

**Social Capital, Social Networks and Interlocks:
Integrating into a Multicultural Society**

Daudi van Veen

5931088

MSc Social Policy and Social Interventions

Utrecht University

Supervisor: Michèle Bal

Words: 9,517

Abstract

In many policy and academic circles, building up the social capital of migrants through contact with the majority population has been argued to be key to any successful integration effort. While not disputing the importance of this widely held notion, the ever-increasing level of the diversity of populations in many cities across the Western World, has diversified ways that new migrant communities can go about building up social capital. Thus, this comparative case study explored how the “super-diverse” context of Zaanstad in the Netherlands influenced how the two fastest growing communities of asylum recipients in the Netherlands, Eritrean and Syrian refugees, have gone about building up their social capital. Their narratives demonstrated the importance of shared identities and its influence on the diversity of their social networks, and the social capital available to them. Other factors that either enabled or hurt the flow of social capital, such as inner-community dynamics, culture, and organized events and language, also came to light. The implications of these findings are numerous, as it implies that a more nuanced approach is needed to study how migrants go about increasing the social capital useful for adapting to a new locale. Lastly, this thesis identifies practical avenues that local policymakers can pursue to help integrate new migrants into their communities.

Introduction

The Netherlands has seen a sharp rise of Syrian and Eritrean refugees arriving at its borders since the start of the European migrant crisis (Eurostat, 2016). In response, the central government has collaborated extensively with municipalities to help manage the influx by dispersing them throughout the Netherlands (COA, n.d.). One of the many municipalities who has received an increased number of newcomers is Zaanstad, a municipality north of Amsterdam.

In Zaanstad, special attention is being paid to the refugees who have received asylum, commonly referred to as status holders. To help these status holders integrate into Dutch society, they have collaborated with various organizations and adopted a policy approach aimed at providing speedy housing, income assistance and employment services (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017d).

It is too early to discuss or measure the structural integration of these Syrian and Eritrean status holders. However, there have been some concerns about the long-term integration prospects of the Eritrean status holders in particular. Many professionals and policymakers at the municipality of Zaanstad have described the Eritrean status holders as more withdrawn and isolated compared to the Syrian status holders, which has also been echoed by various reports on the Syrian and Eritrean status holders in the Netherlands (Pharos, 2016c; 2016d). Furthermore, these reports have expressed how social isolation can severely affect the integration of new migrants such as the refugees in question (Abur & Spaaij, 2016).

New migrants need connections to individuals, their own communities, and other groups that are conducive to the flow of information, resources, and opportunities (Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002; Putnam, 2007). Additionally, they also need psychological support conducive to adapting to a new locale (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016). As such, local policymakers are particularly concerned about how social isolation can be combatted in newcomers in general, and Eritrean status holders in particular.

Bearing this in mind, this thesis is seeking to explore the role that the social networks of status holders play during this early phase of integration. By analyzing the experiences of the recently arrived Eritrean and Syrian newcomers in building up connections in Zaandam, this paper hopes to investigate how the demographic characteristics of two newly arrived migrant communities – with a similar length of stay in the Netherlands and policy context – influences the procurement of knowledge useful to adapting to life, and participating in, Dutch society.

Social Capital, Super-diversity & Identity

The flow of knowledge to an individual (or a community) made possible through their connection to others is commonly referred to as social capital (Woolcock, 2001). This information includes knowledge about resources, employment opportunities, institutions, and feelings of psychological belonging (Lin, 1999; Nawyn, Gjakaj, Agbényiga & Grace, 2012). Not every connection between individuals or communities leads to all of the aforementioned. The nature of the relationship, partly influences the type of social exchange that takes place. Therefore, social capital tends to be divided into three subtypes of social capital, namely, bonding, bridging and linking social capital, based on how groups or individuals relate, and the type of information or recourse that is exchanged or received (Putnam, 2007).

Bonding social capital refers to ties with others considered similar in terms of their identity, that allow for a sense of psychological belonging and social support (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Bridging social capital refers to ties between individuals or groups who see themselves as dissimilar identity wise, while linking social capital refers to ties with institutional representatives. Both bridging and linking ties, tend to be considered more beneficial to the flow of the material aspect of social capital compared to bonding ties (Putnam, 2007).

While this categorization provides a useful framework, it does have its limitations. Current literature abounds with examples of how the complexities of social networks blur the lines between bonding, bridging, and linking social capital (Nawyn et al., 2012; Hawkins & Maurer 2009; Putnam, 2007). A careful reading of how these lines are blurred, show that the classic framework does not fully account for the diversity within the Western European multicultural context. Much of the social capital literature was developed in the US, which is far more ethnically and “racially” segregated with a plethora of mono-ethnic minority communities (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016). Furthermore, within much of migration literature and social capital literature, bridging social capital tends to refer to the majority or socially dominant population, which disregards how other longer established migrant populations could provide similar information about a new locale.

That is why it is important to shift away from a more classical ethnic minority-majority way of thinking (Glick Schiller, 2008), to considering the broader range of factors that are relevant to new migrant groups settling in a multicultural, super-diverse context (Vertovec, 2007). To illustrate, the Syrian and Eritrean newcomers in Zaandam are living in neighborhoods

that include both Dutch and longer established migrant communities. Furthermore, these communities include a multiplicity of languages, religious affiliations and ethnic affiliations, socio-economic and migratory statuses, and other socio-cultural aspects (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017b). These factors intersect and create a spectrum of what can be considered similar or dissimilar between individuals or groups.

Similarly, the diversity of the Syrian and Eritrean status holders has to be taken into consideration as well. While the majority of Syrian newcomers are Arabic and Muslim, they also include a significant number of Palestinians, Christians, and other ethnic and religious affiliations (Pharos, 2016b). Similarly, many of the new Eritrean arrivals are Orthodox Christian and Tigrinya, but also include many Muslims and other ethnic and religious affiliations. (Pharos, 2016a). Then beyond these collective identities are their individual ones, made up of the plethora of individual differences such as educational backgrounds, past work experience, and more.

That is why any account of social capital in super-diverse settings has to take into account how collective identities (whether ethnic, religious, or social-cultural) and individual identities (such as their parental status and educational background) intersect (Jenkins, 2014). All of these aforementioned factors – beyond just the collective identities implied by most of social capital literature – influences the likelihood of people interacting (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016). Therefore, identities fall within a spectrum of cognitive classifications that imply different courses of interaction that range from a sense of ambivalence, to aversion, to competition or kinship (Jenkins, 2014).

