

# **Masterthesis**

## **“Shaping Active Citizenship”**

**Qualitative research about the implementation of the integration policy and the work oriented integration program of Enschede in relation to active citizenship**

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## **Preface**

This is the research that I have written for the Master of Public Administration (track Policy & Governance). It is a study about the integration policy in the city of Enschede. It is specifically oriented on the work-oriented integration program. First of all, I want to thank Coen Lutikhuis, Ed Wallinga and Simone Dobbelsteen very much because they have given me the opportunity to carry out this research within the city of Enschede. I found it a very interesting topic and I worked with joy on the assignment during my internship at the municipality of Enschede. This was also thanks to the good supervision from the University of Twente and the municipality of Enschede. Therefore I want to thank especially Ann Morissens, Jörgen Svensson, Ger Gankema and Henny Breukers for their substantive feedback and guidance. It was very nice that they always responded quickly to my questions and pieces.

The interviews that I have kept for this research were very interesting and instructive. During the interviews I have heard many interesting and personal stories. These stories caused that I saw things from a different perspective. Therefore I want to thank the interviewed participants, policy advisors, counselors and aldermen for their cooperation. I also want to thank especially Manal Chakor and Döne Gökcan for their substantive reflection on my pieces. They have looked at language and style errors in my research and contributed to the translation of my research into English.

Enschede, 16 January 2012  
Ahmet Çelik

## Summary

In this study, the integration policy of Enschede is investigated. More specifically, the work-oriented integration program. Enschede has a participation ladder that consists of six steps. These six steps are important determinants for the level of participation. The main objective of the work-oriented program is to lead the participants from an isolated existence to paid work. According to the participation vision, work is the key to social growth. Citizenship applies to everyone and encouraging the participation in society of people with low socioeconomic position is an important goal. After the introduction of the Integration Act in 2007, dual integration courses were offered, including the work-oriented integration programs. The main goals are that participants pass the integration exam as required by the Integration Act and the stimulation of the outflow to a paid job.

## Theoretical framework

Herman van Gunsteren (1992) has developed five concepts of citizenship. These are the republican citizenship, citizenship for all, citizenship as a bearer of rights and preferences, citizenship as a member of a community and the neo-republican citizenship. The republican concept of citizenship assumes that a citizen is someone who both rules and is ruled. The government has a monopoly on violence and legislation. In this concept, citizenship is not for everyone but only for a privileged minority.

In the concept of 'citizenship for all', social security and welfare are important conditions for citizenship. The state maintains these conditions and helps people to get through the entry barriers. Attention is usually focused on access to freedom. The emphasis is on the legal status from the point where people actively participate in society is not necessary. The concept 'citizenship as a member of a community' assumes that a citizen belongs to a historical society and that the citizens in this concept act according to the rules of the community. Communities restrict freedoms and assume the "right thinking". The neo-republican concept of citizenship includes elements of community, republican and individualistic thinking. The emphasis is on participation, where active participation of citizens is needed. Participation is seen as a mean and a goal simultaneously.

After the different citizenship concepts developed by Herman van Gunsteren (1992), are described, active citizenship is explained. A definition of citizenship: "*Active citizenship refers to the social behavior and independence of citizens, and how service providers and public policy invite citizens to social behavior and self-reliance, and support them in it*" (Steyaert, Bodd & Lindens, 2005, p. 23). Citizens are expected to solve the problems as responsible, decent, caring and deliberative citizens. Citizens are considered to build bridges between citizens and between citizens and government. Self-reliance and economic independence are key elements of active citizenship. The idea is that the welfare state made people passive and lazy. This was the reason that people were first called to account for their independency and then also their responsibility (Tonkens, 2006, p.10-11). According to Bourdieu (1989), social capital is "the totality of existing or potential resources." These resources come from a sustainable network. Network can consist of relationships through mutual acquaintance and recognition. According to Putnam (2000), social capital consists of networks, trust and shared values. Putnam (2000) distinguishes three types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding capital involves contacts between

people with similar backgrounds who know and recognize each other. Bridging social capital is about the relationships between different groups of citizens, for example with different ethnic backgrounds. Linking social capital is about the relationship between citizens and institutions. Bonding organizes reciprocity and solidarity in groups. Bridging and linking social capital make relationships between individuals and society. It connects the groups (Tonkens and Groese, 2009, p.9-10).

## **Research questions**

The study is based on the theoretical framework of Tonkens, Putnam and van Gunsteren. The study has three parts: the formal policy, the implementation of the policy and the participants' experiences. For the latter part, the focus will be on participants who have completed the integration process and also on participants who are still enrolled in the program. The central research question in this thesis is: *“How is active citizenship shaped in the integration policy and in the work-oriented integration program of the municipality of Enschede and in what way is the integration policy effective in organizing active citizens”?*

### Sub-questions:

- 1- What is the importance of active citizenship in the integration policy of Enschede?
- 2- In what way is active citizenship implemented in the work-oriented integration program?
- 3- In what way does the work-oriented integration program contribute to the participants' participation, according to the participants themselves?

## **Methodology**

Seen the frequency of the implementation of the integration policy, I have chosen to conduct a case study within the municipality of Enschede. More precisely, within the departments: 'Grow up & Develop', Economy & Work and DCW. The research is conducted by means of qualitative methods and data collection. Besides document analysis, interviews were held. A total of three policy makers, 3 policy implementers (street-level bureaucrats), two aldermen and six integrators were interviewed for this study. The goal of this study is threefold: there is exploration, description and explanation. The first and second sub-question are mainly exploratory and descriptive. The third question is about the experiences of the participants themselves and the answer to this question relates to the second part of the research question, namely how the integration policy is effective in organizing active citizens.

The first part of this thesis consists of a description of the formal policy on the basis of policy documents, interviews with policy makers and the alderman. The second part concerns the implementation of policies through policy documents, interviews with counselors, project manager and consultant of Language & Integration (T&I). The last part deals with the question of participants' experiences. It is important to operationalize the theoretical concepts of active citizenship and social capital. Some indicators of a previous quantitative research in 2007 (Seveker Svensson and Thränhardt) are included as criteria in this study. Indicators for active citizenship are: language skills, knowledge of society, labor market participation / other social activities, economic independency, self-reliance and membership of voluntary associations and organizations.

## **Formal integration policy**

The participation vision, policy document 'Integration & Citizenship' and Integration Agenda of Enschede are the main policy documents which were analyzed for the formal integration policy. An analysis of these policies makes clear that the municipality of Enschede thinks it is important that citizens participate in the society of Enschede. Participation means labor participation and/or social participation. Enschede has four areas of participation: citizenship, employee status, workmanship and entrepreneurship. First of all it is about joining, promoting social cohesion and stimulating activities designed and implemented by the local people themselves (Gemeente Enschede 2008c, p.7). Citizenship means participation in and to the society and it forms the basis according to the policy document "Integration and Citizenship". Citizenship applies to everyone and encourages participation in society of people with low socioeconomic position is an important goal (Gemeente Enschede 2008b, p.12).

The municipality of Enschede has two types integration programs. A first program focuses on education, health and nurture (OGO) whereas the work-oriented integration programs have integration and reintegration into the labor market as the main goals. During the integration program there is a required internship of at least 250 hours in addition to the language component. Enschede aims with the integration program to promote community participation and targeted activation by reducing the language deficiency (Gemeente Enschede, 2008c). The program of 36 hours per week is made up of language courses, work experience and social skills. The lessons are about citizenship, work and knowledge of the Dutch society.

If the policy of Enschede is considered in terms of Tonkens and Putnam, it appears that the municipality wants especially active people who are able to manage their own lives (self-reliance). Active participation of participants is desirable and contacts with people outside the community of the participant may positively affect the social capital of the participant. The municipality wants that the participants become self-reliant and have more individual responsibility. This means that they should be financially independent. In terms of van Gunsteren (1992), the participant must not only participate within the group, but they have to do social participation and / or participate in the labor market. This is one feature of active citizenship. The analysis shows that the city of Enschede mainly aims for active citizenship and social capital. Enschede assumes that an investment in knowledge, skills and networks can lead to employment. Networking means bridging social capital. The participants should not only have contacts with people from their own community, but they need also contacts with Dutch citizens.

## **Implementation of the formal policy**

The implementation of the integration policy is made by the municipal executive Language & Integration (T&I). The intakes and the placement of the participants is done by T&I. The work-oriented integration program is offered by Enschede through the department DCW (Service Complementary Employment). WorkStep is part of DCW, the municipal organization responsible for the implementation of the act Wsw (Act social work facilities), which has considerable expertise in the areas of support to people with a distance to the labor market.



The municipal department T&I has the legal requirement as the main goal, namely that the integration exam is achieved. The participants are invited to the Werkplein to come for a quick scan. Then an intake test Tiwi (Toolkit Integration Intake Act of ICE) takes place. It begins with a reading test, where the participants read as many words as possible in 2 minutes. These words vary from short to long. This gives a first indication and on the basis of this indication, they look how to proceed with taking the test. Based on the results, a T&I consultant places the participant in a program.

Each participant has a counselor. The distribution of participants between the various counselors is done by a coordinator. An introductory meeting is the start of the program. The first 6 weeks is the intake phase. The participants do some tests during this period. Based on these experiences, the counselor gives T&I an advice. T&I will respond within two weeks and approve or reject the advice. The counselors plans weekly the agendas of participants and delivers specific programs for different portfolio groups. The counselors indicate that is not possible that all the participants pass the integration exam and find paid work. The targets will be adjusted per participant to keep them active with the Dutch language.

According to the street level bureaucrats, the main goal of the program is to pass the integration exam. The interviews with counselors and consultants of T&I show that per participant the goals are adjusted. They say that they do not always follow to the regular work procedure. Officially, the participants have twice the chance to pass the integration exam. The teachers and counselors indicate that this rule is interpreted in a flexible manner. The targets are the same for everyone on paper, but in practice it is different. The core elements of active citizenship are pronounced in the objectives of the work-oriented integration program. The emphasis is on participation and work while the principles are self-reliance and personal responsibility. The counselors indicate that the important thing is that participants pass the exam rather than the participants must move on to paid work. This contrasts with the official goals of the integration program.

It is not the intention of the program that participants only continue to participate in their own communities. The elements of the neo-republican citizenship are not pronounced in the implementation of the WI. According to the street level bureaucrats, the emphasis must be on learning the Dutch language, rather than participation. Mastering the Dutch language is seen as a key requirement for participation. Participation is seen as a mean and a goal simultaneously to learn and develop the Dutch language. It is not that the performers do not think that participation is unnecessary, but mastering the Dutch language remains the main objective. Through the internship the participant may come into contact with people outside their community. This can contribute positively to learning the Dutch language.

### **Experiences of the participants**

The interviews with the participants show that they see the integration process as an opportunity to learn the Dutch language. This is consistent with the vision of T&I. The interviewed participants have different opinions on the implementation of the integration process. The participants believe that they learn the language better in practice by exercise. During the internships they communicate in Dutch and this causes them to improve their language skills.

The participants are satisfied with the lessons and the way the integration program functions. The computer classes are less favorable because these lessons are individual. In addition, some participants note that the groups in the classes are too big and the pace is sometimes slow. The participants who have completed the course and passed the exam indicate that the Dutch grammar is difficult and therefore it is difficult to pass the State-exam. The gap between NT-2 and the State-exam is too large and this causes a bad connection if the participant wants to follow the State-exam lessons at the ROC (Regional Training Centers).

Three of the six participants who have finished the program have little contact outside their internships with people from outside their own circle. This indicates bonding social capital. These participants are all single mothers. The other three participants have many more contacts with Dutch people and they do things on their own initiative to improve their language skills. This points to bridging social capital. Most of the participants are not members of any organization or association and do not take part in social activities. It is striking that one of the participants speaks Dutch after only a short period of time in the Netherlands and he is motivated to improve his Dutch language skills. All interviewed participants want to first learn the Dutch language and find work to stand on their own feet. Participants want to pursue self-sufficiency and personal responsibility. These are the characteristics of active citizenship. The participants realize that speaking the Dutch language is a necessity and that they have a long way to go to become fully active citizens. Citizens who participate in the labor market and are self-reliant. The participants indicate that it is very nice that they have regular contact with the counselor. The counselor does according to the participants more than a counselor should do. This is seen as positive.

## **Conclusion**

The formal integration policy of the city of Enschede has been developed to achieve the regulatory goals and promote participation of migrants. The emphasis in policy and policy objectives is on individual responsibility and empowerment of the participants. The formal policy has two objectives, namely passing the integration exam as required by the Integration Act and promote the flow "along the shortest route to work". During the mandatory internships participants can get skills and gain new contacts. In terms of Putnam (2000) and Herman van Gunsteren (1992), the formal policy is focused on bridging social capital and neo-republican citizenship. Participants can make new contacts and this can lead that they improve their language skills. The goal is not only that participants have contacts in their own circles, but they must make contact with people outside their own circle as well.

The participants indicate that the dual programs are good for the development of their language skills. In addition, the interviewed participants indicate that they want to be economically independent in the long term by having a stable job. Economic independency is a hallmark of active citizenship. In general, the conclusion in this study is that the integration policy of Enschede was effective to some degree in the development of the Dutch language and gaining contacts. To achieve self-reliance and personal responsibility, the participants have a long way to go and they indicate this also by themselves. In order to achieve this, some significant changes in the policy is needed. These points are listed in the recommendations.

## **Reflection to the theory**

The concepts of citizenship that are developed by Herman van Gunsteren (1992) do not offer sufficient guidance to other concepts of citizenship. The concepts do not fit in today's society, where civil society is not a society of autonomous individuals. Through individualization the homogeneous middle class has disappeared. The elements of the concepts of citizenship are not feasible, but the elements can be used for new forms of citizenship. Thus, the core elements of active citizenship, self-reliance and responsibility emerged in the last few years. This study attempted to operationalize active citizenship. It is important to note that active citizenship is not only about labor, but that it is also about different forms of participation.

## 1. Introduction

The municipality of Enschede has work-oriented integration programs where work / participatory tools of Enschede are linked to language acquisition. With the work-oriented program, Enschede wants to promote participation through targeting activation and, where necessary, reduce the language deficiency for the participants. The ultimate goal is for the participants to participate in the society of Enschede. This can be social participation and/or participation in the labor market. The participants learn basic skills such as the Dutch language, how to apply for a job and which organizations they should contact in certain conditions. The idea is that the participants must not depend on the social welfare payments but that they can ensure their own existence. This shift, where increasing emphasis is being placed on the personal responsibility and duties of the participants and to a lesser extent on the rights of the participants (being not dependent on benefits and the welfare state), is linked to active citizenship, passive (social) and civic participation.

Active citizenship is a concept that in recent years has been used in different contexts. Emphasis is put on the duties and responsibilities in order to participate. Passive (social) citizenship is about the (social) rights, such as the right to education, entitlement, etc. To enhance chances in the society and to find work, the city of Enschede offers two programs for integration. On the one hand, there is the integration course with a focus on education and health (OGO) and the work-oriented integration program on the other hand. Participants can begin at a for them appropriate time with the integration program. The objectives of a work-oriented integration program are twofold: to pass for the integration exam as required by the Integration Act and to promote to outflow 'along the shortest route to work (Gemeente 2008a, p.4-5). There is a policy note in Enschede "Citizenship and Integration" in which the integration policy is more elaborated on.

The core of the research is about the implementation of the work-oriented integration program (integration policy) in relation to active citizenship. The participants are 'pushed' in a certain direction by various different integration programs. The work-oriented integration program is offered by Enschede through the department DCW (Complementary service jobs). WorkStep is part of DCW, the municipal organization responsible for the implementation of the act Wsw (Act social work facilities), which has considerable expertise in the areas of support to people with a distance to the labor market.

The integration programs have certain goals. This research is about how active citizenship is shaped by the integration policy and work-oriented integration program of Enschede. It is about how the municipality of Enschede wants to make 'active citizens' of the participants and how this is translated in the integration policy and the implementation of the work-oriented integration program. It is important in this research to find out how the participants and the policy advisors think about active citizenship. Consequently, the thesis research focuses on the formal policy, implementation and the participants' experiences. For the latter interviews were held with participants who are following or who have completed the work-oriented integration. Also, the guidance from WorkStep is taken into consideration. It examines how the integration policy is effective by organizing 'active citizens'.

## 1.1 Setting of this research

The municipality of Enschede has a new approach towards integration after the Integration Act changed in 2007. One of the main goals of integration is obtaining paid work after completing the course. To be able to achieve this goal, the municipality developed the work-oriented integration program. This program promotes participation by targeting activation and by reducing the language deficiency among immigrants. Enschede wants a more sustained participation in the society by ensuring dual integration programs that lead to a higher level of language than the Integration Act requires. The objectives of a work-oriented integration program are (Gemeente Enschede, 2008a, p.4):

- 1- Passing the naturalization exam as required by the Integration Act, or obtain an exemption for this
- 2- Promote the outflow “along the shortest route to work”
- 3- Offer Dutch language courses to B1 level for those participants for which this is relevant
- 4- Specific offers for the participants for structure, content and schedule

Active citizenship means learning to participate and being responsible for the public cause (Tonkens & Groese, 2009, p. 4). Active citizenship arises by the interaction between the citizen and the institutional surroundings. It requires from citizens to develop competitions, to be able to take responsibilities and it requires from institutions to invite citizens, and to support and to equip them. The municipality of Enschede has a note “Integration and Citizenship” and uses the concept of citizenship in equal meaning. Citizenship means participating actively in society and is applicable for everyone. Especially stimulating participation of citizens with a lower social-economical position in society, as well as for immigrant as for native Dutch citizens is a very important goal in the municipality (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b, p.12-13). It is important for citizens, the municipality and other civil society organizations and companies to share the responsibility of trying to achieve the best level of integration from participants in society.

Citizenship is a concept that is increasingly used in recent years. The municipality of Den Haag has as the only municipality in the Netherlands an alderman citizenship to promote citizenship in the community (Tonkens & Groese, 2009, p.1-5). The various theories and perceptions of ‘citizenship’ and ‘active citizenship’ are further elaborated upon in the theoretical framework. Citizenship is a new concept: a concept that, partly because of its vagueness, generates great enthusiasm and few opponents. It is the new goal in numerous policy documents, conferences, articles, and so on. It seems that it generates in its vagueness more new enthusiasm. The term needs to include at least four contemporary problems (Tonkens & Groese, 2009, p.4):

- divisions between communities/ lack of social cohesion
- consumerism
- marginality/exclusion
- the gap between citizens and politics/government

Citizenship and economic independence are important in determining the success of the integration policy in Enschede. Participation in public life is needed according to the municipality of Enschede and the municipality considers participation in the labor market as

economical independence. According to the note “Integration and Citizenship 2008” a person is integrated if he/she can provide in their own living in the areas of housing, work, care, safety, education and leisure. The municipality of Enschede wants to achieve this by offering integration programs.

The importance of the concept of participation generates itself in the fact that a newcomer or the people in the community participate in public life or in the labor market and that newcomers feel at home in this society. The integration courses are different from one another and the policy used language courses as well as internships. The level of integration eventually determines which position on the participation level the participants will obtain.

The municipality of Enschede is working with a participation ladder that exists of six steps and here is the idea that someone (from an isolated existence) is led to paid work (Gemeente Enschede 2008b, p.12-13). The language courses, contacts with people and participation in society must ultimately ensure that the participant is directed towards paid work.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

The integration of new immigrants or newcomers has from the nineties onwards on become one of the spearheads in the Dutch integration policy. The concept of citizenship plays a central role in the legitimacy of this policy. Integration of immigrants is a subject for the civil and public debate after September 2001. Naturalization is not a synonym for integration, but it does form the beginning of the integration process. Integration policy is a decentralized policy because it needs be implemented on a local level.

