

# QUID PRO QUO?

A comparative analysis of the frame usage in the labour  
market integration approach of Rotterdam & Utrecht

Student name: Carol Nader  
Student number: 515161  
Supervisor: Dr. M.M.A.C. Van Ostaijen  
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# Preface

*Having spent the majority of my life as an asylum seeker and afterwards as a status holder, in which I often 'framed' Dutch policy, it was interesting to spend the past few months doing quite the opposite for my master thesis. I would hereby like to thank all the people who have made this possible.*

*First of all, a big thank you to Mark for your helpful guidance and your kind and constructive feedback. You were always willing to call if I was stuck and responded to my emails with impressive speed. I would also like to thank my fellow students of the thesis group, whose feedback was indispensable throughout the process. The input of my colleagues of VNGi was also of great value to me, as well as the great experiences I've had during my internship. A special thanks to Arne, who took the time to read my thesis several times and offer insightful comments. I have also learned a lot during all the interviews with the policy makers of Rotterdam and Utrecht. I really appreciate your openness, your time and interesting insights that you were willing to share with me. I am also very grateful for my dear family members and friends, for always having faith in me and putting things into perspective. Lastly and most importantly, I would like to thank my husband Robbert-Jan for his never ending support. I cannot imagine how I would have done this without all our morning coffees, balcony breaks and lovely evening strolls.*

# Abstract

An effective way for policy makers to make their point on highly politicized issues like integration and migration is by framing the issue. In this thesis, three of the four most common frames within the integration debate in the Netherlands, the multicultural, the assimilationist and the universalist frame were discussed, in order to find out which frame dominated in the policies in two of the four largest municipalities in the Netherlands. The choice for municipalities was informed by a recent shift in the academic discussion on integration and migration from a focus on a national approach to a more local approach. This thesis builds on the new focus on local conditions by comparing the frame usage in the labour market integration approaches of status holders of the municipalities of Rotterdam and Utrecht. Therefore, the main research question of this thesis is:

*“How can we understand the similarities or differences in the frame usage of the municipalities Rotterdam and Utrecht towards labour market integration of status holders?”*

In order to answer the main research question, the following sub-questions were asked:

- *How does the municipality of Rotterdam frame labour market integration of status holders?*
- *How does the municipality of Utrecht frame labour market integration of status holders?*
- *What are the similarities and differences in these frame usages?*

This was done on the basis of a qualitative multiple case study, by which policy notes of both municipalities were analysed, in order to find out which reasoning and framing devices were used in the texts. This way, the dominant frame could be derived. More background knowledge on the chosen frame was found by interviewing policy makers of both municipalities about their labour market integration approach. As the political and institutional factor generally play a large role in local integration policy, it was expected beforehand that their frame usage would differ a lot. Based on the political backgrounds of both municipal coalitions, the assumption was that Utrecht would mainly communicate a multiculturalist frame, whereas Rotterdam was assumed to be more assimilationist.

After the desk research it became clear that, despite different political colours in the their executive boards, the municipalities were more alike than what had been expected beforehand. The framing and reasoning devices were very similar and it became clear that in both municipalities the universalist frame is most dominant. Nonetheless, the interviews indicated that they did differ in policy implementation, as it became clear that in Rotterdam, some assimilationist traits are still in place. This mainly showed how there is often a discrepancy between policy formulation and policy implementation. Apparently, both municipalities were mainly influenced by the political factor, which made this discrepancy possible among others. The institutional factor was mainly visible in the way in which the previous, more right-wing coalition of Rotterdam continued to play a large role in the implementation of the labour market integration approach of Rotterdam. The left-wing coalition also had its effects on Utrecht, as it has been willing to invest in status holders for a long time. Other factors also influenced the framing, like for example, populist tensions in society or the national research which showed the detrimental effects of the current labour market approach.

We can thus conclude that while policy formulations and policy framing in municipalities may be very similar, it is necessary to look further into the process to find out the real differences. For further research it is advised to also take the political actors into consideration as respondents, as they could shed more light on the reasons behind these frame usages. Moreover, it could be interesting to find out the exact extent to which a certain frame dominates in a certain municipality by conducting a quantitative research. It may also be informative for policy makers themselves to find out how status holders themselves frame the policy of which they are the aim, as this could give policy makers important insights in the effectivity of their approach.

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# 1. Introduction

Migration and integration are usually highly politicized issues, on which public opinion and mass media attention is generally very high (Caponio & Borkert, 2010). It is only logical that in a centralized consensus democracy like the Netherlands (Lijphart, 1968), the central government has tried to depoliticize the topic as much as possible in the past decades. However, with the turn of the century, this consensual style made way for a more conflictive style, which is also visible within the local context (Caponio & Borkert, 2010). Political tensions were especially running high in municipalities during the migration crisis of 2015, when many municipalities were requested to provide spaces for large amounts of refugees. Especially noticeable was the way in which some municipalities were very welcoming in their tone, whereas others communicated that they were more reluctant to have them in their midst. These divergences were also perceptible more recently, when several municipalities declared to be willing to give shelter to 500 refugee children that are currently living in refugee camps in Lesbos (Boon, 2020), while other municipalities kept silent.

These instances show how, despite the fact that the migration approach to a large extent is dictated from the national level, municipalities can certainly frame the issue the way they consider suitable to the local context. They thus have the autonomy to frame, alias the power to define and interpret the case their way, while at the same time proposing a certain course of action. This leads to the fact that many municipalities differ in the way they frame migration issues. The same can be said for the very similar policy field of integration. Migrant integration is a policy field which has often been described as wicked, not only because the definition and policy strategy often varies, but also because it often evokes much discussion about the problem definition and which policy measure would be most effective (Scholten, 2013). Frame analyses are very suitable for such issues as they enable us to find out which problem definitions dominate within a certain level and provide an effective tool to compare different policies (Dekker & Scholten, 2015). This methodology will therefore be applied to compare different integration policy frames in two different municipalities in The Netherlands.

## *1.1 Research objective*

The main aim of this thesis is to understand the similarities or differences in the policy frames that are used to describe integration of status holders within the municipalities of Rotterdam and Utrecht.

The research has social relevance on multiple levels. The net labour market participation of people with a migrant background has lagged behind the participation of other groups in the Netherlands for decades. Last year, the net labour market participation of people with a non-western migration background was 61,7%, the participation of people with a western migration background was 67,7%, as opposed to 70,1% for people with a Dutch background. In addition, the unemployment rates for western and non-western immigrants has also been higher: respectively, 7,3% and 4,4%, as opposed to 3,6% of people without a migration background (CBS, 2020). Even worse is the labour market participation of status holders in the Netherlands: only one in three status holders has a paid job. This backlog not only burdens the welfare system of our country and therefore diminishes public support for the asylum procedure, (Engbersen et al., 2015) but it is also detrimental for the status holders themselves. Research has shown that the higher the migrant integration policy index, the more similar the subjective well-being between migrants and non-migrants will become (Hadjar & Backes, 2013). This demonstrates how essential a good integration process is. The WRR has also emphasized the desirability of a more active role for municipalities in this integration process, as they feel the problems connected to integration problems the most (Engbersen et al., 2015). The municipal role in integration is therefore of great importance.

However, we can see that there are many differences visible between the integration approaches of municipalities (Kasem & Lubbermans, 2018). This leads to different chances for status holders to integrate in the labour market, as this depends on the municipality in which they decide to settle (KIS, 2018). Finding out these differences and similarities is relevant, as this might help understand why the actual integration of status holders succeeds or fails. For this purpose, the two large municipalities Rotterdam and Utrecht will be compared with a framing analysis, as these municipalities are often regarded as examples for other municipalities. This framing analysis provides us with a relevant tool to compare the integration between different municipalities, which gives these two municipalities the opportunity to learn from the other approach. The frame or narrative which dominates in each municipality furthermore gives us more knowledge on the vision in the often heavily debated subject of integration. In addition, in a democratic country as The Netherlands, framing of



municipalities to a large extent reflects the way citizens view integration problems. Finding which policy frames dominate in a certain region can therefore shed more light on how citizens perceive this integration issue.

The academic relevance lies in the fact that it provides us with more knowledge on how framing influences policy, therefore adding more empirical evidence to framing theories. Within constructivist theories, there are various frames that can be used to describe a municipality or national approach towards status holders or integration (Alexander, 2003). It is necessary to study these frames from time to time, in order to find out whether the frames still apply to a certain context or whether they are more outdated now. This may make it necessary to come up with a new frame, which suits another context or time frame better. In addition, there have been several researches which focus on which factors can explain differences or similarities between local governments. This thesis will specifically focus on factors which can be derived from Bekkers et al. (2017) and Caponio et al. (2018), to find out whether these factors can help us understand the differences or similarities in frame usage of different municipalities. This research additionally contributes to the new local discourse which can be found in more recent studies on integration. Within the academic field on integration, the focus generally lay on ‘national models of integration’ (Scholten, 2011b). Recently, this dominant national view has been challenged by new research that implied a distinct view on integration, which focused more on the local level. This research adds to this local dimension of integration.

## *1.2 Research Problem and questions*

This thesis will therefore compare the municipalities of Rotterdam and Utrecht in order to find out which frames dominate and which differences and similarities can be found between the labour market integration approaches. In order to compare these two municipalities, the following research question will be put forward:

*“How can we understand the similarities or differences in the frame usage of the municipalities Rotterdam and Utrecht towards labour market integration of status holders?”*

The sub questions that will be asked in order to be able to draw conclusions about the main research question are the following:

- *How does the municipality of Rotterdam frame labour market integration of status holders?*

- *How does the municipality of Utrecht frame labour market integration of status holders?*
- *What are the similarities and differences in these frame usages?*

### *1.3 Thesis outline*

This thesis is structured as follows. Chapter two will consist of the theoretical framework, in which the national and local discourse in immigration research will be described. Afterwards, the most important theories about factors influencing local integration policies and theory about framing will be explained. Chapter three deals with the methodology, in which the case selection and qualitative research method will be set out, as well as the operationalization scheme of the frames. Within the contextual framework of chapter four, the main terms and the current general role of municipalities in labour market integration of status holders in the Netherlands will be described. The integration approach of the municipalities of Rotterdam and Utrecht are additionally described in the final section of chapter four. This will be followed up by the results of the desk research and interviews in chapter five. The analysis of the policy documents of Utrecht and Rotterdam and the interviews will be dealt with in chapter six. These two cases will also be compared in the same chapter. In chapter seven, an answer will be given to the main research question, with in the end some reflections and recommendations for future research.

## 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter will start with how integration of immigrants is framed on the national level in the Netherlands. Afterwards, it will discuss of the most relevant literature with regard to the local dimension of immigration policy, policy framing of status holders and the factors that can influence this local policy on integration.

### 2.1 Short overview of literature on national framing

Despite the fact that the Netherlands has been celebrated for its multiculturalist approach towards immigration and integration, this has now been criticized by the public and political discourse as a failure. The national policies have thus followed a broader trend in the past decades which has led to more assimilationist practices with regard to integration policies (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008).

Within the former multicultural discourse of the second half of the previous century, immigrants were mainly framed as members of permanent cultural minorities in society (Rath, 2001). This was in line with the pillarism that was typical of that era in the Netherlands, which was translated into “sovereignty within the own sphere for each national minority” (Lijphart, 1968). This model of integration also conformed to the common idea of that period that the guest workers from Turkey and Morocco would only live here temporarily. However, when it became clear in the eighties that these guest workers were here to stay, the immigration policy and frame started to transform (Van der Brug et al., 2009).

The new, assimilationist frame of the 1990s and thereafter was and is characterized by the fact that immigrants are now framed as citizens of Dutch society. This more individualistic approach means that the primary goals now are to promote ‘good’ and ‘active’ citizenship and that migrants are stimulated to become economically independent participants of society (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). Therefore, it is important that the immigrant becomes a member of “one society” and that they are to accept the basic norms and values of the country and understand the Dutch language (Treaties of Parliament, TK, 2003). This new frame also explains why nowadays more emphasis lies on legal and cultural aspects of integration, instead of the socio-economic aspects (Van Heerden et al., 2014).

Lijphart (1968) has described the Dutch state structure as a ‘centralised consensus democracy’. Therefore, municipalities are predominantly responsible for the implementation of national policies. In addition to this, they have the right to take the initiative in the administration of their territory, according to the Constitution (Toonen, 1990). This means that municipalities in the Netherlands have a considerable degree of autonomy. As many integration measures are carried out by municipalities, a growing gap has become visible between national-level symbolic politics and the integration policies on the local level (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008). The latter has also been emphasized by Poppelaars & Scholten (2008), who claim that the local immigrant integration policies of Dutch municipalities do not always reflect the dominant national approach. It is thus not self-evident that each municipality will follow the national assimilationist approach. The role that municipalities play in current research will be set out hereafter.

