

“A New Life Takes Time”

Migrant Integration in the City of Dordrecht

by

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August, 2016.

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Preface

This thesis is the result of my journey during the past twelve months as a master student and as a person. One year ago, I received an e-mail from the Radboud University with the message that I was selected for the Master program of Human Geography, which was the start of a new academic challenge. During the summer of 2015, I was wondering how I could combine a contribution to the academic world with a contribution to our human society, where so much is going on. The images of boats full of refugees and speeches of European politicians, made me wonder if the story of the ‘migration crisis’ in Europe would ever end and how its consequences would impact our society and daily lives.

I decided to look for a research here in the Netherlands, to see how the movement of people from all over the world affects my own country. This led to four months of valuable experiences during my internship at the municipality of Dordrecht, where I was able to research migrant integration in a medium-sized city and to discover my capabilities as a researcher and as a member of an organization.

First of all, I would like to thank my colleagues at the municipality who gave me a lot of space for my own research and initiatives, but were also available for my questions and discussions. I would like to thank my supervisor, Lothar Smith, who contributed to this thesis with helpful feedback and inspiring discussions. Finally I would like to thank my family and friends. Bart and his family who reminded me several times that studying is not the most important thing in life. And my parents, Rens and Nancy, who gave me all the support I needed.

I hope that you as a reader will enjoy my thesis.

Jessica van der Plas

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List of Acronyms

CAR	Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers
EEA	Executive Education Agency
EU	European Union
ISK	Internationale Schakelklas (Dutch for International Intermediate Class)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of population movements is a relevant and multi-faceted topic. Although migration has always been part of human history, it seems that the world cannot get used to it and is constantly surprised by its presence (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2014). Even if migration is not a new topic, it should not be downplayed. The reason for this is that migration continuously poses new challenges to our global society and that we still gain new insights from current research that builds on prior research. The movement of one individual has effect on many aspects, like families, communities and countries. So with a migration volume between 2 and 3 per cent of the world population, on average 185 million people of the 7,4 billion are migrating, which makes clear that many families and countries are affected by the phenomenon of migration. Beside the direct effect on families and countries, the movement of people also affects international social and economic structures, since the mobility of people goes hand in hand with the mobility of financial and social remittances. The significance of migration in all its forms also becomes clear when you follow the news, in which the topic migration can be found returning in various contexts on an almost daily basis. For instance, when you type the word 'migration' in the search engine of BBC news you find articles about the European migrant crisis, global migrants and their professions and agreements between countries to deal with migrants (BBC, 2016). Out of the whole pallet of migration processes, this research will focus on migrant integration in the city of Dordrecht and specifically the inflow of status holders, who are refugees with a residence permit.

Due to various conflicts taking place in Africa and the Middle East the amount of refugees in the Netherlands increases. Refugees stay in an asylum centre during the asylum procedure. After receiving a residence permit they are distributed over the Dutch municipalities (this process will be explained in more detail in chapter four). As said earlier, the inflow of refugees is not something new. However, the increasing amount of people challenges the current system in the Netherlands and (lacking) policies (Engbersen et al., 2015). The city of Dordrecht has also declared that there is no clear view about what is and what is not arranged concerning the inflow of refugees in the city. Therefore this research will investigate the inflow of status holders in the city of Dordrecht, whereby the focus will be on the migrant integration process and power relations between the actors involved. The main argument which is made states that the present integration policy in the city of Dordrecht

sustains the asymmetric positions of actors, which is harmful for the integration process of status holders and the broader public and political debate about migrant integration.

The inflow of refugees affects the Dutch governmental system at different levels. The chain of several governmental levels is labeled with the term multilevel governance (Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero, 2014) whereby political issues are addressed by several institutions on different levels. Since the responsibilities in relation to refugees are divided over different parties, this research will analyze which parties are exactly involved and how these different organizations interact. Beside the practical division of tasks and responsibilities, this research will investigate how multilevel governance affects the migrant integration policy in the city of Dordrecht and whether that is a positive or negative development.

Dordrecht is a city located in the province of Zuid-Holland and has a population of 118.859 people (Onderzoekscentrum Dordrecht, 2015). The city is comparable to cities like Zwolle and Ede, which are characterized as medium-sized cities. Medium-sized cities are relevant to study since they have their own specific features and challenges in relation to migrant integration. Large cities like Rotterdam and Amsterdam have financial and human capacities to deal with the inflow of migrants. Since the amount of migrants in these cities is significant, it is logical that time and money have been arranged to deal with these newcomers. Small villages, on the contrary, often do not have a policy for migrant integration since the inflow of migrants is minimal. Therefore small villages are, if necessary, incorporated in large or medium-sized cities, whereby migration projects are coordinated by these larger municipalities. Medium-sized cities fall in between these two categories. Although the inflow of migrants is not as big as in the large cities, the absorption of new people has to be coordinated by local governments. Nevertheless, a clear strategy or coordination team at these municipalities is often missing, since the inflow of migrants in the recent past was minimal. In 2016 the city of Dordrecht has to accommodate 301 status holders in the city. Although 301 status holders are only 0.25 % of the total population, the absorption of these people brings serious challenges for the city of Dordrecht. Especially since the municipality of Dordrecht has abolished a separate integration policy and has divided the tasks over several regular institutions, there is no central body or coordination concerning the inflow of new migrants (Brief aan de Gemeenteraad, 2010). Therefore this research will investigate migrant integration in the city of Dordrecht.

1.1. Aim of the Research

The aim of this research is to analyze how the current integration process is taking place in the city of Dordrecht and thereby discover institutional strengths and weaknesses related to this process. Besides, the interaction between parties involved will be investigated to see what their position is in the network of actors. Since services around the integration process, like housing and social support, are divided over several private and public organizations, the perspective of multilevel governance will be used to analyze the agency of these parties. Examples of these parties involved are the housing cooperatives, schools, the Social Service, libraries and social teams. Even though the status holders are the main actors in the integration process, this group is often neglected as a source of information. Therefore the status holders are also adopted as important actors in the network. In order to achieve the aim of this research, the following research question is formulated:

Taking a multilevel governance perspective we ask how the integration process of status holders is embedded in current services provided by the City of Dordrecht. Therein, what role does the agency of actors, and specifically the agency of status holders, play?

The findings of this research can contribute to the optimization of the integration policy of the city of Dordrecht and serve as illustration material for the literature about integration policies and multilevel governance. Furthermore, the case of Dordrecht will be used to critically contribute to the debates about responsibilities and ownership in relation to migrant integration. The next sub questions are formulated as a means for answering the research question and to understand the context of this research.

Sub question 1 - How are current services for integration organized in the city of Dordrecht?

This sub question provides an overview of how services for status holders are arranged in the city of Dordrecht and which parties are responsible for these services. The status holder will also be adopted in this overview, to make sure the whole environment of actors is visible. The first sub question has a descriptive character and makes the reader familiar with the present situation of migrant integration in city of Dordrecht, which serves as a foundation for the rest of the thesis. Furthermore, the network of actors will be investigated by means of the theory about multilevel governance.

Sub question 2 - How is the integration process experienced by several actors?

The second sub question goes deeper into the integration process and focuses on the expectations and experiences of the different parties involved. These parties consist of service providers involved in the integration process, but also the status holders themselves. By investigating their experiences, strengths and weaknesses of the integration process will come to light, which is important information for the practical recommendations for the municipality. Besides, these analyses will bring first discussions about asymmetric power relations to light.

Sub question 3 - How do the different actors interact and what are the power relations emerging out of the integration process?

The third sub question is handled in the discussion chapter, whereby the interaction between parties and power relations are critically discussed. In the light of the previous findings, this sub question about power relations will touch upon more fundamental questions about migrant integration and multilevel governance.

1.2. Relevance of the Research

1.2.1. Scientific Relevance

This research focuses on the integration process in the city of Dordrecht and the agency of actors involved. These focus points can be connected to two important academic debates, namely about migrant integration policies and about multilevel governance.

First, the debate on migrant integration policies. Academic debates in relation to migrant integration are often focused on national developments. As will be discussed in the theoretical chapter of this thesis integration can be investigated by means of ‘models of integration’. However, these models are also based on national politics and general discourses. This research will bring these academic debates and models to the local level, to discover what national discourses mean for medium-sized cities. By focusing on a medium-sized city like the city of Dordrecht, this research contributes to the existing debate about migrant integration with new insights about how local governmental and non-governmental organizations act as a receiving society and what this means for the integration process of status holders in the city.

Second, the debate on multilevel governance. As explained by Scholten (2013) migrant integration issues are often framed as a national task which needs to be addressed

from the national level. However, the actual impact of migration can mostly be found on the local level, where migrants will eventually live, work and go to school. This brings us to the concept of multilevel governance, whereby political and private parties from different levels share responsibilities concerning a specific topic. As stated by Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero (2014), the multilevel approach is widely neglected in relation to migration and integration policies. The national abstract vision often differs from the approach of local institutions, since this approach is more pragmatic and ad hoc. This can result in tensions between the different levels of governance (Trappenburg, 2003). The divergence between different levels is also recognized by Gebhart (2014) who states that there is still much incongruence and contradiction between the different visions and policies in the multilevel arena. According to Gebhart (2014), national governments do not always seek to work with local institutions on integration policies, despite the importance of city-level policy. The municipalities have several responsibilities in relation to the accommodation and integration of (VNG, 2015). However, the main debates in relation to migrant integration take place on the national level. Due to the asymmetric relations in this process, it is relevant to investigate the power relations between the actors involved and how this changes over time. By investigating this connection, this research will build further on existing literature about multilevel governance and will use the concept of multilevel governance to investigate the migrant integration policy in the city of Dordrecht and the agency of actors involved.

An argument which falls between scientific and societal relevance, deals with the gap between theory and reality due to political pressure (Entzinger & Scholten, 2015). The impact of political parties and the media in many cases leaves a non-objective mark on the development of migration and integration and so called myths of migration (Smouter, 2014). Due to these myths, the gap between the academic literature and reality is significant. Although these myths are mainly based on general national developments, they also affect local discourses, since people apply national news on their own situation or city. This research will investigate the actual developments around migrant integration in the city of Dordrecht to contribute to the literature and compare the reality with theoretical assumptions in academic debates.

A final note that I want to make as a researcher concerns the current character of the topic and the fact that states, societies, academics and politics are looking for the right way to deal with the current inflow of migrants and that the perfect solution is not found yet. Maybe you, as a reader, will have more questions after reading this thesis, since this thesis will not solve the problems or test a specific theory. However, to my opinion questioning is the best

thing we can do now. Questioning what academic discourses from the past mean for today's research, questioning whether actual policies have desired effects and questioning whether we are questioning enough. Maybe this last statement is too vague, but the point that I want to make is that it is not problematic that we do not have direct solution for current challenges, but that we should remain curious to discover these possible solutions.

1.2.2. Societal Relevance

Concerning the societal relevance, this research contributes to the investigation of the integration process in the city of Dordrecht. However, findings focus on governmental structures and the meaning of models of integration, which can also be applied on similar cities in Europe. Due to the developments of the last years in parts of Africa and the Middle East the inflow of status holders in the city of Dordrecht has increased. This means that the city has to accommodate and integrate 301 status holders in 2016, whereas this amount was around the 75 in 2013 (Platform Opnieuw Thuis, 2016). So the inflow of status holders is nothing new in the city, but the rising numbers cause more pressure on the service providers.

The research is combined with an internship at the municipality of Dordrecht to optimize the provision of services for migrants and to enhance the integration the new population. Although I worked for the municipality as an intern, the research does not solely focus on the practical governmental issues, but uses the features of migrant integration in the city of Dordrecht for more fundamental debates about integration, the asymmetry between actors and the role of a receiving society. These debates will present my findings as a critical independent researcher.

The municipality has indicated that the division of tasks and responsibilities is not clear between the different service providers. By creating an overview of the parties involved and their services, this research provides clarity about the different actors in the field and their accompanying services. National policy papers also declare that cooperation and communication between actors involved is essential for an effective integration process, therefore the municipality of Dordrecht want to investigate the level of cooperation and communication in their city. (Klaver et al., 2015). The municipality has three main expectations of this research:

- Indication of the quality and quantity of the services according to the migrants.
- Indication of hiatus and chances.
- Recommendations for improving the migration policy and when relevant, implementation and realisation.

So an important point of the societal relevance is that this research can help the city of Dordrecht by investigating strengths and weaknesses and deliver recommendations in order to improve the services for the status holders.

This brings us to the second element: the status holders themselves. The perspective of the status holder is seen as an important element in this research. By giving the status holders the possibility to explain their context and experiences in relation to the different actors and services in the city, we have a very valuable source of information about the services in the city. The integration process in general can be stimulated when the status holders get an opportunity to explain his/her situation and challenges. Beside these challenges, there is also space for capabilities and opportunities of status holders, whereby these newcomers can tell what their role could be in the society, which can contribute integration in a positive way. Since the status holder is often seen as a passive object in the whole integration process which needs to pass the test for civic integration, their skills and capabilities remain undiscovered during the first years. By paying more attention to the skills and knowledge of status holders in an earlier stage their positive contribution to the Dutch society can be further exercised. The interviews with status holders will also help to present the diversity of this group of people, to show that status holders are not lazy refugees without ambitions. These people are often seen as one homogenous group which costs a lot of money for the Dutch state and population, while every status holder has its own personal story. By creating space for the stories of the status holders in this research, my aim is to make an argument against the biased assumptions of receiving societies.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

This section briefly outlines the structure of the thesis to provide a guideline for the content of the thesis and a better understanding of the line of argumentation. The introduction will be followed up by the theoretical chapter about migrant integration and multilevel governance. By explaining the main concepts and academic debates, this chapter provides an overview of the literature available in relation to the topic. Since the concepts of integration and multilevel governance are abstract, I have decided to pay special attention to underlying concepts like migrants, asylum-seekers, status holders and agency to make sure the reader will be more familiar with the topics. After the theoretical chapter, the methodology of this research will be presented. This chapter provides information about the research strategy and the way of data collection. By explaining the choices I have made in relation to methodology, the reader will

understand how data have been collected and analysed in order to use it for the empirical chapters.

This empirical part starts with chapter three which deals with the first sub question and describes how current integration processes are embedded in the city of Dordrecht. This chapter functions as a foundation for the rest of the analysis. Chapter four will go deeper into these processes, whereby the expectations and experiences of the status holders on one side, and the service providers on the other, will be compared. Thereby this chapter gives insight in the asymmetric positions between actors of the network in terms of their role as part of the receiving society or as a newcomer. In turn the sixth chapter discusses how this asymmetry affects the integration debate, the presence of multilevel governance in the city of Dordrecht and how these elements have a detrimental effect on the integration of status holders. The thesis will be concluded by summarizing the thesis and answering the research question whereby I synthesize from prior chapters to discuss the agency of service providers and status holders. Thereby discussing how the asymmetry between these two elements enlarges the gap between a receiving society and its newcomers and what this says about theoretical assumptions concerning models of integration.

2. It Always Starts with Theory

“Problems of integration are both conceptual and practical, as the term has been defined differently and policies aiming at facilitating integration are developed in different ways” (Korac, 2003, p.1).

Although the concepts of integration and multilevel governance will not be unfamiliar for the majority of readers, it is still important to pay attention to the conceptual meaning and theoretical approaches of these two terms. Especially since both integration and multilevel governance can be used in a very broad sense, it is good to provide sufficient theoretical knowledge about the themes and explain which elements of this theoretical knowledge are significant for this research. During the research period, it became clear that many people in the field were not aware of the terminology and theoretical debates related to integration and multilevel governance, therefore I decided to discuss the literature extensively. This to avoid misunderstandings or a lack of clarity in later analyses and discussions. The chapter starts with an overview of academic literature in relation to integration.

The concept of integration is used in different disciplines. To start with a simple definition of the concept: *'mixing things or people together that were formerly separated'* (Your Dictionary, 2016). The concept shows that integration can be about things, as is the case in the fields of mathematics, politics and electronics. However, it can also deal with people, as will be discussed in this research. The simple character of the definition shows how broad the concept of integration is and can be interpreted. Therefore the discussion of its features and context is essential. First of all, this chapter will look at the objects of the process of integration; *who* needs to be integrated in *what*? This section will discuss on the one hand the concepts of migrants, refugees and status holders, which are used to indicate the people who need to be integrated. On the other hand the concepts of state, nation and society will be discussed as the setting in which people should integrate. Secondly, the possible connections between the people and the setting is analyzed, this can also be described as the character of integration, which is approached differently by several academic scholars. Thirdly, theories of integration are presented whereupon they will be applied on the Dutch migrant integration policy. The section about integration concludes with some reflecting remarks.

After providing an insight in the theoretical debates about integration the chapter will continue with the concept of multilevel governance. This section will start with the connection between integration and multilevel governance. Afterwards, there will be an

elaboration on the concept and the different layers of governance. Although not all levels will return in the case of Dordrecht it is significant to be aware of the stretching character of policies. Furthermore, the chapter will discuss the concepts of accountability, representation, legitimacy and agency, which will be later used to analyze the multilevel system in the city of Dordrecht and analyze the position of several actors. The section will continue with an overview of the academic debates concerning multilevel governance and the question whether the multilevel approach is effective or not. The last part of this section consists of some concluding remarks in relation to multilevel governance.

Finally, this chapter will present a new conceptual framework which will be used for conducting this research. The conceptual framework will combine some elements of the theory to create a basis for methodological approaches and empirical analyses. Whilst earlier on I spoke of integration as such, for the purposes of this thesis I am limiting the concept to its link to migration, and hence will use the next few pages to explain the various dimensions of migrant integration.

2.1. Migrant Integration

2.1.1. Concepts & Models

The movement of people around the world is based on different motives. As stated by Caselli (2010) this group can *inter alia* exist of tourists, business people, refugees and migrants. It is striking to see business people and refugees collected in the same category of people. Both move around the world and leave their houses for a while. However, the effects on their lives are completely different. What is also different is the reaction of the receiving society. Where business people are treated as guests whereby receiving countries show their most beautiful landscapes, technical innovation and economic development, refugees are in some cases treated as terrorist, whereby the receiving countries handles a discouragement policy. Although this comparison is exaggerated in two extremes, it is good to think about the labels people get and how societies react on these labels. Beside this normative discussion about labels and its possible effects, there is also a practical element in relation to the terminology of people on the move. During the research in Dordrecht the distinction between a refugee and a status holder was essential for communication, since the municipality was responsible for status holders, but not for refugees. In this case the discussion about terminology was linked to responsibilities and legal obligations of organizations, which made it essential to speak about the right concepts. The first step that needs to be made in light of these discussions is to

analyze the heterogeneity and narrow down the group of moving people to our target group: status holders.

From Migrant to Status Holder

The term migrant can be explained in different ways. The European Union (EU) uses the next definition: *"a broader-term of a migrant and emigrant that refers to a person who leaves from one country or region to settle in another, often in search of a better life"* (EU Immigration Portal, 2016). Although the term is broad, it is important to stress how much variety exists amongst migrants and that a narrow definition can exclude some people who could be considered as a migrant as well. The definition of the EU includes all people who move from one place to another place. Although the motive is "often the search of a better life" according to the EU, this interpretation leaves space for other motives to move as well (EU Immigration Portal, 2016). The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has a more excluding character in relation to the concept 'migrant'. According to the UNHCR migrants are people who *"choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reasons, or other reasons"* (UNHCR, 2016). The definition of the UNHCR focuses on people with a choice, whereby people without a choice, defined as refugees by the UNHCR, are excluded. This distinction can also be found in the earlier mentioned categorization of Caselli (2010). In the Netherlands, the term migrant is still connected to the concepts 'allochthonous' and 'autochthonous' which categorize people according to their place of birth or the place of birth of their parents (Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek, 2012). Since the conceptualization of these terms is still highly debated in the Netherlands, this research will focus on international terminology in relation to the term migrant. To avoid the exclusion of people and to stress the diversity amongst migrants, this research will use the definition of the EU as defined in this section. Although a broad definition of a migrant is used, it is important to distinguish migrants from other travelling people who do not belong to this broad category, like tourists and business people.

The concept of tourism, as defined by the Dutch Statistics Office, spells out a clear distinction between what they consider to be tourists, versus migrants and business people (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2016). The definition is as follows: *The activities of persons who travel and stay at places outside their ordinary setting, for no longer than one (continuous) year, for leisure, business and other purposes which are not connected with the performance of activities which are rewarded at the place which is visited.* (Centraal Bureau voor de

Statistiek, 2016). This definition shows two important elements which play a role in the distinction between migrants on the one hand, and tourists and business people on the other hand. First of all the period of time, which is an ambiguous indicator. For some migrants it is clear that they will stay longer than a year or even permanently in another country. However, refugees (if you label them as migrants) often want to return home as soon as it is safe. This can take several years, but could be in theory after nine months as well. Overall, the indication of 'no longer than one (continuous) year' is seen as the line of demarcation, whereby the settlement of a migrant has a more permanent character, with a period longer than one year. The settlement of tourists and business people is more temporary, whereby their stay ends within one year. Besides, the element of 'rewarding' highlights that the tourists and business people are not at the place where they earn their money. The fact that that is another place, stresses the temporal character of their stay and that their home is somewhere else. When business people stay longer than a year at a specific place where they are paid for their work as well, they are called expats which can be labeled as labor migrants. So when the term migrant is used during this research, the focus is on people in general who moved voluntary or involuntary to another country or region. The time that migrants are settled can differ, but has to have to a certain degree a permanent character, which distinguishes them from tourists and business people. Although this research focuses on the inflow of migrants that could also be labeled as immigrants, the term migrant will remain the leading concept for this research.

According to the Refugee Convention of 1951 a refugee is someone who is *"owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country"* (Refugee Convention, 1951). This definition is used by more than 150 countries which have signed the convention. These countries use or should use the requirements of this convention for the admission of refugees. The fact that the fear has to be well-founded is an important and critical element of the convention. Although it is useful to distinguish well-founded fear from possible fear, the requirement in itself is sometimes hard to measure objectively.

