants are supported by providing them with a work experience position, but also the wider community of refugees in the Netherlands benefits due to the development of the online platform.

In October 2016, five refugees started their study-work programmes at “New to the Netherlands”. These programmes initially lasted eight months with an extension of three months. The participants received a salary. According to the coordinator, it is fair to provide participants with salary, because the programme is a win-win situation: both the NPO and the participants benefit from the programme. As all study-work programmes, “New to the Netherlands” focusses on language, professional development and work experience. However, this programme tries to combine all aspects within the work experience. This implies that they do not offer special training or workshops to enhance the language skills or professional development of their participants. It is believed that both language and profession development will be addressed in the workplace. At the time of my interviews, most participants of the programme had just finished their contracts or were about to finish their contract within two weeks.

4.3. Case 3: ICLON

The study-work programme at ICLON is a teacher-training project for newcomers. ICLON is the Leiden University Graduate School of Teaching. The study-work programme at ICLON is an existing course for people with a bachelor and/or master degree to receive an additional diploma in the teaching of their own topic. The programme is a combination of lectures and in-class practice. During the practice (internship), the participants receive financial compensation depending on their internship organisation. However, this is not a salary.

When in 2015 the refugee crisis started, also ICLON felt the need to develop a programme to support refugees with labour market integration in the field of teaching and education. At first, ICLON offered programmes which introduced refugee teachers to the Dutch educational system and culture. The participants were selected on the basis of their former experiences as a teacher and the programme was specifically focussed on teachers originating from the middle-east. The programme existed for two years. Every year there were 24 participants. Furthermore, ICLON developed a programme for refugees who had experience as an English teacher. In this programme refugees were schooled to work as English teachers in vocational education in the Netherlands.

The programmes were mostly focussed on introducing refugee teachers to the Dutch education system. ICLON decided that these projects for refugees were not the core-business of ICLON (which is training people to become a teacher). This led to the

founding of a foundation aimed at educating teachers from the middle-east to work in the Dutch education system: *the mobile educator*. The mobile educator works together with ICLON to develop a study-work programme where refugees with teaching experiences will be trained to work in Dutch high schools by combining training on the Dutch education system with a regular teachers-training. Language training is also a big component of this programme.

According to ICLON, there is a lack of high school teachers in the fields of mathematics and science. Therefore, the study-work programme of ICLON and the mobile educator focusses on mathematics and science teachers to fill the gap in the Dutch labour market. The programme was intended to last 1 full year: half a year language training and professional development on the Dutch education system, and half a year the regular ICLON trajectory of teacher-training and work experience. The programme was supposed to start in September 2017, but due to complications with the selection and organisation, the programme was delayed until November 2017. This implies that parts of the professional training have been shortened to 1 week –instead of a couple of months-. The regular programme at ICLON remains the same (start in February 2018). This change in the programme means that the participants I spoke to were selected to start the programme, but the work-experience positions and trainings did not take place so far. However, the participants were already enrolled in language classes.

4.4. Case 4: BIM

The study-work programme at BIM is –just like the programme at ICLON- an adaption to a regular programme. This programme is focussed on civil engineering. This study-work programme is mainly a regular educational programme at the university of applied science in Rotterdam for people with a technical background to obtain a bachelor degree within two years. The programme is slightly adjusted so that refugee students can participate.

Thinking about the inclusion of refugees through special programmes in the university of applied science of Rotterdam is a relatively recent phenomenon. The coordinator got involved with UAF and these programmes because of the request from the labour market for more workers with knowledge of BIM. BIM is a new 3D-drawing programme for civil engineering and there are supposed to be many jobs available for people with BIM-knowledge.

Because of the request from the labour market, the university of applied science of Rotterdam opened their doors for refugee students to participate in their two-year BIM-programme. Unfortunately, these students experienced some difficulties, especially with the combination of language and learning the BIM-programme. To overcome this problem, the university of applied science introduced a special programme (a transitional class) to prepare refugee students for the regular programme. Refugee students are advised to first join the transitional class and thereafter participate in the regular programme. All of my respondents did this.

To be accepted to the regular BIM-programme students need to meet a couple of requirements. Refugee students need to meet the same criteria as regular students plus a Dutch language test. The regular BIM-programme is a two-year programme where students combine what they learn in lectures in their work experience positions. Students receive lectures for 1,5 days a week. Linguistic training is a basic part of the regular programme and all student need at attend these classes. Besides the lectures, students need to gain work experience for at least 24 hours a week. In general, most students find a working position and therefore receive salary. All students will receive a diploma when they finish the programme sufficiently. Because it turned out to be complicated to find enough work experience positions for refugees, the work experience requirements were adjusted and an internship is sufficient now as well. The second way in which the programme is adjusted to refugees is by providing extra coaching when necessary.

Chapter 5: The set-up of the programmes

We will begin our analysis with the *how*: how are study-work programmes organized? Study-work programmes exist through a cooperation between municipalities, educational institutions, employers and UAF. A beneficial cooperation including civil society actors is seen as an important aspect of study-work programmes, especially since the lack of coordination among actors has led to insufficient integration projects (as explained in chapter 1 and 2). Which actor should take which role in the question on how to enhance the chances of refugees in the labour market, is still up for further negotiation and investigation. The analysis of the *how* of study-work programmes will shine light on the different ways of cooperation.

As described in chapter 3, we will analyse the different ways that actors relate to each other through the lens of the triple helix concept. To recall the concept of triple helix, this chapter will firstly shortly describe the triple helix lens. In the following paragraphs, the models of cooperation are presented which illustrates the link between different actors in all the cases. In paragraph 5.6. we will compare the different models and link these to the triple helix concept: how do we reach a positive triple helix? We finish this chapter with a conclusion and answer the question: *How do different actors relate to each other in study-work programmes?*

5.1. The triple helix lens

As described in the methodology chapter, the relationships between actors can be analysed through the lens of the triple helix concept (See paragraph 3.3.1. for the model). Within the triple helix system, government, industry and academia are encouraged to come together. When these opposing principles come together new resolutions are found, this is called a positive triple helix (Leydesdorff & Etzkowitz, 1998). The strengthening of the triple helix by collaboration among actors will enhance development (Ranga & Etzkowitz, 2013). The model aims to inform policy makers on the potential of the collaboration between these actors and the understanding of processes of innovation (Leydesdorff & Etzkowitz, 1998). The triple helix model does not serve as a general recipe, innovation is interactive and context-dependent (Ibid.).

The triple helix model can be divided in (1) components (the institutional spheres of academia, industry and government), (2) relationships between components and (3) functions (Ranga & Etzkowitz, 2013). For this research, we will take a look at the components and the relationships between components. As for relationships between the components, Ranga and Etzkowitz define four types: collaboration and conflict moderation, collaborative leadership, substitutions and networking (2013). We will take a look at the different kinds of relationships applied to the cases in paragraph 5.6.

The concept of triple helix comes from the field of economy, but can be applied to study-work programmes in a simplified manner. We will use the triple helix model as a methodological tool to find out which actors are involved and what their relationships to one another are. In the following paragraphs, the relation between

component is illustrated by circle-models, just like the original triple-helix model as described in chapter 3. In the cases of study-work programmes, the component of industry can be broadened. Industry in the cases does not necessarily mean profitable businesses, solely in the BIM-programme industry is involved as a business. In UvA, NPO and ICLON, the industry is not commercial. However, the 'industry' components UvA, NPO and ICLON are the employers of the participants and therefore counts as industry in these cases. Furthermore, in this collaboration a fourth component joins the game, namely UAF as a civil society actor.

5.1.1. The vision of UAF

The strategy of the UAF for 2020 is to start a cooperation with regional actors like municipalities, educational institutions, other civil society organisations and companies to ensure that talent of refugees is not wasted. Study-work programmes are part of this strategy 2020. The idea of UAF is to take a linking role in these programmes and bring together their clients (refugees) and academia, government and industry to save time in the integration process and enhance the chances of refugees on the labour market. This collaboration vision can be illustrated in a model as follows:

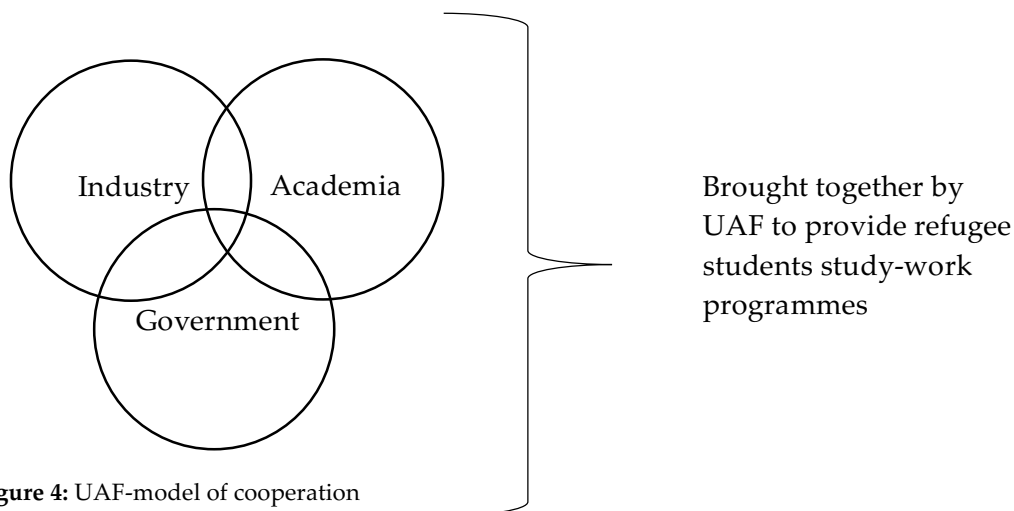


Figure 4: UAF-model of cooperation

The coming paragraphs will describe the relationships between actors and the role that UAF takes in practice.

5.2. UvA

"The highest management says: yes, diversity is important. However, somewhere in between the meaning got lost. Do we have time? Who said that it is important? We don't know. That can lead to frustrations."

One of the coordinators of the UvA-programme

In the study-work programmes of UvA the following actors are involved: (1) UvA as an employer, (2) UvA as an educator, (3) UAF as the civil society actor and (4) the

municipality of Amsterdam as the government. In figure 5 we can see how the actors relate to each other. The components with an active role in this programme are academia, industry and civil society. In the UvA model we can see that civil society has a bigger role than the government. The government in the form of the local municipality of Amsterdam takes a rather passive role (solely financing and recruiting) and can therefore be placed at the edges of the model.

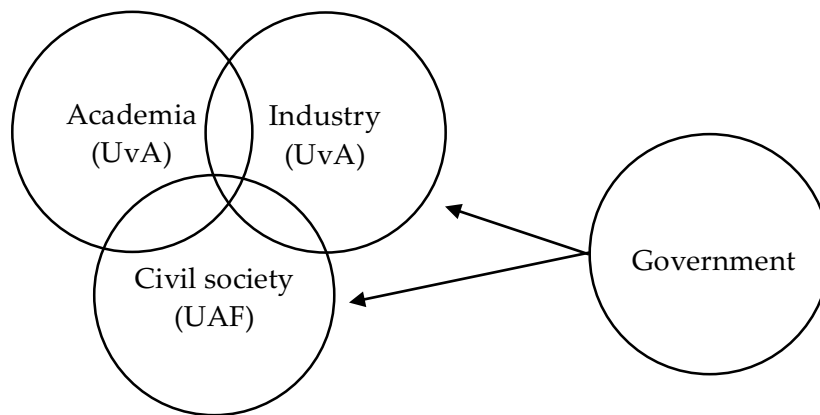


Figure 5: Model A. Cooperation between actors UvA study-work programme

The relationships and the corresponding roles can be described as followed:

1) Academia, industry and civil society

These are the three main actors. In the case of UvA, academia and industry is the same institution, namely the university. The university can be seen as the industry component of this programme, because it offers work experience positions. The educational role is in hands of both academia and civil society, who both have organized training on language and professional development. Some extra roles are taken by civil society, namely the recruitment of candidates, the personal guidance of the participants, the financing of participants and the development of aspects where the industry asks for it (in the case of UvA: training for employers and colleagues on how to deal with study-work programmes in the departments).

2) Government and civil society

UAF has an agreement with the local municipality that participants who are UAF-clients can receive financial allowance while participating in the programme. In this sense, government finances UAF-students and therefore enables them to participate.

3) Industry and government

The government supports the industry by recruiting candidates for the programme. The industry supports the government in the sense that, once participants finish the programme, these people will have more chances to enter the job market and leave financial allowance.