## 2.2 Local approach

Until recently, the dominant political and scientific discourse in Europe was that migrant integration takes place at the national level, since the matter touches upon the social boundaries of nations. The nation state was seen as a collective agent, which had to deal with migrant integration (Caponio & Borkert, 2010). Because of this focus on the national level, most models for explaining and comparing policies towards migrants were at supra-national or nation-state level (Neymark, 1998).

However, a shift of responsibility for migrant integration policy towards local authorities has taken place in the recent years. This shift has been caused by inter alia more decentralization, which has made local authorities more autonomous within their response towards integration policy (Alexander, 2003). In addition, it has become more widely accepted that migrant integration is primarily a local process, since it is at this level where the migrant finds a job, goes to school, participates in social life etc. (Scholten, 2014). This has led to the entering of that local dimension of migrant integration within political and scientific discourses on integration.

Within the Netherlands, the considerable autonomy of municipalities in this matter is also visible (Toonen, 1990). Additionally, Poppelaars & Scholten (2008) have shown that the local migrant integration policies within the Netherlands often do not reflect the national approach, and you can consequently speak of a distinct local dimension of integration. This thesis is therefore based on the assumption that it is at the local level that integration

processes take place. The choice for the local level was also made because of the fact that these policies often include concrete strategies (Dekker, 2017). The aim of this thesis is thus to contribute to this new discourse by adding new empirical cases dealing with the local level.

## 2.3 Factors influencing local integration approaches

Throughout the handbook of Caponio, Scholten and Zapata-Barrero (2018), the following four factors are considered to be the main factors influencing city governance of migration and diversity: the history of migration, local politics and political participation, local policies of migration and diversity and the city identity and frames of migration and diversity. Within this thesis, the factors will be subdivided in two categories of influential factors: a political explanation and a policy explanation.

### 2.3.1 Politics

An important factor which explains differences between the integration approaches of different municipalities is the local politics of migration and migration-related diversity. This political perspective is based upon the assumption that the continuous political struggle between various, competing values is the dominant explanatory mechanism for policies (Lindblom, 1965). It is therefore the power conflicts and the strategies that political actors that political actors decide to use in order to overcome these conflicts which determine the approach towards for example migrant integration. Because of the fact that various values are at stake in each different municipality, the outcomes of the struggle with competing values also have different effects in different municipalities. In addition, a policy network of different actors and organizations also influences the outcome of a political process. As this network differs per region and per municipality, this can have an effect on the way integration is approached (Bekkers et al., 2017).

These competing values are particularly visible in researches that focus on the struggle between left and right, in order to explain why the approaches of municipalities differ. According to Van der Brug et al. (2009), integration stances can best be explained by the left-right dimension, with right-wing parties having a more strict integration vision than left-wing parties. Van Heerden et al. (2014) repeat this idea that positions on the integration debate are mainly structured by a left-right divide, which is translated into left-wing parties supporting more lenient, multicultural policies and right-wing parties advocating more restrictive, monoculturalism policies. These ideas are demonstrated by the cases in the

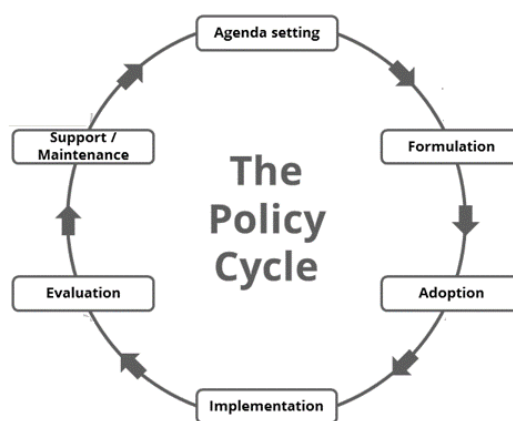
research of Campomori and Caponio (2013) in which the municipalities with centre-right majorities generally adopted an assimilationist approach, whereas centre-left majorities adopted the more culture-friendly, would-be citizen frame. The political majorities in the municipal councils can thus affect the extent to which municipalities differ in their integration approach.

With regard to the relationship between labour market policies in general and political factors, Moira (2013) also claims that the left-right dimension can explain differences in labour market policies in general. Within his research, he found out that leftist governments are strong advocates of active labour market policies. Despite the fact that left parties, Christian Democratic parties and centre-right parties all spend highly on training policies for the unemployed, it was found that left parties spend most on these training policies. The left governments also tend to spend more on incentives to private firms, which are described as subsidies to firms that hire unemployed workers.

### 2.3.2 Policy

Secondly, local policies, and especially the institutional legacies of past integration policies also play a large part in the differences between municipalities.

Ideally, the policy process would look like a policy cycle, which follows different phases in a linear manner. An example of such a policy cycle is the one that was developed by William Dunn (1981), and which exists of six phases: agenda setting, formulation, adoption, implementation and support/maintenance. These phases are illustrated below:



*Figure 1 Policy cycle by Dunn (1981) as was shown during a lecture of prof. Fenger (2019)*

This policy cycle is chosen as an example, because the focus in this thesis will lie on the formulation phase and the implementation phase, as will be further described in the

methodology chapter. Within the agenda setting phase, policy problems are identified and placed on the public agenda by public officials. In order to deal with a problem, policy must be formulated, which is done in the second phase. When the regulatory body supports the policy formulation, it can be adopted and afterwards be implemented by the administrative staff. The efficiency and effectiveness is then evaluated, after which feedback is provided (Dunn, 1981; as cited by Fenger, 2019).

From the institutional perspective, the policy realm is predominantly influenced and constrained by institutional rules, as these rules can limit the options of political actors. Institutional rules are defined by March and Olsen (1989) as “*the routines, procedures, conventions, roles, strategies, organization forms and technologies around which political activity is constructed*”. The constitution is the most important set of legal rules that decides which steps political actors take. In addition, national policies with regard to integration also limit the leeway which local actors have. Furthermore, path dependency shapes the following actions of political or policy actors, which implies that the past approaches of a municipality have a large influence on new approaches, within a certain policy area. This means that past decisions can continue to play a role due to path dependency (Bekkers et al., 2017). Hackett (2018) shows how this path dependency plays a role, by pointing out that when cities have to compose policies for migration, they often look at their own past for examples, lessons or inspirations. The cities are either inspired by it when they are positive about their former integration policies, or want to deviate from their past actions because of bad experiences.

In order to understand to what extent these two factors influence the differences and similarities between the two municipalities, the policies will be analyzed with the help of a framing approach.

## 2.4 Framing approach

Migration and integration are often described as ‘wicked problems’, as these are policy topics where there are many decision makers and policy makers with conflicting values. In addition, the problem definition and what should be the solution is often disputed (Churchman, 1967). A suitable perspective to analyse such wicked problems is a framing approach, because this approach allows us to consider the different possible interpretations that policy actors have to view the matter (Dekker & Scholten, 2015). First, the framing approach will be explained, after which four ideal frames of status holders will be described.

## **Four reasoning devices**

Within social constructivist theory, knowledge is seen as a social construct, which flows from shared processes of interactions through language. It is based upon the notion that there is not only one reality, but that there are many conceptions of reality. Within each of these conceptions, complex realities are organized, interpreted and framed (Schön & Rein, 1993). As Entman (1993) describes it, “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.” According to him, a frame thus consists of four reasoning devices or features, which will serve as the basis for the frame analysis in this thesis. These are operationalized by Nickels (2007) and Dekker & Scholten (2015) as follows:

- Problem definition: what is the problem, what is going on? What is the integration question about and who is concerned by it?
- Causal interpretation: what caused the current situation, thus what is the origin of the integration question?
- Moral evaluation: This consists of the social and moral implications that are perceived by the political actors. Thus, what is the relevance of the question for society and the people involved with the question?
- Treatment recommendation: What should be done to deal with the situation, how can we solve the situation and who gets the responsibility to solve it? (Nickels, 2007; Dekker & Scholten, 2015)

## **Four framing devices**

Actors can communicate these reasoning devices by the usage of framing devices (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). These framing devices are means of communication or discursive tools that have a persuasive power, which can be used to create incentive towards a certain interpretation (Bekkers et al., 2017). The following five are selected by Dekker & Scholten and will be used within this thesis: metaphors, expressions, examples, visual images and statistical data. Dekker & Scholten (2015) also operationalize these five framing devices:

- Metaphors. When symbolic images or words phrases are used.
- Expressions. When catchphrases are used to categorize people or a certain issue.
- Examples. The description of a certain situation or the clarification of an issue by examples.



- Visual images. When pictures, videos, cartoons or infographics are used in order to present certain people or an issue.
- Statistical data. The manner in which a case is presented by statistics. (Dekker & Scholten, 2015)

Together with the reasoning devices, these framing devices will be used for the questions for the frame analysis, as well as to structure the indicators of the different frames within the operationalization table in chapter four.

### **Framing in politics and policy**

Within the public policy domain, framing also takes place. As Stone (1988) asserts, within the ‘polis’ or political community, politicians try to transfer their construction of what is going on and what solutions they find most suitable. From the social constructivist perspective, policy, politics, political goals, means and problems are all socially constructed and are the result of the continuous interactions that take place between participants within the policy process (Van der Steen, 2009). Actors within this domain interact with each other through language and create a common story, which structure various interpretations of the real world into an internally coherent frame of reference (Stone et al., 2001). In these stories, politicians construct the necessity, legitimacy and expected effectiveness of their favourite course of action (Stone, 1988). They can therefore be seen as storytellers, who aim to convince their audiences of their story lines (van der Steen, 2009). Their persuasiveness is more important than their analysis of facts (Stone, 1988). Thus in short, multiple frames are contesting within the policy process, but eventually one frame will generally prevail and become the policy frame. They structure our perception of reality and at the same time promote a course of action (Dekker, 2017).

Despite the fact that this construction of a shared view seems one-sided, it’s not. Citizens that ‘receive’ these stories, continue to interpret these stories of societal problems by adding their own and other ideas to them which they receive through other sources. The stories of politicians are just one of the many sources that are used by citizens for sense-making. Thus, on the one hand a story gives structure and meaning to certain phenomena, while it also receives meaning by interpretation of the actors that deal with them (van der Steen, 2009).

According to Roe (1994), you can often find a dominant narrative within policy. These narratives always consist of a beginning, a middle, an end and a plot (Stone, 1988). The narratives of politicians connect facts, values, goals, solutions and effective actions with

each other. These components become institutionalized within policy documents and policy notes. However, these narratives are often incorporated implicitly, because such documents are expected to be objective (van der Steen, 2009). The goal of this thesis is to make these narratives explicit by analyzing these documents.

The frames or stories are expressed through discourses (Schön & Rein, 1993), which are defined by Hajer (1993) as “an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena.” When certain story lines continue to be reused by different actors, it can lead to discourse coalitions being formed. These are coalitions of actors that share and advocate the same ideas and interpretations. It is often the case that there is one dominant discourse coalition, which to a great extent influences the outcomes of policy processes on a certain topic. Dominant discourse coalitions can even be institutionalized, ensuring a certain bias on how to look at the issues in a certain region. However, when dealing with highly disputed topics, there is generally not one discourse coalition that dominates (Bekkers et al. 2017).

An important addition to the theories above is that not only phenomena or problems in society like ‘integration’ are framed, but that certain target groups or target populations can also be framed (Schneider & Ingram, 1993). It is important to understand these specific social constructs, because it can explain why certain policies targeting these groups are chosen. Schneider and Ingram define the social construction of target groups as the way certain persons or groups that are affected by public policy are characterized within the policy domain. Different policy makers can also have different constructions for the same groups, for example status holders. Depending on which social construction they have, the policy makers choose different kinds of policies targeting these status holders (Schneider and Ingram, 1993).

To summarize, as policy makers and decision makers can frame integration and status holders in many ways and a certain frame can dominate within a municipality, this also leads to different approaches being taken in different municipalities (Bekkers et al., 2017).