These identities are ever evolving, and have a number of implications for both those who identify as such and those who do not. Firstly, being ascribed a certain status such as being a migrant or citizen, has both legal and social implications that influence the course of action someone takes. Secondly, self-identification influences the decisions people make, due to the norms and values ascribed to a certain identity. While finally, being perceived as something, influences how people treat that person. Whether that is due to prevalent societal norms or narratives, stereotyping or prior experiences, identification implies a certain treatment by others, which is in turn influenced by their own identity (Appiah, 2006).

In the case of both the Eritrean and Syrian status holders, this thesis presumes that they will strongly self-identify as asylum recipients and that it will remain relevant in their lives, due to their ascribed asylum status, its legal obligations, and the joint experience of having to flee

their home countries (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017c; Stryker, 2007). Therefore, it is assumed that the Eritrean and Syrian status holders, will remain in close contact with other status holders within their respective communities. Their other identities however, will influence the likelihood of them making worthwhile connections to both the native Dutch and those with a migration background in the Netherlands.

For instance, many of their socio-cultural and religious identities are likely to remain psychologically central to the Syrian and Eritrean newcomers (Stryker, 2007) and influence whom they seek out and the flow of social capital. These collective identities can overshadow individual differences, such as socio-economic status, or ethnic background. Similarly, other arguably more “individual” identities such as their educational backgrounds, could break perceived socio-cultural barriers and enable connections to others that is also conducive to the flow of social capital.

In short, the classification of how social capital tends to operate for migrants needs some adjustment to account for how the super-diverse context of Zaanstad, influences how the status holders may go about rebuilding their social networks. As such, while collective identities such as ethnic background and migratory status matter in this process, other collective and individual identities may bridge perceived barriers (Glick Schiller, 2008). Thus, this thesis proposes the following model of how social capital may operate for the newcomers in a super-diverse context such as Zaanstad, as visualized in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The flow of social capital in a super-diverse context

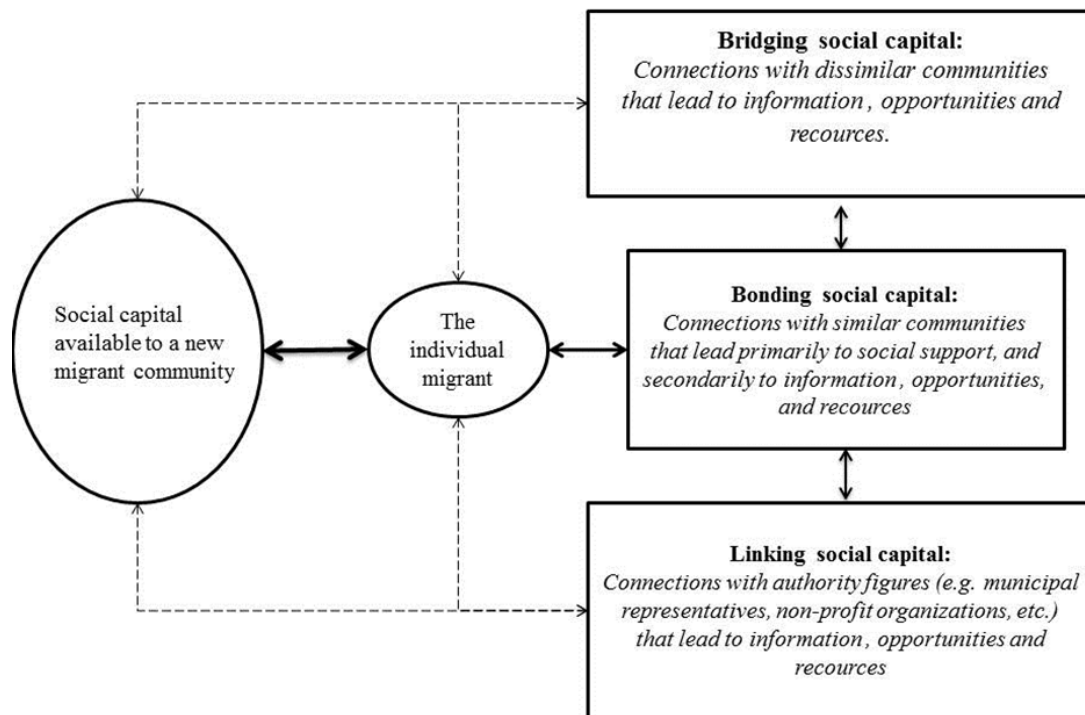


Figure 1 makes a distinction between the social capital that is available to new migrants on a community and individual level. The reasoning behind this, is to illustrate that while migrant communities tend to be the main source of social capital available to new migrants early on (Nawyn et al., 2012), their other central identities could influence who they seek out and share a common identity with. (Glick Schiller, 2008). Thus, what might count as bonding social capital to an individual Eritrean or Syrian status holder could differ from person to person due to their own religiosity, educational background, or plethora of other identities.

Interlocks in the Community

Considering the diversity of the Eritrean and Syrian status holder communities, it is likely that some individual status holder will possess characteristics that are especially useful in Zaanstad and enable them to make connections more easily with the longer established residents. In turn, these individuals could better enable the flow of social capital into their respective communities. For instance, multiple studies have illustrated how individuals within migrant

communities who are bilingual and/or have a higher educational status, can help their less advantaged community members connect to others and cross language or other barriers. Case in point, a study on super-diversity in a multicultural borough of London detailed how bilingual English-Turks helped translate for their Turkish only speaking counterparts in everyday settings, from grocery store visits to school events, helping otherwise linguistically isolated people be active participants of their community (Wessendorf, 2013). Similarly, a study on social capital during Hurricane Katrina detailed how highly educated African-Americans leveraged their higher social rank to cross ethnic barriers to gather important information, that they were then able to disseminate to their families and other African-Americans (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009). Hence, multilingual and more established individuals can function as a link between disparate groups, and could provide an additional avenue for the flow of social capital (Fine, 2012).