5.3. NPO

“Finally, I went to UAF for advice. Then they said: we can do that for you. I thought, that is great”

The coordinator of the NPO-programme

The study-work programme of NPO is organized by the following actors, namely (1) NPO as the industry, (2) UAF as the civil society actor and (3) the regional municipalities. In the case of NPO, academia is not involved. Figure 6 illustrates the relation between the actors. In the case of NPO, industry and civil society play the biggest roles.

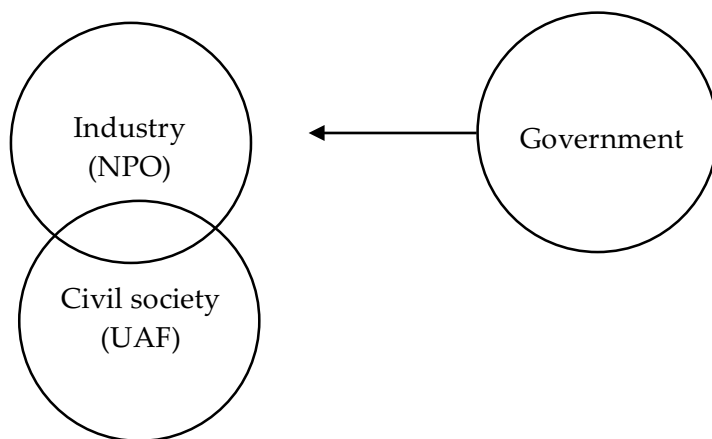


Figure 6: Model B. Cooperation between actors NPO study-work programme

The relationships and the corresponding roles can be described as followed:

1) Industry and civil society

The industry offers work experience positions. UAF has recruited among their clients for the study-work programme at NPO. Furthermore, UAF offered the participants individual guidance and counselling and, when necessary, organized professional development training. UAF has also offered coordinators and colleagues advice.

2) Industry and government

Besides civil society, the regional municipalities recruit candidates as well. With regional municipalities, I mean local municipalities of cities close to the NPO-office is Hilversum. Not all participants live in Hilversum, but for example also in Utrecht or Amsterdam. The industry gives back to those local municipalities by releasing the pressure of financial allowance by offering a small number of refugees a salary.

5.4. ICLON

“We tried to organize coaching with that club. The women’s club. (...) But one way or another, it did not work. Or it did work but we totally lost the overview.”

The coordinator of the ICLON-programme

At the study-work programme of ICLON, the following actors are involved: (1) academia in the form of the University of Leiden, (2) high schools as industry, (3) civil society in the form of UAF and the Mobile Educator, and (4) the regional government. Figure 7 illustrates the relation between the actors.

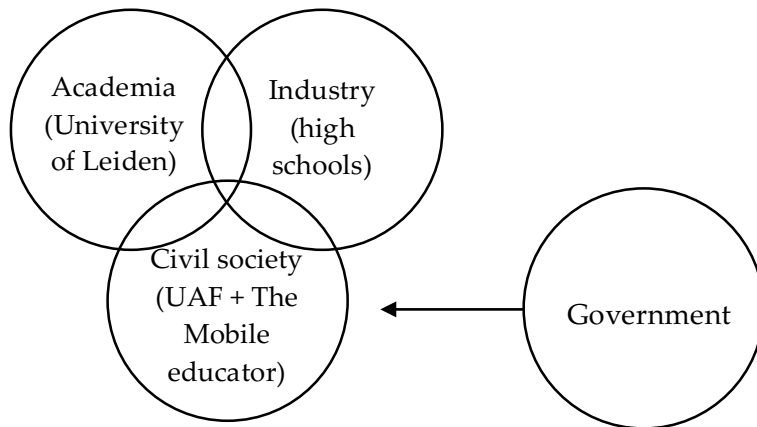


Figure 7: Model C. Cooperation between actors ICLON study-work programme

The relationships and the corresponding roles can be described as followed:

1) Academia, Industry and civil society

Just like in the first two cases, we can see that academia, industry and civil society play the biggest roles. The role of educator is taken by the university of Leiden and the Mobile Educator. UAF offers individual guidance and counselling to the participants. In addition to UAF and the Mobile Educator, another civil society actor is involved in the programme as external financier. The industry joins when the participants need a work experience position in the form of internships at high schools.

2) Civil society and government

As seen in the cases of UvA and NPO, also in the ICLON case the government takes a rather passive role, consisting out of recruitment and financing. In the case of ICLON, the government has offered financing to the mobile educator. Furthermore, UAF-clients are allowed to participate in the programme while receiving financial allowance.

5.5. BIM

“I think that we need to improve our cooperation with UAF before we want to expand these programmes”

The coordinator of the BIM-programme

The BIM study-work programme is organized by (1) the university of applied science Rotterdam, (2) industry in the form of individual work experience positions and (3) UAF as the civil society actor. The government is not involved in this programme. Figure 8 illustrated the relationship between the actors.

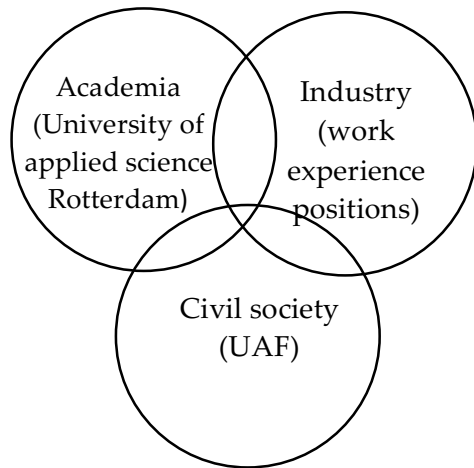


Figure 8: Model D. Cooperation between actors BIM study-work programme

The relationships and the corresponding roles can be described as followed:

1) Academia, industry and civil society

Like in the above cases, the main actors in the BIM-programme are academia, industry and civil society. Academia takes the role of the educator. Civil society recruits' candidates and industry offers work positions. When it turned out to be hard to find work experience positions for all participants, UAF offered assistance to look for positions in their network of industries. UAF worked together with Academia to organize a meeting where refugee students could get in touch with businesses.

5.6. Comparison

From the above description of the organizational models of the cases we can argue that the cases differ in collaboration system. Different actors are involved and the relationships between those actors vary. Three aspects emerge from a comparison between the models: (1) the government-industry-academia components and the additional component of civil society, (2) the relationships between the components and (3) the geographic element of the organization.

5.6.1. The components: government, industry, academia and civil society

In the cases of this study, we can see an evolvement in the model of triple helix in contemporary society. The triple helix concept was established in the 1990s when *“universities and industry were exhorted by policy makers to work together more closely for the benefit of society”* (Smith & Leydesdorff, 2016 p.321). However, in contemporary times, we can see that a fourth actor can be added to the collaboration to find solutions to problems facing society where the three former actors were not able to find sufficient solutions. As described in chapter 1, many Dutch integration projects are in the hands of local governments and are often perceived as insufficient and inappropriate for the situation of refugees (Wittenberg, 2017, February 13; Castels et al., 2014). This lack of proper integration projects forms the basis of the need for a fourth actor to step in. Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz argue that in the knowledge society, we can see different institutional spheres taking over the role of the other (1998). We can find this in the case of study-work programmes as well, where civil society joins the collaboration and takes a substitutive role where former projects and collaboration seem insufficient. The relationships between the components will be further elaborated on in the following paragraph.

5.6.2. The relationships between the components

Ranga and Etzkowitz describe four types of interaction between components: (1) collaboration and conflict moderation, (2) collaborative leadership, (3) substitution and (4) networking (2013). In the cases of this research, we can define the relationships forms as collaborative leadership, substitution and networking.

First, we can define the relationship between components as collaborative leadership, because *“all parties strategically chose to cooperate in order to accomplish a shared outcome”* (Rubin, 2009). In the case of study-work programmes, actors come together to accomplish a shared outcome of including refugees in higher education and the labour market. Of course, every component has its own agenda as well, e.g. lack of employees or diversity-policy. However, in general we can see that all components joined this programme because of shared good intentions towards refugees' participation in the labour market.

Second, we can argue that civil society takes different roles in the different cases: a combination of a substitutive and networking role. First, let us define the relationship that civil society takes in study-work programmes as substitutive. The substitutive relationship can be defined as *“spheres fill gaps that emerge when another sphere is weak”* (Ranga & Etzkowitz, 2013). According to Ranga and Etzkowitz, often the substitutive role is taken by the government. However, in the case of this research we can see that civil society takes a substitutive role and supports the programmes where gaps or faults appear. UAF always takes a networking role and provides guidance for their clients, but when the situation asks for it, UAF steps in to fill gaps. For example, UAF takes a developmental role in the UvA programme. UAF takes over the role of academia to provide development of trainings for industry to better deal with refugees in the workplace. A second example, the substitutive role of UAF to fill the gaps in the

BIM-programme. where it turned out that it is complicated to secure working positions for all participants. UAF worked together with academia to provide opportunities for participants to get in contact with potential employers. It is noteworthy that the government takes a passive role in the study-work programmes. We can link this with the ideas presented in chapter 1, where we discussed why government projects on integration are often insufficient. This led to the call for civil society actors to get involved.

UAF wants to take a networking role (as illustrated in figure 4), because civil society actors can be the link between refugees (and their profiles) and the labour market. According to Ranga and Etzkowitz (2013), a networking relationship in the triple helix is *“more flexible than hierarchies, more invested in the public good than markets and more effective in responding to changing conditions than either hierarchies or markets”* (2013, p.15). In this sense, a networking relationship can be seen as the middle way. UAF does take a networking role when they link refugees to the labour market and higher education. For example, in the BIM-programme where UAF organized a meeting where industry and candidates came together or the recruitment of UAF under their clients to join the ICLON-programme. However, we can see that the models of the cases are not similar to the model as described by UAF. As described above, we can see that UAF takes on a combination of roles: a substitutive and a networking role.

When we look beyond the above described forms of relationships, we can distinguish bilateral and trilateral relations. In the organizational models of the cases as presented above, we can differentiate bilateral cooperation, trilateral cooperation or a combination of the both. For example, a trilateral cooperation between industry, civil society and academia, and a bilateral cooperation between government and civil society within one model. However, the relationships between the components is ever in transition because each partner develops its own mission besides the mutual social goal (Smith & Leydesdorff, 2016).

We can see that all cases differ in the way the programmes are organized and the way relationships are formulated. Even though the organization of the programmes differs, all cases state that the collaboration between actors can use improvement. The study-work programmes have just begun or finished their first round, therefore there are always points of development. The cases underscore this everlasting transition of collaboration by illustrating how the relationships between the partners is developing on the basis of the experiences of the programmes.

5.6.3. Geography and the triple helix model

The triple helix model takes geography (social and spatial proximity) into account in the analysis of the collaboration (Smith & Leydesdorff, 2016). In the case of study-work programmes, we see that the collaboration take place at a local/regional level and not on a national level. This can be linked to the perception that integration is a local process and that local institutions are closer to the target population (Scholten, 2013; Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). As described in chapter 2, in contemporary society more responsibilities lie at the local level due to decentralisation and budget cuts. The local

synergy between the components is accentuates the idea that diversity is often already seen as an asset at the local level (Hoekstra, 2015).

Furthermore, the locality of the programmes can offer an extra layer to the debate on exclusion. The aspect of locality implies that programmes are shaped in one place, but not in others. The location of refugees therefore influences their ability to access such programmes as well as their profile. This is in line with research done by Auer, who focusses on language and labour market in Switzerland (2017). He concludes that the placement of refugees has effect on their employment chances. In the case of Auer, refugees had substantially higher probabilities of finding employment when they were placed in regions with a language that matches their linguistic skills. If we assume that study-work programmes lead to bigger chances in the labour market, then refugees who are accommodated in regions where these programmes take place have higher probabilities of labour market integration than refugees placed in for example smaller towns in the countryside.

5.7. Conclusion

From the comparison between the different organizational models we can conclude that there are several ways to organize study-work programmes and actors take on different roles depending on the context. Even though all cases deal differently with the collaboration, all feel the need to develop the organization. This highlights that the triple helix model is not a general recipe for innovation and that it is highly dependent on the context. Different forms of collaboration can lead to a positive collaboration. Furthermore, the organization of study-work programmes is ever transitioning towards a form that will fit with the context and all the actors involved.