Within the literature, there are numerous policy frames to frame status holders and the integration process. Examples of these frames are the precariousness frame, the assimilationist frame and the would-be citizens frame which are used by Campomori and Caponio in 2013. Alexander (2003) has developed another typology, with the following four frames: the transient frame, the guestworker frame, the assimilationist frame and the pluralist frame. There are numerous other researchers to cite with other frame usages, but within this thesis, three of the four policy frames that are used by Scholten (2011b) are selected: the

universalist frame, the assimilationist frame and the multiculturalist frame. The reason why these frames were chosen, is that these policy frames have been the most dominant frames in the Netherlands in the past decades. The differentialist frame of the typology of Scholten has not been selected, because it is based upon the assumption that the refugee or asylum seeker will only stay temporarily. As this cannot be the case with status holders who have already received a residence permit, this frame has been rendered redundant. In this thesis, the focus will therefore lie upon the following three frames, of which the operationalization schemes can be found in chapter four:

#### 2.4.1 Universalist frame

This frame adopts a liberal egalitarian view, aiming for ethnic equality. Integration policies in this frame target not only immigrants, but it targets all the members of society. Sociocultural adaptation and integration is therefore a two-way process and a shared responsibility. That is why all the policy measures are generic. Something which characterizes this frame, is that neither a minority or majority culture is promoted or institutionalized and that government approaches cultural diversity neutrally (Dekker, 2017). This neutrality is pursued by naming immigrant integration policies in colour-blind or individualistic terms. In addition, the focus lies more on social-economic and political-legal integration instead of social-cultural integration, as culture and religion belong to the private realm. Values that are considered important are mainly liberal egalitarian values, like good citizenship (Scholten, 2011b).

#### 2.4.2 Assimilationist frame

The *assimilationist* municipality regards the immigrants as a permanent population which has to be assimilated into the local host society (Alexander, 2003). The local host's national identity, norms and values are of great importance and should be adopted by the newcomer. The preservation of Dutch identity is therefore one of the main aims for society (Entzinger, 2005). The 'otherness' of the immigrants is either ignored or discouraged, because it is seen as problematic (Alexander, 2003). The focus within the integration lies upon social-cultural adaptation and integration is perceived to be essential for the preservation of social cohesion (Scholten, 2011b). The main aim is to integrate the status holders for the long term by assimilation, which is done through general policies. These policies are generally based on non-ethnic criteria and focus on individuals, rather than groups. Something that's also typical

for this approach is that the integration process is one-directional, which means that it is only the status holder who has to adapt, with the facilitation of local policies (Alexander, 2003).

### 2.4.3 Multiculturalist frame

The multicultural type regards the migrants as permanent ethnic minorities that will retain their differences within a multicultural city. The emancipation of people with different cultural backgrounds is needed for integration. The problems that are associated with integration are mainly about the socioeconomic deprivation of status holders. Within this frame, the municipal actors should be tolerant and should support diversity, because diversity is seen as a value. The latter also makes the integration more two-directional, because the host society is expected to accept this diversity of society. That is why it is often also promoted by the local actors. Typical for local policies that suit this frame are the fact that they assist the cultural needs of status holders and that they also actively empower communities of minorities. This frame is different from the frames above in its consideration of the ethnic element and that its approach is often community-based. The downside of this is that individual differences between status holders can be ignored because of the fact that they are all placed in their ethnic category (Alexander, 2003; Scholten, 2011b).

## 2.5 Theoretical assumption

As was mentioned before, this thesis is based on the assumption that it is at the local level that integration processes take place (Dekker, 2017), which is distinct from the national level and that these distinctions can exist among local governments. This means that it is expected that each municipality has its own unique way of framing the policies of their labour market integration.

It is furthermore very likely that the differences between the framing of the municipalities will mainly be attributed to the political side of the municipal council and not so much from the institutional side. When the political composition of the municipal council differs between municipalities, their integration policies will presumably also vary. With regard to framing, it is expected that the more right-wing the municipal council is, the more assimilationist the frame will be that is communicated. On the other hand, when the municipal council is more left-wing, it will probably be more multiculturalist (Campomori and Caponio, 2013).

On the institutional side however, the municipalities are largely bound by national laws on how to arrange their labour market integration policy. It is therefore expected that most similarities between the framing of the two municipalities stem from this. Furthermore, the assumption prevails that lessons learned from previous approaches of the municipalities will continue to play a role and that path dependency is largely attributable to this. This means that once the municipality has chosen a certain path, it is not very plausible that it will deviate from this abruptly (Bekkers et al., 2017).

## 3. Methodology

This research adopts frame theory to examine how the municipalities of Utrecht and Rotterdam the labour market integration approach and status holders (Nickels, 2007). It consists of a qualitative approach, based on two parts. One part is a desk research, while the second part consists of qualitative interviews with local stakeholders who deal with labour market integration. The first part gives an overview of the formulation phase of the policy cycle, whereas the interviews allows us to get a better view of the implementation phase.

### 3.1 Case selection

This research will consist of a qualitative comparative multiple case study, in which the framing within policy documents of the municipalities of Utrecht and Rotterdam with regard to integration will be analysed and compared. These two municipalities were selected because they both belong to the top five biggest municipalities of the Netherlands and have a large percentage of residents with a migrant background: the percentage in Utrecht is 35,2% and Rotterdam 51,6% (CBS, 2019). The biggest municipalities are often regarded as examples for other municipalities, which makes it useful to study their approach. They have also been selected by the fact that the political composition of the municipal coalitions differs: Utrecht's coalition only consists of leftist parties (Gemeente Utrecht, 2020), whereas the so-called 'rainbow coalition' of Rotterdam consists of left-wing as well as right-wing parties (Beek & Liukku, 2018). The time period from 2018-2020 is chosen, as the current policy has been in operation since the municipal elections of 2018.

### 3.2 Data Selection

Qualitative research is mostly used when the researcher seeks to understand certain phenomena in a setting which is context-specific (Golafshani, 2003). In the current case, this phenomenon is the fact that between municipalities, different framing approaches are visible towards labour market integration of status holders. The first part of the research consists of a desk research, which amongst other will be conducted by analysing the municipalities' policy towards labour market integration of status holders. This will be done by analysing and summarizing each municipalities' policy papers on the subject between 2017 and 2020 and describing which frame each municipality utilizes within its current approach. The reason

why this time frame is chosen, is because the current approach was formed after the municipal elections of 2018. It would therefore have been logical to choose 2018 as a starting point, had it not been the case that the approach described in the policy letters of Utrecht of 2017 still apply. For Rotterdam, the following policy papers are analyzed: *Coalitieakkoord 2018-2022*, *Rotterdamse aanpak Statushouders 2019-2022*, *Actieprogramma Integratie en Samenleven 2019-2022*. The policy papers that are analyzed for Utrecht are: *Coalitieakkoord 2018-2022*, *Raadsbrief Integratie van Statushouders gemeente Utrecht* of January 2017, *Raadsbrief Arbeidsparticipatie Statushouders* of November 2017 and *Plan Einstein Utrecht Refugee Launchpad*.

The coalition agreement '*New Energy for Rotterdam*' describes the agreements that were made by the coalition within the municipal council. This municipal council coalition consists of the Green left party Groenlinks, the right-wing liberal party VVD, the progressive liberal party D66, the left-wing labour party PVDA, religious centre-right party CDA and the orthodox Calvinistic parties CU-SGP, of which CU is more left-wing and the SGP more right-wing (Van Holsteyn, 2018; Rotterdam, 2018). The action programme with the title '*Relax this is Rotterdam. Living together in a city where nobody is a majority*' describes how integration and participation in society in general are pursued. The third policy paper '*Rotterdam approach status holders 2019-2022*' sets out the general integration approach of status holders.

The coalition of the municipal council of Utrecht consists of the left-wing green party GroenLinks, the left-wing Calvinistic Party ChristenUnie and the progressive liberal party D66. Their agreements were bundled in the coalition agreement '*Utrecht: space for everyone.*' (Van Holsteyn, 2018; Utrecht, 2018). Two policy letters furthermore describe the integration approach in Utrecht: the letter of January 2017 describes the general integration approach, whereas the letter of November focuses on the labour market integration of status holders. The reason why policy letters are chosen and analysed, is because Utrecht has not written their integration approach in an extensive policy paper, so these were the only available documents. Finally, the document '*Plan Einstein Utrecht Refugee Launchpad: manual for entrepreneurship training*' sets out the refugee entrepreneurship training project which is co-financed by the European Commission and which was launched by the municipality of Utrecht together with many different partners.

The three possible frames are the assimilationist, multicultural and universalist frames. The operationalization of these frames is described in table two.

### 3.3 Frame Analysis and Operationalization scheme

The local labour market integration policies in the municipalities of Utrecht and Rotterdam will be analysed in order to study which frames prevail. As was mentioned in the theoretical framework in chapter two, a frame consists of framing devices (problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation), which can be communicated through reasoning devices (metaphors, expressions, examples, visual images and statistical data). These serve as the basis for the frame analysis, as the analysis will consist of the application of ten questions to every text contained in the collected political corpora of status holder discourse. These questions are based on the questions of Nickels (2007) and Dekker & Scholten (2015).

1. Problem definition - What is the perceived nature of the status holder and integration question?
2. Problem definition - How is the concept of 'status holder' defined?
3. Causal interpretation - What are the perceived origins of the integration question or problem?
4. Moral evaluation - What are the perceived social and moral implications of the status holder and integration question?
5. Treatment recommendation/policy strategy - What policy recommendation is made as to how the status holder and integration question should be dealt with?
6. Metaphor - Which metaphors are used?
7. Expression - Which expressions are used?
8. Example - Which examples are used?
9. Visual image - Which visual images are used?
10. Statistical data - Which statistical data are used? (Nickels, 2007; Dekker & Scholten, 2015)

After these ten questions are answered for each policy document, their frames can be discovered by looking at to what extent the answers of the questions match the frames within the operationalization table below. The frames that are mentioned within this table are based on the frames in the typology of Alexander (2003), Dekker (2017) and Dekker & Scholten (2015). Listed below are the assimilationist frame, the multiculturalist frame and the universalist frame. The table provides an overview of the concept and definition of each of these frames and the indicators that are based on the framing and reasoning devices.



<b>Frame and definition</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
<p><b>Universalist frame</b> = is based on a liberal egalitarian view on immigrant integration, with a focus on ethnic equality. It therefore ignores the minority and majority cultures (Scholten, 2011b). It also emphasizes participation of all citizens ( Dekker, 2017)</p>	<p><b>Problem definition:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Ethnic equality should be promoted as a result of two-way cultural adaptation and individual participation” (Dekker, 2017)</li> <li>- “Status holders are defined as categories of individuals, instead of their culture. Example: ‘allochtonen’” (Scholten, 2011b)</li> </ul> <p><b>Causal interpretation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Socio-economic participation as a condition for social-cultural emancipation</li> </ul> <p><b>Moral evaluation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Liberal egalitarian perspective on society, with core values as good citizenship and equality (Scholten, 2011b)</li> </ul> <p><b>Treatment recommendation/policy strategy:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Generic/mainstreamed measures requiring all citizens to participate” (Dekker, 2017)</li> <li>- Promoting equal labour market access</li> <li>- Promoting equal access to municipal services</li> <li>- No specific municipal team working on integration</li> <li>- Coproduction with citizens</li> <li>- Bottom-up approach, working together with citizens and local organizations</li> <li>- Combating discrimination</li> <li>- Ethnic factors are ignored in employment</li> <li>- Equal access to vocational labour training</li> <li>- No public awareness of ethnic diversity</li> <li>- The ethnic bases of migrant associations are ignored</li> </ul> <p><b>Metaphor:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Two-way street” (Griffith, 2016)</li> </ul> <p><b>Expression:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Active citizenship (Scholten, 2011b), shared responsibility,</li> </ul>