As such, it is reasonable to argue that on average the Syrian status holders – due to having a higher proportion of English speakers and higher educated individuals compared to their Eritrean counterparts (Pharos, 2016b) – would be better able to build up their social capital in the Netherlands. The surrounding community of Syrian status holder's, would then likewise be better able to benefit from their connections with such established individuals within own community (Putnam, 2007). Research on ties between organizations, or interlocks, in business networks and immigrant organizations (Vermeulen, 2005; Horton, Millo & Serafeim, 2012), illustrate that interlocks are important in relaying beneficial information to the organizations that they are members of. While communities are not organizations, the concept is suitable for exploring how the presence of interlocks strengthen the flow of social capital from resource rich communities to newcomers when they only have a limited number of sources of information themselves (Haunschild & Beckman, 1998). In other words, they could strengthen a new migrant community's access to bridging and linking social capital, as visualized in Figure 1.

The role of such established individuals in their communities can be important in the early stages of integration that the newcomers find themselves in. Both the Eritrean and Syrian status holders are fleeing regimes that were totalitarian, brutal, and notorious for their human rights violations (Human Rights Watch, 2017). Such experiences with authority figures can make communities of refugees apprehensive to seek out connections in a new locale, and, and therefore make them rely more on the people they can trust within their own communities (Delhey & Newton, 2003).

Therefore, interlocks could play an important symbolical role as their presence in social networks outside of their own community of refugees and status holders could help others within their community broaden their spheres of trust (Bandura, 1971), and potentially, their social networks (Goddard, 2003). Therefore, it is important to take the relationship of an Eritrean or Syrian newcomer with interlocks within their social network, and how that influence their social capital, into consideration.

The Sociology of Occasion

Social capital is not merely the result of having connections to others with certain resources. Shared settings, whether those are at the neighborhood level or outside of it, also enable the flow of social capital through the recourses of those present (Lochner, Kawachi & Kennedy, 1999). Thus, to gain a contextual sense of how the social capital of the Eritrean and Syrian status holders have developed, it would be useful to explore their social lives. Beyond their attendance of integration courses tied to their asylum status (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2016b), little is known about the other settings and locations they regularly find themselves in. Some strands of social capital literature emphasize how semi-regular or regular meetings with others, based on some shared identity or goal, can be vital to the maintenance or expansion of social capital available to a group (Putnam, 1995). Therefore, it is important to analyze how settings may help maintain, develop, or hamper the development and diversity of their social networks, and in turn, the social capital available to them (Fukuyama, 2001). Certain settings such as an apartment building, can help foster small scale person to person interactions, while others, such as conventions, can bring together whole cross sections of society and therefore, include a wide range of people with different identities and access to recourses (Wynn, 2016).

This helps to provide some insight into the interplay of their identities with the settings they find themselves in, which in turn influences the development of their social networks locally and in the rest of the Netherlands (Glick Schiller, 2008). For instance, certain identities, are prescriptive and involve certain norms of behavior, such as many religious identities which require attending religious services. Settings such as religious services, can provide a location where a joint identity overshadows other identities, and in turn, increase the likelihood of interacting with others who may have a different cultural background. Similarly, certain settings, such as a sports event or school meeting, can be similarly prescriptive and help define the course

of action expected by its attendants according to their identities (Appiah, 2006). For example, the context of a sport event influences how the coach will behave differently from how an athlete will. In short, settings are a relevant factor to explore that also influence the course of interaction, and interplays with the notion of identity. Thus, the interplay of settings and corresponding identities offer status holders a certain opportunity structures that influences the diversity of social networks (Burger, 2009; Stryker & Burke ,2000).

A useful framework for putting the interplay between settings, social capital and scale into perspective is provided by The ESGO model (Wynn, 2016). In this model, social interactions are classified according to their size and purpose into four types of settings, namely encounters, situations, gatherings and occasions as illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 2: ESGO model (adapted from Wynn, 2016)

| Typology of meetings | Scope of participants present | Concentration of social capital |
|----------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Encounters | Interpersonal one on one interactions | Small, but varies |
| Situations | Small group interactions | Low – Medium |
| Gatherings | Multiple divided groups | Medium |
| Occasions | Individuals, groups, and organizations | High |

In Zaanstad and the surrounding area, various gatherings and occasions have been organized that brought together newcomers, interested locals, representatives from the municipality and volunteer organizations. Meetings organized by the municipality and others such as the nonprofit organization “Platform aan de Zaan”, have had the goal of introducing locals to newcomers, and connecting newcomers to other nonprofit organizations (Gemeente 2017a; Vermolen, 2016). Others, such as meetings organized by the non-profit organizations of the Arabic Forum and Newbees , have made linking newcomers to various volunteer

opportunities their primary goal (“de Fabriek met”, 2016; Gemeente Zaanstad, 2016a).

As many other refugees and status holders are spread across the Netherlands, gatherings and occasions both online and in person have been important in reestablishing a sense of belonging amongst many Eritrean and Syrian newcomers (DSP-groep Amsterdam, Universiteit Tilburg 2016; Pharos 2016c, 2016b). Reports have described how the internet has connected many Syrian refugees both in the Netherlands and abroad, and how these connections have been vital in receiving practical information about the Netherlands (Pharos, 2016c). This is not to imply that every kind of social network is beneficial to status holders, nor the flow of social capital. Reportedly, Eritrean newcomers in the Netherlands have at times been apprehensive in attending events organized by the more established Eritrean community in the Netherlands, for fear of extortion by supporters of the Eritrean regime (DSP-groep Amsterdam, Universiteit Tilburg 2016). These examples illustrate how the setting, both in person and online, locally and across the Netherlands, can influence the flow of social capital in the lives of the Eritrean and Syrian newcomers (Jenkins, 2010; Fine, 2012).

So, while identities can be seen as a set of pre-conditions that affect the likelihood of a connection happening between two individuals, certain settings, times and places can be seen as the facilitators that enable that process (Mahoney, 2000). Thus, the ESGO model could help provide a useful framework to contextualize further *how* the social networks of the Eritrean and Syrian status holders have come about and developed, and what roles their identities play, and how the setting itself can be conducive to the flow of social capital.