In the case of study-work programmes, we can see that a fourth component joins the collaboration: civil society in the form of UAF. The role that UAF takes in the study-work programmes is a convergence of a networking and a substitutive role. This is in line with what scholars think about the role of civil society in the integration process. This substitutive role can be seen as feasible because of the small-scale temporary projects. However, if study-work programmes are to become a standard part of the integration process, how much longer can civil society actors take over the roles of 'weaker' spheres? If it is the case that the organizational structure of the programmes will transition towards a structure that fits with the situation and the actors, the problems concerning 'weaker' spheres or gaps will most likely automatically be solved.

It is noteworthy that the collaboration between components exists on a local level. This has influence on the chances of refugees to participate. Besides the profile of a refugee, the location also influences their ability to access such programmes. This adds an extra level of in- and exclusion to the programme, which we will further discuss in chapter 6.

When we see that more and more study-work programmes are formulated and organized by the collaboration of the components on a regional level, we can say that the triple helix model can become a movement for generating development (Almeida,

2005). This might lead to a sustainable integration of study-work programmes in the field of refugee integration in the Netherlands and to more a growing number of refugees gaining access to the labour market. Important in the development of the collaboration is the involvement of the main actor: refugees. However, in the interviews with the coordinators on the topic of collaboration and organisation, this did barely come forward. The involvement of UAF in the development of the programmes will partly solve this problem, due to the fact that UAF has expertise on the issue and is closely involved with the target population. The involvement of refugees' opinions in the development of these programmes is the only way to hold positive outcomes and eventually break the structure of exclusion and marginalization.

Chapter 6: In- and exclusion by recognition

The four cases have different approaches when dealing with the recognition of profiles, and therefore with in- and exclusion practices within their programmes. Does the recognition of the profiles of the participants influence the outcomes of the programmes (the gained capital)? This chapter will take a look at the processes of in- and exclusion by recognition of refugees' profiles within study-work programmes. As described in chapter 2, the recognition of profiles is an important step in the new approach to integration.

Before we can take a look at the different approaches of the cases, we need to start from the beginning. The first step of in- and exclusion concerning study-work programme starts at UAF. Therefore, paragraph 6.1. will introduce the process of becoming a client at UAF. All my respondents are UAF-clients and this enabled them to participate in the study-work programmes. Second, we will take a look at the different ways of recognition of the cases in two phases: (1) the selection to get accepted in the programme and (2) the recognition once candidates are participating. Later on, we will compare the different processes of inclusion and recognition and take a look at some theoretical ideas concerning these processes. We finish this chapter with a conclusion and answer the sub question: *how do study-work programmes deal with the recognition of refugees' former study- and work experiences?*

6.1. The in- and exclusion of UAF

In the Netherlands, UAF is an important actor in the process of recognition of refugees' profiles. Before an individual can become a 'client' of UAF, they undergo a screening test to identify the individuals former learning and working experiences. UAF selects clients according to a study related research (UAF, 2015). This study related research takes educational background, language, motivation and 'study vitality' into account (ibid.). Recently, UAF has changed this test to a 'capacity-test' from an external source instead of taking their own tests. This change is due to high numbers of newcomers in the Netherlands since 2015 and the shortage of staff members of UAF to cope with the growth of clients. To sum up, UAF selects refugees who are –according to UAF- acceptable to continue studying/working, this means that there is still a group of refugees who gets excluded from being a UAF-client. All my respondents were UAF-clients, but not all participants of study-work programmes have to be UAF-clients. However, in practice, it turns out that almost all participants are involved with UAF. This can be explained by the fact that UAF links her clients with projects, educational institutions and employers.

6.2. UvA

“It is something I learned from my experiences. It has to be a match on a professional and personal level. Otherwise it won't work”

One of the coordinators of the UvA-programme

6.2.1. Selection procedure

To participate in the UvA study-work programme, the candidates need to send their resume to the coordinators and meet the coordinator in person at an information session. After a short interview, the coordinators try to match the profile of the participants with a department of the university. During this matching procedure, the profile of the participant is the starting point. Before the candidates are officially matched and sign a contract, the boss of the department where the student is placed has the final say. Not all candidates are matched in practice. From the 24 candidates who applied for the study-work programme, solely six started the programme. This high drop-out rate can be explained by the insufficient linguistic skills of some candidates and in some cases no proper match could be made to departments of the university, for example candidates with a technical background.

The coordinators match on content, not specifically on tasks. For example, my respondents were placed in a financial department because of their educational background and work experience. However, as we will discuss in paragraph 6.2.2., the tasks did not necessarily match with the capacities of the candidates.

The individual customized matching is time-consuming: the selection procedure and matching took $\frac{3}{4}$ years, while the programme itself takes 6 months. Due to the amount of time that this approach took, the coordinators are thinking about changing towards a selection procedure based on vacancies. Through this adaption, it will be clearer what the programme wants and also what the participants can expect; managing expectations from both ways. Participants agree with this change of approach. They argue that the programme would benefit from more structure and clarity on responsibilities and duties of both parties.

6.2.2. Recognition within the programme

According to the coordinators of the current program, the University of Amsterdam is a good spot for study-work programmes for refugees, because the university has research positions and is an organisation where the supportive staff is high educated. This implies that they have many working positions available at a high level, which fits well with the idea that many newly incoming refugees are high educated. However, the coordinators have struggled with matching participants with tasks in the workplace that fits with their professional competences due to linguistic problems.

The mismatch between task and professional competences of participants has led to great dissatisfaction among participants concerning their work experience positions. Participants feel like their abilities did not match the tasks. According to one of the coordinators, it turned out that $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the participants was not properly

matched, due to problems in the workplace. The coordinator states that because of the level of linguistic knowledge, the participants often start at a 'lower' position in the department. Therefore, tasks often do not match with the wishes of the participants.

The coordinators argue that language is the most important obstacle. Participants are not matched on the basis of the content of the work experience position, because: *"they are not at that [linguistic] level yet"*. Ahmed declares that if his Dutch language was better, he could have expressed his profile better and that would have solved problems concerning professional downgrading. However, the coordinators argue that even though the tasks might not have been the perfect match, the most important part of this study-work programme is the chance of experiencing working life in a department which fits with the profiles.

However, even though participants were able to experience working life in the Netherlands through the programme, they express the feeling of not having learning any necessary aspects to further develop their careers. Mostly, the respondents speak about the loss of perspective for the future. Participants have felt stress because of the professional downgrading they experienced in the workplace. Ahmed explains this stress as: *"If you have a task, you gain confidence with yourself and you want to do more. But If I say to you: you cannot do this task, it is too difficult for you, you don't want to do more. (...) They tell you our job is more important than yours. You lose your trust"*. The mental wellbeing of Ahmed led to his wish to quit the programme. However, the coordinators offered him an additional course of professional development and therefore he continued with the programme. The lack of recognition also affected Kassem's mental wellbeing: *"I didn't go to work, because I was so tired and stressed. (...) I wanted to learn something more"*.

6.3. NPO

"My real profession is that I do work as a journalist. That is very important for me. I want to continue that, that is a crucial point."

Samiir

6.3.1. Selection procedure

The selection procedure of the NPO study-work programme had a different starting point than UvA, namely vacancies. The NPO had five vacancies for refugees from an Arabic country, with experience in media and journalism and language skills in Arabic, English and Dutch. To fill these vacancies, the NPO organized a meeting session. At this session 100 interested refugees attended. Afterwards, a regular selection procedure started where interested candidates could send their resumes, followed by job interviews.

Due to the experiences of participants and coordinators, the selection procedure of the coming study-work programmes will be slightly adjusted. According to the coordinator a language certificate of B2 in Dutch does not necessarily mean that the linguistic skills of participants are sufficient for the workplace. Therefore, coordinators are considering including a language test in the selection procedure. This test will not

necessarily be a tool to reject candidates, but to know what level the coordinators and colleagues should expect of the candidate. The participants also spoke of the inclusion of a language test to make the selection tougher. Anwar argues that the differences between linguistic and professional levels of the participants was too big. This had influence on the learning processes of the candidates: *“you go as fast as your slowest colleague”*. Therefore, Anwar argues that the selection process should be stricter or more attention should be paid to individual development.

6.3.2. Recognition within the programme

The participants of the NPO study-work programme express that they have felt recognition of their profiles within the programme and their working activities. There was room for professional development at group-level at the NPO programme. On an individual-level the participants have expressed the wish to learn more.

Even though both participants would have liked to see more individual development, they have experienced the growing of responsibilities and tasks during the programme. This implies that the coordinator and colleagues were positive about the work that the participants did and they felt confident enough to give the participants a bit more responsibility every month. In this sense, the profile and the developments of the participants were recognized. For example, the coordinator recognized the linguistic knowledge and professional skills of Anwar and therefore gave him responsibility over the whole Arabic section of the online platform. Besides the recognition of the direct colleagues, both Samiir and Anwar experienced recognition from other departments of the NPO and other broadcasters. During their work experience they were asked to support other departments with for example projects on the Middle East.

6.4. ICLON

“We lost many things in the war. The only thing that stays with me is my knowledge, my capacities... the teaching. It is really hard for me to do something else. I love teaching and I feel at home when I teach”.

Hassan

6.4.1. Selection procedure

The selection procedure of the ICLON programme started with an information session. 60 interested refugees attended this session. The ICLON programme offered 15 spots for teachers from the middle east, however, only four people were selected. This high drop-out rate can be explained by strict requirements to entire the University of Leiden. Solely four out of 60 people were able to meet those requirements. From this four people, two people came to the Netherlands as a refugee. According to the coordinator, the Dutch system offers no space for negation concerning validation of diploma's and the recognition of skills and experiences of people with a foreign education. The criteria that candidates had to meet were a minimum of three validated years of academic education plus a language level of B2.

The first projects that ICLON started to support refugee teachers did not have these criteria. To enter the past programmes, candidates needed to come from the middle east and have experience in teaching. These projects did not include the regular ICLON teacher training programme at the university, but were specially organized for teachers from the Middle East. However, the current study-work programme of ICLON includes the university on a different level, namely the participation of refugees in the regular study programme. Therefore, the participants need to meet criteria which regular students need to meet as well. The participants are not too positive about this, they feel that their experiences are not taken into consideration at all. The coordinator agrees and argues by saying that participants of the study-work programme are professionals, not beginners.

The biggest problem concerning the selection procedure is the official validation of diplomas as stated before. According to Ali, most teachers from Syria have four years of academic education (a bachelor). In the Netherlands, this will be validated as solely two years of academic education. This is not enough for candidates to participate in the ICLON study-work programme, where the minimum was set on three years. Both Hassan and Ali argue that this validation is unfair in the context of the study-work programme, because this means that people with one extra year of education can enter, but people with years of teaching experience cannot. Hassan explains his concern by saying that *“they just follow the book, full stop (...) this is the strict side of the Netherlands”*. According to Hassan there is no room to consider individual situations.

Besides the validation of diploma's, candidates need have B2 language level. However, even if a candidate has B2 according to the integration exams, this does not mean that the candidate meets the criteria of ICLON. To secure a position, a candidate needs to take another language exam to prove his B2 level. This means that the programme does not recognize the B2 level of the integration exam.

6.4.2. Recognition within the programme

Hassan has thirteen years of teaching experience and Ali has been teaching for eight years. Both participants do not feel the need to study education or pedagogics again. However, in the Netherlands, they need the degree to teach. Hassan states: *“I play according to the rules. The rules say get a degree. So, okay, I get a degree”*. Both participants were hoping on exemption from certain classes because of their former education and experience. Unfortunately, as the coordinator stated before, there is no room for negotiation in the recognition and validation system of the educational institutions. Participants will have to complete the entire programme to receive a diploma, and therefore, to have a chance to compete in the labour market.

6.5. BIM

“Looking at my resume, only my resume, I felt like I did not have a chance”
Hussein

6.5.1. Selection procedure

Just like at the ICLON programme, the BIM programme follows strict selection because of the involvement of an educational institute. Here the same rules apply as at ICLON: refugee students need to meet the same criteria as regular students. This did not lead to the big number of rejections as at the ICLON programme, because the BIM degree is accessible for everyone with a high school diploma. Furthermore, all students need to find a work experience position in the first months of the programme to be able to continue in the course. There is one extra criterion for refugee students, namely a level of B2 in Dutch.

6.5.2. Recognition within the programme

Both respondents state that their former education and work experience does not perfectly match the study-work programme. Both Hussein and Yasser have worked in mechanical engineering, while this programme focusses on civil engineering. Even though participants state that the programme does not match perfectly with their background, they do not see it as a major problem due to great job opportunities once they receive their diploma.