	<p>quid pro quo, interculturalization (culturally neutral) (Dekker, 2017)</p> <p><b>Example:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Examples of immigrants, as well as non-immigrants who both participate in society and promote integration</li> </ul> <p><b>Visual image:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- As neutral as possible</li> </ul> <p><b>Statistical data:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No distinction is made between status holders and non-status holders</li> </ul>
<p><b>Assimilationist</b></p> <p>The municipality expects that the migrant will stay permanently, whereas their otherness should and will disappear. The aim of their policy is to assimilate the migrant in order for them to integrate in the long-term (Alexander, 2003).</p>	<p><b>Problem definition:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Deviant sociocultural and sociodemographic characteristics of migrant groups” (Dekker, 2017)</li> <li>- “Status holders are being defined using social categories, like for example ‘newcomers’ ” (Scholten, 2011b)</li> </ul> <p><b>Causal interpretation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social-cultural differences form an obstacle to integration (Scholten, 2011a)</li> <li>- Social-cultural adaptation is a condition for social cohesion (Scholten, 2011b)</li> </ul> <p><b>Moral evaluation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Preservation of Dutch identity, norms and values and social cohesion (Entzinger, 2005)</li> </ul> <p><b>Treatment recommendation/policy strategy:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Immigrants should adapt to the socio- cultural values and behaviours of the host society” (Dekker, 2017)</li> <li>- Connecting integration issues with safety issues (Dekker, 2017)</li> <li>- Emphasis on sociocultural aspects of integration by adherence to history and cultural norms and values (Dekker, 2017)</li> <li>- Local services are provided according to general, non-ethnic socio-economic criteria</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sanctioning when immigrants refuse to accommodate.</li> <li>- Equal access to vocational labour training</li> <li>- Equal access to social housing</li> <li>- Ethnic factors are ignored in employment</li> <li>- Naturalisation process is facilitated when possible.</li> <li>- Migrant mobilisation is excluded</li> <li>- Migrant associations discouraged</li> <li>- The establishment of religious schools or religious buildings like mosques are discouraged</li> <li>- Physical manifestations of otherness is opposed</li> <li>- Limited public awareness of ethnic diversity</li> <li>- Dutch language proficiency is not optional (Alexander, 2003)</li> </ul> <p><b>Metaphor:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Melting pot (Alexander, 2003)</li> </ul> <p><b>Expression:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Adaptation, Bridging of differences, Not everything that is different is also valuable, Common, shared citizenship (Scholten, 2011a), Preserving social cohesion, unitary, self-sufficiency, ethnic entrepreneurship, own efforts</li> </ul> <p><b>Example:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Story of someone who has successfully adopted the Dutch culture</li> </ul> <p><b>Visual image:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Photos of status holders who are doing typically Dutch things</li> </ul> <p><b>Statistical data:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focusing on the sociocultural integration or the lack of this</li> </ul>
<p><b>Pluralist/ Multicultural</b></p> <p>The migrant's presence is regarded as an</p>	<p><b>Problem definition:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Problematizing socioeconomic deprivation of immigrants" (Dekker, 2017)</li> <li>- Status holders are defined by their cultural, ethnic or religious background (Scholten, 2011b)</li> </ul> <p><b>Causal interpretation:</b></p>

<p>irreversible phenomenon within these municipalities. The migrants and their otherness will remain, which is accepted. The policy aim is to integrate the migrants within a multicultural society which supports their diversity. The policies are therefore ethnically-targeted (Alexander, 2003)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Social-cultural emancipation as condition for social-economic participation (Scholten, 2011a)</li> <li>- Recognizing cultural diversity is the only way to accommodate cultural pluralism (Scholten, 2011b)</li> </ul> <p><b>Moral evaluation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cultural diversity as a strength or beneficial</li> <li>- Government should not interfere in the cultures of immigrants</li> </ul> <p><b>Treatment recommendation/policy strategy:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “Specific measures such as group arrangements and activities promoting cultural pluralism (Dekker, 2017)</li> <li>- Positive discrimination within the labour market</li> <li>- Tailor-made measures for specific migrant groups</li> <li>- Vocational-training for labour is ethnic-based</li> <li>- Specific measures are developed for migrants</li> <li>- Municipal programmes specifically targeting ethnic minorities</li> <li>- Accommodating specific cultural needs, like for example religious practices</li> <li>- Pro-active empowerment of minority communities, like supporting ethnic organisations or ethnic associations</li> <li>- Presence and support of of migrant advisory councils</li> <li>- Home-language classes are supported</li> <li>- Minority religious institutions are supported</li> <li>- Physical manifestations of the otherness is supported</li> <li>- Presence of a designated representative organ(Alexander, 2003)</li> </ul> <p><b>Metaphor:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Salad bowl (Alexander, 2003)</li> </ul> <p><b>Expression:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Empower minorities (Dekker, 2017), accept and embrace differences, multicoloured, culture-sensitive, tolerance (Scholten, 2011b), tailor-made</li> </ul> <p><b>Example:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Individualistic, background story of a status holder who</li> </ul>
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	<p>obviously has not lost its physical manifestations of ‘otherness’</p> <p><b>Visual image:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Photos of status holders doing something that is typical for their culture.</li> </ul> <p><b>Statistical data:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focusing on the socioeconomic deprivation of status holders</li> <li>- The status holders’ ethnic or cultural background is named</li> </ul>
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As with any methodology, the usage of a frame analysis has a few shortcomings. The first one is that it assumes that policies always transfer an internally coherent, consistent frame of what causes a problem and how it could and should be solved. However, in reality this is often not the case. Frame ambiguity often emerges, implying that it can be the case that the problem definition and the proposed policy strategy are not coherent, each representing another frame (Dekker, 2017). One should also take into consideration that it could be the case that some of the framing or reasoning devices cannot be found in policy notes. Furthermore, one can never be certain that the intended meaning of communication is interpreted in the way it was meant to be (Flowerdew, 1999). Of course, the operationalization table above is made for the purpose to reduce this uncertainty as much as possible, but this cannot be ensured entirely.

### 3.4 Interviews

The second part consists of interviews with policy makers who deal with labour market integration. Three persons within the municipality of Utrecht and three persons within the municipality of Rotterdam are interviewed. Of the municipality of Rotterdam, the following persons are interviewed: a policy advisor *Status Holders*, the coordinator of the *Status Holders team* and a policy advisor in the department *Language, Integration and Social Security*. In Utrecht, the interviews will take place with a senior policy advisor Integration in the department of *Work and Income*, a senior policy advisor Integration in the department *Social Development* and a strategic account manager in the department of *Work and Income*.

The status holders team is part of the *Work and Income* department of Rotterdam. This team guides status holders to a job or study. The policy advisor of the Rotterdam approach of status holders collaborates with a lot of departments working with status holders.

It is also her task to connect them, as well as to advise the city council member. The policy advisor in the Language, Integration and Social Security department of the municipality of Rotterdam is responsible for amongst others ‘Vluchtelingenwerk’ and the ‘Rotterdamse Taalstart’.

Two of the three interviewees of Utrecht work for the *Work and Income* department of the municipality of Utrecht, in which one is a senior policy advisor and the other a strategic account manager. The last respondent is a senior policy advisor Asylum and Integration in the *Social Development* department in Utrecht. He has been actively involved in the initiation of Plan Einstein.

Due to privacy reasons, the interviewees are referred to by their function name. These function names are abbreviated and the abbreviations can be found in the table of appendix 9.1.

The interviews will take place after the frame analysis of the documents has been conducted. The goal of these interviews is threefold: to find out whether my perception of dominant frame matches their perception, to gain more understanding of the chosen frame that has been found was chosen by the municipality and to find out what the implications are of the chosen frame. The interview questions in appendix 9.2. are based on these three goals.

These interviews are semi-structured and the questions consist of closed-, as well as open-ended questions which are mostly set up beforehand. The interviews will be conducted with one respondent at a time, and one time with two persons (in Utrecht). The advantage of semi-structured interviews is that it gives the opportunity to follow-up open-ended questions, which is very useful in the case of wanting to ask in-depth questions. It furthermore allows the interviewer to be flexible when necessary. The drawbacks of this type of interviews is that it is time consuming and labour intensive. This leads to the fact that this type is not likely to encompass a large enough sample to be very generalizable (Newcomer et al., 2015). With the current corona-confinements in place, the interviews will take place online, via Teams or Skype. As semi-interviews rely heavily on the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee (Longhurst, 2003), this online conduction has its disadvantages.

After the interviews, each framing device is listed in a table, which will then be combined with the frame that fits the best to the mentioned problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and policy recommendation. This is done manually.

### 3.5 Validity and reliability

As validity and reliability are of great importance, the following measures are taken in order to ensure these qualities.

Validity is guaranteed when the measure that is used within the research is able to reflect the real meaning of the concept (Babbie, 2015). The concept of validity can be subdivided into internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to the fact that the conclusions that are drawn reflect what actually went on in the research in an accurate way. External validity on the other hand means that the conclusions are generalizable to “the real world” out there (Babbie, 2015) The operational scheme within chapter 3.3 is used in order to safeguard the internal validity when certain concepts are used. In addition, the interviews will be recorded and transcribed. After processing the interviews, the results and analysis chapter will be sent to the interviewees so that they can check the validity. The external validity is covered to a certain extent by the fact that the municipalities that are chosen represent both sides of the left-right spectrum, which makes the outcomes more generalizable to other municipalities.

Reliability is taken into consideration when it is clear that were this research to be conducted again, the same outcomes would be collected (Babbie, 2015). The fact that two different methods are combined within this research, improves the validity and reliability as is argued by Patton (2002). He therefore advocates the use of triangulation, so the usage of more than one research method. Furthermore, the semi-structuring of the interviews, whereby most of the questions are already structured beforehand, also leads to more reliability.

## 4. Context

Before moving on to the empirical section, it is necessary that the context is set out. Therefore, the main terms that are often used by policy actors and the role of the local authority in migration processes will be sketched. Afterwards, the labour market integration process in Rotterdam and Utrecht will be set out.

### 4.1 Terminology

The terms of *refugee*, *asylum seeker*, *status holder* and *migrant* are often used interchangeably. However, it is important to differentiate between these concepts, as they all have varying meanings. The definitions that are used in the directives of the European Union will be used to define these terms, as the Dutch integration system is based on these directives.

A *refugee* is “a third-country national or stateless person, who due to a well-founded fear of persecution because of his or her race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group is outside the country of nationality and is not willing to avail themselves of the protection of that new country” (Directive 2011/95, 2011).

An *asylum seeker* is “a third-country national or stateless person who has made an application for protection under the Geneva Refugee Convention and Protocol. However, a final decision has not yet been taken” (Directive 2005/85, 2005).

A *migrant* is someone who “establishes their usual residence in the territory of an EU/EFTA Member State for a period that is, or is expected to be, of at least 12 months, having previously been usually resident in another EU/EFTA Member State or a third country” (Regulation 2007/862, 2007).

A *status holder* is “a third-country national who has long-term resident status as provided for under Arts. 4 to 7 of Council Directive 2003/109/EC or as provided for under national legislation.” This person thus has a *residence permit* in an EU member state, which is defined as “any authorisation issued by the authorities of an EU Member State allowing a non-EU national to stay legally in its territory, in accordance with the provisions of Regulation (EU) No 265/2010” (Regulation 2010/265, 2010).



## 4.2 Pre-municipality phase

When the asylum seeker first enters the Netherlands, the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum seekers (COA) is responsible for the asylum seeker. The latter still lives in an asylum seeker centre and is waiting for a status in this phase.

Within the first six months after registration, the asylum seeker is not allowed to work. Afterwards, the asylum seeker is allowed to work for 24 weeks per year, as long as the employer has an employment permit, granted by the Employee Insurance Agency (UWV).

After an asylum seeker receives a status, he or she becomes a status holder, but still falls under the responsibility of the COA. This person can live in an asylum seeker centre or in a temporary residence in a municipality. The municipality does receive a reimbursement and after 24 months of temporary residence within a municipality, the latter becomes responsible for the asylum seeker.

The waiting process for a permanent house can take a few months to a year and thus either takes place within an asylum seeking centre or in a temporary house. A municipality for permanent residence is chosen by the COA on the basis of an employment screening, the 'NOA-assessment' that takes place after the status is received. The central government fixes the amount of status holders each municipality has to take in.

Juridically, the status holder is allowed to work within this intermediate phase and the central government even has the obligation to accompany the status holder to the labour market and grant the status holder access to integration programmes. Despite this, the amount of status holders that work within this phase is very low, because of practical factors. Some of these factors are the difficulties with regard to language, finding something that matches with the level of education of the status holder and the often poor reachability of the AZCs. It is also not yet clear when and where the status holder will live in the near future, which gives the employee and the employer a lot of uncertainty. Status holders living in an AZC are also obliged to pay a contribution for the food and accommodation, which makes work less profitable (De Lange et al., 2017).

## 4.3 Status holder in the municipality

The last phase is the phase in which the status holder lives in a municipality. From this moment on, the municipality has the responsibility to integrate the status holder within the

framework of the *Participatiewet*. Furthermore, the value of the diploma from the country of origin of the refugee is estimated in this phase. This thesis will focus on this phase.

In general, the handover of responsibility from COA to the municipality is not well-organized. Because of this, municipalities often have to do this screening again.

Within this phase, two actors have to comply to obligations. On the one hand, the Dutch government has to ensure access to integration programmes that take into account the specific needs of beneficiaries of refugee status or of subsidiary protection status as well as access to the normal education system. On the other hand, the status holder has an integration obligation, he or she therefore has to acquire oral and written Dutch proficiency and gain knowledge on the Dutch society. They furthermore have to follow a course in which the status holder gets prepared for the labour market and an obligatory course which will eventually lead to the signing the declaration of participation. Within this course, the status holder gets to know the core values of the Netherlands: liberty, equivalence and solidarity. The status holder can also receive a social welfare benefit, but the *Participatiewet* has added several obligations to this.

