Seeking Sanctuary in the Netherlands

Opportunities and obstacles to refugee integration

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ISBN: 978-94-6299-247-4

Cover: Frans Berkhout
Layout: Nikki Vermeulen - Ridderprint BV
Printing: Ridderprint BV - www.ridderprint.nl

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Opportunities and obstacles to refugee integration

Een veilige haven in Nederland

Mogelijkheden en obstakels voor de integratie van vluchtelingen

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
op gezag van de
rector magnificus

Prof.dr. H.A.P. Pols

en volgens besluit van het College van Promoties.
De openbare verdediging zal plaatsvinden op

donderdag, 21 januari 2016 om 11.30 uur

door

Linda Bakker
geboren op 12 oktober 1986, te Delden

Promotiecommissie

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Dankwoord | Acknowledgements

Toen ik in juni 2011 aan dit proefschrift begon zag de wereld er totaal anders uit. Het Middellandse Zee gebied was nog gewoon een vakantiebestemming en vluchtelingen op drift waren 'ver van ons bed'. Hoe anders is de situatie nu, begin 2016, nu de vluchtelingencrisis de solidariteit binnen de EU op scherp zet. Dit proefschrift gaat niet over de toegankelijkheid van Europa, maar over vluchtelingen die een verblijfsvergunning hebben verkregen om in Nederland een nieuw leven op te bouwen. Hoe vergaat het deze groep? En welke factoren zijn bepalend voor hun integratie in de Nederlandse samenleving? Juist nu emoties de boventoon voeren in het publieke debat is kennis over deze specifieke migrantengroep noodzakelijk. Daarom ben ik verheugd om op dit moment mijn proefschrift over de integratie van vluchtelingen in Nederland te presenteren.

Frans, dank voor het treffende ontwerp van de omslag van dit proefschrift. Je hebt de kwetsbaarheid, diversiteit, complexiteit en veerkracht van het thema prachtig verbeeld.

Graag wil ik een aantal mensen bedanken zonder wie dit proefschrift niet tot stand was gekomen. Allereerst mijn promotoren Godfried Engbersen en Jaco Dagevos. Dank voor jullie niet aflatende kritische, maar altijd constructieve feedback. Hierdoor heb ik het uiterste uit mezelf en uit het onderzoek gehaald. Jullie hebben me gestimuleerd om de studie van sjeu te voorzien en ik hoop dat iedereen het daarom met plezier zal lezen. Godfried, dank voor je betrokkenheid en voor je enthousiasme over mijn onderzoek. Je gaf me de vrijheid om mijn promotietraject naar eigen inzicht in te richten, maar als het nodig was wist je me altijd te motiveren om nieuwe mogelijkheden te verkennen en net die extra stap te zetten. Jaco, dank voor je intensieve en persoonlijke begeleiding. Ik kon altijd bij je binnenlopen en ik ging ook altijd met nieuwe ideeën en inspiratie weer naar buiten. Ook wil ik je bedanken voor de ruimte die je me gaf om me binnen het SCP te ontwikkelen. Dit gaf me de kans om niet alleen wetenschappelijk, maar ook beleid georiënteerd onderzoek te doen. Dat is voor mij erg waardevol.

Ik heb me vanaf het begin thuis gevoeld bij het SCP en wil dan ook graag alle andere collega's, en in het bijzonder Willem, Iris en Mérove, daar hartelijk voor bedanken. Ook mijn collega's van de EUR wil ik graag bedanken voor de mooie tijd in Rotterdam!

Dear Jenny, thank you for the opportunity to come to Birmingham for my research stay. In a relatively short period of time I learned a lot from you on refugee integration in the UK. This was very valuable to my dissertation since it adds the international perspective. Sin Yi, thanks for your constant enthusiasm and commitment to our research. It has been a great pleasure to work with the both of you!

Dear Özge and Marta, thank you for the pleasant collaboration within the IMITE committee of IMISCOE. The workshops in Rotterdam, Oslo and Maastricht were inspiring and publishing the Special Issue together was a great experience.

Mijn lieve vrienden Patricia, Nanda, Tim, Anouk, Maaike, Marieke en Ester wil ik graag bedanken, gewoon omdat jullie er altijd voor me zijn en we samen kunnen lachen én huilen. In het bijzonder wil ik mijn paranimfen, Maria en Marlijn, hier bedanken. Maria, vanaf onze SaSR-tijd delen we lief en leed over ons onderzoek en ons leven. Je was er altijd om mijn stukken te lezen, mijn twijfels aan te horen, mijlpalen te vieren en me moed in te spreken als ik het even niet zag zitten. Dit was en is voor mij heel belangrijk en hoop dat we dit ook in de toekomst blijven doen! Marlijn, op de belangrijke momenten in mijn leven ben jij er altijd bij, dus hier kan je zeker niet ontbreken. Vanaf de eerste dag van onze studententijd was het raak en inmiddels zijn we al ruim 10 jaar vriendinnen. Ik wil je bedanken voor je steun in de goede en slechte tijden. Ik ben blij dat we dit hoogtepunt samen vieren en ben ervan overtuigd dat er nog vele zullen volgen!

Lieve Jan, Anastasia, Benjamin en Janneke, ik heb het fantastisch getroffen met jullie. Thuiskomen in Philippine is als een warm bad. Dank voor jullie betrokkenheid en alle gezelligheid!

Lieve Siska, Sietse en Erik, dank voor jullie steun. De afgelopen tijd heeft ons dichter bij elkaar gebracht en daar ben ik dankbaar voor. Mijn ouders wil ik bedanken voor de vrijheid en het vertrouwen die jullie me altijd gegeven hebben om me te ontwikkelen en mijn eigen keuzes te maken. Lieve mama, ik wil je speciaal bedanken omdat jij me juist die dingen leerde die écht belangrijk zijn in het leven en in geen boek geschreven staan. Je bent als geen ander groot in de kleine dingen en dat maakt je zo bijzonder. Ik hou van je.

Tot slot wil ik Sebastiaan bedanken. Lief, kort nadat ik ben gestart met dit proefschrift hebben we elkaar ontmoet, en je bent gebleven. We hebben vooral pieken, maar ook dalen gekend en hebben samen al een paar beren op de weg getrotseerd. Ik heb alle vertrouwen in ons en kijk er naar uit om nog veel meer avonturen samen met jou te beleven. Met jou durf ik in het diepe te springen, want je geeft me nog steeds het gevoel dat ik zweef.

Contents

Chapter 1

Refugee integration:
Setting the scene

1.1 Introduction

By the end of 2013, 16.7 million refugees worldwide were displaced from their home country due to conflict, persecution and human rights violations (UNHCR 2013). The large majority of refugees find shelter in neighbouring countries. Only a small share, often those who have the means to do so, finds their way to Europe or North America. Figure 1.1 depicts the number of asylum applications in the EU-28 Member States from 2003-2013. It shows a decrease of asylum requests after the peak in the year 2000. From 2006 on, the number of asylum requests again increases. In 2013, the EU-28 Member States received 435,000 asylum applications from non-EU countries. In 2014 this increased to 626,000.

The Netherlands received 26,000 asylum requests in 2014, of which around 50 per cent are granted a residence status (see Figure 1.2). In 2014, the number of positive decisions increased to 14,000. This makes the Netherlands in absolute terms the fifth European country, after Germany, Sweden, Italy and France, with the highest numbers of positive decisions on asylum requests. Even though this is a relatively small migrant group, the number of refugees is growing. This also increases the need for more insight into this specific migrant group. Therefore this dissertation focuses on refugee integration.

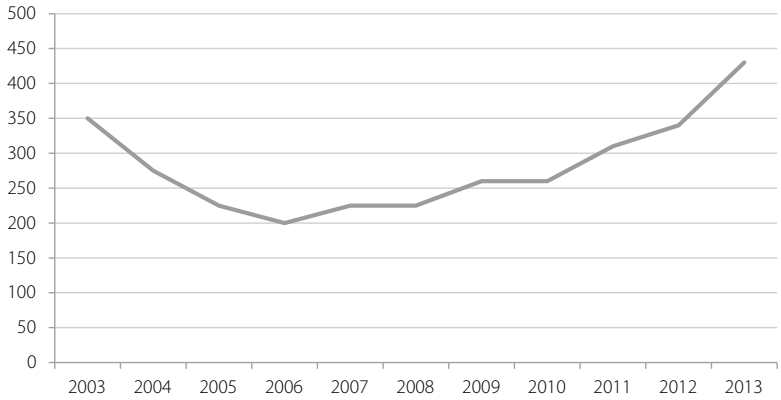

Figure 1.1: Asylum applications (non-EU) in EU-28 Member States 2003-2013 (number *x* 1000)
Source: Eurostat

Refugees are considered a specific migrant group for two main reasons: their specific context of exit from the origin country and the specific context of reception in the destination country. Under the UN convention of 1951 a refugee is a person: '*outside of his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion*' (UN 1951). This specific context of exit, marked by their personal precarious security situation (Feller 2005), in combination with the often costly and dangerous flight can cause traumatic experiences (Castles et al., 2002; Phillimore, 2011; Richmond, 1988; Ryan et al., 2008; Takeda, 2000). Such traumatic experiences are typical to this

specific migrant group. Also, forced migration can affect the attachment of refugees to their origin country. Identification with the home country might be distorted due to the ruling regime. Until they obtain an EU passport, refugees generally cannot engage in circular migration or return to their homeland, due to a lack of state protection (Phillimore, 2011).

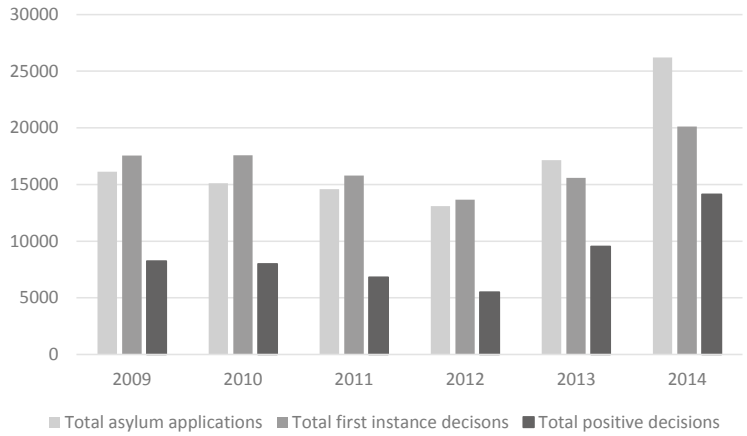

Figure 1.2: Number of asylum applications, first instance decisions and positive decisions in the Netherlands over 2009-2014

Besides this specific context of exit, refugees also face a specific context of reception in the destination country. Two central elements of the context of reception are government policies of the receiving country and the conditions of the host country labour market (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). The asylum policy of the host country is the government policy that shapes the first phase of integration for refugees. In the Netherlands, refugees have the legal status of asylum seekers while they await the decision on their asylum request. This legal status defines their set of rights, which entails restrictions on employment, education and social security. Consequently this asylum policy can result in social isolation, marginalization, mental health problems and (economic) dependence (Da Lomba, 2010; Laban et al., 2004).

Next, in Dutch the labour market formal qualifications are crucial for obtaining a job. Especially for refugees it is often difficult to show foreign credentials. They may not have been able to take these along on their sudden flight, or they may intentionally have lost all their documents to obscure their identity. They also cannot contact institutions in the origin country to send them a copy, for fear of personal persecution. Moreover, in cases where one can show a foreign diploma, this is often valued at a lower level in the Netherlands. Also, networks are highly important in the Netherlands in order to find a job. Clearly, refugees often lack such networks. Another feature of the labour market is potential discrimination. Studies have shown that labour market discrimination of migrants is an issue in the Netherlands (Andriessen et al., 2014). Also for refugees, this can pose a serious obstacle to socio-

economic integration. Given these specific features of the situation of refugees, I expect these to have implications for their integration in the host country. This dissertation therefore investigates the integration of refugee groups in the Netherlands.

Integration is an essentially contested concept (Gallie, 1956); no single, generally accepted definition has yet been agreed upon. Despite the definition problem, a strongly supported view on integration can be deduced from the body of literature. Integration is viewed as a multidimensional, two-way process that starts upon arrival in the host country. A range of dimensions of integration have been studied. Esser (2004) distinguishes four dimensions. The first, *Kulturation*, involves the acquisition of knowledge and skills (e.g. the language of the host country) in order to successfully find their way around the host society. *Platzierung* refers to the position immigrants come to have in terms of social stratification, which is mainly determined by their achievements in employment, education and housing. Participation in societal institutions thus is a key aspect. *Interaktion* refers to the extent of interethnic social contacts established with, for example, friends, neighbours and even a spouse. Lastly, *Identifikation* gives an indication of the emotional bonding with the host country. Esser states that this can only be established if the other three dimensions are met, at least to a certain extent.

Generally in Dutch literature, a distinction is made between structural or socio-economic integration and socio-cultural integration. The first dimension is similar to Esser's *Platzierung* and is understood as the degree to which migrants and refugees participate in the central societal institutions (Dagevos, 2001; Engbersen, 2003). Especially their position on the labour market is viewed as a crucial indicator of integration (Snel et al., 2006; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). The second dimension is defined as: the social contacts that members and organisations of minority groups maintain with society as a whole, and the cultural adaptations to that society (Dagevos, 2001; Vermeulen & Penninx, 1994).

In this dissertation I focus on socio-economic integration. More specifically, I mostly concentrate on labour market participation in this dissertation. I chose this domain of integration as central to my study because it implies economic independence, but also it can function as an important facilitator for other domains of integration, such as meeting members of the host society, acquiring language skills and restoring self-esteem. By focusing on refugees I aim to complement and add to existing integration theory. The central research question reads: *How can individual and institutional factors explain refugees' socio-economic integration?*

1.2 Theoretical framework

I will study refugee integration from three research angles (Figure 1.3). The first focuses on the importance of the post-migration experience and mental health for refugee integration. When refugees arrive in the Netherlands they need to request asylum. The first period after migration is thus shaped by government policies: it entails the asylum procedure, asylum accommodation and granted residence status. It is known from former studies that many refugees experience traumatic events in the origin country and during the flight, which have implications for their chances on 'successful' integration (Beiser, 2006). However, less is known on the importance of the post-migration experience

of refugees for their integration. Ryan et al. (2008) argued that the post-migration experience can aggravate mental health problems. The combination of uncertainty, anti-asylum sentiment, unemployment and poor access to services can have long-term impact upon mental health which may also have a knock-on effect on access to wider integration (Phillimore, 2011, Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011). Due to insecurity about the future during the asylum procedure, refugees might not be able to recover from traumatic experiences from the past. Moreover, insecurity about the future and limited rights during the asylum procedure can cause passivity, depression, (economic) dependence and marginalisation (Da Lomba, 2010; Laban et al., 2004; Momartin et al., 2006). In this dissertation I will therefore examine how asylum, integration and citizenship policy affect refugees' mental health and in turn their socio-economic integration. The focus is on the Netherlands but I will also study this in a country comparative perspective with the UK (Chapter 6).

The second research angle builds on the interplay of individual human capital and the accessibility of institutions in the host country, for example the labour market, in refugee integration. Some authors argue that refugees possess valuable human capital and will gain host country human capital which will lead to employment and possibly a matching job. Others argue that refugees will never have equal chances in the Dutch labour market. Literature has already shown the existence of the 'immigrant entry effect'. Due to a lack of host country work experience and language proficiency and the problematic recognition of home country credentials, migrants generally start lower than natives on the labour market (Reitz, 2007). In this dissertation I study the 'refugee gap': the difference in labour market participation between refugees and other migrants (Conner, 2010). I introduce the 'refugee entry effect' to show whether the initial disadvantage of refugees – e.g. traumatic experiences, asylum procedure, lack of resources – scar refugees for the rest of their working lives, or whether they find a way to recover from this.

Here I will also discuss the chances of finding a *matching* job. This is especially relevant for refugees, as they are often higher educated in the origin country, which makes over-qualification or under-employment likely; the more so because they face the barrier of non-recognition of foreign qualifications in the destination country. This study highlights the importance of human capital and the limited accessibility of the Dutch labour market.

These first two angles concentrate on the interaction between the individual refugee and the host country. The third is different since it explicitly focuses on the role of the origin country in refugee integration. The definition of integration as a two-way process suggests a combination of individual capacities and agency and the opportunity structures of receiving communities. The individual refugee brings certain characteristics to the host country that can benefit or inhibit integration in the host country. This implies a third perspective: the origin country. The different socio-demographic and socio-cultural backgrounds of refugees from different origin countries can shape their integration process. Also the institutional context of the origin country, which for example shapes the educational system in which the refugee was educated, can affect their subsequent chances in the destination country.

Studies on transnationalism show how interactions of migrants between sending and receiving countries are shaped (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Portes et al., 2002). Until recently it was argue that refugees cannot perform transnational activities because of a lack of resources. Building upon the framework of Al-Ali et al. (2001) on capacities and desires I study the role of the family and community members that stayed behind in the origin country. This, in combination with the economic and political situation in the origin country, can for example create the need for remittances. I therefore argue in this dissertation that the origin country, by its demands and opportunities, shapes the situation of the individual refugee and consequently the integration process. My conception of the main actors in refugee integration and the discussed central research angles are depicted in Figure 1.3.

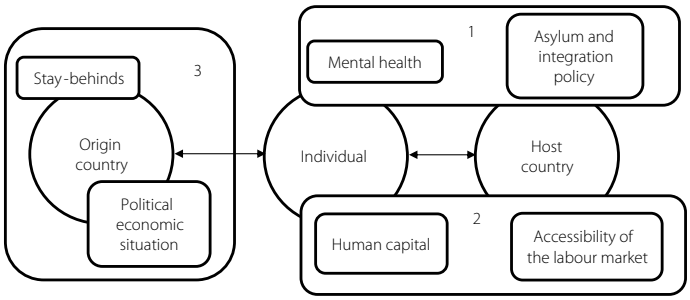

Figure 1.3: My conception of main actors in refugee integration and central research angles

1.3 Dutch refugee migration history

The Netherlands have a long history of refugee migration movements. After the Second World War the Netherlands received refugees from Eastern Europe. In the 1970s the refugee population diversified with refugees from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Vietnamese boat refugees were the largest refugee group at the end of the 1970s (Jennissen, 2011). In the 1980s many Iranians fled to the Netherlands, seeking to maintain their western values and modern lifestyle which the Khomeini regime viewed as a threat and sought to suppress (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011; Ghorashi, 2005; Hessels, 2002). The first Iraqi asylum migrants also arrived in the Netherlands in the 1980s. They were generally Kurds, fleeing Iraq for the fear of persecution inflicted by their strife for more autonomy. The first Somali refugees came to the Netherlands around 1985, and their number increased rapidly in 1990 after the collapse of the regime of Said Barre. A share of this first wave of Somalis migrated on to the UK. In the 1990s many refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic came to the Netherlands. At this time also more refugees from Iraq, Iran, Somalia and Afghanistan came to the Netherlands. Today these four nationalities make up the largest refugee groups in the Netherlands, and they are the research population of this dissertation. Their migration history is depicted by their asylum requests in the Netherlands in the Figures 1.4.

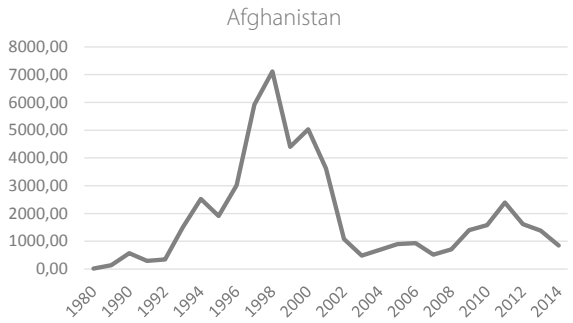

Figure 1.4a: Number of asylum requests per year in the Netherlands from Afghanistan © Statistics Netherlands, The Hague/ Heerlen 2015

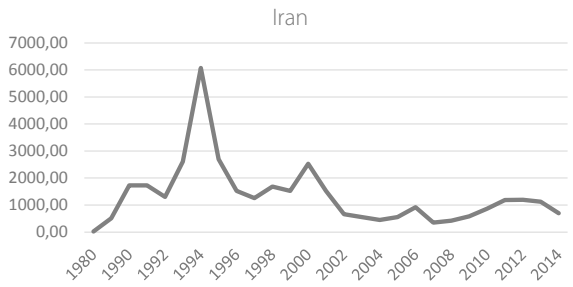

Figure 1.4b: Number of asylum requests per year in the Netherlands from Iran © Statistics Netherlands, The Hague/ Heerlen 2015

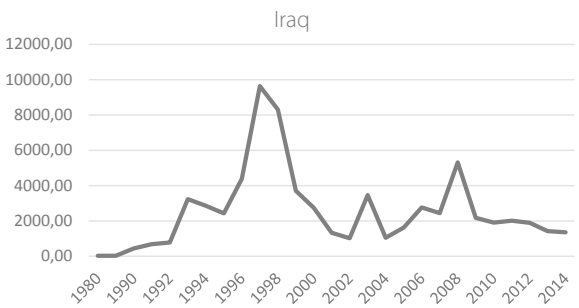

Figure 1.4c: Number of asylum requests per year in the Netherlands from Iraq © Statistics Netherlands, The Hague/ Heerlen 2015

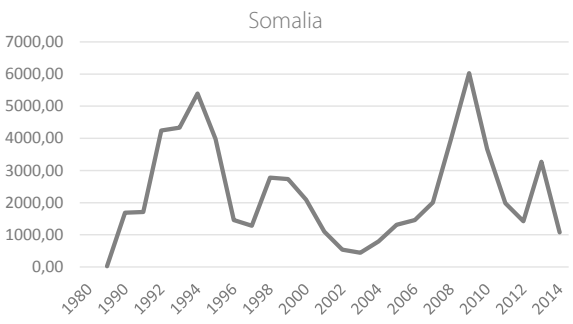

Figure 1.4d: Number of asylum requests per year in the Netherlands from Somalia © Statistics Netherlands, The Hague/ Heerlen 2015

Asylum requests from Iraqi started to grow from 1992 on, reaching a peak at the end of the 90s. During the 'war on terrorism' in Iraq, the Netherlands provided 'categorial' protection[1], which increased the number of asylum requests from Iraq in the period of 2002-2008. The first Afghan migrants came to the Netherlands in the period that the communist regime broke down and the Islamic state came into being. Requests for asylum increased rapidly from 1993, probably because refugees who held a prominent position during the communist days were granted a refugee status relatively quickly (Hessels & Wassie, 2003). The influx of Afghan refugees moreover grew due to the strict Taliban regime, which greatly affected people's daily lives (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011; Hessels & Wassie, 2003). After 1998, when the Taliban had gained control of all Afghanistan, the refugee flow dropped again. The severe situation in Somalia in the years 2005-2009 induced the second wave of Somali refugees to the Netherlands. The year 2013 witnessed the start of the third wave of Somali refugees that came to the Netherlands.

1.4 Dutch asylum and integration policy

In reaction to the changing numbers and the wide variety of countries from which refugees came to the Netherlands, the asylum procedure changed several times in the last decades. Until 1987 there was no organised asylum accommodation by the state. Asylum seekers arranged their own housing, often with the help of volunteers. With the rising numbers of refugees the ROA (Regulation Asylum Accommodation) was introduced in 1987. From this moment on asylum seekers were temporarily housed in central asylum accommodation after which they were appointed housing. However, because of the large number of asylum seekers in the 90s, the time spent in central temporary housing increased rapidly from several months to several years (Ghorashi 2005).

With the 1994 Aliens Act asylum accommodation was centralized in order to control the number of asylum seekers. COA (central agency for asylum accommodation) is now responsible for all asylum accommodation in the Netherlands. Also asylum accommodation was linked to the asylum procedure in order to keep track of asylum seekers. Compared to the 80s, asylum policy shifted from refugee protection towards control (Geuijen, 2004). Next to the A-status, which was granted based on the Geneva Convention, a status based on humanitarian grounds and the VVTV (conditional permit for temporary stay) were introduced with the 1994 Aliens Act. These are for those who, based on their individual case cannot be granted asylum, but also cannot return because of the situation in their origin country. These different types of legal residence came with different sets of rights. The A-status and humanitarian status provided the right to work and education, whereas the VVTV did not (Geuijen, 2004). This system was highly complicated and prolonged the asylum procedure, as people continued to litigate for a 'better' status that would grant more rights.

1 "The policy of categorical protection provides the possibility of offering protection to persons who are unable to demonstrate that they have grounds to fear persecution, cruelty or inhuman treatment due to their individual situation, but who nevertheless are at risk due to the overall situation in their country of origin. Categorical protection is granted if, in the view of the Minister, (discretionary powers) it would be extremely harsh to return the person involved to his country of origin in the light of the overall situation there." (ACVZ, 2006)

As a result the current Aliens Act was enacted in 2000. The aim of this new legislation was to shorten the asylum procedure and to improve the quality of the first instance decision. Nowadays when asylum seekers arrive in the Netherlands need to report at the central reception centre in Ter Apel where the asylum procedure starts. Here, during the resting and preparation period, legal and medical advice is provided. Then, the Immigration and Naturalisation Office (IND) decides within eight days whether further investigation is needed about individuals' claims (i.e. the general asylum procedure). Those whose cases require further investigation are moved to one of the asylum centres (AZC) where they await a decision on their claim. This extended procedure can formally take up to six months. The evaluation study of the Aliens Act 2000 showed that the waiting time during the asylum procedure is often longer than the norm (WODC, 2006). Asylum seekers have restricted access to the (formal) labour market (in 2008 this was extended from 12 to 24 weeks a year) but no access to education[2] or social security. Their basic needs are provided for by the state (based on 'bed, water and bread' and € 43 per adult person per week).[3]

With the introduction of the 2000 Aliens Act all asylum seekers who gain leave to remain in the Netherlands first receive a temporary residence status for a period of five years. From this moment on they are entitled to social security and have the right to work. Further, new refugees are obliged to take an integration course and pass the integration exam. This exam tests language abilities, but also migrants' knowledge on the host society regarding social rights, institutional knowledge and Dutch history. Studies show that these integration courses contribute directly to migrants' and refugees' language proficiency (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011). Interviews with migrants who took the integration course indicate that they are more involved in their children's school and can more easily find their way about institutions (Witvliet et al., 2013). After five years and when all 'integration demands' are met, one can apply for a permanent residence permit.

Asylum seekers whose application is rejected need to leave the asylum centre within 28 days. There is the opportunity to appeal at the Council of State (*Afdeling Bestuursrechtspraak van de Raad van State*, ABRvS). The asylum seeker can only await the decision of the appeal in the Netherlands if the judge will offer the verdict within these 28 days. Otherwise he/she can apply for a Temporary Measure (VoVo) to prevent being removed from the asylum facility and the country (Jennissen, 2011).

In this dissertation I only focus on refugees who received a residence status. Thus I do not focus on the range of return policies or issues around illegal stay. At time of study the majority of the sample was already naturalised. A part of the sample arrived before 2000, and was thus confronted with

2 Asylum seekers aged 18 or over must reside legally in the Netherlands if they wish to enroll for a study. This means that they should either have a residence permit or should be in procedure for a residence permit with permission to await the decision in the Netherlands. Under-age children are entitled to education in the Netherlands until their 18th year. Admission to education does not depend on legal residence in the Netherlands.

3 Every asylum seeker in a centre is entitled to a weekly financial supplement for food, clothing, and other personal expenditure items. (RVA 2005 article 14, http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0017959/geldigheidsdatum_25-06-2014). The financial supplement depends on household composition and the extent to which the asylum seeker must provide for his or her own food. In a centre where the residents are fully responsible for their own food, the supplement per week is as follows (mid 2014): adults: € 42,56, child (within family) until age 18: € 33,25. Additionally €12,95 is available per person per week for clothing and other personal expenses.

the more complex asylum procedure under the 1994 Aliens Act. Whereas more recent refugees who arrived after 2000 experienced the asylum procedure as defined under the 2000 Aliens Act.

1.5 Research population

In January 2014, 43,000 individuals of Afghan origin, 54,000 of Iraqi origin, 37,000 of Iranian origin and 37,000 of Somali origin lived in the Netherlands. Together they constitute 8% of the non-western population in Dutch society (CBS 2014). The majority fled to the Netherlands for fear of personal persecution and (civil) war. A small proportion came for family migration or study purposes. The original cause of migration (flight) is thus what these groups have in common. Besides their diverse migration backgrounds, these groups also differ strongly in terms of their socio-economic background and current position in the Netherlands.

Iranian refugees are mostly higher educated and from the urban middle class, which afforded them the means to flee the country. Partly because of this background and because this group has been in the Netherlands the longest, the Iranian group is also the best economically integrated refugee group under study. Half of them are employed for more than 12 hours a week and almost 40% have achieved some form of higher education. Paradoxically, compared to the other refugee groups, they feel the least accepted in the Netherlands (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011).

Contrary to the Iranian group, Somali refugees mostly were young, single men, widows and minors without their parents (Hessels, 2000). Also their educational level is extremely low compared to the other refugee groups. In terms of socio-economic integration in the Netherlands, the Somali group is most problematic. Less than a third of the Somali group have a job and more than half of the Somalis are dependent on social benefits. They do however feel most accepted in the Netherlands. The Iraqi and Afghani group hold a middle position in terms of age, education and labour market participation. The group consists of young adults of which a quarter obtained higher education. About a third of both groups are employed for more than 12 hours a week. Half of the Afghans and Iraqis feel accepted in the Netherlands (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011).