The Current Study

Social capital is vital to new migrants when settling in a new host society, and influences their integration prospects (Abur & Spaaij, 2016). Much of the social capital literature however was developed in the USA, where the more socio-economic and ethnically segregated context influences intergroup relations. Thus, a slight restructuring of how social capital tends to be characterized is needed to account for a super-diverse locale. The super-diversity of Zaanstad is likely to influence the avenues through which new migrants such as the status holders may build up their social networks (Vertovec, 2007). These social networks are likely to be influenced by their identities, their connections to established individuals within their communities or interlocks, and the settings that are conducive to the flow of social capital. As explicated in the

theoretical framework, these factors interact and can influence the accumulation of social capital on both an individual and community level. Hence, this thesis will compare and explore how the social networks of Eritrean and Syrian status holders in the municipality of Zaanstad – and in turn, their social capital – has been influenced by the interplay of identity, interlocks and the kind of settings they find themselves in regularly.

Methods

Respondents

Qualitative data was gathered by conducting 13 semi-structured interviews with status holders, five of whom were Eritrean and eight of whom were Syrian. The majority of the respondents were married or had children. All five of the Eritrean respondents were male, while the Syrians respondents included five males and three females. The respondents ranged between the ages of 28 and 55, and pseudonyms were created to keep their statements anonymous.

These two groups made for good comparison due to a number of important similarities. They have been in the Netherlands from roughly two to four years, while having received similar structural support locally from the non-profit organization Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland and the municipality of Zaanstad (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017d). Furthermore, they have faced the same legal requirements to follow Dutch courses in order to pass their integration exams. These similarities provide a good basis for exploring the range of factors besides the policy efforts that may influence the social isolation of Eritrean status holders witnessed locally, and more directly, how super-diversity influences the social capital of these newcomers.

To gain a better understanding of the status holders and the local context, informal meetings were held with local policy makers in direct contact with status holders, members of the diasporas, and non-profit organizations involved with refugees and status holders. These meetings were helpful in structuring the theoretical framework and developing the topic list.

Most of the respondents were recruited through the case managers in direct contact with the status holders. The potential respondents they recommended were contacted by phone or email and informed about the research before requesting their participation. One subsequent respondent was contacted through the snowball method approach, whereby an earlier respondent recommended them, after which the respondent was contacted and recruited by email. Special

care was taken to emphasize the status of the researcher as a student, while ensuring their complete anonymity. None of the respondents were financially compensated. Instead, the respondents were informed – after being told about the purposes of the research – how their participation might help gain insight that could influence local policy efforts

Data Collection

The interviews were conducted in either English, Dutch, or a mix of the two depending on the language proficiency of the respondents. Ten of the interviews were digitally recorded and archived. During the three interviews where the respondents were uncomfortable being recorded, detailed notes were taken, which were expanded upon immediately after the interview. Formal consent was requested orally before each interview. Interviews were held in locations where the status holders were comfortable – two of which were held in private meeting rooms in the city hall of Zaandam, one at a local café, one at a local library, and nine at the homes of the respondents. The interviews were scheduled at times that suited the status holders best, and lasted from roughly 30 to 75 minutes long, not taking into account the short conversations held prior to the interviews, that were meant to put the respondents at ease. After each interview, time was taken to notate any non-verbal cues and miscellaneous thoughts about the interview. This was done to help clarify the context of noteworthy statements later during the coding process.

Topic List

Based on the theoretical framework, a topic list was designed to explore the social networks of status holders in the Netherlands, the settings conducive to their development, and the flow of social capital (see Appendix A). While the topic list was kept at hand, the interviews were kept free flowing after the initial opening question, which was designed to elicit a broad response (i.e., “could you describe your social life to me since you have been in the Netherlands?”). Both the sample and follow up questions were mainly used if the topics did not come up in the interview naturally, or if the respondents needed some prodding to share information. Additionally, the topic lists were read over by two case managers at the municipality, to verify and make sure that none of the topics, sample or follow up questions could be perceived as psychologically triggering to any of the respondents.

The topics, sample and follow up questions on the topic list covered a wide range of

relevant factors, such as the development of their social networks, interlocks, social capital, intergroup relations, language, and the role of particular settings. Questions about their social networks, interlocks and social capital were aimed at finding out more about the variety of their social networks, and how the status holders tended to learn about the Netherlands. With the questions regarding identity and language, the interview explored the connections of the status holders within their own community of newcomers, the native Dutch, and other Zaanstad residents with a migration background. Finally, questions regarding the role of certain settings explored the time and places conducive to forming social networks and the patterns important in maintaining these social networks. To illustrate, such a line of questioning included asking respondents about contacts within the neighborhood, local community centers, and online activity with social media (see Appendix A).

Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim, with short descriptions and indicators to note nonverbal cues (Braun & Clarke, 2006). While transcribing and reading through the interviews, hand-held notes were kept detailing early interpretations of the data. An informal round of coding was done without the use of software, to familiarize the researcher with the transcribed data. Afterwards, the interviews were analyzed using the NVivo qualitative data analysis software. The initial codes and themes such as identity, interlocks and the sociology of occasion, were included from the theoretical framework, while remaining open to the patterns, relationships, and observations that emerged from the data (Stuckey, 2015). Finally, these initial and emergent codes were read through several times and grouped together into subthemes and themes according to the patterns, relationships and observed discrepancies in the data (see Appendix B).

Results

Clear patterns emerged demonstrating how certain themes interacted with one another, while at times operating differently for each respective status holder community. In congruence with the theoretical framework, each section will compare how their identities influenced the diversity of the status holder's, the flow of social capital, the differing roles of interlocks, and the interplay between identity and settings. Next, findings that fell outside of the theoretical

framework will be covered. First off, the barriers to social capital will be described, followed by the surprising findings on how language may influence social capital.

Social Capital, Super-diversity, Identity

Collective identities played an important role in influencing the kind of company people looked for, and avoided. For many of the Eritrean and Syrian respondents, connections with other Eritrean and Syrian newcomers played a significant part in their social lives. These connections tended to be facilitated due to factors such as language, and a general feeling of closeness:

Most of my close friends are Syrian, so if I have problem, I will ask my friends for – it's more – they are close friends because the language. It's easy to explain, especially about details, you know, and if they didn't help me then I will ask my Dutch friends... you understand? It's about connection.