Municipalities used to play a great role in this whole process, as they had to inform and support the status holder in throughout their integration process. However, after the amendment of the Integration law in 2013, the status holder became fully responsible for his or her own integration process. In addition, most responsibilities were transferred to the Dutch Education Implementation Service (DUO). This meant that from then on, the status holder had to search for a Dutch course supplier and have to pay for the courses and exams themselves (De Lange et al.,2017).

#### 4.3.1. Rotterdam

Rotterdam is a municipality with 651.000 inhabitants, of which 51,6 % has a migration background (CBS, 2019).

Integration of status holders is managed by three departments, according to the coordinator of the status holder team. At first, when the status holder lives in the asylum seeker centre, the intake team takes care of the accommodation, insurances, a welfare benefit etc. This team continues to do this, until the status holder has lived in Rotterdam for three weeks. Afterwards, the status holder is referred to the Youth department or the Work and Income department of the municipality, depending on their age. When the status holder is not 27 years old yet, he or she falls under the responsibility of the Youth department. When he or

she passes that age, the status holder will be guided by counsellors of the status holder team in the ‘Work and Income’ department. All counsellors have a caseload of 80 status holders, which they will guide throughout the whole process until the status holder finds a suitable job or education, as was mentioned by the policy advisor Status Holders in Rotterdam.

But before one can speak of a proper job or education, the status holder has to follow a 10-week trajectory of *Vluchtelingenwerk* which is called ‘*de Rotterdamse Taalstart*’. As described by the policy advisor Integration, the first two weeks consist of intake sessions, after which an 8-week intensive programme starts with four days of language courses in the morning and practical lessons or workshops in the afternoon. After these ten weeks, a final report is written about each status holder. The counsellors then make a personal plan together with the status holder, which is followed up by the registration for the general language and integration course which is mandatory everywhere. During and after this course, the status holder continues to be guided by a counsellor, which helps him or her intensively in the search for a job or education, until this goal is finally attended.

#### 4.3.2. Utrecht

The municipality of Utrecht has 358.000 inhabitants, of which 35,2% has a migration background (CBS, 2019).

Utrecht is known for the fact that its integration programme for asylum seekers and status holders starts from day one. This strategy was introduced with the launch of Plan Einstein in collaboration with COA (Gemeente Utrecht, 2020). Plan Einstein is a facility with three main aims, targeting asylum seekers and status holders. The objectives are to develop the asylum seekers’ skills for the labour market, to boost their (mental) wellbeing and to enhance social cohesion in the community (Oliver et al., 2019).

For status holders, the same motto of ‘*Activation as from day one*’. When the status holder enters the municipality, three different interviews take place. First, an introductory interview with a workmatcher takes place, after which a NOA-assessment is carried out. The latter is an online tool, which is filled in by the status holder and maps all relevant information about the status holder, like their past education, working experience etc. The information that is provided by this assessment functions as input for the last interview, a working interview with the ‘*status holder team*’ of the municipality and the non-profit organization *Vluchtelingenwerk*. Within this interview, the parties set up a plan of action for

and with the status holder. As in Rotterdam, the counsellors of the status holders team also have a case load of 80 status holders.

After that, the general language and integration courses start, in combination with other instruments that the municipality offers. Examples of these instruments are internships which are mainly focused on learning the language and a work training with the same focus. Furthermore, the municipality collaborates with two organizations in order to intensify contacts between status holders and employers: the *Employer Service Point* of the municipality and the *Social Impact Factory*. This is for instance done by the setting up of tracks for specific profession backgrounds and organizing events for employers and status holders together (Razenberg & de Gruijter, 2017).

# 5. Results

Within this chapter, both policy documents and interviews will be described by explaining the framing devices and reasoning devices that dominated. The reasoning devices are not discussed in the interviews and therefore will not be incorporated in this section.

## 5.1 Rotterdam

### 5.1.1. Problem definition

Within most policy documents, the status holders are either defined as ‘newcomers’ or ‘new Rotterdammers.’ They are also often simply called ‘status holders’. The status holders that fall under the responsibility of the status holders team are status holders that have arrived after 2013, as claimed by the coordinator in Rotterdam.

The problems that are associated with the integration approach differ per document. However, they can mainly be subdivided in two categories: the problems of the status holders themselves and the problems within society.

The problems that are associated with the status holders primarily focus on their economic integration. For example, within the coalition agreement, their high unemployment rate is named, whereas the *‘Rotterdam approach Status holders 2019-2022’* points out that a large percentage of the current status holders receives a welfare benefit. According to the coordinator in Rotterdam, this social welfare dependency is something that the current approach tries to reduce. In addition, a monitor in 2017 had demonstrated that the amount of status holders that had been guided to work during the status holders approach during that time was very low. This monitor was also cited by the policy advisor Status holders to point out that when it came out, the municipal council emphasized that a new approach was necessary, in which more customization was made possible and a lower case load came in place. This was combined with the fact that within the departments that worked with status holders, more discontent started to grow, as it became clear that the approach during that time did not lead to the desired effects. Another aspect which also may have made a change in the previous approach possible according to the coordinator, is that a large amount of the persons working at the municipality have a migration background and therefore were not always happy with the previous approach.

Another more large national problem, came to light after the WRR published the research '*Geen Tijd te verliezen*'. The outcomes of this research made it clear that status holders should start their integration process as soon as possible. This had to do with the fact that generally, the status holders feel like they are put 'on hold' whereas you want them to feel like they are in an 'action mode' according to the policy advisor Integration in Rotterdam.

With regard to society, the following problems can be deduced. Within the coalition agreement, the main problems that are named are the large differences that exist in society, which can make diversity something that 'rubs' or 'itches'. These differences and tensions between different groups in Rotterdam are also described in the action plan 'Relax, this is Rotterdam'. The policy advisor Integration furthermore mentioned that there is a 'populist wind' which makes it clear that voices that claim that 'they are stealing our jobs and houses' are popular. This makes it more difficult for Rotterdam to be a welcoming society towards the status holders.

### 5.1.2. Causal interpretation

Most ideas about integration are based on a certain logic, or a causal interpretation. The causal logics behind the integration policy in Rotterdam are often based on the idea that through certain measures, the status holder will ultimately become self-reliant or independent. These causal interpretations are communicated as follows.

The chapter within the coalition agreement especially focused on the proposition that learning the Dutch language is important, as this enables everyone to get a job and become independent (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018). Within the action programme, it is emphasized that when status holders participate actively, they will become more self-reliant. Thus through work, status holders get the opportunity to become socially and economically independent and can build their own lives (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019a). This is repeated within the *Rotterdam approach of status holders*.(Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019b)

A similar suggestion was made by the coordinator in Rotterdam, who said the more time and attention you invest in status holders, the more sustainable their job will be and the longer they will be able to live without social benefits.

According to the policy advisor Status Holders in Rotterdam, the socio-economic and socio-cultural integration will eventually lead to the self-reliance of status holders. By guiding them, we can eventually find something for them which is the highest attainable objective; for some this means work, for others voluntary work and for others a study. That is

why Rotterdam has decided to support them from the start so that the status holders themselves can work on their own goals and get a perspective on economic self-reliance. The latter can also be seen as the causal interpretation of the integration approach in Rotterdam: the sooner the status holders are supported, the sooner they can work on their goals, become economically self-reliant and have a sustainable place in Rotterdam.

### 5.1.3. Moral evaluation

Through their integration policies, the municipality also influences society on the whole. The implications that the municipality perceives with their policy are listed hereafter. These are mainly based on the three pillars of the action programme of Rotterdam: equality, connection and safety & enforcement. However, equity is certainly something that predominates.

Equality is mentioned in several ways. Chapter four of the coalition agreement, with the title '*Everyone participates*' deals with integration and participation in general. The introduction of that chapter describes how Rotterdam is a world city, in which matters like your origin, skin colour etc. should not impact your chances in life. The coalition additionally aims to overcome the contrasts in society, while at the same time turning diversity into a strength. The ambitions that are mentioned, especially focus on the tackling of discrimination and intolerance and the pursuance of fair chances on the labour market for everyone (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018) The policy advisor Integration in Rotterdam also mentioned these three pillars as a desired outcome of the integration approach. This means that the status holders should feel like a Rotterdamer, which amongst others entails getting the same opportunities like all other citizens and feeling connected with the city. The coordinator in Rotterdam mentions more inclusivity, as it is the current objective of the municipality that everyone in Rotterdam participates and that Rotterdam is for everyone. As the policy advisor Status Holders points out, living in a municipality with more than 150 different nationalities means that you want everyone to adjust and treat each other equally. Within the Status holders approach, equality is also mentioned, but in a slightly different way: the focus is more on how the implications on society will be that labour market access becomes equal for all citizens of Rotterdam. (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019b)

A fourth implication, which is not a part of the pillars, but which was mentioned by the policy advisor Integration in Rotterdam, is that by their integration status holders can contribute to society, which will eventually lead to more public support and a more receiving society.

Another, more economic view, is that because of the status holder's integration, the pressure on welfare benefits will diminish.

Finally, the coalition states that because everyone participates, everyone can contribute to an open, free society. A similar idea is also present in the action programme, which says that the participation of status holders will contribute to a tension-free city, in which diversity is a given fact (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019a).

#### 5.1.4. Treatment recommendation/policy strategy

In various ways, it is recommended how the integration and status holder question should be dealt with.

Within the coalition agreement, most of these actions specifically focus on conquering discrimination on the labour market, as well as on the housing market and in general. This is for example done by giving more attention to this subject in education. Actions that principally target status holders are the following. The municipality puts extra effort in helping status holders to find a job and to prepare them for jobs. Migrant families receive social counselling. Furthermore, they are all obligated to follow the national integration course, throughout which they are stimulated to participate in activities within the city, like for example voluntary work. The municipality furthermore pays more attention to the emancipation of several vulnerable groups amongst the status holders. With regard to diversity, more attention is paid to different religions and cultures within the education system. In addition, Rotterdam is looking for ways to ensure that cemeteries and funeral rituals are made possible for different kinds of religions. Lastly, the municipality wants to make sure that "the personnel of the municipality is a good reflection of the society of Rotterdam" (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018).

Within the action plan, the following actions are described: the municipality offers workshops addressing the three themes of freedom, equality and participation as a preparation for the mandatory participation declaration. Furthermore, social guidance is offered to family migrants, a central point is established for citizen education and status holders who have not yet finished their integration course will intensively be supported (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019a).

The treatment recommendations with regard to labour market integration of status holders consist of three things: a broad intake, assessment and guidance by specialized work counsellors in a 'status holders team' (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019b).



This specialized approach towards status holders is very new for Rotterdam, which is why the team has only come to existence this year. The reason behind this is that during the previous, more right-wing, municipal coalition, a specialized approach was not something the coalition favoured. According to the status holders team coordinator, the municipality furthermore subsidizes some projects that bring together status holders with non-status holders, who help each other to learn to Dutch language or to guide them to the labour market.

The policy advisor Status Holders in Rotterdam furthermore indicated that within the current approach, four goals are important: to accommodate them, to let them start the national integration course, to guide them to work or a study and finally, when they are in debt, find suitable aid for them. And despite the fact that the norms and values are not as prominently stated within the policy note on the approach of status holders, this still is an important part of the integration approach. Furthermore, the approach is focused on putting the status holders as soon as possible in an ‘action mode’, as this is something they often also want themselves.

A general remark which can be made about all the above-mentioned policy recommendations, is that they are generic in the sense that they do not target specific nationalities. This is mainly an outcome of the previous right-wing coalition of the municipal council, as was stated by the policy advisor Integration in Rotterdam.

#### 5.1.5. Reasoning devices: Metaphors, expressions, examples, visual images and statistical data

As the chapter in the coalition agreement that deals with integration is short and only contains a piece of text, the main reasoning devices to be found are expressions. Examples of these expressions are “everyone participates”, “fair chances” and “We are all Rotterdammers”. (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018)

Throughout the whole action plan, various reasoning devices are utilised. The metaphor of a ‘level playing field’ summarizes the vision of equality well. Furthermore, several persons of different backgrounds have their own page, in which they all describe the way in which they participate in the Rotterdam society. In addition, there are certain recurrent expressions noticeable, like “nobody is in the majority”, “Everyone is a Rotterdammer”, “active citizenship”, “Shared responsibility” and “take part to the best of your ability”. The whole programme consists of many images, which predominantly show new and old

Rotterdamers during their simple daily activities like going to the market or walking through the park. Finally, no statistical data are used (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019a).

As in the general action plan, the metaphor of “a level playing field” is used within the policy document which describes the status holders approach. Most expressions in this document underlined equality and own responsibility, like the expressions “everyone deserves equal opportunities” “participate actively” “to stand on your own two feet” and “taking control of your life”. Furthermore, despite the fact that some images in the document show people with a migrant background at a working space, most images displayed people with different backgrounds and their daily activities. Some examples are used, like organizations that help status holders integrate in society. Finally, the statistical data in this document present the amount of refugees with PTSD and the general percentage of the beneficiaries of social welfare that need more attention when they are guided towards work (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019b).