The terms asylum-seeker and refugee are often intermingled in everyday discourse. An asylum seeker is someone who asks for international protection based on the requirements of the Refugee Convention, but whose request has not yet been approved (UNHCR, 2016). At this stage an asylum-seeker can also be someone who moved to another country for economic reasons. As stated by the UNHCR, the efficiency of the asylum system is crucial. If the

system is working well, asylum seekers who know that they are not refugees make little chance to obtain a permit. In times of mass movements there is in many cases no time and capacity to control the motives of all the individual asylum seekers, through which economic asylum seekers make a chance as well (UNHCR, 2016). So according to these concepts: every refugee can be an asylum seeker, but not every asylum seeker can be a refugee.

The question whether a refugee or asylum seeker is also a migrant, depends on the chosen definition of a migrant. As shown by the categorization of Caselli (2010) and the definition of a migrant by the UNHCR, refugees are seen as a category distinct from migrants. However, when the more inclusive definition of the EU is used, refugees fall into the category of migrants. In that case a person can be a migrant, a refugee and an asylum seeker. The request of an asylum seeker can be approved or disapproved. In the Netherlands, the approval of a request gives an asylum seeker officially the status of a refugee. Therefore these asylum seekers are called status holders. As defined by the municipality of Dordrecht, "*a status holder is an asylum seeker who acquired a (temporal) residence permit and will move from a refugee center to a municipality to participate in the society*" (Raadsinformatiebrief Stathouders Dordrecht, 2015). Since the municipality of Dordrecht has no refugee center at the moment, policies are solely focused on status holders. This group is also the target group during the research.

Integrating into what?

Although migrants are often seen as the main objects of the migration and integration process, the host country as an actor should not be forgotten. For now the host- or receiving country is discussed by means of the concepts of state, society and nation. In the section about multilevel governance, the receiving country and its multiple actors will be discussed more deeply.

A state can be defined as '*a political association that establishes sovereign jurisdiction within defined territorial borders*' (Heywood, 2011, p. 114). According to international law a state should fulfill four main qualifications; "*a permanent population, a defined territory, a government and the capacity to enter into relations with other states*" (Montevideo Convention, 1933). Sovereignty is another important element of the concept of the state, which entails the principle of absolute and unlimited power (Heywood, 2011). As explained by Heywood, sovereignty can be divided in internal and external sovereignty, whereby internal sovereignty deals with the authority within the state and external sovereignty touches upon the authority of a state as an actor on the world stage. Especially the internal sovereignty of a state is of importance for the discussion of integration. The fact that a state

has the authority to make decisions that are binding on all citizens and organizations within its borders shows the power that the state as a unit can exercise. The state is often indicated as main actor in national- and world politics. However, due to globalization and modernization, a change in the role and structure of the state as a political unit has been initiated.

Beside the state, the society is another important actor in the process of integration. A society is not just the people who live in the same country. As Heywood describes: '*Societies are fashioned out of a usually stable set of relationships between and among members, involving a sense of 'connectedness', in the form of mutual awareness and at least a measure of cooperation*' (Heywood, 2011, p. 137). Where the concept of a state is more technical and formal, the concept of society is more focused on social and human processes and networks. As with the state, the role and structure of societies has also changed over the years. Due to new technologies like internet, people are more easily connected and are able to reach other societies beyond national borders. Although migration is not a new phenomenon, the composition of a society is constantly changing due to the in- and outflow of new people. The critical article of Schinkel (2013) about the imagination of society also discusses the changing composition of societies and states whereby social imaginations and discourses contribute to the exclusive character of societies, wherein migrants are beforehand framed as objects from an 'outside society'. These social constructions are detrimental for integration processes of migrants.

Another connected concept is the nation. A nation may be defined as '*a community of people, whose members are bound together by a sense of solidarity, a common culture, a national consciousness*' (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2015, p. 65). The presence of a national consciousness distinguishes a nation from a society, since a society does not have to have national ties per se. A nation-state brings the features of a state and a nation together, whereby the ideal situation is that every nation has its own state, and that each state encompasses an entire nation (Heywood, 2011). These definitions and theories are only valid in theory, since states, societies and nations are less structured in reality. Balint and Guérard de Latour (2013) even speak of the mismatch between state and nation, whereby they stress how mobility of people creates more diverse societies, through which the link between nation and state is blurred. This discussion is linked to the uprising approach of transnationalism, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Dimensions & Aspects

The connection between the migrant and the receiving society can be analyzed from different perspectives. One could state that a person is integrated when he or she is employed and is able to make their own living in the receiving country. On the other hand, integration could also be seen as a more social phenomenon, whereby the participation in sports and culture is seen as important. This leads to several dimensions of integration. During the research it became clear that each organization and individual valued the different dimensions of integration in their own way, which seriously affected the interaction and communication between the various parties.

Lacroix (2010) divides the concept of integration in three aspects: cultural, social and economic. Lacroix starts with the cultural aspect, since he sees this aspect as the most visible and striking aspect. Important elements according to Lacroix are the national culture and cultural-political setting. He concludes that culture can both have an inclusive and an exclusive character. On the one hand, culture can be a hybrid phenomenon which is adopted and shared by different people. On the other hand it can be seen as a means of demarcation which categorizes people in different groups. The social aspect is mainly focused on education, whereby Lacroix (2010) stresses the importance of education. Lacroix states that education is an important step to increasing literacy, social empathy, and the creation of public space and citizenship. The last aspect is economic integration, which deals with the active participation in the labor market. Lacroix stresses the impact of market developments, public institutions and gatekeepers to the labor market, which are often unfavorable for migrants.

Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx (2016) handle another categorization, whereby they distinguish the process in three dimensions: the legal-political, the socio-economic and the cultural-religious. The legal-political dimension deals with the question whether a migrant is an official member of the political community. This dimension can be linked to concepts of refugees, asylum seekers and status holders, whereby in the case of Dordrecht only status holders are seen as official members of the political community. The social-economic dimension is linked to their practical participation in society which encompasses housing, education, work and health care. These first two dimensions can be measured and analyzed by means of statistics. In contrast, the cultural-religious dimension is more ambiguous. This dimension deals with the perceptions and experiences of migrants and the question whether they feel accepted and respected in society.

Another approach to integration is proposed by Saint Pierre, Martinovic and Vroome (2015). They make a distinction between structural, cultural and social integration. According to Saint Pierre, Martinovic and Vroome (2015), structural integration is about active participation in the economic life. This aspect can be compared with the economic dimension of Lacroix (2010) and the socio-economic dimension of Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx (2016). Cultural integration entails the adoption of values and cultural habits of the host society. Social integration is about the participation in social life, which would entail friendships and contact with the community.

Anthias & Pajnik (2014) separate social, political and legal facets in relation to integration. Their book has a critical approach to the actual process integration, whereby they connect the social facet to social boundaries and the complex nature of heterogeneity. The political facet deals with contradictory integration policies. The legal facets which are separated from the political facets purely deal with the requirements for admission which migrants have to fulfill. This approach can be labeled as a more technical and international approach which deals with the barriers which needs to be dealt with in the integration process.

The four possible categorizations show that the integration of migrants can be analyzed from different dimensions. Lacroix (2010) and Saint Pierre, Martinovic and Vroome (2015) focus more on the position of the migrant which needs to be integrated in the economic and social life. This perspective is more linked to the concept of society. By contrast, Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx (2016) approach integration more from the position of the state, whereby the legal-political dimension stresses the fact that a state has the power to accept or reject people. The fact that dimensions and aspects are described in different ways is not problematic, the main point which needs to be made here, is that integration is multi-faceted process which touches upon different domains in a society and thereby different parties.

Models of Integration

By means of these concepts and dimensions, different models have been designed in relation to migrant integration. Five main approaches which can be identified are: assimilationism, differentialism, multiculturalism, universalism and transnationalism. The models will return during the discussion of migrant integration policies in the city of Dordrecht.

Assimilationism is focused on the adaptation of migrants on the social-cultural domain. The integration process has a unidirectional character, whereby the migrant is seen as

an outsider which needs to become an insider of a society (Dekker et. al, 2015). The assimilationist approach emphasizes the importance of a national identity and raises the expectation that newcomers become part of the society and the national ideology as soon as possible. The assimilationist approach is not per definition hostile towards other ethnicities. However, the focus on the national ideology can be accompanied by an aversion against other (non-western) nationalities and cultures (Alba & Foner, 2014). France is known as a country with a typical assimilationist model, whereby the focus is on the French culture and national citizenship. The former identity of a migrant should make place for the French identity, so that a migrant can be absorbed in the French state and society (Jopke, 2007).

According to Dekker et al. *"differentialism (also described as segregationism) institutionalizes group boundaries in society to such an extent that group identities and structures are preserved and groups live alongside each other rather than with each other"* (Dekker et al, 2015, p. 7). Although differentialism is known as the illiberal and nondemocratic approach, whereby equality among individuals is hard to discover, it does not have to be racist per se. (Jopke, 2007). The institutionalization of cultural diversity is illustrated by the Indian caste structure and the Dutch history of pillarization (Scholten, 2010). As stated by Scholten (2010), it seems that the process of integration is absent in this approach. However, the element of bonding to a society still takes place, but occurs in the different communities, rather than in the national society. Germany was seen as the main representative of this differentialist model, whereby migrants were seen as inferior citizens which remained labeled as foreigners (Jopke, 2007).

Multiculturalism can be defined as an approach which intends *"to promote tolerance and respect for difference while simultaneously advancing the idea of a shared national project"* (Kivisto & Faist, 2010, p. 1). Multiculturalism emphasizes the positive character of cultural pluralism whereby different nationalities and cultures can enrich each other instead of clash with each other. The socio-cultural domain is seen as the most crucial aspect of integration. Multiculturalist policies focus on the potential of migrants and the accompanying needs and problems which come together with migrants (Dekker et. al, 2015). The Netherlands and Canada are known as the two main representatives for this difference-friendly approach. However, as will be discussed later, the multicultural theory does not always apply in practice.

The colorblind approach of universalism focuses on the individual rights and duties of the citizens. The emphasis is on the socio-economic and legal-political domain, whereby every individual should be treated equally (Dekker et. al, 2015). According to the universalist

approach, culture and religion are elements of the private sphere, which every individual can express in their private lives. The focus is on the public sphere whereby an individual has the duty to participate actively in the domains of labor, education, housing, and health (Scholten, 2010). The basic thought of universalism is that individuals are able to stand on their own feet in a society. A state can contribute to this process by combatting discrimination and optimize the services of institutions to assure that a migrant has the right tools to participate in society (Scholten, 2010).

The four discussed approaches are centered on the idea of one nation-state with a matching dominant culture. Although these approaches seem to make sense in theory, they have their implications in practice as well. It is questionable whether one can speak of dominant cultures and how one should define the national norms and values of a country. During the last decades globalization and modernization have already brought a lot of cultures together. Even though countries are still marked by a specific culture, it cannot be denied that these cultures are shaped by foreign influences as well. The fifth approach, transnationalism, pays attention to this changing dimension of culture and deviates from the approaches, whereby the focus is on the nation-state.

The approach of transnationalism diverges from the other approaches, whereby the focus is on the nation-state and the national society. By contrast transnationalism stresses elements as international relations, post-national citizenship and the development of a universal human rights discourse (Scholten, 2010). From a transnational view, people and culture don't have to be exclusive, but can be mixed in and between countries.

2.1.2. Migrant Integration Policies in the Netherlands

Migrant integration is a returning topic in history; it is significant to provide knowledge about developments in the past. Especially since the inflow of migrants is at a peak, people tend to look at other peaks in history and compare situations. Also during the research, people often referred to old policies and discussed the present situation in relation to the past. For this reason, this section will provide an overview about the historical background of migrant integration policies in the Netherlands since World War II.

As explained by the report of the European Migration Network (2012), the Netherlands knows different migration waves since World War II. Each wave of migrants affected the Dutch society and political discourse in a different way, which resulted in varying reactions of the government and the population. The first wave of migrants started immediately after World War II and consisted of low-skilled labour migrants from South-

Europe, Turkey and Morocco (Verwey-Jonker Instituut, 2004). These labour migrants served as additional human capital for the growing economy and labour market. Since the Dutch government assumed that the labour migrants would stay only temporary in the Netherlands, the idea that migrants could maintain their own identity and cultural habits was dominant and a clear integration policy remained absent (Snel, 2003). The few services which were arranged for the migrants were focused on housing and working conditions and were often ad hoc. This period can be linked to the approach of differentialism whereby migrant communities functioned separately from the Dutch society. The minimal policies of the government contributed to the institutionalization of cultural diversity, whereby contact and bonding between migrants and Dutch citizens was not a priority.

Since welfare was growing after the war and the Netherlands needed labour migrants for their growing economy, there were no restrictions on migration. With the economic crisis of 1973, the high unemployment level resulted in an increasing demand for unemployment benefits by the migrants. Due to these extra costs the Dutch government introduced restrictions and the inflow of new labour migrants diminished (European Migration Network, 2012). However, since the migrants of the first wave did not return to their home countries and brought their families to the Netherlands, the inflow of migrants continued. The family members which came to the Netherlands for family reunion were part of the second wave of migration since World War II. The continued increase of migrants started to create dissatisfaction under the Dutch population, which emphasized the nuisance in old city districts and the repression on the housing and labour market (Verwey-Jonker Instituut, 2004). Although feelings of disgrace arose under the population, serious action or a response by the government failed to appear. The national government ignored the public discourse to avoid discussions and tensions and maintained the idea that migrants were useful for the industry and employers. As stated by Penninx: "*the current officially formulated policy is rather inspired by political and economic desirability's than factual information, research and literature*" (Verwey-Jonker Instituut, 2004, p. 22).

During the eighties, it was eventually recognized by the national government that the migrants of the first and second wave would stay permanently in the Netherlands and the first political debates started. Tolerance and cultural enrichments were the main starting points of the Dutch approach and created the foundation for the multicultural society (Michalowski, 2005). The first developed policy in the Netherlands in 1979 was named the Ethnic Minority Policy and was focused on 'weak migrants' like foreign workers and migrants from colonial territories (Scholten, 2013). The idea behind the policy was that an amelioration of the socio-

cultural position of the migrants could lead to a better socio-economic position as well. Therefore the policy was focused on the resistance of deprivation in the field of housing, education and employment. (Verwey-Jonker Instituut, 2014). Cultural differences were presented as enrichments for the Dutch society. The idea that different cultures can live together in a multicultural society was emphasized by the national government (Scholten & Holzacker, 2009). However, there was still a taboo around the migrant integration policies and services, since policy-makers were afraid for negative reactions from the Dutch population. As explained by Scholten & Holzacker (2009) migrant integration is still a sensitive issue at the national level, whereby the debate is dominated by political correctness and a culture of avoidance.

During the nineties, the third wave of migrants was indicated in the Netherlands. This wave consisted mainly of asylum seekers from Eastern-Europe, Africa and later the Middle-East. This decade was the start for public debates about migration and the accompanying negative consequences (Sleegers, 2007). The taboo and political correctness were replaced by growing concerns and fears for non-Dutch populations and foreign cultures. Politicians, academics and the media contributed to an increasing amount of critique in relation to integration issues in the Netherlands (Sleegers, 2007). The apolitical and technocratic debate was replaced by a more politicized debate, which is dominated by critique and negativity (Scholten & Holzacker, 2009). Especially since migrants were still deprived in socio-economic and socio-cultural terms, there was an increasing demand for a more active integration policy, whereby these problems are tackled (Integratiebarometer, 2014). Therefore the 'Ethnic Minorities Policy' was reframed to the 'Integration Policy' (Scholten, 2013). The main changes of this policy were the shift from minority groups to individuals, a strong focus on the labor market and education and a shift away from cultural policies (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011). Active citizenship and individual responsibility were the main pillars of this policy, whereby the migrant had to make an effort integrate and participate in the Dutch society.

Although the concept of the multicultural society in the Netherlands had still a positive connotation in the nineties, criticism arose in the 21st century. The academic and political worlds showed their dissatisfaction concerning the integration policies and tensions between different cultures in the Netherlands arise. Scheffer (2000) was a leading person in this wave of criticism, whereby he clearly presented the flaws of the multicultural society which are, according to Scheffer, characterized by Islamic schools, cultural isolation and a divided Dutch society. He pleads that more emphasis is given to the role of Dutch language, culture and

history, arguing that this would help to achieve better integration of migrants. His statement heated up the public and political debate about integration policies and introduced new debates about inclusion and exclusion (Slegers, 2007). Fear started to dominate the migration and integration debate, which was fortified by the attacks in New York on 9/11 and the murder on Theo van Gogh (Penninx, 2006). As a consequence of these developments the migrant integration policy started to make an 'assimilationist turn' whereby the full adaption of migrants to the Dutch society and its majority culture were seen as a crucial element (Caponio, Hunter & Verbeek, 2015). The assimilationist turn transformed the 'Integration Policy' to the 'Integration Policy New Style' whereby the multicultural standpoints officially went to the background (Scholten, 2011).

Today, the public and political discourse around migrant integration is far from stable. The present developments with refugees around the Mediterranean Sea and inside the European border feed discussions about the responsibilities of European countries and the possible threat to the security of European citizens. Extremism in the Islamic world as well as populism in western politics sharpens the migration debate, whereby the emphasis is on differences rather than similarities. Populist political leaders like Geert Wilders contribute to this polarizing political debate with exaggerated news items (van Meeteren et al., 2013). At the moment integration policies are mainstreamed with general policies for housing, education and employment at the local level, through which a specific strategy for integration is lacking (Scholten, 2015). What the effect of the present developments will be on the Dutch approach to migrant integration remains to be seen.

2.1.3. Reflections on Migrant Integration Literature

The recurring gap between theory and practice is a significant element around the process of integration. Although this gap can be found by many topics and researches, it still needs to be addressed. Overall it needs to be said, that we talk about people. Migrants, refugees, asylum seekers and status holders are human beings. Even though they are treated as numbers, these people have their individual stories and experiences, which should not be ignored. Although it is logical that personal details disappear by researching a general process of integration or the policy structures around this issue, it should not be forgotten that these researches and policies affect the daily lives of people. Even though the perspective of the migrant cannot be involved proportionately, it should at least be considered as a valuable source of information.

Two important issues which are missing in the majority of the literature concerning aspects of- and approaches to integration are security and finance. The focus in academic

debates is often more abstract as in term of socio-cultural development, economic participation and the legal position of a migrant. The elements of security and finance often return in public and political debates, since safety and money are practicable elements which affect the daily life of every citizen. People are afraid of criminality since they relate the term migrant to a middle-aged aggressive Muslim. Furthermore people are afraid that the accommodation of migrants will cost too much for the state. This goes hand in hand with the feeling of repression, whereby people are afraid that migrants have priority over the national population (Elich, 2015). The impact of finance and security is often leading in political and public debates, but its significance does not return in academic debates about migrant integration.

Another important element is the political interest around the topic. As shown in the section about the development of integration policies in the Netherlands, the role of politics is significantly present in the academic discourses around the topic. Entzinger and Scholten (2015) speak about the politicization of migrant integration in the Netherlands, whereby the political debates and the academic world mutually influence each other. This affects the policy-making process on the one hand, and the production of knowledge on the other hand. The politicization of the debate widens the gap between theory and practice, since academic knowledge is in many cases overshadowed by the interest of political parties. Although researches can come up with recommendations and theoretical approaches in relation to migrant integration, it should not be forgotten that democratic systems and political interests dominate the debate.

These remarks do not want to imply that the existing theory is incorrect or insufficient. It is understandable that theoretical approaches are shaped in a general and abstract form to make them more practicable in the academic world. However, the normative as well as the political character of this topic should be in our mind when we think or talk about migrant integration policies.

2.2. Multilevel Governance

Although migrant integration and multilevel governance are two familiar topics in the academic world, the connection between the two is not per definition logical. Therefore this chapter will start with discussing the link between the two elements.

2.2.1. Migrant Integration & Multilevel Governance

As already discussed in the section about scientific relevance, the connection between multilevel governance and migrant integration needs to be investigated more deeply. Several authors have touched upon the network of actors in relation to migrant integration and emphasize that cooperation between these actors is essential for an effective approach to migrant integration (Engbersen et al., 2015). As explained by Scholten (2015) municipalities lack a clear strategy for the absorption and integration of status holders, whereas by combining the knowledge and competences of several actors a well-founded strategy should be invented. Since status holders will actually live, work and go to school in a municipality, Scholten highlights the importance of the local actors in the policy-making process. His argument fits the principle of subsidiarity, whereby political process takes place as close as possible to the citizens.

The principle of multilevel governance is by several academic scholars seen as an instrument that can help to improve the absorption and integration of status holders. As stated by Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero (2014), the principle of multilevel governance is ignored in relation to migration and integration policies. They plea for more multilevel forms of governance as a way to bridge the gap between national and local policies. Especially since the interest of national politicians can diverge from local needs it is important to involve local actors to the political process and give them space to represent their preferences and local interests (Gebhart, 2014). These academics emphasize the positive effects of multilevel governance, whereby efficiency and effectiveness are increased.

Overall, it can be stated that the conceptual and political link between migrant integration and multilevel governance is not firmly established yet. The empirical chapter will come back to this point and analyze whether one can speak of a link between integration and multilevel governance. For now, this chapter will continue with the theoretical background of the concept multilevel governance.