[Charlemagne, Syrian male]

The main difference between the Syrian and Eritrean status holders in this regard, was that the Eritrean status holders were more distrusting of meeting other Eritreans and kept their social networks relatively small. Explanations for these varied, from difficulties building up connections to distrusting other Eritreans, especially those of the older generations. In line with various reports (Pharos, 2016d) one Eritrean described this pattern of distrust as being a long-term consequence of the situation in Eritrea, describing:

I don't – I don't know a lot of Eritreans, I come and many Eritreans are in Amsterdam... I noticed that... because of the situation in Eritrea, the government. that yeah, the – the fear of the government, that there isn't any trust between us. Um- no trust, no uh – no love.

[Ahmed, Eritrean male]

Other collective identities that were shared with both longer established residents and other newcomers, also influenced whom the status holders tended to interact with. Pan-ethnic

identities played an important role for both Eritrean and Syrian status holders. Respectively many of the social networks of the Eritrean respondents included other recent African migrants. Similarly, many of the Syrian respondents interacted regularly with both longer established and recent Arab migrants. The main difference in how their pan-ethnic identities influenced their social networks, is that the Eritrean respondents tended to describe singular friendships compared to many of the Syrian respondents, who reported friendships with a more diverse group of Arabic people, as explicated below:

I have no friends – only my friends are Eritrean. Well, I know one woman from Ghana, I am close friends with this neighbor. Her Dutch is very good... sometimes, when I don't understand something, I ask this woman. She is almost here for three years in the Netherlands, maybe four.

[Dawit, Eritrean male]

Yes, in the neighborhood from my sister, there a lot of people are Syrian, Arabic yes... Syrian, Palestinian, Moroccan, uh – Turkish, Turkish a little but with Moroccan the most... We have a group in Facebook, in WhatsApp, yes. If there is an activity or we want to know something, we use that.

[Laila, Syrian female]

On the other hand, most Eritrean and Syrian respondent considered it difficult to make worthwhile connections with the native Dutch people they had encountered. Many described the native Dutch as distant, or at times, fearful:

The Dutch wait first to be approached, then after they talk to us. I think that they are – uh – they are afraid to approach us first. We are normal people [laughter], I don't understand why they wait for us to take the first step.

[Laila, Syrian female]

There were, however, some Syrians who did not discuss such perceived difficulties. These Syrians tended to see many similarities in the way of life in the Netherlands, and Dutch

culture, compared to the other respondents:

I find it easy for me to live here. [...] Because the way we live in Damascus is um – yeah nearly the same life. The same way – the same yeah. The nature of people here is very similar and very nice, very friendly, and then um- you just feel yourself that you are home.

[Rahal, Syrian male]

Regardless of the difficulties in making connections to others, longer-established residents or not, most respondents were conscious of the potential long-term effects of only having connections to other newcomers. For many of the Syrians and Eritreans, the main fear that dominated was that it would slow down their ability to learn Dutch and lead to self-segregation.

Not with all... with uh – some... but here uh – two, three with me with contact, uh- two or three in Zaandam were contact. Yeah, because if I can go with them every day I cannot learn the uh – language.

[Yonathan, Eritrean male]

Interlocks in the Community

Interlocks tended to play an important role in providing information to other respondents. The Syrian respondents consistently described the role that Dutch speaking, established Syrians played in translating important documents and providing other information. Their role as a connection between other newer refugees and the new Dutch locale was duly noticed some. As described by

What happened is – is that I had a lot of classes, a lot of contact with the Syrian men and women here, because they always asked them to help me with everything, to write and read for them. So I had a lot of contact with them, and at the same time, I was working you know? So – so I had a lot of contact with – with Dutch people. So yeah, I was in between. You understand? I was like a little bridge you know?

[Jamal, Syrian male]

Many Syrians described how having family members or friends who were more established in the Netherlands were a great help to them. In general, the Syrians who did not speak English at all or particularly well, tended to be more reliant on their contacts with interlocks than others. In general, most of the Syrian respondents mentioned how they could turn to these people for were their information about the Netherlands when needed. Some also mentioned the motivational effect of knowing an established Syrian who had found their way through Dutch society, for example:

So, this person really knows a lot of information about everything [...] That's really good feeling. When you see uh – old friend – when you see old friend and he can fix everything after three years, he is doing very well here in Holland.

[Charlemagne, Syrian male]

Many of the Eritreans however, described more conflicting narratives. The Eritreans who did have good connections to longer established Eritreans described their interactions as far less helpful and even frustrating. As described by one respondent:

My heart and your heart is different [...] My father sometimes can't eat, but she goes to Eritrea [...] I think, the old people of Eritrea, stop going to Eritrea! [...] Why you go to Eritrea, Eritrea is a dictatorship.

[Dawit, Eritrean male]

Sociology of Occasions, Identity, and Social Capital

The neighborhood tended to not be a great place for making connections. Most respondents described their encounters with their neighbors as mostly fleeting. Other regularly attended settings, such as their integration courses, religious meetings and the universities located in Amsterdam, were much more conducive to building up connections, especially when the status holders had some sort of shared interest with the others present that could lead to

purposeful interaction that were past just surface interactions:

I have a friend, that uh – lives close by, he is also a student at UVA. He helps me with the language, and he uh – helps me with the language [...] He wants to learn Arabic, and I want to learn Dutch.

[Ahmed, Eritrean male]

I learned the language at the University in Amsterdam. There, I met uh – two others. With uh – with uh – female friends, I started to make talks with them and that sort of thing. They wanted to do volunteer work, so for these 1-2 girls – actually I also met other men and then via- via- via, you know?

[Jamal, Syrian male]

Besides these smaller interpersonal encounters at religious institutions and schools, other, larger meetings also played important roles. For the Syrians, semi-regular gatherings and occasions played an important part in building up connections locally. For many Syrians, events organized by the Arabic Forum and Mozaïek two local organizations founded by Syrian refugees with a heavy presence on Facebook were an important avenue through which they kept in contact with the wider Syrian and Arabic community locally, while also being the main setting where they had contact with native Dutch people. Other gatherings that happened regularly, such as the local initiatives aimed at women from migrant communities, were attended by all of the Syrian female respondents. While these events were described as being mostly attended by Arabic women, both long established migrants and recent ones, women of other nationalities also attended:

The women sitting there talking and uh – drinking coffee talking about the activity, talking about maybe what's going on – maybe in the news. It's just sit and talk, and this is good. Woman from Sudan and uh – yeah, she is so nice, she organize everything uh – uh – just sitting yeah, she make activity for the women. Every week there is something, there is a theme.