## 5.2 Utrecht

### 5.2.1. Problem definition

The coalition agreement document does not comprise of a chapter which specifically aims at integration or status holders; the issue emerges a few times in some subsections. The status holders are named ‘status holders’ or ‘new Utrechters’ in it. The problem that arises with them, is that the group that now receives a social welfare is too large (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018). Among the approximately 10.000 people in the welfare system, around 1300 people are status holders, as was made clear by the account manager in Utrecht. According to this document, they do have potential but are not using it at the moment (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018).

Within the letter to the city council in 2017, the main problem of the integration of “status holders” or “New Utrechters”, is retrieved from national researches. Within these researches it was found that a large percentage of the status holders should have taken part in their mandatory integration course already, but failed to start this on time (Braat, 2017).

Within the letter to the council in November, multiple problems of status holders are mentioned, as their labour market integration is hindered by multiple factors. The largest factor is the language deficiency, but it could also be hampered by psychological problems because of traumatizing events they have experienced before or during their flee. They can also be faced with social isolation or labour market discrimination. Other problems that are

attached to their integration is that they are often dependent on social welfare benefits. All these factors also make it difficult for councillors to guide status holders to the labour market (De Jong, 2017).

Beside refugees, status holders and people from the neighbourhood are also allowed to partake in Plan Einstein. The main problem that was encountered in the period when this was set up, was twofold: a large influx of refugees was perceivable in whole Europe, of which it was not clear how long they would stay. Secondly, there was no smooth reception climate, due to populist parties being on the rise (Roelfsema & Schouten, 2019). The latter was also the case in Utrecht: when the municipality announced that they were going to open an asylum seeker centre during this large influx, they received a lot of backlash according to the senior policy advisor Integration. He also mentioned that reasons behind this plan can be traced back to when several researches, like for example '*Geen tijd te verliezen*' pointed out that a lot of time is wasted between the arrival of a refugee in a city until the time he or she has a status and a job. This lowers their productivity.

### 5.2.2. Causal interpretation

Within Utrecht, the integration approach is principally focused on the logic that through integration, the status holder on the one hand will be able to realize its full potential (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018) and on the other hand can become self-reliant.

It is therefore that they chose to give this status holder group extra attention. That way, the status holders can reach their highest attainable potential according to the senior policy advisor Work & the account manager of Utrecht.

Within the letter to the municipal council in January, it was emphasized that when status holders integrate socioculturally and economically, their economic and social self-reliance will grow (Braat, 2017). In another letter it was added that starting from day one and making a continuous line of integration possible without any breaks, which will make the status holders socially and economically self-reliant. It is thus based on the same causal interpretation as in the letter before (De Jong, 2017). The reason behind this is that instead of fully adjusting to the "the Dutch identity" it is more important that the status holders "end up well" and that they feel at home in Utrecht, while at the same time being able to take care of themselves. The latter is generally done through work, so that they do not become reliant on social welfare benefits according to the senior policy Advisor Work and the account manager in Utrecht. The senior policy advisor Integration repeated this idea.

The economic aspect is more the focus in Plan Einstein, in which refugees would learn entrepreneurship skills and the English language, so that they could put these skills into practice wherever they would end up (Roelfsema & Schouten, 2019). Another logic of this plan that was mentioned by the senior policy advisor Integration is that by investing in these status holders and by making sure that they utilize their qualities and get a sustainable job, they will be less likely to receive social benefits in the future.

### 5.2.3. Moral evaluation

The integration approach has several implications for Utrecht as a society. These were described in the policy notes and during the interviews as follows.

First of all, the integration approach can contribute to Utrecht being a human rights city. The letter in January starts with the fact that Utrecht contributes to the “shelter and integration of people who have fled their country” because they are a human rights city (Braat, 2017).

‘Inclusivity’ and ‘becoming a society in which everyone can participate’ is also an important implication which was emphasized in the coalition agreement. The senior policy advisor Work and the account manager added to that “In Utrecht we think it’s very important that everyone can participate. That we give people opportunities which are sustainable. And that means that we as a municipality are willing to invest considerably”. This quote of the interview sums up the main idea behind the current labour market integration programme of the municipality of Utrecht.

In addition, they stated that this inclusivity also has another implication for society, which is that public support in society for the large refugee influx would be enlarged. The labour market approach of the ‘continuous line’ is not only focussed on status holders, but also on other people with a language delay. This way, public support is raised and the problems of those groups can simultaneously be addressed. This is also the case with Plan Einstein, which grants the possibility to everyone (Roelfsema & Schouten, 2019). This effect of public support was explained by the senior policy advisor Integration as follows. By including everyone, refugees, status holders and local inhabitants can get to know each other and learn from each other and learn new skills through the programme. But now that the plan has proved to be successful and has enlarged the public support for the project, the municipality has decided that from now on, they will open an Einstein hub whenever a new asylum seeker centre is needed in the municipality. By reframing the issue, the negative connotations of ‘an asylum seeker centre’ are replaced by the positive connotations that ‘Plan

Einstein' now has. This public support was therefore one of the perceived social implications of the plan.

#### 5.2.4. Treatment recommendation/policy strategy

All the policy recommendations are based on three pillars: 'activation as from day one', 'a continuous line' and 'inclusivity'. The first two pillars imply that their integration can start as soon as possible and that the process is not interrupted. As the integration approach is "inclusive", everyone in Utrecht can participate (Braat, 2017). The latter makes the current approach generic (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018). However, as they also realize that some groups among status holders can easily be disadvantaged, they also have specific policies, targeting for example migrant women, as was mentioned by the senior policy advisor Work and the account manager. In order to be able to deal with the many-sided issue of integration, the policy that is recommended is very labour-intensive and made custom-fit (De Jong, 2017).

The policy that the coalition recommends is the continuation of this current integration approach based on three pillars, in which status holders are stimulated to simultaneously learn the language, follow the integration course and work or do voluntary work (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018).

To a large extent, the current integration policy can be understood from a bottom-up approach. The municipality has so-called 'connectors' as employees, which were status holders in the past. These connectors have a large network of status holders and also maintain this network, in order to receive their needs and ideas. These ideas are then communicated to the policy makers, who use this as input for their integration policies. In addition, they use the input of employers as well. It is often the case that they already put these ideas into practice, before writing it down as policy. According to the senior policy advisor Work in Utrecht, they are able to do so and largely owe this freedom to the two members of the executive board of the municipality with whom they work and the municipal council, as they can almost always count on their support.

#### 5.2.5. Reasoning devices: Metaphors, expressions, examples, visual images and statistical data

Of all the reasoning devices that could be used, the most prominent one that is used within the coalition agreement are images. Most photos show city council members sitting around the table with all kinds of citizens of Utrecht, discussing ideas for this agreement. This is also something that is emphasized elsewhere in the document: that the members came up with

many of these ideas in discussion with Utrecht citizens. Furthermore, the title covers the essence of the chapter that deals with integration: “*Everyone can participate*”. Other expressions that are to be found are for example “*dismantling literal and figurative barriers*” and the city as a “*wealth of diversity and cultures*” “There is more that holds us together than separates us” (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018).

Two expressions that the municipality considers to be important, which are incorporated in the letter of January, are “*integration is something you do not do on your own*” and “*living together, learning together*”. The statistics and visual images of the letter are incorporated in the infographic that was attached with this letter. The infographic visualizes the three pillars that were named above, and shows all the themes and all the reception locations. A map of the Netherlands is also shown with the yearly amount of status holders that enters the country. The people within the infographic are furthermore neutral illustrations in different shades of yellow (Braat, 2017).

Many of the expressions that are used within the letter of November, show that acceleration of the integration process is needed, as there is “*no time to lose*”, but that it will also take a lot of time and effort (“*patience is needed*”, “*labour-intensive*”). No images, metaphors or examples were used in this letter. The letter however did use a lot of statistical data, mainly to indicate how large the integration problems are. It is therefore that they used a lot of percentages to present how much the status holders lag behind when it comes to labour market integration and how diverse the status holders are (De Jong, 2017)

The main metaphor that is used throughout the plan that describes Plan Einstein is that of the refugee life as “a narrative” which is broken because of its flight, but which will now be “bridged” because of the connections that develop through this project. Expressions like “creating a community” are also much used throughout the plan. The plan does not consist of any examples or statistical data. The figures that are used present the several business plans on which the project is based and the path that will be taken (Roelfsema & Schouten, 2019).

Some expressions that were frequently used throughout the interview with the account manager and the senior policy advisor Work in Utrecht were for example “giving them opportunities”, ‘sustainable’ and “reaching their full potential”. The metaphor of a “springboard” was furthermore used, to explain the foundation that the municipality tries to create for the status holders.

# 6. Analysis

Within this chapter, the main findings of the previous chapter will be analysed, in order to answer the sub questions of this research. This will be done on the basis of the three frames, which can be described as follows. After an answer is given to the sub questions, the frame usage of the two municipalities will be compared.

## 6.1. Rotterdam

### 6.1.1 Universalist frame

Most policy documents of the municipality of Rotterdam communicate a rather evident universalist frame. This is mainly visible within their causal interpretation, moral evaluation and some of their policy recommendations. In addition, some universalist reasoning devices are also clear.

The universalist title of the action plan of Integration of the municipality of Rotterdam, which is called “*living together in a city where nobody is the majority*” is a good representation of the universalist language usage of the document. One of the problems that is described are the divisions and differences between different groups in society. The emphasis on how an effort is required from all citizens to achieve equity and a connection between all citizens, which are two of the three pillars of the action plan, additionally shows that the problem definition and moral evaluation of this frame dominate. A ‘*connected city*’ is one of the perceived implications for society. The universalist causal interpretation was also highlighted by the statement that by their active participation, status holders can become more emancipated. Within the policy actions, the focus furthermore lay upon anti-discrimination measures. And despite the fact that a lot of the policy actions fitted different frames, the majority of the policy actions (seven of the fifteen) can be seen as universalist, as they mainly aim to contribute to equality. Expressions like a “*shared responsibility*”, “*active citizenship*” and “*diversity is not something to strive for, but merely a fact*” also underlined this frame. “*Equality requires an effort from both sides*” is a typically universalist expression.

The vision and principles that are stated in the document ‘*Rotterdam Approach of Status Holders 2019-2022*’ also show a universalist point of departure. Again, a focus on equal opportunities for all citizens of Rotterdam in the labour market and housing market is visible. This idea is amongst others transferred by the usage of the metaphor of an ‘equal

playing field'. In addition, socio-economic participation through work is the way to emancipation and that is why all emphasis throughout the document is on work. Emancipation and own responsibility is also something that flows throughout the whole document, with expressions like 'standing on your own feet,' 'taking control of your own life,' as well as 'active participation.' In addition, the policy recommendation is very generalist, as it is even stated that female status holders receive the same attention in the approach as male status holders.

As with the action plan above, the title "*Everyone participates*" of the chapter dealing with integration in the coalition agreement also reflects the universalist frame of the rest of the chapter. It represents the idea that Rotterdam is everyone's home, which is a feeling that we all share and how differences, discrimination and intolerance are the biggest problems to overcome. With the ultimate goal of "a new connection" and an "open, free society, to which all citizens contribute." Again, the connection is made between work and emancipation, thereby accentuating the socioeconomic causal interpretation. However, despite the fact that the universalist frame dominates within the policy actions, the other two frames also have a large share in it.

Within the interviews, some universalist traits were also accentuated. For example, putting the status holders in an 'action mode' instead of the 'on hold mode' was mentioned twice which is something that suits the idea of 'active citizenship' that the universalist frame propagates. Also, it was said by the coordinator that it is important that everyone can participate and that the city is for everyone, which again underlines the importance of equality and active citizenship. It was also stated twice by her and by the policy advisor Status Holders that with so many nationalities, it is necessary that everyone adjusts.

### 6.1.2. Assimilationist Frame

Some parts in the approach in Rotterdam also express assimilationist ideas. These traits are mainly found in the policy recommendations and in some of the expressions.

For example, one of the three pillars on which the action plan is based is "enforcement". In this context, it is used to explain that 'enforcement' will be used when the people who are obliged to follow the national integration course don't do this. They explain that once the new law is active, the municipality will have a 'firm role' in this enforcement (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019a). Despite the fact that this has been decided nationally and therefore all municipalities must make sure that status holders fulfil this obligation, the fact that it's emphasized like this shows the assimilationist intention of the municipality. The



same document also states that they will intensively monitor the persons who have not finished their national integration course yet. The enforcement and strict ideas of the municipality are also visible in the coalition agreement, in which it is stated that when someone imputably does not learn the language, their social welfare benefit will be reduced. The coalition also mentions that they stimulate the compliance to the collective values of the Dutch constitution. These are seen as the foundation of society. A policy recommendation which can be seen as assimilationist, is the fact that a workshop is offered and mandatory for all status holders, in preparation for the participation declaration. Within this workshop they learn the norms and ‘game rules’ of Dutch society and they are taught to respect them (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018).