The main issue concerning recognition within the programme is the search for work experience positions. Participants of the programme are supposed to find a place themselves. However, for some refugee students this is an obstacle. One of my respondents was unable to find a work experience position or internship himself, he feels that employers do not take him seriously. This made him lose his confidence. He states that:

“The employer compares me to a Dutch student. The other speaks good Dutch and maybe even another language. Maybe he even has experience in the Netherlands and good experiences with Dutch people, he knows how to deal with them. According to me, the employer should pick him over me, it would be better for the business. (...) We, refugees, have experience, but when we apply for another job, our experiences vanish”.
Yasser

Hussein feels the same way as Yasser, even though he was able to secure a work experience position. He worries about applying for another job once the programme is finished: *“it is clear, I am from Syria. Nobody trusts me.”*.

To offer extra support for refugees with finding a work experience position, Rotterdam academy (the department of the university of applied science of Rotterdam that offers this programme) and UAF organized a meeting where businesses could meet refugee students. the coordinator states this meeting needs some adjustments, because the showing of interest of businesses does not necessarily mean that they take action to offer a position for a refugee student. However, the more businesses get to know study-work programmes and the participants, the more likely it is that in the future more employers will join.

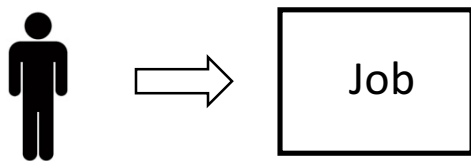
6.6. Comparison

This chapter discussed the different processes of in- and exclusion by recognition in the context of study-work programmes. We can see that even though the programmes all start with good intentions, both participants and coordinators experience obstacles with recognition and existing structures of in- and exclusion. This paragraph will compare the different 'phases' of recognition of the cases and link this to theory. The comparison is divided in (1) the selection procedure and (2) recognition within the programme. Furthermore, we come across the element of mental wellbeing in the context of recognition and selection.

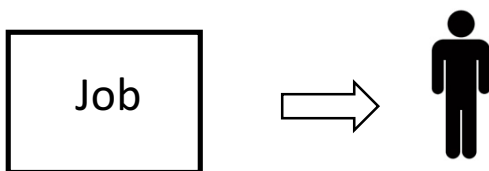
6.6.1. Selection procedure

In general, we can see that all coordinators struggle with the question: what does it mean to be highly educated? How different are people's knowledge, skills and capacities if someone is educated in for example Syria compared to the Netherlands? Roughly, we can distinguish two approaches of selecting candidates for study-work programmes. The two approaches can be illustrated as followed:

Selection approach A:



Selection approach B:



In selection approach A, the individual is the starting point from where a job that fits with the individual is looked for. This implies a personal matching procedure where the profile of the candidate is taken into consideration to find a fitting position. At the UvA study-work programme this approach was executed. This approach is most in line with the vision of UAF where customized guidance is highlighted. The vision of UAF is based on the idea of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) and implies that there is not one road that everyone has to take. Vertovec states that *"for policy-makers and practitioners in local government, NGOs and social service departments, appreciating dimension and dynamics of super-diversity has profound implications for how they might understand and deal with modes of difference"* (2007, p.1050). The obstacle that already comes to the surface with this customized approach is that it is a time-consuming and labour-intensive process and therefore might not be sustainable for the long run. How

super-diversity should be integrated in practices to better suit the needs and conditions of immigrants and other groups is still up for debate.

In selection approach B, the work position (or vacancy) is the starting point. This implies that an individual will be looked for who fits in the job description –who fits in the ‘box’. This is a more common selection approach to find employees and is used by the NPO, ICLON and BIM study-work programmes.

When we look beyond these two selection approaches, we can see a difference in the selection procedure because of the educational institutions that are involved. At UvA and NPO, no educational institution is involved as an educator. In these programmes, recognition is mostly based on a combination of diploma’s, skills and former work experiences to see if the individual fits with the programme. This implies that UvA and NPO take formal, non-formal and informal learning experiences into account. study-work programme at UvA and NPO have criteria in mind which the participants have to meet, but there is room for negotiation.

However, at the BIM and ICLON programmes, educational institutions are involved as educators and these institutions apply their own strict selection criteria. Even though refugees’ experiences might be recognized by UAF, this does not mean that employers or educational institutions validate these experiences, diploma’s and certificates as well. Often, institutions give recognition for prior learning experiences, but solely by recognising and validating the results of those learning experiences: the formal knowledge and competences (Andersson & Fejes, 2010). Educational institutions can ask for certain requirements and decide themselves if a refugees’ diploma is acceptable. When deciding if a diploma is acceptable, Dutch educational institutions often follow the advice of NUFFIC, the organisation that officially validates international diplomas. For the acceptance to educational institutions, we can see that only formal learning experiences are taken into account and that refugee students need to meet the same criteria as regular students.

The coordinator of the ICLON-programme argues that Dutch educational programmes are solely organized with a view to the influx of Dutch students and some international students (Germans for example), but higher education does not welcome all international students. Foreign educational systems are not always taken in to consideration in the context of acceptance criteria. Therefore, one could argue that the selection procedure is favouring domestic students and we can find a structure of inequality. Morrice (2013, p. 667) described this as:

“The subjective experiences of refugees in higher education are inextricable linked to the wider political and economic framework and the objective social reality of global inequality. The political responses to migration and globalisation are framed through policy and public discourses about citizenship and asylum which are driven by an imperative to restrict the movement of certain migrants and curtail entitlement to citizenship. Higher education is not shielded from or immune to these political imperatives: we see them played out in higher education through economic discourses which compete for and welcome some migrants (international students paying overseas fees as desirable and worthy subjects of support and attention, while ignoring and rendering invisible less desirable migrants: refugees”

The opinion of this coordinator and Morrice can be linked to the works of Bourdieu and Piketty on capital and education. Piketty argues in his book *Capital in the twenty-first century* that “the stated goal is to provide access to education for everyone, regardless of social origin” (2014, p.484). However, Piketty claims that in practice the goal and outcome do not reconcile. According to Piketty, unequal access to higher education is one of the most important issues that social states need to face in the 21st century. Often the public debate on unequal access to education focusses on financial selection, for example comparison between free university in Norway and the rising of tuition fees in the United States. However, Piketty steps away from financial selection and shines light on the subtle mechanisms of social and cultural selection. He states that the debate often stops at justifying the existing inequalities while ignoring the failures of the system. According to Piketty, there is no easy way to achieve real equality of opportunity in higher education and many innovations proved insufficient. The work of Piketty underscores the argument of Bourdieu. Bourdieu claims that the most important field to find these dynamics of ‘winner keeps winning, loser keeps losing’ is in education (Bourdieu, Passeron & Nice, 1990). The logics of this social reproduction goes on “*despite modern Western schooling systems being apparently based around the notion of meritocracy*” (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012)

The selection procedures of the educational institutions involved in study-work programmes are an example of how the access to higher education is unequal. During the study-work programmes some exceptions are made concerning selection procedures. These exceptions can be made because it is a temporary project –or as Kelly (2002) calls it a compensational or preferential programme-. However, it is likely that the influx of international students and employees is not temporary and therefore exceptions are not sustainable for the long run. This counts for access to educational institutions as well as the labour market. If we want refugees and other marginalized groups to gain sustainable access to higher education and the labour market, something needs to change within the system of inequality and recognition (Walzer, 1983; Young, 1980). Compensational programmes might be a step in the right direction toward more chances of success for all groups (Young, 1980). Andersson and Fejes agree and state: “*processes helping immigrants to enter new communities of practice could contribute to reducing discrimination based on misrecognition or non-recognition*” (2010, p.216).

6.6.2. Recognition within the programme

We can see that there is barely any room for negation when it comes to recognition of prior learning within educational institutions, how is this in the workplace? It has been suggested that recognition of prior learning can be done in the workplace instead of in educational institutions:

“The immigrant would have the opportunity to become part of a new community of practice where prior learning could be recognized and integrated with the learning process, which takes place as a result of being in a new practice. In this way, the

vocational part of lifelong education would move from mainly being part of the educational system to becoming part of working life"
(Andersson & Fejes, 2010, p.216)

However, in the practice of the cases of this research, we can see that recognition within the workplace can also be a challenge.

The recognition within the programme can be linked to professional development and the focus on the individual or the group. Let's take UvA as an example. It is interesting to note that the participants of UvA were satisfied with the personal matching on the level of the department they were placed. However, they express great dissatisfaction with the matching with the tasks that they were allowed to do. The tasks were described as too simple for the capacities and skills of the participants. This implies that besides the selection to participate in the programme, there is a problem of recognition of the profiles in the workplace. Thus, even though their profile has been recognized on one level (UAF and selection to participate in UvA), still the lack of recognition on another level might hinder the development and full participation of participants. Linguistic knowledge plays a big role in recognition in the workplace. Looking from the perspective of the refugee, the lack of linguistic knowledge to properly explain what a he or she is able to do can be seen as the main obstacle. However, taking the perspective of the industry, insufficient linguistic skills limits the number of tasks that someone can do. Thus, both from the perspective of the participants and the employer, insufficient linguistic skills can be seen as the base of the lack of recognition in the workplace.

furthermore, the focus on individual versus group development plays a role in the recognition in the workplace. We can see that most programmes are focussed on group development instead of personal development. Only the language training of ICLON is based on individual skills. The other programmes offer training and education for the entire group. However, this does not mean that participants of those programmes do not experience personal development. Participants from programmes where the component of personal professional development is missing at all, express negativity towards the programme.

We can conclude from the issues concerning recognition in the workplace, that when more attention will be given towards personal recognition of the profile, the programmes can also offer more aspects of individual professional development (including linguistic knowledge). This will lead to more positive results of the study-work programme and to more gained capital depending on the needs of the participants. However, just like in the selection procedure, an approach focussed on super-diversity and personal profiles requires a customized approach which is time-consuming and labour-intensive.

6.6.3. Recognition and mental wellbeing

Study-work programmes have an influence on the mental wellbeing of the participants. In the previous analyses, we can find that the selection procedure and recognition practices have effect on mental wellbeing. The lack of recognition can lead

to marginalization, which according to Young is a form of oppression (Young, 1990). This exclusion has an influence on mental well-being of refugees.

The link between mental wellbeing and refugees came forward in other studies in a variety of fields. Studies in the fields of psychiatry and psychology talk about pre- and post-migration traumas and difficulties potentially leading to depressions, PTSD and other mental health-related disabilities among migrants (Steel et al., 2006). Pre-migration traumas include for example death of family and friends (Steel et al., 2006; Carswell, Blackburn & Barker, 2011). Post-migration traumas or difficulties are linked to causes of serious stress, like fear of repatriation, unable to solve family separation and struggles with day-to-day issues in the host country (Steel et al., 2006). These studies do not pay a lot of attention towards the integration process.

Pre- and post-migration trauma's related to the integration process came forward in investigations in the field of migration and integration studies. Bakker, Dagevos and Engbersen talk about 'post-migration stressors', which have a negative influence on the mental-health of immigrants and therefore might hinder integration (2013). Post-migration stressors as described by migration scholars are for example a long waiting time, insecurity about the future and adaption difficulties. (Bakker, Dagevos & Engberse, 2013). The lack of recognition of the profiles of the respondents can be seen as a post-migration stressor.

All respondents speak about their experiences with recognition, or the lack thereof. When respondents feel that their profiles are recognized and they experience the increasing of responsibilities and tasks, they express positivity towards the future. However, when respondents experience a lack of recognition and have the feeling that the tasks they do are of a low level, they express frustration and feelings of injustice. A study on refugees and recognition in Sweden points to a similar outcome, part of their research population "*lost hope of ever gaining employment similar to the one they had in their homelands*" (Frykman, 2012, p. 77). This losing of hope resulted in the minimization of their ambitions and attempts to improve their job-relation situation (Ibid.). This highlights the importance of recognition for refugees as a basis for hope, and so for more chances at improving their labour market participation.

A study on refugees in higher education in the United Kingdom pointed out that even though refugees seem to be 'settled' once they are included in higher education or the labour market, the experience of being a refugee still plays an important role in their lives (Morrice, 2013). This study highlights that pre- and post-migration stressors influence the lives of refugees further down their path of integration, and not solely during the first phase of their migration. In addition, the analysis of the four study-work programme points out that also the experiences during the participation in higher education and/or the labour market influence the lives of refugees and can be seen as a post-migration stressor. Thus, traumatic experiences and difficulties during pre-migration migration and post-migration (uncertainty of status, waiting time, etc.) are not the only aspects that influence the lives of refugees. Negative experiences during a later phase of post-migration, namely the difficulties with participation/integration in educational institutions and labour market can be seen as post-migration stressors.