1.6 Research methods: Quantitative & comparative approach

In the field of refugee studies, the majority of studies take a qualitative approach (Da Lomba, 2010; Mestheneos & Ioannidi, 2002; Phillimore, 2011). Since refugees are a difficult target group to reach, most researchers choose to conduct a set of interviews focusing on a specific aspect of the refugee experience. Large-scale quantitative studies are scarce in this field (De Vroome & Van Tubergen, 2010). This dissertation will fill this gap by adopting a quantitative approach. This way my dissertation can add to current specific knowledge by extending the scope of findings and its applicability.

I make use of the SING2009[4] dataset collected by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP). This cross-sectional dataset contains information on different dimensions of integration of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Iraqi, Somali, Iranian and Afghani. The wide range of topics that is covered enables us to do justice to the multidimensional character of integration. About a 1000 structured face-to-face interviews were conducted within each refugee group. These large numbers per group enable us to make group comparisons. The sample population consists of refugees with a granted status in the age of 15 and up (N=3950). Dutch natives are included as a reference group (for full technical details see Dourleijn, 2010).

For longitudinal analyses I make use of the Social Statistical Database (SSB) of Statistics Netherlands (CBS). Several sources of administrative data are collated in this database, such as the Municipal Personal Records Database (GBA), Tax Authorities and Social Security Services. Third, I conduct a country comparison with the UK based on the Survey New Refugees (SNR). This survey was conducted between 2005 and 2007 with all new refugees over 18 who were granted leave (temporary or indefinite) to remain in the UK (for full technical details see Cebulla et al., 2010).

1.7 Outline of the thesis

Here I will briefly describe how the three research lines are reflected in the chapters. In *Chapter 2* I investigate the effect of the length of stay in asylum accommodation and of citizenship on refugees' mental health and labour market participation. Dutch asylum policy is characterized by insecurity and limited rights during the asylum procedure. Refugees have limited rights to (re)gain resources and lack security about their stay in the Netherlands and about their future in general. Does this post-migration experience affect refugees' mental health and labour market participation?

In *Chapter 3* I study the existence of the 'refugee entry effect': that is the disadvantage refugees have at the start of their working careers, and how this works out over time. I do so by showing the development of the 'refugee gap': the labour market participation of refugees compared to labour and family migrants. In a longitudinal framework I study which facilitators contribute to the chances for refugees to be employed.

In *Chapter 4* I study over-qualification among refugees and the role of foreign diploma accreditation and host country qualifications. I make a methodological contribution to the literature by correcting for the difference in the quality of the educational systems in the origin and destination country, in the measurement of over-qualification.

In *Chapter 5* I explicitly show the importance of the international context and the situation in the origin country with respect to refugee integration by studying refugees' transnational activities. I propose that both the available resources of the individual refugee and the need for resources of the stay-behinds in the origin country explain transnational economic and social transnational activities by refugees.

4 Survey Integratie Nieuwe Groepen, gathered in 2009.

In *Chapter 6* I study two types of asylum regimes: 'controlled but humane' in the Netherlands versus 'free but precarious' in the UK, and their respective effects on refugee integration. This study provides further insight into how different approaches to asylum policy can work out, with their principal benefits and drawbacks. Also the role of the institutional context is discussed in this chapter.

In the concluding *Chapter 7* I summarize my findings and highlight the contributions made to integration literature from the refugee integration perspective. I also offer some recommendations for further research on this topic and discuss the policy implications of this dissertation.

This dissertation is based on a selection of academic papers wherefore some sections (partly) overlap. I put great effort into preventing such repetition, but some overlap is inevitable.

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This chapter is co-authored by Jaco Dagevos and Godfried Engbersen. A slightly different version is published as: Bakker, L., Dagevos, J. and Engbersen, G. (2013). The importance of resources and security in the socio-economic integration of refugees. A study on the impact of length of stay in asylum accommodation and residence status on socio-economic integration for the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands. *Journal of International Migration and Integration, 15* (3) 431-448.

Chapter 2

Safe, but not secure:
Refugees' post-migration experience

Abstract: In many European countries, including the Netherlands, refugees stay in asylum accommodation awaiting a decision on their asylum request. While it seems evident that the lack of resources and insecurity about the future experienced during this stay will impact refugees' subsequent ability to integrate with the host society, so far this has hardly been studied in an extensive way. Also, the type of residence status granted can be a source of insecurity that impacts their integration. Previous studies on refugee integration have already shown the impact of pre-migration stressors such as traumatic experiences on mental health and integration. In this study, we use a large-scale dataset containing detailed information on about 4,000 refugees to show that also post-migration stressors affect mental health and hinder the socio-economic integration of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali.

2.1 Introduction

Integration is an essentially contested concept; no single, generally valid definition has been agreed upon so far (Castles et al., 2002). Nevertheless, a common view on the concept can be deduced from the rich body of literature, in which integration is seen as a multidimensional two-way process that starts upon arrival in the host state. This process requires from immigrants a willingness to adapt to the lifestyle of the host community (Ager & Strang, 2008; Castles et al., 2002; Lomba, 2010; Mestheneos & Ioannidi, 2002; Phillimore, 2011), and from the host country a willingness to facilitate integration (i.e., access to jobs and services) and an acceptance of the immigrants in social interaction (Castles et al., 2002). As this process is seen to start upon arrival rather than as representing a destination point, this implies that early experiences can influence long-term outcomes (Castles et al., 2002; Lomba, 2010). We will use this understanding of integration as a starting point to study refugee integration in the Netherlands.

Refugees are an interesting migrant group to study since they are considerably different from labour migrants due to a different migration motive and history (Feller, 2005; Phillimore, 2011). As stated in the Geneva Convention, the United Nations defines a refugee as: "*a person who is, due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country*". This background is argued to affect the integration process in the host country of refugees. Indeed, traumatic experiences in the country of origin and during the flight have been shown to have an impact on mental health, which subsequently may hinder integration (Beiser, 2006; Jorden et al., 2009; Laban et al., 2004; Phillimore, 2011; Takeda, 2000).

Besides pre-migration stressors, several authors propose that post-migration factors may also affect refugee integration (Phillimore, 2011; Ryan et al., 2008). The reception in the host country is a vital part of the post-migration experience. Therefore the asylum procedure, or more properly the asylum accommodation and the eventually granted residence status, are considered key issues in refugee integration. The choice for these two post-migration stressors accords with our definition of integration. Since we understand integration as a multidimensional two-way process, we shall not only analyse the achieved socio-economic position of refugees to explain their integration process, but will focus specifically on the impact of these two post-migration stressors (length of stay in asylum accommodation and their granted residence status) which are rooted in the receiving society.

Using Hobfoll's (2001) theory on resources and stress, we explain how post-migration stressors can hamper refugee integration. We focus on their labour market position in terms of refugees' employment status, occupational status and social benefits dependency. In the first place we will argue how a stay in asylum accommodation and the granted residence status can function as constraints on refugees' ability to (re)gain the necessary resources for successful integration. Second, we will argue how refugees' mental health is affected by these two post-migration stressors and how this can affect refugee integration. Phillimore (2011) already showed the importance of mental health

in refugee integration. Those refugees that were diagnosed with a mental health problem struggled to engage in activities that might lead them to integrate, ranging from seeking employment to developing relationships with the local population. Our central research question is thus: *How and to what extent do post-migration stressors affect mental health and subsequently the socio-economic integration of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands?* The answers to these questions are crucial to understanding the role of the current Dutch asylum policy (regarding accommodation and residence status) in facilitating refugee integration. As the asylum procedure in the Netherlands is lengthy and several residence statuses can be granted, marked by different sets of rights and certainty (Kofman, 2002; Morris, 2003; Morris, 2012), this makes an interesting case study.

We focus on the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali refugees whose asylum request has been approved. We use survey data (N=3950) gathered by the Netherlands Institute of Social Research (SCP) (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011), which contains extensive information on refugees' flight to the Netherlands, current participation, identification and more. We concentrate this study on refugees with a flight experience who awaited the decision on their case in asylum accommodation. This rich dataset enables us to quantitatively assess relations between integration, post-migration stressors, and mental health.

In the following we will first discuss the central concepts and the Dutch asylum context, and propose a theoretical model on the relations between post-migration stressors and socio-economic integration. The research population and the different migration histories of the four refugee groups under study are also described in more detail. We conduct Structural Equation Modelling in *Mplus* in order to test the formulated hypotheses. The benefit of this method over simple regression is that the estimates are computed for the model as a whole; the reliability of the results is therefore higher. Clearly the outcomes of this study will also be relevant to other Western European societies who receive refugees and are seeking their successful integration in society.

2.2 Refugee integration: Resources and stress

In former migration and refugee studies, demographic factors (i.e. length of stay, age of migration and education in the home and host country) turn out to be important predictors of successful socio-economic integration (Blom, 2004; Potocky-Tripodi, 2003; Waxman, 2001). As said, traumatic experiences in the country of origin and during the flight are shown to have an impact on refugees' mental health and subsequently on their integration process (Beiser, 2006; Jorden et al., 2009; Laban et al., 2004; Phillimore, 2011; Takeda, 2000). Berry et al. (1987) highlighted the importance of acculturative stress: 'the reduction in health status of individuals who are undergoing acculturation'. They show that not only pre-migration but also post-migration experiences (i.e. adaptation or integration in a host state) cause stress.

Hobfoll (2001), in his theory of conservation of resources, defines stress from a resources perspective. In this perspective, stress can be due to the threat or actual loss of resources, but also

to a failure of investment to produce expected returns. He makes a distinction between personal, material and social resources. Personal resources can be physical or psychological, such as health and personality traits. Examples of material resources are money and property. Social resources refer to the benefits of personal relationships. A fourth type that can be added to this typology is cultural resources. These are skills, knowledge and beliefs that are learned in a particular cultural setting, such as language and occupational skills (Ryan et al., 2008).

These distinctions are highly relevant to understanding refugee integration. First, an actual loss of resources occurs due to the flight. Material as well as social and cultural resources from the origin country cannot be transferred to the host country, for instance social contacts and language skills. In order to integrate in the host society they need to (re)gain such resources (Hobfoll, 2001). Second, the post-migration experience in the host country can be disappointing when refugees fail to achieve the expected returns, which in turn can inflict mental health problems. We will discuss both types of stress in relation to refugees' socio-economic integration and then formulate our hypotheses.

2.2.1 Asylum procedure: constraints for (re)gaining resources

In the process of (re)gaining resources, two types of constraints can be identified: personal and environmental constraints. Personal constraints include cultural values and beliefs that hinder certain actions. For example, traditional gender roles might hamper women's participation in the labour market, and certain religious or cultural beliefs might act as a barrier for intercultural contacts (Hobfoll, 2001). In this chapter we will however focus on two potential environmental constraints (i.e., post-migration stressors). The first is refugees' stay in asylum accommodation. In the Netherlands, asylum seekers must stay in asylum centres pending a decision on their asylum request. In the year 2001, a new Aliens Act was adopted with the main aim of shortening the asylum procedure. Prior to the 2001 Aliens Act it could take years to reach a final decision on an asylum request. Today 82% of the asylum requests are processed within the set period of six months. In order not to create false hope, asylum seekers are discouraged from integrating in Dutch society as long as the asylum procedure is in process. This approach is revealed in several aspects of asylum accommodation.

First, the centres are often situated outside municipalities, which serves as an obstacle to active participation in the local community. One is free to move outside the asylum centre but still needs to report regularly. Second, asylum seekers have only limited access to the (formal) labour market (in 2008 this was expanded from 12 weeks to 24 weeks a year), and no access to education or social security. During the asylum procedure, their basic needs are provided for by the state (based on 'bed, water and bread' and € 43 per adult person per week). Last, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and all activities are tightly scheduled and controlled. As daily activities take place in the immediate company of a large group of others, privacy and autonomy are limited (De Haan & Althof, 2002).

We argue that a lengthy stay in such an environment, where social interactions with the outside world are limited and personal development is restrained, hinders refugees' ability to (re)gain the

resources they need to integrate in the labour market once their asylum request has been granted. Having a job is vital with a view to obtaining material resources, but also to developing social networks and language skills (social and cultural resources) (Jahoda, 1982). We thus expect that *the length of stay in an asylum centre will have adverse effects on the socio-economic integration of refugees (H1)*. De Vroome and Van Tubergen (2010) showed that especially human capital (i.e., Dutch language proficiency, host country education and work experience in the Netherlands) is negatively affected by a lengthy stay in asylum centres, which in turn hampers socio-economic integration.

A second potential environmental constraint for regaining resources is the granted residence status. Since 1 April 2001, every asylum seeker who is granted permission to stay in the Netherlands receives a temporary permit for a maximum of five years. During this period they need to acquire a qualification of integration in order to apply for a permanent status after five years. Prior to 2001, various asylum statuses were granted to refugees with different sets of rights depending on the grounds of asylum. It was also possible to receive a permanent status on arrival. The abolishment of this option is indicative of the current stricter asylum policy.

Uniform rights and privileges are attached to both the temporary and permanent status with regard to employment, education and social benefits. However, one important disadvantage of the temporary status is that institutions might be reluctant to grant services, for example mortgages, to refugees with that status.

Such hindrance by institutions to settling in the Netherlands can be argued to harm integration. Therefore we expect that *having a refugee status (compared to having Dutch citizenship) has a negative effect on refugees' socio-economic integration (H2a). We expect this effect to be stronger for those who have a temporary residence status (H2b)*. Compared to the permanent residence status, having the Dutch nationality gives refugees the right to vote and to travel freely.

2.2.2 Asylum procedure: impact on mental health

Besides the barriers to *material, social and cultural* resources for successful integration, we argue that the identified post-migration factors also affect refugees' *personal* resources, understood in this chapter as mental health. Health is considered a prerequisite for regaining the other types of resources. Therefore we argue that mental health serves as a mediator between the post-migration stressors and socio-economic integration. The duration of stay in an asylum centre represents fear of being deported and uncertainty as to the duration and outcome of the procedure (Laban et al., 2004). Insecurity about the future during the asylum procedure might impair people's ability to recover from posttraumatic stress and to integrate in society once asylum has been granted (Ghorashi, 2005; Lomba, 2010). The restricted rights during the asylum procedure might moreover create unnecessary dependence and reduced confidence, causing a majority of asylum seekers to lose their motivation for a new start after years of frustration (Ghorashi, 2005; Ryan et al., 2008). It is quite probable that a lengthy stay in asylum accommodation fosters a passive attitude, making integration a difficult task in the long run. They are no longer feel in control over their own life; their future prospects are in

the hands of the institution or the state. Ghorashi (2005) sums up the situation as follows: "Seclusion and forced passivity combine to waste away the first and most important years of their lives in exile" (p. 190-191). Moreover, the lack of privacy in an asylum centre (e.g., everyone has about five square metres of living space) can exacerbate (mental) health problems. Thus, we hypothesise that *the length of stay in asylum accommodation has a negative effect on refugees' mental health, which hampers their socio-economic integration (H3)*.

Although there is a lack of focused discussion and research on the relationship between (temporary) protection and integration (Castles et al., 2002), a similar argument can be made for the granted residence status. A temporary status can be withdrawn once the situation in the country of origin improves, requiring the refugee to leave the Netherlands and return home. It should be noted that this seldom occurs in practice; if refugees are not allowed to stay in the Netherlands they either migrate on to another country or end up in illegality (Terlouw & Zwaan, 2011). Still, having a temporary residence status is likely to impair the ability to look forward to the future, which can cause mental health problems. Momartin et al. (2006) already demonstrated how a temporary status can negatively affect the mental health of Afghan and Iranian refugees in Australia. Thus, we expect that *having a refugee status will have a negative effect on refugees' mental health, which can hinder their socio-economic integration (H4a). We expect this effect to be stronger for those who have a temporary residence status (H4b)*. Within the theoretical model (Figure 2.1) we thus make a distinction between direct and indirect effects of post-migration stressors on the socio-economic integration of refugees.

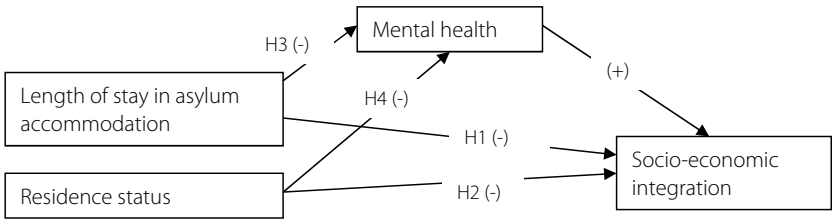

Figure 2.1: Theoretical model of the effects of length of stay in asylum accommodation and residence status on socio-economic integration of refugees.

2.3 Research Population

The refugee population under study together constitutes 8% of the non-western population in Dutch society.[1] The majority fled to the Netherlands for fear of personal persecution and (civil) war. Others have come to the Netherlands for family migration, work or study purposes (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011). The nature of the migration (flight) is thus what these groups have in common. However, their migration history and socio-demographic background vary widely (Table 2.1).

Of the four refugee groups under study, the Iranian refugees were the first to come to the Netherlands, soon followed by the Iraqi refugees, mostly Kurds. The second wave of refugees from Iraq arrived during the 'war on terrorism', as the Netherlands offered 'categorical protection'[2]. Somali refugees came to the Netherlands in the early '90s. Some migrated on to England where the Somali community is larger and where the labour market is thought to offer more opportunities for refugees. The severe situation in Somalia again increased migration to the Netherlands in the period 2005-2009. Afghans arrived in the late '90s due to the strict Taliban regime.

Table 2.1: Migration history and socio-economic background of research population

	Afghan	Iraqi	Iranian	Somali
Number in the Netherlands*	38,000	52,000	31,000	27,000
Peaks of migration	1998-2001	Early '80s- end '90s 2002-2009	1979- early '90s	1990 2005-2009
Migration motive	Taliban regime: political reason	Fear of persecution 'war on terrorism'	Regime Khomeini: political reason	War
Socio-demographic background	Mixed	Mixed	Mostly from urban middle class	Young, single men; widows; minors without their parents

*In January 2010

2.4 Data & Methods

2.4.1 Data

To test the formulated hypotheses we will use the SING09[3] dataset collected by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP). This cross-sectional dataset contains information on different dimensions of integration of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Iraqi, Somali, Iranian and Afghan. A random sample was drawn, in collaboration with Statistics Netherlands (CBS), from the

1 Statistics Netherlands distinguishes between western and non-western countries. Western countries are all European countries including Central and Eastern Europe (except Turkey), North American countries, some Asian countries (Japan and Indonesia), and the countries in Oceania (Australia and New Zealand). Turkey and all countries in Latin and South America, Africa and Asia are considered non-western.

2 Usually asylum requests are assessed individually, but if the situation in a certain country is considered extremely dangerous, categorical protection is offered to all refugees coming from that particular country or region. Asylum is thus granted on common grounds instead of for individual reasons, but just for a limited period of time.

3 Survey Integratie Nieuwe Groepen, gathered in 2009. For more information on the fieldwork see Dourleijn (2010).

Municipal Population Register (GBA). For each group, about 1000 structured face-to-face interviews were conducted. To also reach those not yet able to speak Dutch, bilingual interviewers were used for interviews with refugees who have been in the Netherlands for less than five years. Almost half of the sampled Afghan (49%) and Iraqi (48%) group participated; the response rate in the other groups was slightly lower, with 44% for the sampled Iranian group and 38% for the Somali group.[4] In this study the determination of ethnicity is based on the country of birth.

The sample population consists of refugees with a granted status in the age of 15 and up (N=3950). Since we are only interested in refugees with a flight experience and motive we excluded the second generation refugees (n=91), as well as persons who came for work and study purposes (n=231).[5] Also, we excluded those who did not stay in asylum accommodation but with their partner, family or friends following their arrival in the Netherlands (n=624). This group is inherently different from our research population because they often followed a family member and thus did not experience flight stress or insecurity. Lastly, we excluded respondents over 65 years old (n=97) on account of our focus on the potential working population. The final sample is thus representative for the entire refugee population from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Somalia in the age of 16-65 years in the Netherlands (n=2907).

Before moving on to the analysis and results sections of this chapter, we wish to emphasise the main benefits and central drawback of this dataset. It is to our advantage that we have access to this large sample (especially compared to the total population of refugees in the Netherlands), as it contains extensive information on diverse topics and generates reliable and, to a large extent, generalisable results. However, given the cross-sectional character of the dataset, we also need to be cautious when drawing conclusions on the causality of the proposed mechanisms.

2.4.2 Method

Since we tested for mediating effects of a latent variable (mental health), we performed Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). We used *Mplus* for our path analyses since this program enables us to test models with categorical and dichotomous dependent variables.[6] Compared to simple regression analysis, SEM provides better estimations. These are computed simultaneously for the model as a whole, whereas simple regression estimates are computed separately in relation to each endogenous variable.[7] The use of SEM implies testing causal effects, but as the data is cross-sectional it was not possible to test the direction of the relations between dependent and independent variables. Results are therefore reported as associations. Before estimating the structural model, the measurement

4 This also means that the non-response is about 50% per group. The distribution of age and gender in the sample differs slightly from the population. For example, Somali men are underrepresented, as well as youngsters (in the age of 15-34) in the Afghani, Iraqi and Iranian group; therefore a weight was included.

5 The dataset contained only a marginal number of invited refugees (n=6). Since a different policy applies to this category of refugees, they are excluded from the analysis as well.

6 The weighted least-squares with mean and variance adjustment (WLSMV) estimator is used. This is the default estimator of Mplus and the optimal choice for categorical outcomes, based on the work of Muthén, DuToit, and Spisic (1997).

7 Thus chance capitalisation, i.e., the chance that a reported significant association is based on coincidence, is reduced.

model of the latent variable (mental health) was tested on measurement invariance to uncover possible cultural bias in the answering patterns.

We estimated two models which specify the expected effects of length of stay in asylum accommodation and residence status, including mental health as a potential mediator, on employment status and social benefits dependency (Model 1, n=2709)[8] and occupational status and type of contract (Model 2, n=950), both controlled for relevant background characteristics. Model 2, to estimate the effects on occupational status and type of contract, is performed for a selection of employed respondents only. Therefore the number of valid respondents for the analysis of occupational status is considerably smaller compared to Model 1. The indirect effects of mental health are tested using the Sobel test.

2.4.3 Measures

This study uses four measures of socio-economic integration. First, *employment status* represents those currently employed[9] (1) versus unemployed people[10] (0). *Social benefits dependency* contrasts those receiving financial assistance[11] (1) with those not receiving financial support from the state (0). Then, all respondents who are employed have described their occupation. Based on Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) we distinguished five categories for *occupational status*[12] (ranging on an ordinal scale from 1=low to 5=high). Originally they provided a seven-category system, but using Ganzeboom and Treiman (1996) we transferred these to a five-category system. Last, we also study the *type of contract*, distinguishing between temporary (0) and permanent (1) jobs. Employment and social benefits dependency represent two sides of the coin of socio-economic integration; in effect, self-sustainability versus state dependency. The occupational status and type of contract yield more insight into the economic integration of those who are employed. Together these four variables indicate the degree to which refugees are successful on the Dutch labour market.

The central independent variables are length of stay in asylum accommodation and type of residence status. *The length of stay in asylum accommodation* is directly observed and measured in months. Outliers[13] are imputed on the maximum (n=49). Also, for additional analyses, four dummies are created: 1-12 months; 12-24 months; 3-5 years; and >5 years. The respondents were asked what their current legal *status* is. We constructed a dummy for temporary status, permanent status and used Dutch nationality as reference category.

8 One of the benefits of Structural Equation Modeling is that you can estimate the model for several dependent variables at once. This is why we tested the effects on employment and social benefits dependency within one model.

9 For more than 12h a week, as this is the Dutch definition for belonging to the employed population.

10 We use the definition of net participation, thus inactive respondents (housewives, disabled, students) are included in this category.

11 Social assistance ('bijstand'), unemployment benefit (WW) and/or disability/incapacity benefit (WAO).

12 We only used those respondents who are salaried workers; self-employed (n=143) are excluded.

13 Stays longer than 8 years are defined as outliers.

Table 2.2: Description of dependent, independent and control variables

	N	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Mean*	*Std. dev.*
Dependent variables					
Employed	2907	0	1	.39	
Social benefits dependency	2907	0	1	.39	
Occupational status	1150	1	5	2.23	1.05
Permanent job	1195	0	1	.52	
Independent variables					
Length of asylum accommodation (in months)	2907	1	96	21.4	22.2
Length of stay (ref=1-12 months)					
12-24 months	2907	0	1	.21	
3-5 years	2907	0	1	.18	
>5 years	2907	0	1	.7	
Residence status (ref = Dutch nationality)					
Temporary	2813	0	1	.16	
Permanent	2813	0	1	.09	
Intermediate variables					
Mental health	2903	1	6	4.4	1.1
Control variables					
Ethnicity (ref = Iranian)					
Afghani	2907	0	1	.27	
Iraqi	2907	0	1	.24	
Somali	2907	0	1	.28	
Female	2907	0	1	.44	
Age (in years)	2907	15	65	35.6	11.9
Age of migration (in years)	2901	0	59	23.2	11.8
Education	2802	0	7	3.3	2.3
Language proficiency	2904	1	3	2.2	.65
Length of stay (in years)	2907	1	30	12.4	4.1
Reason of migration (ref = family reunification)					
War	2907	0	1	.46	
Fear of personal persecution	2907	0	1	.42	
Partner (ref=single)					
Partner in the household	2907	0	1	.47	
Partner outside the household	2907	0	1	.09	
Aliens Act 2001	2907	0	1	.09	

Three items measuring the extent to which respondents felt calm, sad and nervous in the last four weeks were used to construct the latent variable *mental health*. These items stem from the internationally used SF12 health survey[14]. The measurement model has a good fit[15] (CFI= .99; RMSEA=.00); thus we can state that these three items measure the construct 'mental health' properly. Then, based on the test for measurement invariance, we conclude that the factor loadings, intercepts and residual variances of the latent variable are the same across the four refugee groups. The BIC criterion[16] of the structural equivalence model (BIC = 26646.283) is preferred over the unrestricted model (BIC = 26738.160). We can thus conclude that the latent variable mental health is cross-culturally validated.

To identify any differences between the refugee groups, dummies per ethnicity are included (Iranian = ref). Further, we control for gender (female = 1), age, education (in eight categories, ranging from no education to university degree), language proficiency (mean scale of problems with reading, writing and speaking Dutch; category 1= frequent problems 2= occasional problems and 3= no problems), length of stay in the Netherlands (log), age of migration, having a partner (1= partner at home, 2= partner abroad, ref=single) and reason for migration (0= war, 1= fear of personal persecution, 2= family reunification). Lastly, a substantial share of the respondents in our dataset (90%) arrived in the Netherlands prior to 2001 and was thus subject to the former asylum act. Unfortunately the subsample of respondents who arrived after 2001 is relatively small (n=248). We were thus not able to perform a comparative analysis between these timeframes; possible differences between the timeframes could just as well be due to composition effects as to the policy change. We therefore only include arrival after the New Aliens Act 2001 was enacted as a control variable. Summary statistics are presented in Table 2.2.

2.5 Results

2.5.1 Descriptive results

The average stay in asylum accommodation is about 21 months (Table 2.3). As expected, the bivariate relations show that a longer stay in asylum accommodation is positively associated with the risk of social benefits dependency and that it decreases employment chances, permanent job chances and refugees' occupational status (Table 2.3). Further, the descriptive results show that over 70% of the respondents have the Dutch nationality by the end of 2009. Only 16% has a temporary status, but as expected, both the temporary and permanent status are positively related to social benefits dependency and negatively to employment, to having a permanent job, and to occupational status

14 De SF12 consists of 12 items that form a reliable measure of eight domains of health: mental health is one of these domains (Ware et al. 1996).

15 For the assessment of the model fit we use a combination of two fit indices. RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation) values <.05 are considered to indicate a good fit. A CFI (Comparative Fit Index) value of .90 or higher indicates strong correlation between the variables, which indicates a good fit.

16 The BIC criterion is based on model fit and model complexity. It thus represents how much the model deviates from the reality taking into account the number of parameters and sample size. Models with lower values are preferred (Hagenaars 1990).

(Table 2.3). Mental health correlates with the employment status and social benefits dependency on the one hand, and with the length of stay in asylum accommodation on the other (Table 2.3); this indicates the potential of this variable to function as a mediator in these relationships. An association between mental health and occupational status and type of contract is not found, however; it thus appears that mental health does not mediate the effect of duration stay in asylum accommodation on occupational status and type of contract. These descriptive findings also suggest that mental health does not function as a mediator in the relation between residence status and socio-economic integration, since no correlation between these is found. We perform Structural Equation Modelling in order to test whether these relations remain after controlling for several demographic characteristics. We furthermore test whether the stated effects are direct or mediated by mental health.

2.5.2 Results from Structural Equation Modelling

The model fit indices show a good model fit for both estimated models (Model 1: CFI=.99, RMSEA=.01; Model 2: CFI=.98; RMSEA=.02). We expected the length of stay in asylum accommodation to have a detrimental effect on refugees' socio-economic integration (*H1*); also we expected this effect to be partly mediated by mental health (*H3*). In line with former studies, the analyses show that mental health is an important predictor of socio-economic integration among the refugee groups under study. A good mental health is positively related to employment chances and negatively associated with the propensity for social benefits dependency (Figure 2.2).