The overall goal of the integration policy is shared citizenship for both the immigrants and native Dutch citizens. Integration is not a unilateral adjustment of immigrants to the native community, but it is mutual. Naturalization is seen as a first step towards integration. In April 2004, the Cabinet agreed to adopt the policy document “Review of the integration policy” in which the integration policy is introduced. The new system is characterized by focusing on the personal responsibility of the participant and reducing the responsibility of the municipalities.

The municipalities are like the directors and they try to shape the integration policy in the daily practice. However, it is important to understand what integration means and when someone is considered to be integrated. It is also important to properly define what you mean by an immigrant and native citizens. The municipality of Enschede concurs with the definition of Commission Blok when it comes to the definition of integration. The definition is: “A person or group is integrated into the Dutch society when there is an equal legal position, equal participation in socio-economic area, knowledge of Dutch language, respect the common values, norms and behavior patterns” (Wet inburgering, 2006). The native and immigrant share of the society of Enschede will have to act actively towards every citizen, irrespective of their origin, to provide opportunities in enhancing the democratic society. In addition, respect for everyone’s input is expected. Respect for diversity is an important condition for the welfare of immigrants in society and the incentive for the participation of immigrants. The municipality of Enschede puts a strong emphasis on language and education, housing, care and welfare, economics and work, security and integration in the entire municipality (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b, p.6-7).

Municipalities have the freedom to set up integration programs that suit the local situation. However, these programs need to provide opportunities to pass the integration exam. The government steers on dual tracks and a maximum number of participants passing the exam each year. Before the Integration Act, there were only language courses at the ROCs (Regional Education Centre). With the introduction of the Integration Act a new market that provides in integration courses was born. The municipalities and the participants are free in their choice for the different integration programs. A standard label is created to ensure the quality of the language courses.

In the Deltaplan Integration (November 2007), the government wants to focus more strongly on the interaction between integration and participation. The aim is that 80 percent of the integration programs will be offered on a dual basis. A dual integration process implies that learning the language and participation will take place simultaneously (Gelderloos & van Koert, 2010, p.21-24). With the Deltaplan Integration, the government will promote integration by combining language learning with practice (at work or internship). Since there are people who followed a work-oriented integration program it is possible to explore how participants experienced the work-oriented integration programs, how active citizenship is shaped in the integration policy and in what way the integration policy is effective in organizing 'active citizens'. It is interesting to know whether the participation of the participants is a consequence of the municipal policy. This study will therefore provide an analysis of the integration policy and its implementation. In order to conduct this analysis in the best way, one main research question and three sub-questions are formulated.

#### Research question:

How is active citizenship shaped in the integration policy and in the work-oriented integration program of the municipality of Enschede and in what way is the integration policy effective in organizing 'active citizens'?

#### Sub-questions:

- 1- What is the importance of active citizenship in the integration policy of Enschede?
- 2- In what way is active citizenship implemented in the work-oriented integration program?
- 3- In what way does the work-oriented integration program contribute to the participants' participation, according to the participants themselves?

#### Delineation of 'active citizens':

In this research the concept of 'active citizens' means the participants who speak de Dutch language proficiently, have paid work (participation on the labor market) and/or are socially participating through voluntary work. Active citizens are not only the participants who participate in the labor market. This delineation of 'active citizens' is relevant to answer the question in what way the integration policy is effective in organizing active citizens.

### **1.3 Purpose and relevance of this research**

In order to determine the value of the integration program in achieving a certain level of integration from the participants, this research examines the experiences of participants who

followed (and are still following) the work-oriented integration programs. To be able to do this in the research, six participants were interviewed. Three of them started around early 2007 and the first half of 2008 and they finished the work-oriented integration program. Besides this three participants who are still following the work-oriented integration program are interviewed as well. The focus is on the experiences of the participants. The interview questions concern subjects as the language skills, knowledge of the Dutch society, participation in the labor market, economic independence, educational level, living in a not segregated neighborhood, membership of associations and organizations, informal contact with the native Dutch population, ethnic background of the partner, endorse western norms and beliefs (Seveker, Svensson and Thränhardt, 2007, p.117).

This research is carried out by interviewing the participants who follow a work-oriented integration program. Through a series of questions, the participants will be asked to share their experiences in a systematic way. This study focuses on the policy, implementation and the experiences of the participants themselves. To what extent is there an outflow to regular work outside DCW intervention and has this work-oriented integration program added value to their integration? How is the municipality of Enschede trying direct the participants to become active citizens? This study provides a qualitative analysis of the formal integration policy and the implementation of the integration policy. The experiences of the participants can eventually contribute in improving the integration policy of the municipality of Enschede, DCW and WorkStep.

#### **1.4 Structure of this thesis**

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to this thesis and an introduction to the concepts that are central in this research. The problem is introduced and the research questions are worked out. Chapter 2 is a theoretical framework in which these theories of concepts are further elaborated on in this study. Theories of active citizenship, social capital and labor market participation are worked out separately. Also, there will be an explanation about how the theoretical concepts are interrelated in this study. Chapter 3 is about the form of the research and the research methodology. In chapter 4 the national and local integration policies of the municipality of Enschede are explained. Chapter 5 focuses on the implementation of the integration policy. Consultants of Language & Integration (they do the recruitment and placement of the participants) and WorkStep (where the participants follow a work-oriented integration program) are the research units in this chapter. Chapter 6 deals with the experiences of the participants themselves. The interviews with the participants who follow a work-oriented integration form the core in this chapter. In Chapter 7 the sub-questions and the research question will be answered. The focus is put on answering the research question and recommendations are for the municipality and other organizations.



## **2. Theoretical framework**

The concepts of active citizenship, governance, participation and social capital are central in this theoretical framework. The different concepts of citizenship (van Gunsteren, 1992) are elaborated on in this chapter to understand the actual form of citizenship in the society and which features of the different concepts are used in the concept of active citizenship. This chapter is organized as follows. In the first paragraph, the five concepts of citizenship are outlined. The second paragraph is about the theories of active and passive citizenship. In the third paragraph, the conception of integration and the developments about integration is elaborated on. The fourth paragraph describes the relationship between active citizenship and labor market participation. In addition, social capital is outlined in a separate paragraph. The last paragraph discusses the relationship between the concepts of active citizenship, integration, participation and social capital in relation to the implementation of the Integration Act.

### **2.1 Concepts of citizenship**

The five concepts republic, citizenship for all, citizenship as a bearer of rights and preferences, citizenship as a member of a community and the neo-republican citizenship will be elaborated on. After this, the new conception of active citizenship is outlined. The key element here is to find out what characteristics of the different concepts of citizenship can be observed in the present form of (active) citizenship.

#### **2.1.1 The Republic**

Citizen is she or he who rules and that is ruled. In a republic, the sword of power and all public authority functions - political decision-making, administration and justice – are exercised by citizens (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.11). In the Netherlands, where a king is placed at the top of society and where its citizens form a political community and there is also some form of a Republic. The government has a monopoly on violence and legislation. They are the people who are subject to the authority and perform these functions. This dual role is special and to exercise these dual functions of to rule and be ruled, the citizens must have a minimum of autonomy, discretion and loyalty. This shows that citizenship is not reserved for everyone (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.11).

#### **2.1.2 Citizenship for all**

Modern republics aspire citizenship for all, including those who are not wealthy. They know which facilities must prevent that the latter are forced to their own political judgments and act to provide for preservation of life, food and other basic services (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.12). Social security and assistance are an important prerequisite of citizenship. The state maintains the conditions and helps people to get through the entry barriers. This is done by helping the citizens to assist in obtaining the required access and quality, through reducing the obstacles. This creates a conflict for the state, to maintain the functions and the access requirements. The focus was mainly on access to freedoms. Citizenship itself is important, but it became also problematic. This is described in the following paragraph.

The emphasis is on the juridical status of the person (legal status). A citizen is legal in one country and he has to behave according to the law. Thus, the citizen can claim citizenship rights. Actively participate in the society is not necessary. All citizens obtain social rights in this concept. There is critique on the point to assist the citizens by reducing the obstacles. This means that welfare arrangements would not free, but keep the people trapped in poverty and other dependencies. This means that state aid is seen as an obstacle to citizenship (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.12). In short, citizenship has become problematic on several fronts. This form of citizenship (citizenship for all) is directly opposite to the current ideas of the government of more responsibility and independence.

### **2.1.3 Citizenship as a bearer of rights and preferences**

This is the liberal individualistic concept of citizenship. This utilitarian variant assumes that individuals want to maximize their own utility. Citizenship and other political institutions are agents which are only conditionally accepted, as long as they maximize the utility of the individual conditions (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.13). Two main problems of this concept of citizenship are known: How to prevent other individuals or the basis of their mutually beneficial road to ruin and what is the individual? The views and preferences of an individual to an improper have been established. The information may be unilateral or nonsensical. These problems were not so grave as long as many individuals spontaneously behaved "responsible". It is about responsibility and usually this is where the government wants to 'push' its citizens. An individualized society as in the Netherlands is faced with several problems. The liberal view here is pronounced with the emphasis on the legal status of citizens and that active participation in the society is not necessary. This is connected to the individualization of society, where people try to get their own utility to maximize their needs. This is expressed very well in the following sentence: *"They defy easy attempts for the goats from the sheep, to separate the impostors from the real owners"* (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.13-14).

### **2.1.4 Citizenship as a member of a community**

This concept puts all the emphasis on the fact that a citizen belongs to a historical community (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.14). Judicious action in this vision is to move within the acceptable boundaries within the community. Through loyalty and education communities are formed.

This concept avoids some of the problems of individualistic citizenship. The individuals in this concept are formed by the community. They must abide the learned codes, this will ensure that the community will survive. Differing from the codes means corruption and it should therefore be contested. An important point of this community concept of citizenship lies in adhering to the insight that identity and stability of character for people to achieve without the support of a community of friends and like-minded. Someone with a strong character is steadfast and will generally make rational decisions. For most people, maintaining constancy depends on the survival of and belonging to a community of more or less like-minded people and shared living standards. In modern societies communities are not natural. There is plurality of communities and individual combinations of memberships. A second objection to the concept of community is not about the feasibility, but its desirability. Communities restrict freedoms, here we can think of compartmentalization (verzuiling) in Dutch history. Emancipation was therefore liberation from the oppressive and unjust community bonds. The community is based on the 'right thinking' and

the modern state protects individuals against the community standards (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.14-16).

### **2.1.5 Neo-republican citizenship**

The neo-republican concept of citizenship includes elements of community, republican and individualistic thinking. We start with the community elements; the citizen is a member of a public community, the republic. This community is central to the citizen. From the individual, this is a community among many, albeit a community with a special position. It is the responsibility of the public community to monitor the structure that allows other communities to form their activities. The republic creates and protects the freedom of individuals to form communities, to participate in it and to turn them off. The characteristics of the neo-republican virtues are at least about virtues. It is about debate, fairness, democracy, choice, plurality and carefully limited use of force (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.18).

It also means that the admission to citizenship and its exercise are linked to requirements. The government waits not only to individuals to present themselves spontaneously as citizens, but also promotes the formation of people into independent and competent citizens. Individuals are socially formed. The republic allows the reproduction of individuals not to existing communities, but it tests whether the given social formation of individuals actually gives access to citizenship. If this is not the case, the government comes in action (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.19-20). The emphasis will be on participation, whereby an active participation of citizens is needed. Participation is seen as goal and mean simultaneously. Due to participation, citizens can be a part of society. Speaking the language is very important in this concept of citizenship and various forms of participation such as labor market participation and political participation are also important. The citizens should jointly shape the pluralistic society.

The five discussed concepts of citizenship do not satisfy and give insufficient orientation. This is because the conditions that they assumed are no longer fulfilled by applying the theories. The theories do not fit in contemporary society. Modern society is not a civil society of autonomous individuals. Instead of friendships, there are now networks of relationships. In society there is a variety of communities, some exists long and others short. Besides the familiar communities of nationality, religion, trade unions and associations we find a mass of less familiar and established relationships. The authorities have not their usual place in this modern society. The national state becomes a respected center amidst a moving field of other power centers. It is important to mention that none of the five concepts of citizenship in contemporary society can be realized (van Gunsteren, 1992, p.16). Citizenship cannot be written off as an unattainable ideal. Those concepts of citizenship are not feasible, but the elements can be used for the proper concept of active citizenship.

## **2.2 Active citizenship**

Various forms of citizenship have been outlined above. Active citizenship is explained in this chapter. Active citizenship can be defined as follows: "*Active citizenship refers to the social behavior and independence of citizens, and how service providers and public policy invite citizens to social behavior and self-reliance, and support them in it*" (Steyaert, Bodd & Lindens, 2005, p. 23). This shows that more is expected of the citizen than only being a consumer to

participate in and enjoy the acquired social development. Citizens must also actively contribute as (co-) producer. The citizen must in some sense not enjoy the level of social development that society has reached, but also take actions in it.

The different concepts of citizenship have been worked out above. Active citizenship is explained now. The ball rests with the citizen. The citizens play an important role in many social problems nowadays. Policymakers do so, politicians from all directions, directors of civil society organizations and citizens themselves: they place the ball all at the citizens. If there is a problem detected, the spotlight is soon put on the citizens and their organizations: civil society. The citizen is considered, invited, encouraged, begged and cajoled to be an active citizen. In recent years, active citizenship was put forward as a solution for four major social issues namely: lack of social cohesion, particularly between different population groups, consumerist and anti-social behavior, social exclusion and finally the gap between citizens and government (Tonkens, 2006, p.5). Citizens are expected to solve these problems as responsible, decent, caring and deliberative citizens. Citizens will have a unifying role because they are considered to build bridges between citizens and between citizens and government.

The ball is given to the citizen, which before World War II was in the hands of the government. With new social issues it was the idea that the government should do something about them. More government action in different subjects was considered as a solution. The welfare state was constructed and directed by the government and performed by professional experts. It was about passive citizenship: citizens were adorned with new social and economic rights and services, including retirement, disability, unemployment, housing benefits and AWBZ. They got all of this without obligations. In the seventies, the idea started to grow that citizens who had access to these rights and facilities should also obtain a (political) voice. The social and economic rights were supplemented with new political rights. The ideal of the articulate, deliberative citizen arose. Sometimes initiated by the citizens themselves, but often at the initiative of professionals, politicians, officials and experts. The responsible citizen was entitled to participate, not only in relation to the government but even more in many other institutions, businesses, schools and care institutions. The main current legislation that regulates participation, such as the Works Councils Act and the Participation Act Clients Health care, came in this period into being. The ball lies in the market in the last decades of the last century. If there was a problem, it was soon thought that the problem could be solved with more market freedom. The government (welfare state) changed from being a solution to becoming a problem, because it was too expensive and people would become passive and dependent. Citizens should be self-reliant financially. In many areas the government thus preceded to market incentives, market forces and privatization. The market was supposed to serve citizens better and to become more active. Citizens continued to play a role, but the role of the citizen changed. In the context of market forces, the ideal of responsible citizens changed in that of self-reliant citizens and critical consumers that chooses actively. Independence was becoming an important civic ideal. Good citizens were no longer dependent on the government, but were economically and socially independent. The government has not to save them because they have to save themselves. Self-reliance and that you can control your own life is considered a virtue. Active and passive citizenship are displayed in the following chart:

<b>ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP:</b> Active responsibility for the public case Active participation in the public case	<b>PASSIVE CITIZENSHIP</b> Involved to the public case, but no active participation and responsibility
<b>ACTIVE CONSUMENTISM</b> Responsible, not for the public case <b>ACTIVE MARGINALITY</b> Participation, not for the public case	<b>PASSIVE CONSUMENTISM</b> No responsibility for the public case. <b>PASSIVE MARGINALITY</b> No participation for the public

Source: (Tonkens & Groese, 2009, p.5)

### *The responsible citizen*

The responsible citizen takes personal responsibility and initiative for his life, community and welfare. The responsible citizen can be seen as the successor of the self-reliant citizen. There is one important difference between the two, namely that a responsible citizen is more communitarian and republican than a liberal figure. Besides himself, he saves his surroundings. The independence of such people is more collectively oriented: they take responsibility for their social environment, their neighborhood, district or city. Self-reliant citizens and responsible citizens help each other. Responsibility is related to collective self-reliance. Responsible citizens contribute especially to solve the lack of social cohesion. Responsible citizens are encouraged by the government and obtaining welfare. This incentive is not much because the idea is that it is better that more people do for themselves. It is also better for themselves. They learn to know each other, to help each other and generate social capital. So they become collectively self-reliant and it is better for the policy. If citizens are more responsible, the government and civil society has less to do. The model assumes that citizens and government (and other institutions) communicate with each other. The premise is that if the government behaves more passive, the citizens will be more active. Citizenship occurs spontaneously, without interference from government and institutions.

There is a passive attitude towards responsible citizens, citizens who are receiving their rights and issues an appeal to the government instead from looking at each other. These passive and complaining citizens are negative for the welfare state. The idea is that the welfare state made people passive and lazy. This was the reason that people were first called to account for their independence and then also their responsibility (Tonkens, 2006, p.10-11).

### *The deliberative citizen*

Deliberative citizens are thinking and talking with the stakeholders about issues. They are in interactive boards, talking in the district evenings and actively participate in citizen panels and public forums and they participate in different councils. They can bridge the gap between citizens and government. Deliberative citizens talk not only with policymakers but also with each other. They participate in various debates and all kinds of dialogues. They practice in democratic skills such as listening to others. By keeping dialogues, many people can change their minds.

They also contribute to social cohesion and combat ethnic tensions. In the seventies, there was already much attention for deliberation. There are three differences to generate. First, it is not just a particular law, but also a duty. Through policy deliberation legitimacy is obtained and citizens can get democratic competencies. Deliberative citizenship is in comparison to the seventies narrowed to the sphere of government and politics.

Policy renewal is virtually only seen such a renewal of political and administrative procedures, including the composition and size of government and parliament, the elected mayor, formation meetings, referenda and such (Tonkens, 2006, p.12-13). Deliberation in civil society organizations through works councils, client councils, etc., is hardly in the picture. Deliberation is compared to the seventies and is now a matter of citizens themselves and less a matter between citizens and government. For example, there is an administrative reform for citizens; and they are not invited to the governance debate, but citizens have to come with a general proposal.

### **2.3 Integration, governance and policy developments**

The traditional government and the work system have changed over time. There has been a shift from government to governance. Governance is a broad concept and it is not synonymous with government. Governance is a new form to govern and there are several forms of governance. The British government introduced governance as a control structure in which the principle was that "networking" with other organizations was seen as more and more important. Within a governance approach municipalities can cooperate with various organizations in creating a policy, because an integrated policy with a broad base is preferred. In the case of the municipalities there is local governance, local public and private organizations that are invited in forming local policy. Therefore, governance is about 'maintenance' of the networks. Governance is about self-organization and inter-organizational networks (Rhodes, 1996, p.652-659). Network is different than hierarchy (the traditional government) and the market. It ensures that the boundaries between public and private organizations and the boundaries between public and private organizations lapse. An important goal is to boost people to participate with a particular purpose. The top-down approach of the government bureaucracy has given way to governance for private and public organizations. Public and private organizations look together with the citizens to problems in the society (Brannan, John and Stoker, 2006, p.993-997).

The integration theme has always been a subject of public debate. This was accompanied by several changes in the policy. The development of the Dutch integration policy is characterized by a high degree of discontinuity (Scholten, 2008, p.208-209). There were always new integration models adopted by different terminology and assumptions. Until the 70's there was no policy because the idea was that migrants (guest workers) were not here to stay permanently. The idea was that the Netherlands could not be an immigration society. In the 80s there was a minority policy that was designed to promote emancipation and participation of ethnic minorities.

Only in the 90s an integration policy was developed which was focused on the socio-economic participation of the individual migrant. After this came a new approach and this was focused on socio-cultural adaptation of the migrants. The scientific study of Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) and Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) played a major role in these developments. Besides this, there was the effect of various experts on policy developments.

With time, several paradigms have emerged that increasingly emphasized individual participation of immigrants (citizenship paradigm). It is clear that there is not one model of integration and that several models are intermingled. This makes it difficult to determine what integration actually means. Frame reflection is important in this case and it is also important that scientists must think critically about policy concepts and assumptions. The scientists can reflect critically and create various policy alternatives.