Recognition has an influence on mental wellbeing, either in a positive or negative way. Plenty of studies speak about migration stressors and the lack of recognition separately, but do not link the lack of recognition as a migration stressor to mental well-being as a possible obstacle for integration (for example Morrice, 2013; Andersson & Fejes, 2010). Besides post-migration stressors as uncertainty of the future and the long asylum procedure, more research needs to be done on the experiences of refugees during their integration phase and how this influences their mental wellbeing, and so the success of refugees in the labour market.

6.7. Conclusion

The comparison between the recognition practices and the linked processes of in- and exclusion has highlighted the importance of proper recognition, but has also shown that recognition is an enormous complex challenge. Good intentions form the basis of study-work programmes. The coordinators aim to support refugees with gaining access to the labour market. However, programmes encounter obstacles concerning a structure of exclusion, where there is little to no room for negation. Processes of in- and exclusion are visible through all levels, starting at becoming a UAF-client, towards living in the right area where programmes in your professional sector are offered (chapter 5), the selection procedure and even recognition within the workplace. Study-work programmes are aimed at including refugees, but by selecting they exclude others. The cases of this research deal differently with recognition, but all experience a struggle when dealing with recognition during different phases of the programme: the selection procedure as well as in the workplace. In general, we can state that processes of in- and exclusion exist throughout all levels of study-work programmes. We can conclude that (1) study-work programmes use two approaches of selection, (2) recognition within the workplace is a challenge and (3) recognition has influence on the mental well-being of refugees.

The recognition of profiles in the selection procedure can be seen as an instrument for sorting, classifying and in- or excluding refugees. We can distinguish two selection approaches concerning the selection procedure. One where the individual profile is the starting point, and the other where the vacancy is the starting point. Whatever selection approach is used, it remains a complicated task to transfer knowledge from one context to another: *“What knowledge counts and what does not count?”* (Andersson & Fejen, 2010, p.2014). Recognition of prior experiences often only focusses on the validation of formal learning (diploma’s) and struggles with the recognition of informal and non-formal experiences. The coordinator of the ICLON-programme describes this struggle as *“you have to be careful not to put refugees in a position where they are allowed to do things, which regular students aren’t”*. This especially counts when an educational institution is involved and participants need to meet the same requirements as regular students. In the selection procedures of educational institutions, we can find little to no space for negotiation, which brings us to the debate on unequal access to higher education and existing structures of exclusion. We can define this as a friction between the values of meritocracy and equality that lie at the

basis of the Western educational system and the reality of financial, social and cultural selection.

Recognition of profiles does not stop once a candidate is accepted to a study-work programme. Within the programme, and especially during the work experience and professional development, we can see struggles of recognition. Even though participants are accepted and therefore enter higher education/labour market, they often still cannot fully participate and experience down-grading, mostly due to insufficient linguistic skills. Furthermore, programmes are often established according to group development. However, if the goal of study-work programmes is for participants to gain the needed capital, more focus should be on individual development (language included). This leads us back to the challenges of the recognition of super-diverse profiles.

Study-work programmes influence the mental wellbeing of participants. The lack of recognition can lead to marginalization, and this social location has influence on the mental wellbeing of refugees. In chapter 2 we argued that study-work programmes can be seen as a special service aimed at reducing inequalities and give more chances at marginalized groups. However, as we see in the analysis of recognition practices, the lack of recognition can lead to further marginalization and psychological difficulties. But, when participants experience recognition of their profiles, study-work programmes enhance the mental well-being of participants and this can positively influence the chances on the labour market.

When we link the interplay between recognition and exclusion to Bourdieu, we can see that refugees' capital which had previously existed and recognized in the countries of origin has little or no exchange values in the new society, which can lead to exclusion from the 'game'. In the case of refugees in higher education and the labour market, Bourdieu's framework provides a vision of "*refugees in higher education not as being in deficit, but as being located in a field which fails to recognize or legitimate existing capital*" (Morrice, 2013, p.667) Perhaps study-work programmes will lead to a positive snowball effect at educational institutions and businesses to reshape recognition practices and slowly break the structure of exclusion. Positive recognition throughout all levels requires a customized approach that takes super-diversity into account. This approach is time-consuming and labour-intensive. Imaginably, a multilinguistic environment would help the obstacles of recognition in the workplace. Within the cases exceptions concerning recognition and selection have been made. However, exceptions do not break the structure of exclusion. How can recognition practices take super-diversity into account while remaining sustainable for the long run? There is a need to re-shape recognition practices in ways that lead to a standard of inclusion in the 'game', rather than exclusion.

Chapter 7: The combination of language-study-work

Now we know the background, set-up and recognition practices of the different cases, we can dive deeper into the combination of language-study-work in the study-work programmes. It is clear by now that the new approach to integration as described in chapter 2 aims to combine different aspects of integration in a time-saving programme, but how do these different aspects come together? This chapter will analyse the four cases and their different approaches to labour market integration through study-work programmes. We will discuss the organization of the three main aspects (study, language and work) in practice per case. We will reflect on the experience of the respondents concerning the development of the different capitals linked to the aspects. In the comparison paragraph, we will compare the different cases with each other and the existing theory on the concepts. We finish this chapter with a conclusion and answer the sub question: *how do different aspects of integration come together within study-work programmes?*

I have broadened the concept of study to *professional development* due to my findings. The concept still includes studying at a university or another educational institution, but also professional workshops and training sessions on CV-building or job interviews. To summarize, the concept of professional development addresses all educational activities that further develop the respondents resume and preparation for a career in the Netherlands. The paragraphs are divided into the three aspects –or a fourth one is added when necessary-. The order in which the aspects of integration are addressed depends on the approach of the study-work programme.

7.1. UvA

“I was very motivated to learn new things. I don’t have experience in the Dutch labour market. So, I thought these six months would be an added value to my resume. I wanted to learn something and also meet people (...). But, I did not get that”

Kassem

7.1.1. Work experience

The work experience positions offered at UvA are the main element of this study-work programme. This decision originated from the idea that all other aspects are addressed in the workplace. According to one of the UvA coordinators: *“the programme is mostly about gaining experience in the working space and learning the language during the job”*. Furthermore, the approach to focus on work experience is also based on the intention of the programme, which is that participants will find a paid job. The coordinators argue that refugees who join the programme are already high educated and are mostly in need of experiences on the Dutch labour market to thereafter find a paid job, rather than gaining even more higher education. This can also be seen as a reason to focus on work experience.

What is the substance of these work experience positions? Participants were

placed in a variety of departments in the university and worked there for two to four days a week on mostly administrative tasks, e.g. updating databases or scanning. One of the coordinators states that the most important thing is the work experience position, not the specific tasks that the participants have to fulfil, as previously discussed in chapter 6. The idea behind this is that in the workplace one will learn the basics which can serve as a nudge in the right direction. The coordinators admit that this is not the job most participants dream of, but at least they go to their jobs every morning. However, participants do not agree with coordinators. Even though both respondents believe in the idea of study-work programmes, they expressed great dissatisfaction with their work experience positions. The tasks assigned to them were too simple. Both respondents state that they have not learned anything from their work experience: *“The work was very simple. The environment was not good, I did not have a good time and I didn’t learn anything”*. The UvA case illustrates clearly the mismanagement of expectations concerning the programme.

7.1.2. Language

Combining linguistic trainings and professional development with work experience positions is relatively new for UvA. As expressed in the previous section, linguistic skills were supposed to develop during the work experience positions. Nevertheless, UvA had organized linguistic training sessions with a specialized language trainer. Every Tuesday afternoon participants were able to speak with this trainer individually or in groups. The focus of these sessions was mostly informal and formal language in the workplace. In addition, the language trainer supported the participants with the preparation for their mandatory Dutch exams (part of mandatory integration exams).

Respondents look back at the Tuesday training sessions as the best part of the study-work programme (this also includes professional training, see paragraph 7.1.3). Ahmed states that because of the language training he is not afraid anymore to speak to Dutch people. Ahmed feels that his language has improved a lot, which was also one of his main intentions for participating in the study-work programme. Kassem also developed his language, but he feels that he is not yet ready to participate in the Dutch labour market with his current linguistic skills. The improvement of their linguistic skills is a result from the language training. Kassem and Ahmed explain that during the work experience they did not improve their linguistic skills that much, because their colleagues did not have the time to speak to them.

7.1.3. Professional development

The UvA study-work programme did not have specific ‘blocks’ of studying or professional development integrated in the programme; because learning will be done in the workplace. As stated before, the candidates expressed frustration considering their personal development in the workplace. Ahmed expressed his dissatisfaction concerning professional development and asked the coordinators for a solution to this problem. Ahmed was offered an external workshop on a specific computer programme often used in his field. However, during the first months of his work experience nothing changed in his professional development and he even states that

he feels a loss of professional knowledge due to the loss of up to date knowledge on for example computer programmes for finances.

To prepare the participants better for the start of a career in the Netherlands a couple of sessions were planned to work on professional development with a career coach. These sessions were not specified for the work sectors of the participants (e.g. no special session focussed in working in finance), but served as a more general training on job interviews and resume writing. The participants were offered three individual sessions and two group sessions. Coordinators see these career coaching sessions as bonus and do not feel the need to extent this element of the programme. However, participants and coaches wish to see more training sessions focussed on professional development.

7.1.4. Additional aspects

Most participants of the UvA study-work programme were placed in different departments of the University. This means that besides the internal contact that participants had with each other and their coaches during training sessions, the participants had the opportunity to create their own social and professional network of Dutch colleagues. The coordinators see this as an additional benefit of the programme and one of them argues that: *“when you place someone in an environment where conversations are going to take place, or where the chance is bigger, than you help already help someone”*.

However, both my respondents were placed in the same department and did not feel that they were able to make important social ties with their colleagues. Ahmed explains that the atmosphere in the department was not great due to an intensive workload for all the employees. He believes that this is the reason why his colleagues did not have the time or energy to have conversations with the participants for more than 5 or 10 minutes a day. This implies that during the study-work programme Ahmed and Kassem were unable to gain a lot of social capital. Perhaps the department of Ahmed and Kassem was not ready to receive participants. The situation of participants building a social network might be different in other departments of the university.

Another extra element of the UvA study-work programme are cultural trips. This can be seen as an attempt to provide participants with extra cultural capital by developing participant's knowledge on Dutch art and history. However, according to one of the coordinators, participants were not really interested in joining these activities, because the participants were mainly focussed on the work experience position. Therefore, this element will be revised by the coordinators for future study-work programmes. The coordinators are thinking about changing the cultural trips into excursions to companies (as part of professional development).

7.2. NPO

“This work experience was the perfect entrance to the Dutch labour market for me. Now I can imagine that in one or two years I can compete in the labour market and just apply for a regular job in Dutch”

Anwar

7.2.1. Work experience

Just like the study-work programme at UvA, the programme at NPO mainly focussed on the work experience position. The same vision lies behind this choice of focus: language and professional development come together in the workplace. The coordinator states that she believes the study-work programmes at NPO introduce the participants to the Dutch labour market and prepare them for their next career steps. The intention is that, once the programme is finished, participants are able to work independently as an online editor.

All participants were placed in the same department of the NPO, namely the “New to the Netherlands” editorial office and the tasks were divided on the basis of the participants linguistic skills. All together they worked on the daily updates of the online platform “New to the Netherlands”. For some participants, this means working on something new every day, while for others the tasks were rather simple. Nevertheless, both respondents expressed gratitude for receiving the opportunity to work for NPO. For Anwar, this opportunity means the perfect entrance to the Dutch labour market. This also counts for Samiir who feels it was a *“once in a lifetime opportunity”* for a foreign journalist to work for an organisation as NPO.

7.2.2. Language

No additional language training was offered to the participants of the NPO study-work programme. Nevertheless, the coordinator argues that all participants developed their linguistic skills during the work experience positions. In the workplace, the coordinators and Dutch colleagues supported the participants with their Dutch language, by for example correcting e-mails and discussing all texts that the participants had to write.

Both respondents argue that their linguistic skills have improved a lot during the study-work programme. However, Samiir still does not feel totally comfortable with his Dutch to participate in the Dutch workplace. He experienced problems trying to apply for a new job due to his linguistic skills. He wished he spent more time and energy on developing the Dutch language before and during the study-work programme to enhance his chances on the Dutch labour market. The coordinator agrees with Samiir and wishes to include more aspects of language development in the future study-work programme.

7.2.3. Professional development

Just like the UvA study-work programme, the NPO programme did not offer special educational blocks. Development on a professional level was done in the workplace.