Table 2.3: Bivariate relations between post-migration stressors, mental health and socio-economic integration measures

	Employed	Social benefits dependency	Occupational status	Permanent job	Mental health
Length stay asylum accommodation	-.05*	.04*	-.08**	-.12**	-.08**
Temporary status	-.17**	.14**	-.12**	-.18**	.01
Permanent status	-.08**	.08**	-.10**	-.07*	-.02
Dutch nationality	.20**	-.18**	.16**	.19**	.01
Mental health	.18**	-.24**	.02	-.00	

*Note: ** p<.01, * p<.05*

Furthermore, for both employment status and social benefits dependency the Sobel test shows a significant indirect effect of the length of stay in asylum accommodation via mental health, in the expected direction. Thus, a longer stay in asylum accommodation has a negative effect on perceived mental health which in turn negatively affects employment chances and positively affects the propensity for social benefits dependency. These indirect effects gain significance when staying in asylum accommodation for longer than five years (β=-.06; β=.06). These findings thus partly support hypothesis 3; after a stay of five years or longer in asylum accommodation, socio-economic integration

seems to be hampered by mental health problems. Contrary to our expectation (*H1*), we found a small positive association between staying 3-5 years in asylum accommodation and employment status. The expected direct and indirect effects in the model for length of stay in asylum accommodation on occupational status and type of contract were all found to be insignificant (*not shown*).

Then, we expected that having a refugee status (both temporary and permanent), compared to having the Dutch nationality, would negatively affect the socio-economic integration of refugees (*H2*). Indeed Figure 2.2 shows that having a temporary residence status is negatively related to the propensity for employment (b=-.10) and is positively associated with the propensity for social benefits dependency (b=.06). Thus, getting a job is harder for refugees who hold a temporary status compared to those who hold the Dutch nationality. Moreover, the propensity for having a permanent job is smaller for those who hold a temporary residence status (b=-.11, *not shown*). Refugees with a temporary status are also more likely to be dependent on social welfare benefits. For employment the same effect, although weaker, is found for refugees holding a permanent residence status (b=-.05). Clearly, having a refugee status hampers the socio-economic integration of refugees. As expected, this effect is stronger for refugees with a temporary residence status. However, no effects of residence status were found on refugees' occupational status. Hypothesis 2a and 2b are thus largely corroborated. In congruence with the descriptive results, we did not find support for the hypothesis that mental health also functions as a mediator in the relation between residence status and socio-economic integration (*H4*).

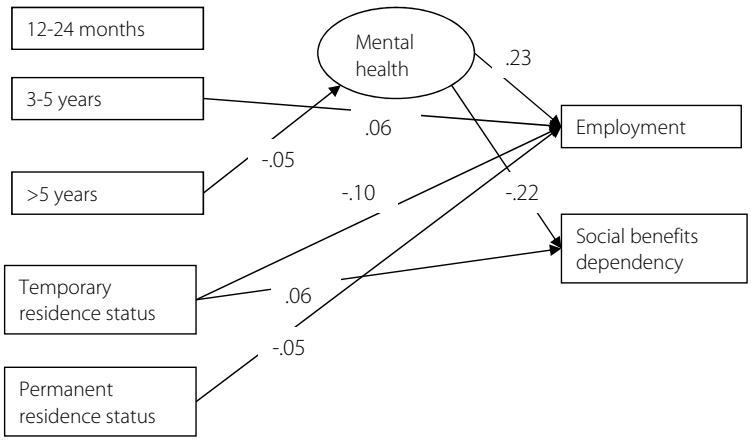

Figure 2.2: The effects of length of stay in asylum accommodation and residence status on refugee employment and social benefits dependency; (N=2709, controlled model, standardized coefficients).

Note: Only significant arrows (p<.05) are displayed; the standardized coefficients of the control variables are presented in Table 2.4 (Appendix).

When inspecting the control variables, we conclude that length of stay in the Netherlands is positively related to employment chances[17]. This finding is in line with classical assimilation theory that argues that immigrants need time to regain the necessary resources for successful integration. Finally, education, language proficiency and having a partner within the household are positively related to socio-economic integration (Table 2.4, Appendix). This confirms findings from previous studies that social and cultural resources are also important to understand and explain the socio-economic integration of refugees. This study shows, however, that mental health and residence status are important predictors for socio-economic integration as well, since these effects remain after controlling for all the mentioned relevant background characteristics.

2.6 Conclusion & Discussion

In this study we examined the impact of two policy-related post-migration stressors on the socio-economic integration of refugees in the Netherlands: the length of stay in asylum accommodation and the residence status granted. We specifically highlighted the possible mediating function of mental health. The analyses turn up interesting results, both theoretically and for policy purposes. First, we found that having stayed in asylum accommodation for more than five years negatively affects refugees' mental health which in turn hampers their socio-economic integration. It thus does seem that insecurity about the future and reduced confidence due to a long stay in asylum accommodation affects refugees' chances of success on the Dutch labour market in the long run. This provides support for Hobfoll's theory (2001) that the post-migration experience can result in stress and disappointment when refugees fail to achieve the expected return of their flight.

It should be noted that the size of this indirect effect is modest. One could argue that time heals wounds, so that the negative effect of staying in asylum accommodation will fade over time. However, in this study we show that, even though the average length of stay in the Netherlands is 12.5 years, staying in asylum accommodation for an extremely lengthy period (>5 years) continues to have a detrimental effect on their current mental health and success in Dutch society. This finding supports the idea that the responsibility of the receiving society to facilitate integration is not to be underestimated and should be considered in both research and practice. It moreover shows that integration starts upon arrival and has long-term outcomes.

We may furthermore conclude that this finding accords with the aims of the New Aliens Act: shorter asylum procedures appear to benefit refugees' socio-economic integration. However, we should be cautious with respect to other potential drawbacks of the shorter asylum procedure. For example, gathering the necessary information within the set period of six months to decide whether someone's fear of persecution is legitimate is highly problematic (Terlouw & Zwaan, 2011).

The second main finding is that residence status has a clear direct effect on socio-economic integration. Having a temporary refugee status hampers socio-economic integration, compared to

17 This association is no longer significant when we add language proficiency to the model. This makes sense since the acquisition of language skills is also time-dependent.

refugees who have been granted the Dutch nationality. This provides support for the resources-based model (Ryan et al. 2008), which assumes that citizenship is a prerequisite to successful refugee integration. In terms of Hobfoll (2001), a temporary residence status is a constraint to (re)gain the necessary resources for successful integration. The current policy paradigm, in which citizenship is viewed as the 'crown' that completes the integration process (Ersanilli, 2010), may thus be counterproductive. As this chapter shows, having a secure residence status, preferably citizenship, may be necessary to be able to integrate in Dutch society in the first place.

In line with Hobfoll (2001), this study confirms the importance of social and cultural resources to refugees' socio-economic integration. Education and language proficiency are strong predictors of success in Dutch society. Further, the results show some interesting differences between refugee groups. The Iranian group clearly achieves the best socio-economic integration, while the Somali group seems to encounter the most obstacles in their integration process. In this chapter we approached and analysed the refugees as one coherent group, based on their common migration motive: flight. Future research could further investigate and explain differences in integration success between refugee groups. The impact of home country characteristics should then be taken into account as well.

Again, we want to emphasise that in this study we used cross-sectional data, so no causal relations can be statistically determined between the independent and dependent variables. It is in fact not unlikely that an inverse relationship between socio-economic integration and mental health exists as well. Having a job can instil confidence and open up prospects, which can benefit refugees' state of mind. However, in this chapter we modestly argue, although theoretically grounded, that mental health can be affected by post-migration experiences which in the long run can affect socio-economic integration. Future research might fruitfully pursue a longitudinal approach to shed more light on this association.

Also, in this chapter we focused on the socio-economic dimension of integration, while the literature clearly distinguishes different dimensions of integration, including social and cultural integration. Further studies might elaborate on these other dimensions with regard to refugee groups, in the Netherlands and elsewhere.

To conclude, this study demonstrates the importance of post-migration stressors and of mental health as a personal resource to understand refugee integration, in addition to the frequently demonstrated impact of traumatic experiences. It also adds the importance of residence status as a resource to the explanatory framework of refugee integration. Lastly, this chapter provides a starting point for public debate on the contradiction between the demand to integrate and participate in Dutch society, while the level of security and the opportunities offered by the current refugee statuses to do so are limited.

Appendix

Table 2.4: Standardised coefficients of control variables in model 1 and model 2

	Mental health	Employed	Social benefits dependency	Occupational status	Permanent job
Afghan (Iranian =ref)	.07*	-.06*	.01	-.10*	-.04
Iraqi	.05	-.09**	-.02	-.08*	-.13**
Somali	.21**	-.05	.22**	-.13**	-.03
Female	-.11**	-.25**	.07**	.29	-.30
Age	-.12	-.03	-.20	-.07	.01
Age migration	-.10	-.02	.65**	-.33	.38
Education	-.03	.14**	-.07**	.36**	-.03
Length of stay (log)	-.03	.20	.12	-.10	.39
Language proficiency	.19**	.09**	-.15**	.15**	.06
War (family reunification =ref)	-.02	-.02	.07	.02	.17*
Fear of political persecution	.02	.07*	.03	.08	.25**
Partner in the household (single=ref)	.14**	.25**	-.20**	.10**	.16**
Partner outside the household	-.02	.11**	-.03	.07	-.00
Refugee Act 2001	-.02	.03	.05	-.06	.07

*Note: ** p<.01, * p<.05*

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This chapter is co-authored by Jaco Dagevos and Godfried Engbersen.
A slightly different version is submitted to an international
peer-reviewed journal.

Chapter 3

Explaining the refugee gap: A longitudinal study on labour market participation of refugees in the Netherlands

Abstract: Former studies showed that the asylum procedure and the temporary residence status of refugees in the first five years of stay in the Netherlands can inflict insecurity about the future and a lack of resources which in turn hampers their labour market participation. In this chapter we further investigate whether this 'refugee entry effect' scars refugees for their whole working career in the Netherlands. Or that the refugee gap, i.e. difference in labour market participation rates with other types of migrants, closes over time. For this we use the Social Statistical Database (SSB) in a longitudinal framework. We focus on refugees that received refugee status in the Netherlands between 1995 and 1999. Since we use register data we have information on all refugees of the cohort 95-99 (N=33030.) We compare their labour market participation over the period 2000-2011 with that of labour and family migrants of the same cohort (N=78298) and to the whole Dutch population.

3.1 Introduction

Many studies have been done on social mobility and labour market participation of migrants. Some argue that despite low initial earnings or occupational status, immigrants will acquire language skills and other destination country human capital wherefore they will integrate in the destination country earnings distribution (Chiswick et al., 2005). Others argue that migrants will never catch up with natives. Literature shows the existence of the 'immigrant entry effect'. Due to a lack of host country work experience and language proficiency and problematic recognition of home country credentials migrants most likely start lower than natives (Reitz, 2007). Then, over time it is showed in Sweden (Le Grand & Szulkin, 2002) and in Canada (Reitz, 2007) that labour market integration is not problematic for immigrants from Western countries. But it is for migrants with a non-European background, such as from Africa, Asia and Latin-America: country specific human capital reduces the wage gap, but not completely. This can be due to discrimination, larger cultural distance (language, norms, etc) wherefore adjustment is slower or just too much backlog which cannot be restored in one lifetime.

Unlike this wide literature on the immigrant wage gap, little is known on the so called refugee gap. This is the employment and wage gap between refugees and other migrant groups. Several authors have argued that refugees are different from other migrants (Richmond, 1988). They are less prepared and often suffer from traumatic experiences. Also, refugees need to apply for asylum and await their decision in relative insecurity about their future. Former studies already showed that a lengthy asylum procedure causes insecurity about the future and obstructs personal development and skills, which can also negatively affect mental health (Bakker et al., 2013; Phillimore, 2011). All in all, refugees might thus face more or other difficulties in their economic integration. Conner (2010) showed for the US that a wage gap and disparity in occupational attainment remains between refugees and other migrants, also after controlling for several human capital types. The most important factors are education, English language ability and neighbourhood context. Refugees in the US are often lower educated, have less English ability and more often live in poorer and ethnic concentrated neighbourhoods compared to other (mostly labour) migrants.

In this chapter we will study both the migrant and refugee gap and we will do this in a longitudinal framework. The benefit of longitudinal studies over cross-sectional ones are that they can show the development of migrants' socio-economic participation over time. This way the dynamics of labour market participation are made visible. Making use of this factor time in the analyses is new and innovative in this field. We make use of the Social Statistical Database (SSB) which is register data and provides information on all residents in the Netherlands. It is based on a combination of several administrative data sources, such as the Municipal Population Register (GBA), Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND), Tax Authorities and Social Security Services (UWV). Consequently, we have information on socio-economic status, household composition, migration movements and demographic characteristics. We focus on asylum migrants that received refugee status in the Netherlands between 1995 and 1999 (N=33030) and compare their labour market participation to that of labour (N=13525) and family migrants (N=64764) of the same cohort and to the native

population over the period 2000-2011. We select only those migrants who stayed in the Netherlands for the whole period, thus selective out-migration is not a topic in this chapter.

We have formulated two research questions, the first is descriptive and the second is explanatory:

1) Does the 'refugee gap' exist in the Netherlands? And if so, how does it develop over time?
2) How can labour market participation of migrants and refugees be explained in a longitudinal framework?

3.2 Refugee entry effect

One of the explanations in the literature for the immigrant gap is the existence of the 'immigrant entry effect'. Due to a lack of host country work experience and language proficiency and problematic recognition of home country credentials migrants most likely start lower than natives (Frenette & Morissette, 2005; Reitz, 2007). In this chapter we argue for the 'refugee entry effect'. Compared to labour and family migrants refugees often arrive less prepared in their destination country and often suffer from traumatic experiences. Moreover, they will need to apply for asylum and await their decision about granting the leave to remain.

In the period of interest, 1995-1999, the Netherlands had a complex asylum procedure. Different residence statuses could be granted[1], accompanied with different sets of rights. This system prolonged the asylum procedures as people continued to litigate for a 'better' status that would grant more rights. It could thus take months and in extremer cases years until a decision was reached. While refugees await their decision they have the legal status of asylum seekers which defines their set of rights. This entails restrictions on employment (in this period limited to 12 weeks a year), education and social security. This combination of a lack of resources, rights and security about the future can result in social isolation, marginalization, mental health problems and (economic) dependence (Da Lomba, 2010; Laban et al., 2004). All in all, this clearly puts refugees on a disadvantage at the start of their working careers in the Netherlands. In other words we expect a 'refugee entry effect' which implies that we expect that labour market participation of refugees is lower compared to other migrants at the start of the working career (H1: refugee entry hypothesis).

The interesting follow-up question is how this will develop over time. Does a rough start scar refugees for the rest of their working lives, or will they catch up with other migrants? To formulate hypotheses on the development of labour market participation we make use of the mechanism of cumulative disadvantage. Merton (1988) introduced the term cumulative advantage to explain advancement in scientific careers. In the meantime this mechanism has been adapted to all kinds of life course processes such as education and careers in order to explain inequality. The general theorem is that an initial favourable position becomes a resource for further gains (DiPrete & Eirich, 2006). Following this reasoning the opposite can be argued for those in an unfavourable position. In the case

1 An A-status was granted based on the Genève convention (UN 1951). The B-status was granted based on humanitarian grounds and the conditional permit for temporary stay (VVTV) was introduced for those who, based on their individual case cannot be granted asylum, but also cannot return because of the situation in their origin country.

of labour market participation: *"previous unemployment scars a worker and creates future unemployment because it reduces worker's human capital, reduces a worker's psychological readiness for work, and makes a person less attractive to prospective employers"* (DiPrete & Eirich, 2006, p.287). Inequality in employment chances is affected by chances and resources obtained in the early careers, and importantly, this acquisition is partly independent of personal characteristics. For example, periods of unemployment or temporary work in the early career can determine further career development.

When we apply this reasoning of cumulative (dis)advantage to the working careers of refugees we expect the following. Clearly, their initial position in the Netherlands is one of disadvantage. On the one hand because the resources that refugees gained in their early careers (in the origin country) can often not be transferred or utilized in the destination country. On the other hand because the chances in their early careers in the destination country are limited by the asylum procedure and their lack of host country human capital. These disadvantages could lead to further negative outcomes through a negative feedback loop. Thus, based on the rationale of cumulative disadvantage we expect the refugee gap to increase over the labour market career (H2a: cumulative disadvantage hypothesis).

However, Cole & Singer (1991) point out that the reaction to disadvantaged conditions are important for the way they work out. Positive reactions can shut down the negative feedback loop. Refugees are often very determined to make their life in the destination country into a success, in order for the flight, misery and pain to have been worthwhile and because they often cannot return. We thus expect a positive reaction of resilience to the negative conditions that refugees face and consequently that the initial disadvantage does not cumulate over time. One way to shut down the cumulative disadvantage process is by investing in host country human capital (Brekke & Mastekaasa, 2008). We expect that this will lead to increased incentive and new positive conditions such as labour market chances. In other words, we expect refugees to recover from their initial disadvantaged position. Thus, our alternative hypothesis is that because of refugees' determinacy and human capital, the cumulative disadvantage process will shut down and the refugee gap will decrease over de labour market career (H2b: recovery hypothesis).

3.2.1 Variations between groups

In the former section we argued that the 'refugee entry effect' puts refugees on a backlog at the start of their working careers and we formulated to possible developments of their labour market participation over time. However, refugees are no homogeneous group. They have different socio-economic backgrounds and origins wherefore we expect differences between groups. Based on literature and former studies it is known that the Iranian group is best socio-economically integrated in the Netherlands. They are largely from the urban middle class and often obtained higher education in the origin country. Since they have more human capital we expect that the refugee entry effect is weaker for this group. Thus, we expect the refugee gap between Iranians and other migrants to be smaller, than for other refugee groups (H3a: Iran - origin country hypothesis). Similarly, we expect the participation of the Somali group the lag behind. This group is largely uneducated in the origin

country and often arrive alone and without any resources. Thus, we expect the refugee gap for the Somali group to be larger, than for other refugee groups (H3b: Somalia – origin country hypothesis).

Then, with regard of gender, research shows that the labour market participation of women from these origin countries is extremely low (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011; Jennissen & Oudhof, 2008). This can be for practical reasons such as taking care of the family and the household. Also, traditional values on the role of the women can play a role here. We thus expect the refugee gap to be larger for women from these refugee groups than for men. We do not expect these role patterns and attitudes to change over time, and thus expect that the refugee gap, compared to other migrant women, to sustain over time (H4: female hypothesis).

Besides refugees background their obtained host country human capital is crucial for labour market participation. Research showed that host country education contributes to labour market chances (Kanas & Van Tubergen, 2009). Also, having the Dutch nationality is often showed to be related to labour market participation (Bakker et al., 2013; Da Lomba, 2010). In this longitudinal framework we can test the causality of this relation. For both aspects of host country human capital we expect it to increase refugees' labour market participation chances (H5: host country capital hypothesis).

3.3 Data & Methods

3.3.1 Data

For this study we make use of the Social Statistical Database (SSB) of Statistics Netherlands (CBS). This is register data which means that several sources of administrative data are linked, such as the Municipal Population Register (GBA), Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND), Tax Authorities and Social Security Services (UWV). Consequently, we have information on socio-economic status, household composition, migration movements and demographic characteristics of all residents in the Netherlands. Note that registration of data on migrants starts from the moment they obtain their first residence status. This means that we do not have information on the period before the status was granted. This is a drawback of the data because we know from recent studies that the first period after migration is important to refugee integration.

3.3.2 Analyses

In this chapter we will study the labour market participation of refugees (and their partner who arrived within one year) of the cohort 95-99 in de period 2000-2011. The cohort is based on the year that the first residence status was granted. From this moment on migrants are registered and can we follow them over time. We only select those who have been in the Netherlands for the whole period. Thus, those who died or emigrated in this period are excluded from the analyses. Also, we only select migrants in the age of 18-54 at time of first residence status[2] because this group is able to participate

2 We thus explicitly do not focus on those who arrived as children because they will first enter regular Dutch education which provides them with a completely different starting position than those who arrived as adults.

in the labour market over de period of 2000-2011. The number of refugees in this research group is 33030. We compare the labour market participation of our research group, thus refugees, to labour and family migrants who also received the first residence status between 1995 and 1999 (N=78289). In the descriptive part of this study, we will primarily show the labour market dynamics of migrants by years of stay in the Netherlands, and not by calendar year. We choose to do so because we have five years of entry and therefore the participation rate in the year 2000 of those who arrived in 1995 (and thus have been in the Netherlands for five years) does not mean the same as for those who arrived in 1999 (and in the year 2000 thus have only been in the Netherlands for a year). Showing the results by years of stay is thus a more accurate way of presenting the results, since this is independent of the year of arrival.

Since the data have a longitudinal character we will use longitudinal analyses methods in the second part of this study. For explaining labour market participation in a dynamic framework we perform a dynamic logistic regression. In this type of analysis the initial condition problem (Honoré & Tamar, 2005) often occurs: the development of the dependent variable (i.e. labour market participation) is highly influenced by the value of the dependent variable in the former period. We account for this problem by including the lag function, work at t-1, in the model. Because of this we can interpret the other covariates normally. Based on former research it is known that educational level and language proficiency are two important determinants of labour market participation (Kanas & Van Tubergen, 2009; Huijnk et al., 2014). Unfortunately these are not included in the register data that we use. We need to consider this when interpreting the results. The effect of educational level can be part of other effects, such as the origin country. It is for example known that the Iranian group is higher educated, which can explain their labour market participation. We do have information on whether or not a Dutch qualification was obtained. This is very useful, but do note that we thus have no information on the educational level nor on the education obtained in the home country.

3.3.3 Measures

We measure *labour market participation* with a dummy for >8 paid work hours versus all with small jobs and without a job. We regard this as a relevant cut off point for this group since this means they have some kind of paid work. For the independent variables we distinguish between time-invariant and time-variant variables. Obviously the first type reflect characteristics of migrants that are stable over time. The latter type are characteristics that change over time. In order to test for the refugee entry effect we distinguish between asylum, labour and family migrants based on their *migration motive*. For testing group differences based on background we use *origin country* and *gender* for testing differences between men and women. These factors clearly are time-invariant.

The host country human capital variable that we use is time-variant and reflects whether or not one obtained a *diploma in the Netherlands* for each year of observation (in secondary or higher education). Note that we do not have any information on education obtained in the origin country. Thus those refugees who have not obtained a qualification in the Netherlands can either be educated in the

home country or have not obtained any kind of education. The factor time is measured by *duration of stay in the Netherlands with legal residence.* As mentioned earlier, we do not have any information on the period before a residence permit was granted. Other time-variant control variables are *position in the household* (1= child living at home, 2= single, 3= in couple without children, 4= in couple with children, 5=single parent, 6=other), *density of residential area* (1=not dense, <500 addresses/km^2 to 5=very dense, >2500 addresses/km^2), and a dummy for having obtained the *Dutch nationality* for each year of observation. *Age at first residence status* and *year of arrival* (1995-1999) are two more time-invariant control variables.

3.4 Results: Labour market participation of migrants and refugees cohort 95-99

3.4.1 Descriptive results

Table 3.1 shows the descriptive statistics of the relevant (time-invariant) background characteristics of the cohort 95-99, separate for all three migration motives, that we are interested in (18-54 age at first residence status). It shows that about 40% of the refugees (i.e. with asylum motive) and labour migrants are women, compared to two third of the family migrants. Of the three migrant groups the family migrants arrive at the youngest age with a mean age at first residence status of 28. For labour migrants this is age 31 and for refugees age 32. Of the four refugee groups that we are interested in, the Somali group is only marginally present (3%). They did not come in large numbers to the Netherlands in this period (95-99) and many migrated on to the UK. The peaks of their migration are in the first half of the '90s and the second half of the '00. Within the group of refugees about two fifth is from a western country, this is mainly former Yugoslavia. The share of western migrants is substantially larger within the group of labour migrants, three quarter is from a western country, mainly from UK, Germany, Belgium, France and Italy. The large majority of refugees gained Dutch nationality at some point, so did 70% of the family migrants, compared to only 20% of the labour migrants. This makes sense considering that a large share of the labour migrants is from a western country. Last, one in ten refugees obtained a Dutch qualification, compared to only 4% of labour migrants and 6% of family migrants.

The bivariate results in Figure 3.1 clearly show the expected refugee gap in terms of labour market participation between refugees and other migrants at the start of their working careers in the Netherlands. Only a quarter of the refugees of the cohort 95-99 has a job after two years of stay, compared to 90% of the labour migrants and half of the family migrants in this cohort. This provides support for the refugee entry effect (H1). As expected under hypothesis 2b this refugee gap reduces over time. After 15 years of stay in the Netherlands the share of refugees from cohort 95-99 that have a job increased to 56%, whereas the participation rate of family migrants only marginally increased. Consequently the gap between refugees and family migrants is only 5% after 15 years of stay in the Netherlands. The participation rate of labour migrants decreased over time, thus the gap between labour migrants and refugees also reduced over time. The increase of labour market participation is thus strongest among the cohort of refugees. We do see that the growth is not linear, the curve is

flattening over time. As expected, we also find a gap between labour market participation of refugees and the rest of the Dutch population. The participation rate of the natives is about 80% and that of the non-western population is about 65%. The refugee gap with the non-western population is thus substantially smaller (about 10%), then with the Dutch natives.

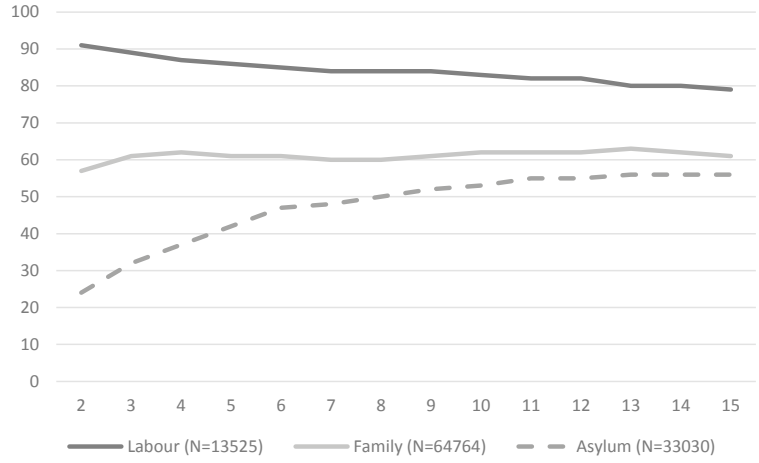

Figure 3.1: Employment (>8h p.w.) per migration motive cohort 95-99 in % by years of stay in the Netherlands

Table 3.1: Descriptive statistics cohort 95-99 per migration motive (selection age at first residence status 18-54 years old)

	Asylum (N=33030)	Labour (N=13525)	Family (N=64764)
Gender (Female)	41%	39%	69%
Age at first residence status	M=32 (8.3)	M=31 (7.6)	M=28 (7.4)
Origin country			
Iran	10%	-	1%
Iraq	23%	-	2%
Afghanistan	19%	-	1%
Somalia	3%	-	-
Other non-western	27%	24%	78%
Other western	18%	76%	18%
Year of entry			
1995	26%	15%	15%
1996	22%	18%	21%
1997	18%	19%	22%
1998	17%	23%	24%
1999	19%	25%	19%
Dutch nationality	89%	20%	70%
Dutch qualification	8%	4%	6%

When we depict the development of yearly personal income from labour for those who are employed over time, a similar picture emerges (Figure 3.2). The mean yearly income of asylum and family migrants is comparable and varies between 20.000 and 30.000 euros. Again, we thus detect that there is hardly a gap between these two types of migrants. There is a large gap with the mean yearly income of labour migrants, which is fluctuating between 50.000 and 60.000 euros. This is even higher than the mean yearly income of Dutch natives which lies between 35.000 and 45.000 euros. The mean yearly income of the non-western population is around 25.000-35.000 euros.

In Figure 3.3 the labour market participation for female migrants is shown. Again, as expected, the participation of refugee women is very low at the start, only one in ten has a job after two years of stay in the Netherlands. But also for refugee women we find a strong increase (35%) of labour market participation over time, compared to a small growth among family migrant women. Thus this women refugee gap also reduces over time. The gap with labour migrant women remains, but reduces over time, also because the participation of labour migrant women is decreasing.

Figure 3.4 depicts the labour market participation by origin country. As expected under hypothesis 3b, the labour market participation of the Somali group stays behind. After 15 years of stay in the Netherlands their participation rate is about 40% whereas all other groups centre around the mean (56%). Labour market participation of the Iranian group is not growing exceptionally faster than other refugee groups, but do have the highest participation rates.

Figure 3.5[3] shows first of all that labour market participation of migrants with a Dutch qualification is substantially higher than without a Dutch degree. After six years of stay in the Netherlands half of the refugees without a Dutch degree is employed compared to over 70% of those with a Dutch qualification. This difference remains over time. Note that having a Dutch qualification is related to age at first residence status. Those who were young enough to start Dutch education are the ones who obtained such qualification. In turn, this also indicates good Dutch language proficiency, which is highly important for labour market participation.