Integration policy at national level changed in the last years. A municipality can give a forfeit for the participant who fails for the integration exam and when the participant does not co-operate. For the voluntary participants is there an agreement with requirements. Municipalities have freedom to organize the integration policy and to give forfeits for non-compliance. With the introduction of the Integration Act a new market was created for the integration policy (Gelderloos & van Koert, 2010, pp. 21-22).

#### **2.4 Relation between active citizenship and labor market participation**

The shift of emphasis on rights has shifted to the duties and responsibilities of the participants. There are specific programs offered by the provider of customized language classes. The capacity / level of participants are important in this case. The goal is to increase the outflow to regular work through offering specific programs. Active citizenship is about citizens that competently act in a double bond with respect to the state, namely as an actor in the political community and as actors in civil society (Devriendt, 2007, p.48-49). The welfare state is the double bond also: citizens, policy and services. Policies and services are exponents of the government and the government creates policies from a certain policy vision and organizes the service. It is important that government allows certain services and make it compulsory through policy. Policy and service are also exponents of the citizens themselves. Citizens can participate by influencing policy procedure.

#### **2.5 Social capital**

The term social capital came up in the second half of the eighties and it was introduced by Bourdieu (1989). Social capital is "the totality of existing or potential resources." The resources come from a sustainable network. An individual can get access through a network to the resources of other individuals. Network can consist of relationships through mutual acquaintance and recognition. A network is according to Pels: "A 'think 'factory' (individuals belonging to the network) in the broad sense is creditworthy "(Bourdieu, 1989, p.132). The volume of social capital of an individual depends on the size of the network, the relationships that can be effectively mobilized and the amount of economic and cultural capital that each of the individuals have in private possession. Social capital of an individual cannot be reduced to the economic and cultural capital. Social capital is dependent on the relationships of an individual and is based on exchange (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 135).

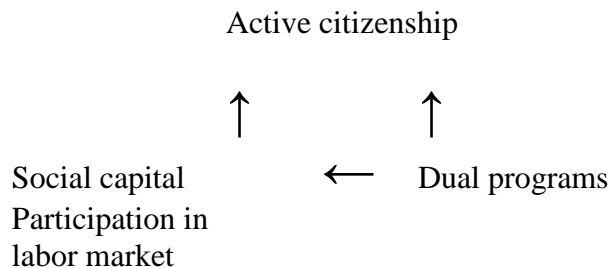
Citizenship policy is now focused on connections between different populations. Binding is studied in sociology from the perspective concepts of social cohesion and social capital. Social cohesion is about what binds the people in an urban context. This concept received a strong boost with the urbanization. Social cohesion is difficult to influence. Much policy is therefore indirectly aimed at social cohesion. Social capital is the product of social contacts. Besides social

capital you have economic capital (money), but just economic capital is not sufficient. People also need social contacts. Low social capital can be regarded as a form of poverty.

According to Robert Putnam (2000) social capital consists of networks, trust and shared values. Social capital is an important driving force for collective action in society. There are three distinct types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding capital involves contacts between people with similar backgrounds who know and recognize each other. Bridging capital is about the relationships between different groups of citizens, for example with different ethnic backgrounds. Linking capital is about the relationship between citizens and institutions. Bonding organizes reciprocity and solidarity in groups. Bridging and linking social capital create relationships between individuals and society. It connects the groups (Tonkens and Groese, 2009, p.9-10). Social capital can be higher by participation, by both social participation (voluntary work) or to participate in the labor market (labor market).

## 2.6 Relation between the concepts active citizenship, integration, participation and social capital

Integration has always been an important topic of public debate. Various policy changes occurred over time. The current focus is on the individual participation of the migrant (citizenship paradigm). It is clear that not one clear integration model exists. Citizens should be financially self-reliant. Independence is deemed more important. The starting point was that the public was no longer dependent on the government, but the civilians could stand on their own feet in economic and social fields. The main objective of the work-oriented integration program is that participants pass the integration exam and that they find a paid job as a self-reliant citizen. By combining integration with apprenticeships, internships and / or jobs the social capital of the participant can increase. This is also the case for the pilot programs (loodstraject) in which participants are coupled to a native citizen who supports and directs the participant. The participation ladder is an instrument of the municipality to identify and follow the participant. This looks as follows in a scheme:



Explanation of this scheme is essential. Active citizenship is central in this study. This study examines how active citizenship is shaped in the integration policy. This is the core of the research. Integration has different goals and the main objective is participation in the labor market. If labor market participation is not possible, social participation is encouraged. The arrow between dual programs - social capital and participation makes no causal correlation. This attempt is to make clear that participation (labor market participation and / or social participation) can positively contribute to the social capital of the participant. Integration with



obligatory internships can lead to more participation of the participant. Participation can be a tool for participants to become 'active citizens'.

The municipalities want that the participants integrate through social contacts with Dutch citizens and that they not only have contacts with people from their own community. This indicates that there is bridging social capital. Through learning the Dutch language and participation participants can promote 'linking', for example to know which institutions they have to reach in certain situations. The word citizenship is used in some municipalities and it replaces the term 'integration'. Integration has been given a negative connotation and the focus has increasingly shifted to adaptation of the participant in the society. Citizenship is a matter for all citizens, for both the natives and immigrants (Tonkens & Groese, 2009, p.13-14).

Citizenship emphasizes "community". This means that citizenship is for all of the citizens. The emphasis is on the word 'bridging', a term that all citizens have in common if they want to do something in the society. This is about active citizenship. Citizens must take responsibility and do more by themselves. Citizenship is about that people feel involved, commitment of citizens to contribute and improve the social environment and take responsibility for the social environment. Citizenship has rights and knows its duties and responsibilities. Social quality is something that is not self-created but it is something that needs to be formed. For citizens, the idea must increase that not everything can be controlled top-down and so that citizens must take their own social responsibility to build bridges between groups who often live alongside each other. The government wants to promote active citizenship. "*Citizenship offers good opportunities to address against disadvantage and social exclusion, but also on social and cultural isolation.*". The process has to be in a two-way and there must be a shift from passive to active citizenship (Tonkens & Groese, 2009, p.13-14).

Focusing on the concept of citizenship, the integration policy is in line with the rediscovery of the citizens in general in politics, policy, science and philosophy. It focuses primarily on the responsibilities of citizens and what binds the people (Fermin, 1999, p.2). Certain developments such as the transfer of powers from national states to supranational bodies, the continuing immigration to Western European countries, the crisis of the welfare state and increasing individualization show the need for a renewed focus on citizenship.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

The neo-republican concept of citizenship stems from the four elements of citizenship and includes elements of the different conceptions. The emphasis is on the legal status of citizens. Active citizenship has two key elements, namely, personal responsibility and self-reliance (economic independence). The work of Tonkens (2009) is about active citizenship and different characteristics of different concepts emerge in the concept of active citizenship. There have been significant policy changes about integration and the expectations of the state about its citizens changed over the years. These expectations were related to the changing ideas about citizenship. The relations between the theoretical concepts are outlined in this chapter. The purpose of this chapter was to determine how the characteristics of the differences of citizenship itself had developed into active citizenship and how active citizenship is established in this society. This is important to be able to understand the policy objectives of the state and the municipality of Enschede.

The Dutch government wants to encourage participation and social capital to make active citizenship possible. The different changes in the policy of integration have made the government transfer more and more responsible to its citizens. Responsibility means that people in various fields should be self-reliant. The emphasis is more on the duties and no longer on the rights of the participants. To understand this shift, this chapter explains the various concepts of citizenship and active citizenship.

### **3. Methodology**

In this chapter the research method used in this thesis will be explained. In paragraph two the type and the goal of the research are described. In paragraph three, an explanation is given about how the sub-questions are answered. Emphasis is put on which policy documents are being analyzed and which persons are being interviewed to be able to answer the sub-questions. The last paragraph explains how every theoretical concept is operationalized and how the interview questions were developed.

#### **3.1 Research methods**

Considering the frequency of the implementation of the integration policy, in this study a case study is chosen within the municipality of Enschede. To be more specific, it is about the departments 'Grow up & Develop', Economy & Work and DCW. The research is conducted by means of qualitative methods and data collection. The methods that will be discussed are the interviews and the document analysis. A case study is characterized by a specific focus in combination with qualitative methods (Babbie, 2007). Therefore it will provide insight about the implementation of the integration policy in the municipality of Enschede.

##### **3.1.1 Interviews**

The focus in this research is put on the implementation of the integration policy (work-oriented integration program) in relation to active citizenship in the municipality of Enschede. In this thesis, the choice was clearly made to put emphasis on the qualitative aspect. By making this choice, insight can be obtained about the implementation of the integration policy in the municipality of Enschede. That is why interviews will be held with three policymakers from the municipality of Enschede, three interviews with street level bureaucrats, two interviews with aldermen and six interviews with participants who followed a work-oriented integration program (three people who finished the program and three people who are still following the program). The research units are the individuals. The interviews with the participants who followed a work-oriented integration program at WorkStep are the most important interviews in this research. Three people will be interviewed who started in 2007 and/or at the beginning of 2008 with the work-oriented integration program and completed it and three participants who are still in the program. The motivation for this choice is because these people have experienced the program and thus can contribute to this research by sharing their experiences in the interviews. In consultation with the departments Language & Integration which is established in the Werkplein Enschede, an effort will be made to interview people with different backgrounds. Next to interviews with policy makers and participants, interviews will be also held with street level bureaucrats.

Next, the implementation of the citizenship policy and the integration policy are both examined within the departments Economy & Work and Grow up & Develop. These two departments are thus the research units. One interview is held with a policy maker who is responsible for the citizenship policy and one interview is held with a policy maker who is responsible for the integration policy. The interview can provide a positive contribution about how the implementation of the citizenship policy can be modernized, so the work-oriented integration

programs will continue to contribute to the integration and participation of the participants in the municipality of Enschede.

### **3.2 Type and goal of the research**

This thesis has three goals. There is exploration, description and explanation. For the first sub-question, emphasis will be put on the way active citizenship is important for the policy in Enschede. This first sub-question is mainly explorative and descriptive. The second sub-question is about how the municipality of Enschede works on achieving active citizenship. The goal of the second sub-question is mainly descriptive and explorative. The third sub-question addresses the experiences of the participants and this sub-question concerns the second part of the research question, namely in which way the integration policy is effective in organizing active citizens. By using the theoretical framework an explanation will be given about how the implementation of the integration policy takes place and how active citizenship is addressed in the integration policy of the municipality of Enschede.

In this research a case study is used. A case study implies that emphasis will be put on a specific issue or phenomenon. This is an essential characteristic for conducting a case study (Babbie, 2007). The focus in this research is put on the implementation of the integration policy (work-oriented integration program) in relation to active citizenship in the municipality of Enschede.

### **3.3 Elaboration of the sub-questions**

It is important first explain how active citizenship is important for the integration policy of Enschede. The first question will be answered by conducting interviews with people from the policy department in the city of Enschede and a document analysis of policy documents. The goal is to see the developments that have occurred in the integration policy of the city of Enschede. The focus here will be on the policy. This means that the policies adopted by the municipality Enschede, are actually implemented from the Integration Act. The first sub-question is descriptive and the importance of active citizenship in the integration policy of the city of Enschede will be elaborated on.

The second sub-question is about how the city of Enschede is working on active citizenship in the execution of the work-oriented integration program and how active citizenship is reflected in the integration policy. The interviews with the street level bureaucrats of the integration policy are important for answering this sub-question. The last and the third question is about the experiences of participants themselves. It is important here to look at the experience of participants and to find out what they think in how this program played a role in how "active" they participate in society. The last two sub-questions (questions 2 and 3) are important for answering the research question. The second question is an important part in answering the first part of the research question, namely how active citizenship is shaped in the integration policy and work-oriented integration program. The municipality of Enschede wants that participants take more responsibility, that they become self-reliant and that they participate. The last sub-question "*In what way does the work-oriented integration program contribute to the participants' participation, according to the participants themselves?*" refers to the second part of the research question, namely to what extent the integration policy is effective in shaping 'active citizens'.

The theoretical concepts of governance, participation and active citizenship are central to answering the research question. An analysis is conducted to determine to what extent there is a link between the implementation of the Integration Act and other work-oriented integration programs and how active citizenship is shaped in the integration policy of Enschede. Eventually, the answers of the sub-questions lead to answering the research question. Interviews will be held under the responsible policy officials, aldermen, policy implementers and integrators who followed the work-oriented integration program. Interviews and a literature study should address the current implementation of the integration policy of Enschede. Both the interviews with policy makers, policy implementers and people who work on a specific integration program should have taken the lead in answering the research question.

### **3.4 Operationalization**

Previously, survey was conducted in the city of Enschede about how integration can be measured. It is a bi-national study to gain insight into the effectiveness of different measures that is realized in Münster and Enschede. Integration is in this study an empirical quantitative and measurable process. It is assumed that integration of migrants can be measured, assuming a multi-dimensional concept of integration, following the work of Dagevos (2001) and Esser (2003) that have developed a set of empirical indicators (Seveker, Svensson & Thränhardt, 2007, p.10).

These indicators are also used in this study as criteria and indicators for active citizenship, participation and social capital. The economic capital indicators include participation in employment and economic independence (no social payments). Cultural capital indicators include: language skills, knowledge society, education, self-assessment and endorse Western values and ideas. Social capital is also about not living in a segregated neighborhood, membership of associations and organizations, informal contact with the indigenous population and ethnic background of the partner. Some indicators from Seveker by Svensson and Thränhardt (2007) that are used to measure the integration can also used as indicators to measure active citizenship. Indicators for active citizenship are:

- Language skills
- Knowledge about the society
- Participation in labor market/ other social activities
- Economic independence (no social payments)
- Self-reliance
- Membership of associations and organizations

Social capital can also be measured. Van Deth (2008) indicates that social capital consists of structural and cultural aspects. This corresponds to the line that Dagevos follows in measuring integration. Generally, social capital is considered being the combination of social networks, trust and shared values and norms (Van Deth, 2003). Actors can through their social networks, based on trust relationships with other actors with whom they share values, reach goals that cannot reached by one person. The actors do not have the resources (material or immaterial), but they can achieve these resources through social contacts. Robert Putnam (2000) makes connections between the social capital of a company and the quality of democracy. It clearly focuses on the collective level. James Coleman (1990, p.317) describes on the one hand, social capital as a property of a social structure (i.e. collective) and at the same time he sees it as an

important resource for individuals. These collective and individual levels of social capital lead to diversity and heterogeneity of instruments.

Peters (2010, p.161-164) has presented a typology which distinguishes between the provider and the recipient of social capital. The first refers to the place where social capital is the source, and the latter refers to the actor or set of actors that (can) benefit of this social capital. It is so that they can exist both individually or collectively, and in combination with one another. According to the OECD (2001, p.43) social capital is difficult to codify because it is about relations. The emphasis on social capital as a functional concept, according to Stone (2001 cited in Castiglione et al 2008) that made the operationalization based on the outcomes of social capital and not by definition. Social capital thus has different meanings and can be applied in various forms. Van Deth makes clear that a researcher must designate a lead definition of the concept to use the indicators. This study is based on an individual level social capital (Bourdieu, 1989). This is because the city of Enschede focuses on the individual by offering specific program. Next to this, bridging, bonding and linking social capital of Robert Putnam (2000) is used in this research.

Van Deth (2008) argues that the differences between structural and cultural aspects of social capital are important. Many researchers focus on networks (structural aspect) and trust (cultural aspect). It is also important, according to Deth that a choice should be made between collective and individual approach to social capital. In the quantitative study of Seveker Svensson and Thränhardt, the indicators from Dagevos' study are used (2001) that have been developed to measure integration. Indicators for structural integration are education, unemployment, occupational workers and the characteristics of the district in which one lives. Indicators of socio-cultural integration are the contacts maintained with the indigenous population and the desirability of such actors. Cultural integration will focus on having modern notions of individualism, secularization and gender roles. Religion, identification with their own group and mastering the language and speaking the language with their partner and children are also part of cultural integration.

#### **4. Active citizens and the formal integration policy of Enschede**

This chapter will answer the first research question: *"What is the importance of active citizenship in the integration policy of Enschede?"*. The chapter begins with a description of the national integration policy. The paradigm shifts in national policies are described in order to describe the local integration. The policy document "Integration and Citizenship" and "the Integration agenda" of the city of Enschede are important in describing the local integration. Participation is an important concept in the integration policy and therefore the participatory vision of Enschede is described. Next, it is explained what the participation ladder means and how it is used in the municipality of Enschede. Then the work-oriented integration program is described and this is followed by a summary of the formal policy and active citizenship.

After describing the formal policy, attention is on how characteristics of active citizenship are incorporated in national and local integration policies. The interviews with policy advisors and aldermen should shed light on their opinions about citizenship and how citizenship is developed in the integration policy. After this, the policy will be interpreted, using the theoretical concept of active citizenship.

##### **4.1 National integration policy**

The integration policy has always been subject to public debate. There were many policy changes over years. The development of the Dutch integration policy is characterized by a high degree of discontinuity (Scholten, 2008, p.208-209). In the 60s the first so-called guest workers came to the Netherlands. Until the 70's there was no policy developed which does not assumed that these guest workers would return to their country of origin after a period of residence. The policy first emerged in the 80s and it was a minority policy that was designed to promote emancipation and participation of ethnic minorities. In the 90s the integration policy was developed that aimed to establish the socio-economic participation of migrants. The WRR (Scientific Council for Government Policy) played an important role in this policy changes. Over the years different paradigms were created that emphasized the individual participation of migrants. In the 90s migrants had become dependent on welfare and policy was focused on leading them to paid work. The idea was that migrants should not be dependent on social payments and that they should be stimulated to find work as soon as possible. This is an example of bridging social capital, because the migrant is asked to participate outside his/her own community. In addition, the research of Holzhaecker and Scholten (2009) shows that there is a shift aimed at cultural assimilation following the success of populist politicians. Recent developments show that the government itself imposes responsibility on the participant. The governments no longer finance language courses anymore and they came up with specific rules regarding integration. The idea is that the pressure to integrate should not come from the society but from the participants themselves. With this change, the government distances itself from multicultural policies (Nrc, 2011).

### **4.1.1 Interpretation of the national integration policy in terms of active citizenship and social capital**

In the 70's there was not a national integration policy. In terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992) this can be seen as 'citizenship as a member of a community'. Communities restrict freedom and emancipation inside the community was difficult because the Dutch language was not spoken. The guest workers live in their own communities and this means bonding social capital. Bonding social capital concerns the relations between people with similar backgrounds who know and recognize each other. The first national policy emerged in the 80s. It was aimed at minority empowerment and to promote participation of ethnic minorities. The citizen was no longer a member of the community, but there was citizenship for all. This is "citizenship for all" in terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992). The policy focuses on empowerment and participation and in this concept "citizenship for all" social security and welfare is an important prerequisite of citizenship. It became important in the policies of the 80s that you not only participate in your own community, but also with different people outside the community. This is bridging social capital because there are connections between different people with different ethnic backgrounds. In the 90s the first integration policy was developed with a focus on the socio-economic participation of migrants. The idea was that the welfare arrangements would not free the immigrants, but that the welfare arrangements hold people in poverty and other dependencies. State aid was increasingly seen as an obstacle to citizenship. This citizenship was problematic and important. Recent developments show that there is a focus on the responsibility of the citizens. So the current government assumes that it should not come from the society that immigrants must integrate, but the citizens must themselves choose whether or not to become participating citizens. In terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992) this is to be known as the liberal individualistic concept of citizenship. Such utilitarian variant assumes that individuals have their own utility to maximize. It is about responsibility and ultimately this is where the government wants to direct its citizens.