[Laila, Syrian female]

Contrastingly, the vast majority of the Eritreans described their social lives as mostly revolving around small-scale social gatherings with other recent newcomers from Eritrea, with almost none reporting regularly attended gatherings or occasions that brought together people of other ethnic groups, for those who did attend larger scaled occasions, it tended to be one of the Eritrean Orthodox Christian religious services outside of Zaanstad, such as in Amsterdam or Alkmaar. These were mostly attended by Eritrean newcomers and the longer established Eritrean community that mostly arrived in the 80's. According to the respondents, these meetings were more religious in nature and rarely helped them expand their social networks besides the small groups of recent Eritrean status holders that they tended to interact with. At times, certain churches were even explicitly avoided, due to the fear of the attendants having ties to the Eritrean regime:

I never go to Rotterdam [...] Many people they come new, they don't like the Eritrea government. He is a dictator, but what I'm saying is that I can't go to Rotterdam for the church of God because the people are in contact with the Eritrean government.

[Dawit, Eritrean male]

Barriers to Social Capital

For both Eritrean and Syrian respondents, cultural norms could be barriers to building up connections both within and outside of their own communities. For some Syrians, gender norms played a large role in why they did not always pursue connections to the longer-established residents, or how they believed that they were perceived by other Syrians. Other, broader cultural norms were also influential in why some Syrians avoided contact with others within their community, for example:

Yeah, I know some Syrians [...] they are not going to improve me. Because we have to speak Arabic, we have to do the same things, and I have no any progress, [...] so no, I'm changing my mentality to be real Dutch.

[Rahal, Syrian male]

Similarly, one Eritrean in particular, described how a culture of saving face influenced

why some of the longer established Eritreans provided him with misleading information early on:

When I was in the camp I received a lot of information that was uh – was false. Not true, about the study, about – about information that wasn't true. [...] They just try to give bad information about everything to me. [...] In Eritrea, nobody says I don't know something. Nobody.

[Ahmed, Eritrean male]

Language

Another consistent theme, was the effect of language on their ability to make worthwhile connections with ethnically Dutch people. Surprisingly, the respondents that reported knowing little English but were decently fluid in Dutch, described their interactions as mostly fleeting and frustrating in comparison to their English-speaking counterparts. This was consistent for many of the Eritrean and Syrian respondents, regardless of their educational background. One respondent illustrated it with this anecdote:

I must be honest, it is really difficult to make contact with uh – Dutch people. [...] with Dutch – like Dutch students think it's a waste of time to talk to someone who doesn't speak Dutch well. If I, for example during a lab class, uh – if I ask one of the students what a difficult word means, I asked him, what does this mean? He doesn't give me an answer.

[Ahmed, Eritrean male]

Discussion

A number of themes emerged from the data in congruence with the theoretical framework, showing how the super-diversity in – but not limited to – Zaanstad, influenced the avenues through which the Eritrean and Syrian status built up their social networks. As proposed by much of social capital literature, collective identities played an important role in influencing how many of the status holders went about building up their social networks. Beyond their national backgrounds and migratory status, their pan-ethnic and religious identities played the most significant roles. There were, however, some key differences between the status holders in how their identities influenced the development of their social networks.

On the one hand were the experiences common to most Eritrean respondents, who mostly had a few connections to other recent Eritrean status holders, and at times, other recent African migrants. The solitary nature of these social networks was exacerbated by the tensions within the Eritrean community, which has been reported on across the Netherlands (Pharos 2016d). While both the older generation and the recent status holders arrived as refugees, they fled for vastly different reasons. The first wave of Eritrean refugees who arrived in the Netherlands during the 1980's and 1990's, were fleeing from Eritrea's war of independence with Ethiopia. They are generally supporters of the freedom fighters of yesteryear, who morphed into the oppressive regime from whom the current wave of Eritrean refugees are fleeing now (DSP-groep Amsterdam & Universiteit Tilburg, 2016). These imported tensions illustrate how political divides, similar to sociocultural and ethnic divides, can act as barriers to social capital.

This contrasted strongly with the experiences of most of the Syrian status holders. In general, it can be said that their collective identities "matched up" better with the diverse population of Zaanstad. The relatively large number of migrants of both Syrian and other Arab origins (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017b), and at times their own perceived closeness to Western culture, likely influenced why their social networks were relatively more diverse than those of their Eritrean counterparts. Therefore, it could be argued that the compounding effects of tensions within the Eritrean community, relatively small populations of (assumably sub-Saharan) Africans (Gemeente 2017b), and lack of Tigrinya spoken locally, provides a much different opportunity structure for the Eritrean status holders to forge connections to other longer established and recent migrants of African origin.

Secondly, interlocks were an important asset to many of the Syrian respondents. They tended to communicate regularly with these more established individuals within their communities and considered them both approachable and good sources of information. As proposed in the theoretical framework, these interlocks tended to strengthen the flow of social capital into the Syrian community and were especially useful in supporting their more linguistically isolated counterparts. The Eritrean respondents, on the other hand, either had little connections to interlocks within their own communities or exhibited disinterest and distrust in maintaining connections with them. Thus, the greater role that these interlocks played for many of the Syrian respondents was likely influenced by a number of factors. For one, the relatively higher proportion of English speaking and higher educated people within the Syrian community

in comparison to the Eritrean community (Pharos 2016a; 2016b), made it likelier for the Syrian respondents to be in contact with an interlock. While contrastingly, the aforementioned distrust within the Eritrean community likely hampered the ability of Eritrean newcomers to make worthwhile connections with potential interlocks.

Next, settings and identities intersected, and were especially conducive in helping the status holders connect to others. Collective identities, arguably, shaped both the settings they were likely to find themselves in, and how they went about expanding their social networks. Confirming some of the assumptions of the ESGO model, it is reasonable to assume that the gatherings and occasions influenced the social capital available to the status holders more than their one on one interactions, not counting interlocks (Wynn, 2016).