Compared to family migrants we show a small refugee gap after six years of stay in the Netherlands of about 10%. This refugee gap closes over time. After 10 years of stay in the Netherlands the labour market participation of people with a Dutch qualification is about 85% for both types of migrants, as well as for the whole Dutch population. Only a very small share of labour migrants obtained a Dutch qualification (therefore not shown). Clearly for this group a Dutch qualification is not that important for labour market participation. For refugees, however, we show that a Dutch qualification is highly important for participation rates.

Based on these descriptive results one can conclude that there indeed is a refugee entry effect. At the start of their working careers in the Netherlands refugees labour market participation is far behind compared to other migrants and the Dutch population. However, this effect fades out over time, and thus does not scar refugees for the rest of their lives/working careers. After 15 years their

3 For this figure we made a selection on age at first residence 18-40 years old, because this is the relevant research group with regard to obtaining a Dutch qualifications. Migrants who obtained their first residence status after the age of 40 hardly obtain a Dutch qualification.

participation is almost similar to that of family migrants from the same cohort. And also the gap with the whole other non-western population is limited (10%). For those refugees with a Dutch qualification we even find no difference in labour market participation after 15 years with the native population. This indicates that human capital is important in closing the refugee gap and can shut down the negative feedback loop of cumulative disadvantage. We will now test the refugee gap in a multivariate longitudinal framework in order to show whether these results remain after controlling for relevant background characteristics.

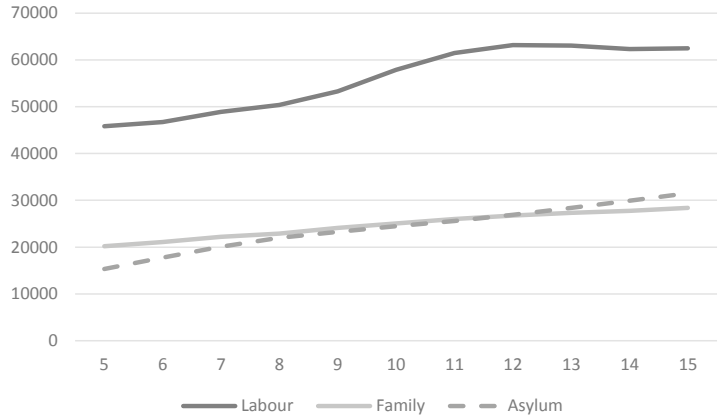

Figure 3.2: Yearly personal income (from labour) per migration motive cohort 95-99 in % by years of stay in the Netherlands

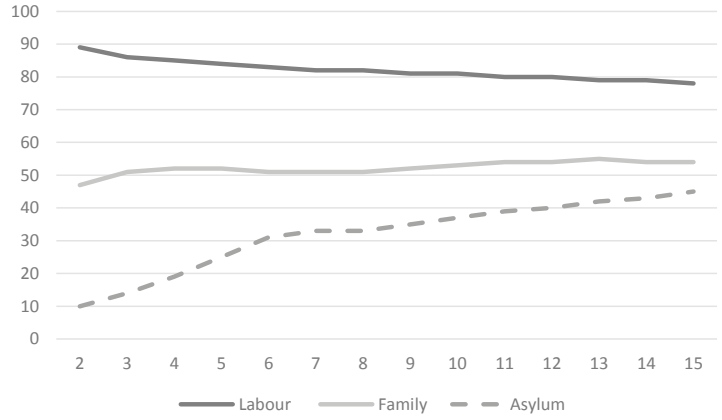

Figure 3.3: Employment (>8h p.w.) of migrant women per migration motive cohort 95-99 in % by years of stay in the Netherlands

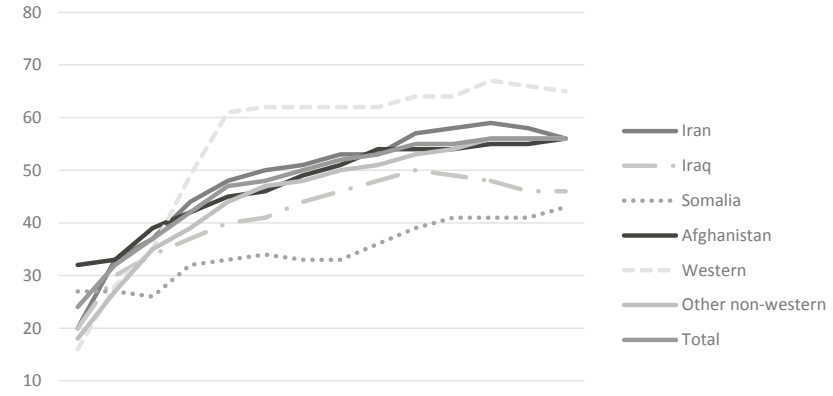

Figure 3.4: Employment (>8h p.w.) cohort 95-99 in % by origin country by years of stay in the Netherlands

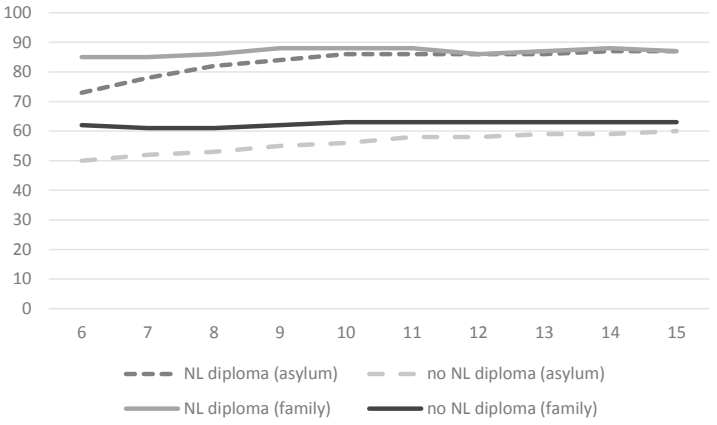

Figure 3.5: Employment (>8h p.w.) cohort 95-99 in % by Dutch qualification by years of stay in the Netherlands (selection 18-40 years old at obtainment first residence status)

3.4.2 Multivariate results: determinants of employment

We performed a dynamic logistic regression in order to test the refugee gap and to show the most important determinants of the odds to have a paid job for more than 8 hours per week. We again focus on the cohort 95-99 and distinguish between the three migration motives: asylum, labour and family migration. The results are shown in Table 3.2 in odds ratios. An odds ratio greater than one indicates a positive outcome. The main result is that over time, controlled for background characteristics, the odds to have paid work are significantly smaller for refugees than for labour and family migrants. The gap with family migrants is indeed smaller, as also indicated by the descriptive results, but it does remain.

All in all, the descriptive and multivariate results show that the 'refugee gap' for the total group of refugees compared to labour and family migrants reduces over time, but that it does remain. These finding do not support our hypothesis on cumulative disadvantage (H2a): the initial disadvantage has not hindered refugees from increasing labour market participation. This thus support our alternative recovery hypothesis 2b. First of all having a Dutch qualification at t-1 clearly benefits the odds to have a paid job for more than 8 hours per week at time t. It thus boosts labour market participation and closes the refugee gap. This confirms our hypothesis 5 on the importance of host country human capital for refugees' labour market participation. Second, having the Dutch nationality at t-1 also increases the odds to be employed at time t.

In the second part of the chapter we expected differences between and within groups regarding the 'refugee gap'. Indeed, the results confirm our hypotheses on origin country effects. We find that Iranians (both men and women) are more likely than migrants from other non-western countries to be employed. This corroborates hypothesis 3a. Do note that educational level can be the underlying explanation for this finding. It is known from former research that Iranians often are higher educated, which certainly can contribute to their labour market participation. We do find a 'refugee gap' for migrants from Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia. The gap is the largest for the latter group (H3b). In all cases there remains a gap with western migrants, they are more likely to be employed. The separate analyses for men and women show that there is no gap for Afghan men (Table 3.3, Appendix). They are equally likely to be employed as Iranian men and men from other non-western countries. Especially women from Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq are less likely to be employed. For these women the refugee gap with other migrant women remains which corroborates our hypothesis 4. Do note that also for these groups the gap does reduce over time.

The control variables show that the chance to have a paid job also reduces with a higher age at first residence status. Thus, those who arrived as adolescents are more likely to close the refugee gap. Being part of a couple (with or without children) increases the odds to be employed compared to singles. For single parents the odds to be employed is lower than for singles. Also women with children, both in a couple and single moms, are less likely to have a job for more than 8 hours per week. The odds to have a paid job is smaller in highly dense areas. Last, the high odds of having a paid job at t-1 means that those who have a job at t-1, are likely to have a job at time t. Whereas those who do not have a job at t-1 are also likely to not have a job a year later.

Table 3.2: Dynamic logistic regression cohort 95-99 (selection age at first residence status 18-54 years old), odds ratio's

	Model 1	Model 2
Employed (t-1)	37.42***	35.35***
Migration motive (ref=asylum)		
Family	1.78***	1.59***
Labour	4.33***	3.28***
Duration of stay in NL	1.02***	1.00
Female	.34***	.33***
Age at first residence status	.96***	.95***
Country of origin (ref=Iran)		
Iraq		.55***
Somalia		.42***
Afghanistan		.78***
Other non-western		.94*
Western countries		1.63***
Dutch qualification (t-1)		3.06***
Dutch nationality (t-1)		1.25***
Year of arrival (ref=1999)		
1995		.93***
1996		.95**
1997		.95**
1998		1.03*
Position in household (ref=single)		
Child living at home		.95
In couple without children		1.57***
In couple with children		1.17***
Single parent		.83***
Other		.79***
Density residence area		.94***
Pseudo R^2	.45	.49
NxT	1113220	1112985

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

3.5 Conclusion & Discussion

In this chapter we analysed the labour market participation of refugees in comparison to other migrants from the cohort 95-99 using register data. The benefit of this data is that it holds information on the entire cohort under study over a period of time. This allowed us to show trends and to conduct longitudinal analyses and draw conclusions on the whole migrant cohort that obtained legal stay in the Netherlands between 1995 and 1999. The data are gathered from the moment that registration starts, with the acquisition of a residence permit. However, especially for refugees we know from former research that also the period *before* this permit is granted is highly important for refugee integration. This unfortunately is a drawback of this kind of register data.

As expected we find a substantial 'refugee gap' at the start of migrants' legal stay in the Netherlands. The labour market participation rates for refugees are substantially smaller compared to family and labour migrants of the same cohort. This indicates the existence of a 'refugee entry effect'. Due to refugees' different migration motive (flight) and context of reception (asylum procedure) they start their legal stay in the Netherlands with a disadvantage compared to other migrants.

The next question was how this 'refugee gap' developed over time. We found that the 'refugee gap' narrows over a period of 15 years of stay in the Netherlands. Especially the gap between refugees and family migrants reduces. The mechanism of cumulative disadvantage is not fit here. Refugees do catch up with other migrants to a certain extent and thus seem to be able to recover from their initial disadvantage. The multivariate analyse show that, even though the gap reduces, it does remain. Overall, the participation of refugees thus lags behind within the time span of 15 years. Possibly it does disappear over a longer period of time.

Important determinants that contribute to higher participation rates for refugees are a Dutch qualification and Dutch nationality. The finding that Dutch nationality increases the odds to be employed adds to the discussing in the literature whether Dutch nationality is a prerequisite for integration or a final stage. Since this current finding was shown in a longitudinal framework it shows the causality of the correlation that is already often showed in former studies. It thus shows that having Dutch nationality is an important prerequisite for refugees to be employed.

Also we find variation within groups: men, Iranian and refugees who arrived as adolescent are most likely to be employed over time. Note that the register data do not hold information on language proficiency and educational level. Even though these are highly important determinants for migrant and refugee labour market participation. It is likely that the effect that we find for the Iranian group is due to their often higher educational level. Similarly, those who arrived as adolescents had more opportunities and time to learn the Dutch language which might explain the effect of age at first residence status.

All in all, this chapter showed that there certainly is a 'refugee gap' at the start of refugees working career in the Netherlands. This gap is however diminishing over time. This finding does not support the cumulative disadvantage hypothesis, but shows that refugees seem to be able to recover from their initial disadvantage especially by means of host country human capital.

Appendix

Table 3.3: Dynamic logistic regression separate for men and women, cohort 95-99 (selection age at first residence status 18-54) odds ratio's

	Female		Male	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Employed (t-1)	47.42***	42.95***	27.13***	26.23***
Migration motive (ref=asylum)				
Family	1.65***	1.45***	2.07***	1.84***
Labour	5.77***	3.99***	3.63***	3.12***
Duration of stay in NL	1.03***	1.01***	1.01***	.99***
Age at first residence status	.97***	.96***	.94***	.93***
Country of origin (ref=Iran)				
Iraq		.42***		.65***
Somalia		.29***		.58***
Afghanistan		.50***		1.02
Other non-western		.85*		.98
Western countries		1.53***		1.46***
Dutch qualification (t-1)		3.17***		2.69***
Dutch nationality (t-1)		1.68***		1.41***
Year of arrival (ref=1999)				
1995		.95*		.93**
1996		.96		.94*
1997		.97		.93**
1998		1.07**		.98
Position in household (ref=single)				
Child living at home		1.31***		.66***
In couple without children		1.39***		1.51***
In couple with children		.86***		1.59***
Single parent		.66***		.99
Other		.75***		.75***
Density residence area		.93***		.96***
Pseudo R^2	.46	.51	.36	.40
NxT	633770	633686	479750	479299

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

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This chapter is co-authored by Jaco Dagevos and Godfried Engbersen. A slightly different version is submitted to an international peer-reviewed journal.

Chapter 4

The education-occupation mismatch of refugees in the Netherlands

Abstract: We use large-scale cross-sectional data to assess over-qualification of refugees in the Netherlands. We propose a measure that corrects for the different qualification levels of the origin and destination country. In this way we nuance earlier findings on the scale of over-qualification of refugees. We conclude that refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the origin country are more likely to be over-qualified compared to refugees who obtained that qualification in the host country. This effect is more profound when the origin country qualification is not accredited in the host country. These findings demonstrates the problematic transferability of origin country human capital, as well as the importance of host country education.

4.1 Introduction

An education-occupation mismatch occurs when one's obtained educational level is higher than is required for the job. In such a case, human capital is not used to its full potential. For immigrants and refugees, the acknowledgement of education and skills in the form of a matching job can contribute to their integration process in the host country (Chiswick & Miller, 2008). It enables them to participate in society and meet others, but it also makes them feel accepted and valued. Especially considering the latter, having a matching job might be an important indicator of socio-economic integration from the refugees perspective. Previous studies on over-qualification among immigrants show that immigrants are more often over-qualified compared to their native counterparts (Andersson et al., 2012; Dahlstedt, 2011; Piracha et al., 2012; Wald & Fang, 2004). Especially high-skilled immigrants often do not have a job that matches their educational qualifications (Chiswick & Miller, 2010; Dean, 2009).

Most of these previous studies show the importance of the level and location of obtained education *to explain* the education-occupation mismatch. It is often found that human capital obtained in the home country is attributed less economic value than host country human capital (Friedberg, 2000; Kanas & Van Tubergen, 2009). However, most of these previous studies disregard the location of obtained education in *the measurement* of the dependent variable itself, i.e. over-qualification, due to a lack of detailed data. All who have obtained an educational qualification (regardless of where) that is higher than is required for the current job are defined as over-qualified. We show that this is precisely the issue that complicates the study of over-qualification among immigrants and refugees. The relatively simple definition of over-qualification turns out to be a complex phenomenon for refugees, since their highest education may have been obtained either in the origin or the destination country. Moreover, the standards of the educational system in the home country are often not comparable to that of the educational system in the host country (Hardoy & Schøne, 2014).

We argue that over-qualification among immigrants has often been over-estimated in the past, because these differences in educational systems were ignored. In this study we take note of this complexity and are the first to correct for educational level differences between the origin and destination country. This way, a degree from abroad is standardised to make it comparable to a degree obtained in the Netherlands. Hence, we can determine whether those with comparable educational degrees hold a similar occupational position. As this nuances earlier findings, this is an important contribution to the research field. The first aim of this study is thus to show, through a more accurate analysis that takes account of educational level differences, the occurrence of over-qualification among refugees in the Netherlands. *To what extent are refugees in the Netherlands over-qualified?*

Further, we aim to explain the education-occupation mismatch. Many studies have shown that the economic returns to host country human capital are higher than to home country human capital (Friedberg, 2000; Kanas & Van Tubergen, 2009). We will test whether this is also true in the case of over-qualification by comparing refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the home country with those who obtained their highest degree in the host country. Within the first group we will also distinguish between those who had their foreign diploma accredited and those who did not. This adds

to correctly assessing the impact of location of education. In this way we also address the importance of transferable home country human capital for finding a matching job. We furthermore address the importance of host country-specific human capital, such as language fluency and work experience in the Netherlands, to further explain over-qualification among refugees. Our second research question is: *How can over-qualification among refugees in the Netherlands be explained by home and host country human capital?* In addition, we discuss the matter of discrimination with respect to over-qualification. Are refugees less likely to find a matching job compared to natives?

We focus on the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Afghani, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali. In this study, refugees are strategic research objects that, to quote Merton (1987, p.10), *'exhibit the phenomena to be explained or interpreted to such advantage and in such accessible form that they enable the fruitful investigation of previously stubborn problems'*. In other words, by focusing on refugees we can study over-qualification more accurately, since they often obtained a qualification in both the home and the host country. This enables us to study, not only the level of education but also the importance of the location of education in over-qualification research. Moreover, refugees are often higher educated in the origin country and have trouble (more than other migrants) to present official proof of their obtained education, due to their often sudden flight. All in all, this makes refugees more likely to face the issue of over-qualification in the host country.

We use a large-scale cross-sectional dataset (SING09) containing extensive information on refugees' job position and educational career, both in the home and host country. The native Dutch population is included as a reference category. This unique dataset enables us to consider educational level differences in the measurement and analysis of over-qualification. We make use of an objective measure of over-qualification in order to show whether those with comparable educational degrees indeed hold a similar occupational position. Given the subject of this study we use a subsample of employed respondents only (N=1380). Unemployed are thus excluded, which is common in the over-qualification literature. We realise that unemployment might be the ultimate mismatch. However, this requires a different research question and research set-up. In this chapter we limit ourselves to the issue of over-qualification for refugees in order to enhance the measurement and provide explanations for this specific migrant group.

4.2 Dutch context and the diploma accreditation process

The refugee population under study constitutes 8% of the non-western population in Dutch society.[1] They share the so-called 'refugee experience', which means they fled their home country for fear of personal persecution or war. However, the four refugee groups do have a different migration history which we will briefly describe here. Iranian refugees are mostly higher educated and from the urban

1 Statistics Netherlands distinguishes between western and non-western countries. Western countries are all European countries including Central and Eastern Europe (except Turkey), North American countries, some Asian countries (Japan and Indonesia), and the countries in Oceania (Australia and New Zealand). Turkey and all countries in Latin and South America, Africa and Asia are considered non-western.

middle class, which afforded them the means to flee the country. They generally fled in order to maintain their western values and modern lifestyle, which the regime of ayatollah Khomeini viewed as a threat and sought to suppress (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011; Ghorashi, 2005; Hessels, 2002). By contrast, Somali refugees are generally low educated men who leave behind their family and community in conflict and in poverty (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011; Hessels, 2000; Nieuwhof & Mahamoud, 2000). The Afghani mostly fled due to the strict Taliban regime and the Iraqi to escape from the 'war on terror' (Hessels & Wassie, 2003).

Of the four refugee groups under study, the Iranians are the best economically integrated group in the Netherlands. Half of them are employed for more than 12 hours a week and almost 40% have completed some form of higher education. In contrast, less than a third of the Somali group have a job and more than half are dependent on social benefits. Also their educational level is extremely low compared to the other refugee groups. In terms of socio-economic integration in the Netherlands, the Iraqi and the Afghani group hold a middle position. About a third of each group are employed for more than 12 hours a week (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011).

The majority of refugees pursued their educational career in the home country and thus also obtained their qualification there. To make effective use of this qualification in the Dutch labour market, refugees need to have it recognised according to Dutch standards. NUFFIC (Netherlands Universities' Foundation for International Cooperation) and SBB (Association of Cooperation in Education and Economy) are Dutch organisations that advise on the accreditation of foreign diplomas. NUFFIC focuses on general secondary education and higher education. SBB is responsible for the accreditation of lower level qualifications. Both are member of the European Network of Information Centres and National Academic Recognition Information Centres, dedicated to the international exchange of knowledge and procedures.

Foreign diplomas are compared to a Dutch degree, as far as possible. Or, they seek to establish a comparable level based on the school subjects, the study load, and the standard of the obtained education. This is done according to a uniform procedure described in the Lisbon accreditation convention and endorsed by all EU member states. The first step is to check the authenticity of the documents. Next, the foreign and Dutch education are compared on content, competences, duration and aim to check whether there are substantial differences (full procedure is described in the European Area of Recognition Manual: practical guidelines for the fair recognition of qualifications). For the four countries under study (Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia), substantial differences with Dutch education are found overall. Since the secondary schooling is two years shorter in these countries than in the Netherlands, NUFFIC often advises to subtract two years from the foreign education to determine the Dutch equivalent educational level. In this chapter we will follow this guideline (see measures section).

4.3 Theory & Hypotheses

4.3.1 Transferability of skills and differences in standards of educational systems

Several explanations are proposed in the literature for the education-occupation mismatch among immigrants. The first is that foreign education possibly contains region or country-specific knowledge and skills which are not transferable to the destination country. Therefore their foreign degree is assessed at a lower level, which leads immigrants to jobs for which they are over-qualified. Also, the standards of the educational system of the origin country might be different from the standards in the host country (Hardoy & Schøne, 2014). We argue that besides the *level* of education, the *location* of education is very important to understanding the economic performance of refugees. Our first hypothesis is merely descriptive, stating that: *the scale of over-qualification among refugees reduces when correcting for differences in the standards of the educational system in the home and host country (H1).*

Some studies have focused on the importance of the location of schooling for economic labour market outcomes of immigrants in general. Kanas and Van Tubergen (2009) found for the Netherlands that the returns to host country schooling are much larger than to home country schooling. Thus, immigrants are more likely to be employed and to have a higher status job if they are educated in the host country. Similarly, Friedberg (2000) showed that education and labour market experience acquired abroad are less valued (in terms of earnings) than human capital obtained domestically. For Sweden, Bevelander (2000) showed that host country-specific education is an advantage on the labour market. On the topic of over-qualification specifically, studies show that immigrants with foreign qualifications are more prone to over-qualification (Battu & Sloane, 2004; Nielsen, 2011). This is especially the case for higher educated (university degree) immigrants.

It is important to note that these studies do not correct for differences in the standards of educational systems between the origin and destination country. Therefore, it could be the case that the low returns of foreign education are over-estimated. In this study we will test the *transferability of foreign education hypothesis* after correcting for educational level differences between countries. Since education is one of the key forms of human capital and signals the potential productivity of the individual (Becker, 1964), it is important that employers have some understanding of the school system and the value of the obtained qualification of potential employees. If employers are unable to assess the value of a qualification, for example because it was obtained abroad, then this can seriously hinder immigrants and refugees in finding a matching job. We thus expect that *refugees who obtained their highest educational qualification in the origin country are more likely to be over-qualified compared to refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the Netherlands. (H2)*

In addition to the location of education, the recognition of foreign diplomas is another pivotal issue in this matter. The practical transferability of the foreign diploma by accreditation in the host country is the first important factor that enables refugees to use their foreign education effectively. It seems evident that having the foreign diploma accredited (albeit on a lower level) will give employers certainty and clarity about the value of the education obtained, and hence will help the holder to find

a matching job. However, having diplomas accredited in the host country is a widespread problem among immigrants. For refugees especially it is a challenge to show proof of their diploma in the first place, since they often fled without official documents. We hypothesise that *refugees who obtained their highest educational qualification in the origin country and whose diploma was accredited are less likely to be over-qualified compared to those who did not have their foreign diploma accredited (H3).*

4.3.2 Importance of host country-specific human capital

Besides the accreditation of home country credentials, the acquisition of host country-specific human capital is vital for refugees to find a matching job in the host country. Newcomers lack job-specific knowledge and other types of country-specific human capital such as language skills and knowledge on how the labour market in the host country operates (Chiswick & Miller, 2010). Friedberg (2000) argues that an effective way to adapt home country skills to the new situation is by obtaining additional formal education in the host country. This enables immigrants to acquire host country-specific capital which in turn can benefit the translation/application of home country skills in a new setting. Similarly, Nielsen (2011) has shown that work experience in the host country reduces the risk of over-qualification for those who were foreign-educated. Duvander (2001) emphasises language fluency as a crucial host country-specific form of human capital that increases one's chances of finding a matching job. In line with these studies, we also expect that host country-specific human capital will protect refugees from over-qualification. We expect this to be especially important for those who obtained their highest qualification in the home country. Refugees who obtained their degree in the Netherlands are likely to be fluent in Dutch, while their Dutch degree alone already gives them an advantage. We hypothesise that *refugees who have work experience in the Netherlands and are proficient in the Dutch language proficiency are less likely to be over-qualified in the Netherlands (H4).*

4.3.3 Discrimination theory

The third common explanation for over-qualification among immigrants is found in discrimination theory. Becker (1957) argued that employers act on their dislike of certain (ethnic) groups with the result that the earnings of minorities are lower compared to native employees (the majority) with similar capacities. In the case of statistical discrimination (Phelps, 1972), employers lack adequate information on individuals and therefore use the assumed average productivity for a social category as a proxy for the individuals belonging to this category. Applying this reasoning to the case of over-qualification, we can argue that employers may treat employees with similar educational credentials differently. Thus, even though two applicants have the same qualifications, a refugee might be disadvantaged merely on account of belonging to this category. Clearly, this can be a serious obstacle for refugees to find a matching job. We will test this mechanism by comparing native employees with employed refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the Netherlands. Both groups obtained their qualification in the same country (i.e. the Netherlands) and from the same school system. We thus assume they are in a similar position. When there is no act of discrimination we would

thus also expect similar outcomes, thus *no difference between native employees and employed refugees who obtained their qualification in the Netherlands on the propensity to be over-qualified. (H5)*. We are aware that we cannot control for all relevant background characteristics. However, this is a common research set-up in discrimination research and the best feasible one in this setting. The assumption is that when there are different outcomes, despite the similar positions, this is due to discrimination.

4.4 Data & Methods

4.4.1 Data

For this study we use the Survey Integration New Groups (SING2009) dataset gathered in 2009 by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP). This cross-sectional dataset contains information on different dimensions of integration of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Iraqi, Somali, Iranian and Afghan individuals. The native Dutch population is included as a reference category. A national random sample was drawn, in collaboration with Statistics Netherlands (CBS), from the Municipal Personal Records Database (GBA). Around 1000 structured face-to-face interviews were conducted within each group. To also reach those who have not yet mastered the Dutch language, bilingual interviewers were used for interviews with refugees who have been in the Netherlands for a period shorter than five years. Almost half of the sampled Afghan (49%) and Iraqi (48%) groups participated; the response rate in the other groups was somewhat lower. Of the sampled Iranian group, 44% participated, as did 38% of the Somali group.[2]

In this study, ethnicity is determined by the country of birth. The sample population consists only of refugees with a granted residence status in the age of 15 and up (N=3950). The second generation (N=91) and refugees that migrated for work or study purposes (N=86) were excluded from this study. Given the subject of this study, all analyses were performed on a subsample of employed respondents only (N=1380). Note, therefore, that this study concentrates on a select group of advantaged (i.e. employed) people. All unemployed and inactive respondents are not relevant to this study, since for them no education-occupation mismatch can occur, and they were thus excluded from further analyses. As noted in the introduction, we acknowledge that unemployment can be the ultimate mismatch, especially for higher educated refugees. However, this goes beyond the scope of this chapter but certainly is an interesting topic for further research.

4.4.2 Dependent variable: over-qualification

Despite the simple definition of over-qualification (i.e. obtained educational level exceeds required level), the measurement of this concept is complex. The first measurement issue is central to this study and especially relevant to immigrants and refugees: determining the *level of obtained education*. Most former studies measured highest obtained qualification regardless of the location. Thus, home and

2 This also means that the non-response is about 50% per group. The distribution of age and gender in the sample differs slightly from the population. For example, Somali men are underrepresented and youngsters (in the age of 15-34) in the Afghani, Iraqi and Iranian group are underrepresented; therefore a weight was included (Dourleijn, 2010).

host country education are treated as equivalent (Battu & Sloane, 2004). In this chapter we refer to this as the 'original' measure. We argue that home and host country cannot be treated as equivalent, considering the different standards of both educational systems. We thus aim to correct for this, which is our first contribution, by standardising the levels of home country education based on NUFFIC standards in order to make home and host country education better comparable (Duvander, 2001).

The standard NUFFIC correction for diplomas from the countries that we focus on is the subtraction of two educational years. Since we measured education in levels instead of years we subtracted one educational level (this largely corresponds to two years of schooling) for each individual who was educated in the origin country (measure on a 7-point scale: 1=Primary school to 7= university degree). For example, if a refugee obtained a university degree in the origin country, this is valued as a lower tertiary degree in the Netherlands. With this corrected measure of obtained origin country education and the obtained education in the Netherlands we determined for each refugee their highest acquired diploma (n=485 (highest diploma home country); n=895 (highest diploma host country)).

The last step of this corrected measure involves recoding to a five-point scale which is comparable to the education classification (SOI) of Statistics Netherlands: less than lower secondary, lower secondary, higher secondary, lower tertiary and higher tertiary education.[3] We only included respondents 'at risk' of over-qualification; thus, those with only primary education (or no education) were excluded, since they cannot be over-qualified. Note that in this group under-education occurs, meaning that some individuals with only primary or no education are employed at a higher occupational level.