## **4.2 Local integration policy**

Policy before 2007 (period before the introduction of Integration Act) focused on language acquisition and knowledge acquisition of Dutch society to make participation possible. With the introduction of the Integration Act in 2007 dual integration courses started being offered. There are integration programs focused on work and a program focused on nutrition, health and education. This form of participation is reflected in a middle position in the society. This is called 'citizenship' by the city of Enschede (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b). Participation focuses on economic independence (autonomy) and responsibility. Since 2007, the integration policy of the municipality of Enschede is defined in the integration agenda and the policy document 'Integration and citizenship'. These two documents were drawn up after the implementation of the Integration Act.

### **4.2.1 Participation vision**

The participatory vision of Enschede is based on four areas of participation: citizenship, employee status, workmanship and entrepreneurship. In districts and neighborhoods, form and content is given to the concept of citizenship for the group with great distance to the labor market, but who are capable to deliver a meaningful contribution to the society. First of all it is



about joining: promoting social cohesion and stimulating activities designed and implemented by the local people themselves. This is the first step on the participation ladder, namely citizenship. The participation ladder is completed by giving 'work' a central role. Work gives structure, works normative, gives people self-esteem, generates independency, generates self-reliance, etc. Work in the broadest sense is therefore seen in Enschede as key to social advancement. Paid work and self-employment are the highest rungs of the ladder, participation jobs forms the middle rung of the ladder and voluntary work the first rung. Personal approach is the core of the program, residents are offered an individual program focused on work, training, education, care, participation and integration. This is done by an in-house approach, which can best respond to the person's context (Gemeente Enschede, 2008c, p.7).

The participation ladder is central in determining the level of participation. In the participation ladder steps are defined and a distinction is made between social participation and participation through paid work. It looks at where to place the citizens in the participation ladder related to the implementation of the Integration Act, or work-oriented integration programs. It also looks at the relationship between participation and offering specific programs, using a participation ladder can also stimulate in offering specific programs. Offering specific programs is an important prerequisite for the city of Enschede in order to promote effective implementation.

To provide more specific programs and to have a clear structure of the clients about the extent of participation, several municipalities are using the participation ladder. In these municipalities, the participation ladder is central in determining the level of participation. In the participation ladder steps are defined and a distinction is made between social participation, participation through paid work and participation in paid employment with support. The participation ladder has six steps. It starts at the bottom of the participation ladder where there is no social participation and also no participation through paid work. The idea is that a person participates more if he or she gets higher on the participation ladder. The six steps of the ladder are as follows:

- 1- Isolated
- 2- Social contacts outside
- 3- Participation in organized activities
- 4- Unpaid work
- 5- Paid work with support
- 6- Paid job

The usefulness of the participation ladder is:

- More clarity on the composition of the client group
- Material for comparison (for example: integration with departments);
- View the results of the participation policy: to see what measures have had the most impact;
- Points for new policies and specific attention to certain customers (the participation ladder, 2009).

Labor market participation means participation in the Dutch labor market. This especially concerns people who have a paid job with a specific or indefinite contract. Participation in paid work is not only strongly dependent on location, but also on personal circumstances and choice (Atkinson, 2000). Participation is highly dependent of age and gender.

#### 4.2.2 Policy document 'Integration and citizenship'

Enschede recognizes the cultural diversity of its population, respects the cultural and religious background of people and tries to reflect that. The perception of own culture, religion and history is an important fact and the basis for development, participation and integration in the society of Enschede. The municipality of Enschede thinks that integration is that everyone (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b, p.6):

- 1 - can save in terms of employment, housing, care, safety, education and leisure;
- 2 - participates in the society of Enschede: participating in school activities, sports or involved in community events, etc.;
- 3 - feel at home in the society of Enschede;
- 4 - during the participation in society that there is no distinction between native residents and residents with an immigrant background.

In short, every citizen should fully participate in the society of Enschede from his own cultural background, to feel like a citizen of Enschede and try to shape the society of Enschede. This requires personal responsibility and initiative of citizens but also of civil society and government. Especially socio-economic success is a predictor of successful integration and full participation in the society. It starts with a good command of the Dutch language, good school performance and educational situations and to participate in the workforce. But living together in neighborhoods and districts, the elderly who need care and a feeling of safety in your neighborhood contributes to a successful integration (Gemeente Enschede 2008b, p.7).

Citizenship means actively participate in and to the society and it forms the basis of integration according to the policy document. Citizenship applies to everyone and encourage participation in society of people with low socioeconomic position is an important goal. According to the policy, retaining their own identity is essential for improving integration. Integration and citizenship mean that everyone - regardless of ethnicity, religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation - gets the same chances when it comes to housing, care, safety, work, education, welfare and sports (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b, p .12).

The realization that integration is not a profession but a subject that requires an integrated approach leads to the choice of integration as a joint responsibility for the college of B&W to redesign. The integration policy is developed in a number of domains, namely: housing, care and welfare, economics and employment, language and education, security and integration in the boroughs. Spearhead in the theme 'living' is the fact that a high concentration of an ethnic group in a specific area is not seen as conducive for integration and that a partnership with housing associations in the city wants to spread the new inhabitants over the town. With the creation of public spaces the municipality wants to strengthen the involvement of people with different backgrounds (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b, pp. 15-16).

Regarding the care, the care package in Enschede is until now largely a reflection of Western values. The municipality must structure the indicators that determine whether cultural values of immigrant citizens become part of its principles for the organization of care. Inter-culturalization of policy is shaped by the assignment of supporting self-help organizations in the Servicepoint Volunteers. Elderly immigrants are a vulnerable group and therefore the role of self-help

organizations is important to care for this vulnerable group by making care provisions intercultural accessible. Self-help can also be seen as an interlocutor role. In interviews attention will be to issues such as support of foreign homosexuals but education is also a theme that can be addressed through the self-help organizations (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b, p.19-20).

70% of about more than 10,000 inactive jobseekers in Enschede have the Dutch nationality and 30% a non-Dutch nationality. The number of people with non-Dutch nationality that receive government aid is about 35%, and within the group of job seekers in Enschede, it is striking that over 30% of this group also does not have the Dutch nationality, while their share in the Enschede population is only 5%. The municipality has therefore set up a diversity policy for within the municipality and wants to promote this in other organizations by subsidizing it. The municipality offers dual integration courses in which work and language is combined for the participant. This approach increases the chances for an participant to find a job at a later stage (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b, p.25).

Language and education are seen as key issues for integration. Speaking the same language is a crucial prerequisite to understand each other better. Learning the Dutch language for immigrants have therefore become mandatory. Many elementary schools found that many children with a non-Western background have poor language skills. This hampers the development of the child and at a later age it becomes more difficult to achieve the 'normal' language level. This is counteracted by the municipality to detect early language delay in order to intervene as early as possible. One of the methods is to submit children to a language test to children before they reach their third birthday. Sufficient childcare places and playgroups for children are therefore important. The municipality chooses to invest in countering these disadvantages and to promote parent participation to reach this. This is done with the bridging classes (schakelklassen) and language-offensive at schools. The involvement of parents is encouraged by the creation of parent points or setting up homes in school (Gemeente Enschede 2008b, p.29-31).

For the domain 'security and integration' the municipality thinks that the local connection to the neighborhood and the district is an important anchor for integration. Effective daily activities, meetings, dialogue and involvement of citizens and organizations contribute to improving the liveability of neighborhoods. Self-help organizations can play a role in preventing domestic violence and radicalization, particularly in the identification of these problems. The municipality promotes activities that lead to mutual understanding and which creates a pacific effect. An important step towards integration and participation is thinking about changes that occur in the district. Greater involvement of immigrant residents in restructuring their neighborhoods is encouraged by a multicultural composition of committees (Gemeente Enschede, 2008, p. 35-37).

There is also a project for all participants of Enschede. This project is called the "pilot project". Some participants do not have much contact with other residents of Enschede and do not know their way around the city and in the district. The project is run by volunteers who coach the participants. The volunteers also introduce the facilities/organization in the district. This project refers to the Department of Language & Integration project. A pilot guides the participants on average once a week (Gemeente Enschede, 2008c, p.9).

### 4.2.3 Integration agenda of Enschede

The integration programs form in Enschede the first phase of the participatory policies for large groups of citizens. Enschede sees integration, education and reintegration as the flywheel for participation. Social skills and mastering the Dutch language are the basic principles to participate in the society. They are necessary to lead people to (voluntary) work. This will create the conditions for the integration of our citizens in the society of Enschede. The introduction of the new integration law of 1-1-2007 in Enschede has therefore seized this in itself complex and limited local supply-oriented integration, law translate and extend to:

- offer integration courses of all citizens in Enschede with language impairment;
- a higher language level B1 than strictly required by law;
- all projects are designed dual, language in combination with (voluntary) work;
- the precondition for child care arranged by the municipality and associated to address the language deficits in early childhood to the children of participants;
- the contribution of 270 euros on completion of the integration programs settled with a bonus for the delivered deployment;
- are all municipal instruments for participation and outflow to regular work for all participants are available, both during and after the integration programs.

The key points in the Enschede approach are (Gemeente Enschede, 2008c, p.2-3):

- Deployment of sufficient numbers, but also motivated, and guidance counselors for the intake. The consultants of the municipal department. Language and Integration have been selected for both their goals and drive the integration of their knowledge in the field of integration, education and reintegration;
- A conscious choice to integrate sustainable focus on participation. Now invest in a higher level language, work and detecting language delay amongst migrant children as young as possible to assist, Enschede means that the longer term may pick the fruits thereof;
- Work from participants, and not from the schemes. Specific programs whereby the starting point is the overall picture of the participant. Enschede is trying to apply the rules so that the user creates a logical whole rather than the rigid application of rules, such as language related integration;
- The integration course responds to the context (family, neighborhood, network) in which the participant resides. This thinking is focused on sustainability;
- It is a long-term approach based on the idea "we do not offer fish but a fishing rod and a course to learn how to use and to learn to catch";
- Integration as the flywheel for participation. Not only participants with social payments, but also the participants without social payments are eligible for the entire municipal instruments focused on work, education and participation.

There are a number of criteria for participants to fulfill before they are placed into a specific program. A first criterion is about the participant, whether it is a voluntary participant or for whose the course is obligatory. People who are obliged to integrate precede people who voluntarily want to integrate. The statutory contribution is 270 euros. If the exam is passed within three years, the amount of 270 euro becomes a bonus. For participants with children child

care is regulated and the time spent in daycare is as much as possible controlled with the times with the integration courses. This has two advantages, because on the one hand, participants follow the language courses and on the other hand, their children receive language training by attending daycare (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b). Voluntary participants do not have this possibility, but with this approach the participants are promoted to follow these courses. Besides attention for language courses, there was integration with much focus on language. Now besides linguistic attention there is also attention to social participation and employment rates. Minister Vogelaar put social participation with the 'Integration Delta Plan' next to labor market participation.

#### **4.2.4 Work-oriented integration programs**

There are two types of integration programs. The integration programs focused on education, health and education that is externally contracted with the city of Enschede in IVIO, involving the language component (until B1), and a language course with at least 250 hours internships. The ROC provides some of the programs to the participants. By linking with the separately purchased module 'Taalwerkstage' is also working with the fullest possible dual programs (Gemeente Enschede, 2008c). The work-oriented integration program in Enschede want to encourage participation through targeted activation in Enschede and where necessary to reduce the language deficiency. Enschede wants a more sustained participation in society by ensuring dual programs for integration leading to a higher level language (B1) than the Integration Act requires.

The objectives of the work-oriented integration program are: (Gemeente Enschede, 2008a, p. 4):

- 1- Passing the exam as required by the Integration Act, or obtain an exemption for this.
- 2- Promote the outflow "along the shortest route to work".
- 3- Provide Dutch to level B1 for those participants for which this is relevant.
- 4- Offering specific programs to accommodate the participant structure, content and schedule (for example offers in the evening if this is needed).

To reach these goals, the following conditions are important:

- 1- At least 90% of participants reaches in 1.5 years the exam or obtains an exemption for this.
- 2- The maximum path length of the total program is three years.
- 3- Minimum weekly load of the participants is 32 hours.
- 4- At least 50% of the participants finishing the program goes to regular work.
- 5- For the remaining leavers the objective is that they have to participate in some form of work.

Enschede offers dual programs, which include integration pathways to work-oriented integration program of 36 hours per week, consisting of language, work experience and social skills. A control language program is coupled with work experience in practice. The whole instrument is available for the participants, from internships, participation jobs, regular jobs to entrepreneurship. From the implementation at the DCW /Workstep the participants can reach their goals (pass the integration exam and to find paid work).

Because the integrated approach within the municipality a combination of integration and language training arises in WorkStep. There is for everyone a specific program, a personalized menu. There are three different menus, namely, Integration & Language menu, menu Work and menu Attitude. The counselor has got an active role in coaching the players during the weekly bilateral moments. Here, the agenda of the past week is discussed and evaluated. The individual possibilities and constraints define the commitment of the menus. It is important that the participants pass for their integration exam within 1,5 years and for the other integration goals within 3 years (Gemeente Enschede, 2008a, p.6-7).

In the menu Language and Integration there are various methods such as group-learning, individual learning and practical implementation. The guidance from the counselor is focused on increasing self-reliance and taking personal responsibility, so the counselor can place more and more responsibility at the participant. The path from A1 to A2 consists of several components, namely: Citizenship (190 hours), work (190 hours) and Dutch Knowledge Society (100 hours).

In the menu Work the entire process is aimed at ensuring that participants find permanent work within 3 years. It is not the intention that the participants work at the same place inside the DCW. Hence, the participants must take some tests:

- 1 - physical capacity test
- 2 – intelligence test
- 3 - competence test
- 4 - interest test

The goal for the participants is not to be dependent from social payments. For the work activities, the counselor is also the director. The working leaders accompany participants during the work with an internal placement and give immediate feedback on behavior and attitudes based on the described competencies. The counselor also receives, through periodic reports, the required information and case discussions about each participant. Based on the progress, a plotted route is worked out with the participant to regular work or other purposes. If the participant has no clear vision, he / she is tested to see where their skills, interests and knowledge lay, and the outflow to work is most likely to be sustainable (Gemeente Enschede, 2008a, p.13-16).

The basis of the menu Attitude is the Application Training. Here, the participant trained in specific skills such as writing a CV and an application letter. Besides this, much attention is paid to aspects such as attitude and behavior during interviews. Intercultural aspects determine the success of the various individual projects. The cultural differences between the country of origin and the Netherlands are often large. Work culture is also important because it can be an obstacle or a breaking point with respect to the continuity of work (Gemeente Enschede, 2008a, p. 17). There is also a project for all residents of Enschede. In Enschede, this project is called the 'pilot project'. Some participants do not have much contact with other residents in Enschede and do not know the way in the city and in the district. The project is run by volunteers who coach the pilot by providing language coaches who are also acquainted with all facilities nearby. This project refers to the department of Language & Integration project. A pilot guides a participant on average once a week (Gemeente Enschede, 2008c, p.9).

### **4.3 Interpretation of the local integration policy in terms of (active) citizenship and social capital**

The policy before 2007 (period prior the introduction of the Integration Act) was mostly focused on language acquisition and knowledge of Dutch society to make participation possible. Main idea here was the civic concept of “citizenship for all”. The state maintains the conditions and helps citizens to get through obstacles to access the welfare arrangements. The idea was to encourage participation for the participants, maintaining the social payments. Through social participation and / or labor market participation, the participants can create new contacts (bridging social capital), develop the Dutch language and can stimulate social capital (relationships between citizens and institutions). The participant may participate in the new institutions and will get acquainted with all the institutions, if needed (e.g. the municipality, doing tax returns, etc.) After the introduction of the Integration Act in 2007, dual integration programs offered language and citizenship lessons in combination with work or internships. The two key elements of active citizenship, economic independence (autonomy) and responsibility are the main principles of the policy.

The idea is that people who get social payments from the state are in some sort of benefit trap, and thus not free. In terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992), this is referred to as the civic concept of “citizenship for all” in which different forms of participation is encouraged, without relying on social security benefits”. This is about the responsible citizen in terms of Tonkens (2006). This assumes that a responsible citizen is more a communitarian than a liberal figure. By putting more emphasis on the responsibility of the participant, an integration process can develop faster. Dual programs are offered as specific programs for the participants with the goal to get bridging and linking social capital. The neo-republican citizenship is characterized by an emphasis on participation. The municipality of Enschede wants that participants participate more to promote the Dutch language, that participants find their own place in society and that they take more responsibility to become self-reliant (no social payments from the state).

#### **4.3.1 Participation vision**

Citizenship is one of the participation domain of the city of Enschede. The focus will be on the population group with a great distance to employment, but who can provide a meaningful contribution to society. Paid work is the highest rang of the participation ladder. In terms of Bourdieu (1989) the main goal is to reach economic capital and social capital through participation and social contacts. The participants must not only participate in their own community, but make contact with other people (bridging social capital) in order to develop the Dutch language. By language lessons, where classes are taught on citizenship and on Dutch society, a participant can work on linking social capital by learning which institutions they can approach in certain issues. The vision sets work participation central and the elements of active citizenship are the main goals, namely self-reliance and personal responsibility. By offering a special program, participants get individual routes that focus on obtaining work. In terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992), the welfare arrangements and social payments just keep people trapped in their situation and it does not promote participation and integration. Therefore responsibility, independence and control of the Dutch language are seen as an important aspect to participate.

### 4.3.2 Policy document ‘Integration and citizenship’

The key features of Enschede’s integration mentioned in the memorandum Integration and Citizenship. One of the features is that it is important that everyone masters the Dutch language. It is therefore important for participants to master the Dutch language well to reach bridging social capital. Important conditions are participation in the labor market and the establishment of contacts. The goals of personal responsibility and independence can be met if the participant masters the Dutch language. In terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992), the municipality of Enschede does not want that the participants participate in their own community (citizenship as a member of a community), but that they break this circle and make contacts with Dutch people (bridging social capital) and become responsible, deliberative citizens. Besides control of the labor market, the municipality wants to ‘steer’ on citizenship. This is done by actively participating in society by such social participation (voluntary work) and / or through participation in the labor market. The memorandum emphasizes that maintaining the own identity is an important precondition for integration. This is bridging and bonding social capital because participation outside the own community is encouraged and that preservation of identity is considered as important. The ultimate goal is in terms of Tonkens (2006) to have responsible and deliberative citizens.

In the area of housing, the municipality does not want that there is a concentration of one ethnic group in a neighborhood. The municipality wants its citizens spread over the different districts (dispersal policy). With this policy, Enschede promotes bridging social capital. The participant should not only participate in the own community (citizens as members of a community), but according to the dispersal policy they have to make contacts outside the community. Through these contacts, the Dutch language of the participant can develop. The ultimate goal in terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992) is to reach “Citizenship for all”, which focuses on personal responsibility and independence of the citizens.

Regarding ‘care’, Enschede wants to involve self-organizations in providing care. One of the reasons for this is that people do not have a good command of the Dutch language. Citizens are in the area of care encouraged to participate as citizens of a community. The individuals in this concept formed by the community and therefore these concepts avoid the problems of individualistic citizenship. Enschede steers at this point to keep bonding social capital because self-organizations are networks with the same group of people. Inviting these self-organizations as partners on topics indicates bridging social capital.

In the area of ‘work and economy’ Enschede does not want that the citizens are dependent of social payments. This indicates the liberal individualistic concept of citizenship that assumes that the citizens have to take own responsibility. The number of people that get social payments of foreign origin is almost 35%. Within the group of job seekers, it is noteworthy that over 30% of this group does not have the Dutch nationality, while their share is 5% of the total population in Enschede. The concept of “citizenship for all” is the opposite idea of the government of more responsibility and independence. Social payments are an important condition in this concept of citizenship. The percentages show that there are too many people from ethnic minorities that get social payments and passive citizenship (consumerism) is not accepted. In addition, the municipality has a diversity policy which aims at getting a balance of ethnic backgrounds at staff



in organizations and to get a balance in numbers between men and women. This means that Enschede wants to provide bridging social capital to encourage people from different backgrounds in contact in the area of work.