2.2.2. How Multilevel Governance Appeared in the Academic World

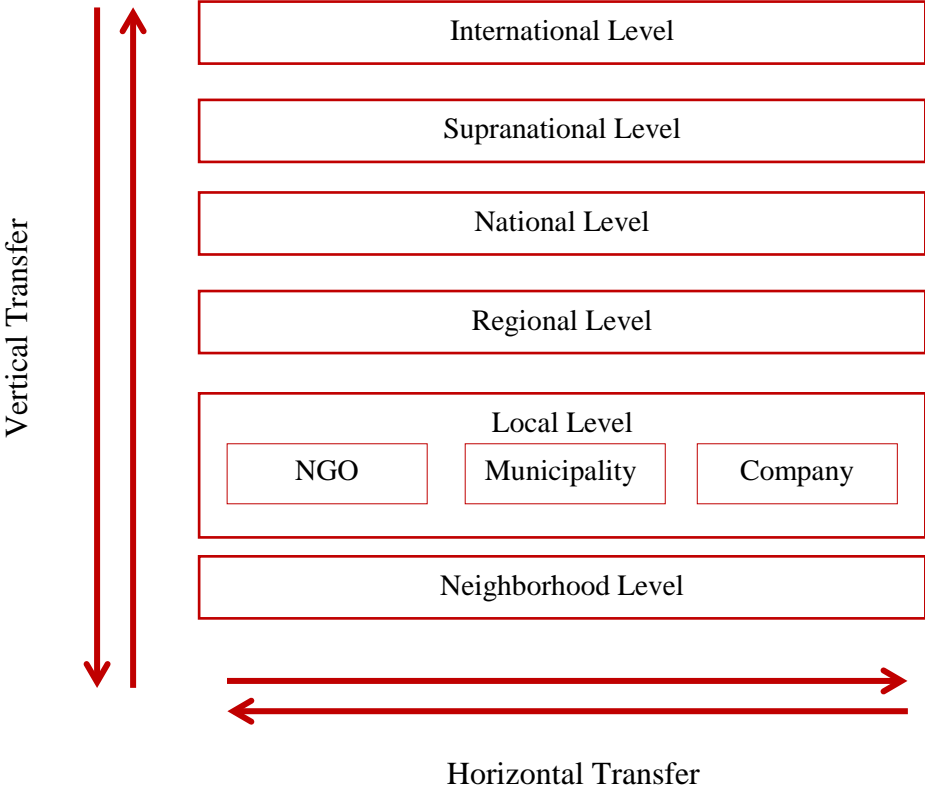
Historical Background and Definition

The concept of multilevel governance was first used by Garry Marks in relation to the developments and reforms concerning European integration in 1988 (Bache & Flinders, 2005). Multilevel governance can be defined as '*a pattern of overlapping and interrelated public authority that stems from the growth, or growing importance of supranational and subnational bodies*' (Heywood, 2011, p. 126). The phenomenon of multilevel governance

goes hand in hand with a global development whereby the traditional notion of government has been replaced by governance. This transformation in politics shows how the governing of a country lies no longer solely in the hands of a national government, but has been dispersed to higher and lower levels of governance (Heywood, 2011). This means in theory that autonomy and responsibilities are divided over more institutions like the European Union, provinces and municipalities. The definition of Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero (2014) describes the concept of multilevel governance as a chain of several governmental levels whereby political issues are addressed by several institutions on different levels. The notion of a chain confirms the element of 'overlapping and interrelated public authority' of the definition of Bache & Flinders (2005) and emphasizes the fact that all activities on each level should be connected with each other. The two definitions of Bache and Flinders (2005) and Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero (2014) solely focus on the public aspects in a state, whereas multilevel governance is also explained in a broader way. As described by Picciotto: *"Multilevel governance entails transformations of statehood, leading to significant changes both in the public sphere of politics and the private sphere of economic activity and in their modes of interaction, the law included"* (Picciotto, 2008, p. 457). This definition of multilevel governance emphasizes the diminishing role of governmental institutions, whereby political and economic activities come together in a network of public and private actors. Whereas the state was traditionally seen as the major player in the field of politics and national authority, it has to make place for the power of transnational corporations and non-governmental organizations (Heywood, 2011).

The transfer of autonomy and responsibilities can be divided into a horizontal and vertical sphere (Shiratori, 2014). The vertical transfer of policies deals with the dispersion of autonomy and responsibilities to another level; this can be from the international to the national level or from the national level to the local level. The horizontal transfer of policies deals with the dispersion of autonomy and responsibilities at the same level of the policy arena, which means that the autonomy and responsibilities are transferred to other actors at the same level. As shown by Figure 1. this could be a transfer of responsibilities from the municipality to a non-governmental organization or a company. Vertical and horizontal transfers can take place at the same time, when certain responsibilities are transferred to another actor at another level (Shiratori, 2014). So the concept that started as a European topic has grown into a globally accepted development which is also studied by theorists of international relations and public administration (Bache & Flinders, 2005).

Figure 1. Vertical and Horizontal Transfers of Responsibilities.



Levels of Governance

As stated, multilevel governance deals with different levels in the public and private sphere. Although the empirical part of this research will not incorporate all levels, it is significant to be aware of the whole range of levels to see the bigger picture. During the analysis of the case of Dordrecht, there will not be specific attention for the international and supranational level. However, the influence of these levels is indirectly present by, for example the Refugee Convention from the international level which is leading for the admission of refugees and the European agreements with Turkey from the supranational level which influence the inflow of new refugees (NOS, 2016). The levels of governance are categorized in different ways by several academic authors, like Shiratori (2014), Bache and Flinders (2015) and Heywood (2011). This section will combine the different categorizations to present the whole range of possible levels.

International or global Level

The international level is present in every categorization as the highest level of authority. This level is connected to the concept globalization whereby nation-states have been absorbed in a global economic market and political world stage (Shiratori, 2014). International organizations are the major players at this level. Examples are the United Nations, the World Trade Organization and the International Monetary Fund. Beside these governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations like the Red Cross and multinationals like Unilever have power and responsibilities at the international level.

Supranational Level

Bache and Flinders (2005) define the supranational level as a separate level which is in their case the European level. For other continents, the supranational level could exist of American or Asian organizations which focus on the policies in that specific area. Other scholars have adopted the European level into the global level and do not make a distinction between the global and supranational level (Shiratori, 2014).

National Level

The national level is the classic sphere for politics, where the power of agenda-setting, decision-making procedures, responsibilities and autonomy are centered on the national government (Heywood, 2011). The sovereign nation-state is the main player in this field and is seen as the origin of political power. Nation-states focus on domestic politics and represent the interests and needs of their own country.

Regional Level

Although the regional level is often seen as the collection of all sub-national institutions like provinces and cities (Shiratori, 2014), it can also be seen as a separate level which comes directly after the national level. The composition and power of the regional level depends on the structure of the state. In the Netherlands, the provinces can be seen as the main actors at the regional level, but are relatively passive in relation to policy-making. For Germany, the 'Bundesländer' could be seen as important institutions on the regional level, which have more power in political processes.

Local Level

The local level focuses on cities and villages, whereby the municipality plays an important role in relation to politics. The local level is seen as an important level since this is the place where policies are actually implemented and have their impact (Borkert & Caponio, 2010). On the local level political and economic organizations are relatively close to the population, which creates the possibility to react on local developments in an ad hoc manner.

Neighborhood Level

The lowest level in this categorization is the neighborhood level whereby the main actors are social district teams or community centers (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). Although these actors are not the main actors for policy-making, they can have a lot of autonomy in relation to the realization of certain policies, which makes them important actors in the chain and a significant source for practical information. The presence of community centers brings in the role of social networks, but as will become clear in this thesis, the social character of the multilevel system is often missing or ignored by other actors.

Glocalization

Although the categorization of the various levels seems to be well-ordered, it needs to be emphasized that the dispersion of power, autonomy and responsibilities is not that well-ordered and symmetric. In some cases certain levels are totally left out a political process or overlap. The European Union for example has a lot of regional policies, whereby the national level is not directly involved and political activities take place between the European institutions and regions or cities (European Union, 2014).

Two important concepts which need to be discussed concerning multilevel governance are 'localization' and 'globalization'. Although the two concepts are two opposites in theoretical sense, they are closely linked in relation to multilevel governance. Whereas localization is a process whereby political action is transferred to the sub-national level, globalization describes the development whereby social, political, and economic activities occur at an international or transnational level whereby the world becomes more interconnected (Heywood, 2011). The link between the two concepts is labeled with the term 'glocalization', which stands for the development whereby local parties and people go back to their local, cultural and ethnic roots as a reaction on the diminishing national autonomy and increasing inflow of international elements (Heywood, 2011). It is essential to note the importance of these reactions, which show that all levels are interdependent and that one

development can evoke new activities which can reinforce or contradict the original development.

Agency

Whilst the concept of agency is not often linked to multilevel governance theories, I argue that it is of relevance in this research. As stated in the main research question, this research will investigate the agency of actors involved in migrant integration. A definition of agency is that individuals *'have the freedom within reasonable limits to choose their beliefs, desires and actions, the intelligence to distinguish between better and worse according to some conception of these notions, and the capacity to make mistakes in what they believe, feel and do'* (Alexander, 2005, p. 334). Although this definition is mainly focused on an actor as individual human being, the definition can also count for organizations or representatives of organizations. In the light of this research agency will stand for the capacity to act in a multilevel network of actors according to the preferences and interests of that person or organization. As stated earlier, the actors for this research vary from private to public parties, whereby also status holders as individuals are incorporated.

2.2.3. Multilevel Governance from a Critical Perspective

Although multilevel governance is presented as a good approach for international cooperation and a further development of the classical liberal system (Piciotto, 2008), some serious criticism has arisen in the academic world. This section will pay attention to the critiques as a counter pressure to the positive arguments of Scholten (2013), Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero (2014) in relation to multilevel governance. Since the critical arguments about multilevel governance are often centered on the concepts of accountability, representation and legitimacy, these concepts will be explained first, after which the critique will be discussed.

Accountability

As explained by Fearon 'we say that one person, A, is accountable to another, B, if two conditions are met. First, there is an understanding that A is obliged to act in some way on behalf of B. Second, B is empowered by some formal institutional or perhaps informal rules to sanction or reward A for her activities or performance in this capacity' (Fearon, 1999, p. 55). In relation to political systems person A is in this case seen as a governmental institution and person B as a national population. In relation of multilevel governance person A could also be a non-governmental organization or company. Accountability is a tricky concept which can easily be mixed up. This is clearly shown by the example of the teacher by Philp

(2009): A teacher is accountable for the education of the children in their class. However, he is not directly accountable for the behavior of the children. Besides he is not accountable to the children. He is accountable to the parents of the children, but only to a limited extent, since he is also accountable to other institutions. The fact that he is accountable to different parties does not mean that these parties have a direct role in determining how the teacher should provide education. Since the amount of parties can be more than two, it is important to present clearly who is accountable for what and to which party. The second element of sanctioning and rewarding is also complex, since it is in practice not always clear how or when a party can be sanctioned or rewarded. As explained by Papadopoulos (2010) accountability can be described as a double-edged sword. When there is a lack of accountability, policy outcomes can be undemocratic and contrast the needs and preferences of the population. When there is an overkill of accountability, it can harm the effectiveness of policy processes and can produce unintended negative consequences in relation to the goals. When politicians are busier with being accountable than being productive and effective, there is a risk that the objectives of policies will not be fulfilled.

Representation

According to Pitkin (2004) representation is a complex concept since it is too general, lacks a clear definition and has a paradoxical character. The fact that people are indirectly present but are not directly present shows that the concept in itself has already conflicting implications. Despite the difficulties in relation to defining the concept, the concept is essential in relation to debates about multilevel governance. As explained by Childs and Lovenduski (2012) representation can be defined as 'the practice of delegating or entrusting the advocacy of citizen interests to a smaller number of individuals who gather in assemblies and make decisions.' (Childs & Lovenduski, 2012, p. 1). Although representatives should have the objective to advocate the interest of their backing, there can be tensions between the preferences of the representative and its backing (Agren, Dahlberg & Mörk, 2006). This tension also raises questions about the democratic character of representation. Beside the possibility that representation is not optimal, there can also be a total lack of representation, when some parts of a population have no delegation in a national government. The lack of representation is often discussed in debates about minorities, gender and race.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy means rightfulness and can be defined as *'the foundation of such governmental power as is exercised both with a consciousness on the government's part that it has the right*

to govern and with some recognition by the governed of that right' (Ho, 2011, p. 208). According to Ho, the governing of a country is always a mix of consent and coercion, whereby there is no clear line between legitimate and illegitimate. The definition of Hurd (1999) confirms the absence of a clear line with his notion of 'a normative belief'. According to Herd *'legitimacy refers to the normative belief by an actor that a rule or institution ought to be obeyed. It is a subjective quality, relational between actor and institution, and defined by the actor's perception of the institution'* (Hurd, 1999, p. 381). Although a normative belief is hard to measure with statistics, Rothstein (2009) has indicated some factors which can determine this belief and thereby the level of perceived legitimacy. According to Rothstein (2009), citizens can regard political decisions as legitimate when decisions are made according to democratic theory, when citizens feel they belong to the political majority or just accept that the political majority has the power to decide until the next elections. These factors can be seen as the input side of policy-making. Beside the input side there is also an output side which concentrates on the quality of government, the absence of corruption and the principle of impartiality. Rothstein (2009) states that the output side is more influential on the perception of legitimacy since citizens are more frequently and intensively in contact with the output side than with the input side. Nevertheless the notion of legitimacy is still based on perceptions and consciousness which remain vague concepts to measure.

Critique

A first argument against multilevel governance concerns the importance of a state. The emergence of multilevel governance invokes new hierarchical, authority structures outside the territory of the nation-state, whereby the power and hierarchy of this nation-state are undermined (Aalberts, 2004). Although it is often said that nation-states remain key players on the political world stage it is obvious that their role is changing and that their interests can possibly clash with the interest of international organizations and companies (Aalberts, 2004). Therefore it can be stated that the accountability of actors on the national level diminishes. When power and responsibility are transferred to the local level, this can also be seen as a good thing, since the accountability of municipalities has increased in that case. However, the fear of losing power which goes to the international level often dominates the debate.

Papadopoulos (2006) has ordered his main critiques of multilevel governance in four arguments. First of all he emphasizes the weak visibility and uncoupling of networks. Since decision-making processes take often place behind closed doors, the transparency and visibility of politics diminishes (Bache & Chapman, 2008). Beside the lack of visibility, the

decision-making process involves a lot of actors which need to find a relative consensus, through which the outcome is often a mix of some dominant interest, which can be less optimal. With this mix of interests and lack of transparency the feeling of representation and accountability is often decreasing under the population. Secondly, Papadopoulos (2006) criticizes the composition of policy networks which often consist of top-level bureaucrats, policy experts and interest representatives. This mix shows that policy networks are more than official chosen representatives of the people which diminishes the level of representation. Thirdly, the 'multilevel' aspect as such which is not optimally absorbed in all policy-structures. Multilevel governance requires sufficient cooperation and communication, but since policy-structures are weakly visible it is not always clear for every party, who is responsible for what. The fact that the overall picture concerning responsibilities is missing goes hand in hand with accountability problems, since it is not clear who needs to be sanctioned or rewarded for what. The fourth and last argument focuses on the element of 'peer' accountability that stands for the mutual coordination and control of outcomes in policy networks. A Papadopoulos (2006) state that it is questionable whether this 'peer' accountability is effectively present in each network of multilevel governance, since the amount of actors is significant. These four arguments show that multilevel governance poses challenges to the accountability and representation in a political system. Although the term legitimacy is not directly named in these arguments, it can be stated that as a result of diminishing accountability and representation, the normative belief and perception of citizens can be changed, through which institutions are no longer seen as legitimate.

2.2.4. Reflections on Multilevel Governance Literature

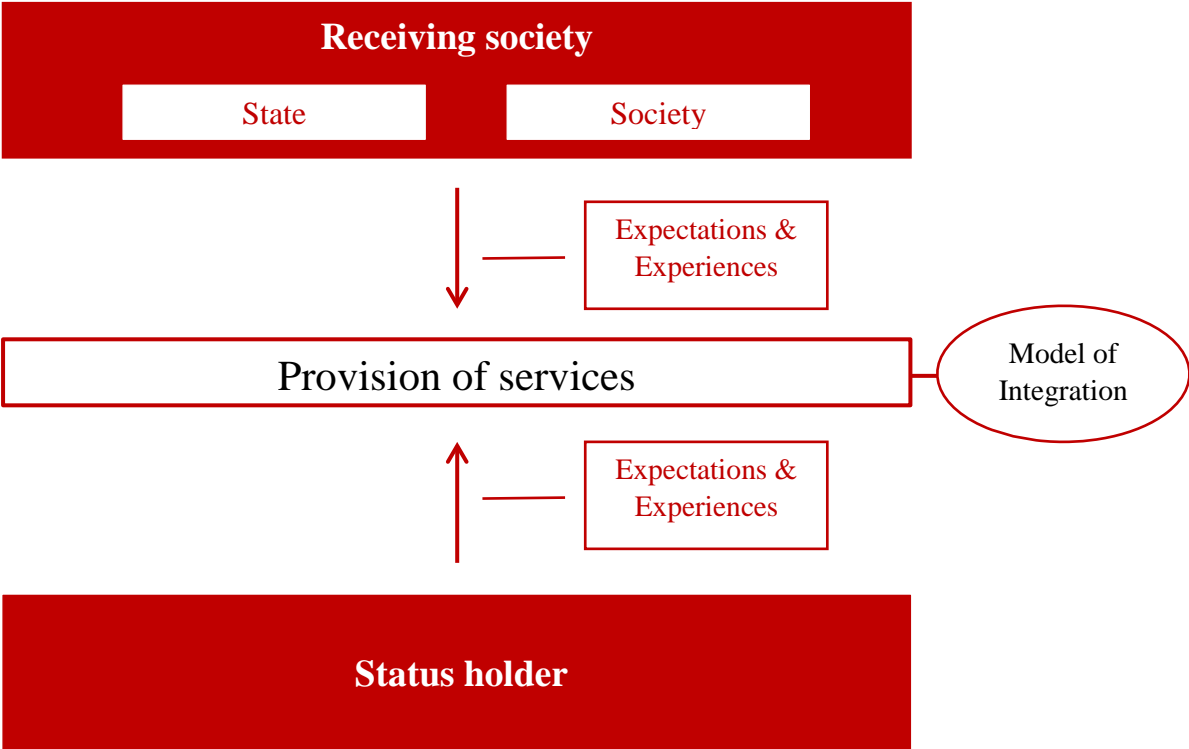
The main point to present here deals with the asymmetry of multilevel governance and the statement that this asymmetry does not have to be a bad thing. As discussed earlier, the approach of multilevel governance can appear in various forms with a combination of different levels and actors. Thereby should be added that traditional top-down government can also coexist with multilevel governance. As will be shown in the empirical chapters, the presence of multilevel governance is not always clear or recognized in the city of Dordrecht. However, the approach and accompanying concepts can still be used to analyze the network of actors and its agency. A striking element in relation to the involvement of private parties is that their accountability and representative character is less criticized than by public parties. Although powers and responsibilities are transferred to companies and NGOs, the main

discussion about accountability, representation and legitimacy is still focused on the national government.

2.3. Conceptual Framework

Based on the theory on migrant integration and multilevel governance, the conceptual framework, as shown in Figure 2. will be the foundation for the rest of the thesis.

Figure 2. Conceptual Framework



This framework presents how the receiving society and the status holders are two separate elements in a model of integration. The receiving society consists of the state and the society, whereby the state represents legal and political dimensions of integration, whereas the society stands for economic, social en cultural dimensions of integration. The two elements are connected by means of the provision of services for status holders in a city, through which basic needs of status holders are fulfilled and through which they are introduced in their new society. The provision of services tells something about the model of integration of a city and their attitude towards the integration of status holders. As explained earlier, these models can be characterized by assimilationism, differentialism, multiculturalism, universalism, and transnationalism. In relation to the provision of services in a city, both the receiving society

and the status holders have expectations and experiences. This research will investigate these expectations and experiences in order to discover positions of several actors and critically discuss the model of integration in the city of Dordrecht.

3. Methodology

The methodology of a research tells a lot about the researcher and the way he or she discovers his or her field of research. This chapter will focus on the methodology used for this research and the choices made in relation to data collection and data analysis. The chapter will start with a section about qualitative research which is the foundation of this thesis. The chapter will continue by explaining the principles of grounded theory and how this theory has been helpful for conducting the investigation in the migrant integration process in the city of Dordrecht. Furthermore, attention will be paid to the selection of Dordrecht as a case study and the methods that have been used or not used for the collection of data. The chapter will finish with some methodological reflections, whereby the focus will be on the position of me as a researcher and the objectivity of the research.

3.1. Qualitative research

"Qualitative research allows researchers to get at the inner experience of participants, to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture, and to discover rather than test variables" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 16).

This research is conducted by means of qualitative methods. The main goal of qualitative research is to go beyond numbers and generalizable data and look at the specific features of a case and the different perspectives on that specific case (Flick, 2009). As stated by Corbin and Strauss (2008), qualitative research is about discovering, rather than testing variables. It requires trust in the self and in the research process, whereby the researcher is not afraid of the danger of using personal experiences. Qualitative research fits to this research because the focus is on perspectives and positions of people and organizations. The goal of this research is to investigate the network of parties around the process of migrant integration and the agency of parties involved. Qualitative methods can be used to discover the relationship between service providers and how these relationships are experienced by them. Furthermore, experiences of status holders in relation to actual services will be investigated to see whether services are compatible with their expectations and needs. Since connections between different parties are often constructed by human beings, this research requires more than statistics. To make sure that connections between parties and the agency of parties is investigated appropriately, qualitative research with its focus on perceptions and complex relationships is chosen as an adequate research method.