Again, the experiences of the Eritrean and Syrian refugees differed. While many of the Eritreans newcomers attended Eritrean Orthodox Churches which were also attended by many of the older generation, political tension still remained divisive enough that these settings rarely lead to worthwhile connections. Furthermore, many of these services were reportedly attended by members of the Eritrean regime, further deepening divides within the Eritrean community (DSP-groep Amsterdam & Universiteit Tilburg, 2016). Contrastingly, many of the ethnic and pan-ethnically oriented gatherings and occasions attended by Syrians and other Arabs also included native Dutch participants. Locally, these gatherings and occasions enabled many of the Syrians to have a multitude of avenues and social connections that they could rely on for to receive important information and even opportunities.

Furthermore, some of the more unexpected findings came from the emergent themes. The first emergent theme – culture – influenced who some of the status holders avoided. For both the Eritrean and Syrian respondents, cultural norms could at times influence why the respondents avoided building up connections both within and outside of their own community. For the Eritrean respondents, this included the cultural norm of “saving face” and how that could lead to receiving untrustworthy information. While for some of the Syrian respondents, this included gender norms. As culture is inevitably tied to certain collective identities, they can arguably serve as a barrier to the flow of social capital through the behavioral norms that they might require (Appiah, 2006).

The second emergent theme, language, made for the most intriguing result. Surprisingly, English speaking status holders, regardless of their educational background, tended to describe

more diverse social networks and more benefits attained from these connections than the status holders who did not speak English. Additionally, they reported more connections to the native Dutch in Zaanstad and elsewhere in the Netherlands.

There are a number of factors that could help explain this pattern. It could be argued that status holders who spoke English were better able to build up connections to native Dutch people – including both authority figures and volunteers – during their stay in the asylum centers. For non-English speaking refugees, this time period would have been more far more exclusionary and could have had long-term influences on how status holders perceive the native Dutch (Korac, 2003). It could also be argued that language and accents, in similarly to ethnicity, gender or other social cues, influences how people are perceived (Moyer, 2013). Thus, native Dutch people who are conversing in English, might perceive the status holders they interact with on more equal terms, and not automatically classify them as too different to themselves. In other words, their identities as refugees or foreign might not be as salient and is masked by their fluency in English (Jenkins, 2014).

Limitations

Nevertheless, some of the limitations of this thesis have to be taken into account. First off, the hard-to-reach target populations – especially the Eritrean respondents – in combination with the limited research time, lead to a relatively small number of respondents (N=13) being interviewed. Admittedly, the relatively small sample size casts doubts on whether “theoretical saturation” was reached. Which is to say, to what extent the analyzed interviews ceased to develop new codes and variations of observed themes and patterns, and therefore, reached an adequate sample size for the purposes of the study (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006). However, it can be attested to that most themes were identified in the first three interviews with members of each respective target group, with ensuing interviews making up the brunt of the exemplary cases and variations of existing themes.

Moreover, while the Syrian respondents included both men and women, all of the Eritrean respondents were men. The lack of success in finding Eritrean female respondents was likely influenced by how many of the initial Eritrean refugees during the start of the migrant crisis were male (CBS, 2017). Thus, the majority of current female Eritrean status holders arrived more recently, through reuniting with their husbands, while there was a larger proportion

of female Syrian status holders who arrived during the peak of the migrant crisis (CBS, 2017). Therefore, even if Eritrean women would have been included, their relatively shorter stay and lack of language fluency would require an interpreter, which due to the distrust towards Eritrean translators by many of the Eritrean status holders (DSP-groep Amsterdam & Universiteit Tilburg, 2016), could have influenced the validity of their responses.

While not fully addressing the issue, the inclusion of Syrian women does help explicate some of the patterns related to gender-focused initiatives aimed at new and longer established migrants. In turn, some of these initiatives could serve as additional avenue of social capital for the Eritrean status holders in the near future, as the number of Eritrean women reuniting with their husbands keeps on increasing (CBS, 2017).

In short, the findings of this thesis should not be considered representative, but rather, explicative of the range of factors and phenomena that influence the procurement of social capital for the Eritrean and Syrian status holders in Zaanstad.

Implications

While this thesis helped shine a light on how new migrants build up social capital during this early phase of integration, future research should explore how super-diversity influences their long-term structural integration. Such research should investigate further how identities intersect in local settings, and how broad collective identities that unite various nationalities, such as pan-ethnic and religious ones, can influence the flow of social capital and formation of social networks. This is crucial, as the Netherlands and other Western societies are likely to continue diversifying culturally in the foreseeable future. Hence, gaining more insights into the process of identification might help recognize ways through which new migrants can be best reached and enabled to integrate not only structurally, but also socially and politically (Castles et al., 2002)

Moreover, while much of social capital does discuss the role of semi-regular or regular meetings in terms of civil society as a glue that helps bind social networks (Putnam, 2007), meetings such as gatherings and occasions should be considered as other units of analysis, that may add a more nuanced, detailed perspective to how migrants start expanding their social networks when they enter a new locale (Wynn, 2016).

Locally, the findings in this thesis point towards certain policy measures that could help

the newcomers gain better access to social capital. Grassroots efforts such as the Arabic Forum and Mozaïek, regularly organize meetings to help refugees learn the Dutch language and build up connections with non-refugees in the area. This provides a good structural basis that the municipality could support and expand upon.

These organizations are heavily active online, and include texts in Dutch, Arabic, and English, but not in Tigrinya (Het Arabische Forum, n.d.; Mozaïek, n.d.). Therefore, matching a Tigrinya speaker to these organizations who could translate some of these texts, could help their posts be more accessible and inviting to Eritrean status holders. For those Eritreans not active on Facebook, case managers and others in regular contact with the Eritreans, could forward links to these organizations and inform them of their services.

Similarly, some initiatives on the neighborhood level could be expanded as well. Each neighborhood in Zaanstad has a “social domain team”, a municipality supported initiative that helps provide information about the Netherlands, and clarification on any received paperwork twice a week for roughly two hours at a time (Sociaal Wijkteams. n.d.). Additionally, the local chapter of the non-profit Vluchtelingenwerk also provides similar services, specifically for refugees (Vluchtelingenwerk, n.d.). Expanding the existing hours of both could help provide socially isolated newcomers with another avenue through which they can receive information and expand their social networks, while also building up contacts with volunteers. Efforts such as these can help smoothen the integration process of new migrants locally, especially for refugees such as the status holders.