Both Samiir and Anwar expressed their wish to spend more time on individual development. They felt like the focus was too much on group development, which did not give them the chance to learn the things they felt were important for their careers. Anwar explains that he has many years of work experience and therefore he could easily understand the different tasks and felt like the group development was going too slow for him. The coordinator realized this and gave Anwar more tasks and responsibility within the editorial department. This means that in the case of Anwar, the coordinator considered the specific capacities of the individual to support the professional development.

Even though there were no specific days or blocks of studying, the participants were offered educational experiences to prepare them for the Dutch labour market. The same workshops were offered as the ones in the UvA programme: trainings on job interviews and resume writing. In addition, the participants were allowed to take a look in different departments of the NPO and other broadcasters. Both participants state that from these experiences they learned a lot of new important skills for the Dutch labour market, like creativity, take initiative and be pro-active. They have a better understanding of the way the Dutch labour market works and what is necessary to be a successful employee. Furthermore, these experiences have positive influence on their mental well-being. Both Samiir and Anwar are motivated and see a future for themselves in the Netherlands in the field of media. Samiir states: *“what I’ve learned will help me in the future. Not only for a career in the Netherlands, but also if I go to another country.”*

7.2.4. Additional aspects

The NPO programme pays attention to the construction of a professional network. As part of the professional development, participants received tours around different broadcasters and were sometimes able to join the working activities of a department of their interest for a day. Through these tours the participants have broadened their professional network by meeting people who work in the same sector. This even led to other departments asking the participant for help in certain situations. For example, a department was working on a history case of the middle east and asked one of the participants for advice. Samiir suggests for future programmes to divide participants through different departments so that the participants will meet even more Dutch colleagues in their daily activities.

7.3. ICLON

‘I have worked hard to improve my Dutch to be able to participate in this programme and to go back to my official job of being a teacher’

Hassan

7.3.1. Professional development

The different aspects of integration are of equal importance in this study-work programme. However, timewise the focus is on professional development. Most hours

are spent on professional development training by the mobile educator and by ICLON and the work experience positions. All participants have years of experience as a teacher and therefore the programme aims to introduce participants to the Dutch ways of teaching and systems of education to thereafter gain a diploma which allows the students to legally teach in Dutch high schools.

The professional development element can be divided in the training by the mobile educator and the training by ICLON. The mobile educator organizes a one week training on the Dutch education system. The mobile educator aims to introduce the Dutch educational system and professionalize teachers. In these training sessions participants will learn which skills are important for teachers in the Netherlands and how to develop those skills. In addition, the educational systems of the Middle East will be compared to the Dutch system. Both respondents did not exactly know the content of this week or what to expect.

The second element of professional development is the educational programme of ICLON (educational minor). This minor at the University of Leiden focusses on the theory and practice of becoming a teacher. This programme is open for all students with a university bachelor in any science. This implies that refugee students will be in class with 'regular' students. For half a year, students will have classes two days a week. The other three days are reserved for work experience. When students finish this minor, they will receive a diploma which allows them to teach in the lower years of Dutch high schools. Participants of the study-work programme will –besides gaining knowledge about Dutch education- gain cultural capital (a diploma).

7.3.2. Work experience

The educational minor of the University of Leiden exists out of professional development training in theory, but also in practice. This implies that all students need to find an internship position in a high school in the Netherlands for three days a week during the entire length of the minor. During these internships, students gain practical experience as a teacher in a Dutch school and will apply what they have learned in theory.

7.3.3. Language

Language training is also specific element of the ICLON study-work programme. All participants are enrolled in a language course on their own level at the language academy of the University of Leiden. The language course takes five months. How many days participants have language classes depends on their level of Dutch. The lower levels have several classes a week, while the higher levels just have one class a week. The participants may only continue the programme when they pass the language exam at the end of the five months. Ali has three language classes a week, but thinks this is not enough. He would like to improve his language in such a manner that in five months he reaches a level where he can find a job where Dutch is spoken as the main tongue. He is afraid that with only three classes a week he will not be able to pass the language exam and therefore will have to quit the programme.

7.4. BIM

“I have a family. Therefore, I do not have enough time for a long degree. This programme lasts two years and it combines theory and practice. I like that”

Yasser

7.4.1. Work experience

Just like the study-work programme of ICLON, the BIM programme deals with the different aspects individually. The biggest part of the programme is the work experience, where participants need to work for at least 24 hours a week. Most of these work experience positions are paid. Students will apply what they learn in lectures in their work experience position. The practice element of this study-work experience is of great importance according to the coordinator and also the participants focus mainly on the work experience position: *“I would like to work more than three days (...) it is busy, but it is better”* (Yasser). Both respondents argue that besides learning about the way Dutch businesses work, their Dutch language will improve in the workplace as well.

7.4.2. Language

Every other week, the programme offers a language training. This training is not only for refugee students, but for all students participating in the regular BIM-programme. During this classes, students learn the Dutch language on a high level. According to Hussein and Yasser, these classes are too complicated and they will learn more during their work experience. Even though Hussein and Yasser are not too positive about the language training, both respondents call for a specific type of language training, namely training on concepts and terminology of engineering. Hussein states that it hinders him during his job that he does not know the concepts and terms that are often used by his colleagues.

7.4.3. Professional development

Once a week, classes on professional development are offered. According to Hussein, combining working with studying is heavy. However, he argues that it is worth it, because once he has his diploma he will be a BIM-modeller and will have plenty of job opportunities.

Besides the study programme of BIM, refugee students also received training from UAF on how to apply for jobs in the Netherlands. Yasser is positive about this training because he learned how to present his weak and strong points. However, he feels like the training did not prepare him for job interviews in practice, because they are very different from what he learned in the training.

7.5. Comparison

This chapter has illustrated the different ways in which language-study-work come together in the four cases. The intentions of the programmes are the same: to help refugees with quicker labour market integration, but the approach to achieve that goal is different. This paragraph will compare the different approaches and discuss to which extent the outcomes (experiences of the participants) are in line with the approaches. Furthermore, a noteworthy additional element is discussed, namely influence of the study-work programmes on mental wellbeing.

7.5.1 Approaches and gained capital

In the above paragraphs, we have seen the different ways in which the study-work programmes approach the combination of language, study and work experience. We can find a dichotomy in approaches: one approach focusses more on the work experience and believes all other aspects come together in the working space, while the other approach treats all aspects separately. Approach 1 matches with the idea that participation in the labour market will not only address economic integration, but will also address other aspects like linguistic knowledge and social network. Approach 2 splits up the different forms of integration and specifically focusses different parts of the programme on different forms of integration.

But do these approaches match with the experiences of the participants? Which capitals did the participants gain in practice? Did the programmes reach their intentions? In the schemes below, we can see the difference between the approaches and the gained capitals. Scheme 1 illustrates the main focus of the programmes, while scheme 2 illustrates the gained forms of capital by the participants. The data in scheme 2 only represents the gained capitals as the respondents expressed them. It can happen that other participants –who did not join this research- have different experiences. In addition, for ICLON and BIM it cannot be stated which capitals the respondents gained due to the fact that the programmes did not finish yet. The filled in capitals are therefore only capitals that will be gained when participants finish the entire programme, like a diploma. The gaining of social capital is very personal and therefore can differ between participants. To know which capitals the respondents gain from the BIM and ICLON programmes, an extra research after graduation is necessary. To wrap up, no general conclusions can be drawn from this comparison. This comparison serves as a way to gain insight in the way different approaches lead to the development of different capitals in the specific situations of the respondents.

I will short recap the idea of capitals and labour market integration as described in chapter 2 to refresh our minds. It is supposed that the amount of capital an individual has, influences his/her chances at success in the field of labour. Study-work programmes are a way for refugees to gain extra capital, which therefore might enhance their chances of success in the labour market and break the structure of unequal opportunities.

	Work experience	Language	Professional development	Extra aspects:
Uva approach 1	Most important (all other aspects come together in the workplace)	important	A bit important	Cultural trips
NPO approach 1	Most important (all other aspects come together in the workplace)	Not a specific part of programme	Not a specific part of programme	Professional network
ICLON approach 2	The intention is that all aspects will be addressed individually and of equal importance			
BIM approach 2	The intention is that all aspects addressed individually (Work experience and professional development most important)			

Scheme 1: What is the focus of the cases?

	Economic capital	Social capital	Cultural capital
Participants UvA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work experience 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linguistic skills • Norms and values of the labour market
Participants NPO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income • Work experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional and social network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linguistic skills • Norms and values of the labour market
Participants ICLON	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income • Work experience 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linguistic skills • Diploma • Norms and values of the labour market
Participants BIM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Income • Work experience 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linguistic skills • Diploma • Norms and values of the labour market

Scheme 2: which forms of capital did the participants gain?

In scheme 1 we can see the dichotomy between approach 1 and 2. In study-work programmes at UvA and NPO, the main activity was the work experience and the other aspects (and capitals) were supposed to be addressed in the workplace. Approach 1 is therefore in line with the idea of Kuhlman (1991) that different integration elements come together: social, economic and cultural elements intertwine in reality. We can link this to the ideas of Ager & Strang, who state that in labour

market integration many relevant aspects of integration come together, for example network and language skills (2008). This vision is applied to the practice of study-work programmes at UvA and NPO, where little or no individual attention is given to the different aspects of integration, but all aspects are supposed to come together in the workplace. This implies that different forms of capitals are supposed to be gained during the work experience, how did this turn out in practice?

In scheme 2 we can find an overview of the gained capitals as expressed by the respondents. We can see that even though both UvA and NPO both have the same approach; the experiences of the participants are not the same. Let's start with the experiences at UvA. Ahmed expresses that his participation in the UvA study-work programme will not help him with his labour market integration in the future. Besides more linguistic knowledge, both Ahmed and Kassem do not feel that they have gained a lot from their participation. According to the respondents, most knowledge was gained in the field of language (cultural capital) and professional development on a more general level, namely knowledge on how the Dutch labour market works and how to write resumes in the Netherlands. This means they have learned the norms and values, the culture of the working life (cultural capital). Even though both respondents were not too positive about their work experience, their participation does mean that they have gained half a year of experience on the Dutch labour market and have developed their resume (economic capital). Due to the experiences of the respondents, we can argue that the outcome of the approach of UvA might not have turned out the way they were hoping it would, but both respondents did gain economic and cultural capital. The main reason for the dissatisfaction with the UvA programme are the experiences in the workplace. This has to do with the matching between the candidate and the work experience position.

The study-work programme at NPO also worked according to approach 1, but had a total different outcome than UvA. Both respondents from the NPO study-work programme express happiness with their newly gained knowledge and experiences and have the feeling that this opportunity will help them in the future. We can conclude from the experiences of the respondents that in the study-work programme at NPO all aspects of integration did come together and this led to the gaining of all three capitals. If we take the findings from chapter 6 and compare them to the findings concerning the content, we can see that the NPO was most likely more successful than UvA, because of the recognition in the workplace. The tasks that the participants at NPO had to do fitted better with their profile. Therefore, the participants were able to develop themselves on a professional level that matched with their former experiences

Approach 2 addressed the different aspects individually. The programmes at ICLON and BIM offered specific training for each of the aspects: special training for language, special training for professional development and a work experience position. This approach can be linked to the national Dutch approach of integration where different aspects of integration are dealt with separately and mostly after one another: first language, second studying, third working (Brink, 1997; Enbersen et al., 2015). This approach of separate attention is applied in study-work programmes. Even though, the ICLON and BIM study-work programmes pay individual attention to the

different aspects, the different aspects are not necessarily dealt with after one another. For example, at ICLON, linguistic training and professional development training take place at the same time even though they are addressed separately. Furthermore, we can see that the different aspects are not only dealt with individually: participants stated that they deal with all aspects in the workplace as well. This implies that in approach 2 both things happen: a special programme per aspect and the coming together of all aspects in the work experience position. How did this turn out in practice?

In practice, it can be expected that participants of the BIM and ICLON programmes in general gain similar capital. The outcomes are expected to be similar due to the very similar conduction of approach 2. Both programmes start with a preparation phase, where language and professional development are handled. Thereafter, both programmes turn in to a regular educational programme (including work experience position) and conclude in the receiving of a diploma. Therefore, participants of BIM and ICLON are likely to gain economic and cultural capital by finishing these study-work programmes. The gaining of social capital depends on the individual and their work-experience positions.