3.2. Grounded Theory

This research is inspired by the principles of grounded theory. Grounded theory can be described as a set of "systematic, yet flexible guideless for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). The guidelines can be seen as general principles rather than formulaic rules. Its foundation was established by Glaser and Strauss (1967) with the following components:

- *Simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis.*
- *Constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived logically deduced hypotheses.*
- *Using the constant comparative methods, which involves making comparisons during each stage of the analysis.*
- *Advancing theory development during each step of data collection and analysis.*
- *Memo-writing to elaborate categories, and identify gaps.*
- *Sampling aimed toward theory construction, not for population representativeness.*
- *Conducting the literature review after developing and independent analysis.*

The foundation of grounded theory was a reaction on the dominant positivist methodology and quantitative researches. The grounded theory of Glaser and Strauss provided a new methodological approach, which brought back the legitimacy of qualitative research and the possibility to discover theory by other means than quantitative instruments (Charmaz, 2006). Grounded theory can therefore be seen as a post-positivist approach, whereby the influence of the researchers' interpretation is acknowledged as an element of the research. As stated by Dey (2004) grounded theory should not be seen as a single, unified methodology, which is clearly defined and specified. Glaser and Strauss also invited researchers to use their principles in flexible ways. Therefore grounded theory has been developed in different ways since 1967. For this research the variant of Charmaz (2006) is used as starting point whereby the focus is on constructivism and interpretation. This will help by understanding the construction of the network from a multilevel perspective and how it can be interpreted by the different actors. The elements of grounded theory have been used during this research in the following way:

Simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis.

As explained by Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill (2016), grounded theory is an appropriate approach for qualitative research since the process of data collection and the process of data analysis can be intertwined. This strategy was applicable to this research, since one interview could lead to relevant outcomes, which resulted in a need for additional data, with a new interview as a consequence. The fact that data collection and analysis went hand in hand during the process, made it possible to go deeper into topics, which would otherwise be discovered too late for further investigation.

Constructing analytic codes and categories from data, not from preconceived logically deduced hypotheses.

By using the collected data, instead of existing theories, as foundation of this research, this research was more embedded in the internship and the actual setting of the city of Dordrecht. Since the focus was on actual developments rather than theoretical approaches, it was possible to discover more detailed and practical data. Due to this choice, there was a risk to deviate from any category and theory and end up with a lot of detailed data without any coherence. I encountered this risk after three months of researching, whereupon I pushed myself to focus more on the research question and create a context wherein all the data came together.

Using the constant comparative methods, which involves making comparisons during each stage of the analysis.

This element goes hand in hand with the first element, whereby the data analysis is present throughout the whole research period. This gives the researcher space to discover new insights and connections in relation to the data collected. As stated earlier, I encountered some challenges after three months, since a clear direction for my research seemed to be missing. By making more comparisons I could find new patterns in the data which helped me to redevelop my research goals.

Advancing theory development during each step of data collection and analysis.

In accordance with the earlier comments, theory development was lacking during the first two months of the research. It probably needed time to become familiar with the field and to discover what kind of information was accessible. Especially, since the interviews with the status holders started in the third month, I missed an import amount of data for sufficient theory development. Even after the interviews it took some time, to study the data and

discover the relations. During the fourth and last month I intensively worked on theory development, whereby the constant comparative method was even used more intensively.

Memo-writing to elaborate categories, and identify gaps.

Memo-writing was a very helpful tool during the research process. It was helpful for identifying missing information. By means of brainstorming and mind mapping I sketched the collected data and discovered what information was missing. The memo-writing also helped during the more analytical part of the research, whereby I could evaluate the process and look back at earlier findings and interpretation.

Sampling aimed toward theory construction, not for population representativeness.

Sampling was based on conceptual density, whereby data collection continues until concepts and categories have become well developed and the connections between parties were clear. This method helped to complete the network of actors in relation to the integration process and to discover the plethora of connections between these parties. At the start of my research period, I was a little uncertain about this method, since I was afraid that I could not make a good argument without a representative group of organizations and status holders. During the research I experienced the creation of conceptual density and the value of interviews, even when they are not sampled for population representativeness.

Conducting the literature review after developing and independent analysis.

This element did not come back in this research, since the literature review was conducted at the start. Since the literature review served as a summary of existing knowledge, rather than introducing a theory that would be used or tested during the research, this does not have to be seen as a method which contradicts the method of grounded theory.

3.3. Case Study Research

The usage of a case study facilitates the exploration of a phenomenon within its context (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The primary goal of a case study is to investigate the particularity and uniqueness of a single case (Simons, 2009). Baxter and Jack (2008) clearly explain the varieties between case studies which need to be considered by selecting and demarcating your case. The first step is the selection of the unit of analysis which should fit the research objective and research question. For this selection it is essential to ask yourself what you

actually want to analyze. The formulated research question is: *Taking a multilevel governance perspective we ask how the integration process of status holders is embedded in current services provided by the City of Dordrecht. Therein, what role does the agency of actors, and specifically the agency of status holders, play?* The accompanying objective is to investigate the provision of services in relation to the integration and how these services are experienced by the actors involved. Besides, their power relations emerging from this process and agency will be analyzed. The analysis is not just about the services themselves or the results of the integration process, but the positions of the actors around the process. The unit of analysis and main focus of the research can therefore be described as 'the agency of parties involved in the integration process'.

After defining what the case will be, the case needs to be clearly demarcated, by looking at what the case will *not* be (Baxter & Jack, 2008). To decide the scope of the case, the dimension of time and place will be used to indicate the main demarcation. Concerning the time dimension, this research will look at the integration process of a status holder from the moment that he/she is accommodated in the city of Dordrecht. The journey of a status holder, its procedures and stay in asylum centers will not be investigated directly. However, these elements do affect the integration of status holders in the city, so can come back in the empirical analysis. Concerning the dimension of place, this research focuses solely on the integration process in the city of Dordrecht. The influence of institutions and organizations from other places or governmental levels will be incorporated in this research, but only when they have an impact on the case of Dordrecht.

After the selection and demarcation of the case, the type of case needs to be selected. The typology around case studies is diverse. Although the variation between single-case studies and multi-case studies is handled by many scholars, the next step of filtering types is more diversely interpreted. Levy (2008) categorizes case studies in ideographic case studies, hypotheses-generating case studies, hypotheses testing case studies and plausibility probes. According to the categorization of Levy (2008) this research can be labeled as an ideographic case study, whereby the aim is to explain and interpret a single case as an end in itself. This type is rather focused on the specific features of the integration process in Dordrecht than test the case of Dordrecht to hypotheses about integration or to develop a general theory about integration in the Netherlands.

Baxter and Jack (2008) handle a more extensive typology with seven varieties. The explanatory research which focuses on the explanation of presumed causal links which are too complex for a survey or experimental strategies. The exploratory case which focuses on cases

which lack of clear, single set of outcomes. The descriptive case, that deals with the description of a phenomenon in a real-life context. The collective or multiple-case study which explores differences within and between several cases. The intrinsic case which deals with cases that do not have a specific problem, but whereby the case itself is of interest. The instrumental case, whereby the case is of secondary interest, but the focus is on refining a theory. By means of this categorization this research can be seen as an exploratory case which focuses on the agency of actors in the integration process, of which no clear single set of outcomes is missing.

Although the selected case can be labeled in different ways, it needs to be clear that the focus is on 'the agency of parties involved in the integration process' in the city of Dordrecht. This case study investigates the specific features of the case with the goal to explore possible outcomes, which were not known yet.

3.4. Data Collection

3.4.1. Literature Review

A literature review is often used as the foundation for a research. The literature review in this thesis exists of two main elements. On the one hand it serves a summary of existing knowledge, on the other hand it critically discusses this knowledge and indicates the gaps in academic literature (Knopf, 2006). The literature review for this research is a qualitative literature review. This type of literature review focuses on studies that have used an inductive method of reasoning. The emphasis is on natural settings, variables that cannot be controlled and the experiences of the researcher. By contrast, types like quantitative literature review and meta-analysis are more focused on empirical studies with deductive reasoning. These literature reviews provide information about statistics and formulas (Sowers, Ellis & Meyer-Adams, 2001). The purpose of the literature review in this thesis is to give an overview of the existing literature, whereby the research can be placed in a larger context. By presenting the academic debates around the concepts of migrant integration and multilevel governance, this literature review outlines the development of migrant integration in the Netherlands and explains the theoretical foundations behind the concept of multilevel governance. Beside the direct relevance of the literature review for the reader, the literature review helps the researcher during its research process. The investigation of wider literature helps the researcher to discover other significant topics, to demarcate his/her own topic and learn more about research methods (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2014).

3.4.2. Secondary Analysis

Secondary analysis is known by the usage of pre-existing sources. The sources can be used for investigation of new or additional research questions or serve as a verification of existing researches (Heaton, 2004). Secondary analysis is both used for quantitative and qualitative research. For this research the focus will be again on the qualitative variant. Examples of pre-existing qualitative data used for secondary analysis are diaries, field notes, letters and official documents (Heaton, 2004). In this research, secondary data will be used as material for a new research. Official documents of the municipality provide information about organizational structures and political decisions which have an impact on the migrant integration in the city. Besides, publications of organizations like the Dutch Council for Refugees give an insight in their policies and ambitions, these sources serve as background information which helps to position the several organizations in the network of actors. The next important elements need to be taken into account when using secondary data. Firstly, the data of secondary sources is collected by someone else for another purpose. As a researcher you need to analyze critically whether the data is actually usable for your specific research. Secondly, the secondary data can be manipulated by its authors. Therefore, the objectivity of secondary sources needs to be critically assessed (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2014).

3.4.3. Semi-structured Interviews

A semi-structured interview is an interview whereby the interviewer prepares some questions, but whereby the possibility exists to talk about other topics as well (Clifford, French and Valentine, 2014). The idea behind semi-structured interviews is that the participant has the space to talk freely about its experiences in relation to a certain topic. By giving this space to participants, new topics or insights can be discovered (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2016). For this research interviews have been conducted with 31 professionals of the service providing organizations in the city of Dordrecht and 13 status holders (an overview of the interviewees can be found in appendix 1). The interviews with the professionals were focused on their services for the status holders and their experiences in relation to migrant integration in Dordrecht. Besides, their communication and cooperation with other organizations was an important point of discussion, to discover the interaction in the network of actors. During the interviews with the professionals, the focus was on organizational aspects as individual aspects as well. On the one hand, the professionals could provide information about the policies of their organization. On the other hand, some professionals also provided data about their own experiences as employee or volunteer in relation to the status holders, which was a

nice bridge between the organizational abstract structures and the personal experiences of the status holders themselves. During these interviews with the status holders, the focus was mainly on their practical experiences and expectations. Since they were often not aware of the organizational structures, it was hard to talk about this in detail.

It was difficult to arrange the interviews and took a lot of time. I was able to arrange some interviews via the Dutch Council for Refugees, but some of them did not show up. With the help of the Da Vinci College I was able to interview people during their civic integration course. During these interviews at the Da Vinci College, it appeared that not all interviewees came from Dordrecht, but also from other villages in the region. Since they followed their civic integration course in Dordrecht and the systems in the region are familiar in relation to migrant integration policies, I decided to use these interviews as sources of data, even though they deviate from the strict unit of analysis.

As expected, the language barrier was a serious challenge. Since interviews were mostly arranged for the next day or the same week, it was often impossible to arrange a translator. Since most of the status holders spoke a bit Dutch, I was able to ask the most important question, but it was hard to get into deeper discussion. Even when there was a translator for the interviewees who did not speak Dutch, it became clear that the meaning of words did not always reach the interviewee in the mentioned way.

Although I planned to find a location which would be comfortable for the status holders, it became clear that it was far more practical to meet at the city hall. Status holders were familiar with this place and were able to find it in the city. The interviews at the Da Vinci College took place in the school building, since the interviewees had to return to their class.

3.4.4. Additional Meetings

Beside the semi-structured interviews, I was able to attend several meetings which were useful for this research. These meetings varied between national conferences and meetings with policy makers from other municipalities. Besides, some parties in the city started to organize focus groups for status holders, where different parties discussed the challenges in their specific domain. During the last week of my internship, I organized a small interactive conference with all service providers to present the first findings of the research. This conference resulted in new feedback and insights which were very helpful. The meetings were useful to investigate the interaction between parties and to arrange new interviews. The data from these meetings is mainly used as background information which helped to determine the

context. The meetings with other municipalities are not directly incorporated in the analysis about Dordrecht but helped me to investigate the migrant integration policy from different perspectives.

3.4.5. No Survey

Beside justifying the strategies and methods I have used, I also want to justify a strategy I did not use. Although I planned to do a survey with a representative sample of the status holders in Dordrecht I have not been able to realize it. Although I saw a survey as a valuable source of information to provide the reader a general idea about the experiences of status holders in Dordrecht, I was not able to compose a representative sample. This was mainly due to the lack of information about status holders in the city of Dordrecht. Although different registration systems are present in the city, there is not one point where all data is collected and present. This made it impossible to create a representative sample. During discussing the possibilities with the Dutch Council of Refugees they also advised me against a survey, since they expected that status holders would not understand the purpose or would not be willing to participate. For these reasons, I decided to let go the survey and use the rest of sources as the foundation of my analysis.

3.5. Methodological Reflections

3.5.1. Positioning the Researcher

An important issue in methodological terms is the relation between the researcher and the researched. The positionality of a researcher can be simply divided between an insider (good but impossible) and an outsider (bad but inevitable). However that categorization is more complex in reality (Crang, 2003). As I have seen during my own research I, as a researcher, could be an insider and outsider during the same meetings. Since I worked as an intern for the municipality during my research, I was seen as an insider for the people who worked at the municipality. During the meetings with other policy makers of the municipality it was clear that I as an employee/intern was seen as one of them. In relation to other organizations I could be interpreted in two ways. As outsider since I was not part of that specific organization or as insider since we both functioned as service provider in relation to the integration process. During the interviews with status holders I was clearly seen as an outsider, who was not familiar with their lives and perspectives. I tried to deal with this by being honest about it. By admitting the fact that I have no information about the experiences of status holders and that their perspective is often neglected during the integration process, I tried to appear as an

outsider who is aware of its position instead of pretending that the gap between me and them was not that big.

The fact that I worked as an intern for the municipality could have brought challenges in relation to independency. As stated by Hammersley and Traianou (2012) there are potential threats when a governmental or commercial organization is the initiator of a research. This because they can influence the methodology, try to control the publication or modify research reports. Although I did not experience these limitations from the municipality, I did experience that I became part of that organization, which affected my independency. I started to think as a policy-maker in some cases instead as a researcher. Since I became aware of this fact, before writing my empirical chapters, I was aware to pay attention to this on time. I pushed myself to look more from a helicopter view with an academic perspective, instead of the political perspective. In the end, I think that I have handled in the right way. During the period of data collection, it was good to be part of the municipality, since it helped me to arrange new interviewees and to collect sufficient data. After the data collection, I tried to distance myself from the policy perspective and to write my thesis from an academic and critical point of view.

3.5.2. Objectivity

The question whether a research is conducted objectively is an important issue. This section does not deal with the discussion about positivism and post-positivism and the question whether a researcher is able to be objective in general. The section about grounded theory already touched upon this abstract debate, so this section will deal with more practicable elements of objectivity, namely reliability and validity. As explained by Kirk and Miller *"reliability is the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out; validity is the extent to which its gives the correct answer"* (Kirk & Miller, 1986, p. 8). These two concepts will be used to explain how objectivity is guaranteed in this research.

Firstly the reliability whereby the focus is on the replicability and consistency of findings and the question whether other researchers would have found the same findings on the basis of similar methods. As explained by Thyer (2001) there are different methods for increasing reliability. Not all methods were applicable for this research, so a selection has been made and discussed in this section. First of all, the use of alternate form questions during interviews. Especially for the interviews with the status holders, which were interviewed only once, it was important to pose alternate form questions, to check whether their answers were

consistent. This also helped to check whether status holders had actually understood a question, since the language was in some cases a barrier. Second, a detailed documentation method for field notes. By establishing different forms of field notes, it was possible to create a clear view of the research design and methods used. The well-organized collection of audiotapes, written notes, additional reports and information about the research progress was a helpful tool for the evaluation of data by myself, but also for my colleague. Since my colleague and I were together during the majority of interviews and meetings, it was able to discuss and evaluate our findings to check whether these were consistent. This method is also named by Thyer (2001) as cross-checking, whereby multiple team members or participants confirm their observations. The cross-checking occurred with my direct colleague, but also with other organizations. By planning multiple interviews and feedback moments with the professionals, we could check whether information was interpreted in the right way. A fourth method is to stay close to the empirical data. As explained earlier, the research was documented by a well-organized system of notes and reports. The first findings and direct reports of interviews were used as foundation for the conclusions. This to avoid conclusions that were based on abstract and general interpretations, which diminish the reliability of the research.

Secondly, the validity which focuses on the accuracy of data. Thyer (2001) proposed methods for increased validity as well, of which the next elements have been adopted in this research. Firstly, a prolonged engagement in the research field, through which the researcher can take time to get familiar with the research setting and relations between participants and the researcher have space to develop. Although the contact with status holders was most of the time non-recurring, the relations with service providers have been developed in more structural relations. This prolonged engagement provided space for reflecting and questioning the interpretation of findings and to validate the accuracy of the data. This also correlates with the second element, the method of member-checks whereby feedback of participant is used to check the validity of data. Thirdly, the usage of reflexivity whereby the researcher has to be aware of biases and let go its preconceptions and assumptions, to make sure that data is interpreted and presented in a valid way. Finally, the method of peer debriefing, whereby researchers select persons to critically review its findings and interpretations and to help the researcher with his feedback. For this research, data and interpretation has been reviewed by different colleague researchers, but also by people who are not familiar with the topic and are not familiar with academic research. This method helped to avoid a narrow-minded research strategy with biased conclusions as result.

4. Migrant Integration in Dordrecht

Specific migrant integration policies have been abolished in Dordrecht (Brief aan de Gemeenteraad, 2010). In 2011 the municipality of Dordrecht reconsidered its broad integration policy whereby migrants were a specific target group and shifted responsibilities from the government to the citizens. This means that at the moment the city fulfills the legal obligation to accommodate status holders in Dordrecht and uses the national budgets for social support, but does not invest in additional policies to stimulate integration. The dominant idea behind the accommodation and integration of status holders is that they have the same rights and duties as other inhabitants of Dordrecht and above all their own responsibility to integrate. Services for status holders are therefore incorporated in regular institutions like the housing cooperatives and the Social Service (Raadsinformatiebrief Kanteling Integratiebeleid, 2011). The services for status holders in the city of Dordrecht can be categorized by means of four domains. These domains are housing, education, social support and employment.

This chapter will provide an overview of the core provision of services in each domain. Although these services are not specially designed for status holders, it is significant to set out the main processes that a status holder has to go through. Besides, the theory of multilevel governance will be used to analyze the network of actors. The goal of this chapter is to explain the current situation in Dordrecht, whereupon the first sub question can be answered: *"How is the current provision of services for status holders organized in the city of Dordrecht?"* After reading this chapter it will be clear which actors are involved in relation to the inflow of status holders and how responsibilities are divided over the network of actors. This knowledge will be the foundation for further analysis in upcoming chapters.

4.1. Provision of Services

4.1.1. Housing

The domain housing is significant since it deals with the provision of primary needs of status holders, who link housing to shelter and safety. For the municipalities the domain housing has a more political character. Each municipality has a legal obligation to accommodate status holders in their municipality. The amount of status holders is calculated as a percentage of the population of the city or village and is called the 'task setting'. Municipalities have a task setting for each half year. This arrangement is not something new, but also existed when the inflow of status holders was lower. Each municipality has the freedom to design and

implement their own policy in relation to the housing of status holders as long as they are provided with safe and permanent housing. The term permanent is used here to make a distinction between the temporal stay in a refugee center and the more permanent housing in a municipality. It does not mean that a status holder can stay permanently in the Netherlands, since status holders only receive a permit for five years. The domain housing can be characterized as technical from the governmental perspective, as will become clear in chapter five, this can clash with the perspective of status holders. Figure 3. provides an overview of actors and activities for the domain housing. This section will discuss the different actors and their responsibilities in relation to the housing policy.

Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (CAR)

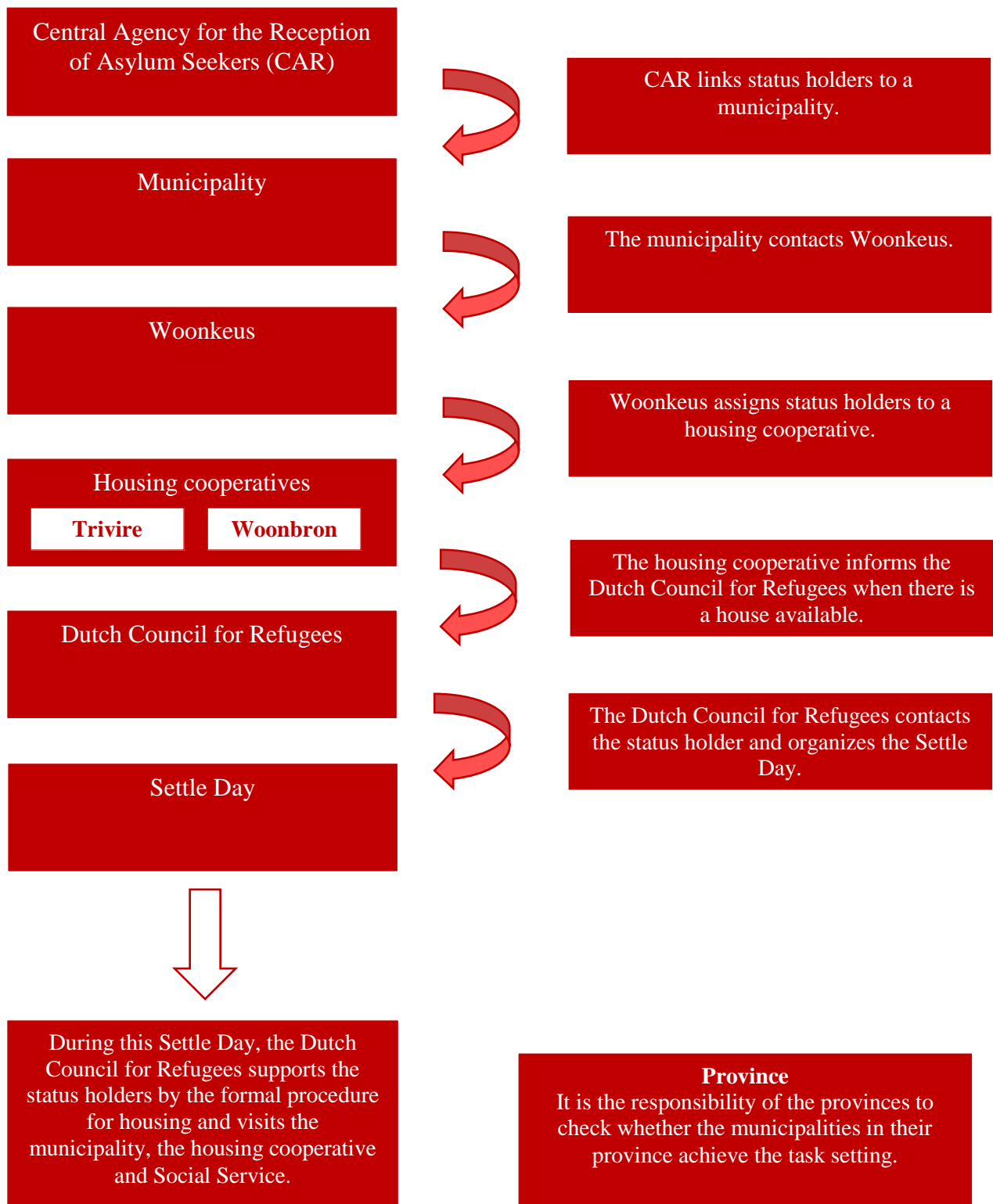
CAR is the independent administrative body that is responsible for the reception, supervision and departure of asylum seekers. The concrete asylum procedure is under the leading of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. So CAR is not responsible for the decision whether an asylum seeker is allowed to stay in the Netherlands. CAR falls under the responsibility of the Ministry of Security and Justice and operates out of a political assignment of the government (CAR, 2016). In relation to the domain housing, CAR has a minimal role, since it only links status holders to the municipalities and passes on the names of these people. CAR can function as a contact person for status holders until they are definitely settled in Dordrecht, but is not involved in or responsible for the housing policies in municipalities.

Municipality

In relation to coordination the municipality has a prominent role, whereby the municipality monitors the housing stock and the progress of the task setting. It is the municipality which is legally accountable for the actual accomplishment of the task setting and has to justify their results to the province.

Concerning the executive tasks, the main focus of the municipality is on registration and administration. First an employee of the municipality registers the status holders in a digital system, through which the names are available for Woonkeus, which will continue the activities for housing with other private and non-governmental parties. Besides, the municipality has to start the priority procedure, which gives a status holder an urgency status. On the Settle Day the status holder goes to the municipality for the formal registration in the municipal personal records database. Since the rental contract is signed at this day as well, the status holder can be registered as a housed status holder for the task setting.

Figure 3. Domain Housing



Woonkeus

Woonkeus is a foundation in the region Drechtsteden which coordinates the housing distribution in the Drechtsteden. This region consists of Dordrecht and five other municipalities. The foundation is a cooperation between the housing cooperatives of the municipalities of the Drechtsteden (Woonkeus, 2016). Normally, status holders move to the linked municipality, but when there is no appropriate house available, there is a possibility to switch between the municipalities in the Drechtsteden. This often happens with large families, which are hard to house in cities, since the majority of the housing stock is for small families. In the case of Dordrecht, Woonkeus divides the status holders between the two housing cooperatives in the city: Trivire and Woonbron. Woonkeus remains a sort of coordinative actor, but has no final responsibilities in relation to the actual housing of status holders.

Housing Cooperatives

Trivire and Woonbron are the two housing cooperatives in the city of Dordrecht. After receiving new names of status holders from Woonkeus they start to look for appropriate houses. When a house is available, the housing cooperatives contact the Dutch Council for Refugees, so that they can arrange the Settle Day for the status holder. On this day, an employee of the housing cooperative visits the house with the status holder and a volunteer of the Dutch Council for Refugees, after which the rental contract is signed at the office of the housing cooperative. The signing of the rental contract is the moment that a status holder counts for the task setting. After the Settle Day, the housing cooperative fulfills its task as regular housing cooperative whereupon the status holder is treated as a normal customer.

Dutch Council for Refugees

Until and during the Settle Day, a volunteer of the Dutch Council for Refugees serves a contact person for the status holders. When they receive a message of the housing cooperative, they contact the status holder in the asylum center and arrange a date. At this date the status holder goes to the municipality, the housing cooperative and the Social Service. The volunteer comes together with a translator and assists the status holder with the appointments. After the Settle Day, the 'Coaching Housing' track starts, whereby the Dutch Council for Refugees helps the status holder with arranging formalities like gas and light, general practitioner, dentist, assurances etc. This support is financed by the municipality which makes therefore use of the municipality fund.

Social Service

During the Settle Day, the status holder visits the Social Service to arrange social benefits and additional amount of money for furniture. This money is financed by the general budgets of the Social Service, which are not particularly founded for status holders. The Social Service is therefore solely a financial actor in the domain housing.

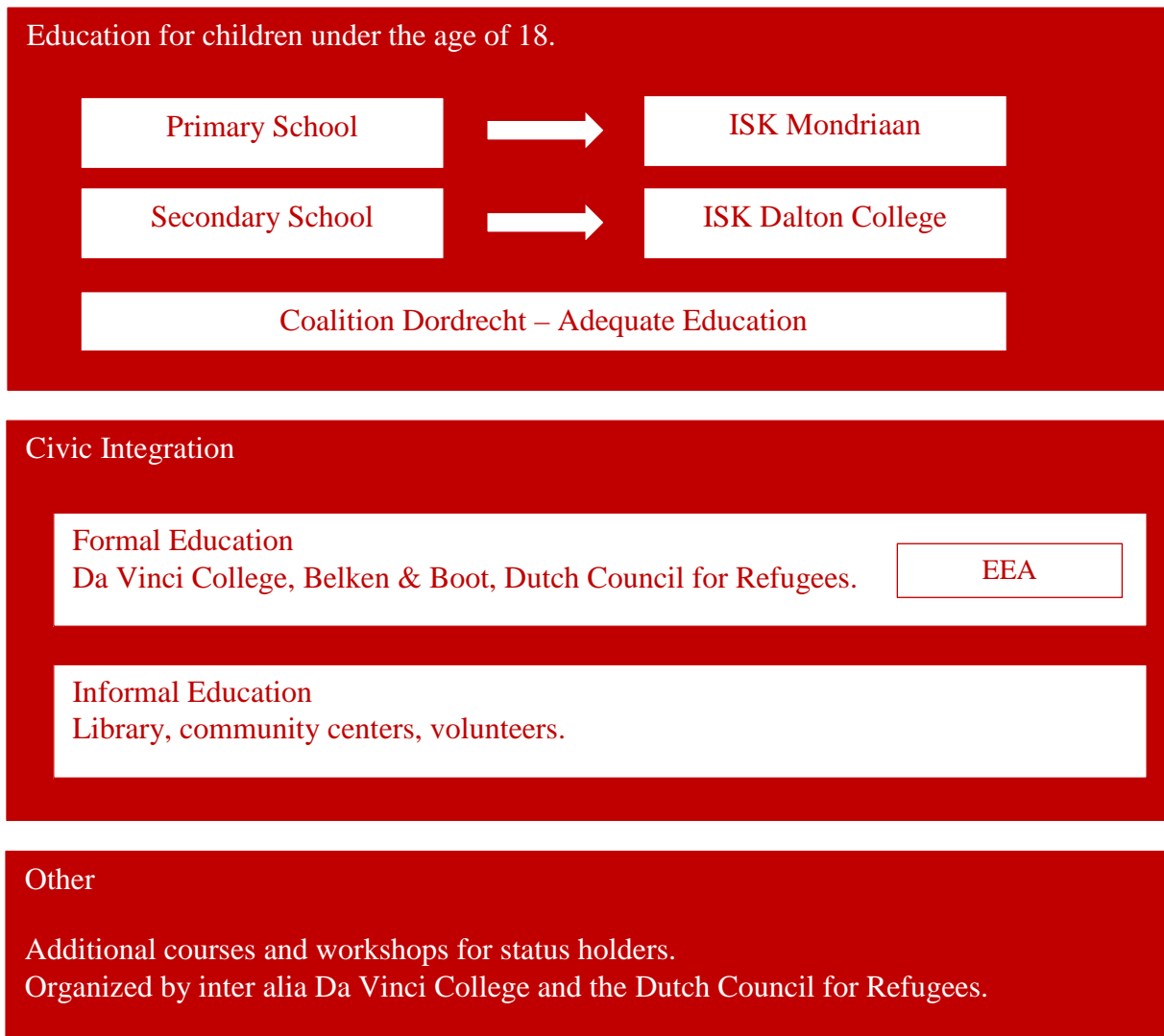
4.1.2. Education

The domain of education is highly valued in the Netherlands and also in the city of Dordrecht. Children of status holders under the age of 18 are obliged by public education law to go to school. Status holder between the age of 18 and the retirement age are obliged to follow courses for civic integration (Rijksoverheid, 2016). The civic integration course is presented by the Dutch government as the first step into social en economic integration, whereby status holders become familiar with the Dutch society and learn the Dutch language. The present policy is based on the idea that you first have to pass you civic integration exam, before you can participate in the economy. Therefore the civic integration course can be seen as a gateway to the rest of your life in the Netherlands.

Whereas the domain of housing functions according to a clear chain of actors and activities, the domain of education can be better presented by means of different categories. Although education depends on personal characteristics and is familiar with exceptional individual cases, Figure 4. presents the main actors and activities by the hand of three categories. These categories exist of a first category for children under the age of 18, a second category for civic integration and a third category for additional studies.

With the different categories and the combination of formal and informal services it is difficult to explain the domain by means of actors, like the domain of housing. Due to the commercial character of the market for civic integration and the invisible character of some informal service suppliers, it cannot be guaranteed that all actors are adopted in this scheme. Therefore this section will analyze the domain education on the basis of categories instead of actors.

Figure 4. Domain Education



Education for children under the age of 18

Status holders under the age of 18 are educated at the ISK-schools. ISK stands for 'Internationale Schakelklas' in Dutch which provides education for children who came from abroad to make them ready for regular education. For children under the age of 13, the Mondriaan school provides a curriculum for one or two years. Children follow a program with different courses, whereby the Dutch language skills are central. For children between 13 and 18 years this program is offered by Dalton College, which is based on the same idea. After finishing the ISK-program children can move to regular education in the Netherlands or start with their civic integration. The coalition Dordrecht for Adequate Education offers special arrangements for status holder children, whereby children get extra support during their curriculum or by switching to another school.

Civic Integration

The civic integration is an obligation for status holders between 18 and the retirement age and is paid with a loan from the EEA, which is the Executive Education Agency. When one passes the exam within three years, this loan is transformed into a gift. The Dutch Council for Refugees advises status holders with choosing a school and the formalities for the loan from the EEA. On average, people start with the civic integration, three months after their arrival in Dordrecht. The three main providers of civic integration in Dordrecht are Da Vinci College, Belken&Boot and the Dutch Council for Refugees. Status holders can also chose a school outside Dordrecht, so not all status holders are registered at these organizations. Beside these formal institutions, it is also possible to take additional language lessons in the library, community centers or with volunteers who function as language-buddies. These actors form the informal education for civic integration.

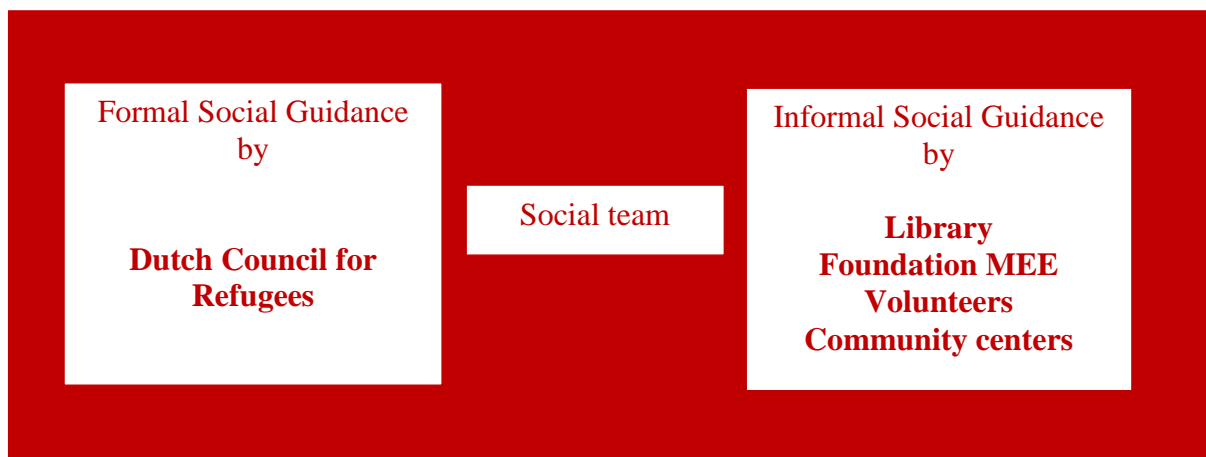
Other

Beside these compulsory elements of education, additional workshops and courses are organized to stimulate the integration and participation of the status holders. Examples of these initiatives are the participation workshops at the Dutch Council of Refugees, which are financed by European subsidies. Furthermore Da Vinci College offers additional lessons for status holders, whereby their language and employee skills are trained. These lessons can be paid by the Social Service, when status holders follow a course in commission of the Social Service. However, these forms of education do not belong to the general services or legal obligation of the city.

4.1.3. Social guidance

The social guidance of new status holders is also a legal obligation of the municipality. The goal of the services in this domain is to make the status holders familiar with the Dutch system and the social events in the city of Dordrecht. The domain of social guidance is the soft counterpart of the domain housing, which was focused on the hard organization for provision of houses. As with the domain housing, each municipality has the freedom to design its own policy in relation to social guidance. In many cities the Dutch Council for Refugees plays a prominent role in this domain, this is also the case in Dordrecht.

Figure 5. Domain Social Guidance



Formal Social Guidance

The Dutch Council for Refugees is the responsible actor for social guidance in the city of Dordrecht. The track 'social guidance' is financed by the municipality via a national fund and starts after the track 'coaching housing'. The track 'social guidance' continues one year, whereby the status holder is guided in the Dutch society. The tasks for the Dutch Council for Refugees, which are set by the municipality of Dordrecht, are as follows:

- Advancing contact between the status holder and its environment, like community centers, governmental organizations, libraries, shops etc.
- Monitoring of and reporting of possible stagnation in the process of civic integration.
- Monitoring and reporting of trends and developments in relation to the integration of status holders.

The tasks are executed by means of a contact person for each status holder and consulting hours, where status holders can ask questions.

Informal Social Guidance

Other parties which can contribute to the social guidance of status holders are the library and foundation MEE which organizes several social activities for the community. These services are labeled as informal, since they are not officially subsidized and have a broader audience than status holders only. There are also citizens which organize activities or support for status holders. Since these initiatives are often ad hoc, they are not structural available for status holders.

Social Teams

Social teams can be labeled as a specific kind of actor in relation to the services for status holders. Social teams exist in the city Dordrecht since January 2015 and are divided over the neighborhoods in the city. The teams are available for all questions of all the citizens in the city. These questions can vary from financial issues to medical problems. The social teams work with specialists from different fields and make sure that each individual is helped in the right way by the right person. Although social teams are helpful in some cases for the provision of social guidance, their service does not reach every status holder. Status holders are not a specific target group either, since the social teams are available for each person in Dordrecht.

4.1.4. Employment

The domain employment does not need a separate figure to present actors and activities, since the Social Service is the only significant actor in this domain. Although the domain of employment is often seen as an important domain in relation to the integration of status holders, it became clear, that this is not the case with the present migrant integration policy in Dordrecht. As explained in the section about the domain education, the civic integration exam served as a gateway to economic participation in Dordrecht, with the result, that status holders did not have a job or voluntary work during the first three years. Since 50% does not pass the civic integration exam, this group often remains dependent on the social benefits (NOS, 2016). Status holders, who did pass the exam, were treated the same way as the Dutch inhabitants of Dordrecht. This means that employees of the Social Service had appointments with status holders with social benefits and tried to find a suitable job. In some cases status holders had to follow workshops to improve their employee skills, but overall it was just accepted that the majority of them would stay dependent on the social benefits. It should be noted that the economic climate also plays a role in this development, whereby employment opportunities are low in general.

During this research the Social Service was developing a new approach for status holders. However, this approach is still under construction, so for now the old situation is leading in the domain employment.

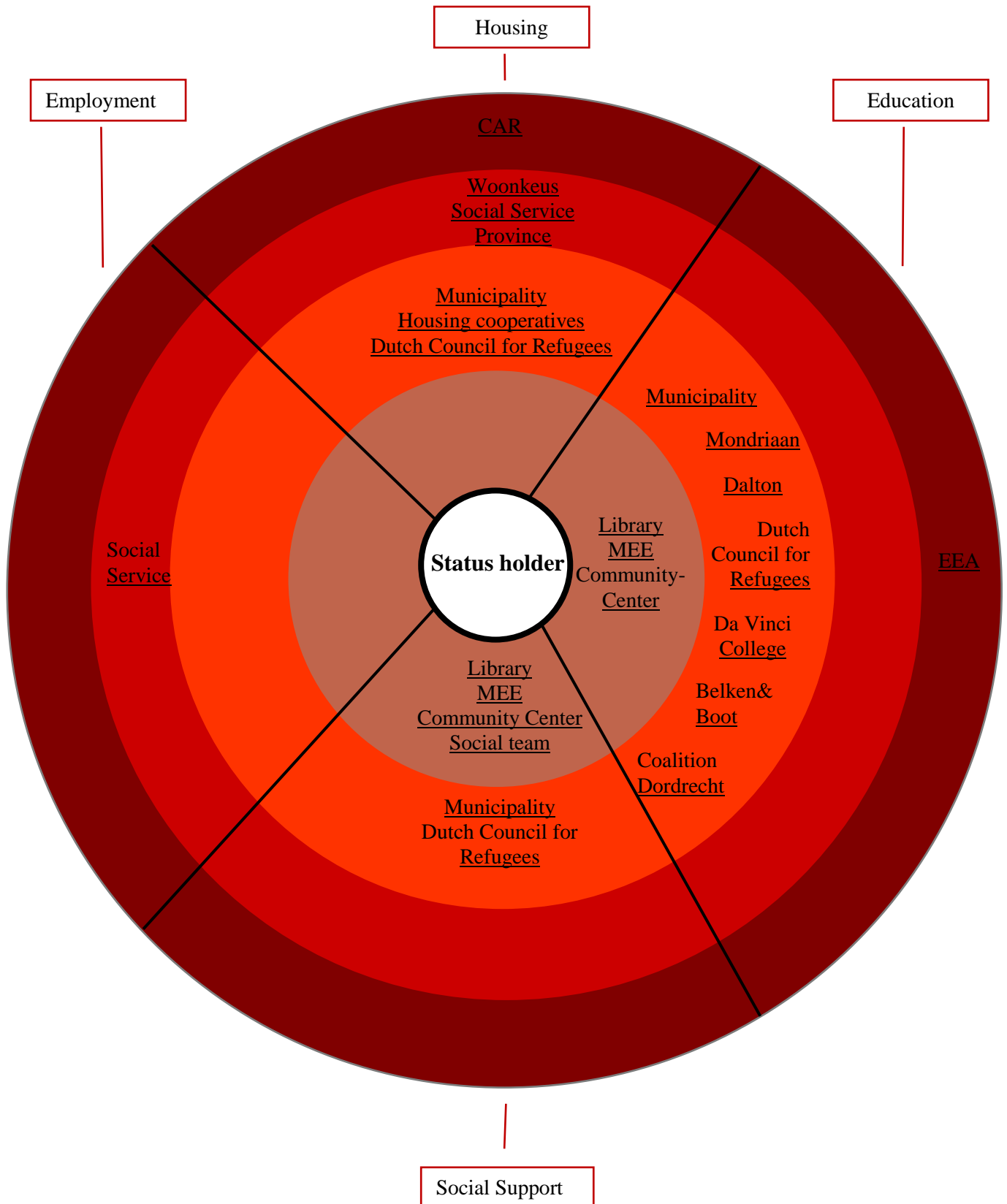
4.1.5. Other domains

Other domains like healthcare, sports, leisure and security are additional themes which absolutely touch upon the group of status holders but are not categorized as specific domains in relation to the services for status holders. Mainly because the municipality of Dordrecht

wants to avoid that status holders are seen as a specific target group with extra benefits. When a status holder needs specific healthcare, it should be the Dutch Council for Refugees which helps him or her to find the right care, after which the procedure will not deviate from the procedure of a Dutch national. The same goes for the theme security, whereby the police focus on the safety of and for the whole population and not for status holders as a specific group.

4.2. Multilevel Governance in Dordrecht

Figure 6. Network of Actors in the City of Dordrecht



4.2.1. The Multilevel Perspective

After describing the different processes in the city of Dordrecht, the network of actors can be presented as in Figure 6. The first section of this chapter has shown that many services are available for status holders. Basic needs like shelter and income are arranged by the domains of housing and employment. Furthermore, there is a compulsory civic integration course and social guidance to get familiar with the receiving country, in this case the city of Dordrecht. Beside these formal arranged services, informal service providers like foundation MEE and the library organize several activities to make the introduction of status holders in the city less forced. By reading this small summary of the services, it seems that all ingredients for a warm welcome in the city of Dordrecht are present. However, due to the lack of communication and cooperation between the different actors (illustrated by the black lines in Figure 6), the opportunities of the network of actors are not fully utilized. This was clearly shown by two interviews I had on the 14th of April.