In the interview with the policy advisor Status Holders it was explained that, despite the fact that the compliance to the Dutch norms and values is not as visible as other goals within the policy documents, this does not mean that is regarded as less important by the municipality. It is still a part of the Rotterdam integration approach, for example in the participation declaration workshops and the Rotterdamse Taalstart. She explained that, despite the fact that the right-wing party Leefbaar Rotterdam is not in the coalition anymore, there are still parties in the new coalition that also find these Dutch norms and values very important within the integration approach, like for example VVD. Thus, according to her, the fact that the council has changed its political colour has not had any effect on the importance of learning the Dutch norms and values within the approach. The main difference that was caused by this new, more moderate coalition, is that now, the departments have received more money and opportunities to offer a more custom-made approach, with specialist counsellors in the status holders team. She also explained that socio-economic integration is always in combination with socio-cultural integration, so it’s not the case that one of the two is more important than the other. In another interview, the same point was made about learning the Dutch norms and values, with the important addition that it is not their goal that they take on the Dutch identity, but that it’s more about becoming a Rotterdammer and feeling at home in Rotterdam. It therefore does not entirely reflect the assimilationist idea, because the status holders are not expected to leave behind their ‘otherness’ (Alexander, 2003).

### 6.1.3. Multiculturalist frame

The most important aspect of the multiculturalist frame that is taken over within the policy papers in Rotterdam, is the typical multiculturalist problem definition, in which socio-

economic deprivation is problematized. In all policy documents, as well as in the interviews, it was mentioned that the main problem with regard to status holders, is the fact that most people don't have work and therefore rely on a social welfare benefit. This social welfare dependency is something that the current approach tries to reduce, as mentioned by the coordinator in Rotterdam.

A typical multiculturalist expression which can be found in the coalition agreement, is "*making diversity a strength*". Other multiculturalist characteristics are perceivable in the policy recommendations. For example, the municipality tries to make the positive aspects of diversity more visible in the city (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019a). In addition, the coalition wants to bring more attention to different religions and cultures within the education system. They also mention that they want to emancipate several vulnerable groups among status holders, like for example Christians, homosexuals, bisexuals etc. Finally, the coalition wants to find ways to make an Islamic cemetery or certain funeral rituals of specific cultures possible (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018).

Within the interview with the coordinator in Rotterdam, it was furthermore made clear that the department of Social development in the municipality also organizes more projects which focus on encounters between inhabitants of different cultural backgrounds, so that they can learn from each other's' cultures, for example through food.

## 6.2. Utrecht

### 6.2.1. Universalist frame

The universalist frame is also visible in the approach of Utrecht. The following instances show this.

The title of the coalition agreement, "*Utrecht, a space for everyone*", reflects the universalist frame. The coalition states that there is more that connects us to each other than divides us, and that they therefore want discrimination to diminish. They also highlight that, regardless of your background, "*everyone's talent should be seen and utilized.*"

Within the letter of January, the causal interpretation is clearly universalistic, as it focuses on the idea that through socio-economic integration, the status holders can become self-reliant. This causal interpretation is also evident in the letter of November. The basic assumption of the document is furthermore an 'inclusive city', resulting in an integration approach for the whole city instead of only for the status holders. The expressions "*living*

*together and learning together*” and *“Integrating is something you don’t do on your own in Utrecht”* emphasize this idea of a two-way street.

The latter is also made clear in the description of Plan Einstein, as this whole plan not only targets status holders, but also other people in the neighbourhood of the asylum seeker centre. The policy recommendation therefore reflects the universalistic frame. The phrase that was mentioned above is broadened a bit and now says *“Living, learning and working together”*. *“Creating a community”* is another aim of the programme.

Within the interviews, all respondents in Utrecht stated that the main moral evaluation of the approach in Utrecht is inclusivity, and making sure that everyone can participate.

### 6.2.2. Assimilationist frame

Within the policy documents of Utrecht, there were not many passages which displayed an assimilationist frame. Only a few policy recommendations are a reflection of this frame.

The main assimilationist aspect can be found in the policy recommendations, namely the fact that Utrecht offers a workshop for the participation declaration. Despite the fact that within national policy, it is only necessary for status holders to follow one half day workshop, the workshop in Utrecht consists of six parts (Braat, 2017). Within this workshop, they learn about Dutch society and about Dutch norms and values. The fact that they have extended the workshop, shows how important Utrecht considers this to be. However, just as in Rotterdam, the interviews added to this that it’s not a policy goal to let the status holders completely become like *“Dutch people”* . For them, it’s more important that the status holders feel like Utrechters and feel at home in their municipality, as was stated by the senior policy advisor Work. So again, despite the fact that both Utrecht also finds it important that the status holders adapt to the socio-cultural values, they are not expected to *“let go of their otherness”* (Alexander, 2003).

### 6.2.3. Multiculturalist frame

The main multiculturalist aspect that is visible within the integration approach of Utrecht is the problem definition, as the main problem is the socio-economic deprivation of status holders. This is especially visible in all the statistics of status holders receiving a social welfare benefit. Something that the account manager of Utrecht also showed in the interview: that more than 10% of all the social welfare benefit receivers are status holders. The coalition

also underlined this in their agreement (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018). In the letters, the social welfare dependency is also named as one of the problems connected to status holders.

Some expressions that reflect multiculturalist ideas are amongst others the “*wealth of diversity and cultures*” and the statement that everyone should be able to be him- or herself, despite their origin. They also regard diversity as an “*added value to the work of the municipality*”(Gemeente Utrecht, 2018).

The latter is why within their policy recommendations, they also focus on making their record of employees a better reflection of the diverse society (Gemeente Utrecht, 2018). They additionally specifically focuses on women in their integration approach, as they have noticed that it’s mainly difficult for women to form a social network and therefore to integrate (De Jong, 2017). Within plan Einstein, one of the recommendations was that “you can say that you experience the diversity in a group as a positive aspect” (Roelfsema & Schouten, 2019).

### 6.3. Framing of labour market integration in Rotterdam and Utrecht

Before a comparison can be made, it is necessary to answer the following two subquestions of the research: *How does the municipality of Rotterdam frame labour market integration of status holders?* And *How does the municipality of Utrecht frame labour market integration of status holders?*

Within the municipality of Rotterdam, the universalist frame is visible in most framing devices: within their problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and some of their policy recommendations. In addition, some universalist reasoning devices are used, as the language of the documents to a large extent focuses on equality and connecting citizens. One can therefore say that the universalist frame dominates in Rotterdam’s description of labour market integration. In addition, the assimilationist frame is evident in some of the policy recommendations and in the reasoning devices. The multiculturalist frame can also be seen, as some of the policy recommendations as cultural pluralism is in some ways supported. In some instances diversity is even framed as a strength, which suits multiculturalism.

Within the municipality of Utrecht, the universalist frame is mainly apparent in the causal interpretation and the moral evaluation, as well as in most of the policy recommendations. The universalist frame was therefore central in the policy documents. The instances in which the assimilationist frame was communicated were few; only some of the

policy recommendations showed this focus on the Dutch values and norms. The problem definition reflects the multiculturalist frame by its focus on the socioeconomic deprivation of status holders, just like some of the expressions that show the municipality’s positive view on diversity.

The reasons behind these similarities and differences between the two municipalities will be explained in the following section.

## 6.5. Comparative Analysis

Despite the fact that the theoretical expectation was based on the assumption that there would be a lot of differences between the two municipalities, the manner in which the labour market integration is framed does not differ so much between Rotterdam and Utrecht. The similarities and differences will be discussed in this subsection, as well as some of the reasons behind them that were named in the interviews. For the sake of clarity the abovementioned similarities and differences have been summarized in the following table.

<b>Framing devices</b>	<b>Rotterdam</b>	<b>Utrecht</b>
Problem definition	Multiculturalist and universalist	Multiculturalist
Causal Interpretation	Universalist	Universalist
Moral evaluation	Mainly universalist, some assimilationist traits	Universalist
Policy recommendations	Mainly universalist, some assimilationist traits	Mainly universalist
Reasoning Devices	Mainly universalist, some assimilationist traits	Mainly universalist, some multiculturalist traits

First of all, the problem definition of the two municipalities is clearly multiculturalist, as the status holders’ socioeconomic backlog is considered to be problematic. This manifests itself in the many references to their large social welfare dependency in both municipalities’ policy papers, as well as in all the interviews. Their labour market integration approach therefore departs from this point of reference and aims to combat this. This similarity can mainly be attributed to the research “*Geen tijd te Verliezen*” by the WRR, which was one of the most frequently cited researches in the interviews. This research showed that a large number of status holders in the Netherlands is still dependent on social welfare benefits, because they start their integration very late. During the time of release, the research received a lot of coverage nationally by the Ministry of Social Affairs and led to taskforces being formed, as claimed by the policy advisory Integration in Rotterdam. This was an important

factor for both municipalities to focus more on a quick start and on counteracting this social welfare dependency. This can thus explain why the problem definitions of both municipalities focus on the socioeconomic deprivation of status holders. Rotterdam furthermore clearly propagates a second problem definition, which suits the universalistic frame more, namely the divisions and differences in society. This is something that is not mentioned in the policy papers of Utrecht.

Secondly, the causal interpretations in both municipalities are based on the universalistic logic of socioeconomic integration leading to more socio-economic emancipation. This can be seen in the many instances in which the policy papers or respondents focussed on how their ultimate goal for the status holders is that they become emancipated, “self-reliant” or “independent” through their integration. One of the reasons behind this similarity is again the research ‘*Geen Tijd te Verliezen*’. The search revealed the negative impact of the current labour market integration approach of the Netherlands and how this makes the status holders dependent on the social welfare benefit system. It additionally shows how a more intense focus on work is necessary. This is why both municipalities emphasize in their policy papers how socio-economic integration can lead to ‘emancipation’ or independence and therefore communicate a universalistic idea.

The perceived social and moral implication of their labour market integration approach are also very similar, as both municipalities focus on gaining more equality and inclusivity in society. One can thus say that the moral evaluations of Rotterdam and Utrecht are both universalistic. In addition, they both find ‘generating public support’ a very important societal implication of their approach. The reason behind this is the “populist wind” in the municipalities after the large refugee influx of 2015 and which is still there according to the respondents. The policy advisors Integration of both municipalities mentioned how there are more and more people who have the idea that “they are stealing our homes and jobs,” which is why enlarging public support is an important moral evaluation. This is mainly done through the emphasis on inclusivity and equality. However, it should be added that both municipalities also find diversity a strength, something that was derived from the interview with the policy advisor in Rotterdam and the coalition agreement of Utrecht. This suits the moral evaluation of the multicultural frame more.

The main differences between the municipalities, are found in the treatment recommendations. This relates to the extent to which they expect all citizens to participate and the extent to which they apply a generic approach.

Within Plan Einstein, Utrecht expects an effort from asylum seekers, status holders and other inhabitants of Utrecht, which fits the universalistic approach very well. Rotterdam however does not require an effort from other Rotterdam citizens. On the other hand, something that is typically universalistic and which can mainly be found in Rotterdam, is the fact that they work with a generalist approach, in which targeting specific groups is certainly not done. This also translates itself in the fact that because of the equality between women and men, they do not give any of the two more attention. This is something that was very important for the previous right-wing party, as they clearly did not want any group to receive a special treatment, according to one of the interviewees. The latter however is not the case for Utrecht: they specifically target women in some of their projects.

Furthermore, both municipalities already start the integration approach as soon as possible. However, Utrecht already starts from day one. As the senior policy advisor Integration underlined, they are able to do so because they receive a subsidy from the European Commission. The assessment which takes place in the asylum seeker centre also differs between the two municipalities. In Utrecht, they work with the general, national NOA-assessment, whereas Rotterdam has made some changes to this assessment. The reason behind this, was because they were not satisfied with the fact that the NOA-assessment was not very suitable for illiterate status holders. Furthermore, Utrecht works with ‘connectors’ and that way collects input from status holders themselves for their policies. This is not the case for Rotterdam.