7.5.2. The gaining of capitals and mental wellbeing

Just like we have seen in chapter 6, study-work programmes have a great influence on the mental wellbeing of refugees. A note-worthy element that all respondents spoke of in the context of the content of the programmes is the gaining or losing of confidence and trust. For some respondents, study-work programmes have given them a goal and hope for the future: *“My motivation improved. It gives me the confirmation that I can work here and that I can develop my career”* (Samiir). While for others the programme left a negative vibe: *“I lost my trust, (...) I lost my enthusiasm”* (Ahmed). Besides the positive or negative influence study-work programmes have on language, professional development and work experience, we can also see an influence on mental wellbeing of the participants. As described in chapter 6, we can link the mental wellbeing of participants to the concept of migration stressors. Besides the lack of recognition, also a lack of the gaining of capitals can be seen as a post-migration stressor.

As described in chapter 2, reducing waiting time by study-work programmes are seen as a way to minimize post-migration stressors. This idea can be underscored by part of my respondents who feel that the confidence and trust they have gained minimized their stress and therefore might positively influence their integration processes. However, when study-work programmes lead to a negative experience in the labour market of the host country, it may be added to the list of post-migration stressors.

7.6. Conclusion

The previous comparison shines light on two main elements: (1) in general there are two different approaches found to handle the combination of study-language-work, and (2) study-work programme have influence on mental wellbeing. What can we

conclude from this?

The four cases are divided in two approaches. One where all aspects of integration are supposed to be dealt with in the workplace, and the other where different aspects of integration receive special attention in the form of specific training sessions. This implies that there are different ways in which aspects of integration come together in the reality of study-work programmes. The different approaches also led to different outcomes: not all participants gained the same amount of capital. We can argue that the gaining of capital is linked to the right recognition. When a participant was placed in a department with tasks that matched his profile, the participants expressed satisfaction with the development he had gone through.

Furthermore, even though this study is too small to make general statements about the approach and the amount of capitals gained, we can see that all respondents experience the programmes differently. This might also imply that the gaining of capital depends on the individual. This vision can be linked to the concept of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007): not all programmes have the same outcomes on all participants, because every individual has a different background. The outcome of the programme also depends on the match between the individual (and his or her background) and the programme itself.

The comparison of the outcomes of the programme led to an additional element that study-work programmes have influence on, namely mental well-being. All respondents speak –whether in a negative or positive way– about the influence the programme has had on their mental wellbeing and their confidence. Some experiences during the study-work programme can even be described as post-migration stressors. However, when participants feel like they have developed the needed capital, they express feelings of confidence and trust towards the future.

Chapter 8. Discussion & conclusion

“My motivation has increased. This programme gives me the confirmation that I can work here and that I can develop my career here.”

Samir, participant of a study-work programme

This quote is an example of an expression of positivity towards the future. This positive perspective, even though we have also discussed some obstacles, stands out throughout most conversations I had with respondents and informants. Can we state that study-work programmes are a success? What can we say about study-work programmes as a compensational programme and –even more important- what does that say about enlarging the entrance to the labour market? This leads us back to the main research question of this thesis: *To what extent do study-work programmes enhance the chances at labour market integration of refugees in the Netherlands?*

This chapter will answer this main question. First, in paragraph 8.1, we will shortly summarise and discuss the main findings. I would like to highlight two findings specifically, namely the potential of civil society in the integration process and the influences of study-work programme on mental wellbeing. Furthermore, in paragraph 8.2, I will present some recommendations for practice. In paragraph 8.3 I will answer the main question and lead us through more abstract conclusions. Lastly, we will take a look at some suggestions for further investigation and reflect on the limitations of this research.

8.1. Discussion

In summary, this thesis offers insights in the practice of study-work programmes concerning the set-up, the recognition practices and the gaining of capitals. Firstly, we can argue that the organizational set-ups of the programmes and the relations between actors differ per case. This underscores the idea that the triple helix model is not a general recipe, rather cooperation is ever-changing depending on the context and actors involved (Leydesdorff & Etzkowitz, 1998). It is interesting to note that, as expected from the literature, civil society plays an important role in the collaboration. As described in the chapter 2, civil society has great potential in the enhancement of integration in the Netherlands. I will discuss the potential of civil society in greater detail below.

Second, the cases highlight that recognition of former experiences remains a great challenge. In this study, we can see that recognition practices mostly take place at two levels: the selection procedure and recognition in the workplace. In line with the literature, recognition mostly happens according to the assessment of formal learning experiences. It remains a challenge to consider other parts of one’s profile. Insufficient linguistic skills often limit recognition, because participants are unable to communicate their profile properly. When we link recognition practices to theory of Bourdieu, we can see that refugees have capital (of their country of origin) but this capital is not considered legitimate in the Netherlands. This leads to processes of

exclusion throughout all levels of the study-work programmes, for example inclusion and exclusion because of geographical location, inclusion and exclusion of UAF, the selection procedure and recognition in the workplace. However, all actors involved are working on recognition of profiles and are in the process of developing recognition practices that work for both parties. It becomes clear from the case studies that positive recognition requires a customised approach that takes super-diversity into consideration. Perhaps study-work programmes will lead to a positive snowball effect that will reshape recognition practices.

Third, the programmes combine the aspects language-study-work differently. This implies that there are different ways in which aspects of integration and the linked capitals come together. However, this study is too small to draw conclusions about the link between approaches and the amount of capitals gained. In general, we can state that there is a great potential for participants of study-work programmes to gain the different needed kinds of capital (economic, social, and cultural) during the programmes and so enhance their chances in the labour market.

I would now like to pay special attention towards two findings, namely the potential of civil society and the influences on mental wellbeing. First, I want to discuss the role of civil society in the integration process. According to the literature, there is a great potential for civil society actors in the integration process (Engbersen et al., 2015). This case study underscores this idea by showing that the networking and substitutive role of civil society is of great importance to the formulation, execution and development of study-work programmes. We can see that civil society actors are more involved with the target population and can mediate between them and other institutions like the local government and industry. Civil society can be seen as the link between the different actors in this case study. Furthermore, by serving a substitutive role, civil society plays a big part in the execution and development of the programmes. Thus, the data presented in this case study highlight the potential of civil society in the integration process. It will be interesting to follow how civil society actors will develop their role in study-work programmes if the programmes will break free from the exception and become the rule.

Second, it is interesting to note that the findings on both recognition and the gaining of capital point towards the influences on mental wellbeing. As stated in the empirical chapters, mental wellbeing of refugees comes forward in other studies as well. What I find compelling is the vision of mental wellbeing as an additional form of capital. Studies on mental wellbeing as another form of capital can be found in literature on organizational behaviour, human resource management and psychology (Newman, Ucbasaran, Zhu & Hirst, 2014; Luthans & Youssef, 2014). Here scholars speak of psychological capital –or PsyCap-. Luthans and Youssef (2014) developed the term PsyCap to describe an individual's psychological capacities that can be developed for performance improvement. There are four main psychological resources that form PsyCap: self-efficacy, hope, optimism and resilience (Newman, et al. 2014). PsyCap is described by Luthans, Youssef and Avolio (2007, p.3) as:

“PsyCap is an individual's positive psychological state of development and is

characterized by: (1) having confidence (self-efficacy) to take on and put in the necessary effort to succeed at challenging tasks; (2) making a positive attribution (optimism) about succeeding now and in the future; (3) persevering toward goals and, when necessary, redirecting paths to goals (hope) in order to succeed; and (4) when beset by problems and adversity, sustaining and bouncing back and even beyond (resiliency) to attain success."

PsyCap is concerned with the questions: who am I and who am I becoming (Ibid.). In recent years, some studies have been conducted on the relation between psychological capital and employee attitudes, behaviour and performance on an individual and team-level. (Newman, et al. 2014) A study by Luthans, Youssef and Avolio (2007) state that individuals with high psychological capital have positive expectation about the future and belief in their own ability to deal with challenges in the job. These positive mental states motivate individuals to make a great effort and perform well in their job (Ibid.).

In light of the above vision of psychological capital, we could argue that post-migration stressors as described in the empirical chapters can be seen as cause for the lack of psychological capital of refugees. Due to traumatic experiences pre-migration and post-migration, refugees might lose their trust in the future. On the other hand, a positive experience in the host country's labour market can also lead to hope and satisfaction, and therefore to the gaining of psychological capital. Can we state that study-work programmes as a compensational programme support not only the development of economic, cultural and social capital, but also psychological capital? The question that remains is if psychological capital can be seen as part of cultural or social capital as described by Bourdieu, or is psychological capital an additional dimension that can be added to the equation to success in the game of social reality? I see a link between the effect mental wellbeing has on success (psychological capital) and the capitals of Bourdieu and would even argue in favour of psychological capital as a separate concept. Furthermore, psychological capital and Bourdieu's concept of habitus form an interesting discussion as well. However, these concepts come from very different academic debates and therefore I would suggest further research on the link between the concepts.

8.2. Recommendations for practice

The analysis of the data has led to a few recommendations for the future of study-work programmes. To ensure that study-work programmes are most beneficial, in the sense that participants are able to gain the needed capital during the programme, I recommend a step towards more customized approach which considers super-diversity. How super-diversity should be managed within the programmes without an overload of work for coordinators, is still up for exploration. There is a gap between a multidimensional and flexible approach in practice and the organizational costs attached to those approaches (Boccagni, 2015). For a sustainable future of study-work programmes it is important to develop a practice of managing super-diversity that is

not solely used as an exception, but is applicable on a larger scale. It calls for a *“flexible, open-ended and personalized approach to immigrant clients, it also requires organizational and professional resources – in terms of training, supervision and workload allocations”* (Boccagni, 2015, p. 618). Super-diversity in practice is a manner of working: it is the development of an understanding of diversity in practice and thinking, through which in the future a bigger group of people can be supported.

For the study-work programmes, there are a couple of recommendations concerning the consideration of super-diversity in practice. As the data point out, the more the programme fits with the profile of the participant, the more positive participants are about their experience. This implies that coordinators should focus on the specific - and super-diverse- profile of candidate and so utilize a personalized approach. It is recommendable that study-work programmes ensure individual professional development. This does not necessarily mean that all participants need individual training. It can be reached by giving participants tasks that match with their profile and giving them more responsibility during the programme. Furthermore, a more profitable programme can be ensured by a better management of expectations with the use of a contract for both parties, which may be translated in another language when necessary because of linguistic obstacles. On a more organizational level, coordinators and other employees involved in especially the work experience positions will benefit from training on how to deal with super-diversity and the incoming participants.

Some of the above-mentioned recommendations are already executed in practice. As stated before, the programmes are in development and all actors are busy adjusting the programmes for new groups. UAF is currently developing a training for the ‘industry’ actor of study-work programmes. In this training coordinators and future colleagues of participants will receive training on how to make the programme most beneficial for all parties and how to deal with the incoming participants. Existing programmes are working on different selection procedures for the following groups. Information meetings have been organized by UAF in cooperation with the healthcare sector in the north of the Netherlands to see if there are possibilities for the start of new projects in this field in that specific region. We can see that more partnerships are made and different regions are interested in joining. This underscores once again that study-work programmes are in development but can be seen as a growing phenomenon.

8.3. Conclusion

In general, the outcomes of this case study are positive about the development of study-work programmes as a beneficial compensational project. The cases of this research have highlighted the diversity of refugee’s background and experiences. Just like Morrice’s (2013) concludes from her research, this diversity can be seen as a reminder against universalising refugees with notions of trauma or victimhood. Rather, concepts as agency and super-diversity come forward from the stories of my respondents and informants. This dissertation highlights the potential of study-work programmes as a time-saving approach to enhance the chances of labour market

integration of refugees in the Netherlands. I dare to say that, even though the case studies have highlighted obstacles, study-work programmes are a success, because participants are able to gain different forms of capitals and thereby enlarge their chances at labour market integration. Furthermore, study-work programmes have the potential to slowly break the structure of exclusion concerning refugees in the Netherlands from both perspectives: refugees will find their position in the Dutch labour market and industries will get familiar with the qualities and skills of refugees in the workplace. This might lead to a future where the structure of 'winners keep winning and losers keep losing' will be broken and –to speak in terms of Walzer (1983) and Young (1990)- doors for equality and justice will be opened.