When I asked a man from Armenia whether something could be improved in the Netherlands, he repeated several times, that there is always something to be improved, but that he was very happy in the Netherlands and that he did not know specific things that should be changed. However, at the end of the interview, the man remembered something. *“I remember one thing. I wanted to come more times a week to the civic integration course. Now I go two times a week, but I have time. I can come five times a week and pass the test in one year. But they do not contact me.”* Due to the restricted budgets of the EEA, providers of the civic integration course can only offer 12 hours of civic integration course each week, which explained why this man could not go to school more often. The more striking part is that this man was not referred to informal service providers with language courses. He had never heard of the additional language activities at foundation MEE and the library, where he could practice his language skills. Although these activities are not the same as the actual civic integration courses, they could help to advance his language skills and stimulate his progress. On the same day, I spoke with a boy from Eritrea who would love to play in a soccer team, but he did not have the money to pay the contribution of the soccer club. The city of Dordrecht has a foundation to support children to go to school and play sports. However, no one told this boy from Eritrea that these opportunities were present in the city. These two interviews showed that the provision of services in Dordrecht is in theory able to fulfil the demands of status holders, but that the network of actors is not able to bring demand and supply together. These two examples illustrated how the lack of cooperation and

communication between the service providers harm the integration process of status holders, because opportunities, like additional language courses, are not utilized.

Concerning the network of actors in the city of Dordrecht, one could question whether the network should be characterized as a multilevel system at all. It could be argued that the final responsibilities still lie with governmental organizations and that the main activities are focused on the local level. However, especially in relation to the broader interpretation of multilevel governance it can be shown that non-governmental institutions are becoming more powerful in relation to the integration process. This is *inter alia* shown by the role of Woonkeus that, as a regional foundation, takes the lead in dividing and coordinating the housing of status holders. Besides, the commercialization of civic integration courses emphasizes the importance of private actors in the network and their responsibilities in relation to education of status holders. Furthermore, the prominent presence of the Dutch Council for Refugees in the network of actors shows the increasing power of non-governmental organizations. Although the Dutch Council of Refugees is bound by the subsidies and accompanying tasks of the municipality, this organization has its own point of view in relation to the integration of status holders and makes clear statements about their interests. An important element of the multilevel network is the presence of informal service suppliers in the domain of education and social guidance. Although these parties are not visible or recognized yet as important players, these actors can complement the integration process and stretch the activities to the neighborhood level.

A significant example of an invisible actor is foundation MEE. When I spoke with a professional of foundation MEE I was directly excited about their activities. Beside the language courses, Foundation MEE organizes a world kitchen, where you can eat every Tuesday for a small fee. A place where people from different nationalities come together, eat and talk, sounds like a good place for status holders to get to know new people and to mingle with the population of Dordrecht. Foundation MEE also has a special group for women, where women come together and support each other with their personal problems or just have some tea together. These activities are not specifically organized for status holders, but could be of great value for the integration of these newcomers, without the forced character like the civic integration course. However, activities of foundation MEE are not well-known in the city. It cannot be said that it is a fault of foundation MEE that their activities are invisible or that other service providers ignore foundation MEE on purpose. However, due to the fact that service providers are mainly focused on their own activities in their own domain, the benefits of communication and cooperation have remained undiscovered.

4.2.2. Analysis of Multilevel Network

As discussed in the theoretical chapter the concepts of accountability, representation and legitimacy are essential concepts in the debates about multilevel governance. This section will discuss these concepts in relation to the multilevel network in the city of Dordrecht.

Concerning the accountability, it can be stated that this element is sufficiently present in the different domains. It is clear who is accountable for what activities and who has to justify the result in that domain to higher institutions. Since accountability is assured in each domain the legal obligation and related activities in Dordrecht are fulfilled. However, since communication is missing between the different domains, it is not always clear for each party who is accountable for what activities in other domains. This was clearly shown during the small conference organized by my colleague and me at the end of May. The goal of the conference was to show the network of actors and explain the services provided in each domain. The audience consisted of the interviewed professionals working in the several domains. It was striking that an actual conference was needed to make these professionals from different domains talk with each other. Visit cards were exchanged, new initiatives were discussed and the professionals repeated several times, that it was great to have everybody together and to know what is exactly happening concerning the inflow of status holders. I was contented to see that our conference was such a success, but also a bit disappointed. Why is there a lack of communication between these professionals, while they can bundle their forces and help status holders in a much more effective way? However, the missing accountability between the different domains does not result in direct problems, since cooperation between the actors from other domains is often missing as well. The question about accountability is in this case more about the provision of information, in order that professionals from other domains know what is going on, but has no direct implications for the implementation and execution of policies in the four domains separately.

The discussion about representation is a significant one and can be approached from different perspectives. The main question which arises in relation to the discussion about representation is whether status holders should be considered as a part of the population. From the legal-political perspectives status holders are not part of the Dutch population, since they do not have the right to vote. However, in relation to the socio-economic perspective it can be stated that status holders are part of the Dutch population since they participate in the society and economy. However, since they do not have the possibility to vote they are not represented

by the governmental institutions even though the policies affect their daily lives. The multilevel network is in that case advantageous for status holders since their interests can be promoted by non-governmental organizations like the Dutch Council for Refugees which makes an effort to lobby for the rights and interests of refugees and status holders. In relation to the representation of the population of Dordrecht with the right to vote it is hard to make any conclusions. Since no direct actions or changes have been introduced in the policies yet it was not possible to investigate the feeling of representation under the population of Dordrecht in relation to the integration of status holders.

Data which confirmed the problem of representation and responsibilities in relation to multilevel governance was more focused on the deviation between national and local policies. During the research period the national government decided to abolish the priority-procedure in relation to the law for the housing of status holders. Due to this decision parts of the Dutch population felt represented since they think that status holders should not be prioritized over other Dutch citizens. However, the consequence of this national decision is that municipalities have to decide for their own whether they abolish the priority-procedure in their municipality or not. Since the task setting as such does not change as a legal obligation for municipalities it is nearly impossible to house the amount of status holders in one year without a priority-procedure. Although the municipality of Dordrecht has not made a decision yet in relation to the priority-procedure it is possible that this procedure will not be abolished in the city. Due to these decision-making processes on different levels, people can feel represented on the national level, but feel unrepresented by the local level about the same topic.

As discussed in the theoretical chapter the concept of legitimacy is a difficult one. Especially the element of normative belief makes it hard to measure legitimacy. As stated by Rothstein (2009) the level of legitimacy is more determined by the output of policies than the input of policies. In relation to the network of actors in Dordrecht I would argue that it is exactly the missing link between local input and local output which makes the system illegitimate for people. When people or organizations experience a policy outcome in their environment but do not know where the decision about the policy is made and what input has influenced the eventual outcome, a system can be perceived as illegitimate.

It can be stated that the feeling of illegitimacy in Dordrecht was reinforced by the vagueness between national developments and local circumstances. This was clearly shown when national news items were launched, but policy makers and professionals in the city of Dordrecht did not know to what extent national numbers or developments were comparable with the actual situation in Dordrecht. One of these news items concerned the fact that 50% of

the status holders (that started in 2013) did not pass the civic integration course (NOS, 2016). It was striking to hear these numbers, but it was not clear whether this was also the case in Dordrecht. Besides, there was also confusion about the different success rates between the providers of civic integration, whereby it was not clear how the different educational institutions performed. Another example dealt with the nationalities of the status holders. The national news announced that the group of status holders mainly consisted of Syrians and Eritreans, but for a long time it was not clear whether this was also the case in Dordrecht. It took me several hours to combine the information from different systems to find out the composition of status holders in Dordrecht, since one general system is missing. In the light of these examples it can be argued that the multilevel system in Dordrecht could be experienced as illegitimate since there is confusion about the local policy output in relation to national developments. This confusion is caused by a lack of communication and cooperation, through which actors in Dordrecht are not aware of the several policy structures and actual policy output in relation to migrant integration.

4.2.3. Critique

The arguments against multilevel governance discussed the lack of visibility, the composition of the network, the lack of cooperation and communication and the presence of peer accountability. In the case of this research it can be stated that all arguments can be applied on the network of actors in the city of Dordrecht. However, since actors in the network are close to each other as regards political levels and geographical distance it can be argued that all complications can be clarified by the means of the lack of communication and cooperation.

First, the fact that policy procedures are not visible for all parties can be seen as problematic. As explained earlier, services are categorized by means of four domains, whereby the policy structures are not visible for other domains. Nevertheless, since the scope of the migrant integration policies in the city is relatively small by comparison of large European institutions, sufficient information provision between the actors of different domains could solve this problem.

Second, the composition of the network in Dordrecht is also a problematic issue whereby especially the status holders themselves are not taken into account. Although there is less pressure from big lobby groups or high-level strategic bureaucrats on the side of the service providers, it seems that these organizations are not able to incorporate status holders as important actors in the network and still focus on their own interests. This was shown by

new policy initiatives of the Dutch Council for Refugees. In the light of their reorganization and the increasing amount of status holders, the Dutch Council for Refugees designed a new policy whereby the focus should be more on participation in the Dutch economy and society. New elements of this policy were career guidance, personal coaching and the investment in a network of companies that could offer status holders a job or internship. The plans as such seemed to be helpful for the status holders. However, these services were already available at the Social Service for several years. This example illustrated how some service providers are more concentrated on their own organization, without paying attention to the policies and services of other organizations, through which time and money is sometimes wasted on services which are already available. With a simple conversation between the different actors and increased cooperation, it should be possible to promote all interests in the policy network of the city.

Third, the element of peer accountability, whereby the lack of communication and cooperation returns again. The fact that there are multiple actors which operate in different domains on different levels does not mean that they are unable to help each other. Mutual coordination should be perfectly possible when parties would make an effort to talk and listen to each other. The fact that mutual coordination and cooperation is missing was shown by the interview with a 21-year old woman from Eritrea I had on the 19th of April. During the interview, the woman explained that everything was fine in the Netherlands but that she was waiting for a language buddy of the Dutch Council of Refugees, since there was a waiting list of five months. This interview was contrasted by the question of a professional of foundation MEE, who asked during a focus group of the sector of education: *“Where are they? Where are the status holders? I have plenty of language buddies, but I do not see any status holders!”* These two conversations clearly showed that mutual coordination between actors in the multilevel system was missing. Where the Dutch Council of Refugees had to cope with a structural deficit of their language buddies, foundation MEE was not able to find the audience for their services. Both their problems could be solved, when they would look how they could help each other and cooperate. Another interview which demonstrated the lack of mutual coordination was with a professional at the Da Vinci School. The professional told that foundation MEE had distributed posters for additional language courses, but that these posters were written in Dutch, through which status holders did not understand them. However, no one of Da Vinci told this to foundation MEE or explained to the status holders what the posters said. In the light of peer accountability, Da Vinci could help foundation MEE to

indicate the problem of the posters in order to solve the problem and make sure that status holders know what services are available at foundation MEE.

In contrast to these examples of a lack of cooperation and communication, it needs to be said, that during the research period, several service providers started to work together and organized focus groups to discuss the challenges in their domain. However, these meetings were often attended by directors and team leaders through which the problems discussed were often more general and abstract, while many direct issues were more practical, like the translation of a poster. The composition and functioning of the network of actors in Dordrecht tells something about the urban arrival infrastructure, which will be treated in the next section.

4.3. Urban Arrival Infrastructure

Inspired by the ideas of Didier Boost (2016) about urban arrival infrastructures, it can be stated that from the governance perspective there is a weak urban arrival infrastructure. Although service providers are capable of fulfilling their duties and thereby the basic needs of the status holders, there is no social fabric around the inflow of status holders. The description and discussion of the different domains have shown that each party has its own function and task at a certain moment. However, by looking at the domains from a multilevel perspective, it becomes clear that due to the lack of communication and cooperation, the service providers are only able to comply with the hard function of the arrival infrastructure. The soft element of this arrival infrastructure whereby the focus is on social, cultural and emotional support is missing in Dordrecht. Since social networks are not visible by the governmental and non-governmental organizations in the city, status holders are only confronted with the hard provision of services by formal institutions, but have no access to a warm welcome whereby social and emotional support is provided. The lack of a soft and social arrival infrastructure is also demonstrated by the comparison of expectations and experiences in the next chapter. Whereas this chapter provided a descriptive overview of the governance aspect in the network of actors, the next chapter will add the personal perspective of status holders to show the asymmetry between them and the receiving society.

4.4. Conclusion

By summarizing the chapter and answering the question of how the current provision of services for status holders is organized in Dordrecht, it can be stated that on the short term the provision of services for status holders is sufficient for the status holders. Each domain has a

specific procedure in order to fulfill the basic needs for the status holders. However, from a more multilevel perspective it seems that communication and cooperation between parties is missing, through which the network of actors is not aware of the whole scope of the integration process. In the next chapter this lack of communication and cooperation will be discussed in the light of the expectations and experiences of the actors involved, which makes clear that although the short term obligations are fulfilled, there is a lot to be improved to ameliorate integration of status holders on the longer term.

5. A Lack of Expectations and Divergent Experiences

As explained in the previous chapter, the four main domains of migrant integration policy in Dordrecht have established clear procedures with which to handle the inflow of status holders in the city. Although there is also an outflow of status holders, the focus is on the inflow of status holders because the inflow comes together with legal obligations and responsibilities. The procedures are presented as machines by service providers, whereby new status holders are the input and theoretically should be transformed into citizens of the city with a house and social support. The mechanical character of these procedures for the absorption of status holders is combined by expectations and experiences of the different actors. Thereby showing the asymmetry between mechanical models of service providers and the actual outcome for status holders, which leaves no space for the agency of this group. This chapter will go deeper into these expectations and experiences by answering the second sub question: *How is the integration process experienced by the several actors?* To explain the limitations of such mechanical approaches I provide two clear cases. In the first case I explore the way housing is provided to status holders and how this clashes with the experiences of the status holders. In the second case I focus on the domain of social guidance by analyzing how service providers try to build a social fabric around their integration model and how this affects the welcome of status holders. After the two empirical cases, the chapter will discuss the mismatch between expectations and experiences in a more general sense with some additional examples.

5.1. Technical vs. Emotional Perspectives

5.1.1. Housing

On the 19th of May, I came across a volunteer of the Dutch Council for Refugees. The discussion with him raised a number of substantive insights about the experiences of status holders, highlighted with an example he told me about a status holder he had met, who he had helped some ten years back during the Settle Day. The volunteer told me that the man still remembered what the weather was like, the clothes he was wearing and the fact that the volunteer of the Dutch Council for Refugees wore flip-flops that day. The emotional character of the Settle Day is highlighted by several interviewees. Interviewees talked about the overload of information and the many organizations they visited. As explained in chapter four, the Settle Day is the day whereby a status holder goes to the municipality for registration, the housing cooperative for signing the rental agreement and to the Social Service for the social support. The day is filled with travelling between unknown

organizations, several conversations about duties and regulations and the signing of different documents in a language that the status holder cannot read or write. Although status holders are accompanied by a volunteer of the Dutch Council for Refugees and a translator, the day has a serious emotional impact on them. Volunteers of the Dutch Council for Refugees also declare they are exhausted themselves after a day which is loaded with information. Beside the Settle Day as such the process of housing and the introduction in Dordrecht is experienced as a heavy and time-consuming development. This was particularly illustrated by the interviews with two status holders who just arrived in Dordrecht.

On the 25th of April I spoke with a young man from Eritrea who arrived in Dordrecht one and a half month ago. When we talked about sports, he told me that there was a man from the neighbourhood who asked whether he wanted to play soccer. Not in a real soccer team, but just in the evening on the street. Although he liked to play soccer, he rejected the offer since he was still busy with his house. I asked whether there were any problems with the house, but he replied: *“Everything is okay, but I am new and busy with my house. I have to clean and stuff like that.”* The man from Syria I spoke on the 6th of April repeated several times that it takes time to get used to the new situation. *“Everything is new and very organized. Even shopping is complex, because the super market here is very organized and every product has its own place.”* These two interviews have shown how newcomers in Dordrecht have to get used to their new home and how they need to adapt their new lives, which takes time. Although the element of safety was not (directly) present in these two interview, another interview on the 14th of April with a woman from Guinea made clear that fear and safety played an important role in relation to housing. The words *“I am safe now. I am not afraid people will come.”* illustrated that the process of housing in a new society is much more than getting the keys of their new house. It is an event which goes hand in hand with their past and their new life in safety.

This emotional character of the status holders and volunteers is heavily contrasted by the technical perspective of the service providers. Organizations like Woonkeus, the housing cooperatives and the policy makers from the housing department of the municipality, talk about the domain housing like a machine with input and output. One of my first interviews was in the beginning of February with a policy maker from the department of housing. When we talked about the procedures for status holders he told me: *“I will send you the documents with the procedures. It points out which steps need to be taken and what needs to be done when something goes wrong.”* When I opened the document I saw a clear roadmap for the housing procedure with different paths for specific occasions or exceptions. The technical and

pragmatic perspective of the service providers is not a bad thing as such, since these parties are also bound to commercial or legal targets. It makes sense that a city creates a procedure for the housing of status holders to make sure that they will achieve the task setting. However, the pragmatic perspective of the service providers is exactly the opposite of the perspective of the recipients of these services, who relate housing to safety and peace.

The gap between these experiences has also to do with the expectations of the different parties and the divergent situations people live in. Whereby status holders expect the Settle Day to be the final point of their journey after all the waiting in the asylum center, service providers in the domain housing see this moment as a starting point, since this is the first moment that status holders will actually enter and settle in the city. In relation to this element of time, there is also a difference in experiences between the service providers in Dordrecht. Whereas the actors in the domain of housing declared to see the inflow of status holders as a short term process, which will end after the settlement of the status holders in their houses, the more social actors like the Dutch Council for Refugees and the educational institutions explained that they see the inflow of status holders as a long term process which is linked to the social guidance of one and a half year and the period for civic integration of three years. During a conversation in May, with a policy maker of the department housing of the municipality I explained the different procedures of the other domains like social guidance, education and employment, after which he replied that it was funny to hear what happens after the housing, because for them, as actors in the domain of housing, the process literally stops after a status holder signs the rental agreement. It cannot be said that the professionals and policy makers of the service providing organizations as human beings do not understand the emotional character of the Settle Day for status holders. During the meetings and interviews with professionals there was absolutely space for empathy and understanding for these people. However, it is the difference between technical procedures as a product of their organizations and the personal experiences of the status holders that clashes.

In the light of these different experiences and expectations it is relevant to see how the process of housing and even one specific day, like the Settle Day, is experienced totally different by the various actors, because it helps us to understand the gap between a status holder and the receiving society. If one looks at the position of the different parties, it can be stated that the service providers like housing cooperatives and the Social Service have a strong position whereby they have the power to design and implement the procedures as they want. This power was demonstrated by a discussion between several professionals during the conference on the 19th of May about the question whether the Settle Day should be split in

two days. Different professionals expressed their opinion about what would be the right solution, but there were no status holders in the room who could tell whether it was a good idea or not. The discussion showed how service providers have the power to decide how the procedures for status holders look like, without the involvement of the status holders themselves.

The Dutch Council for Refugees has a more mediating position whereby it helps to bring service providers and status holders together. The status holders themselves can be characterized as passive listeners which have to handle according to the procedures of Dordrecht. Although I could imagine that very old or very young people without any education could experience the Settle Day as intensive, it was hard for me to believe that a middle-aged person with a reasonable intelligence ability would have a problem with that Settle Day. However, when I met the 36-old man from Syria, who also told me that even shopping was complex, I had to adjust my assumptions. This man went to university and had done an actual research into the laws and policies of the Netherlands before he came to Europe, to make sure he would be familiar with the Dutch system and its regulations. When I asked what could be changed or what could be done better in Dordrecht, he replied that it just takes time. *“Nothing special, but in general, everything is new.”* During this interview it became clear that even when a status holder wants to adapt to the Dutch system or is extremely motivated to integrate as quick as possible, the gap between their emotional journey and our technical welcome in the domain of housing is hard to bridge.

5.1.2. Social Guidance

In the domain of social guidance there is again a difference in experiences between service providers and status holders. However, the technical character is now mainly experienced by status holders, whereas the social character is experienced by the service providers. An important element in this process is also the lack of communication and cooperation between service providers, which contributes to divergent experiences and expectations in this case. As explained in chapter four, the Dutch Council for Refugees is responsible for the provision of social guidance for status holders and is therefore subsidized by the municipality. The municipality expects that the status holders with the assistance of the Dutch Council for Refugees become familiar in the society of Dordrecht and will participate in social activities in community centers and associations. In reality, the social guidance by the Dutch Council for Refugees has a more technical character in the form of handling mails of status holders and to solve issues which role out of the Dutch bureaucratic system.

“Fear of the mailbox” was a returning element during the interviews with the status holders, that showed how status holders experience the overload of letters and documents which are produced by the Dutch state. When I attended a consultation hour at the Dutch Council of Refugees I experienced the discomfort and uncertainty among the status holders when they showed the letters they received in their mailbox. A volunteer of the Dutch Council of Refugees read the letters and explained the content to the status holders but it was clear that they still did not get the message. The volunteers helped them with paying bills and other administrative tasks, while status holders looked passively how other people arrange their business with several cards and pass words of which they do not know what they mean. It was striking to see that a young woman brought an advertisement of the NS (Dutch Railways). Since it looked as an official letter, she thought that she had to pay something, but it was just the promotion of a special ticket. The fact that these newcomers cannot distinct official documents from advertisement brings extra stress, because for them each letter in their mailbox could possibly mean that something went wrong or they have to pay something. This inconvenience which is experienced in relation to the Dutch organizational structures, make the provision of social guidance technical instead of social and emotional.