An important point in the integration policy of Enschede is the theme language & education. Here is emphasized that mastering the Dutch language is important in order to participate. The policy focuses on childcare and language problems by children are detected early. This means that Enschede wants to prevent with this policy that participants only participate in their own community. The parent points at the primary schools were established to promote bridging social capital. The parents of the children can come in contact with each other. By creating parent points, the municipality wants responsible and deliberative citizens.

For the theme ‘safety and integration’, the bond with the neighborhood and the district is important for integration. These are relationships and encounters between different people, so this is about bridging social capital. The municipality wants responsible, deliberative and caring citizens because it concerns the safety in their own neighborhood. It is deliberative because the citizens think together with the municipality about the changes in the district. A multicultural composition of the residents committee is promoted and this indicates bridging social capital.

### **4.3.3 Integration agenda and the work-oriented integration program**

By offering dual projects the municipality wants to prevent that people are dependent on social payments (passive citizens who consume). In terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992), the municipality wants to prevent that people continue to participate within their own group (citizenship as a member of a community) and that citizens use the passive welfare arrangements (citizenship for all). The idea here is that having social payments does not free citizens, but instead keeps them ‘prisoners’.

The work-oriented integration program is based on the same concept. The core elements of active citizenship (individual responsibility and autonomy) are pronounced. The municipality of Enschede gives special programs in the work-oriented integration program. Besides language- and citizenship lessons, participants have to work. Through this combination, the municipality promotes bridging social capital for the participants. The participants have to be responsible and caring citizens. The ultimate goal is that participants obtain a regular job outside DCW after completion the integration program. The participant must be economically independent and must not dependent on social payments.

## **4.4 Policy advisors**

The formal policy of Enschede was discussed in the previous sections. This section discusses the views of the policy advisors. Three policy advisors are interviewed. Two of the policy advisors have been involved from the beginning of the project WorkStep. The purpose of the integration program was to let people integrate on the language level B1 and if possible to a higher level of participation with an additional component to become social active. In the Integration Act there was no internship requirement and the city of Enschede was progressive by introducing internships. At the beginning many people ‘flow out’ to work and mid 2008, the number that has flowed out decreased dramatically. This was due to worsening economic situation (Policy

advisor a, 8-7-2011). Policy advisors think that an active citizen is *"a fully respected independent neighbor who take part in activities and has contacts outside the home"* (Policy advisors a, b and c, 8-7-2011). Language is seen as the main point of the entire integration program.

The policy advisors are worried about the national developments where the concepts of responsibility and autonomy of participants take a central place. Integration will be managed from the central government and the municipalities will have a small role. This is not positive because the policy advisors believe that the municipality has a lot of expertise in this area. The policy advisors indicates that the G32 has sent a letter to the responsible minister (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom relations) in which they put forward the potential problems according to the change in the law for integration. The policy advisors do not believe that the own funding of integration could potentially act as an incentive for the participant, but they think that they should also pay attention to problem cases. *"We are looking for external resources, such as the European Integration Fund (EIF) to hold the language courses afloat and to partly fund the local integration. For an EIF funding we have to make reports and we are accountable. The European Union can ask for information about 10 years back. This has its administrative risks"* (Policy advisor b, 8-7-2011).

The policy advisors are divided over a possible role of self-organizations in the future. The local self-organizations can function as a guide. *"You cannot know how self-organizations can play a role. First, they have to get a course in how all things about integration run. Suppose that a grey-wolves organization try to control the integration process and the language courses. This is not good in my opinion and the municipalities get an important supervisory role while the integration is implemented national"* (Policy advisor c, 8-7-2011).

The policy advisors feel that the gap between NT-2 and the State-exam is too large so that the connection to other studies is difficult for the participants. *"Integration should be seen as a first step and not as a stand-alone. This realization should all grow so the idea of self-reliance can be achieved. There is little attention to grammar and this is a big problem. Attention to this can make the switch for a further study easier. This is not the case at this moment"*(Policy advisor c, 8-7-2011).

#### **4.5 Aldermen**

There are two aldermen interviewed who are responsible for integration. Alderman a has integration amongst its tasks. The municipality has opted for a socio-cultural integration while maintaining its own culture. Alderman a defines citizenship as learning the Dutch language, emancipation and respecting differences. An active citizen is someone who is a full-fledged citizen who has had education, work, vote, is active in the district and is economically dependent. The national development in the policy can be seen as an incentive for the participants, but the municipality must not forget the duty of care. Self-reliance should be construed as a guiding principle and should not be the only principle. The facilitating role of the municipality must not disappear. *"If you are not save, you will have assistance. Government must be seen as a trampoline instead of a warm bed. Government is not the mother"* (Alderman a, 13-7-2011). Everything revolves around language and the people must do everything to find their own place in society. If people cannot come higher than the minimum required level, we should

look at other possibilities. Voluntary work (in the own neighborhood) and participation in society is another option. *"You must not give the people fish but a fishing rod"* (Alderman a, 13-7-2011).

Alderman b has also integration amongst his tasks and has a very different vision about integration and the current developments about integration. *"Immigrants have always kept talking their own language and this has resulted that the Dutch language was not learned. There was an isolation in which the immigrants were focused on the social payments. These developments led to little perspective for the future "* (Alderman b, 18-07-2011). Language is a basic requirement and through language combined with (voluntary) work, the municipality of Enschede offered dual integration programs. *"Everyone keeps his own pants high. Social payments are a temporary safety net and should be seen as a trampoline to work "* (Alderman b, 18-07-2011). The integration requirement exists, but there are no further penalties. *"The current trends are positive. No longer providing funding can act as an incentive for the participant. Not everything must be arranged and a loan system for social integration is a positive development. Self-development with debt is acceptable in Dutch society "*(Alderman b, 18-07-2011).

According to alderman b, the municipality should make agreements with credit banks for lower interest rates and if it is necessary the municipality can arrange self-loans. The ultimate goal is not to get the NT-2 level and participants should be encouraged to go further to the State-exam. *"With the State-exam there can be a better connection to further education. NT-2 level should serve as a springboard. Otherwise, the gap is large between the NT-2 level and further education at the Regional Education Centre"* (Alderman b, 18-7-2011).

The goal of the work-oriented integration program is to pass for the integration exam and increase social networks and language skills. It is important for the participants that they participate in the society of Enschede. Participation and integration are the two key concepts here. Integration with an internship is ideal according to the aldermen. The participants can learn the Dutch language better by participating and doing so helped them to keep up with the language. This means that the aldermen want the participants not only to have contacts in their own circle (bonding social capital), but also have contacts with native Dutch citizens (bridging social capital). The lessons of the work-oriented integration program course also learn participants which organizations and institutions they should approach if they have to do something. For newcomers, there is also the possibility that a coach will accompany the participant in doing certain formal things (linking social capital).

According to the aldermen, the most important thing is that participants learn the Dutch language and remain engaged with the language through (voluntary) work. The participants must not lead an isolated existence, they should not only have contacts in their community and they should not benefit from the social payments without doing anything. The concept "citizenship as a citizen member of a community" should be avoided, also the concept "citizenship as a bearer of rights and preferences", which assumes that individuals only want to maximize their own utility. The participants should 'feel' like a citizen of Enschede and participate in the society of Enschede. The work-oriented integration program should lead to achievement of the integration exam and the main goal is to get paid work. This means that participants must take more responsibility and be self-reliant (economic dependence). The social payments and the work-oriented integration program should serve as a trampoline to get higher on the participation ladder. The concept "Citizenship for all" assumes that social security and welfare is an important prerequisite for

citizenship. This form of citizenship is directly opposite to the ideas of greater responsibility and independence. *"If you are not save, you will have assistance. Government must be seen as a trampoline instead of a warm bed. Government is not the mother "* (Alderman a, 18-07-2011). This statement shows that the welfare state is basically good and that participants should not get social payments without active participation (social participation and labour market participation). The government wants citizenship for all whereby the concepts of responsibility and independence are important.

#### **4.6 Summary**

In this chapter, the first question is answered: *"What is the importance of active citizenship in the integration policy of Enschede?"*. By offering dual projects for integration, the municipality aims that participants can become self-reliant and the emphasis is on the responsibility of the participant. The work-oriented integration program that is offered by the municipality is a combination of work and integration courses. This is carried out by Service Complementary Employment (DCW), which is housed by WorkStep. The principles of the government emerged in the local implementation and are incorporated into the integration processes.

There have been some important national policy changes. In the 80s there was a minority policy, in the 90's there was a focus on socio-economic integration and participation. The current government puts a strong emphasis on the responsibility of the participant. This is in terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992) described as follows. The minority policy focused on empowerment and participation of minorities. Citizens should not only participate in their own community, but they also have to participate and make contacts with people outside their community. In terms of social capital there is a shift from bonding social capital to bridging- and linking social capital. The integration policy of the 90s had a focus on socio-economic participation with keeping the social payments. The idea grew that welfare arrangements would not free, but trap people in poverty and other dependencies. In terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992) this can be described as the concept "citizenship for all" but without relying on the resources of the welfare state. The present government places responsibility at the participant and the idea that the pressure to integrate must not come from the society. This is the liberal individualistic concept of citizenship. It is about responsibility and ultimately this is where the government wants to 'direct' its citizens. The characteristics of active citizenship are recognizable in the policy documents of the current cabinet. The emphasis is on the responsibility of the participant. No more subsidies are provided for the participants and they must finance everything themselves. This is seen as an investment in yourself.

The formal integration policy of the city of Enschede has three policy documents, Integration and Citizenship, participation vision and the integration agenda. In the participation vision there is a strong emphasis on labor market participation as ultimate goal. Before a participant can directly participate in the labor market, there is an intermediate step. This is the social participation (e.g. voluntary work). By steering for (bridging and linking) social capital, the municipality generates long-term labor market participation. The municipality understands under citizenship that everyone actively participates in and to society. Particularly encouraging participation in society of people with low socioeconomic position is an important goal (Gemeente Enschede, 2008b, p.12).

The policy document 'Integration and Citizenship' is developed in five areas: language & education, housing, care & welfare, economy & work and security & integration. For the theme 'Language and education' is the command of the Dutch language an important condition. In terms of Herman van Gunsteren (1992), the municipality of Enschede does not want that the participants participate into their own circles (citizenship as a member of a community), but that participants break the circle and make contacts with Dutch citizens (bridging social capital). For the theme of 'housing', the city of Enschede has a dispersal policy. With the dispersal policy, the municipality wants to promote bridging social capital. The participant should not participate in the community (citizenship as members of a community) but have contacts with other citizens outside their own community. For the theme "care", the municipality wants to involve self-organizations in providing care. Citizens are encouraged in this theme to participate as citizens of a community. The individuals in this conception are formed by the community and therefore it avoids the problems of the individualistic citizenship concept.

The domain 'Work and Economy' has the assumption that people do not get social payments. This indicates the liberal individualistic concept of citizenship that assumes that responsibility should be placed at the participants. The municipality wants to promote bridging social capital with the diversity policy through contacting people with different backgrounds. The theme "Security and Integration" is about the relationships and encounters between people (in districts). Responsibility in one's own neighborhood is a starting point. In terms of Tonkens (2006), the municipality wants to have responsible and deliberative citizens. A multicultural residents committee can have a positive effect on bridging social capital.

The integration agenda is about language skills, knowledge of Dutch society and the skills that are important for participation in the labor market. With the dual programs that are offered, including the work-oriented integration program, the municipality wants to prevent that people are dependent on social payments and that they are passive consumers of the welfare state. The main goal of the work-oriented integration program is labor market participation and the main idea is that participants are not dependent on social payments and that they take responsibility for his / her own existence. Besides language lessons, lessons about citizenship are offered. The core elements of active citizenship are recognizable in the work-oriented integration programs and the goals are focused on this.

The policy advisors indicate that the gap between NT-2 and the State-exam is too large and this causes a difficult connection to further education for the participants. The policy advisors are divided about a possible larger role for the self-organizations in the organization of the integration programs. In addition, there is an international search for possible funding of integration. The aldermen have other ideas about the organization of integration. Alderman a takes a mild position as and alderman b is "harsher" in his opinion. Alderman b believes that self-development with debt should be encouraged. It is said that the government should not be seen as a warm bed, but more like a trampoline. This means that citizens should take more responsibility on their own (with a minor potential government support) and find a place in the society.

## **5. Implementation of the integration policy in the municipality of Enschede**

The previous chapter explained the goals of the formal integration policy and the different integration policies. This chapter is the second part of this research and answers the question: “*In what way is active citizenship implemented in the work-oriented integration program?*”. This question relates to the implementation of the integration policy and to answer this question three actors are interviewed. The interviewed people are the consultant for Language and Integration which is located at the Werkplein, project manager WorksSep where the work-oriented integration program is performed and the counselor of WorkStep which keeps and draws special programs for the participants. It is important to make clear how the policy is brought into practice, because between the design and implementation of policies some adjustments are made (Van de Graaf and Hoppe, 1996). This allows that things that are described in the policies can be different in practice. The results are interpreted in terms of citizenship of Herman van Gunsteren (1992) and social capital. Next, the main findings are presented and the chapter ends with a conclusion.

### **5.1 Language & Integration (T&I)**

T&I is the executive organization of the municipality. The intakes and the placement of the participants are done by the T&I. The municipal department T&I is responsible for the following tasks:

- a. to determine whether the person must integrate or can integrate by him or herself;
- b. to determine whether the participant is eligible for the municipal supply;
- c. to explain part of the WI on the enforcement of the obligation to integrate, or grant an exemption;
- d. to provide for those who are admitted directed to the municipal supply the existing language level, education background, work experience, the learning capacities and potential professional opportunities resulting in a proposal process that required time, content and placement / work direction are appointed;
- e. provides the guidance of the participant to the municipal supply and if necessary the required care;
- f. to contribute to the supply of participants to the parties involved as much as possible special programs;
- g. to care of the management process throughout the entire integration process;
- h. to provide for the settlement to the different funding streams, namely WEB, WI, W-part integration and municipal supply.

This can be shown schematically as follows:

T&I	
<b>Target group</b>	<b>Target group</b>
Participants with social payments	Participants without social payments
<b>Amount</b>	<b>Amount</b>
about 1.600 WWB-ers, from which 500 are obliged	about 4.000
<b>Work-oriented integration program</b>	<b>Participation oriented program</b>
<b>Municipal supply</b>	<b>Municipal supply</b>
literacy	literacy
WorkStep/integration	OGO-B1
Level A2-B1	language courses A2-B1
State-exam	
ROC	
Preparatory year HBO	

(Gemeente Enschede, 2007d, p.1-2).

There are two types of integration programs, namely the work-oriented integration program and integration process focused on education and health (OGO). Enschede externally contracted the OGO-program in IVIO, and next to the language component (till B1), a language internship of at least 250 hours is imposed. Both organizations have a contract with the municipality of Enschede, which regulates the educational process. It also contains an agreement about the length of the period that a participant must pass the integration exam and the internship. At the work-oriented integration program the focus is more on work and other skills that are needed to participate at the labor market. The number of people placed on this route varies annually. There was an influx of 50 in 2007 on the work-oriented integration program and in 2008 this number was around 200. This shows that the number of participants may vary every year.

Participants can meet the requirements of WI through passing the integration exam or to get an exemption. The ambitions of Enschede go beyond the WI, because a maximum (labor) participation and a higher level language (B1) is pursued. This ambition is reflected in the following offer: literacy, integration program designed to work (to be performed at DCW), integration programs focused on education, health and education, language input from A2 to B1, State-exam Dutch as a Second Language Program I and II and degree vocational preparatory year for HBO.

The municipal department T&I takes the legal requirement in mind, namely that the integration exam is achieved by maximizing participants. Mastering the Dutch language and knowledge of Dutch society are according to the consultant the most important factors for integration. *"The main goal is to achieve the integration exam and then flow out to work. By working I mean working in a broad sense. It should be possible to see what fits meets the participant"* (T&I

consultant 4-7-2011). During the programs and after completion of the programs there is a strong emphasis on language. *"After completion of the program, the participant must get a paid job or a voluntary job so the language level can be increased. Participants can do the smallest things in society and they can make themselves self-reliant"* (T&I consultant 4-7-2011).

### **5.1.1 Work process: registration and assignment submission**

The participants are placed on different programs and the process goes as follows. The Municipal Record Database (GBA) is checked monthly and participants are invited to come to Werkplein. Participants who are obliged and also the participants who register themselves to integrate can come to the quick scan desk at Werkplein. They fill an intake form that gives a general overview of the participant. An intake TIWI-test (Toolkit Integration Intake Act of ICE) decreased. T&I provides guidance to the participants to run the program. TIWI-test starts with a speed reading test, where a participant must read many words as possible in two minutes. These words vary from short to long and from easy to difficult. This gives a first indication of the language level of the participant and based on this the consultant will consider how to proceed with taking the test. There is also a listening test, learning ability test and a writing test. Based on the results of the T&I, consultants puts the participant on a specific program. Prior to the guidance, T&I look for possible arrangements for childcare so that the participants can start directly with the program (consultant T & I 4-7-2011).

From the start the participant follows the established integration program that is set up by the DCW/WorkStep. T&I receives within 6 weeks after sending the notification process a program advice about the combined integration and reintegration program. This advice provides insight into:

- The time that the participant needs to the exam, or an exemption from this, to be achieved;
- His/her employment opportunities, potential limitations and how to solve these;
- The next steps, which all steps of the reintegration ladder are possible;
- Instruments to be placed in the activity time and costs. This means that each participant get special financial and substantive programs.

After assessing this program proposal T&I gives within two weeks after receiving the advice of a decision process on both the participant and DCW /WorkStep gives its consent whether or not to implement the proposed program plan. Regarding the work-oriented part is noted that WorkStep in alignment with the Werkplein are responsible for the execution, or placement and second-line guidance for the entire work-oriented part ranging from internally by DCW to remote areas through internships, participation, regular jobs and independent entrepreneurship. To provide an integrated approach, WorkStep has four consultants in the clusters at Werkplein. Task of these advisers is to the mediation of customers WorkStep to do through the Werkplein. This means to bring customers in the clusters who may participate in projects that are developed from the Werkplein. In the work-oriented part WorkStep focus on possible placements in regular employment and outflow from the social payments (Gemeente Enschede, 2007d, p.3-4).



### 5.1.2 Monitoring

The municipal department T&I does not steer the content of the integration programs. It is all set in the agreements. The implementing organization has the expertise. *"The partnership between T&I and the counselors are good. The presentation at the beginning is given by the consultants of T&I. With this we show that we act as a community and giving special programs is our starting point "* (T&I consultant 4-7-2011). There will be regular consultation between the head of T&I and the implementing organizations. These discussions are based on numbers and possible reasons for failure. *"If it is really necessary and mostly in problem cases, T&I and DCW gather for a progress meeting. This is usually when it is absolutely necessary "* (T&I consultant 4-7-2011). In an exit interview the participant is asked about the satisfaction of the program. They look also whether new people can be recruited and they check what the participant can do the best. Progress reports are send from the DCW to T&I and it is about the progress of the participant in his/her integration and participation through work. DCW provides at time the required content and financial data to the program organization. This is needed for the MARAP's (management reports). This could lead to a referral to a participation job and / or job training (T&I consultant 4-7-2011).

### 5.1.3 Enforcement

Before the introduction of the WI in 2007, there was little enforcement mainly because motivated participants signed up to naturalize. After the introduction of WI in 2007, much has changed. It is now legally required to sign a contract with the participants about the acceptance of an integration program. The counselor speaks with the participant if there are problems stated. *"In exceptional cases and if it is really necessary the T&I and DCW come together for a feedback session. The Enforcement Agency takes it over then "* (T&I consultant 4-7-2011).