The second issue concerns the measurement of *required education*. Four measures of over-qualification can be distinguished in the literature: Job Analysis (JA), Realised Matches (RM), and direct and indirect self-assessment. The first two are considered objective measures, the latter two subjective since they are based on self-reported answers. Verhaest & Omey (2010) have shown that, regarding the determinants of over-qualification, results depend on the type of measurement used. All four measures have certain benefits and drawbacks.

In the Realised Matches approach, the level of required education for an occupation is based on the mean or mode educational level of the population within that occupation. Thus, if the attained educational level exceeds the mode educational level of the population in that occupation, he/she is regarded as over-qualified. The drawback of the RM measure is that it actually measures allocation, which is determined by hiring standards and labour market dynamics (Hartog, 2000). The subjective measure, or (in)direct self-assessment, is generally based on the question whether respondents feel over-qualified for their job (Groeneveld, 1997) or whether they have skills that are not fully utilised (Halaby, 1994). One benefit of the subjective measure, in contrast to the objective measures, is that it is job-specific (Wald & Fang, 2008). However, this measure may be biased by workers' inclination to inflate the standing of their job (Hartog, 2000). Also, since it is a subjective measure it can also tap into other feelings of discontent. More importantly, the subjective measure does not reveal anything about actual differences between obtained education and occupation.

3 These correspond to following Dutch educational levels: 1=primary school 2=LBO/MAVO, 3=MBO/HAVO/VWO, 4=HBO, 5=WO

Accordingly, in this study we use the Job Analysis measure, which is based on experts' evaluation of the required level of schooling to perform an occupation. This measure is preferred over the others because there is no reason to expect bias in any direction; it is considered the most objective measure of over-qualification available (Hartog, 2000). Also, this measure fits our research aim best, since we are interested in knowing whether those with comparable educational degrees indeed hold a similar occupational position. The problem with the Job Analysis measure is that it might overestimate the problem of over-qualification, as the classification is static and therefore does not take into account changes in occupational skill requirements due to technological change (Verhaest & Omey, 2010; Büchel et al., 2003).

In the Netherlands and in this study, we use the Standard Occupation Classification (SBC92) of Statistics Netherlands (CBS) to construct the Job Analysis measure. This detailed classification is based on the average education and years of work experience needed for a certain job and is internationally comparable (ISCO). A five-digit code distinguishes five occupation types: elementary, lower, medium, higher and academic. This corresponds to the education classification (SOI) of Statistics Netherlands: less than lower secondary, lower secondary, higher secondary, lower tertiary and higher tertiary education. We use the difference score to measure over-qualification on an ordinal scale with three levels as the maximum. An individual is defined as over-qualified by one level if the obtained educational level is one level higher than required, based on the occupational classification. For example, someone with higher tertiary education is over-qualified by three levels if he/she performs a lower occupation (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Matching of educational level and occupational level

Obtained Educational level		*Expected Occupational level*	
Primary		Elementary	
Lower secondary	→	Lower	Overedu (+3)
Higher secondary		Medium	
Lower tertiary		Higher	
Higher tertiary	→	Academic	Match

4.4.3 Independent variables

Level of education is self-reported and measured on a 6-point scale. Since we excluded primary education and no education, the scale ranges from lower secondary education (=1) to academic education/university degree (=6). We used a dummy for *location of highest qualification* to distinguish between the group that obtained their highest qualification in the origin country (=1) and the group that acquired their highest diploma in the host country. Also, respondents were asked whether they had tried to have their diploma from the origin country accredited in the Netherlands and whether this was successful. We constructed a dummy for *successful accreditation of the diploma [at same level or lower]*.

Work history in the Netherlands is measured in months and is self-reported. *Language proficiency* is measured on a mean scale of problems with reading, writing and speaking Dutch; categories 1=frequent problems, 2=occasional problems and 3=no problems. *Length of stay* was constructed by computing the difference between year of arrival and year of interview. Last, the respondents were asked after their current *legal status*. We constructed a dummy for those who obtained the Dutch nationality with refugee status (both temporary and permanent) as reference category. In order to uncover possible differences between the refugee groups, dummies per ethnicity were included (Iranian = ref). Further, we controlled for gender (female = 1), age, self-reported general health (1=very bad to 5=very well), and having a partner.

4.4.4 Method

To legitimise the study of over-qualification among refugees in the Netherlands, we will first compare the original and corrected measure of over-qualification to sketch an accurate picture of the scale of the problem. Since we are interested in explaining the actual amount of over-qualification, we used the corrected over-qualification measure in all multivariate analyses. We use ordered logistic regression on the magnitude of over-qualification to study the impact of location of education, diploma accreditation and host country-specific human capital.

4.5 Results

4.5.1 Descriptive results

The scale of over-qualification among refugees in the Netherlands reduces for all refugee groups when we correct for educational level differences between the home and host country (Table 4.2). This reduction varies between 4% for the Afghan group and about 10% for the other refugee groups. Still, also after correction, all refugee groups are more often over-qualified compared to the native Dutch. More than half of the Afghan and Iraqi group is over-qualified, compared to 40% of Somali and Iranian and 30% of native Dutch (Table 4.2). We can thus conclude that, after correcting for educational level differences between the home and host country, over-qualification among refugees is still an issue in the Netherlands. This finding motivates our next step to study the impact of location of education on over-qualification.

Table 4.2 further shows that those refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the origin country are more often over-qualified compared to those who obtained their highest degree in the Netherlands. Especially within the Afghan group this difference is large: 71% of foreign-educated are over-qualified compared to only 32% of those who obtained their degree in the Netherlands. This finding indicates that home country education is difficult to transfer to the host country. We will further test this in a multivariate model controlling for relevant background characteristics.

Table 4.2: Over-qualification (JA) in % sample restricted to employed respondents who are at risk of over-qualification.

	Afghani	Iraqi	Iranian	Somali	Dutch
Total (original) N=1331	59	60	50	51	30
Highest qualification in home country	70	64	60	70	
Highest qualification in host country	42	50	32	40	30
Total (recoded) N=1129	55	51	40	41	30
Highest qualification in home country	71	54	43	52	
Highest qualification in host country	32	46	36	36	30

4.5.2 Multivariate results

The summary statistics of the sample used for all multivariate analyses are presented in Table 4.3. We focus only on employed respondents who are 'at risk' of over-qualification. The ordered logistic regression in Table 4.4 shows that the propensity to be over-qualified is higher for refugees who obtained their highest degree in the home country compared to those who obtained their degree in the Netherlands. This finding is in line with the descriptive results and provides support for hypothesis 2. This is especially the case for higher educated refugees. Further, we observe that diploma accreditation and good health protect refugees from over-qualification. Those refugees who had their foreign diploma accredited in the Netherlands are far less likely to be over-qualified than those who did not succeed in having their foreign education accredited. The importance of good health is a recurrent finding in studies on refugee integration (Bakker et al., 2014; Phillimore, 2011). Many refugees suffer from post-traumatic stress symptoms, which is an obstacle to refugee integration. The finding that good health is also related to finding a matching job thus accords with other research findings in this field.

In Table 4.5 (see Appendix) we further examine the impact of diploma accreditation. Here it emerges, as expected, that the propensity for over-qualification is higher for refugees who obtained their degree at home and whose diploma was not accredited in the Netherlands (H3). Interestingly, no difference is found between those who did have their diploma successfully accredited and those who obtained their highest qualification in the Netherlands (Figure 4.1, Appendix). In other words, it does not matter whether a refugee obtained a Dutch degree or a foreign degree that is accredited in the Netherlands. In both cases the quality of the education is clear, which we argue is important to employers when hiring employees. Clearly, diploma accreditation is vital for the transferability of home country human capital and subsequently for finding a matching job. Unfortunately, of the refugees under study only a third had successfully seen their foreign diploma accredited. This thus remains a point of concern.

Besides the effect of host country education we did not find support for the protective effect of other forms of host country-specific human capital (H4). Years of work experience in the Netherlands and Dutch language proficiency both have no significant effect on the propensity to be over-qualified. Also in additional analyses, specifically for refugees that obtained their highest qualification in the home country, no effects of host country-specific human capital are found. This finding shows that formal qualifications are more important than other host country-specific skills for finding a matching job. The variance that is explained in the models is rather small (R^2 =.10). This indicates that there are other factors driving over-qualification that are not included in our model. It is very likely that macro factors, such as labour market supply, affect refugees' chances to find a matching job. Literature shows that new migrants are the first to suffer from economic crises. Furthermore, aspects of asylum policy can play a role here. For example, in case of a lengthy asylum procedure it can be more difficult to find a matching job afterwards. During the asylum procedure one cannot follow Dutch education and can work for a maximum of 20 weeks a year, which makes it impossible to hold a job.

Table 4.3: Descriptive statistics of over-qualification (recoded), predictors and control variables for refugees (sample restricted to employed respondents who are at risk of over-qualification)

	N	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Over-qualification (recoded)	723	.46		0	1
Level obtained education	860	4.5	1.5	2	7
Location highest qualification (1=home)	860	.54		0	1
Accredited diploma (1=yes)	792	.29		0	1
Work history NL (months)	842	86.6	57.7	0	396
Language proficiency	860	2.4	.5	1	3
Length of stay	860	14.5	4.4	1	38
Dutch nationality	860	.89		0	1
Afghani	860	.23		0	1
Iraqi	860	.23		0	1
Iranian	860	.38		0	1
Somali	860	.16		0	1
Health	860	4.0	.9	1	5
Partner	860	.68		0	1
Gender (female)	860	.29		0	1
Age	860	39.1	9.4	17	70
Migration motive: War	860	.29		0	1
Political reasons	860	.54		0	1
Family migration	860	.13		0	1
Other	860	.04		0	1

Table 4.4: Ordered logistic regression on the magnitude of over-qualification for refugees in the Netherlands based on the JA approach, (*standardised coefficients*)

	M1 (N=723)	M2 (N=650)
Ethnicity (ref=Iranian)		
Afghani	.85***	.52*
Iraqi	.47*	.11
Somali	.67**	.46
Education variables		
Level of education	.34***	.27**
Location highest qualification (home=1)	.91***	-1.27*
Level of education*location qualification		.46***
Accredited diploma (yes=1)		-.77***
Host country human capital		
Duration stay		-.04
Work history in NL (months)		-.00
Language proficiency		-.14
Controls		
Dutch nationality		.24
Health		-.31**
Partner		-.47*
Gender (female=1)		-.48*
Age		.01
Migration motive (ref=other)		
War		.53
Political reasons		.33
Family migration		.39
R^2	.06	.10

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

Table 4.6 shows the analysis to test discrimination theory by comparing the propensity to be over-qualified for employed refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the Netherlands, versus native Dutch employees. We can conclude that there is no difference between these groups with regard to over-qualification (H5). Both are just as likely to find a matching job, when controlling for relevant background characteristics. This suggests that discrimination is not a widespread problem among employed refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the Netherlands. Note that these results are acquired after correcting for educational level differences. When we conduct the same analysis on the original measure we do find a difference between refugees and native Dutch: refugees are in this case more likely to be over-qualified. We can now state that this difference is due to educational level differences between the origin and host country and does not indicate discrimination.

Table 4.6: Ordered logistic regression on the magnitude of over-qualification comparing refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the Netherlands to native Dutch.

	M1: corrected (N=726)	M2: original (N=764)
Refugee (ref=native)	.22	.34
Controls		
Level of education	.17**	.47***
Work history in NL (months)	-.00	.00
Health	-.14	-.06
Gender (female=1)	-.02	.01
Age	-.02	-.03**
R^2	.02	.03

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

4.6 Conclusion & Discussion

In this chapter we contributed to the existing literature on immigrant over-qualification in three ways. First, thanks to the extensive data available, we made a distinction between education obtained in the home and host country and used this to accurately assess over-qualification among refugees. We showed that the level of over-qualification among refugees is smaller when we correct for differences in the standards of the educational system in the home and host country. Thus, when the obtained foreign education is translated to a comparable Dutch educational level, the propensity to find a matching job in the Netherlands is larger. This suggests that former studies might have over-estimated the problem of over-qualification among immigrants, since they did not take into account these educational level differences. Second, we showed that those who obtained their highest qualification abroad are more likely to be over-qualified in the Netherlands compared to refugees who obtained their degree in the Netherlands. This is especially the case when their foreign diploma is not accredited in the Netherlands. These findings indicate that, on the one hand, obtaining an educational degree in the Netherlands can help refugees find a matching job. On the other hand, the findings show the importance of diploma accreditation for those who obtained their highest qualification abroad.

Third, we found no support for discrimination theory, since employed refugees who obtained their highest qualification in the Netherlands are as likely to be over-qualified as native Dutch employees, when controlling for relevant background characteristics. This is also found among the second generation of the four classic migrant groups in the Netherlands: Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans and Surinamese (Andriessen et al. 2012). We can thus conclude that once migrants and refugees have obtained their education in the Netherlands and have successfully entered the labour market, they are treated similarly to native Dutch workers.

Overall, we can conclude that refugees who have a job in the Netherlands and obtained some kind of substantial education (higher than primary school) do not differ significantly from native Dutch when it comes to having a *matching* job. Only the group that obtained their highest qualification abroad and whose foreign diploma was not accredited in the Netherlands is more likely to be over-qualified. However, it should be noted that this group is rather large. Only a third of our sample had their diploma accredited. An underlying problem specific to refugees is the requirement to show authentic proof of foreign qualifications. Often they do not possess such documents. Other potential reasons for the low accreditation rates among this group are the costs of diploma accreditation (123 euros) and the accessibility of the procedure. For these reasons a new policy measure is recently introduced. Refugees, displaced persons and others who do not have official documents can have their educational level recognized during the integration trajectory at no cost. This is thus an alternative way of converting home country human capital without strict qualifications.

It is important to note that this conclusion and this study are based on the top segment of the labour market only. Given the focus on the education-occupation mismatch, we only included a selection of employed respondents. The group of unemployed refugees is substantial, and previous studies have shown their problematic *entrance* to the labour market for reasons of language or health, type of residence status or household composition (Bakker et al. 2013; De Vroome & Van Tubergen, 2010). Whether or not unemployment is the ultimate mismatch for higher educated refugees goes beyond the scope of this chapter, but is a highly interesting topic for further research.

We used the NUFFIC standard to correct for the differences in the educational system of the home and host country. This standard is applied in all EU countries and is thus internationally valid. However, subtracting two years from the foreign education remains a rather rough measure. In practice, for example, there may well be a difference between regions in the origin country where the education was obtained. Thus, a degree from the capital city university might be valued in a different way than one obtained at a rural university. Clearly, there is individual variation that neither NUFFIC nor we can capture here. Nonetheless, one can imagine that this causes feelings of relative deprivation. This is what is called subjective over-qualification in the literature: the sense or perception of over-qualification. This is a different perspective that could form a worthwhile subject for further research. Further, in this chapter we only studied vertical over-qualification (i.e. level differences). For further research it would be interesting to also study sector and job type differences for refugees (i.e. horizontal over-qualification). A last interesting factor to be considered in further research is the importance of the context or macro level. Clearly, the possibility of finding a matching job also depends on the supply on the labour market. If the distribution of employees' educational credentials and occupational options on the labour market is unbalanced, it will be more challenging to find a matching job.

To conclude, in this study we proposed another way of measuring over-qualification among refugees by correcting for differences in the standards of the educational system in the home and host country. More research is needed to develop a more fine-grained measure which can capture individual variation. Moreover, we showed the importance of foreign diploma accreditation in order to

find a matching job. We encourage the development of alternative ways (outside official documents) to assess refugees' qualifications so as to improve their access to a matching job. Lastly, it emerged that once refugees who have obtained their highest qualification in the Netherlands have entered the labour market, they are as likely as native Dutch employees to find a matching job.

Appendix

Table 4.5: Ordered logistic regression on the magnitude of over-qualification for refugees in the Netherlands based on the JA approach (*standardised coefficients*)

	M1 (N=723)	M2 (N=708)
Ethnicity (ref=Iranian)		
Afghani	.80***	.49*
Iraqi	.47*	.26
Somali	.62**	.32
Education variables		
Level of education	.37***	.23**
Highest qualification origin country + accreditation (ref= highest qualification NL)	.52*	-1.25
Highest qualification origin country, no accreditation	1.09***	-1.49**
Accreditation*level of education		.35
No accreditation*level of education		.54***
Host country human capital		
Duration stay		-.03
Work history in NL (months)		-.00
Language proficiency		-.14
Controls		
Dutch nationality		.19
Health		-.34***
Partner		-.53**
Gender (female=1)		-.46*
Age		.00
Migration motive (ref=other)		
War		.70
Political reasons		.41
Family migration		.19
R^2	.06	.10

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

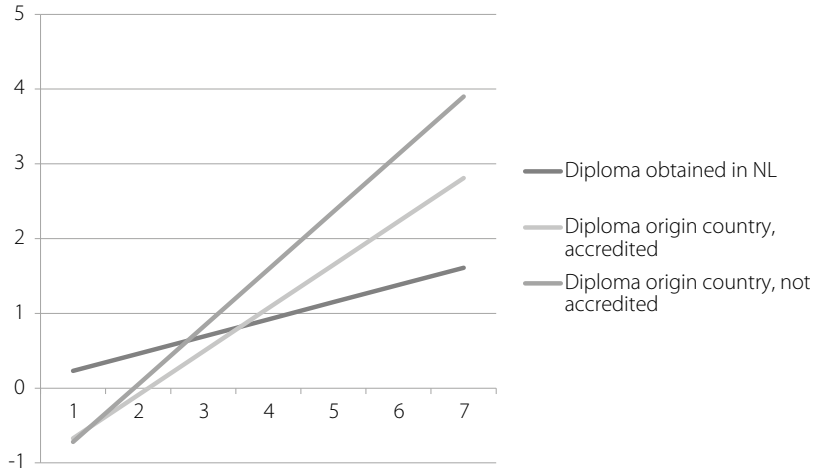

Figure 4.1: Interaction effect of educational level and dummy on highest qualification and diploma accreditation. (Educational level on x-axis, degree of over-qualification on y-axis.)

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This chapter is co-authored by Godfried Engbersen and Jaco Dagevos. A slightly different version is published as: Bakker, L., Engbersen, G. and Dagevos, J. (2014) In exile and in touch: Transnational activities of refugees in a comparative perspective. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *2* (3) 261-282.

Chapter 5

In exile and in touch: Transnational activities of refugeess

Abstract: Studying transnational behaviour, i.e. interactions between the sending and receiving countries of international migrants, is especially interesting for refugees given their migration motive and history. Due to the flight, resources are lost and returning to the home country is often not an option; both are factors that might limit transnational behaviour. The central aim of this study is to explain the patterns of transnational behaviour for refugee groups in relation to their integration process. For this we use a large scale dataset (N=3950) which contains information on Somali, Iranian, Iraqi and Afghani refugees in the Netherlands. Along the lines of the 'resource dependent' thesis the analyses show that individual capacities, such as employment and Dutch nationality, are of major importance in explaining transnational activities of refugees. Second, this chapter shows that the economic and social situation in the origin country should be taken into account for understanding the differences in transnational activities among refugee groups.

5.1 Introduction

Interactions between the sending and receiving countries of international migrants are gauged in the concept of 'transnationalism'. Glick Schiller et al. (1992) conceptualized it as 'social processes whereby immigrants create social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders, and develop multiple familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political relations that span nations'. Studies on transnationalism among labour migrants show that immigrants are increasingly leading dual lives; they maintain various transnational ties and find new ways for economic mobility via cross-border networks (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Portes et al., 2002).

For refugees transnational behaviour might be less straightforward because of their migration motive and history. Johnson and Stoll (2008) argue for example that sending remittances to the country of origin is more stressful for refugee groups, because many of them arrive with a minimum of resources due to the spontaneous flight. Also refugees' possibilities to stay in contact with the origin country and the possibilities to return to the home country might be limited because the internet and phone network is not widely dispersed. Besides such practical reasons refugees might fear to perform any kind of transnational behaviour due to the threat of personal persecution (Mascini et al., 2012). Moreover, their perception of and identification with the home country might be distorted due to the ruling regime; therefore they might no longer want to be involved with the origin country (Díaz-Briquets & Péréz-López, 1997).

Previous research on transnationalism among refugee groups generally focussed on transnational political activities, such as the support of military actions or membership of a political organisation, advocacy or lobbying (Horst, 2008). Within the broader field of migration research, studies on transnationalism often focus on economic activities which are generally understood as sending money or goods (i.e. remittances) to the country of origin. Main topics are the determinants and mechanisms of remitting behaviour (DeSipio, 2002; Manjívar et al., 1998) and the (economic) impact of remitting on the local community of origin (see Marcelli & Lowell, 2005).

Others showed the relevance of also studying socio-cultural activities, which can range from the reinforcement of national identity to involvement in everyday lives of family at home (Portes et al., 1999; Vertovec, 2001). Affordable communication and travel allows people nowadays to actively exchange between the host and home country. Therefore visiting the origin country and maintaining contact with family and friends at home are good indicators of socio-cultural transnational activities (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002; Snel et al., 2006). Until recently it was argued that refugee groups arrive in the host country with limited resources and thus do not have the capacities to perform such economic or socio-cultural transnational activities. Al-Ali et al. (2001a), while studying several aspects of transnationalism by the experience of Bosnians and Eritreans refugees in Europe, were among the first to show that refugee groups are also economically and socio-culturally transnationally active (see also Snel et al., 2006). In this chapter we therefore aim to further study and explain economic and socio-cultural transnationalism among refugee groups in terms of remittances and having contact with family and friends in the origin country and visiting the home country.

The contribution of this chapter is twofold. We apply a comparative approach studying the differences in transnational behaviour between Afghani, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali refugees in the Netherlands using both a host country and origin country perspective. We use the conceptual framework of Al-Ali et al. (2001b) on individuals' *capacities* and their *desire* to participate in transnational activities. The desire is understood as the extent to which individuals and communities relate to the social, economic or political processes in their home and host country. Capacities refer to skills and resources available to the refugee but also to the internal organization of migrant communities.

We combine this framework with the resource dependent and reactive transnationalism thesis of Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002). We stress that it is important to not only study capacities and desires of refugees in the host country to be able to be transnationally active, but also include the living conditions of the stay-behinds in the origin country. Former research already showed the importance of macro level characteristics, such as political and economic stability in the home country, in explaining transnationalism (Carling et al., 2012; Hagen-Zanker & Siegel, 2007; Lindley, 2008). However, a combined theoretical model including the individual situation in the host country and the context of the origin country is innovative. Based on this we thus expect differences between the four refugee groups under study with regard to their transnational behaviour. Our research question therefore reads: *how can transnational activities of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands be explained by individual capacities and desires in the host country? And how do these patterns differ between the four origin countries?*

For this study we use large survey data (N=3950) gathered by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011), which contains extensive information on both transnational activities and diverse integration measures of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands; Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali. This allows us to conduct one of the first quantitative studies on transnational activities among refugees. We will bring in additional macro data that gives insight into the social and economic situation of the four origin countries.

5.2 Transnationalism: A theoretical framework in comparative perspective

Transnationalism is often studied in relation to integration in the destination country because these are assumed to be related mechanisms (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Snel et al., 2006). In the traditional view (Alba & Nee, 1997) transnational activities diminishes as the process of integration advances; this is also referred to as *'linear' transnationalism*. For example, a longer stay in the destination country enhances integration and simultaneously diminishes involvement in the origin country. Also it is often argued that involvement with the country of origin hinders engagement in the host society. This popular belief is not supported by academic research; ties with the country of origin can be combined with involvement in the host country (Carling, 2008; Marcelli & Lowell, 2005; Portes et al., 2002; Snel et al., 2006; Wong, 2007).

In response to this, two other mechanisms of transnationalism have been formulated. According to the '*resource dependent' transnationalism thesis* economic integration goes hand in hand with participation in transnational activities (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002). Capacities – skills and resources available to the refugee - in the host country, such as employment and legal status, enable migrants to send home remittances and visit the origin country. Mazzucato (2008) showed for Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands that those who invest in the home country are at the same time engaged in making a living in the Netherlands. In the case of *'reactive transnationalism'*, transnational activities emerge from a lack of satisfaction with the life in the host country (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002). Due to negative experiences in the host country, such as feelings of discrimination, immigrants retain a close band with the origin country (Glick Schiller & Fouron, 1998; Portes, 1999).

In this study we add another aspect to the mechanisms of resource dependent and reactive transnationalism: the situation in the origin country. Both mechanisms as formulated by Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) only involve the situation of migrants in the host country. We argue that, especially for refugees, the situation in the home country can also influence their transnational behaviour. Besides the resources that are available to refugees in the host country, we argue that also the resources available to the stay-behinds in the origin country can affect for example the demand for remittances (Lindley, 2008). At the same time we argue that not only the societal climate in the host country can affect the desire for transnational behaviour but also the (conflict) situation in the origin country. We do not have direct data on these factors on the individual level. Instead we use macro data to sketch the different economic and social contexts of the origin countries.

Refugees are often studied as one group based on their shared 'refugee experience'. However, different refugee groups clearly fled from different situations in the origin country and have a different migration history. Iranian refugees are mostly higher educated and from the urban middle class wherefore they could afford to flee the country. They were generally most threatened by the regime of ayatollah Khomeini because of their modern lifestyle and fled in order to maintain their western values and way of life (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011; Ghorashi, 2005; Hessels, 2002). In contrast, Somali refugees are generally low educated men who leave behind their family and community in conflict and poverty (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011; Hessels, 2000; Nieuwhof & Mahamoud, 2000). The Afghani mostly fled due to the strict Taliban regime and the Iraqi to escape from the 'war on terrorism' (Hessels & Wassie, 2003).

Moreover, the situation of the refugee groups in the host country varies as well. The refugee population under study together constitutes 8% of the non-western population in Dutch society.[1] Of the four refugee groups under study the Iranian are the best economically integrated group in the Netherlands. Half of them are employed for more than 12h a week and almost 40% has achieved some form of higher education. Paradoxically, compared to the other refugee groups, they feel the

1 Statistics Netherlands distinguishes between western and non-western countries. Western countries are all European countries including Central and Eastern Europe (except Turkey), North American countries, some Asian countries (Japan and Indonesia), and the countries in Oceania (Australia and New Zealand). Turkey and all countries in Latin and South America, Africa and Asia are considered non-western.

least accepted in the Netherlands. In contrast, less than a third of the Somali group has a job and more than half of the Somalis are dependent on social benefits. Also their educational level is extremely low compared to the other refugee groups. They do however feel most accepted in the Netherlands. In terms of integration in the Netherlands the Iraqi group holds a middle position together with the Afghani. About a third is employed for more than 12h a week and half of them feel accepted in the Netherlands (Table 5.1).

Based on these two dimensions, the individual situation in the host country and situation in the origin country, we expect differences in transnational behaviour among the four refugee groups. We will use these two dimensions to derive hypotheses for the four refugee groups along the lines of resource dependent and reactive transnationalism.

Table 5.1: Description of research population

	Afghani	Iraqi	Iranian	Somali
Number in the Netherlands*	38,000	52,000	31,000	27,000
Socio-demographic background	Mixed	Mixed	Mostly from urban middle class	Young, single men; widows; minors without their parents
Mode of integration (in %) Source: SING09				
Employment	35	34	49	30
Education (=high)	23	26	35	6
Dutch nationality	77	70	80	59
Perceived acceptance (=high)	51	54	40	58
Experienced discrimination	6	6	8	6

*In January 2010

5.3 Hypotheses

5.3.1 Situation host country

Employment and a secure legal status are considered to be important factors that influence refugees' capacity to be involved in transnational activities. Employment provides a salary and the possibility of savings. This enables refugees to both support family in the home country and to finance visits. Refugees with a refugee status often hold temporary and lower skilled jobs. Hence, in order to make a stable living in the host country, a secure legal status is necessary (Al-Ali et al., 2001b). Also a secure legal status enables refugees to travel to the country of origin. In our case, holding Dutch nationality means that they are entitled to the protection of the Dutch embassy and government in case of trouble (Muller, 2010). We argue that education and health are also important factors that can influence refugees' capacities to perform transnational activities. A higher educational level provides refugees better access to the labour market. Similarly, a good health state benefits refugees' success

on the labour market. Following the mechanism of 'resource dependent' transnationalism, which states that (economic) integration goes hand in hand with participation in transnational activities, we propose the general hypothesis that *refugees with more individual capacities are more likely to perform both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities* (H1: resource dependent transnationalism hypothesis). Applying this mechanism to the four refugee groups under study we would expect that the Iranian group has the most capacities to perform transnational behavior, since they are best economically integrated. Similarly, we would expect that the Somali are the least transnational active, due to a lack of financial resources (Table 5.1).

Following the mechanism of 'reactive transnationalism' (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002) it can be argued that negative experiences in the host country, such as discrimination, will enhance the willingness – or desire - to engage in transnational activities. We thus expect that *refugees who personally experience discrimination in the host country are more likely to perform socio-cultural transnational activities* (H2a: reactive transnationalism hypothesis). Additionally, positive experiences in the host country may also affect the desire to be engaged in transnational activities. Carling and Hoelscher (2013) argue that a feeling of acceptance in the Netherlands and a sense of belonging might diminish the desire to remain transnationally active. Thus, we expect that *refugees who perceive to be accepted in the host country are less likely to perform socio-cultural transnational activities* (H2b).