Whereas it is relatively normal for a Dutch person that all kind of organizations have access to personal information and that you have to check your (digital) mailbox regularly, most of the status holders are not familiar with these organizational structures. Besides, the element of trust plays an important role concerning the presence and authority of a state, since some status holders are only known with the state as a repressive and corrupt organization.

Reactions during the interviews in relation to the question how they experienced the help of the Dutch Council for Refugees differed. Some had barely contact with the organization or did not even know what I exactly meant. Others declared that they only went to the Dutch Council for Refugees when they had questions or problems. An answer that returned several times was *“Only when I have letters.”* Although the managers of the Dutch Council for Refugees stated that each status holder had their own contact person who contacts the status holder each week, I interviewed only one woman who saw her contact person weekly. Another volunteer told me that there were not even enough volunteers, through which twenty percent of the status holders did not have their own contact person. Three other interviewees had more frequently contact with the Dutch Council of Refugees, but for the majority of the interviewees (nine out of the thirteen) the volunteers of the Dutch Council of Refugees were unknown or seen as a translators and assistants for their administrative problems.

In the light of these divergent expectations and experiences, the next statements can be made. First of all, there is a mismatch between the expectation of the service providers in relation to the services of the Dutch Council for Refugees and the actual provision of services by this organization. During the first month of the research it seemed that the majority of organizations in Dordrecht saw the Dutch Council for Refugees as the main actor in the integration process, since this organization had the personal contact with the status holders and was responsible for the social integration of these people. However, during the interviews with several people from the Dutch Council for Refugees, it became clear that the organization dealt with capacity problems and was not able to provide the services they are expected to provide. Beside the fact that the Dutch Council of Refugees was not able to provide each status holder an individual contact person and there was a waiting list for language buddies, the organization had no time to work on external projects with other service providers. The Dutch Council of Refugees had once arranged a soccer team of status holders for a soccer tournament, which was a great success, but there was no capacity to do this structurally. Another example concerns the Bach festival, a festival that will take place in Dordrecht in September 2016, whereby the organization of the festival was interested to invite musical status holders to perform at several concerts during the festival. However, when they contacted the Dutch Council of Refugees with this suggestion, the Dutch Council of Refugees had to refuse the offer due to capacity problems. Due to this internal problem of the Dutch Council for Refugees there is a mismatch of expectations and experiences between the organization and other service providers in the city.

Secondly, there is again a gap between status holders and service providers, whereby the service providers expect the service of the Dutch Council for Refugees to be a relevant instrument for the social involvement in the city, since it should introduce status holders into the city and provide possible emotional help in the form of a buddy. Nevertheless, this social character is in most cases not experienced by the status holders who see the social guidance of the Dutch Council for Refugees as a technical tool for the handling of mails and problems. Although the rest of the service providers were surprised or disappointed when it became clear that the domain of social guidance was more a service point for dealing with the bureaucratic system in the city, the status holders themselves were not. During the interviews with the status holders it became clear that they do not expect the Dutch Council for Refugees to be an important actor in relation to social integration. Since they are not aware of the policies and subsidies of the municipality in relation to social integration they do not see the

Dutch Council for Refugees as a failing organization which is not able to provide the right services.

A third statement which needs to be made, is that I do not want to imply that no status holder is participating in social activities. Some interviewees declared that they went to community centers or that their children were a member of a sport association. However, these initiatives were not supported by the Dutch Council for Refugees but came from the people themselves, which is a good thing, but only works for the people who are capable by themselves to discover the city and find their way in the society of Dordrecht. These people were mainly together with their family in the Netherlands of which the children went to school or university. It is clear that these people do not need additional support of the Dutch Council for Refugees, since they are self-supporting from a social perspective. In contrast to these families, the people who did not participate in social activities were often young single people who came to the Netherlands without family or single mothers with their children. Exactly this group of people needs some additional support in relation to social integration, which is in the case of Dordrecht missing.

So in this case it can be stated that the service providers in the city of Dordrecht are more passive, since actual involvement in relation to social guidance is missing. Although the Dutch Council for Refugees is an important organization for the handling of formal procedures, it does not have the expected involvement in relation to social integration. The status holders themselves could be seen here as a more active actor, who has to take the initiative to get help from the Dutch Council for Refugees. However, when people are not assertive enough to take this initiative, they can be seen as passive actors as well. So in contrast to the domain of housing, the service providers in the domain of social guidance expect a social impact, whereas the impact of the domain is experienced as technical by the recipients of the services.

5.2. Asymmetry of Perspectives

Although the domains of housing and social guidance depicted clearly the contrasts between the technical perspectives and social/emotional perspectives which are attached to the procedures by different actors, there are also more general divergences in the world of expectations and experiences. Especially when these expectations and experiences are linked to the concepts of integration and multilevel governance it becomes clear that asymmetry is the main returning element in this research.

5.2.1. A Lack of Expectations

The mismatch between expectations has probably a bigger impact than the mismatch between actual experiences, because this mismatch leads to a gap in perspectives from the start. The position of a status holder at the start of his or her live in Dordrecht can in most cases be depicted as a person who stands for a labyrinth and has no idea what is going to happen and where the labyrinth will end. From above the labyrinth service providers in the city of Dordrecht know exactly what path status holders have to follow in their domain and when they have to provide their service at a specific moment during that path. During the research I wondered many times, whether these people were really that unknowing and why this problem was not simply solved by providing extra information, but it seemed to be not that simple. Although organizations like the Dutch Council for Refugees and the educational institutions try to provide information about the system, the cultural and societal gaps between the status holders and a receiving city are in many cases that large, that they cannot be bridged by repeating a sentence during an appointment. People from Eritrea and Somalia who are not used to a functioning state system full of regulations, duties and rights, cannot imagine what their life will be here in the Netherlands. Especially, since some of them did not even plan to go to the Netherlands, they have no idea what to expect by themselves and what is expected from them. In relation to this argument a pattern of difference can be found between status holders from Syria and Iraq, who had more reasonable expectations and status holders from Somalia and Eritrea, who were not used to a functioning state.

A lack of expectation was clearly shown by the interview with a man from Eritrea on 25th of April, who arrived in Dordrecht one and a half month ago. When I asked how the civic integration course was going, he did not know what I meant. The translator had to explain several times what the civic integration course is, but it was clear that the man did not understand. The man from Eritrea eventually replied that he had an appointment next week, but he did not know what kind of appointment it was. It was at Da Vinci, he told me. Apparently the man had already an appointment at the Da Vinci for an admission interview for the civic integration course, which was arranged with the help of the Dutch Council of Refugees, since this organization advises the status holders to choose an educational organization. However, the man had no idea what was going to happen. Due to this lack of information, the man was not able to make any expectations in relation to civic integration course or to understand what was expected from him. This while the civic integration course is seen as one of the most important elements of the integration policy in the Netherlands. That difference between a lack of expectations of status holders and the high expectations of

the receiving society causes a gap between the status holders and its new environment from the start of the integration process.

In relation to integration it can be stated that the status holders are not aware of what a society expects from them. Although some interviewees extremely emphasized they wanted to work and learn the language, it seemed that this motivation was more focused on their personal needs, than the awareness that the city of Dordrecht and the Netherlands as a country, expect them to integrate and adapt to the Dutch culture. Especially the people who were only in the Netherlands for a year or less did not show any notion of political and public debates and the expectations which are focused on them as status holders. By contrast, some interviewees who were in the Netherlands for two years or longer were more aware of the structure of the civic integration course and the different tests they needed to pass. However, this knowledge was still focused on practical information, rather than on broader debates about the significance of the civic integration course as such. When I attended a language course at the Dutch Council for Refugees I spoke quickly to two women from Morocco, that I did not registered as official interviews. These women declared that they were not looking for a job, since they received enough money from the Social Service. These two women were an exception in comparison with the other interviewees who declared that they wanted to be independent and would look for a job as soon as they passed the civic integration course.

Concerning the multilevel perspective in relation to the expectations in the integration process, it can be argued that this does not affect the expectations of status holders, since they are not able to form any expectations about a governmental structure at all. Even when a traditional structure would be leading in Dordrecht, it would not have impact on the new inhabitants, since they only build their expectations on the past, which are in many cases not representative for the system and society in the Netherlands. Concerning the perspectives of status holders in relation to the multilevel system of Dordrecht, heterogeneity can be found in perspectives. On the one hand status holders relate the multilevel government to safety and peace. This was particularly shown by two interviews. The interview with the woman from Guinea showed how this woman related questions about the government with safety instead of organizational structures or laws. She talked earlier about the fact that she was safe now and was not afraid for other people in relation to the domain of housing. When I asked her which services could be improved in the Netherlands to make it easier for status holder to adapt in their new environment, she replied that it was easy. *“I have no problem with the government.”* she said. Her answers were all focused on her own safety and the fear for other people or other organizations. This interview emphasized that for this woman from Guinea it

does not matter how the government in the Netherlands is exactly organized, since the fact that she and her children are not endangered by this government is much more important. The interview with the man from Armenia on that same day was similar, since questions about the government were related to broader concepts about safety, freedom of opinion and the questions whether each nation should have its own state. This man I spoke had also lived in Russia and was one of the rare interviewees who talked more deeply about political issues. He repeated several times: *“Nothing can be good for 100%, but in comparison with other countries, in the Netherlands everything is good.”* Whereby he wanted to make clear that the provision of services in Dordrecht is not perfect, but that imperfect details of a system are irrelevant if you compare it with war and repression.

On the other hand, interviewees talked about practical problems in their daily lives like problems with the amount of money they received from the Social Service, the compensation for their transport costs to the civic integration course or the rental costs of their apartment. However, these problems were not specifically mentioned in relation to the form of government (traditional or multilevel) but the fact these issues were problematic for their individual daily lives. So it can be stated, that the expectations of the interviewees were more focused on the output of the multilevel system, which they related to safety or practical issues, rather than the composition of the system.

5.2.2. Divergent Experiences

By investigating the experiences of the actors there was a sharp distinction between service providers and status holders. Although it was in some cases possible to ask more detailed information about specific experiences in relation to the different domains, the main abstract answer which I received from all status holders was that the Netherlands and Dordrecht were great. *“The people are nice, the landscape is beautiful, it is safe, and everything is perfect.”* A collection of answers during the interviews. Some interviewees told quickly something about the circumstances in the country where they came from and then continued praising the Netherlands. When I asked how service providers experienced the integration process, there were always processes which could be changed or policy structures which should be improved to enhance the process. This contrast was clearly demonstrated by two interviews. One interview was with two policy makers of the Social Service, the other was with a boy from Eritrea. During both the interviews I asked what could be improved in relation to the integration process. The two policy makers of the Social Service started about the fact that

there is inadequate language education, too little supervision on the progress of the status holders, no clear method for the coaching of these newcomers and lack of attention in relation to the individual capacities and opportunities of status holders. The boy from Eritrea said *“Everything for me is easy here. Maybe the language is difficult, but I will just try”*. When my colleague asked him what his dream was or where he would be in five years, he replied: *“My real dream is to help people. It does not matter whether he or she is white, black or crazy, I will help him or her.”* Again the abstract answer about *“helping people”* was in sharp contrast with the words of the policy makers of the Social Service like *“education, supervision, progress, methods and capacities”*. These different experiences showed again the asymmetry between status holders who experienced the Netherlands as a safe haven where everything would be fine after their lives in war and the service providers that had the luxury to discuss imperfect details of policy structures.

As explained in the methodology chapter, it is hard to say whether all these people were honest about their experiences. However, even the people who had some critical notes always reminded me that it were only small things for them, since freedom and peace is much more important. In relation to integration it can be argued that due to different priorities, status holders are not as busy with integration as the receiving country or city. The fact that status holders are busy with following the civic integration course and finding a job is more related to their own survival as people in a new country than to the awareness of political and public pressure to become part of a society. Whereas policy-makers of service providing organizations talk about economic and social integration and the rights and duties of these persons, the interviews did not show that the integration debate is experienced by the status holders in that way as well.

The notion of multilevel governance can be used as an element to show the mismatch between experiences. Whereas it is logical for the service providers in the city and the inhabitants of Dordrecht that services and responsibilities are divided over different organizations, this logic is completely missing by the status holders. This became clear during several interviews whereby I explained that I did an internship at the municipality and status holders started to ask practical questions to me. The fact that I was working at the municipality led to the question of an older woman from Syria, whether I could help her with finding a new house. The question of woman from Somalia whether I could find out if she would get money for the swimming lessons of her daughter and the woman from Morocco who needed help for transport cost compensation. I got surprised faces when I told them that

that was not my task or responsibility. “*But you work at the municipality right?*” The sentence that exactly illustrated the unawareness of the multilevel system in Dordrecht.

Although it is normal in the Dutch system, with its organizational structures and administrative mechanisms, to direct your question to the appropriate organizations, the awareness of the Dutch system by status holders is missing, which is another mismatch between expectations. Furthermore, the missing awareness hinders the status holders to access and actually use services provided in the right way. This harms again the integration process, since status holders are not able to integrate in the world of services in the city of Dordrecht.

5.3. Conclusion

By investigating the expectations and experiences of the different actors in relation to the integration process in Dordrecht it becomes clear that these highly differ between the service providers and the recipients of services. As shown in the empirical cases of the domain of housing and social guidance, the same kind of services are experienced in the opposite way. Although it seems to be too easy to answer the question: “*how is the integration process experienced by the several actors?*” simply by ‘differently’ it is actually the only word which can summarize the various expectations and experiences. It cannot be said that service providers always have a technical perspective and status holders a social/emotional perspective on the services in the city, since even that perspective differs per domain.

This heterogeneity can be explained by several factors. First of all, the different starting points, whereby service providers are familiar with the Dutch landscape of organizations, whereas status holders arrive in an unknown environment. This is reinforced by the second element, which is the lack of information and communication, through which status holders have to find the way through the labyrinth of governmental and nongovernmental bodies by their own. A third element which hinders the provision of information is the language barrier. Although the importance of the Dutch language is emphasized by several organizations and status holders are obliged to follow the civic integration course, they do not already speak the language when they arrive in a new city. This makes them dependent on other people who do speak Dutch, through which they are not able to discover the receiving society as a self-reliant individual.

The diverging and changing perspectives of the actors can be seen as a problem as such, but what is more relevant is to incorporate this asymmetry concerning expectations and experiences between actors in the broader debate about integration in the city of Dordrecht.

This will be done in the next chapter where the presence of asymmetry will be discussed in the light of more fundamental questions about migrant integration, multilevel governance, norms and values and the question how the city of Dordrecht is positioned in the actual developments.

6. Discussion

In the prior chapters I described the main processes and analyzed expectations and experiences which are attached to these processes by several actors. It can be stated that asymmetry in power as well as in knowledge is a returning element that characterizes migrant integration policy in the city of Dordrecht. Although power and knowledge asymmetry is not unfamiliar in government administrations, I discovered that asymmetry in migrant integration policies particularly harms the actual participation of status holders in society, which should be the main goal of the policy. This chapter will use that asymmetry as a starting point for broader debates related to this research. Thereby the goal of this chapter is also to provide an answer to the third sub question of this thesis, namely: *How do the different actors interact and what are the power relations emerging out of the integration process?* Thereby the present migrant integration policy and the multilevel character of the system will be critically reflected, to show how this affects the integration of status holders as such. The first section will discuss the concept of integration by bringing together theory and empirical data from the city of Dordrecht. Then the significance and contribution of multilevel governance will be discussed in the light of the migrant integration debate in Dordrecht. After discussing the two main topics, the chapter will continue by evaluating the present situation.

6.1. Integration

As was discussed in the theoretical chapter about migrant integration, one can distinguish five models of integration: assimilationism, differentiation, multiculturalism, universalism and transnationalism (section “Models of Integration”, page 16). By applying these concepts on the migrant integration policy in the city of Dordrecht it can be argued that the models of assimilationism and universalism return in the case of Dordrecht. Although you would normally argue that one theoretical model can be applied on a case, this research indicated that both elements of assimilationism and universalism characterized migrant integration policies in Dordrecht. On the one hand the main service providers expect status holders to adapt as soon as possible, which fit to the model of assimilationism. Although the official message is that they have to fulfill their legal duties as citizens of the city, the research made clear that it is also desired that status holders participate in organized social activities and mix up with the rest of the society as much as possible. On the other hand services of the city of Dordrecht are more characterized by a model of universalism whereby every person (except people with specific handicaps or problems) is treated the same without extra support. In

relation to housing, education and social support, status holders are treated as other citizens. Only the domain of social guidance provides additional help for the status holders as a target group, but this is an exception. Especially since this domain of social guidance can be characterized as inefficient, it contributes scarcely to the social integration of status holders. So as a city, Dordrecht expects more from the status holders than their legal duties (passing the civic integration course and finding a job) but also expects them to be socially involved in the society of Dordrecht, without providing more assistance to reach that goal.

Concerning the provision of services in the city of Dordrecht the asymmetry in power relations is an important element in the debate about migrant integration. As stated in the previous chapter, status holders often have few, or no, expectations or ideas about what the Netherlands or a city as Dordrecht will expect from them. Since these expectations are also not effectively communicated to the status holders they fall behind with the integration process from the start. This makes them the least powerful actors in the network of Dordrecht since they do not even know the rules of the game. This gap between the positions of actors is widened by the present migrant integration policy in the city of Dordrecht, expectations are high, but investments are low, through which the main emphasis is on the efforts of the unknown status holders. So concerning the power relations and the migrant integration policy in the city of Dordrecht one could speak of reversed discrimination, whereby status holders are treated as equal citizens of the city, while they do not have the same knowledge and capabilities as the rest of the citizens. This statement does not want to imply that status holders are inferior victims who need to be pampered, but it does want to make clear that you cannot expect that a 20-year old man that just came from Eritrea can find its way in the Dutch system and society as easy as a Dutch 20-year old man from Dordrecht does.

This brings us to the question about who is actually responsible for migrant integration in the city. Although political and public debates in the Netherlands, but also in Dordrecht as a city are dominated by ideas about individual responsibility of status holders and their self-reliance, it is time now to ask whether it is even legitimate as a state and as a society to appeal on these characteristics of people who come from another country and another culture. Can you ask these people to live independently after a period time? Probably yes, but whether you can expect them to understand the Dutch system with all its laws and rules from the beginning is doubtful. So even when in most cases expressions about “we” and “the other” should be avoided, it could be useful to bring back the we-them element at the start of the migrant integration policy in Dordrecht and create more awareness about the asymmetric positions where the actors in the network start from.

6.2. Multilevel Governance

The fact that the relevance and potential of multilevel governance needs more investigation in relation to migrant integration can be confirmed by this research. The main statement to make on this topic for Dordrecht is that the multilevel character of the network of actors is not fully recognized and utilized, which widens the gap between status holders and the society. Although this gap between a policy and its target group can also be found in other policy fields, it is especially important for status holders, since these people already start with a gap when they enter the Dutch society, which makes it harder to bridge it. As discussed in the fourth chapter about the integration procedures in Dordrecht not all service providers are known in the network of actors, through which the potential of a functioning multilevel system is not optimally utilized. Especially the actors who operate on the neighborhood level and are therefore as closest to the status holders are the least recognized actors in the network. Service providers like the library and Foundation MEE, which could have significant impact on the domain of education and more general provision of social guidance, remain underutilized by the status holders, as well as by the other service providers. Since these low-level actors play a minimal role in the integration process the idea of multilevel governance is not as valuable for migrant integration as it could be. Although one could state that the addition of actors would make the system even more complex for status holders, the addition of low-level actors can be seen as an exception, since these low-level actors could serve as a bridge between the diverging expectations and experiences of status holders and the rest of the system.

Especially in the light of multilevel governance it became clear that the network of actors expects much more from the status holders than they do from themselves. It was striking to discover that the majority of professionals and policy-makers of service providing organizations were not aware of the whole network of actors and the procedures in other domains than their own. Why do service providing actors expect status holders to know the Dutch system and the division of tasks in a city, when they are not even aware of the labyrinth of services by themselves? Due to the unfamiliarity with the multilevel system by the service providers, the concepts of multilevel governance actually functioned as a tool to demonstrate again the asymmetric positions of the status holders and the rest of the network. Receiving societies expect more from status holders than they can realize by themselves.

Returning to Scholten (2013), Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero (2014), who stated that multilevel governance should serve as a bridge between national and local policies, it can absolutely be said that multilevel governance can serve as tool to help narrow the gap between

national policies and local realities. However, the gap between local policies and the actual target group of these policies still seems hard to bridge. In the case of Dordrecht, the local governmental level has a lot of freedom in designing and implementing the policies around housing, social guidance and employment, which confirms the statement of Scholten (2013), Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero (2014). Yet, despite this freedom at the local level, a potential multilevel perspective in relation to migrant integration does not seem to bridge the gap between local policies and the status holders themselves. Although the principle of subsidiarity focuses on policies which are as close as possible to the people, the actual link between the migrant integration policy and the people is still missing. This is also linked to the debate about representation whereby status holders are from a legal-political dimension not seen as a part of the population, through which migrant integration policies are designed according to the needs of the society instead of the needs of status holders.

Overall it can be stated that the multilevel character of the network of actors in Dordrecht widens the gap between the status holders and various service providers, because of the lack of information and communication at the local and neighborhood level in the city. The concept of multilevel governance could be useful, when the municipality and the other service providers have a clear vision on the value of multilevel governance in the city of Dordrecht and how to pursue it. Furthermore it will be extremely important to incorporate the status holders actively as actors in the system and society instead of labeling them as passive inferior citizens who don't have a say.