8.4. Reflection, limitations and suggestions for further research

The objective of this research was to gain insight in (1) the way different actors relate to one another in the practice of study-work programmes (2) processes of in- and exclusion regarding the recognition of former experiences of refugees, and (3) the way different language-study-work come together by conducting multiple-case study research from an insider's perspective. When we reflect upon the objectives of this research we can conclude that this thesis addressed all points. Furthermore, when we take a look at the relevance of this research as described in chapter 1, we can argue that this research has contributed to both societal and scientific knowledge and issues. The findings of this research have contributed to the societal evolvement of study-work programmes and therefore contributed to the development of integration practices. On a scientific level, this case study has provided insights in the role of civil society as an engine for integration practices, how different forms of integration (and capital) can come together and contributed to the amount of knowledge from an insider's perspective. However, there are still some limitations which I would like to address in this paragraph. These limitations lead to suggestions for further research.

One of the main limitations is that this thesis only provides insights in the gained capitals and the chances of labour market integration, but nothing can be stated about the actual labour market integration. This is the case because study-work programmes investigated in this case study have recently started and we only know from a few participants that they have left the programme to start a job. This leads to more questions: is the gaining of economic, social and cultural (and psychological) capital enough? Which role do other factors like discrimination play? Did all participants find a job on their own level and are they able to keep those jobs or even grow? Did the study-work programme lead to long-term labour market integration of the participants? Researchers in a variety of disciplines should continue conducting qualitative research to further develop integration programmes for refugees in the context of labour market participation. For future research, I would suggest a more longitudinal form to take a closer look at the outcomes of study-work programmes on integration in the long-run.

A range of methodological shortcomings have been mentioned in chapter 3. I would like to highlight one which I see as a main shortcoming, namely the narrow

research population. This narrowness raises questions concerning the other part of the refugee population. Firstly, this investigation only took into account male participants. It would be interesting to find out what the perspective of refugee women is on study-work programmes and labour market integration. Second, the participants of study-work programmes are already the 'top of the bill'. Participants have enjoyed higher education and have work experience in often respected professions. What about the other part of the group? People who not have these diploma's and work experience, but most likely bring other forms of expertise. What kind of compensational programmes exists for this group and does this enhance their chances in the labour market? Future research would be relevant for the investigation of chances of labour market integration for the other part of the group, because –as comes forward in this research- it is important to include everyone in the integration process.

Furthermore, on a more theoretical note, we have seen in the discussion that mental wellbeing can be linked to the concept of psychological capital which influences the way individuals perform on the labour market. Psychological capital is a new field of research (Newman, et al. 2014). The relationship between psychological capital and labour market integration of refugees calls for further investigation where disciplines of human resource management, psychology and human geography will intertwine. Also, the findings in the context of mental wellbeing trigger more questions concerning the different forms of capitals and the place that psychological capital takes in this theory.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List respondents and informants

Study-work programme	Name	Role
NTR	Coordinator	Coordinator
	Samiir	Participant study-work programme
	Anwar	Participant study-work programme
UvA	Coordinators (2)	Coordinator
	Ahmed	Participant study-work programme
	Kassem	Participant study-work programme
ICLON	Coordinator	Coordinator
	Ali	Participant study-work programme
	Hassan	Participant study-work programme
BIM	Coordinator	Coordinator
	Hussein	Participant study-work programme
	Yasser	Participant study-work programme

Note:

- Names of respondents are changed and made anonymous by the use of pseudonyms.
- Names of informants are changed to solely the name of their position (e.g. coordinator of the ICLON programme).

Appendix 2: Interview guide respondents

Note: react to the respondent's answers, ask questions about the answers.

Preparation:

- 1) Look up the respondent in the UAF-databases
- 2) Look up addition information on the respondent in Navision
- 3) Fill out the short profile below:

Name	
Contact information	
Age	
Country of origin	
Length of stay in the Netherlands	
Former education and diploma's (In country of origin and the Netherlands)	
Level of language	
Work experience (In country of origin and the Netherlands)	
Study-work programme + job description	

Take with you to the interview:

- 1) Per respondent 1x interview guide + attachment for PA-techniques
- 2) Pens, post-its
- 3) Audio recorder

Introduction

- 1) Explain why you invited someone:
 - what is your research about exactly
 - What are we going to do today (interactive)
- 2) Explain how you secure the respondent's anonymity.

Theme 1: Profile

- 1) Check the profile you made on the previous page with the respondent. Focus especially on education, work experience and language

Theme 2: Timeline

- 1) Explain this exercise: the respondent makes a timeline of his/her personal study-work trajectory. With this help of this timeline the researcher will get a proper image of the trajectory. The goal is to develop an overview. The timeline is chronological: start with the moment in time that the respondent heard about the study-work programme. Continue through different elements: e.g. selection procedure, preparation, start of the work experience/training, evaluation moments, end of the trajectory, etc.
- 2) Place the timeline before the respondent. The respondent writes down the different elements on post-its and places them on the timeline. Work with post-its so that the respondent can change and shuffle the different elements.
- 3) Ask about the different elements that the respondent writes down. How did [element] work? Who was involved? What happened after? What did you learn from this? What went well? Etc.

Note: Don't forget to ask about the guidance and coaching during the different elements. Who provided guidance? What kind of guidance? Did this type of guidance fit with the situation? (If not: why not, what would have been better?)

Theme 3: Change perspective: the respondent is the boss

- 1) Explain this exercise: we will change perspective. The respondent is now the boss of his/her own company and he/she decides to develop a study-work programme for refugees. How would the respondent do this:
 - select candidates + place candidates with a work experience position
 - combine different aspects of the programme
 - organize guidance
 - etc.

Theme 4: Profile sketch past and now

- 1) Explain the exercise: the respondent is going to make two profile sketches. This is an exercise of self-reflection. The research will get an image of the skills and competences of the respondent before the programme started and if (and how) new things are added to the list of skills after participation of the programme. The goal is to find out whether or not the study-work

programme has had a positive effect on the 'profile' of the respondent and how.

- 2) Place the first profile sketch (before participation) on the table. The respondent will write down his/her capacities, skills and knowledge on post-its. This can be anything: hard and soft skills, linguistic knowledge, work-experience, etc. Once the profile sketch is finished, ask the respondent what he/she wanted to achieve by joining the programme. (which competences/skills are needed for that?). Ask if the competences, skills and knowledge of the respondent were 'used' within his/her work experience position: did his/her employers make use of that knowledge? (recognize his/her profile)
- 3) Place the second profile sketch (after participation/now) on the table. The respondent writes down his/her competencies, skills and knowledge of the current time. Is the list different from the first one? Why is this different? What has the respondent done (or not done) to add another skill or lose a skill? The goal is to find out if there are any changes in the 'profile' of the respondent.
Once the profile sketch is finished, ask the respondent what he/she achieved by participating in the study-work programme.

Theme 5: Conclusion

- 1) Place all exercises on the table: the timeline and both profile sketches. Ask the respondent to formulate a conclusion.
- 2) Ask if the respondent has anything to add to this interview or the answers he/she has given before.

End

- 1) Thank the respondent for his/her time and answers
- 2) Ask the respondent if you can contact him/her again in case you have any additional questions
- 3) Ask if the respondent would like to read the report once it is finished and/or join the meeting at UAF

Appendix 3: Interview guide informants

Note: react to the answers of the informant, ask questions about the answers

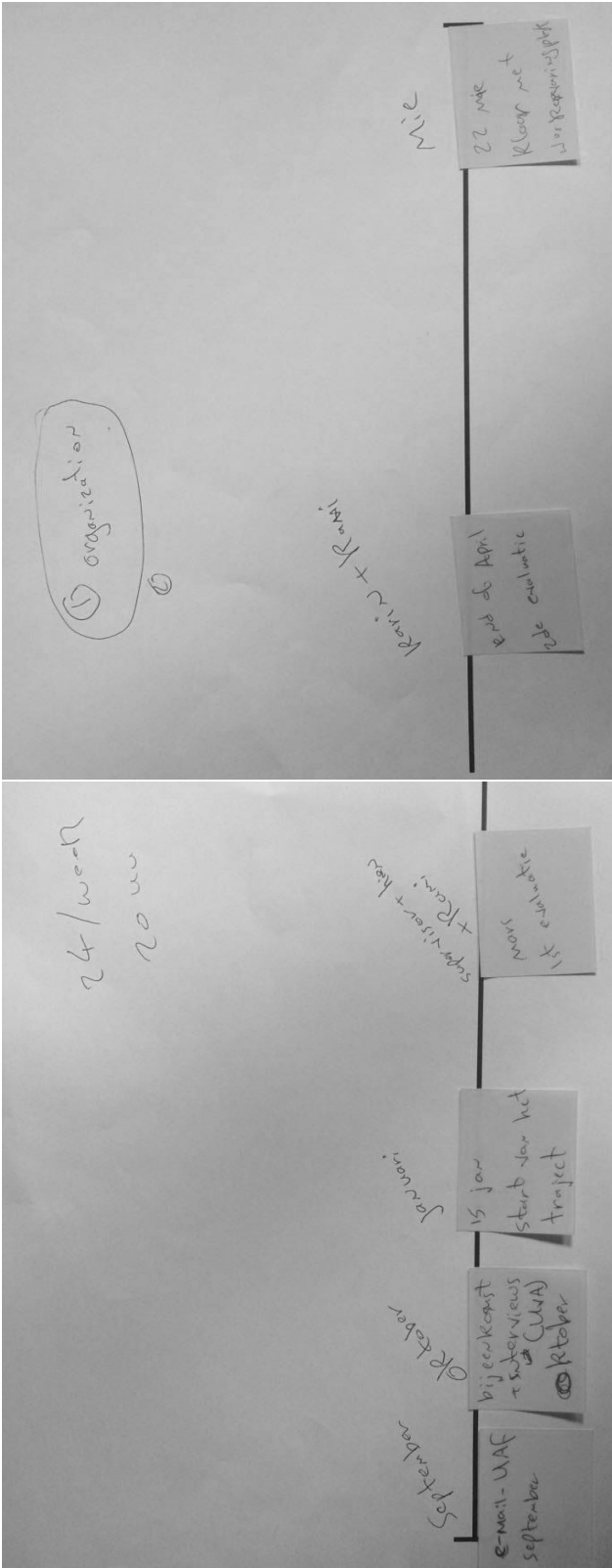
1. Explain the goal of your research and why you have invited the informant
2. Ask for an introduction of the study-work programme:
 - what does the programme look like?
 - What are the different elements of the programme and what is the balance between them.
 - for who is the programme
3. Ask about the intentions of developing the study-work programme.
 - Why did you start it? (as organisation, but also as individual)
 - What did the organisation want to achieve?
 - What did you achieve?
4. Reflection on the study-work programme so far. What are good and bad practices of the:
 - selection procedure
 - preparation
 - content: study-language-work
 - guidance

What would you change if you could start over?
5. Cooperation between different actors. Which actors are involved? Who has which role?
6. Future:
 - What will happen to the students once they finish their diploma?
 - Will the study-work programme continue to exist for new participants?

Appendix 4: Examples participatory appraisal techniques

A. Timeline

Note: These are scan copies of the timeline made by respondent Kassem



B. Profile sketch

Note: these are scan copies of the profile sketches made by respondent Anwar

Taal: ~~Nederlandse~~ → veel betrekking aan ~~in~~ ~~de~~ ~~vertrouwen~~ ~~in~~ mijn zelf maar ook in ~~de~~ wil met Nederlanders praten.

Taal: Mijn taal is veel beter goed genoeg.
IK vertrouwde mijzelf niet om een normale gesprek te kunnen hebben met Nederlanders.

Media: Mijn teksten waren heel persoonlijke -
Ze gaan over mijn mening (columns).
- IK had geen idee over de structuur van de Nederlandse media.
- IK was geïnteresseerd in het werk bij de commerciële sector: Alles moet een financieel waarde toevoegen voor het bedrijf hebben.

Profielschets
vóór deelname werkervaringsplek

Taal: Mijn taal is veel beter
IK vertrouw mijn zelf meer.

Media: ~~Mijn teksten zijn~~ → IK probeer altijd ~~om~~
zo onafhankelijk als mogelijk te schrijven.
- IK heb een goed idee over de structuur en stijl van de Nederlandse media.
- IK focus meer op de voordelen die mijn inhoud voor mensen heeft, niet op de commerciële waarde.

Profielschets
na/tijdens deelname werkervaringsplek

Appendix 5: Coding scheme

Codes	Family of codes
Language	Content (different aspects of integration come together within study-work programmes)
Professional development	
Work experience	
Network	
Cultural capital	
Selection procedure	Recognition of profile
Recognition in programme	
Trainer professional development	Role actors
Trainer language	
Guide/coach	
Employer/boss	
Coordinator	
Recruiter	
Development	
Financial/sponsor	
Future	Rest
General information	
Reflection	

The top three family of codes (content, recognition of profile and role actors) are in line with the three sub questions.