The sanctions and failure- enforcement at DCW looks like this: This is a targeted and intensive approach to participants with the ultimate goal of accepting regular employment. This approach is strongly binding. Refusal of participation is rewarded as defined in the rehabilitation and sanctions regulation. It is therefore important that the rights and especially the obligations are carefully and clearly communicated to the participants. In practice this means the following:

- If the participant without notice does not respond to an invitation, or if he / she is absent without cause during the upcoming home visit, then this is instantly reported to the Enforcement Agency. There is a procedure available for this. Immediately after this statement the second appointment is scheduled with the participant. If he/she appears again without cause, then the job returns through Enforcement Agency to T&I.
- Because of the importance and short duration of this course, participants should be prevented during this process are absent without authority. Therefore the presence will be maintained and the attendance (sickness) absenteeism should be checked whether or not this is legitimate. In case of illness some reports of a health and safety officer/doctor can be needed for the DCW. If during the course is already clear that there are medical reasons, then medical advice can be determined for WorkStep (Gemeente Enschede, 2007d, p.5).

## 5.2 WorkStep

In the WorkStep method different ingredients are put together in three menus, these are the menu Language & Integration, menu Work and menu Attitude. It is important that the participants graduate within 1,5 years and reach the other targets within three years. *"There are this year agreements about the influx. Through the low inflow of participants and also the cuts from the government the work-oriented program (WorkStep) is reduced. The department will be closed in January 2012. Only IVIO and other private organizations will remain"*(project manager WorkStep 4-7-2011).

In the menu Language & Integration there are various methods such as group learning, individual learning and practical implementation. The guidance of the counselor is focused on self-reliance and taking personal responsibility by the participant. This way, the counselor meets the participant step by step. The program from A1 to A2 consists of several components, namely: citizenship (190 hours), work (190 hours) and Dutch society knowledge (100 hours)

At menu Work is all in the process aimed at ensuring that participants find permanent work within three years. It is not intended for the workers to 'house' in a workplace intern by DCW. The participant must pass several tests:

- 1 - physical capacity test
- 2 - intelligence test
- 3 - competence test
- 4 - interest test

The basic idea of the menu 'Attitude' is the application training. The participants are trained in specific skills such as writing a CV and covering an application letter. Besides this, much attention is paid to aspects such as attitude and behavior during interviews. Intercultural aspects determine the success of the various individual projects. The cultural differences between the country of origin and the Netherlands are often large. Work culture is also important because it can be an obstacle or a breaking point may be with respect to the continuity of work (Gemeente Enschede, 2008a, p. 17). There are three distinct groups within the work-oriented integration program. There is a preparatory group (0 - A1), portfolio group (integration courses and computer commands) and the State-exam group (A2 - B1). The participants in the State-exam group will sit there by advice of the teacher which takes the capabilities of the participant into account.

Every month there are two moments for submission inflow by WorkStep, in the beginning and in the middle of the month. The data of the participants are digitally saved. This concerns at least the results of the TIWI-test which is an indication of the learn-ability of the participants. In addition, any personal and medical information is attached. This can be important for the guidance within WorkStep or when a disability can pose at work. After the data entered in the Client Tracking System, participants are invited to an introductory meeting. In the near future the DCW WorkStep can directly check the files of the WWB (Work and Welfare Act) when it is ready for a new system. Participants are placed at a counselor. The distribution of participants amongst the various counselors is done by a coordinator who assigns people to a counselor based on availability, special qualities and /or characteristics that the counselor has of the group that the

counselor guides. The basic principle is that every participant has a fixed counselor (Gemeente Enschede, 2007th, p.15).

The introduction meetings are normally held twice a month. During the introductory meetings, the purpose and scheme of the program, the rights and obligations of participants and the house rules are discussed. If a participant fails to appear without notice to an introductory meeting with WorkStep it is immediately reported to T&I and Enforcement Agency. There is given once a recovery period. At the second no-show another message is send to T&I and Enforcement Agency with related correspondence. Then the case is done for WorkStep. The introductory meetings are the start of the route. The first six weeks of the course are the so-called Program Phase I or Intake phase. In this phase, the participants all follow the integration lessons and language lessons and they are tested appropriate. Available tests are the work test and the intelligence test. It is also possible to undergo a physical ability test (Sapphire).

Based on the experiences in this period, the responsible counselor advices on a trajectory that is delivered six weeks after the start of the process to T&I. It uses a modified version of the formats that are already used by Work First and Returnjobs. T&I will respond within two weeks with an approval. If such approval is not automatically granted, the parties consult with each other to draw a custom project proposal. Based on the approved program plan, the second phase of the process is discussed. All project components are focused on the goals of integration and reintegration (Gemeente Enschede, 2007th, p.15). If the participant has successfully completed the exam, the efforts are to obtain employment and achieve language level B1. Even if the participants have regular work, the process continued to focus on achieving language level B1.

### **5.3 Counselor**

Counselors face many challenges which they take into account. Hereby we can think about arranging housing and childcare. Social support is important because sometimes there can be serious problems. Every week there are talks about the language, work and other social issues. *"This shows that we work ad-hoc"* (counsellor WorkStep 4-7-2011).

A 36-hour working week consists of:

- 4 times a week class with instructor and e-learning in which there is coordination in what is taught and what the participant should do in the form of self-study with the computer (4 sessions, total 16 hours)
- 2 to 3 working sessions
- 2 sessions: conversations about the guidance and actively apply to work. Practical example, going to the bank and ask questions about housing, etc. In addition, people with health problems (for example, overweight people) get the opportunity to sport.

The counselors plan weekly the agendas of the participants and deliver special programs for different portfolio groups. In addition, social assistance of the participants is also one of the important jobs of the counselors. The counselor has a good view on the work of the participants. Thus, a counselor can look through the website for the participant's actions and what scores he/she has obtained (counselor WorkStep 4-7-2011). In the work activities, the counselor can be seen as the director. The working leaders accompany participants during the work with an internal placement and give immediately feedback on their behavior and attitudes based on the

described competencies. The counselor also receives through periodic reports and case discussions the required information of each participant. Based on the progress there a route is plotted to regular work or to other purposes. If the participant has no clear vision, he/she can be tested to see where his skills, interests and knowledge are and where the chances are for a sustainable outflow (Gemeente Enschede, 2008a, p.13-16 ).

*“Personal attention is important. The participants have a minimum of 32 hour weeks, so we often get in touch with each other and learn each other better. The participants often have more problems than just not able to speak the language. That participants have a fixed contact point is good for the participants. There is also a feeling that people without a personal assistant quit faster. There are also many people with mental health problems “(counselor WorkStep 4-7-2011).*

*"The participants have two official possibilities to take the naturalization exam. However, the participants have in practice more possibilities to take the naturalization exam. Many participants have no insight into paid work. This is frustrating for the participants as they do their best and do not achieve their goals. Because paid work is not reachable for every participant, there may take place an outflow to apprenticeships " (counselor WorkStep 4-7-2011).*

Passing the exam and move in to paid work is not reachable for everyone. *"I think the whole process is actually an important learning process. The participants must finally become independent and do the smallest things by themselves. Goals on paper and in policies are the same for everyone, but it is different in practice. If paid work cannot be reached, participants must achieve an apprenticeship. The goals are therefore adjusted for participants to motivate them so they remain engaged with the Dutch language "(counselor WorkStep, 4-7-2011).* Failure occurs in special situations. We could think of for example addiction problems, no commitment, and several times of absence without a report. In such situations, Enforcement Agency is enabled. *"People get a second chance. There was an addict man who was not 100% committed. He was referred to Tactus Addiction and after one year he got a second chance. Now it is fine with him and he has a good prospect to complete his naturalization exam " (counselor WorkStep 4-7-2011).*

### **5.3.1 Project manager**

The project manager is involved in the project from the beginning. The WorkFirst project which was designed in 2005 served as a basis for the WorkStep method. There were dual programs offered. A project group was composed in the initial phase, consisting of volunteers, asylum seekers, educators and policy advisers. There were sessions in which the parties were brainstorming on the content and design of the project, and the focus was on the methodology. Ultimately, they choose for the method called ‘Colorful’. Together with the working groups they formulated a program of requirements that was developed in a project plan (project manager WorkStep 4-7-2011).

They look back positive to the project. *"Even Minister Vogelaar had visited Enschede and there were good numbers in the beginning, 60% outflow. We can conclude that the goals have been largely achieved. The participants were initially very dissatisfied with the work-oriented*

*integration program. They had this language in ROC and this was only focused on language. The new methodology was a focus on language and practice (work) " (project manager WorkStep 4-7-2011).*

Current developments are remarkable. The national trends show a different trend than the current line. The government wants that the participants will finance their own integration. *"Integration is in my view partially a case for the participants. Participants must be able to save themselves in society, the Dutch norms and values and the Dutch language should be properly trained for them to operate independently in Dutch society. The participants do not pay for the integration courses and if they have to pay, this can be a motivational incentive for the participant to pass the integration exam if they have in their minds that a work-oriented integration program costs too much money"* (project manager WorkStep 4-7 -2011).

#### **5.4 Findings about the implementation**

This section presents the main findings of T&I, counselors and a survey conducted by the Dutch state to obtain the results of the integration program based on work.

The main findings of T&I are:

- The main objective is the civic integration exam. This is also the purpose specified in the Integration Act. After obtaining the integration examination the participant should move into paid work or work participation.
- There are several integration programs offered. At ROC where language is combined with such an orientation on trade, technology and care. IVIO (integration test to A2, State-exam B1-level and 1-year course for needy elevation) and WorkStep (integration focused on work).
- For T&I language level is the most important case of integration. Not speaking the language hinders social participation and participation in the labor market.
- The TIWI-test that starts with a speed reading test, where the participants must read as many words in two minutes is the basis for a further indication of the TIWI-test.
- The participants have two times the chance to pass for the naturalization exam. This is a hard line and there is a look at the ease of learning and motivation. The participant has the responsibility and this is also the starting point.
- The consultants of T&I work with goals and try to obtain the numbers for each integration program that are set forth in the agreements between the municipality and DCW.
- To get exemption was officially possible half year before the deadline of the program. Now there may be an exemption made at any time.
- Integration program continues and there will be cuts in the funds. Responsibility of the participant is clearly highlighted. The consultants believe that it is difficult in the future for the participant and they think that many participants it will try to pass the integration exam on its own initiative. Reducing the work-oriented integration program is seen as a bad development.

The main findings for WorkStep (counselors) are:

- Failure takes place in special situations and cooperation with T&I is going well.

- Integration duty will exist and the funds will be abolished. The counselor believes that participants will try to integrate by themselves. The most important part is the whole process to the exam.
- There are more problems for the participant than just not being able to speak the language. A fixed point for the participants is seen as positive.
- It is clear that not all of the participants have insight on having a paid job. This is frustrating for the participants because they do their best and that they cannot reach their goal. Outflow to apprenticeships is possible instead of having paid work.

The main finding of the central government about Enschede:

- Interlocutors indicate integration into a single word as 'positive' (you learn the Netherlands), "plan" (there is a plan, a direction necessary to know their own future, a plan that helps to move on, improve the Dutch language improve the handling and understand the rules is after all only a first step), "good" (it is good to learn the language and culture of the Netherlands), 'difficult' (Dutch is very important, but if you are almost 60 it is difficult to learn), 'required' (because it is not fun. I want to work, I will go on, not always that short jobs). Green is a color that is chosen several times as a symbol of a starting point, "the first step, the beginning of life, the traffic light.
- Situation before and after the program shows an upward movement seen for the participants.
- High unemployment in Twente (over 14%) impedes finding permanent and regular work.
- Enschede's ambition is that at least 90% within 1.5 years of the participants gets the exam. The funding is geared to the average, even the funding of private external partners. There is no evidence that this percentage is not achieved. But it is not regularly measured.
- Between 2007 and 2010, 600 participants started a work-oriented program. 101 people streamed out. 42 of them have moved on to education or to work in a non-regular job, the others are still in the process. The remaining 59 people have a regular job or business.
- 16% of the participants since September 2007 found regular work during work program (late 2008). Now, finding a permanent job is extremely difficult. Especially since Enschede has to do with a relatively high unemployment rate facing over 14%. With an unchanged economic situation, the chance is high that participants with an apprenticeship relapse into unemployment.

## **5.5 Interpretation in terms of active citizenship and social capital**

The main findings listed above are interpreted in this section in terms of citizenship (Herman van Gunsteren, 1992), active citizenship (Tonkens, 2006) and social capital (Putnam, 2000). The city of Enschede offers various integration programs. The objectives of the implementing organizations correspond approximately to the formal policy goals. The main goals are to pass the naturalization exam and get paid work.

There is from the performers a strong emphasis on the importance of language. Mastering the Dutch language is seen as an important requirement for participation. It is clear that having a paid job is not reachable for everyone that follows a work-oriented integration program. Outflow to apprenticeships is an opportunity to stay busy with the Dutch language. This can be described as 'citizenship for all', but without relying on social payments. Having benefits and other forms of state aid are seen as an obstacle to citizenship. The core elements of self-reliance and

responsibility of citizenship are evident in the goals of implementing organizations, but the goals are for each participant adjusted if having paid work is not achievable. If this is the case, apprenticeships are the main goal to keep up with the Dutch language. This can be described as bridging social capital when participants as may come into contact with others. So they can improve their Dutch language. The method 'Colourful' with the modules Dutch Society Knowledge, Citizenship and Work focuses on work, besides learning the language. The method focuses on the goals of active citizenship and bridging social capital. The module 'citizenship' is about practical things and is focused on bridging social capital and linking social capital. This is about practical matters, like how to open a bank account, how do you report to the police etc.

It is not the goal that the participants only continue to participate in their communities. In the citizenship concept "citizenship as a member of a community" citizens continue to participate within their community. The elements of the neo-republican citizenship are not introduced in the implementation of the WI. According to the performers, emphasis must be on mastering the Dutch language rather than participation. Participation is a mean to learn and develop the Dutch language. It is not that the performers do not value participation, but mastering the Dutch language is still put on the first place. This was also highlighted during the interviews and conversations in which the teachers and counselors have indicated that they do not always follow the formal procedure. They believe that it is important that the participants have to master the Dutch language. Having a paid job is not their first priority.

## **5.6 Conclusion about the implementation of the integration policy**

This conclusion will answer the second research question: "*In what way is active citizenship implemented in the work-oriented integration program?*". The main findings of the implementation are listed above. The objectives of the work-oriented integration program are set up with all interested parties. The main goals are to pass the exam and move on to paid work. Here, language and work are combined. T&I consultants and project managers indicate that the goals were achievable in the beginning and that the economic situation in the region was good. Partly because of the bad economic periods, finding a stable job is difficult and this ensured that the objectives for the participants were adjusted during the intakes.

The consultants of T&I have a regular working procedure for the intakes. The 'reading' part of the TIWI-test is often repeated by the consultants. This is not entirely governed by the procedural rules. The consultants repeat the tests at their discretion, and this affects the results of the test. Participants practice at the internships with the Dutch language. The premise is that the participants come into contact with native Dutch people and that they remain engaged with the language. In some cases, participants are asked to find internships themselves that match their interests. But basically, the counselors must arrange internships for participants. Interviews indicate that some participants have difficulties with arranging an internship on their own initiative.

The counselors are the main actors in the implementation of the integration policy. They have direct contact with the participants and they also report to T&I. The counselors do more than just the weekly schedule. The interviews clearly revealed that there is not always what done what formally should be done in case of absence and that there is not always a strict enforcement. The problem is 'passed on' because Enforcement Agency does not always take action. There is first a

report from the counselors to the T&I and they lay it down again at the Enforcement Agency. It also happens that the counselors and the participants solve the problem together. This is one of the points in the contract that is signed by the participants. Not all provisions of the contract are fulfilled. The teachers indicate that they do not always work according to the guidelines and that they often take the circumstances of the participant into consideration. Participants work at their own pace and the differences in the classes are large. Officially, participants have twice the chance for an integration exam. The teachers and counselors indicate that this aspect is dealt with smoothly.

The numbers of 'outflow' to work was relatively high in the first year and because of the high unemployment rate in Twente (over 14%) finding a steady job is difficult in these economic times. The programs are aimed to find paid jobs and do not to rely on social payments. These goals are the characteristics of active citizenship. The goals for the participants are changed by the counselor since having paid work is not reachable for each participant. *"Goals are on paper the same for everyone, but it is different in practice. If paid work cannot be reached the participants must achieve an apprenticeship. The goals are therefore adjusted per participant to motivate them, so they remain engaged with the Dutch language"* (counselor WorkStep, 4-7-2011). Participation with getting social payment is tolerated, while the main goal is economic independence. The official policy objectives and their implementation do not match at this point. The outflow was initially high, but the economic setbacks lowered the outflow. The goals that were drawn at the beginning of the project do not changed and this caused that certain goals were not reached.

The core elements of active citizenship are clearly introduced in the implementation of the work-oriented integration program. The emphasis is on participation and work while the principles are self-reliance and personal responsibility. The performers care about work and participation, but the emphasis is more on the knowledge of the Dutch language. The counselors adjust goals per participant, because they recognize that having a paid job is not reachable for everyone. This contrasts with the official goals of the work-oriented integration program. The counselors encourage people who have achieved the exam to do the State-exam at B1 level. The counselors believe that the whole process is a learning process for the participant and that not all goals can be achieved by the participants. In the implementation of the work-oriented integration program the performers initially tried to achieve the policy objectives with the characteristics of active citizenship, but they are not always achieved because the focus among performers is on learning the Dutch language.



## 6. Participants' experiences

The third part of this research is about the experiences of participants. This chapter answers the third question: *"In what way does the work-oriented integration program contribute to the participants' participation, according to the participants themselves?"*

To answer this question participants that followed the work-oriented integration program are interviewed. There are a total of six participants interviewed, of which three participants are still in the program and three participants that completed the program. In the theoretical framework, several forms of citizenship, theories about social capital and active citizenship were elaborated on. These different criteria are used to indicate what type of social capital and which form of citizenship the participant has. In this chapter we examine whether we find forms of social capital. Additionally, this chapter indicates to what extent the participants agree with the idea that the work-oriented integration program has contributed to social participation (citizenship and labor participation).

### 6.1 Presentation of the participants (program completed)

Participant a is a male with four children who has fled from Iraq because of suppression during the Saddam regime. He studied at the university in Iraq and is specialized in petroleum. Participant a came to the Netherlands in December 2008 and has passed the integration exam. He has chosen for this work-oriented program to improve his Dutch language in writing and speech. *"Learning the language is important to have good job. By voluntary work I can improve my Dutch. School and work are well for me, it is important for my future in the Netherlands"* (participant a, 11-7-2011). He has worked in the nursery at DCW and now he does voluntary work at "the Roef". He reads books on his own initiative to improve the Dutch language.

Participant b is from Afghanistan and is a single mother with two children. She went 7 years to school in Iran. She is in the Netherlands for 13 years now and in the first three years she went to ROC, then 2 years to IVIO (level 2) and then she went to DCW and completed the program. During the process, she worked for one month at Jumbo (bread section) and 6 months at Zeeman. She will shortly start at the ROC for the State-exam. *"Dutch language is important. I must now do everything by myself: appointments, doctor, etc. My son is in grade 8 and my daughter in grade 6. They speak Dutch well and it is always hard for me to understand them. My children help me and if I do not understand, we look at the computer to translate"* (participant b, 11-7-2011).

Participant c is 30 years old and is a single mother from China with two children. She has been in the Netherlands for about 13 years. She was at DCW for the State-exam but she did not pass the State-exam. During the process, she worked for DCW in the reading corner, where she made books ready for the other participants to take. She now works at Cuvée in the kitchen, where she ended up with a friend. *"People talk fast and I do not understand everything. People can and do repeat always friendly. State-exam is difficult because of the grammar. Writing is really hard for me while talking and working have become easier through contact with Dutch people and my own children. My children speak Dutch well and they speak also a few Chinese words. It is really hard for me as a mother to not understand my own children"* (Participant c, 7-11-2011). She is employed and maybe she will begin next year in IVIO to improve her Dutch language.