Since the Somali group feels most accepted in the Netherlands, we expect them to perform the least socio-cultural transnational activities. Iranians experience the most discrimination and along this line of reasoning we would thus expect them to perform most socio-cultural transnational activities. Discrimination and perceived acceptance are not two opposites on the same continuum. The first is an active and personal experience, whereas the latter represents the refugees' general view on the Netherlands as a tolerant and open country. Both hypotheses thus tap in to another mechanism to explain transnational behaviour and are therefore both included.

5.3.2 Situation origin countries

The first obvious home related factor is the family the refugee has left behind. Clark and Drinkwater (2008) showed that remittances are more likely when parents still live in the home country. Having more distant relatives in the home country, like uncles and aunts, has no effect on the likelihood to remit. Also maintaining contact with the country of origin seems more likely when close relatives have been left behind. We thus argue that refugees who left *close relatives behind (i.e. partner and children) are more likely to perform both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities* (H3: close relatives hypothesis).

Besides the individual home country factors the economic and social macro level features of the countries under study (i.e. available resources in the home country) are important to consider in explaining transnational behaviour. Hagen-Zanker and Siegel (2007) showed that the economic and political situation of the home country influences refugees' remittances behaviour. Negative economic changes in the home country can enhance the need for remittances whereas high inflation

may discourage remittances sending. Also Sana and Massey (2005) showed that variation in the situation in the country of origin shapes remittances behaviour. Johnson and Stoll (2008) propose that a situation of conflict in the origin country may increase the demand for remittances. Refugees' from these countries might also be more inclined to remit due to feelings of social obligation. Carling et al. (2012) recently showed the importance of conflict in the origin country for understanding transnationalism. On-going conflict in the country of origin indeed exerts an upward pressure on remittances sending. This leads to the general expectation that refugees from origin countries with a poor economic situation or conflict situation are more likely to remit.

Looking specifically at the four countries under study we observe that the GDP per capita in Iran is with $10,600 by far the highest compared to $3,800 in Iraq, $900 in Afghanistan and only $600 in Somalia. Regarding the life expectancy at birth Iran and Iraq hold the best position with an average around 70 years, whereas this is 50 years in Somalia and only 45 years in Afghanistan. Also with regard to education we observe that around 75% of the population aged 15 years and older in Iran and Iraq can read and write, while 38% of the Somali and only 28% of the Afghan population aged 15 years and older is literate. Together these factors shape the Human Development Index (HDI) included in the United Nations Human Development report. The index of 2013 shows that Iran is in a state of high human development (.74), the situation in Iraq is ranked as medium (.59) and the situation of human development in Afghanistan (.37) and Somalia (.28) is (very) low (Table 5.2). Based on these indicators Iran seems to fare better than the other countries under study. On a distance Iraq follows and Somalia and Afghanistan hold the least favourable positions. More specifically, the low GDP per capita and the considerably low welfare level (i.e. literacy, life expectancy) in both Somalia and Afghanistan indicate a need for financial support in these countries. In addition, Somalia being a country in conflict[2], refugees from this origin country might feel more obliged to support family in the home country. We therefore hypothesize that *the likelihood of remittances sending (economic transnational activity) is highest to Somalia, followed by Afghanistan, Iraq and is the lowest to Iran* (H4: financial stress hypothesis).

Table 5.2: Economic and social context of origin countries: indicators for urgency financial support

	Afghanistan	Iraq	Iran	Somalia
GDP per capita (US dollars)	900	3800	10600	600
Life expectancy at birth (years)	45	71	70	50
Literacy (%)	28	74	77	38
HDI	.37	.59	.74	.28

Source: CIA world factbook 2010 and United Nations Report 2012

2 Somalia has the lowest rank (158) on the Global Peace Index 2012 (a product of Institute for Economics and Peace). Closely followed by Afghanistan (157), Iraq (155) and again Iran holds the best position (128), also regarding conflict.

Second, communication facilities and infrastructure in the origin country are crucial for having contact with family at home and for visiting the origin country. In general we would thus expect that refugees from origin countries with more communication facilities are more likely to perform socio-cultural transnational activities. According to the CIA world factbook Iran has the most telephone and internet users, followed by Iraq and Afghanistan. Interestingly, Afghanistan has very little telephone lines in use, but four in ten residents do have a mobile phone. Communication possibilities are the worst in Somalia. Only seven out of hundred inhabitants have direct access to a telephone (line or cellular) and only one out of hundred is an internet user (Figure 5.1). Additionally, since Somali is a country in conflict, contact and visits might be dangerous or impossible. We thus hypothesize that *socio-cultural transnational activities are least likely to Somalia, followed by Afghanistan and Iraq and most likely to Iran* (H5: facilities hypothesis).

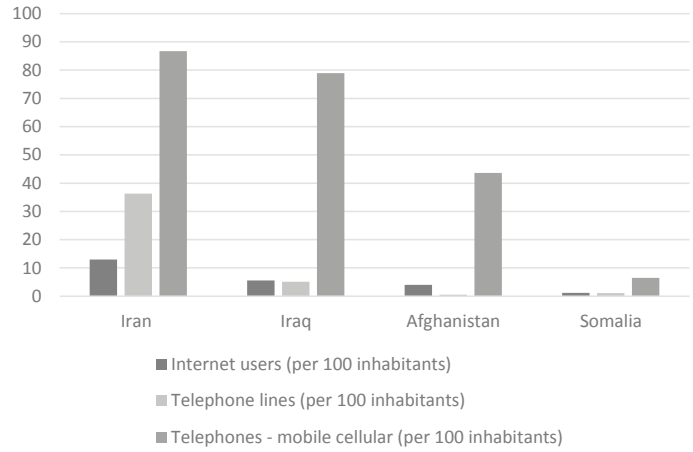

Figure 5.1: Origin countries technological infrastructure: indicator for communication possibilities (Source: CIA world factbook 2010)

It should be noted that the formulated hypotheses based on the host and home country situation are complementary for explaining socio-cultural transnational behavior. However, for explaining the economic transnational behavior of refugees seemingly contradictory hypotheses (H1 and H4) are formulated. On the one hand, based on the host country situation we would expect Iranians to be the most frequent remitter, since this group is most resourceful. On the other hand, considering the home country situation, we expect the Somali group to perform most economic transnational activities due to the great urgency for financial support. All derived hypotheses are summarized in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Overview of hypotheses on the performance of transnational activities of refugees in the Netherlands based on the host and home country situation.

General hypothesis		**Specific comparative hypothesis**			
Host country situation	*Dependent variable*	*Iranian*	*Iraqi*	*Afghani*	*Somali*
Resources/capacities H1: (+)	Economic and socio-cultural transnational activities	+	+/-	+/-	-
Reactive H2a: (discrimination: +) H2b: (acceptance: -)	Socio-cultural transnational activities	+	+/-	+/-	-
Home country situation	*Dependent variable*	*Iranian*	*Iraqi*	*Afghani*	*Somali*
Partner/children in origin country H3: (+)	Economic and socio-cultural transnational activities				
Economic resources/capacities H4: (-)	Economic transnational activities	-	+/-	+/-	+
Facilities / infrastructure H5: (+)	Socio-cultural transnational activities	+	+/-	+/-	-

5.4 Data & Methods

5.4.1 Data

In this study we will use the Survey Integration New Groups (SING2009) dataset gathered in 2009 by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP). This cross-sectional dataset contains information on different dimensions of transnationalism and integration of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Iraqi, Somali, Iranian and Afghan individuals. A national two step random sample was drawn, in collaboration with Statistics Netherlands (CBS), from the Municipality Records (GBA). In the first step municipalities were randomly selected. A distinction was made between medium and small municipalities. The four large cities in the Netherlands, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and The Hague were included by choice. From the selected municipalities respondents were randomly drawn. Within each refugee group about 1000 structured face-to-face interviews were conducted. In order to reach also those who had not yet mastered the Dutch language, bilingual interviewers were used for interviews with refugees who had resided in the Netherlands for a period shorter than five years. Almost half of the sampled Afghan (49%) and Iraqi (48%) group participated; the response rate in the other groups was somewhat lower. Of the sampled Iranian group 44% participated and 38% of the Somali group did.[3] The distribution of age and gender in the sample differs only slightly from the population. For example, Somali men are underrepresented and youngsters (in the age of 15-34) in the Afghani, Iraqi and Iranian group are underrepresented; therefore a weight was included (Dourleijn, 2010). Based on this procedure we can state that selectivity of the sample is limited and that sample is thus representative of the first generation refugee population from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Somalia in the Netherlands. In this study the determination of ethnicity is based on the country of birth.

3 This also means that the non-response is about 50% per group. The largest share of non-response is due to refusal. Not having reached respondents at home after 6 approaches is another reason for non-response. Those addresses that for unknown reasons have not been approached by the interviewers are also included in the non-response.

The sample population consists of members of the Afghani, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali group with a granted status and aged 15 and above (N=3950). Since we are only interested in refugees with a flight experience and motive we excluded the second generation refugees (n=91), as well as persons who came for work and study purposes (n=86). We did include family migrants (n=662) since they often fled along with their partner or parent. The survey asks for the main reason of migration. Consequently, one might not personally experience fear of personal persecution but decide to flee together or after a family member who did experience a fear of personal persecution. In such cases the main migration reason might be family reunification. We argue that this group thus also has a flight experience and that they are relevant with regard of the research question about transnational activities.

5.4.2 Method

We will test separate models for 1) economic and 2) socio-cultural transnational activities. Since economic transnational activities are measured with a dichotomous variable we will conduct binary logistic regression. Socio-cultural transnational activities are measured on an ordinal scale and thus an ordered logistic regression analysis is required.

5.4.3 Measures: Transnational activities

Economic transnational activities are generally understood as remittances: sending money or goods to the home country. In this study we will use the *occurrence of remittances* as the measure for economic transnational activities using the direct question: 'Did you send money or goods to your origin country in the past year?' (1=yes). We are not able to measure the intensity of the activity since we do not have information on the amount of remittances sent. Socio-cultural transnational activities are measured by *having contact with family* in the origin country (1=never, 2=occasionally, 3=frequent)[4] and *visits to the origin country* (1=never, 2=occasionally, 3=each year), both on an ordinal scale.[5]

5.4.4 Measures: Capacities and desires

We have distinguished four possible indicators of capacities for performing transnational behavior. *Employment status* represents those refugees who are currently employed for more than 12 hours a week (1) versus unemployed people and those who are looking for employment (0). *Education* is measured in eight categories ranging from no education to university degree. We constructed a dummy for Dutch nationality in order to measure the effect of *legal status*. General *health* is based on self-evaluation and measured on a scale from 1 (very bad) to 5 (very good).

Then, several factors which can affect the desire for refugees to engage in transnational activities are distinguished. Regarding the host country respondents were asked how often they personally *experienced discrimination* on a five-point scale ranging from 1=never to 5=very often. In order to measure *perceived acceptance* a mean scale out of four items is used (Cronbach's α=.77). Respondents

4 Those refugees who have no family in the origin country are excluded (n=203).

5 The category 'not possible to visit' was excluded from the analysis to explain visits to the origin country. Note that these respondents are included in the models to explain remittances and contact behaviour.

were asked to what extent they felt that 'In the Netherlands migrants get all the chances', 'As migrant in the Netherlands all your rights are respected', 'The Netherlands is a hospitable country for migrants' and 'The Netherlands is open to other (migrant) cultures' (categories 1=fully disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, 5=fully agree).

For the desires connected to the home country that can affect transnational behaviour we measure *having a partner and/or children in home country* with one dummy variable. Then, we control for *gender* (female = 1), *age*, *main reason of migration* (0= war, 1= fear of personal persecution, 2= family reunification, 3=other) and *wish to return* (1=yes). It should be noted that most refugees do realize that it often is not possible or realistic to return. Last, we use the natural log of the variable *length of stay* in years in order to prevent ourselves from extreme scores. In order to gain insight in possible differences among the refugee groups dummies per origin country are included (Iran = ref). Summary statistics are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Description of dependent, independent and control variables

	N	*Min.*	*Max.*	*Mean*	*Std. dev.*
Dependent variables					
Remittances	3764	0	1	.21	
Contact with family	3561	1	3	2.07	.71
Visit country of origin	2822	1	3	1.37	.55
Independent variables					
Employment status	3769	0	1	.37	
Education	3637	0	7	3.30	2.33
Dutch nationality (yes=1)	3769	0	1	.71	
Health	3764	1	5	3.73	1.08
Experienced discrimination	3655	1	5	1.86	1.04
Perceived acceptance	3736	1	5	3.74	.72
Partner/child in home country	3769	0	1	.04	
Origin country (Iran= ref)					
Afghanistan	3769	0	1	.26	
Iraq	3769	0	1	.25	
Somalia	3769	0	1	.25	
Control variables					
Female	3769	0	1	.47	
Age (in years)	3769	15	90	36.20	13.06
Length of stay (in years)	3769	1	42	12.31	4.80
Return wish (yes=1)	3493	0	1	.27	
Reason of migration (other= ref)					
War	3769	0	1	.41	
Fear of personal persecution	3769	0	1	.37	
Family reunification	3769	0	1	.17	

5.5 Results

5.5.1 Descriptive results

About a fifth of the research population has sent home money or goods in the past year (Table 5.5). In general the data show that most refugees send remittances to their parents in the country of origin and to other family members. A quarter of remittances sent by Afghani refugees go to organisations in Afghanistan. About a third of the research population has frequent contact with family at home and another 50% occasionally. Almost a quarter of the research population visits the country of origin occasionally. For another quarter a visit to the origin country is not possible. The Somali have the largest report of refugees who state that visiting the country of origin is not possible (Table 5.5). This might be an indication of conflict in the origin country which can hinder the performance of transnational activities. Further we observe that the Somali group has the largest share of remitters (29%) and the Iranian group the smallest (13%). The pattern of performing socio-cultural transnational activities strongly differs from that of the economic activities. Here the Iranian group has the highest percentage of maintaining contact with family at home and visiting the country of origin. The Somali followed by the Afghan group have the smallest share of refugees who perform socio-cultural transnational activities.

The bivariate relations are shown in Table 5.6 (see Appendix) and are in the expected directions. Identified resources, such as employment, education and having the Dutch nationality, are positively correlated with both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities. Also we observe that perceived acceptance in the Dutch society is negatively related to transnational activities. We will test whether these relations remain in a multivariate design, controlling for relevant background characteristics. Also we will further test the observed differences between refugee groups.

Table 5.5: Transnational activities per refugee group (in %)

	Total	Afghani	Iraqi	Iranian	Somali
Send remittances	21	24	17	13	29
Contact: Never	22	27	15	9	36
Occasionally	49	53	54	50	40
Frequent	29	20	32	41	24
Visit: Never	52	55	46	40	65
Occasionally	23	22	29	35	6
Once a year	3	1	3	9	.5
Not possible	22	21	22	16	28

5.5.2 Multivariate results

The results of the binary logistic regression on the likelihood to send remittances (model 1) and the results of the ordered logistic regression on the odds of having contact with family in the country of origin (model 2) and on the odds of visiting the origin country (model 3) are presented in Table 5.7. We expected that the capacities of refugees would be positively related to both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities (H1: resource dependent hypothesis). Indeed the analyses show that having a job, a higher education and better general health increases the probability of sending home money or goods, to maintain contact with family in the home country and to visit the origin country. This supports the 'resource dependent transnationalism' thesis: socio-economic integration in the host country benefits transnationalism. For having the Dutch nationality we find that this increases the odds on performing socio-cultural transnational activities. Especially for explaining visiting behaviour to the origin country having the Dutch nationality is one of the most important predictors.

Table 5.7: Logistic regression on the likelihood of having sent remittances in the past year (model 1) and ordered logistic regression on the likelihood of having contact with family in country of origin (model 2) and on the likelihood of visiting the country of origin (model 3); (odds ratios, standard errors between brackets)

	Model 1 (n=3375) Remittances	Model 2 (n=3099) Contact	Model 3 (n=2470) Visit
Origin country (Iran=ref)			
Afghanistan	2.98****** (*.45*)	.35** (*.04*)	.38** *(.05*)
Iraq	1.98** (*.30*)	.73** (*.07*)	.68** (*.08*)
Somalia	3.66** (*.61*)	.34** (*.04*)	.09** (*.02*)
Employment	1.57** (*.16*)	1.24** (*.10*)	1.27* (*.13*)
Education	1.13** (*.03*)	1.08** (*.02*)	1.03
Dutch nationality	1.15	1.60** (*.15*)	2.37** (*.35*)
Health	1.17** (*.06*)	1.11** (*.04*)	1.11* (*.06*)
Experienced discrimination	-	1.02	.90* (*.04*)
Perceived acceptance	-	.87** (.05)	.80**(*.06*)
Partner/child in home country	2.03** (*.47*)	1.68** (*.32*)	1.38
Gender (female=1)	.96	1.51** (*.11*)	1.14
Age	.97**(*.00*)	1.01** (*.00*)	1.00
Length of stay (log)	1.88** *(.24)*	.62** (*.05*)	.91
Return wish	1.79** (*.18*)	2.49** (*.21*)	2.56** (*.27*)
Reason migration (other=ref)			
War	.66~	1.18	1.10
Fear of personal persecution	.64~	1.17	.95
Family reunification	.74	1.33	1.65~
Chi^2	df(15)=332.9	df(17)=476.7	df (17)=442.0
Nagelkerke R^2	.10	.07	.12

Note:**p<.01,*p<.05, ~p<.10

Second, we do not find support for the 'reactive transnationalism' thesis. Experienced discrimination has no effect on the odds of maintaining in contact with family at home. Hypothesis 2a is thus rejected. We do find support for the hypothesis that perceived acceptance is negatively related to the performance of socio-cultural transnational activities (H2b). Thus positive experiences in the host country (i.e. feelings of perceived acceptance) do decrease the odds on maintaining contact with family in the home country and visiting the origin country.

Third, we expected that having close relatives in the origin country would increase the performance of both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities. We found convincing support for this hypothesis. Indeed, having a partner or child in the home country positively affects both remittances sending and maintaining contact with family at home (H3).

Obvious differences are found in the performance of economic and socio-cultural transnational activities among refugee groups. The likelihood of remitting is the largest for the Somali and Afghan group and the smallest for the Iranian group (Table 5.7). This is contrary to want we expected under the resource dependent transnationalism thesis. So, even though the socio-economic position of the Somalis in the Netherlands is the lowest of all refugee groups under study, which implies that they have the least capacities to perform transnational behaviour, they are the most frequent remitters. This finding is in line with former findings in Norway that, despite their low income, Somali refugees are the most regular remitters (Carling, 2008).

Also when individual capacities are included in the model these differences remain. Thus, the observed differences among the refugee groups are not solely due to the different modes of integration and individual capacities and desires. The analyses show that these factors alone cannot explain the observed differences among the refugee groups under study. This provides tentative support for the financial stress hypothesis (H4) since also characteristics of the origin country and stay-behinds are of importance in understanding the performance of transnational activities. Since Iran has significantly higher GDP per capita and generally leave relatively wealthy families behind we argue that financial support is possibly less needed. This can partly explain the lower percentage of remittance sending within the Iranian group. On the contrary, Somalia being a country in poverty and conflict, the demand for financial support might be strong; which can explain why Somali refugees are the most frequent remitters.

Similarly, looking at the differences in maintaining contact with the family at home and visiting the origin country we observe, in congruence with our expectation, that the Iranian group is most likely and the Somali and Afghan group least likely to perform socio-cultural transnational activities. On the individual level this can partly be due to the feelings of perceived acceptance; Somalis feel most accepted and therefore perhaps have less desire to remain in contact with the origin country. However, these differences also remain when perceived acceptance is included in the model. This provides tentative support for the facilities hypothesis (H5), since the observed differences cannot be explained by the individual host country situation. It thus seems that indeed the limited communication possibilities and the current safety situation in Somalia can provide an explanation

for the low likelihood of the Somali group to perform socio-cultural transnational activities. Again, since Iran is holding the best (welfare) position and has by far the most telephone and internet users it seems plausible for them to perform the most socio-cultural transnational activities.

5.6 Conclusion & Discussion

In this chapter we aimed to explain the performance of transnational activities of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands in a comparative perspective. First, we found support for the resource dependent transnationalism thesis, since employment, education and health are important factors that affect the capacities of refugees to remit, to maintain contact with family in the country of origin and to visit the origin country. In other words, (economic) integration in the host country benefits the performance of transnational behaviour. Further, having the Dutch nationality is of great importance for performing socio-cultural transnational activities. This seems to indicate that for refugees the security, safety and protection provided by a Dutch passport enable them to maintain contact with and visit family in the origin country. Again, integration and transnationalism are compatible and even reinforcing.

In general we thus find that the mechanism of resource dependent transnationalism is confirmed for all refugee groups. However, looking at the separate refugee groups we conclude that there is more to it. Despite having a low level of economic integration in the host country, the Somali group is the most frequent remitter. Iranians, on the contrary, are better economically incorporated but the least frequent remitters. The simple general assumption that low-income migrants are not able to remit seems to be insufficient to explain the pattern of refugees' transnational behaviour. A possible explanation for this unexpected finding lies in the nature of the host country. The Netherlands is a social welfare state where everyone, also without employment, is provided with a basic income which lies almost at the level of the minimum wage. Thus, even refugees who do not hold a job do have the resources to remit.

Following from this chapter we propose a second explanation for these seemingly contradictory findings: the origin country situation. The general welfare situation, according to the Human Development Index, in Somalia and Afghanistan is considerable worse compared to Iran. Therefore the potential need for financial support of the stay-behinds in Somalia is assumed to be larger. Moreover, considering the enormous relative wealth difference between Somalia and the Netherlands, each amount, even an amount of remittances that is considered to be small in the Netherlands, is of great value for stay-behinds in Somalia. Whereas the stay-behinds of Iranians, who more often are from middle class families, are less dependent on remittances from family abroad. In addition, due to limited internet and telephone facilities in Somalia, staying in contact with stay-behinds in the origin country is difficult. Last, conflict in the origin country can be a serious obstacle for visiting the home country. Again this applies mostly to Somalia, since this country is suffering from most conflict of the four countries under study. All together this chapter provides tentative support for the importance of the

economic and social situation in the origin country for explaining refugees' transnational behaviour. In this study we showed the importance of both the resources *available* to refugees in the host country and the *potential need* for resources in the origin country for explaining refugees' transnational behaviour; it is a two-way process. Unfortunately we were not able to test the impact of country characteristics directly. Future research could take up the challenge and include such macro characteristics of the home country and more specific information on the stay-behinds in the analysis in order to test their separate effects.

This chapter has clearly shown that the relation between integration and transnationalism for refugees is complex and intertwined. On the one hand, integration benefits the performance of transnational behaviour. Thus, having a job or good education enables refugees to remit and stay in touch. On the other hand, we should not lose out of sight that demands from the origin country do also affect refugees' behaviour. To conclude, the pattern of the performance of transnational activities of refugees is strongly characterised by resource dependent transnationalism. In addition, this chapter drew attention to the importance of the economic and social situation in the origin country in explaining transnationalism for refugee groups.

Appendix

Table 5.6: Correlation matrix (Spearman correlation)

	Remit	Contact	Visit	Employed	Education	Dutch nat	Health	Perc acc	Exp disc	P/C in OC
Remit	1.00									
Contact	.19	1.00								
Visit	.06	.41	1.00							
Employed	.12	.09	.11	1.00						
Education	.06	.20	.17	.25	1.00					
Dutch nat	.09	.11	.17	.21	.22	1.00				
Health	.11	-.00	.01	.20	.02	.01	1.00			
Perc acc	-.07	-.09	-.11	-.05	-.12	-.08	.10	1.00		
Exp disc	.07	.04	.03	.09	.14	.10	.00	-.31	1.00	
P/C in OC	.02	.05	.01	-.05	-.02	-.04	-.07	.01	.00	1.00

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Chapter 6

The asylum-integration paradox: Comparing asylum regimes and refugee integration in the Netherlands and the UK

Abstract: In this chapter we explore the impact of asylum regimes on refugee integration focusing on two countries: the UK and the Netherlands. Both have adopted deterrent approaches to asylum support in a bid to become unattractive asylum seeking destinations. The Dutch favour the use of asylum accommodation centres, essentially segregating asylum seekers from the general population. In contrast, the UK disperse asylum seekers to housing within deprived areas, embedding them within communities. Both countries have been criticized for these asylum practices which are viewed as potentially obstructing refugee integration: a paradox given that both countries openly discuss the importance of refugee integration. We analyse refugee integration surveys in both countries and find that there are negative associations between asylum regimes and refugees' health. The integration and asylum policy implications of these findings are discussed.

6.1 Introduction

The rise in number of individuals seeking asylum has attracted a great deal of political, policy and public attention over the past two decades. Across Europe (EU27), asylum applications rose from 200,000 in 2006 to 320,000 in 2012 (Eurostat). European states have found themselves torn between their obligations under the 1951 UN Convention to provide refuge to those with a well-founded fear of persecution, and increasing concerns about the costs of supporting asylum seekers, and the impact of increasing numbers upon social cohesion. While attempts to agree a common European asylum policy have largely been resisted, most EU countries have separately developed both asylum and integration policy.

The UK and Netherlands share many common features in their response to asylum seeking. Both offer a rhetoric that portrays their nations as having a long history of offering sanctuary and being tolerant of difference, and until relatively recently, have supported multiculturalism (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). However, as a consequence of increasing numbers of asylum seekers, both countries saw the emergence of negative popular and media attitudes towards asylum seekers, with arrivals being portrayed as making false claims about experiencing persecution in order to access housing, benefits and employment and, in doing so, take advantage of allegedly generous welfare states. Despite the lack of evidence about asylum seekers being attracted by welfare provision (Robinson & Segrott, 2002), both countries acted in a bid to reduce asylum numbers and associated costs, and to placate an increasingly anxious population. A common theme is the adoption of deterrent approaches to asylum support wherein access to benefits, employment and housing is restricted, as an attempt to become less attractive as asylum seeking destinations.

Paradoxically, both countries also place importance upon the integration of recognised refugees with equal access to work, health, and education, and development of a wide range of social networks as well as local language proficiency seen as policy priorities (Home Office 2005; 2009; Ministry of Social Affairs 2011). These can be considered 'dual policy goals': on the one hand deterrent and exclusive during the asylum procedure and on the other inclusive integration goals for those granted leave to remain.

While the thinking underpinning policy and many of the objectives of both countries converge, their approaches to supporting asylum seekers and to facilitating integration differ markedly. This provides an interesting starting point for cross-national comparisons. We look at the ways in which asylum seekers are housed in the two countries as part of the asylum regime and then focus upon the ways in which integration is facilitated in both countries, hereon described as the integration regime. With respect to asylum-seeker housing procedure the Dutch favour the use of asylum accommodation centres, essentially segregating asylum seekers from the general population, while the UK either disperse asylum seekers to housing in deprived areas across the country, embedding them within communities or allow them to reside with friends and family on a 'subsistence-only' basis. With regard of integration, in the Netherlands refugees are transferred to state subsidised housing once leave to remain is granted and obliged to pass the integration exam. In contrast, the majority

of UK refugees are evicted from their asylum accommodation within 28 days after leave to remain is granted and have no access to a state integration programme.

In this chapter we focus on three integration outcomes: socio-economic participation, social networks and health. The first two cover the socio-economic and social dimension of integration (Dagevos, 2001; Esser, 2004). Socio-economic integration is the degree to which migrants and refugees participate in the central societal institutions, such as the labour market (Dagevos, 2001; Engbersen, 2003). Social integration is the degree to which migrants and refugees participate in social networks. Health is especially for refugees a key dimension for successful integration. It has been found that pre-migration, as well as post-migration experiences can significantly affect refugees' health (Allsop et al., 2014). Health is widely acknowledged to be closely aligned with ability to access work (Ager & Strang, 2007). Poor health can increase the risk of social exclusion representing multi-faceted and often enduring barriers to full participation in society (Wilson, 1998).

The existing comparative literature on refugee integration has focused on either labour market (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2014) or social participation (Korac, 2009). This study is the first to examine how the asylum regimes in the Netherlands and the UK relate to refugee integration across several domains. The central research question of this chapter is: how does the asylum and integration regimes in the Netherlands and the UK relate to refugee integration in terms of socio-economic participation, social networks and health? It does not seek to develop the concept of integration further but to provide empirical evidence on the connection between asylum practice and refugee integration.

We use quantitative data collected in state-implemented refugee integration surveys to systematically assess the relationships between individual characteristics, asylum practice and integration outcomes in both countries. Our quantitative approach adds to qualitative studies which have individually highlighted the importance of employment, health and social networks in refugee integration. While direct comparison is not advisable due to different sampling structures of the two datasets, this is the first empirical study providing insight into two different asylum regimes and their relationship with refugee integration and as such brings new insight into how both asylum and integration regimes shape opportunity structures for new refugees.

6.2 Asylum and integration regimes in the Netherlands and the UK

While trends in asylum numbers and associated public and political responses are similar in the two countries, they diverge in approaches adopted around support of asylum seekers and recognised refugees. Below we discuss the asylum regime of both countries before arguing how these regimes may influence refugee integration.