One nuance to this analysis is that, I do not hereby advocate that status holders should immediately have voting rights or a seat in the municipality council. However, it could be helpful to listen to this heterogeneous group of people and start the conversation about their life in Dordrecht and the things they encounter. Not with the idea that migrant integration policy has to be shaped according to their needs and wishes, but with the intention to create space wherein different positions and perspectives can come a bit closer to each other.

6.3. Asymmetry and then?

The presence of asymmetry between positions in a society was heavily emphasized by the interview with a girl from Eritrea on the 26th of April, who was my age. It was hard to hear her story about coming alone to Europe without any idea about her future. The fact that she was alone and would give birth to a baby in a few weeks in country where she cannot communicate with nurses or doctors made clear that a receiving society like Dordrecht,

cannot pretend that status holders are able to live according to our standards and systems from the start. We are equal citizens in a country or a city, but expectations and experiences differ to such a great extent that we are equal but not the same.

It was also hard to see how a railway guard was yelling to a woman from Syria that made a mistake with her train ticket and who was not able to reply since she did not speak the language. Can you expect as a society that a person learns the language when he or she comes to the Netherlands? Yes could be the answer. Can you expect as a society that a person speaks the language right from the start? Something to think about. During the train trip the woman showed her travel plan on her mobile phone through which I understood that she had to change trains at the next station. I helped her, showing the right platform, but also with checking out at one transport provider and checking in with another. Her surprised face said more about the intricate complexity of this system than the fact that she did not understand it as a foreigner.

In the light of these experiences we could wonder ourselves who is actually the primary owner, or driver, of the process of migrant integration? While the municipality of Dordrecht is waiting with a new policy, a pro-active attitude is expected from the status holders whereby they embrace the Dutch system and culture with all its defects. While political and public debates are focused on finance, security issues and extreme stories from the media, it seems that one easily forgets that we talk about people. It is easy to look at the status holders and what they precisely do or not do. But are receiving societies looking and their own attitude and actions in relation to the inflow of status holders? What message do you want to give to these new people in your city and what image do you frame around your society? Questions which are related to the debate about ownership and the division of responsibilities, which bring us back to the multilevel perspective. Not the multilevel perspective which is limited to the division between public and private organizations, but a multilevel perspective which is more hybrid and enriched with a human touch. When cities and societies would dare to distance themselves from their technical regulations and procedures and would have the courage to be critical about their own system, some multilevel space could be created whereby asymmetry is still present but also acknowledged, through which it is less harmful.

What this section does not want to suggest, is that Dutch society should let go of their systems and rules. Laws and regulations *are* needed to avoid anarchy. And it is not said that it is wrong to expect status holders to live according to Dutch social and organizational standards. The argument which is presented, states that it is questionable whether it is

legitimate to expect status holders to live according to these standards automatically from the start, while the provision of services is not optimal. As mentioned in the first section of this chapter the migrant integration policy can be defined by assimilationist expectations of the receiving society in contrast to the universalistic provision of services by the society. In that case you could easily say that you should create universalistic expectations or assimilationist services to solve the 'problem'. Since multiculturalism as intermediate model seems not be effective either, a solution should not be found in theoretical models, but in real circumstances in a city, where service providers should have the courage to deal with migrant integration in a flexible and hybrid way, whereby contact with people and organizations is central. When a city is able to find and acknowledge their own shortcomings it is time to look at the shortcomings of another and actually make an effort to solve problems and bridge the gaps.

6.4. Conclusion

The endeavour of this particular chapter was to focus on the interaction and power relations emerging from the integration process, whereby it can be stated that the lack of interaction reinforces the asymmetric power relations as a result of the actual migrant integration policy. From the analysis provided in the prior sections it may be concluded that not the asymmetric power relations as such are the problem, but the fact that that the asymmetry is not recognized by the receiving society and even reinforced by the receiving society due to the lack of communication and cooperation. Once again it should be emphasized that it is certainly not the goal of this research to look for a particular scapegoat thus blame Dordrecht as a bad receiving society, since housing and social support is well arranged and status holders are fulfilled in their basic needs. This thesis states that it is not legitimate that a receiving society expects more from a status holder while these high expectations are not combined with additional services to meet these expectations. The African proverb "it takes a village to raise a child" might sound a bit too communal, even socialistic, in the ears of some service providers associated with the city of Dordrecht. However, in the light of this research, the proverb stands for the fact that there is not one owner of migrant integration in Dordrecht, but that each actor in the network has to take its responsibility.

7. Conclusion

The objective of this research was to investigate the migrant integration process in the city of Dordrecht in order to discover the power relations and the agency of the actors involved. Since the municipality of Dordrecht had no clear overview of the present state of affairs in relation to migrant integration it was relevant to discover the supply of services and the expectations and experiences which were related to these services by the service providers as well as the recipients of services: the status holders. This conclusion will start by summarizing the key findings of this thesis. In turn this helps to produce an answer to the main research question: *Taking a multilevel governance perspective we ask how the integration process of status holders is embedded in current services provided by the City of Dordrecht. Therein, what role does the agency of actors, and specifically the agency of status holders, play?* Furthermore, this chapter will present some recommendations. Thereafter this chapter will present some key recommendations targeting societal actors engaged with status holders on the one hand and academic recommendations for further research in this field on the other. Finally, I would like to end with some reflections on the whole research process.

7.1. Summary and Final Conclusion

Migrant integration in host societies involves a lot of actors. Terminology around migration differs between the very broad interpretation of migrants as people who leave their country and move to another place and status holders which are already acknowledged as refugees and have received a residence permit in the Netherlands. The receiving society can be framed by different concepts as well, whereby the state is often seen as the legal, political unit that deals with governmental issues, alongside society which consists of the people and their interdependent relations. Models introduced to analyze migrant integration relate to principal concepts such as assimilationism, differentialism, multiculturalism, universalism, and transnationalism. Each model has different expectations and experiences in relation to the adaption of migrants in a new country. Although these theoretical models pay a lot of attention to social, economic, cultural and legal factors, there is a lack of attention concerning security, finance and politics, while these elements often dominate public debates about migrant integration.

The multilevel perspective used in this research is based on the concept of multilevel governance, which is a non-traditional form of governance whereby power and responsibilities are divided over different state- and non-state actors at varying levels. This

leads to an understanding that decisions can be made at international level by organizations like the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund all the way down to policies designed at a neighborhood level, for instance by social district teams and community centers. Although multilevel governance is praised by its principle of subsidiarity, whereby policy decisions are made as close as possible to the people, it also accused of its lack of accountability, representation and legitimacy. Since policy structures have often a lack of transparency, it is in many cases unclear how and by whom policies have been constructed, which implies that power structures may remain obscure and much in place.

This research is relied on qualitative research methods adhering to overall principles of grounded theory as regards how data was collected and analyzed. Inspired by the flexible methods and tools of grounded theory the information needed has been assembled for the empirical chapters. In the city of Dordrecht the process of migrant integration is divided over four main domains, namely housing, education, social guidance and employment. It can be stated that the four domains function sufficiently on the short term, since they are able to house the status holders of the task setting and start the civic integration course. However, from a multilevel perspective it becomes clear that there is a lack of cooperation and communication between several domains, through which potential contribution to more sustainable integration is not been utilized. Besides, the multilevel character of the system is not fully recognized by all actors, which reinforces the lack of cooperation and communication.

Overall it can be stated, that the city of Dordrecht expects an assimilationist attitude of the status holders while their provision of services has a universal character. The service providers expect a lot from the status holders but are not providing more than their legal obligation. This is linked to the asymmetry between the service providers and the recipients of the services concerning expectations, experiences and power relations. Where status holders have in many cases no idea what to expect when they arrive in the city of Dordrecht, the service providers are better informed about the paths a status holder has to take according to the system and standards of the city of Dordrecht. Beside this gap between expectations there is also a gap between experiences whereby status holders are focused on basic needs like shelter and security, whereas the service providers have the luxury to pay attention to details of policies and long-term effects. Due to these differences in expectations and experiences there is asymmetry between the position of status holders and the position of service providers, whereby status holders are the unknown passive receivers of services and the service providers the powerful initiators of the system who set the rules.

This asymmetry brings us to broader debates about migrant integration and multilevel governance, whereby one could ask whether it is legitimate to expect that status holders fully adapt to the system of Dordrecht, whereas the system of Dordrecht does not want to adapt to the status holders. Due to the fact that the multilevel character of the system is not fully recognized and utilized, it is hard to provide a clear overview of the system in Dordrecht for the status holders, which brings us again to the lack of communication in the network of actors.

By answering the research question: *Taking a multilevel governance perspective we ask how the integration process of status holders is embedded in current services provided by the City of Dordrecht. Therein, what role does the agency of actors, and specifically the agency of status holders, play?* It can be stated that the integration process of status holders is incorporated in regular services in the city of Dordrecht. These are each responsible for services in their own domain. This results in a lack of cooperation and communication between the different domains, through which the potential of the network of actors is then not fully utilized, harming the integration process of status holders. By investigating the agency of the actors involved, it can be argued that the local service providers have a lot of agency, whereby they only interact in their own domain. The service providers on the neighborhood level have a limited amount of agency since they are not fully recognized by the rest of the actors. The status holders as individuals have a total lack of agency, since they are not familiar with the system and are not able to bridge the gap between the asymmetric expectations and experiences, since the city of Dordrecht does not make any adaptations for the status holders. Overall, it can be concluded that the city of Dordrecht is characterized by asymmetric positions of the status holders in relation to the receiving society. These asymmetric positions do not have to be problematic per se, as long as the asymmetry is acknowledged and “handled with care” by the system. As explained in the discussion chapter (page 70) the city of Dordrecht has a universal provision of services in contrast to assimilationist expectations, through which asymmetry is sustained by service providers instead of acknowledged and diminished. This is disadvantageous for the integration process of the status holders.

7.2. Recommendations

For the city of Dordrecht, three main recommendations can be made. First of all, the municipality, as an overarching organization, could invest more in cooperation and

communication between service providers. During the research period, it became clear that a lot of professionals and policy makers work on their 'own island' while the network of actors could deliver a better provision of services as group, when they would work together. Professionals and policy makers in the field should start to orientate outside their own domain to see how the strengths of each domain can be bundled to ameliorate the integration process. An important note to make in relation to this is that a lot of time and effort needs to be invested after the orientation phase. Communication can be improved by having a certain frequency of meetings and appointments, but actual cooperation needs a lot more time and energy. This could be done by looking at alliances between educational institutions and informal organizations for education to inform status holders about the possibilities for education in the city, in order to make it more accessible for them to work on their language proficiency at various places. By paying more attention to these forms of cooperation, the multilevel character of the network of actors can be strengthened.

The second recommendation concerns the asymmetry of expectations and experiences between status holders and service providers. This brings us back to the lack of communication and more specifically the lack of information exchange. During the research it became clear that it is hard for status holders to understand the Dutch system with all its rules, duties and rights. Although the volunteers of the Dutch Council for Refugees try to help status holders become familiar with the system, a more professional and structural provision of information can be recommended. Since status holders have to deal with a lot of impressions and changes it is hard for them to absorb information during a conversation. Although some parties only want to work with the Dutch or English language to push status holders to master the Dutch language, I would recommend to also invest in the provision of information in other languages. By creating (digital) guides for practical knowledge about the Dutch system, organizations in Dordrecht and possible activities in the field of work, health and leisure, the city is more accessible for its new inhabitants. During the interviews it became clear that status holders do want to participate in activities but are not aware of the possibilities in the city, through which actual participation in social or educational activities does not take place.

For further research it can be recommended to investigate the expectations and experiences of status holders in a more structural way. By interviewing them for example every half year, over a period of five years, findings about expectations and experiences can be put in a temporal perspective, which could give more insights about experiences at a specific moment during the integration process. By following status holders for a longer period, more data can be collected in relation to their attitude towards the Dutch system and

its standards and whether they feel more connected or distanced to these standards and the society in general over a period of time. Although the focus of governmental organizations is at the moment on economic participation and integration of the status holders, it is a fact that the majority of status holders will not have a job from the start (Volkskrant, 2016). Therefore it is relevant to focus on the expectations and experiences on the social and cultural domain, since social and cultural factors are present from the start and have a sufficient impact on the expectations and experiences of the status holders.

7.3. Reflections

In this section I want to devote some attention to positive aspects and limitations of this research. The main positive aspect I want to highlight is the fact that the research was directly of added value for the city of Dordrecht. Although the mapping of the four main domains and actors involved served as a foundation for further analysis in this thesis, the map of actors was helpful as such for all service providers in the city. During the last week of my internship, I organized a small interactive conference, including workshops, with my colleague to present the findings of the research and the strengths and weaknesses in the integration process in Dordrecht. The positive reactions and compliments we received after this conference showed that just the descriptive part of my thesis was already very valuable for the city. As discussed in the methodological chapter, my position as an intern of the municipality, made me in some cases an outsider, but had overall a positive effect to my research. Since the municipality gave me a lot of space for own initiatives and the time and freedom to work on my research, it was a good starting point for my research. Especially since I could use the network of my colleagues, the municipality was an important source of contacts for interviews that were indispensable for my data collection.

One of the limitations of the research is, to my opinion, that there is no attention for the perspectives of the population, with which I mean the inhabitants of Dordrecht who are not status holders. After all, I wondered whether I should have incorporated a survey under the population of Dordrecht to investigate the sentiments of the people and their experiences and expectations in relation to the integration process. This also counts for the political discourse about migrant integration in Dordrecht by the council of the municipality. However, since there were no concrete debates during my research period about migrant integration, it was hard to collect relevant data in relation to the public and political sentiments around migrant integration in Dordrecht.

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Appendix 1

Interviews with professionals

	Name	Organization	Domain	Function
1.	Arthur van Moorst	Municipality	Sports	Director
2.	Monique de Bos	Municipality	Education	Policy-maker
3.	Maaïke van de Wiel	Municipality	Education	Policy-maker
4.	Wim van den Engel	Municipality	Housing	Policy-maker
5.	Pauline Geldhof	Municipality	Voluntary work	Policy-maker
6.	Jolanda Suiker	Municipality	Health	Policy-maker
7.	Simone Beunke	Municipality	Culture	Policy-maker
8.	Joris de Graaf	Municipality	Housing	Co-worker
9.	Yvonne Bieshaar	Social Service	Employment	Director
10.	Anneke Boven	Social Service	Employment	Policy-maker
11.	Khadija ElhJari	Social Service	Employment	Policy-maker
12.	Yvette Balijns	Youth team	Health	Co-worker
13.	Shirley Fehr	Trivium Lindenhof	Housing	Co-worker
14.	Nanda Streefkerk	Trivium Lindenhof	Housing	Co-worker
15.	Anita Goedhart	Da Vinci College	Education	Teacher
16.	Henny van de Heuvel	Da Vinci College	Education	Director
17.	Marika Stoffers	Dutch Council for Refugees	Social support	Policy-maker
18.	Margriet ten Hove	Dutch Council for Refugees	Social support	Policy-maker
19.	Alex Groen	Dutch Council for Refugees	Social support	Policy-maker
20.	Martien Jan de Haan	Dutch Council for Refugees	Social support	Policy-maker
21.	Volunteer A.	Dutch Council for Refugees	Social support	Volunteer
22.	Volunteer B.	Dutch Council for Refugees	Social support & Education	Volunteer
23.	Rens Zweistra	Social Team	Social support	Co-worker
24.	Marlies Kooiman	Social Team	Social support	Co-worker
25.	Hildebrand Bijleveld	Foundation Timon	Housing	Manager
26.	Bart van Aanholt	Library	Education & Social Support	Policy-maker
27.	Monique Verschuuren	Trivire	Housing	Co-worker
28.	Bo van Aarsbergen	Foundation MEE	Education & Social support	Policy-maker
29.	Jan Gerrit Tjhuis	ISK Dalton	Education	Director
30.	Henk de Vos	ISK Mondriaan	Education	Director
31.	Yvette van Hoof	Coalition Dordrecht – Adequate Education	Education	Director

Interviews with status holders

	Name	Country of Origin	Gender	Age
1.	Status holder A.	Syria	Male	35
2.	Status holder B.	Armenia	Male	37
3.	Status holder C.	Iran	Male	54
4.	Status holder D.	Eritrea	Male	22
5.	Status holder E.	Guinea	Female	37
6.	Status holder F.	Eritrea	Female	22
7.	Status holder G.	Eritrea	Male	36
8.	Status holder H.	Syria	Female	60
9.	Status holder I.	Eritrea	Female	22
10.	Status holder J.	Iraq	Female	31
11.	Status holder K.	Somalia	Female	30
12.	Status holder L.	Somalia	Female	20
13.	Status holder M.	Morocco	Female	58

Additional meetings

- *Conference of association of Dutch municipalities*
February 29, 2016. Eindhoven.
Conference about actual developments in relation to the provision of services for status holders in Dutch municipalities. I attended three workshops about the policies in Houten, the foundation for refugee students and the new policy structures of the Dutch Council for Refugees.
- *Focus group education*
February, March, May, 2016. Dordrecht.
Focus group concerning the education for status holders. Variable from primary education to civic integration courses. A combination of formal and informal service providers.
- *Focus group Housing*
March 15, 2016. Dordrecht.
Focus group concerning the housing of status holders in the Drechtsteden. Different housing cooperatives from different municipality, policy-makers and the Dutch Council for Refugees.
- *Municipality of Den Haag*
March 8, 2016. Den Haag.
Appointment with two policy-makers to discuss the special policy of Den Haag.
- *Municipality of Amsterdam*
March 24, 2016. Amsterdam.
Appointment with two policy-makers to discuss the special policy of Amsterdam.
- *Visit to Dalton School*
April 13, 2016. Dordrecht.
I attended the school for status holders between 12 and 18 years and attended some classes.
- *Visit to language group at the Dutch Council for Refugees*
May 3, 2016. Dordrecht.
I attended a language class for status holders. This language class was additional to the civic integration courses.

- *Conference municipality of Dordrecht*
May 19, 2016. Dordrecht.
I organized a small conference for all service providers in Dordrecht to discuss the first findings of the research.

Executive summary

The phenomenon of population movements is a relevant and multi-faceted topic. Although migration has always been part of human history, it seems that the world cannot get used to it and is constantly surprised by its presence (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2014). Due to conflicts taking place in parts of Africa and the Middle East, the inflow of migrants in the Netherlands has increased. This development brings new challenges to the country in relation to the accommodation and integration of these newcomers. The objective of this research is to investigate the provision of services for status holders in the city of Dordrecht and to analyse the agency of actors involved, from a multilevel perspective. The term migrant is replaced by the term status holder, who is an asylum seeker that officially received a residence permit. Dordrecht is medium-sized city in the province of Zuid-Holland and has a population of 118.859 people. Since the municipality has declared that they do not have a clear overview of the actual provision of services for the integration process, it was relevant to investigate this integration process in Dordrecht in order to contribute to the policies in the city and to contribute to academic debates on migrant integration policies.

Migrant integration can be studied by means of several models related to five main concepts: assimilationism, differentialism, multiculturalism, universalism and transnationalism. Assimilationism is focused on the adaptation of migrants on the social-cultural domain. The integration process has a unidirectional character, whereby the migrant is seen as an outsider which needs to become an insider of a society (Dekker et al, 2015). According to Dekker et al. *"differentialism (also described as segregationism) institutionalizes group boundaries in society to such an extent that group identities and structures are preserved and groups live alongside each other rather than with each other"* (Dekker et al, 2015, p. 7). Multiculturalism in contrast emphasizes the positive character of cultural pluralism whereby different nationalities and cultures can enrich each other instead of clash with each other. The colorblind approach of universalism focuses on the individual rights and duties of the citizens and transnationalism is a relatively new approach to migrant integration, which is linked to the developments like globalization and modernization. The idea behind transnationalism is *'that globalization has increased the ability of migrants to maintain network ties over long distances'* (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2014, p. 41). Multilevel governance is a non-traditional form of governance, whereby power and responsibilities are divided over several governmental levels like the international, national,

local and neighborhood level. A multilevel perspective has been used to analyze the provision of services in the city of Dordrecht.

The provision of services for status holders in Dordrecht can be categorized by means of four domains, namely housing, education, social guidance and employment. It can be stated that these domains are able to fulfill the legal obligations in their own domains on the short term, through which status holders are fulfilled in their basic needs. However, from a multilevel perspective it becomes clear that there is a lack of communication and cooperation, which is harmful for the integration process on the longer term. The expectations and experiences in relation to the provision of services highly differ between service providers and status holders. Whereas status holders have few, or no, expectations in relation to the city of Dordrecht, the service providers know exactly what status holders has to do in order to follow the path of integration. Concerning the experiences, it became clear that status holders experienced the city of Dordrecht as an ideal place, where everything was good and the people were nice. The service providers experienced the integration process as ineffective and inefficient, which demonstrated the asymmetry between status holders and the receiving society. Whereas status holders are already happy with the fact that there is peace, service providers have the luxury to critically look at details of policies and organizational structures.

By investigating the agency of the actors involved, it can be argued that the local service providers have a lot of agency, whereby they only interact in their own domain. The service providers on the neighborhood level have a limited amount of agency since they are not full recognized by the rest of the actors. The status holders as individuals have a total lack of agency, since they are not familiar with the system. Besides, the fact that it is impossible for them to bridge the gap between the asymmetric expectations and experiences reinforces the lack of agency, since the city of Dordrecht does not make any adaptations for the status holders. Overall, it can be concluded that Dordrecht as a receiving society has assimilationist expectations of the status holders, whereby these newcomers should adapt as soon as possible, but has an universal provision of services, whereby basic legal obligation are fulfilled, but no extra investment is done to ameliorate the integration process of status holders. The main argument which is made states that the present integration policy in the city of Dordrecht sustains the asymmetric positions of actors, which is harmful for the integration process of status holders and the broader public and political debate about migrant integration.