### 6.1.1 Social capital and citizenship of the participants (program completed)

Per participant we look at the following topics: participation in social activities, membership of associations and/or organizations, language lessons, informal contact with immigrants and natives, and having paid work.

Participant a has little contact with neighbors and has many contacts in his own circle and with people of Iraqi descent. This indicates bonding social capital. He has no membership in associations or organizations. He has no paid work and is doing voluntary work at "the Roef" where he accompanies disabled and elderly people. He is active with the "Neighbors Help Service" where he helps elderly people at home. In his work he has close contact with Dutch people, and he indicates that this is good for the development of his Dutch. This means bridging social capital, because the participant frequently comes into contact with Dutch people. The combination language/ work placement is positive according to the participant to improve the Dutch language. *"The counselors are very nice and would always help. The teachers are also good. If you do not understand something they want to explain it again, until you understand. The computer assignments are individual and are important. Dutch grammar is really hard. During the ordinary day, I can handle most things myself, but writing a letter is difficult because I do not understand the Dutch grammar"* (Participant a, 11-7-2011). Participant a has no paid work and receives social payments. He also does voluntary work. The participation ladder makes two points clear for this participant, namely he is socializing outdoors and he has unpaid work. He has many contacts with people of his own origin (bonding social capital) and during his voluntary work with indigenous people (bridging social capital). Participant a is not a passive, but an active citizen because he wants to learn the Dutch language. His main goal is to learn the Dutch language in order to find paid work. During the interview it becomes clear that he strives for self-reliance and personal responsibility.

Participant b has little contact with neighbors and has many contacts in her own circle and is also not active in social activities. She was a member of a fitness club for one year, but she stopped due to financial reasons. She has no paid work and will begin soon at the ROC for the State-exam. She found the period by the DCW very useful. *"Language and computer classes helped me to establish contacts with other people and to make arrangements by myself. At first I was afraid to talk because I had many mistakes, but now I dare to talk more. When I pick up my kids from school, I'm now not afraid to talk. My internship at the Zeeman did a lot to me. Older people are nicer, younger people usually laugh when I talk wrong"* (participant b, 7-11-2011). Her goal is to learn the Dutch language and to get paid work to offer a good future for her children. *"It is hard for me if I cannot talk to my children because they speak Dutch. It hurts me. I do everything to develop myself"* (participant b, 7-11-2011). Participant b has social contacts with people in her own circle. This indicates bonding social capital. Referring to the participation ladder, she can be placed at step 2 (social contacts outside). She does have contacts at the school where she picks up her children, but these are usually short conversations. Her goal is to obtain paid work (active citizenship). The work-oriented integration program at DCW helped a lot in the development of her Dutch language, but she has no paid work or voluntary work to come in contact with Dutch people to improve her language.

Participant c has many contacts with people of her own origin and is not active in social activities. This indicates bonding social capital. She is also not a member of a club/organization and is not involved in voluntary work. She does have a paid job at Cuvée in the kitchen, but this job offers no certainty for the future. *"The courses and internships at DCW helped me to not be afraid to talk. I think people talk too fast. At work I suffer from it and it is difficult for me. I want to start again at IVIO to improve my Dutch language "* (participant c, 11-7-2011). The Dutch language is a barrier for her to make contact with Dutch people (bridging social capital). *"My goal is to better understand the Dutch language and to find work. What I mind is that I cannot talk to my children because they do not speak Chinese. This is very strange. I can go to the bank and doctor by myself, but I think people talk too fast. I go to the library and borrow easy books to improve my Dutch "*(participant c, 11-7-2011). According to the participation ladder, participant c can be placed at step 6 (paid work). Because she probably will stop with her work she can be placed at step 2 (social contacts outside). Outside her work she has no contacts with people outside her own descent and she says that she will soon quit her job because she has communication problems. Her goal is to achieve step 6 (paid work).

### **6.1.2 Contribution of the work-oriented integration program to the participation of the participant (labor participation and citizenship)**

Two of the three participants have no paid work and one of the participants has a paid job, but she says that she is quitting soon. They will start at IVIO with the language courses. The participants are satisfied with the teaching method (classical lessons and computer classes) and with the counselors. Participant a (11-7-2011) indicates: *"The counselor was good. I came with different problems to my counselor with everything, even with things outside of DCW. For example if I do not understand a letter or if I want to tell something else"*. Participant A is not afraid to talk more and the courses had a positive influence on his development. *"Work and training is good for me. For computer classes where you have to work independently, participants do other things at internet and this is not good. The integration program at DCW was a good trajectory"* (participant a, 7-11-2011). Participant a has been in the Netherlands for three years and the other two participants have been in the Netherlands for 13 years. Participant a learned a lot in a short time. This has to do with the educational background of participants in the country of origin.

Participant a does voluntary work outside and outside work he has little contact with Dutch people. Participants b and c have no paid job and they also are not active in voluntary work. The participants indicate that the integration program based on work helped them to not be afraid to talk more. They have little contact with Dutch people in the neighborhood. It is true that the participants are able to cope with such appointments, like going to the doctor, shopping, etc. Not speaking the Dutch language is an important barrier to further development of the participants. They have passed the exam and gained experience through language classes combined with work/internship, but this is basically not sufficient to participants to reach economic independence and personal responsibility. For example, participant c (11-7-2011) said: *"Grammar is hard. The gap between the integration-exam and the State-exam is too big. I cannot write letters for example"*.

## 6.2 Presentation, social capital and citizenship of the participants (program not completed)

For this study three participants interviewed who are still busy with the work-oriented integration program. Participant d is from Turkey and she is in the Netherlands since April 1992. She went to school for 5 years in Turkey. She came to the Netherlands to marry and she is now a single mother with two children. She comes from a multicultural district (Deppenbroek) and has many contacts with Turkish people. Participant d has contacts in her own circle internally and outside her internship she has little contact with Dutch people. This indicates bonding social capital. She does have contact with her Dutch neighbors, but not often. *"Sometimes we drink coffee with our Dutch neighbors, but not often. Through my internship I am not afraid to talk more with Dutch people"* (participant d, 13-7-2011). She has no membership in associations or organizations and she do not have voluntary work. She gets social payments from the Dutch government and she worked at the cutting department inside the DCW. She also works in a small shop where many Turkish and Dutch people come. She can do the daily activities by herself, but this is not enough according to her. *"I am a single mother and I do everything by myself and I have kids. The language and computer lessons are well, but what the counselors do is really important. They do other things such as explaining letters that we do not understand"* (participant d, 13-7-2011). Referring to the participation ladder, she can be placed at step 2 (social contacts outside). She has no isolated existence, but she does not have a paid job. Her main goal is to learn the Dutch language and get paid work.

Participant e is a man from Syria who lives in the Netherlands for only 14 months. He went to school for 9 years in Syria and worked as a driver in his own country. He started at 28 April 2011 with the work-oriented integration program at DCW. Participant e lives in a dorm where he has Dutch roommates. He has much contact with his family. He is also a member of a local football team (Tubanters) and he is also a member of the Syrian Orthodox Church. *"Football club Aramea is a club where many Syrian people plays and it is next to Tubanters. I do not choose to play soccer at Aramea because I want to learn Dutch. Guys talk Syrian at Aramea. Furthermore, I have good contacts with people of Tubanters because I have an internship through DCW. I do clean up after trainings and /or competitions "* (participant e, 13-7-2011). He has two brothers and one sister who live in Enschede and Almelo. He has good contact with his family. The story of participant e indicates bonding and bridging social capital because he has many contacts in his own circle and even with Dutch people in the neighborhood and at his internship. His main goal is to pass the naturalization exam, learn the language well and get paid work. What is striking about him is that he is driven and that he learned the Dutch language in a very short time. He is furthermore active to develop his Dutch language. *"I am 32 years old and I am young. Sitting at home and doing nothing is not something I can accept. I want to learn the Dutch language. I learn the Dutch language through practicing with my roommates and at my internship "* (participant e, 13-7-2011). Participant e does not have an isolated existence and can be placed at step 2 (social contacts outside). His goal is to achieve step 6 (paid work).

Participant f is a man from Burundi who now lives in the Netherlands for 8 years. He was a teacher in his own country and he finished also the conservatory. He has sung against the political opposition and after the national elections he had to flee his country after the opposition won the elections. Participant f is father of two children and has no social payments because he has no residence permit. He passed the integration exam at the ROC and then he started working.

After his resignation, he ended up with DCW. Participant f has many contacts with people in his neighborhood. This is partly due to music. *"I have my own home studio and I play and sing in a band. This leads to contact with Dutch people. I play at New Year's concerts and I played at the Blazers Ensemble "*(participant f, 13-7-2011). He is a member of the church and has many contacts with Dutch people (bridging social capital). He has an internal internship at DCW where he works at the library. Participant f is also active in the organization Alifa where he teaches playing instruments. He has made an album whose revenues go to the foundation for children. What is striking is that he is a very open person and that he tries to achieve a lot mainly through music. He plans to improve his Dutch language level and obtain paid work so he can offer a good future for his children. Referring to the participation ladder, he can be placed at step 2 (social contacts outside). His main goal is obviously having a paid job.

### **6.2.1 Contribution of the work-oriented integration program to the participation of the participant (labor participation and citizenship)**

The interviewed participants have an internship at DCW or at another organization. They have no paid job, but participant f had a job and after his discharge, he ended up with DCW. The participants are satisfied with the teaching method (classical lessons and computer classes) and about the counselors. *"There are portfolio groups and a State-exam group. The emphasis on work is positive "*(participant f, 13-7-2011). The participants indicate that they can do the daily things by themselves and that this is not enough. The participants indicate that the Dutch grammar is difficult and that the teachers are friendly and they often repeat if you do not understand something. *"The combination of language and work is good. Through internships, I know more Dutch people and I can practice in Dutch. This is good for me because only learning the Dutch language at DCW is not enough "*(participant e, 13-7-2011). Two of the three interviewed participants have voluntary work and participant a indicates that she also wants to do voluntary work but that she cannot do it because she is a single mother with children. The strong points that are indicated by the participants are the contacts with the counselors and the way teachers teach. The size of the classes and computer classes are the only weaknesses that are indicated. *"Sometimes translation programs do not work and I get angry. Making assignments by myself is sometimes problematic. All of the participants get a code and the teachers can see the scores of the tests you have made "*(participant e, 13-7-2011).

Participants e and f have good contacts with Dutch people outside the classes and internships. This points to bridging social capital. The conception of citizenship "Citizenship for all" applies here because the participants have no paid work and are dependent on the social payments of the Dutch government. They have no profiteering behavior and the participants see DCW as a "springboard" to obtain a paid job in the future. Two participants cannot be seen as "the citizen as bearer of rights and preferences" because the goal of the participants is not to maximize their own utility. One of the participants is from Burundi and he indicates that there are a few people from Burundi in Enschede. Participant e is of Syrian origin and as described above he tries to get in contact with Dutch people to improve his Dutch language. This shows that the citizenship concept " citizenship as a member of a community" does not apply to these two participants. Participant d has a lot of contact with native Dutch citizens during her internship, but outside the internship she has little contact with native Dutch citizens. Her social contacts are within her own circle, and this indicates bonding social capital and the concept of citizenship " citizenship as a member of a community."

### 6.3 Conclusion about the experiences of the participants

This conclusion answers the third question: *“In what way does the work-oriented integration program contribute to the participation of the participant, according to the participant?”*. For this sub-question six participants are interviewed, of which three are still in the program and the other three have completed the course. The participants are all from different countries and have come to the Netherlands for different reasons. A few participants have been in the Netherlands for a short time, while other participants have been in the Netherlands for several years. They all receive social payments, except for one participant who has no valid residence document. All of the participants want to learn Dutch and get paid work. They indicate that it is important that they do not depend on the social payments of the state. What is also striking is that all of the women are divorced mothers with children. They have indicated that they can work less at home to improve their Dutch language because they must make free time for their children. These are not all little children, but single mothers indicate that they still need time off for their children. They read easy books on their own initiative in order to improve their language.

The participants are satisfied with the lessons and the system of work-oriented integration programs. The counselors are the most important people that they can appeal to and to whom they may go with different problems. The teachers often repeat and are very helpful. The computer tasks and the size of classes per portfolio are seen as the weaknesses of the integration program. Most participants have in general little contact with Dutch native people outside their internships. They often have contacts within their own circle and this indicates bonding social capital. The participants believe that they learn the language better in practice by exercise. Just because they have an internship, they must communicate in Dutch, and this causes that they can improve their language skills. A few participants do voluntary work and do things on their own initiative to improve language skills.

The work-oriented integration program contributes positively to the development of the participants, but it is not enough. There is a statutory requirement that each participant must pass the integration exam and only in exceptional cases an exemption may be granted. The integration candidates who have completed the course and passed the exam indicate that the Dutch grammar is difficult and that the achievement of the State-exam is difficult. The gap between NT-2 and the State-exam is too big and this causes difficulties when participants want to go to further education at the ROC. This is the main bottleneck. The participants participate during the internships, but outside the internships and lessons there are three participants who have voluntary work. The participants who do not have voluntary work are the single mothers. They have clearly indicated during interviews that they have little time because of their children. All of the participants can do everyday things like going to the doctor, go to the bank etc. Calling remains difficult, and they prefer direct contact because this makes communication easier.

## 7. Conclusion and recommendations

In this chapter, the research question is answered. This is followed by a theoretical reflection and this chapter concludes with several recommendations for the municipality of Enschede and other relevant organizations. These recommendations relate to the integration policy in general and more specifically to the work-oriented integration program.

### Research question:

How is active citizenship shaped in the integration policy and in the work-oriented integration program of the municipality of Enschede and in what way is the integration policy effective in organizing 'active citizens'?

This study is divided into three parts in order to answer the research question. Three documents that are analyzed are the formal policies, the implementation of policies and experiences of the participants. In answering the questions, there is some work from a theoretical framework. The theoretical framework is based on social capital, forms of citizenship and active citizenship. Social capital by Putnam (2000) is about relationships, networks, trust and shared values. Social capital can be divided into bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital refers to relationships with people of their own group. Bridging social capital is about relationships with people outside the own group. Active citizenship refers to the social behavior and independency of citizens, and how service providers and the public policies are designed to invite social behavior and self-reliance to support them in that (Steyaert & Bodd Lindens, 2005, p.23). The concepts of self-reliance and personal responsibility are pronounced in the definition of active citizenship.

### Formal integration policy

With the introduction of the Integration Act in 2007, the current integration policies took their current shape. Within the legal framework, the participatory concept of Enschede is elaborated in a number of policy documents. The main objective of the national policy is labor market participation. The municipality of Enschede takes citizenship as its starting point with the goal that the participants will participate more. The municipality of Enschede wants that every citizen participates fully in the society of Enschede. By doing this, participants must not forget their own cultural background. The integration policy focuses on language and education, housing, care and welfare, economics and work, safety and integration into the city districts.

The main objective of the integration policy is labor market participation. If this fails, social participation is the minimum that is expected from the participant. The purpose of the policy is that participants do not only participate in their own group, but that they also gain contact with other people to improve their Dutch language skills. In terms of Putnam (2000), this indicates that the municipality of Enschede wants to prevent bonding social capital and promote bridging social capital. The participants must ultimately take responsibility and become self-reliant (economic independence). The core elements of active citizenship are formulated in the formal policy goals of Enschede.

The policy aims show that passive citizenship is not desired and active citizenship is promoted. The several policy covers of the integration policy show this. The first policy emerged in the 80s and this was a minority policy that was designed to promote emancipation and participation of ethnic minorities. In the 90s there was an integration policy which focused on the socio-economic participation of migrants. Participation while getting social payments from the state was acceptable. With the current integration policy, the national government wants that the participant master the Dutch language and get a paid job. The participants have to become more self-reliant and have to take responsibility. This means that participants can not just benefit from the various social payments. The new developments in the integration policy even go a step further. The current government wants to convert the integration classes into a sort of feudal social system, where the participants must take more (economic) responsibility.

### Implementation of the formal integration policy

Different actors are involved in implementing the policy. The municipal organization T&I calls people for an intake and after a diagnosis (test), the participants are placed in a specific program. Based on the results of the TIWI-test (Intake Toolkit Integration Act) the T&I-consultant decides whether or not the participant is suitable for the work-oriented integration program. The consultants have an established work procedure and during the interviews, it became clear that counselors do not always follow the work procedure. The municipal department T&I has a legal requirement as the main goal, namely that the integration exam is achieved by as many as possible participants. The participants have to sign a contract in which the formal policy goals are included. The consultants have indicated that the most important goal is that participants pass the integration exam. According to the consultants, outflow into regular employment is not always the priority.

There are three distinct groups within the work-oriented integration program: a preparatory Group (0 -A1), a portfolio Group (A2) and the State-exam Group (A2 -B1). The modules that are used are about the Dutch language, knowledge of the Dutch society and citizenship. According to the counselors and teachers, emphasis is on language rather than the outflow to regular work. According to them, it is important that the participants remain engaged with the Dutch language to develop themselves. Offering a higher language level is important so that the participants have a better connection to higher education. It remains difficult because of the difficulty in the Dutch grammar and because the participants are free to sign up for the State-exam or not. The formal goals that are listed in the policy are in practice not feasible for each participant

The counselors have a pivotal role because they are in close contact with the participants, T&I and the teachers. The counselors provide special programs and they have a special bond with the participants. The counselor is more than just a companion. Participants go with different things to the counselor. The counselors have good contacts with the teachers and they have weekly meetings with the participants about the lessons and other practical things. The participants also need an internship beside language lessons. The counselor indicates that an internship is not always found and therefore they stimulate the participants to find an internship by themselves. The counselor reports to the T&I and in exceptional cases, T&I and DCW come together for a feedback session. The Enforcement Agency takes over when there are serious problems and in



some cases the problem is resolved. Action is not always taken prior to located by the Enforcement Agency. By doing this, the problem is 'pushed' away.

The emphasis is on participation and work while the principles of self-reliance and responsibility are important to the participant. The performers place more emphasis on the command of the Dutch language. Emphasis is placed upon the statutory requirement, namely that the participants have to pass the naturalization exam. The counselors indicate that not all of the participants can move on to regular work. Therefore, sometimes the goals must be adjusted for the participants. According to the counselors, the whole process should be seen as a learning process. By the implementation of the integration policy it is first of all important to achieve the policy objectives with the characteristics of active citizenship, but they are not always achieved because the focus among practitioners is on the participants' knowledge of the Dutch language.

### Participants 'experiences

There is a statutory requirement that each participant must pass the integration exam. There are two types of participants, participants that must integrate and voluntary participants. The interviewed participants are all participants that must integrate and they have different educational backgrounds and family situations. They fled their country because of war, but one participant came in the Netherlands to marry. The participants are placed in the work-oriented integration program and they are all satisfied with this dual offer, where language is combined with work. Some of the interviewed participants have difficulties with the individual computer tasks and with the size of the classes for each portfolio group. The independent classes remain difficult because the participants do not understand everything. There is a difference among the participants in the classes and this causes a slowing pace of the classical lessons.

The participants have little contact with Dutch neighbors or with Dutch people in general outside the classes. The interviewed women participants are single mothers who are divorced. They have little time and do not engage in voluntary work because they are busy with the care of their children. They read in their spare time easy Dutch books to stay engaged with the Dutch language. The interviewed male participants are active and they do voluntary work. They practice the Dutch language in addition to their internships. The participants have many contacts in their own circle and to a lesser extent with people outside their own group. This indicates bonding social capital. The participants indicate that they want a paid job in the future in order to take care for themselves and for their family.

According to the participants, the work-oriented integration program contributes to the development of the Dutch language and social contacts with people outside their own circle. Participants have difficulties with the Dutch grammar and in preparation for the exam there is not enough attention for this. For a good connection with further training it is important to achieve the State-exam. The participants can choose for this route while the law requires to achieve the A2 level. The gap between NT-2 level and the State-exam is too big and this creates problems when participants move on to further education.