A similarity between both approaches is the specialized status holders team, which guides status holders to work or to a study. This specialized approach has been introduced this year in Rotterdam, whereas Utrecht has been working this way for years now. Despite that, the objective is the same: finding something sustainable for the status holders, whether this is a job or a study. This aspect however is something that cannot be placed in any of the frames. The political colour plays a large part in this for both municipalities. According to the senior policy advisor Integration in Utrecht, the fact that they are able to offer such an intensive and sustainable approach is mostly attributable to the predominantly left coalition, as right-wing parties tend to be of the opinion that the status holders should accept any job they can find from the beginning immediately. According to the coordinator in Rotterdam, the new sustainable and custom-made approach of the status holders team in Rotterdam is also attributable to the new political colour of Rotterdam. She stated that during the previous, right-wing coalition period, the council expected status holders to accept any job they were offered, without considering whether this was what the status holder desired. Because of the

budget that was made available after the new coalition period, they are now able to offer a more customized approach. For that purpose, a special status holders team has been formed this year. However, in Rotterdam, only status holders who have entered the Netherlands after 2013 can make use of this guidance whereas in Utrecht all status holders can do this. This can perhaps also best be explained by the fact that Utrecht is more left-wing than Rotterdam.

Lastly, the reasoning devices in the documents are very similar in the two municipalities. Despite the fact that most expressions slightly differ, they mostly emphasize universalistic ideas, like how everyone should participate and that everyone should be given a fair chance to participate. All titles of all the policy papers also underlined these ideas and 'equality' was often mentioned. However, it is clear that in Rotterdam, expressions about your own responsibility are much more dominant in the documents than in Utrecht. Another linguistic characteristic which reveals an important difference between the two municipalities, is that Rotterdam focuses more on how status holders are "obliged" to do things in their integration and how enforcement will be applied if they do not comply to this. This is something that was more dominant in the previous coalition and something that continues to play a role. This is underrepresented in the policy of Utrecht, whereas in Utrecht of course the same obligation applies as in Rotterdam, which was mentioned by the account manager in Utrecht. Within the images of both municipalities, persons with and without a migration background are equally represented, which is a universalistic trait. The few statistical data that were used, were largely underlining the problems of the socioeconomic deprivation of status holders, therefore reflecting the multiculturalist problem definition.



# 7. Conclusion

## 7.1. Main Findings and conclusion

If there is one main take-away of this research, it is that frame ambiguity is very apparent in the labour market integration approach of both municipalities, as the framing devices or reasoning devices each represented a different frame (Dekker, 2017). This made it impossible to name one frame which fits each municipality perfectly. However, the frame ambiguity of Rotterdam is very similar to the frame ambiguity that is present in Utrecht, as the framing and reasoning devices represented the same frames in most cases. In brief, the similarities can be described as follows: the main problem definition is multiculturalist and the main causal interpretation, moral evaluation and reasoning devices are universalist. In general, one can thus say that the universalist frame predominated within both municipalities. This is very different from what was expected beforehand, as the theoretical assumption was that the assimilationist frame would dominate in Rotterdam and the multiculturalist frame in Utrecht.

However, there were some differences visible in the frame usage of the two municipalities, mainly in the problem definition and the treatment recommendations. For example, Rotterdam also added an universalist problem definition, as they also focussed on the large differences between different groups which exist in society. This was not found or described as an issue in Utrecht's policy papers. Furthermore, there were some multicultural, universalist and assimilationist traits apparent in the policy actions of both municipalities, which makes it difficult to name one frame which dominated.

This leads us to the main research question of this research: how can we understand the differences and similarities between the frame usage of the municipalities of Utrecht and Rotterdam? This question will be answered on the basis of the two main factors of the theoretical framework, politics and policy, to which some additional factors will be added.

First, as was expected based on Caponio et al.'s theory, the local political factor was indeed a very strong factor in the frame usage of both. On the one hand it can explain some of the similarities and on the other hand some of the differences. With regard to the similarities, the fact that both municipalities currently provide an intensive guidance to work trajectory to the status holders, with a lot of attention and time is mainly attributable to the political colour of both councils. As was mentioned by the policy advisor Integration of Rotterdam, the priority of the former right-wing coalition was to let the status holder work as

soon as possible, without considering their preference nor sustainability. That's why there was no status holders team during that period. But now that the political colour has changed, the coalition has made it possible for them to form a status holders team in order to provide more time and attention to this. The same can be said about Utrecht: the senior policy advisor Integration also underlined that this custom-made approach of their status holders team is mainly in place because the left-wing coalition thinks it's important to put a lot of effort and time in their path to work. According to him, more right-wing parties are of the opinion that the status holders should simply take any job as soon as possible, so that they stop being so dependent on social welfare. The political factor was also visible in another way, mainly in Rotterdam, by the various assimilationist traits that are still in place. According to the policy advisor Status Holders, the fact that the council has changed its political colour has not had an effect on the importance of learning the Dutch norms and values, in for example the Rotterdamse Taalstart. Also, the focus on enforcement of certain rules in the integration process is typically assimilationist, which is a continuation of the previous coalition. The fact that Utrecht lacks these assimilationist traits most likely has to do with the fact that it is a more left-wing municipality. Policy advisors of Utrecht furthermore have a large degree of freedom to carry out the labour market integration approach as they want, which is also attributable to this colour, as was mentioned by them in the interviews.

At first sight, this strong political factor might seem contradictory to what was said at the beginning of this chapter. There, it was stated that despite the differences in political colour, the framing of both municipalities is almost identical, which would make it logical to say that politics don't matter. However, the instances above which were sketched by the respondents show that the political colour does play a great role in the actual implementation. This contradiction might best be explained by something that is very intricate to policy-making in itself: the way things are framed and formulated in policy papers often differs a lot from how it is actually implemented which shows a discrepancy between these two phases. The universalist frame might have come in handy for the policy formulation phase as it allows for broad political support, whereas the implementation phase allows for specific political preferences to come to light.

The institutional factor was visible in another way. The above-mentioned assimilationist traits in Rotterdam are in line with what was expected based on the theoretical framework. These traits furthermore indicate how institutionalism can lead to previous policies still having an impact in the current approach, as was also the assumption beforehand. However, a breach with path-dependency is also visible in both municipalities.

For Rotterdam, this was mainly the case with the new status holders team that has been active since this year, which ensures a more custom-made guidance to work to status holders. For Utrecht, this breach with the former approach was when Plan Einstein was launched.

There was also an external factor which largely influenced the moral evaluation, but which was not part of the theoretical assumption: the large influx of refugees in the Netherlands in 2015. The moral evaluation which is now communicated in both municipalities is equality and gaining public support for both municipalities, this meant that they had to accommodate a large amount of refugees, which at the same time led to a lot of backlash among Dutch citizens. The policy advisors Integration from both municipalities said that at that time and still now, many inhabitants have voiced the feeling that the status holders are stealing their jobs and houses. Gaining public support therefore became an essential goal for both municipalities, which can best be attended by emphasizing that the municipalities are not applying a preferential approach towards the status holders, but they treat all their citizens equally. The universalist frame matches this moral evaluation. These two external factors: a relatively large influx of refugees and declining moral support from citizens, but were not mentioned in the theoretical framework.

The year 2015 was also the year in which the research *Geen Tijd te Verliezen* was launched, which also greatly impacted the labour market integration approach of both municipalities according to the interviewees. From then on, more attention was paid to the socioeconomic deprivation of status holders and the approach in both municipalities therefore aims to start the integration process as soon as possible.

Another factor which may have also played a part in the differences between the approaches of Utrecht and Rotterdam, is that the municipality of Utrecht works with ‘connectors’ and thereby used the input of status holders themselves to form their policies.

## 7.2. In retrospect

These latter factors show an important downside of the factors that were named by Caponio et al. (2018) and Bekkers et al. (2019)– their theory does not take actors outside the policy and political field into consideration. Despite that, the persons for whom policy is made, like status holders or others who feel like they are being influenced by the policy, such as the dissatisfied inhabitants who were against can also influence the policies, be it directly or indirectly. These theories thus rely on the idea of the policy world as a closed sphere, whereas

for example Utrecht showed that also ‘outsiders’ like the status holders themselves also can have their input through the so-called ‘connectors’.

Another shortcoming of a framing analysis is, as Dekker (2017) has already pointed out, that it is not realistic to assume that policies transfer a coherent policy frame, as the real world is messy and policies are determined by considering lots of different factors, actors, norms and values. This leads to the fact that the reasoning and framing devices of the policies all communicate different frames, which she describes as frame ambiguity.

The three chosen frames were also not always ideal, for two reasons. Firstly, there are some similarities between the three frames, which can make it difficult to place certain aspects of policy under one frame. For example, the universalist and assimilationist frames both define the status holder by a social category instead of their culture. Both frames also try to ignore the ‘otherness’ of the status holders, both of course based on different ideologies. Secondly, some aspects cannot be placed under any of the three frames, which makes it necessary to add another frame. Examples of instances in which it was difficult to fit something in a certain frame, were making a custom-made approach for status holders, making them feel at home or generating public support.

Adjacent to the theories used, the current methodology also had its limitations. For Rotterdam, policy notes were analysed, whereas for Utrecht, most analysed documents were policy letters. This may have had an impact on the results, as the difference in audience for the two sorts of policy papers can affect the language use to a certain extent. The chosen time period of this research also had its impact; more differences between the two municipalities would probably be seen if the period in which the coalition of Rotterdam was more right-wing was chosen.

In addition, the fact that this research was set out qualitatively did not make it possible to find out exactly to what extent a certain frame dominated in a certain municipality. If this research were carried out quantitatively, it would have been possible to show for example that the assimilationist frame was present for 10% in municipality X and 20% in municipality Y. This could be based on for example the amount of times an expression of a certain frame was used or the amount of policy actions that suit a specific frame. An interesting piece of future research would therefore be to carry out a quantitative analysis, and then compare its outcomes in terms of the frames with the outcomes of this research. It might after all be possible that this current qualitative analysis puts too great store in local politics and local policy as opposed to for example simply carrying out national-level policy.

As was mentioned above, politics can be a strong factor and mainly in Rotterdam it was visible that some of the framing of former parties endures beyond their period in office. Not entirely, but on some specific aspects, such as enforcement of certain rules it does. New research could for example see whether this also holds in the other political direction. Should Utrecht get a right-wing government at some point, will the frames created by its left-wing predecessors endure in parts of policy implementation out there?

It would furthermore be interesting to learn more about the political side of this topic and find out which political struggle is visible prior to the approach is decided, by for example interviewing politicians in the municipality. It is therefore recommended for further research to also consider these actors. Other actors which could also show an interesting side of the labour market integration policy, are the status holders themselves. One could for example research the way they frame the policy, as it is important not to forget for whom policy is made.

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## 9. Appendices

### 9.1. Appendix 1 – Respondents and their abbreviations

<b>Position</b>	<b>Municipality</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
Coordinator of the Status holders team	Rotterdam	Coordinator in Rotterdam
Policy Advisor Status Holders	Rotterdam	Policy advisor Status Holders
Policy advisor of the Language, Integration and Social security department	Rotterdam	Policy advisor Integration in Rotterdam
Strategic Accountmanager Social entrepreneurship of the department Work & Income	Utrecht	Accountmanager (in Utrecht)
Senior Policy Advisor of the department Work & Income	Utrecht	Senior Policy advisor Work (in Utrecht)
Senior Policy Advisor of the department Migration, Diversity & Integration	Utrecht	Senior Policy advisor Integration in Utrecht

### 9.2. Appendix 2 – Interview questions

#### **Goal 1: finding out whether my perception of the dominant frame matches their perception**

1. Could you describe the integration programme of status holders within your municipality? (Problem definition)
2. How is the concept of 'status holder' defined in your programme? (Problem Definition)
3. What is the goal of your integration programme, e.a. what problem does it attempt to solve? (Problem Definition)
  - a. Would you rather define the problem as status holders' cultural differences, socioeconomic deprivation or lack of equality between status holder and non-status holder?
4. What do you think that the effect of your policy will be on the status holders themselves? (causal interpretation)
  - a. Their adaption, more participation of status holders in the economic sector or their social cultural emancipation?
5. What do you think that the effect of your policy will be on society? (Moral evaluation)
  - a. The preservation of Dutch identity, cultural diversity or equality?

6. What policy is made by your department as to how the status holder and integration question should be dealt with? (Treatment Recommendation)

a. For which groups in society does your department recommend policies to?

The reasoning devices ‘metaphors’ ‘expressions’, ‘visual images’ and ‘statistical data’ will not be dealt with in the interviews, as these are things that are communicated through written documents.

**Goal 2: gaining more understanding of the chosen frame**

7. In your view, which factors have influenced the policy making of the integration programme?

a. Do you think that the main factors are external or internal?

**Goal 3: finding out what the implications are of the chosen frame**

8. What are the positive outcomes of this approach?

9. What are the negative outcomes of this approach?