6.2.1 The Netherlands: 'controlled but humane'

On arrival, asylum seekers in the Netherlands need to report at the central reception centre in Ter Apel where the asylum procedure starts. After initial legal and medical advice, the Immigration and Naturalisation Office (IND) assesses within eight days the need for further investigation. Cases requiring further investigation are moved to one of the asylum centres (AZC) where they wait for a decision, a procedure which can formally take up to six months. A small proportion stays with friends or family during the asylum procedure.

Asylum seekers are dispersed without choice to one of the AZCs, usually situated in rural area. Life there is tightly controlled with movement outside permitted subject to regular reporting. Units are designed for five to eight people, with shared kitchen and bathing facilities. Where possible, families share a unit while singles must share their room with strangers. Everyone has about five square meters of personal space. All daily activities take place in the company of a large group of others meaning that privacy and autonomy are limited (Ten Holder, 2012). Asylum seekers have limited access to the (formal) labour market (for 24 weeks a year), but no access to education[1] or social security. Their basic needs are provided for by the state.[2]

Once asylum seekers gain leave to remain, they are permitted to remain for five years. The state provides them, officially within 14 weeks, social housing, usually in the same region as the accommodation. Some may be housed away from the region, for purposes of work, study or family. They can access social security and have full rights to work. New refugees must take an integration course and pass the integration exam. This exam tests language abilities, institutional knowledge such as social rights and Dutch history. Studies show that these integration courses contribute directly to migrants' language proficiency (Dourleijn & Dagevos, 2011). Migrants who have taken the integration course indicated that they are more involved in their children's school and navigate around institutions more easily (Odé et al., 2013; Rekenkamer Den Haag 2009). Without passing the exam refugees cannot apply for permanent residence.

6.2.2 The United Kingdom: 'free but precarious'

In 1999 the National Asylum Support Service (NASS[3]) was introduced to support and co-ordinate both asylum and integration policy. After initial processing in reception centres most asylum seekers are given the option of dispersal, on a no choice basis, to state provided housing across the UK, or to stay with friends and family on a 'support-only' basis. Over half of those in self-arranged housing stay in the South-East and London. The remainder are dispersed, largely to very deprived areas. When the policy

1 Asylum seekers aged 18 or over must reside legally in the Netherlands if they wish to enrol for a study. This means that they should either have a residence permit or should be in procedure for a residence permit with permission to await the decision in the Netherlands. Under-age children are entitled to education in the Netherlands until their 18th year. Admission to education does not depend on legal residence in the Netherlands.

2 Further details of financial supplement for asylum seekers are available at RVA 2005 article 14, http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0017959/geldigheidsdatum_25-06-2014.

3 Note that at the time of the study discussed in this chapter the authority responsible for asylum seeker support was NASS, however since this time it has been renamed twice. First as UK Border Agency and then UK Visas and Immigration.

was initiated there had been an over-supply of cheap, often poor quality housing in areas where the housing market had failed (Phillimore, 2013).

While most asylum seekers in NASS housing are given their own bedroom, all single individuals have to share housing, if not a bedroom, with strangers. Families are generally allocated self-contained housing. Asylum seekers receive a small weekly stipend to cover their food and clothing costs. In the early stages of the dispersal program, this was paid in the form of vouchers which had to be spent in certain shops restricting access to food and clothing and leaving them unable to buy cheaper goods in markets and smaller shops. The right to work was withdrawn from asylum seekers in 2002 when the government argued it gave false hope by implying increased likelihood of receiving a positive decision. Asylum seekers were, until 2011, able to attend free language classes and further education courses, although provision was poor in dispersal areas and lengthy waiting lists were common (Phillimore, 2011a).

Once a positive decision is received, asylum seekers have 28 days to leave their NASS housing. Within this period they have to register for a National Insurance Number (NINO), and utilize this to access benefits and locate housing. Only those deemed 'priority', largely families with children or the disabled, could access social housing. Many families were housed in temporary accommodation such as bed and breakfast hotels where they have to share a single room without access to cooking or laundry facilities. Non-priority refugees have to locate their own housing in the private sector. This is problematic since they lack cash to pay the deposit demanded by landlords and have no access to benefits while they await a NINO, a process which can take months. Unsurprisingly many refugees end up as homeless, living rough or sharing illegally with asylum seeker friends (Phillimore et al., 2004). Those who access social housing continued to experience deprivation, since housing was supplied unfurnished and they had no resources with which to purchase necessities such as beds and cookers.

6.3 Asylum and refugee integration regimes in a comparative perspective

We anticipate that these different asylum regimes in the Netherlands and the UK lead to different refugee integration outcomes. We utilise a system approach in our analysis since the separate aspects, i.e. housing, integration policy and institutional arrangements, are interrelated. Our starting point is that both asylum regimes can be regarded as a mechanism of social exclusion (Bloch & Schutser, 2005; Madanipour, 2003). We distinguish two types of social exclusion; economic and cultural, and explore how these can be related to refugees' integration.

6.3.1 Asylum regimes, social exclusion and inclusion

Social exclusion is seen as simultaneously spatial and social (Madanipour, 2003). In the Netherlands asylum seekers are permitted to access employment for 24 weeks per year. Yet, they are *spatially* excluded from the labour market, because of the location of their accommodation. The limited weekly cash support received is insufficient to cover travel, which makes job search difficult. Further, asylum

seekers in the Netherlands could also be described as *socially* excluded from the labour market, since information on the right to work is not available, leaving them unaware that they can work. In addition potential employers need a permit to employ asylum seekers, which can be difficult to access (Ten Holder, 2012). Asylum seekers in the UK do not have the right to work during the asylum procedure and are thus excluded from the (formal) labour market. Thus throughout the asylum procedure asylum seekers in both countries are excluded from the labour market, one way or another.

So what roles do asylum regimes play in refugees' labour market participation after they are granted leave to remain? At this point aspects of the integration regime gain importance. One of the objectives of the compulsory integration course and exam in the Netherlands is to prepare refugees for work. However the labour market in the Netherlands is more regulated where employers often require Dutch or formal qualifications. Refugees who migrated from the Netherlands to the UK report greater ease of entry into self-employment or entry-level work, better and more inclusive cultural-religious opportunities, and less discrimination on grounds of ethnicity or religion (Van Liempt, 2011). Moreover, refugee communities are larger in the UK and this critical mass enables them to build and sustain ethnic economies, which can provide jobs for many (Edwards & Ram, 2006). Thus, socio-economic participation of refugees seems more likely in the UK.

Exclusion can also be manifested in low social participation and/or feelings of discrimination, prejudice and segregation (Stewart, 2005). This type of exclusion can occur when asylum seekers are physically separated from host society (Robinson et al., 2003). Again such exclusion may occur in the Netherlands during the asylum procedure, since asylum seekers are mostly placed in rural asylum centres, away from local people and diverse communities wherein social network formation might be possible. We expect that asylum seekers will build a strong network *within* the asylum centre, most likely dominated by co-ethnic and co-religious people.

Under UK dispersal policy, asylum seekers found themselves surrounded by strangers in their new home separated from established social networks or ethnic communities who could offer social and emotional support and from a local infrastructure that could support them. The vast majority of refugee support services were, and continue to be, based in London and the Southeast (Bloch, 2002). Cities with less experience of diversity were often unaware of the rights and entitlements of asylum seekers who struggled to access services and were subject to racist harassment. Similar to the Netherlands, we thus expect that living in state-provided asylum housing in the UK can function as a mechanism of cultural exclusion.

However, since refugees in the UK had to vacate NASS housing within 28 days they most likely move towards their ethnic communities as soon as possible and indeed some evidence suggests they were heavily reliant on informal housing provision by their peers. In contrast social housing in the Netherlands is assigned in the same region as their asylum centre meaning they cannot move immediately towards their ethnic communities. Arguably post-grant housing arrangements may lead to development of different kinds of social networks with UK refugees included in existing communities, while Dutch refugees experience social exclusion, at least until they are able to develop

networks. Also, after leave to remain is granted the Netherlands' compulsory integration course has the clear objective of mainstream cultural inclusion covering Dutch language, customs, history and culture. In contrast, ESOL classes in the UK are barely adequate, since they are not developed for migrants and are known for their high dropout rates (Phillimore, 2011a).

In sum, asylum policies in both countries hold socially excluding elements. At the same time the situation in the UK may support social inclusion within local communities to some extent. Integration policy also has some inclusive characteristics in both countries. In the Netherlands the compulsory integration course includes language and labour market training and in the UK labour market and enterprise structures are more accessible.

6.3.2 Asylum regimes and health

In addition to economic and cultural exclusion, social exclusion can cause feelings of isolation and depression (Carter & El Hassan, 2003). In particular the literature on refugee mental health suggests that the asylum regime has the potential to be anti-integrative. The combination of uncertainty, anti-asylum sentiment, unemployment and poor access to services can have long-term impact upon mental health which may also have a knock-on effect upon access to wider integration (Phillimore, 2011b). With regard to asylum accommodation we argue that the lack of privacy and autonomy in the Dutch asylum centres can negatively relate to refugees' mental health. Moreover, their dependent position in times of great insecurity can induce passivity and depression (Kloosterboer, 2009, Ten Holder, 2012).

In the UK asylum seekers may be particularly vulnerable because of the threat of homelessness after leave to remain is granted. This is likely to be negatively related to their mental wellbeing. However, we expect the impact of the UK asylum regime to be more visible on refugees' physical health. Evidence shows that asylum seekers are generally housed in the poorest quality accommodation in highly deprived areas (Phillips, 2006). Overcrowding and poor conditions have been argued to lead to an increased risk of physical health problems that may exacerbate existing health conditions or even create new problems. Moreover, refugees are known to move frequently and to reside in poor housing and they lack access to resources to enable them to purchase basic household goods, such as a refrigerator, which can affect their health (Phillimore et al., 2004). So it is likely that the system itself could induce stress and health problems in the longer term (Garvie, 2001).

6.4 Data & Methods

6.4.1 Data

In this chapter we use the Survey Integration New Groups (SING09) for the Netherlands and the Survey of New Refugees (SNR) for the UK. SING09 is a cross-sectional dataset based on a nationally representative sample gathered in 2009. It contains information on reception and integration in the Netherlands of Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian, Somali, Polish and Chinese individuals and has a Dutch reference group. For this chapter we are only interested in four groups with a refugee background; Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian and Somali. Within each country of origin about 1,000 structured face-to-face interviews were conducted.[4]

The Survey of New Refugees (SNR) is a longitudinal study of refugee integration in the UK, conducted between 2005 and 2007 with all new refugees over 18 who were granted leave (temporary or indefinite) to remain. The questionnaire was administered by post and involved four data collection points: baseline (Wave 1) (one week after leave to remain granted[5]), after 8 (Wave 2), 15 (Wave 3) and 21 (Wave 4) months. In 2005, a total of 5,678 valid baseline questionnaires were returned out of the 8,254 originally distributed, achieving a 70 per cent baseline response rate. Like most longitudinal surveys, the SNR suffers from high attrition rates. Only 939 respondents remain in the last wave in 2007 (Cebulla et al., 2010). Where appropriate, cross-sectional and longitudinal weights have been applied to adjust for possible non-response bias.[6]

Both datasets contain detailed information on the asylum and refugee integration regime. However we acknowledge the differences in the sampling structures, modes and composition of our datasets. The Dutch survey is cross-sectional and was gathered in a face-to-face mode, whereas the UK data is longitudinal and gathered via post. The Dutch survey focuses on the four largest refugee groups, whereas the SNR is a designated survey for all new refugees. Moreover, around 70 per cent of the SING sample had Dutch nationality at time of interview having resided in the country for twelve years on average, whereas SNR only contains information on the respondents up to 21 months after they gained refugee status, although some had been in the UK over five years awaiting the outcome of case determination.

Due to these limitations we cannot perform direct country comparison, therefore we undertake separate country analyses. Our goal is to assess the within-country differences of each asylum regime and then to compare the different integration outcomes in light of their asylum and integration regimes. Lastly, due to the lack of a comparison group in the UK (e.g. UK residents) we focus on the between-groups difference in integration outcomes within the refugee population in each country.

4 See Dourleijn (2010) for further details about the survey.

5 All types of refugee status were included whether permanent or temporary.

6 For full technical details please see Cebulla et al. (2010).

6.4.2 Method

First, we present the summary statistics of both datasets for our dependent and independent variables in the multivariate analyses. For the SNR, we use data from the baseline (W1) and the third follow-up survey (W4). These respondents had leave to remain[7] in the UK for 21 months at time of the last wave (n=921)[8]. In the Dutch case we restricted the sample to refugee respondents (n=2980). In the multivariate analyses, we present separate country models to estimate within-country difference in integration outcomes. We conduct binary logistic regression for the dichotomous dependent variable of socio-economic participation. All other dependent variables are ordinal measures, thus ordered logistic regression is used. We report odds ratios in all models.

6.4.3 Measures

Similar questions in both surveys enable us to construct standardised measures. We focus on three aspects of integration: socio-economic participation, social networks and health. In the following details of all variables used are described.

Socio-economic participation is measured as a dummy with those in employment, education or training as 'active' (1), as opposed to unemployed and economically inactive respondents (0). For *social networks* we make a distinction between *personal social network* and *ethno-religious network*. We consider both personal and ethno-religious social networks as an indicator of refugee integration. The first consists of having contact with family and friends. This can involve meeting, speaking on the phone and in the Dutch case also in writing, such as email. The latter consists of having contact with other co-ethnic people and visiting or having contact with a place of worship. Both are measured on a five-point scale ranging from (1) never to (5) every day. We argue that both types of networks can contribute to refugee integration as they provide valuable information for potential job vacancies, social and emotional support.

For health integration we use three separate variables: general health, physical health and mental health. *General health* is measured on a five-point scale ranging from (1) very bad to (5) very good using the question: *How is your health in general?* The measure for *physical health* is based on the experience of physical problems that limit daily activities: such as walking stairs, cycling and doing housework. This is measured on a five-point scale ranging from (1) could not do daily activities to (5) no problems at all. The questions asked on *mental health* differ somewhat in the two surveys. In SING this is a mean scale of three items of respondents reporting feeling calm and peaceful, sad and gloomy, and nervous in the last four weeks. In the UK, respondents were asked to what extent they felt worried, stressed or depressed in the last four weeks. For consistency we collapsed the six-point scale in SING to the same five-point scale in SNR, ranging from (1) all the time to (5) not at all.

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7 Asylum seekers were, at the time of the study, given one of the three refugee statuses: Humanitarian or Discretionary protection (both allowing an initial 3 years in the UK) or refugee status (permanent stay permitted). We are unable to identify the proportion that were in receipt of each type although we know that very small numbers received full refugee status.

8 Other countries of origin include Eritrea, Zimbabwe, DRC/Congo, Sudan, Turkey, Pakistan, Ethiopia and other Europe, Asia, and Middle East.

The key independent variable in this chapter is the *type of accommodation during the asylum procedure*. For both countries a dummy variable is constructed to represent state-provided asylum accommodation (1), AZC reception centres in the Netherlands and NASS accommodation in the UK, and all other self-arranged accommodation (0) which includes staying with family or friends, own accommodation or other.

Language proficiency is an important control variable since it is known that this aspect is key to refugee integration. This variable is measured on a mean scale based on three items examining problems with speaking, reading and writing Dutch or how well they understand, speak, read and write English compared to native speakers. Both measures are standardised into the same three categories: 1 a lot of problems/not very well; 2 occasionally problems/fairly well; 3 no problems/very well. Further, our models control for *age* (in categories), *country of origin* (reference category = Somali), *gender* (female=1), having a *partner in the household*, having *children in the household*, *nationality* (Dutch only), *education* and *length of stay* in the host country. We use a standardised measure for the highest qualification attained irrespective of where it was obtained in both datasets (1 no qualification; 2 secondary education; 3 tertiary education). Length of stay in the host country is a continuous measure in years in SING but is only available in categories in SNR (<3 years, 3-6 years and >6 years).

6.5 Results

6.5.1 Descriptive results

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 presents the summary statistics of the SING 2009 and SNR 2007 full samples. While the proportion of contact with personal and ethno-religious network in both countries are broadly similar, the proportion of Dutch refugees in education and employment is 49% compared to 73% of their counterparts in the UK. The statistics on the health of refugees show a difference in experienced physical and mental health within the Netherlands, with the latter at a lower level (Table 6.1). The majority of Dutch refugees stayed in AZC accommodation (86%) compared to only 45% in the UK. Dutch refugees are also slightly older and a higher proportion holds a qualification from secondary or tertiary education. Over half of the Dutch sample was living with a partner and with dependent children, compared to less than a quarter of the UK sample. The UK sample is dominated by younger males living on their own, about two-third of whom were without any formal qualifications (Table 6.2).

Table 6.1: Summary statistics of dependent variables of SING and SNR

% in category	NL	UK
Socio-economic participation	49	73
Personal social network (friends and family): never	5	8
Few times a year	17	33
Each month	30	29
Each week	40	19
Each day	8	11
Ethno-religious social network: never	21	32
Few times a year	42	30
Each month	24	24
Each week	11	11
Each day	1	3
General health: very bad	4	3
Bad	14	8
Moderate	20	19
Good	39	35
Very good	23	35
Physical health: very bad	9	3
Bad	4	11
Moderate	12	15
Good	8	25
Very good	66	47
Mental health: very bad	1	2
Bad	11	17
Moderate	34	18
Good	36	27
Very good	18	35
N	2975	921

Table 6.2: Summary statistics of independent variables

	NL (%)		UK (%)	
Asylum accommodation	86		45	
Employment	38		48	
Partner in household	52		22	
Children in household	55		23	
Gender (Women)	43		37	
Qualification (refcat=none)	32		61	
Secondary	44		25	
Tertiary	24		14	
Age (refcat=18-26)	17		23	
27-36	23		48	
37-46	35		20	
47-56	22		08	
66+	03		01	
Country of origin (refcat=Somalia)	28		14	
Afghanistan	26		03	
Iraq	25		09	
Iran	21		08	
Other groups			66	
Dutch nationality	71			
Length of stay in UK (refcat=<3 years)			59	
3-6 years			20	
>6 years			21	
	Min-Max	M (*Std*)	Min-Max	M (*Std*)
Length of stay in NL	1-42	12.53 (*4.75*)		
Language proficiency	1-3	2.13 (*.66*)	1-3	1.99 (*.66*)
N		2980	921	921

6.5.2 Multivariate results

Table 6.3 shows the results of multivariate analyses for the Netherlands on refugees' socio-economic participation (M1), personal social network (M2), ethno-religious network (M3), general health (M4), physical health (M5) and mental health (M6). Similarly, Table 6.4 shows the multivariate results for the UK. All results are reported in odds ratios. An odds ratio greater than one indicates a positive outcome in the dependent variables. For example in Table 6.3 an odds ratio of 2.13 for Afghani refugees in Model 1 means that they are twice as likely to be socio-economically active than their Somali counterpart in the Netherlands (reference group). In contrast, in Table 6.4, an odds ratio of 0.47 for refugees in NASS accommodation in the UK (Model 2) means that they are less likely to have personal networks compared with those in self-arranged accommodation.

Table 6.3: Analyses on refugees' socio-economic participation, social network and health for the Netherlands: M1: logistic regression; M2 – M6: oridinal logit models, odds ratios

	M1: Socio-economic Participation	M2: Personal Social network	M3: Ethno-religious network	M4: General health	M5: Physical health	M6: Mental health
State-provided asylum accommodation	1.26	.69***	1.18	1.04	1.02	.80*
Language proficiency	1.88***	1.48***	.99	1.95***	1.79***	1.47***
Employment		1.04	.87	2.42***	2.94***	2.00***
General health	1.87***					
Qualification (refcat=none)						
Secondary	1.41**	1.48***	.96	1.07	1.10	.90
Tertiary	1.77***	1.63***	.97	1.38**	1.49**	.94
Gender (Women)	.34***	1.23**	.51***	.79**	.63***	.80**
Country of origin (refcat=Somali)						
Afghani	2.13***	.84	.25***	.50***	.65**	.49***
Iraqi	1.65***	1.05	.25***	.55***	.62***	.48***
Iranian	2.52***	.77*	.17***	.52***	.72*	.38***
Pseudo R^2	.28	.04	.06	.11	.14	.05
LR Chi^2 (df)	1122 (17)	294 (17)	421 (17)	897 (17)	844 (17)	364 (17)
N	2857	2857	2857	2857	2857	2857

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05. All models control for age, partner/children in the household, length of residence in destination country and Dutch nationality

Model 1 shows that, in line with previous research, language proficiency and health are key determinants for refugees' socio-economic participation (Bakker et al., 2013). Furthermore, younger, males, and childless respondents are more likely to be in education, training and employment, mirroring the national patterns in both countries. We also note there are between country differences. Refugees with a qualification are more likely to be in employment or education in the Netherlands. This

supports the idea that the Dutch labour market is more regulated and that a qualification is essential for participation. It should be noted though that this measure also includes Dutch qualifications (but not in the UK), indicating that education obtained in the host country contributes to socio-economic participation including the acquisition of higher qualification. It may also indicate that refugees' foreign qualifications are not being recognised in the UK. With regard of the origin country we find that Somali refugees in the Netherlands are by far the least socio-economically integrated; this is not reflected in the UK case. Type of asylum accommodation during the asylum procedure is not related to socio-economic participation in either country.

Table 6.4: Analyses on refugees' socio-economic participation, social network and health for the UK: M1: logistic regression; M2 – M6: ordinal logit models, odds ratios

	M1: Socio-economic Participation	M2: Personal Social network	M3: Ethno-religious network	M4: General health	M5: Physical health	M6: Mental health
State-provided asylum accommodation	.79	.47***	.88	.53***	.45***	.70
Language proficiency	1.72**	1.04	1.19	1.79***	1.44*	1.22
Employment		1.01	1.12	2.23***	1.82***	1.49*
General health	1.47**					
Qualification (refcat=none)						
Secondary	1.82	1.03	.85	.99	1.19	.69
Tertiary	1.56	1.24	.91	1.24	1.62	.78
Gender (Women)	.50***	.94	1.18	.43***	.56*	.67
Country of origin (refcat=Somali)						
Afghani	1.06	.52	.59	.85	.40	.85
Iraqi	.64	.72	.15***	.56	.57	.61
Iranian	.77	.29***	.18***	.40*	.41*	.64
Pseudo R^2	.22	.06	.09	.10	.08	.04
LR Chi^2 (df)	122 (28)	104 (28)	137 (28)	152 (28)	119 (28)	70 (28)
N	657	646	651	657	653	655

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05. All models control for age, partner/children in the household and length of residence in destination country

With regard of social networks our results support that having stayed in state-provided asylum accommodation is negatively related to refugees' personal social network in both countries as the odds are significantly below 1. Naturally, refugees who stayed in state-provided asylum accommodation may have less contact with their family and friends compared to those who stayed in other accommodation (frequently provided by family or friends). These are also the very groups who maintained more regular contacts with friends and family over time. Another interesting similarity is that in both countries Iranian refugees are least likely to have frequent contacts with their personal

social network. In both countries Somali refugees are more likely to maintain an ethno-religious networks. In the Netherlands language proficiency and education are also significant in developing a personal social network. Women in the Netherlands are more likely to have a personal network and less likely to have an ethno-religious network compared to men.

With regards to health, we find a negative relationship between state-provided asylum accommodation history (NASS) and both general and physical health in the UK. In the Netherlands we only find a significant negative relationship with mental health. Thus, refugees who have stayed in state-provided asylum accommodation compared to other accommodation suffer from poorer mental health. Moreover, refugees who previously stayed in NASS accommodation in the UK also suffer from more physical health problems. Furthermore, woman and older refugees report poorer health status, whereas those who are employed report fewer health problems. In the Dutch case, having a partner in the household and Dutch language proficiency are positively related to refugees' health.

6.6 Conclusion & Discussion

In this chapter we asked the question how asylum regimes relate to refugee integration in the UK and the Netherlands. First, we conclude for both countries that staying in state-provided asylum accommodation is negatively related to refugees' health. For the Netherlands, we find a relationship with mental health, which may suggest that the lack of privacy and autonomy reported in asylum centres may indeed lead to a feeling of 'institutionalisation' or exclusion which can have a negative effect on refugees' mental health. For the UK, the results support the critiques that the poor conditions of NASS accommodation can contribute to deterioration in refugees' physical health. This in combination with the lack of integration policy after leave to remain is granted frequently involves homelessness and absence of even the most basic support (Phillimore et al., 2004). The asylum system and subsequent rehousing programmes may induce a great deal of stress and associated health problems which endure into the longer term. It should be noted that these negative effects do not apply to nearly 50 per cent of refugees in the UK, who lived in self-arranged housing. The wait for an asylum decision and thus the time spent in asylum accommodation is also important. A longer stay may increase the negative effects of state-provided asylum accommodation (Bakker et al., 2013).

Second, while we find no evidence that the type of housing provided during the asylum procedure has any effect on refugees' socio-economic participation, we argue that integration policy is important. Proficiency in Dutch language significantly enhances participation in education and employment of refugees in the Netherlands, which provides support for the provision of Dutch integration courses. While language proficiency is also significantly associated with socio-economic participation in the UK as well as general and physical health, many asylum seekers from the Commonwealth countries arrive with good English skills whereas this is highly unlikely in the Dutch case.

Lastly, we see the importance of a Dutch qualification in almost all refugee integration outcomes. This is not fully reflected in the UK case where the SNR records refugees' pre-migration education. It could mean that their foreign qualification is not being recognised in the UK labour market.

In this chapter we have taken a first step in showing how different asylum regimes may influence different refugee integration domains. Due to the different data structure and composition we were unable to directly test differences between the UK and the Netherlands. However, we have shown separately for both countries how asylum regimes and refugee integration are related and what the central differences and commonalities are. Our findings suggest that there is a paradox between asylum and integration policy which may contribute to exclusion rather than inclusion. The absence of any tangible integration measures in the UK may mean that refugee integration strategy is little more than rhetoric. We show that both asylum and integration regimes shape the opportunities open to refugees and suggest that these policies influence the extent to which refugees can achieve integration in either the functional areas highlighted by policymakers or the wider integration domains highlighted by integration theorists. Further our work indicates there is evidence that inequality, exclusion and integration are for refugees' intersectional with gender, age and country of origin combining to shape individuals' experiences of asylum and integration regimes. Further research on the intersectional impacts of integration policy and institutional arrangements is needed to establish the influence of the presence, absence or nature of integration policy and importantly, how asylum and integration regimes interact to impact on refugee integration outcomes.

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Chapter 7

Conclusion and Discussion

7.1 Introduction

The number of refugees in the world is growing. By the end of 2013, 16.7 million people were displaced from their own origin country. The large majority find shelter in neighbouring countries (UNHCR 2013). Some reach Europe of which a share find asylum in the Netherlands. Refugees are argued to be different from other migrants for two central reasons. First, because of their migration motive, which is based on push factors related to their safety situation in the origin country (Feller, 2005). Second, the context of reception is different for refugees as they need to request asylum and thus go through the asylum procedure, which is characterised by insecurity. Many studies have been done on immigrant integration, but little research focuses on refugee integration. In my dissertation I argue that it is theoretically and societally relevant to study this specific migrant group. The central question of this dissertation is: *How can individual and institutional factors explain refugees' socio-economic integration?* Integration is viewed as a multidimensional, two-way process that starts upon arrival in the host country. Refugees are strategic research objects (Merton, 1987) for the study of integration since their distinctive character enables the investigation of such theoretical notions. In my dissertation I studied the relation between asylum policy and refugee integration by which I can assess the importance of the first period after arrival (i.e. post-migration experience) for participation in the long run. I showed the importance of both human capital and the accessibility of institutions for successful refugee integration which illustrates integration as a two-way process. Besides supporting integration theory I aimed to complement and add to it from the perspective of refugees. The insights generated in my dissertation gained societal relevance considering the current situation of refugee migration in Europe. This study provides input for policymakers and practitioners to further discuss the opportunities and obstacles that refugees meet in our society.

7.1.1 Data

I studied the integration of the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Afghans, Iranians, Iraqis and Somalis. In January 2014, 43,000 individuals of Afghan origin, 54,000 of Iraqi origin, 37,000 of Iranian origin and 37,000 of Somali origin lived in the Netherlands. Together they constitute 8% of the non-western population in Dutch society (CBS 2014). I made use of a combination of cross-sectional and longitudinal data. The rich survey data (SING09) allowed me to empirically test propositions found in the literature and to come up with new explanations for refugee integration. Also, because of the large sample size (N=3950), it allowed me to test group difference. This is vital because of the diversity within and between refugee groups. The longitudinal register data (SSB) enabled me to follow the entire migrant cohort 95-99 over time. This way I demonstrated trends in labour market participation and drew conclusions over time. Furthermore I performed an international comparison on asylum and integration regimes with the UK .

7.2 Main findings and contributions

7.2.1 The post-migration experience and mental health

Previous research has revealed the impact of the pre-migration experience on refugees' mental health. Traumatic experiences in the origin country and during the flight can cause post-traumatic stress and depression (Beiser, 2006; Phillimore, 2011; Silove et al., 2006). However, little is known in the importance of the post-migration experience (Ryan et al., 2008). It is assumed that integration starts on arrival, but how this first period after migration shapes integration patterns is unknown. The post-migration experience for refugees in the Netherlands is shaped by asylum policy. The asylum procedure takes up the first months or sometimes even years of refugees' stay in the Netherlands. Refugees reside in asylum accommodation during the course of the asylum procedure. This stay is characterized by insecurity, a lack of privacy, state dependency and segregation. All in all, this situation hardly permits the accumulation of new resources for building a life in the Netherlands, nor does it help to recover from traumatic experiences. In Chapter 2 I showed that staying in asylum accommodation for a period longer than five years is associated with mental health problems and subsequently lower labour market participation chances. This finding shows how the first period of stay in the destination country has long-term effects for refugee integration. It thus confirms the theoretical notion that integration starts on arrival and when this is obstructed this can damage integration chances.