The integration program and the associated internships ensure that participants get to know new people and that they continue to practice the Dutch language outside the classroom. The participants do certain things on their own initiative to improve their language level. The interviewed participants can do everyday things on their own, like going to the bank, go to the doctor and talking with the neighbors. They said they would rather have personal contact than that they are calling, because they can communicate better when they have personal contact. During personal contact they can ask for repetition when they do not understand certain things.

In summary, the answer to the research question is as follows: the integration policy of Enschede has two main goals, namely that the participants pass for the exam and that they do social and labor market participation. The municipality of Enschede wants to reach this goal by offering dual programs. In terms of Putnam (2000), the municipality does not want that the participants continue to participate in their own group only but that they get connections with people outside the group to improve their language skills and increase their knowledge of the Dutch language. In terms of van Gunsteren (1992), the municipality of Enschede does not want that the participant only participate in their own community. The municipality of Enschede based its integration vision on the concept 'Citizenship for all', where the social security and welfare is an important prerequisite for citizenship. The state maintains the conditions and helps people to get through the entry barriers. This is not the whole premise of the municipality of Enschede because the main goal is labor market participation. If this is not possible, Enschede wants that the participant do social participation. Getting social payments from the state without doing anything is not accepted.

The emphasis is more on individual responsibility and self-reliance of the participant. The welfare packages are maintained and participants can temporarily use them if it is necessary. The premise is that the welfare state is not free, but that it keeps people trapped in poverty and other dependencies. The national developments regarding the civic integration show a similar trend. The current government is no longer willing to fund integration and believes that the urge to integrate must come from the participant. The participants have no funding from the government and they must find a place in society by themselves. The municipal executives put a strong emphasis on language and less on broadening the network of the participant. There are few differences in the social relations of the interviewed participants who have completed the program and who are still engaged. The participants now have more contacts than before they started the process and this does not say that the increase is a consequence of the program they were involved in.

However, they indicate that the dual programs are good for the development of their language level. Based on this study, the conclusion is that the integration policy was effective to some degree in organizing active citizens. The integration policy with the formal policy goals is clearly described in the policy, but in practice there are several factors that influence the organization of active citizens. Thus the level of education, the past and the country of origin of the participant and possible (psychological) problems are some important issues that should be considered when drawing conclusions whether or not the integration policy is effective in organizing active citizens. In general it can be concluded that the integration policy with dual programs was effective to some degree in the development of the Dutch language and acquiring social contacts outside their own group. The participants have a long way to go to the main goal, where some

significant changes in the policy ought to be. These points are listed in the recommendations. First, there is a reflection on the theory and methodology.

### Reflection to the theory and methodology

With the theory of Putnam (2000) about social capital, the position of the participant can be determined on the participation ladder. Social capital of the participant can have a potential positive impact on labor market participation and social participation. To make labor market participation possible, the municipality of Enschede offers the work-oriented integration program. Here is invested in language classes and lessons about work and the Dutch society. A good level of the Dutch language is seen as an important prerequisite for participation in society and labor. In this study, interviews were held with participants who finished the integration program and participants who are still busy with the program. Participants who finished the program have only finished recently. It is therefore important to interview participants several years after completing the course. By doing this, conclusions can be drawn whether or not the integration policy was effective in organizing active citizens.

The different concepts of citizenship that were developed by Herman van Gunsteren (1992, p.16-17) do not give sufficient guidance. The concepts do not fit in today's society, where civil society is not a society of autonomous individuals and through individualization the homogeneous middle class has disappeared. There are now networks of relationships rather than friendships. Concepts of citizenship are not feasible, but the elements of these concepts can be used for the proper time sensible concept of citizenship. Active citizenship emerged in recent years with the key elements self-reliance and responsibility. This study attempted to operationalize active citizenship. The citizens are invited to become active citizens. If a problem is detected, the focus is often on the citizens and organizations, the so-called civil society. It is important to note that active citizenship is not only based on labor market participation, but participation in general. The main goal here is labor market participation.

### **Recommendations**

Following this study, some recommendations follow. These are usually recommendations to the city of Enschede with the goal to accelerate and improve the integration programs. There are also recommendations about the possible effects of the amendment that the government wants to implement.

#### **1) Close the 'gap' between NT-2 and the State-exam**

During the interviews with the participants, policy advisors and the performers it was clear that there are problems with the grammar between the statutory NT-2 level and the State-exam. At the obligatory integration exam there is not enough attention to the Dutch grammar, and this creates problems when the participant wants to have a good overflow for further education. It is therefore important that grammar lessons are offered at an earlier stage. It should also be clarified how the language courses are organized.

## **2) Set goals yearly because of the economic developments**

Before the project started, certain goals were set within certain parameters. One of these goals is that at least 50% of the participants must outflow to regular work. During the interview with the project manager it became clear that achieving the objective above was possible a couple of years ago when there was a favorable economic situation. Because of the economic crisis it has become more difficult to find a permanent job. Especially since the Twente region suffers from a relatively high unemployment rate of 14%. The targets are not affected by economic developments. It would be better for the municipality to adjust the targets to the economic situation. By doing so, accountability for the city can be easier.

## **3) Make the participants clear what the process is about and explain the organization of (language) lessons**

The interviews have shown that cooperation between the T&I consultants and counselors are good and that in the beginning with the information in the DCW information is provided by the T&I consultants. However, it is unclear for the participants in the beginning how the lessons are organized and how the participant should prepare for a particular lesson. It is important that not only general information about the program is given, but also substantive information about the structure of the (language) classes. A clear statement is required by the interviewed participants.

## **4) Improved evaluation moments between counselors and T&I consultants**

Only in exceptional cases, the T&I and DCW come together for a feedback session. In an exit interview is a brief evaluation by the T&I consultant and they are looking for new people that can be approached for the project. The report of the progress of the language and the participation of the participant with any proposals will be sent to T&I. As part of the management reports DCW provides the required contents and financial data to the program organization. Related to this, there is a bilateral consultation. It is better for the two sections that there are fixed evaluation points, so they can respond to the situations. They must not look only at the financial aspects, but also to the wishes/improvements of the participants. By the evaluation, the two parties may also brainstorm about the goals in the future.

## **5) Help the participant to find an internship. Let the participants not to their own fate.**

Some interviewed participants indicated that they have found an internship on their own initiative. Finding an internship was difficult for the participant, who usually/often received a rejection. The participants are committed to the internships because they are so in touch with the Dutch language and they can improve their language level. The participants think that the counselors are passive in this area of guidance and they indicate that they need help at this point to help so they can improve their language level. Offering special programs is the task of the counselor and this must also be expressed in practice. The participants should not feel that they left to their own fate.

## **6) Allow the participants properly explain his/her interests. The internships should reflect the interests of the participant.**

The participants have the opportunity to explain their interests during the intake-interview with the counselors. The counselors can take these interests into consideration by finding a suitable internship. The participants appreciate the internships. For example, one participant goes with

pleasure to his internship where he has good contacts. Another participant has an internship at a Turkish family business that sells food. Most of the customers are from Turkish origin. It would be better for the participant to do an internship in a company or organization where she comes in contact with Dutch people. The internships are important for the development of the Dutch language skills.

#### **7) Local expertise disappears in the municipalities**

The government wants to make some changes in the integration policy. Thus the municipalities got a lot of expertise through close collaboration with the government and knowledge in reaching and supporting specific target groups. With the abolition of the specific policy the specific knowledge and experience that was available removes from the municipalities. It is important as a municipality to continue to have good contacts with local private institutions that offer integration courses. Even when you as a municipality are no longer responsible for calling and enforcing the people who have to integrate. Continuing to offer dual programs by private institutions avoid potential problems in the municipality.

#### **8) Correlation between integration and participation**

Municipalities must in the future cut in several areas. These cutbacks are undesirable for the risk-groups in the society. For now, it is unclear how and in which areas the cutbacks will take place. The link between integration and participation proved to be a success at the local level. Especially in terms of the improved language skills. With the current developments, participants are excluded from the integration and participation, and this causes an unwanted distance of the participants to the labor market. It is possible for the municipality of Enschede to offer work-oriented integration programs that prevent potential social problems in the future. Hereby, we can think about social loans for the participants with clear performance targets. The loans may be provided by local banks with whom arrangements can be made for the payment period and the interest rate. The municipality Enschede itself can also provide loans.

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## **Appendix 1: Background participants (program finished)**

Participant a is a man with four children who had fled from Iraq because of Saddam's oppression. He studied at the university in Iraq and specializes in petroleum. Participant a arrived in December 2008 in the Netherlands and has achieved the integration exam. He chose for this work-oriented integration program to improve his Dutch language (writing and speech). *"Learning the Dutch language is important to have good job. By doing voluntary work I can improve my Dutch language. School and work are well for me and it is important for my future in the Netherlands "*. He has worked in the nursery at DCW and now he does voluntary work at "de Roef". He wants to improve his Dutch language and on his own initiative he read books in the library.

Participant b is from Afghanistan and is a single mother with two children. She went 7 years to the primary school in Iran. She has been 13 years in the Netherlands and her first three years were at the ROC, 2 years at IVIO (level 2) and after this she followed language courses at the work-oriented integration program and she finished this program. During the process, she worked for one month at Jumbo (bread section) and 6 months at Zeeman. In the following months she wants to take language courses for the State-exam (level B1) at ROC. *"Dutch language is important. I must now do everything by myself: appointments, doctor, etc. My son is in group 8 and my daughter in group 6 at the primary school. They speak Dutch well and it is always hard for me to understand them. My children help me with simple words if I not understand it. Sometimes we look together to the translation on the computer"*.

Participant c is a 30-years old single mother with 2 children. She is about 13 years in the Netherlands. She started at the DCW for the State-exam and she do not pass the State-exam. During the process, she worked at DCW in the reading corner, where she made books ready for the participants. She now works at Cuvée in the kitchen, where she ended up by a friend. *"People talk fast and I do not understand everything. People are always friendly and they repeat always if I do not understand something. State-exam is difficult because of the Dutch grammar. Writing is really hard for me but talking in Dutch became easier for me because of my work (contact with Dutch people) and my children. My children speak Dutch well and they speak only a few Chinese words. It is really hard for me as a mother to understand my children sometimes"*. She works now and she wants to begin next year at IVIO to improve her Dutch language.

## **Appendix 2: Background participants (program not completed)**

Participant d is a 39-year-old Turkish woman and she came to the Netherlands in April 1992 to marry. She went to school for 5 years in Turkey. She is a single mother with two children and she has a son (18 years old) and a daughter (14 years old). She lives with the social payments of the State and she is now 1,5 years at DCW. Her first internship was at the cutting department internally (for six months) and now she is engaged in Mevlana export, a grocery store in her area. She has good contacts in her neighborhood, but these contacts are with people of their own origin. She is satisfied about the work-oriented integration program, counselors and the lessons.

Participant e is a 32-year-old Syrian man who is only 14 months in the Netherlands. He was a driver in his own country and he went to school for 8 years in total. He was started on 28 April 2011 started with the program and he lives in a room with other students. He has good contacts with these students. He is doing voluntary work beside his internship. He has memberships in a Syrian Orthodox church and a football club. He choose to play football for the club Tubanters and not for the club Aramea (where many Syrian men play football) in order to improve his own language. He has brothers and sisters living in the Netherlands where he regularly goes. Through his internship and football, he learns new people. It is remarkable that participant e speaks Dutch very well in a very short time and that he is very motivated to develop his Dutch language. He proudly stated that he went in his own to the acquaintance with the counselor. He is very satisfied about the work-oriented integration program, the counselors and the classical lessons. He is less optimistic about the computer lessons, because these lessons are individually.

Participant f is a 41-year-old man from Burundi who is now for 8 years in the Netherlands. He lived two years in Tilburg, and he lives now 6 years in Enschede with his wife and two children (boy and a girl of 6 years 5 years). He was a teacher in his country and has also completed the conservatory. He plays the clarinet and is a singer. Participant f had a contract at the Presidential Palace and he has been in the military orchestra for 11 years. He was the third chief. He had to leave his country after the elections while he sung for the previous regime. He is a member of the church in his neighborhood and he is busy with producing music. He plays in a band and he also may occur during the New Year Concert. He is also active in Alifa (Welfare organization) where he teaches people with playing an instrument. He does admit that music connects people and that he wants to help the young children on the streets with the proceeds from his albums. He is extremely positive about the work-oriented integration program and the counselors. He thinks that his own language level is not enough and he wants to do everything to improve his language skills.

## **Appendix 3: Interview questions**

### **Questionnaire alderman:**

#### **Integration policy**

1. How where you involved as an alderman (in development) on the integration policy of Enschede?
2. How are the main points of the integration policy placed and how was the control of the College of B&W?
3. What do you think is the core of the integration policy and what do you think is the main goal of the integration policy?
4. How do you want to reach the goals?

#### **Work-oriented integration program**

1. What are the main goals of the work-oriented integration program according to you?
2. Stimulates the work-oriented integration programs the integration?
3. What can be better or different about the work-oriented integration programs?

#### **Control**

1. How do you have control over the work-oriented integration program?
2. What do you think about the recent developments and the idea that the citizens must take more responsibility?
3. Do you think that the integrators must pay the courses by themselves?
4. How do you think the current government's plans will affect the future?
5. How do you want to control about this as an alderman?

## **Questionnaire policy advisors**

### **Integration policy**

1. How is the integration policy developed?
2. What are the main goals of the integration policy?
3. Why you just want to reach those goals?
4. How are the main goals of the integration policy developed?

### **Work-oriented integration program**

5. What are the policy goals of the work-oriented integration programs?
6. Do you think that the municipality can reach the goals with the current integration policy?
7. What is an 'active citizen'?
8. How can the integrators become an 'active citizen'?
9. Where should the focus on according to you, on the language courses or on the internships?
10. Why do you think that?

### **Control**

11. Are the results visible and let these results see or the goals have been achieved?
12. What do you think about the current developments that the citizens must take more responsibility?
13. Do you think that participants must pay the language courses by themselves?
14. How do you think the current government's plans will affect the future?
15. How do you want to control about this as a policy adviser?

## **Questionnaire Language & Integration (Taal&Inburgering )**

### **General**

1. What are the goals of integration?
2. How are the goals reached?
3. How are the goals developed?
4. Are the goals feasible with the current policy?

### **Recruitment**

5. How are the participants placed on the different programs/
6. What is the procedure of intake and which criteria are important by making the decision?
7. Are there client files present?

### **Goals work-oriented integration program**

8. What are the goals of the work-oriented integration programs?
9. What is the core of the work-oriented integration program?
10. How is the control to reach the goals?
11. Why are there not internships at every integration program?
12. Are the participants followed after they finished the work-oriented integration program?  
(or they have found work)
13. Is it possible that the participant follow the same work-oriented integration program after the integrator has finished the program?
14. Does your organization have a clear view on the figures and can you respond to this as an organization?
15. How is the report and who is accountable?

## **Questionnaire Counselor WorkStep**

### **General**

1. What are the goals in general for the counselor?
2. What is the procedure of guidance? (what do you do exactly?)

### **Program guidance**

3. What are goals of the counselor?
4. What are according to you the important goals and why?
5. How are the participants motivated to learn the Dutch language in combination with work?
6. How do you offer specific programs?
7. What is an 'active citizen' according to you?
8. How do you offer the language courses?
9. Do you think that there is enough attention to 'citizenship' during the lessons?
10. What do you think about citizenship?
11. How do you prevent that not only participants with the same origin work at the same organization, and that they do not improve their Dutch language?
12. How is everything kept up about the participant?
13. Are there participants that have failed? If so, why?

### **Control**

14. At what points do you control?
15. How do you account?
16. How is the communication with Language & Integration (T&I)?
17. Is it possible to reach the goals with the control of the municipality and your own organization?
18. Do you think that a participant can be more successful by following a work-oriented integration program?
19. What can be better and/or different by the whole procedure of guidance?

## **Questionnaire project managers of the work-oriented integration program**

### **General**

1. How is the work-oriented integration programs created?
2. What were the predetermined goals and requirements?
3. With which organizations did you work together? And how?

### **WorkStep**

4. Are the predetermined goals reached?
5. Do you think that dual programs can positively affect the integration process?
6. What do you think about 'active citizens'?
7. How do you choose the people for this program?
8. How are the criteria set up?
9. Where are these criteria based on?
10. How is the cooperation with other organizations? (Language & Integration, municipality)
11. Do you set up the goals together with these organizations?

### **Outcome and future**

12. How is the outcome to regular work (outside DCW)?
13. Are the effects about the first years of the project known and can you tell more about this?
14. What do you think about the recent developments and about the idea that the citizens must take more responsibility?
15. Do you think that participants must pay the language courses by themselves?
16. How do you think the current government's plans will affect the future?

## **Questionnaire WorkStep (program finished)**

### **1. Background participant:**

- From which country are you and when did you come to the Netherlands?
- What is the reason for this?
- What were your activities in your own country?
- Did you go to school and do you have degrees?

### **2. Living conditions:**

- Where do you live?
- Is it a buy or a rental house?
- Do you have a partner and what is his/her origin?
- Do you have children?
- Do you work (with or without social payments)?

### **3. Integration:**

- When did you start with the work-oriented integration program?
- Why did you follow this program?
- What was your goal?
- Did you register by yourself or have you been invited?
- What do you think about integration?
- How can a person integrate in the society of Enschede?

### **4. Language courses:**

- How were the language courses?
- Where was the emphasis?
- How were the lessons?
- What do you think about the lessons and the materials?
- To what extent have the lessons helped you to naturalize?

### **5. Contacts:**

- To what extent did you have contacts with Dutch people at the beginning of the program?
- Did you get more contacts after the work-oriented integration program?
- Does this come through more participation?
- With whom had you contact?
- Are you a member of an organization, association or religious institution?
- Are you active in your own neighborhood? (Did you go to the neighborhood parties or meetings?)
- Did you do voluntary work?

### **6. Language:**

- Can you speak enough Dutch to do the basic things by yourself?
- What are you doing to improve your Dutch language?
- Do you read Dutch newspapers or magazines?
- Were the language courses effective by improving your Dutch language?



## **7. Current state**

- Can you do the basic things by yourself?
- Do you have contact with Dutch people?
- Do you think that you have to improve your Dutch language?
- What do you think about the Dutch society and about the contacts between the people?
- Do you think that you are an involved (active) citizen?

## **Questionnaire participants WorkStep (busy with program)**

### **1. Background integrator:**

- From which country are you and when did you come to the Netherlands?
- What is the reason for this?
- What were your activities in your own country?
- Did you go to school and do you have degrees?

### **2. Living conditions:**

- Where do you live?
- Is it a buy or a rental house?
- Do you have a partner and what is his/her origin?
- Do you have children?
- Do you work (with or without social payments)?

### **3. Integration:**

- When did you start with the work-oriented integration program?
- Why did you choose to follow this program?
- What is your goal?
- Did you register by yourself or have you been invited?
- What do you think about integration?
- How can a person integrate in the society of Enschede?

### **4. Language courses:**

- How are the language courses?
- Where is the emphasis?
- How are the lessons?
- What do you think about the lessons and the materials?
- To what extent help the lessons so you can naturalize?

### **5. Contacts:**

- To what extent did you have contacts with Dutch people at the beginning of the program?
- Did you get more contacts after the work-oriented integration program?
- Does this come through more participation?
- With whom had you contact?
- Are you a member of an organization, association or religious institution?
- Are you active in your own neighborhood? (Did you go to the neighborhood parties or meetings?)
- Did you do voluntary work?

### **6. Language:**

- Can you speak enough Dutch to do the basic things by yourself?
- What are you doing to improve your Dutch language?
- Do you read Dutch newspapers or magazines?
- Where are the language courses effective by improving your Dutch language?

## **7. Current state**

- Can you do the basic things by yourself?
- Do you have contact with Dutch people?
- Do you think that you have to improve your Dutch language?
- What do you think about the Dutch society and about the contacts between the people?
- Do you think that you are an involved (active) citizen?