The comparison of the asylum regime in the UK and the Netherlands in Chapter 6 confirmed the relation between asylum policy and refugees' health for integration in both countries. It was also shown for both countries that how asylum accommodation is arranged by the state is deteriorating to refugees' health. In the UK refugees are accommodated in social housing in deprived areas that are in very poor condition (Phillips, 2006). It was showed that this is negatively related to their physical health. In the Netherlands, as discussed above, refugees are housed in asylum accommodation where all facilities are in place, but segregated from society, with little privacy and high state dependency. In Chapter 6 it is confirmed that this type of accommodation is negatively related to refugees' mental health.

A second dimension of the post-migration experience is the type of residential status that is granted. Chapter 2 has shown that a temporary residential status is negatively related to labour market participation. This indicates that the temporariness of this status forms an obstacle to refugee integration. On the one hand it limits possibilities to obtain resources. Also it might hamper individuals' willingness to invest in learning the language and building a network, since they do not know yet whether it will pay off. The longitudinal analyses in Chapter 3 also showed that having the Dutch nationality contributes to labour market participation. These findings contribute to the debate in the literature on the role of citizenship as either the 'crown' of or as a prerequisite for integration. Clearly, refugees need to make an effort to acquire skills, such as the Dutch language, in order to integrate successfully. However, based on this study I find support for the argument that a permanent status or Dutch citizenship is helpful for refugees to *further* participate in Dutch society. Thus the process of

acquiring a permanent status or naturalisation illustrates the theoretical notion that integration is a two-way process, where both the individual and the receiving society have their part.

In conclusion, my dissertation confirms that integration starts on arrival by showing the role of the post-migration experience in refugee integration. Also it provided new insights for refugee integration theory. I empirically showed that health, especially mental health, is an important determinant of refugee integration. Mental health problems can partly be due to traumatic experiences in the origin country and during the flight, but also due to the post-migration experience. The stay in asylum accommodation can be an obstacle to recovery from traumas and the acquisition of host country human capital in the first important phase after migration, which can cause further depression, passivity and reduced confidence. In the long term these mental health problems are an obstacle to labour market participation. This section furthermore demonstrates the importance of a permanent residence permit and Dutch nationality for refugee integration.

7.2.2 Human capital and the accessibility of institutions

Former research into migrants' labour market participation showed the existence of an 'immigrant gap', i.e. the difference in labour market participation between migrants and natives. One of the explanations for this gap lies in the 'immigrant entry effect': due to a lack of host country human capital, the labour market participation rates of migrants are lower at the start of their careers in the Netherlands (Reitz, 2007). Some argue that this gap will close over time through the acquisition of human capital. Others claim that the labour market participation of migrants will always lag behind. In Chapter 3 I introduced the 'refugee gap': the difference in labour market participation between refugees and other migrants. I conducted longitudinal analyses to depict the labour market participation of refugees and other migrants who arrived between 1995 and 1999 in the Netherlands over a period of 10-15 years. It was found that refugees start out with even lower labour market participation rates than other migrants which provides support for the 'refugee entry effect' that I developed based on prior theoretical notions on migrant participation. Due to refugees' migration motive (i.e. flight) and context of reception (i.e. asylum procedure) they start their legal stay in the Netherlands with a disadvantage compared to other migrants.

The second aim of Chapter 3 was to investigate how this initial disadvantage shapes refugees' further work career. Based on the theoretical mechanism of cumulative disadvantage one would expect that the initial disadvantage 'scars' refugees for the rest of their working career. Opposing this expectation it was found that the labour market participation of refugees increases over time. The refugee gap reduces over time, but it does not fully disappear. Having a Dutch qualification is highly important for closing this gap. This shows that host country human capital contributes to refugees' labour market participation. Also I found pronouncing differences between refugee groups. While the refugee gap disappears for the Iranian group, it is persistent for refugees from Somalia.

Chapter 4 focuses on over-qualification of refugees and the chances of finding a matching job. This is a new element in the understanding of socio-economic integration. This concept is usually, also in large parts of my dissertation, measured in terms of participation in central institutions such as the labour market. However, from the refugee's perspective, it is perhaps not merely about having a job, but about having a job that matches their educational level. Refugees are often higher educated in their origin country and often also had a career there. In the literature on over-qualification the obtained educational level is compared to the required educational level for the job. In my study I added the dimension of location of obtained education (host or home country) to the understanding of over-qualification. Hence, qualifications from the home country are often valued at a lower level in the destination country. It was found that, besides language proficiency, having a Dutch qualification is crucial for the labour market participation of refugees. Refugees who obtained a Dutch qualification have a labour market participation rate that is comparable to that of the native Dutch population. Moreover, they are equally likely to find a job that matches their educational level. Refugees who only hold a degree from the origin country are more likely to be in a job for which they are over-qualified. My study showed the importance of formal, and especially Dutch, qualifications for refugees' labour market participation. Foreign diploma accreditation seems to pose an obstacle to integration. Refugees often cannot provide a formal document providing proof of the acquired education in the origin country, and if they can, their diploma can often not be accredited in the Netherlands. As a result, they cannot effectively use their skills and (work) experience that was obtained in the origin country to integrate successfully in the Netherlands.

My dissertation thus supports the theoretical notion that integration is a two-way process. It highlights the importance of human capital for refugee integration which requires investment from both the individual refugee and the state. Where the individual should invest in language training and education, the state should offer opportunities for recognition of home country human capital and most importantly for participation in Dutch education. It also provides two new theoretical insights. First, I developed the 'refugee entry effect'. Due to refugees migration motive (i.e. flight) and context of reception (i.e. asylum procedure) they start their legal stay in the Netherlands with a disadvantage on the labour market compared to other migrants. This initial disadvantage does not cumulate over time, refugees partly recover from their rough start over time. Second, I added the location of obtained education (host or home country), next to the educational level, to the understanding of over-qualification. This provides more insight in the matter of over-qualification for refugees and migrants, since educational levels from different countries are not directly comparable. Taking into account the location of education provides a more accurate perspective on objective over-qualification.

7.2.3 The origin country perspective

Studies on transnationalism showed how interactions of migrants between sending and receiving countries are shaped (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Portes et al., 2002). It was thought that, due to a lack of resources and a distorted attachment to the home country, refugees were hardly transnationally active and therefore this has been studied only marginally. In Chapter 5 I showed that refugees do perform both economic and socio-cultural transnational activities. In line with the resource-dependent thesis (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2002) it was shown that refugees who are employed in the host country and thus have resources are more likely to perform transnational activities. A new theoretical insight is that, besides individual resources, the situation in the origin country also shapes the financial support of refugees in exile. I derived the 'financial stress' and 'lack of facilities' hypothesis and found that in countries and communities where the need for support is high and institutional infrastructure in limited, refugees in exile are more likely to remit. This chapter illustrated the integration is a complex process: it is not only a dynamic between the individual and the destination country; the situation in the origin country influences the individual, which in turn can influence the integration process.

7.3 Policy implications

Besides the theoretical implications, this study also has several policy implications. First, this study showed the importance of Dutch education and qualifications for refugee integration. However, it also showed that only a small share of the refugees obtain a Dutch diploma. The current view on integration is mainly directed on the short-term, on finding a job, while opportunities for long-term investments in, for example education, are limited. Investing in opportunities where both can be combined, such as school-work trajectories, is encouraged by this study.

Second, diplomas obtained in the origin country can often not be accredited in the Netherlands or are accredited at a lower level. Without such qualifications, refugees cannot effectively use their skills and (work) experience in the Netherlands. This study supports a more flexible way of converting home country human capital, also without formal qualifications. Recently a new policy measure provides the opportunity for refugees without documents to have their educational level recognized during the integration trajectory. This means that also without diplomas refugees can obtain some proof of their educational acquirements.

Third, this dissertation has shown the importance of a short asylum procedure for refugees' mental health and labour market participation. The 2000 Aliens Act has shortened the procedures. However, with the current rising number of asylum seekers in the Netherlands, the asylum chain is under pressure. This can again lead to longer asylum procedures, which can hamper the long-term socio-economic integration of refugees, as shown in this dissertation. In addition, considering the importance of mental health, I want to stress the importance of solid psychiatric care for asylum seekers during the asylum procedure.

Fourth, my dissertation showed that a permanent status or citizenship is helpful to refugee integration. This permanent status reflects the certainty that one can stay in the destination country and build a life. It also enables refugees to (further) participate in society. This finding conflicts with current policy developments, which rather complicates than facilitates the acquisition of a permanent status or citizenship. Policy suggestions to extent the period until refugees can request citizenship do not match my finding that citizenship contributes to refugee integration. Based on these findings, I expect that such policy measures will increase the sense of insecurity among refugees, which will not benefit their integration in Dutch society.

My final point touches upon the debate about the tension between (higher) integration demands and (fewer) integration facilities in the Netherlands. Integration is a two-way process where both the individual and receiving society have their part. This is also stipulated in the UN Geneva Convention (1951). Besides granting asylum, according to the Convention the destination country should also offer opportunities for societal integration. It can be argued that in the Netherlands integration is increasingly viewed as a one-way process, with the responsibility for integration increasingly shifting towards the individual. An example is the language education, which is highly important for integration success as shown in my dissertation, which in current integration policy (from January 2014 on) should be arranged and paid for by the refugees themselves. Even though there is a social finance provision for refugees to help finance their integration course and exam, society's role as a facilitator of integration is steadily receding into the background.

7.4 Suggestions for further research

In my dissertation I focused on the socio-economic integration of refugee groups. Of course there are other dimensions of integration for this specific migrant group that also deserve attention. Further research could therefore focus on socio-cultural aspects of refugee integration, such as the formation of networks, perceived acceptance and discrimination, differences in norms and values and religion. Where this dissertation showed that the labour market participation of some refugee groups is lagging behind, it would be interesting to study refugees' participation in other domains. Are those who are in-active in the labour market active in schools, (voluntary) organisations, or political parties? Or do they hold a marginalised position in society? Further, this study showed that the socio-economic participation of refugee women lags behind compared to refugee men. Explanations for this could lie in traditional role patterns or religious beliefs. Also, women may possibly participate more actively in other domains. Further research on gender roles and the relation with integration is needed, incorporating the role of cultural and religious aspects. These are other aspects of participation that can contribute to a more complete picture of refugee integration.

Then, specifically for refugees, the integration of the second generation is highly interesting. Do they face similar issues as other non-western migrants in the Netherlands? Or is refugee integration only a first generation issue, because of the intense migration experience and the asylum procedure?

At the time of this study, the second generation was too small and too young to study their labour market participation. However, statistics on the educational achievement of children of migrants and refugees in the Netherlands already show that the participation in higher secondary education of children from the Iranian, Afghan and Iraqi group is higher than that of the Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean and Surinamese second generation (Riemersma & Maslowski, 2007). Future research should certainly look into how the (labour market) participation of refugees' children develops further. This also asks for further data collection on this research group. Even though it is a relatively small group, information is needed on their development and integration.

Further, this study showed the importance of the first period after migration in the destination country for refugees. In-depth further research is needed to understand what this period of the asylum procedure looks like and what refugees themselves experience as crucial for their integration during this period. Also, in-depth research is needed on specific groups, such as the Somali group. This study again showed that the participation of this group is lagging behind. This cannot be attributed only to human capital or demographic characteristics. A closer look at socio-cultural aspects for this group can yield significant information. For example, how does the clan structure within the Somali group affect the integration of this group? It can possibly hamper the self-organisation of this group and also affect their views on collectivism and individualism. If this group holds strong collectivistic views, then this might make it difficult to participate in a dominantly individualistic society. It would also be interesting to explore the role of religion for this group.

Finally, in this study I took a first step in also studying the role of the home country in refugee integration and transnationalism. I proposed that the situation in the origin country can affect transnational behaviour. Simply stated: in case of need, more support is provided. This proposition asks for more research into the obligations and attachments to the home country in relation to transnational behaviour and subsequently to integration in the destination country. Do such obligations or attachments to the home country hamper integration in the destination country? Money and means can be spent only once, so does transnational support have priority over for example investing in host country education?

In conclusion I want to relate the findings of this dissertation to the current situation of refugee migration in Europe. The new migration flows are mostly refugees from Syria and Eritrea, and partly find their way to the Netherlands. These are different countries of origin than studied in this dissertation. In some respects these new refugee groups might be different from my research group and therefore I want to encourage research into these new refugee groups. However I do expect them to meet similar obstacles as shown for the research group in this study. Also these groups experienced a (traumatic) flight and will be confronted with the asylum procedure in the Netherlands. Consequently, issues around mental health, diploma accreditation, access to education and labour market in the Netherlands are central issues, also for these new refugee groups. Therefore I want to stress the relevance of these findings for refugee integration now and in the future.

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Samenvatting
Dutch summary

Introductie

Het aantal vluchtelingen in de wereld stijgt: eind 2013 waren er 16,7 miljoen vluchtelingen buiten hun eigen land van herkomst (UNHCR 2013). De ruime meerderheid wordt opgevangen in de buurlanden. Een klein deel maakt de overtocht naar Europa, Australië of de VS. Nederland kreeg in 2014 26.000 asielverzoeken, waarvan 50% is toegekend. Het gaat dus om een relatief kleine, maar specifieke migrantengroep. Dit vanwege de specifieke context van vertrek en aankomst. De context van vertrek wordt vaak getekend door bedreiging van persoonlijke veiligheid, wat traumatische ervaringen tot gevolg kan hebben. Daarnaast dienen vluchtelingen in het land van aankomst eerst een asielprocedure te doorlopen voordat ze kunnen deelnemen aan de maatschappij. In Nederland wordt deze asielprocedure gekenmerkt door beperkte rechten en onzekerheid over de toekomst. Deze specifieke situatie maakt een studie naar integratie van vluchtelingen zowel wetenschappelijk als maatschappelijk relevant. De centrale vraag van dit proefschrift luidt: *Hoe kunnen individuele en institutionele factoren de integratie van vluchtelingen verklaren?*

Door hun specifieke positie zijn vluchtelingen bij uitstek een interessante onderzoeksgroep voor de studie van integratie. Dit omdat ze zich op diverse vlakken onderscheiden van andere migrantengroepen, zoals arbeidsmigranten, waardoor algemene theoretische noties nader bestudeerd kunnen worden. Zo wordt integratie in de literatuur veelal gedefinieerd als een multidimensionaal, tweezijdig proces dat start bij aankomst in het bestemmingsland. In dit proefschrift bestudeer ik de relatie tussen het asielbeleid en integratie van vluchtelingen waardoor het belang van de eerste periode na migratie kan worden vastgesteld. Verder onderzoek ik het belang van menselijk kapitaal en de toegankelijkheid van instituties voor de integratie van vluchtelingen, wat inzicht geeft in de tweezijdigheid van het integratieproces. Tot slot neem ik de rol van het herkomstland onder de loep wat de multidimensionaliteit van integratie illustreert. De bevindingen uit dit proefschrift bevestigen enerzijds bestaande integratietheorie en laten anderzijds zien dat vanuit het perspectief van vluchtelingen bijstelling in de theorievorming op diverse terreinen nodig is.

Data

In dit proefschrift staan de vier grootste vluchtelingengroepen in Nederland centraal: Iraniërs, Irakezen, Afghanen en Somaliërs. In januari 2014 waren er in Nederland 43.000 individuen van Afghaanse afkomst, 54.000 van Iraakse afkomst, 37.000 van Iraanse en eveneens 37.000 van Somalische afkomst. Samen beslaan ze 8% van de niet-westerse bevolking in Nederland (CBS 2014). Ik maak gebruik van een combinatie van cross-sectionele en longitudinale data. De surveydata (SING09) zijn tamelijk groot (N=3950) waardoor ik ook groepsverschillen heb kunnen bestuderen. Dit is van belang gezien de grote diversiteit binnen en tussen vluchtelingengroepen. Met de longitudinale register data (SSB) kan ik het totale cohort migranten volgen die tussen 1995 en 1999 hun eerste verblijfsstatus verkregen. In hoofdstuk 6 maak ik een internationale vergelijking tussen het Nederlandse asiel- en integratieregime en dat van het Verenigd Koninkrijk.

De postmigratie-ervaring en mentale gezondheid

In *hoofdstuk 2* onderzoek ik de postmigratie-ervaring en het verband met mentale gezondheid en socio-economische integratie. De postmigratie-ervaring, de eerste periode na de vlucht, wordt in Nederland getekend door de asielprocedure. Asielzoekers in Nederland wachten de beslissing op hun asielaanvraag af in een asielzoekerscentrum (AZC). Hier is sprake van beperkte privacy en afzondering van de rest van de samenleving. Ook hebben asielzoekers beperkte rechten ten aanzien van werk, opleiding en sociale zekerheid. De verwachting is dat een lange periode van verblijf in een dergelijke situatie gevolgen heeft voor de mentale gezondheid van vluchtelingen. In dit hoofdstuk toon ik aan dat vluchtelingen die langer dan vijf jaar in een AZC verblijven, meer mentale gezondheidsproblemen ervaren en bovendien op de langere termijn minder kans hebben om op de arbeidsmarkt te participeren. Deze bevinding bevestigt de theoretische notie dat integratie begint bij aankomst in het bestemmingsland. Wanneer mogelijkheden tot vroegtijdige participatie worden beperkt kan dit integratie op de lange termijn in de weg staan.

De vergelijking van de asielregimes in Nederland en het Verenigd Koninkrijk in *hoofdstuk 6* bevestigt het verband tussen opvangbeleid en gezondheid voor de integratie van vluchtelingen. In beide landen bestaat er een negatief verband tussen de van overheidswege georganiseerde asielopvang en de gezondheid van vluchtelingen. In het Verenigd Koninkrijk betreft dit vooral de fysieke gezondheid. Dit omdat asielzoekers worden ondergebracht in woningen die in zeer slechte staat verkeren en in achterstandsbuurten staan (Philips 2006). In de Nederlandse asielopvang zijn de faciliteiten op orde, maar blijkt, zoals ook uit hoofdstuk 2, een negatief verband met de mentale gezondheid.

Een tweede element van de post-migratie ervaring is het type verblijfsstatus dat vluchtelingen krijgen toegekend. Uit *hoofdstuk 2* blijkt dat vluchtelingen met een tijdelijke status minder kans hebben op een baan dan vluchtelingen met een permanente status of de Nederlandse nationaliteit. Dit omdat een tijdelijke status aan de ene kant beperkend kan werken bij het verwerven van middelen. Aan de andere kant kan de onzekerheid over toekomstig verblijf vluchtelingen beperken bij het opbouwen van een netwerk en het leren van de taal, welke van belang zijn voor het creëren van arbeidsmarktkansen. Ook uit de longitudinale studie in *hoofdstuk 3* blijkt dat het hebben van de Nederlandse nationaliteit bijdraagt aan de integratie van vluchtelingen: hiermee wordt een causaal verband aangetoond. Deze bevindingen zijn relevant voor het debat over de Nederlandse nationaliteit als kroon op integratie of als voorwaarde van integratie. Aan de ene kant moeten vluchtelingen zich inzetten om te integreren in de samenleving, bijvoorbeeld door het leren van de taal. Aan de andere kant laat dit onderzoek zien dat het verkrijgen van de Nederlandse nationaliteit bijdraagt aan verdere integratie in de samenleving. Dit illustreert de notie van integratie als een tweezijdig proces: de overheid zou het verkrijgen van een permanente verblijfsstatus of de Nederlandse nationaliteit moeten faciliteren en niet bemoeilijken.

Op basis van mijn dissertatie concludeer ik dat de postmigratie-ervaring van belang is voor de integratie van vluchtelingen. Zekerheid en mogelijkheden om te integreren zijn in deze eerste periode na migratie van belang. Verder toon ik aan dat mentale gezondheidsproblemen deels zijn toe te schrijven aan traumatische ervaringen, maar ook aan de postmigratie-ervaring. Lang verblijf in een asielzoekerscentrum draagt niet bij aan het verwerken van trauma's en werkt passiviteit en afhankelijkheid in de hand door een gebrek aan mogelijkheden om te participeren in de maatschappij. Daarnaast blijkt verblijfszekerheid van belang voor de participatie van vluchtelingen.

Menselijk kapitaal en toegankelijkheid van instituties

In *hoofdstuk 3* onderzoek ik de zogenaamde 'refugee gap': het verschil in arbeidsmarktparticipatie tussen vluchtelingen en andere migranten. Wegens het 'refugee entry effect' is de verwachting dat de participatie van vluchtelingen aan de start van hun carrière in Nederland op de arbeidsmarkt lager is dan dat van andere migranten. De resultaten bevestigen dit: vluchtelingen hebben door hun moeizame start een achterstand op de arbeidsmarkt vergeleken met andere migranten. Werkt de moeizame start van vluchtelingen door in hun carrière of kunnen vluchtelingen deze negatieve spiraal doorbreken? De longitudinale analyses wijzen uit dat de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van vluchtelingen stijgt over een periode van 15 jaar, hierdoor wordt de 'refugee gap' kleiner. Toch verdwijnt het gat niet helemaal: vooral de participatie van arbeidsmigranten is hoger. Belangrijke verklaringen voor de stijgende arbeidsmarktparticipatie zijn het hebben van een Nederlands diploma en de Nederlandse nationaliteit. Ook vind ik verschillen tussen groepen: mannen, jongeren en Iraniërs hebben meer kans op een betaalde baan.

In *hoofdstuk 4* onderzoek ik de kans op het vinden van een *passende* baan: een baan die past bij het opleidingsniveau. Hierbij speelt de plaats waar de opleiding behaald is een belangrijke rol. Vluchtelingen die hun hoogste opleiding in Nederland hebben afgerond hebben evenveel kans op een passende baan als autochtonen. Maar voor vluchtelingen die hun diploma in het land van herkomst hebben behaald blijkt de waardering van het diploma een obstakel te zijn. Slechts een derde slaagt er in het diploma te laten accrediteren en vaak op een lager niveau. Wanneer het buitenlandse diploma niet erkend wordt in Nederland is de kans op onderbenutting het grootst. Vluchtelingen kunnen hun menselijk kapitaal dan niet op een effectieve wijze inzetten. Dit heeft ook te maken met de Nederlandse arbeidsmarkt waar het belang van erkende kwalificaties groot is, dit bemoeilijkt de participatie van buitenstaanders.

In dit deel van mijn dissertatie laat ik zien dat integratie een tweezijdig proces is. Het verwerven van menselijk kapitaal in het bestemmingsland is van belang voor de integratie van vluchtelingen. Dit vergt inzet van zowel het individu als de overheid. Waar het individu dient te investeren in opleiding en taal, is het de rol van de overheid om participatie in onderwijs en op de arbeidsmarkt te faciliteren.

De rol van het herkomstland

In *hoofdstuk 5* onderzoek ik het transnationaal gedrag van vluchtelingen in Nederland. Dit is belangrijk omdat voorheen werd aangenomen dat vluchtelingen, wegens een gebrek aan middelen, nauwelijks transnationaal gedrag vertonen. In deze studie vind ik allereerst dat vluchtelingen met een baan vaker transnationaal gedrag vertonen, zoals het sturen van geld of goederen. Vanwege hun baan hebben ze de financiële middelen om transnationaal actief te zijn. Hieruit concludeer ik dat integratie en transnationalisme elkaar niet uitsluiten maar juist hand in hand gaan. Een opvallende nieuwe bevinding is dat ook vluchtelingen met weinig middelen, zoals de Somalische groep, regelmatig geld terugstuurt naar het thuisland. Ook zij die afhankelijk zijn van een uitkering slagen erin geld terug te sturen. De verklaring die ik hiervoor aanvoer is de situatie in het herkomstland. Wanneer de behoefte aan financiële steun groot is, zullen vluchtelingen geld opsturen aan hun achtergebleven familie. Transnationaal gedrag bij vluchtelingen lijkt dus een combinatie van eigen beschikbare middelen en de behoefte van achtergebleven familie in het herkomstland.

Beleidsimplicaties

De inzichten van dit proefschrift kunnen ook implicaties hebben voor beleid en praktijk. Ik noem hier drie mogelijke implicaties. Allereerst het belang van een opleiding volgen en behalen in Nederland voor succesvolle integratie van vluchtelingen. Dit omdat op de Nederlandse arbeidsmarkt veel waarde wordt gehecht aan officiële kwalificaties. Echter, slechts een klein deel van de vluchtelingen behaalt een Nederlands diploma omdat de eerste prioriteit vaak ligt bij het vinden van werk. De mogelijkheden om te investeren in onderwijs zijn beperkt voor adolescenten met een migranten- of vluchtelingenachtergrond. Het verdient aandacht om leer-werktrajecten voor vluchtelingen te ontwikkelen, waarin onderwijs en werk kunnen worden gecombineerd. Daarnaast blijkt de accreditatie van buitenlandse diploma's een obstakel voor vluchtelingen, waardoor ze hun vaardigheden en (werk)ervaring niet effectief kunnen inzetten in Nederland. Deze studie ondersteunt de recente beleidsmaatregel om vluchtelingen tijdens de inburgering de mogelijkheid te bieden hun diploma of onderwijsniveau gratis te laten waarderen.

Ten tweede bevestigt dit proefschrift het belang van korte asielprocedures. Met de invoering van de Vreemdelingenwet 2000 zijn de asielprocedures verkort. Maar door de stijging van het aantal asielverzoeken in de afgelopen maanden staat de asielketen onder druk. Een risico is dat door een gebrek aan middelen het groeiende aantal verzoeken niet binnen de geldende termijn kan worden afgehandeld. Dit kan weer langere asielprocedures tot gevolg hebben met, gezien dit proefschrift, negatieve gevolgen voor de mentale gezondheid van vluchtelingen en daarmee voor hun integratie. In aanvulling hierop wil ik het belang van goede geestelijke gezondheidszorg tijdens de asielprocedure benadrukken.

Ten derde het belang van verblijfszekerheid voor de integratie van vluchtelingen. Verblijfszekerheid maakt dat vluchtelingen in Nederland definitief een leven kunnen opbouwen. Het beleidsvoorstel

om de periode tot het in aanmerking komen voor een permanente vergunning of Nederlandse nationaliteit uit te stellen van vijf naar zeven jaar lijkt op basis van deze studie niet wenselijk. Ook de verder gaande ontwikkeling waarbij de verblijfsvergunning afhankelijk is gemaakt van het voldoen aan de inburgeringseisen tornt aan de verblijfszekerheid van vluchtelingen. Dit proefschrift laat ook zien dat taalverwerving een terechte en belangrijke inburgeringseis is omdat dit bijdraagt aan het afronden van een opleiding en het vinden van een baan. Echter, de verblijfszekerheid afhankelijk maken van inburgering is problematisch.

Dit punt raakt aan de discussie over de balans tussen inburgeringseisen en voorzieningen. In de afgelopen jaren is de ondersteuning op het gebied van inburgering en integratie steeds verder afgebouwd, maar de eisen en de daaraan verbonden consequenties, zoals de verblijfszekerheid, worden steeds strenger. Waar in de literatuur integratie wordt gedefinieerd als een tweezijdig proces waarbij zowel het individu en de samenleving een rol hebben, lijkt integratie in Nederland steeds meer de verantwoordelijkheid van het individu te worden. De rol van de overheid als facilitator van integratie raakt steeds meer op de achtergrond.

Tot slot wil ik stil staan bij het belang van deze resultaten voor nieuwe vluchtelingengroepen die op dit moment naar Europa en naar Nederland komen. Dit zijn vooral vluchtelingen uit Syrië en Eritrea. In sommige opzichten zullen deze groepen afwijken van de onderzoeksgroep in deze dissertatie, nieuw onderzoek naar deze groepen moedig ik dan ook aan. Toch zullen deze vluchtelingengroepen vergelijkbare obstakels tegenkomen zoals weergegeven in deze studie. Ook deze groepen hebben een (traumatische) vlucht achter de rug en worden geconfronteerd met de asielprocedure in Nederland. Kortom, zaken rondom mentale gezondheid, diploma erkenning en toegang tot de arbeidsmarkt zullen ook voor deze groepen centraal staan bij integratie en participatie. De bevindingen van dit proefschrift zijn daarvoor relevant en bruikbaar, nu en in de toekomst.

Curriculum Vitae

Linda Bakker (1986, Delden, the Netherlands) obtained her Bachelor's education in Interdisciplinary Social Sciences at Utrecht University in 2004. In 2010 she obtained her Research Master's degree in Sociology and Social Research (SaSR) from this university. Linda worked for a year as a junior researcher at Regioplan, a policy research agency in Amsterdam, before she started her PhD research at the department of Sociology at the Erasmus University Rotterdam and the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP). She published in international journals on refugee integration in relation to health, the asylum procedure and residence status, and transnationalism. Also she is a co-author on several chapters in research reports of the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) and the Research and Documentation Centre (WODC). For her research stay she went to the University of Birmingham where she conducted a country comparative research in collaboration with UK scholars. This research stay was partly funded by the Erasmus Trustfund. Currently Linda is working at Significant as researcher and consultant in the public sector.