In conclusion, while refugees will inevitably differ in their integration prospects – due to how well their own characteristics match up to local and national opportunity structures – steps can be taken to help those who may be socially isolated or disadvantaged. While the influx of refugees might have its ebbs and flows, political unrest abroad makes it likely that local municipalities will be tasked with integrating refugees into their communities for decades to come. As common identities may enable the flow of social capital, researchers and policy makers alike should explore what steps could be taken to support the formation of new identities and collective histories that can be shared by all residents of a super-diverse locale (Appiah, 2006)

References

- Abur, W., & Spaaij, R. (2016). Settlement and employment experiences of South Sudanese people from refugee backgrounds in Melbourne, Australia. *Australasian Review of African Studies, The*, 37(2), 107.
- Appiah, K. A. (2006). The politics of identity. *Daedalus*, 135(4), 15-22.
- Het Arabische Forum in Zaandam. (n.d.). In *Facebook* [Group page]. Retrieved July 2, 2017, from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/282772872116459/>
- Bandura, A. (1971). *Social learning theory*. Morristown.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2). pp. 77-101. ISSN 1478-0887. Retrieved from: <http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/11735>
- Burger, M. J., & Buskens, V. (2009). Social context and network formation: An experimental study. *Social Networks*, 31(1), 63-75.
- Castles, S., Korac, M., Vasta, E., & Vertovec, S. (2002). Integration: Mapping the field. *Home CBS* (2016a, November 21). *Bevolking naar migratieachtergrond* [Press release]. Retrieved from <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/achtergrond/2016/47/bevolking-naar-migratieachtergrond>
- CBS (2016b, November). *Jaarrapport Integratie*. Retrieved from <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/publicatie/2016/47/jaarrapport-integratie-2016>
- CBS (2017) *Asielverzoen en nareizigers: nationaliteit, geslacht en leeftijd*. Retrieved from: <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=83102NED&D1=0-1,3&D2=a&D3=0&D4=11,40&D5=16,33,50,67&HD=170620-2303&HDR=T,G1,G2,G4&STB=G3>
- COA (n.d.) *Asielprocedure* [Press release]. Retrieved February 22, 2017, from <https://www.coa.nl/nl/asielopvang/asielprocedure>
- Delhey, J., & Newton, K. (2003). Who trusts?: The origins of social trust in seven societies. *European Societies*, 5(2), 93-137.
- DSP-groep Amsterdam, Universiteit Tilburg (2016). *Niets is wat het lijkt*. Retrieved from http://publicaties.dsp-groep.nl/getFile.cfm?file=/16pverit_Niets_is_wat_het_lijkt-DSP_2016.pdf&dir=rapport
- Eurostat (2016) *Asylum statistics*, Retrieved from. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics

De Fabriek met match - event (2017, February 6) Retrieved from:

<http://backtosociety.nl/events/de-fabriek-met-match-event/>

Fine, G. A. (2012). Group culture and the interaction order: Local sociology on the meso-level.

Annual Review of Sociology, 38, 159-179.

Fukuyama, F. (2001). Social capital, civil society and development. *Third world quarterly*, 22(1), 7-20.

Gemeente Zaanstad (2016a, June) *Verslag bijeenkomst Arabische community 28-06-2016*.

Unpublished internal document.

Gemeente Zaanstad (2016b). Vluchtelingen doen meteen mee:

Visie op de opvang en integratie van vluchtelingen in Zaanstad. Retrieved from

<https://www.zaanstad.nl/mozard/document/docnr/2257825>

Gemeente Zaanstad (2017a, Februari 14) *Azc werksessie*. Unpublished internal document.

Gemeente Zaanstad (2017b). Onderzoek & Statistiek, Retrieved from:

<https://zaanstad.incijfers.nl/jive>

Gemeente Zaanstad (2017c). *Kopie van Overzicht data 2011-2016*. Unpublished internal document.

Gemeente Zaanstad (2017d, February 22). Zaanstad Journal, Vluchtelingen doen meteen mee in

Zaanstad. Retrieved from: <https://www.zaanstad.nl/mozard/document/docnr/2765949>

Glick Schiller, N. (2008). Beyond methodological ethnicity: local and transnational pathways of immigrant incorporation.

Goddard, R. D. (2003). Relational networks, social trust, and norms: A social capital perspective on students' chances of academic success. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis*, 25(1), 59-74.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Behavior in public places*. Simon and Schuster.

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field methods*, 18(1), 59-82.

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2016). Social Anchoring: Immigrant Identity, Security and Integration Reconnected? *Sociology*, 50(6), 1123-1139.

Hawkins, R. L., & Maurer, K. (2009). Bonding, bridging and linking: how social capital operated in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina. *British Journal of Social Work*, bcp087.

Horton, J., Millo, Y., & Serafeim, G. (2012). Resources or power? Implications of social

- networks on compensation and firm performance. *Journal of Business Finance & Accounting*, 39(3-4), 399-426.
- Human Rights Watch (2017), World Report 2017 | Events of 2016. Retrieved from:
https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/world_report_download/wr2017-web.pdf
- Iosifides, T. (2013). *Qualitative methods in migration studies: a critical realist perspective*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Jenkins, R. (2010). 10 The 21st-Century Interaction Order. *The contemporary Goffman*, 68, 257.
- Jenkins, R. (2014). *Social identity*. Routledge.
- Lin, N. (1999). Building a network theory of social capital. *Connections*, 22(1), 28-51.
- Lochner, K., Kawachi, I., & Kennedy, B. P. (1999). Social capital: a guide to its measurement. *Health & place*, 5(4), 259-270.
- Mahoney, J. (2000). Path dependence in historical sociology. *Theory and society*, 29(4), 507-548.
- Moyer, A. (2013). *Foreign accent: The phenomenon of non-native speech*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mozaïek (n.d.). In *Facebook* [Group page]. Retrieved July 2, 2017, from
<https://www.facebook.com/mozaiek.isp/>
- Nawyn, S. J., Gjokaj, L., Agbényiga, D. L., & Grace, B. (2012). Linguistic isolation, social capital, and immigrant belonging. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 41(3), 255-282.
- Pharos (2016a, June) Factsheet Eritrese vluchtelingen. Retrieved from
<http://www.pharos.nl/documents/doc/factsheet-syrische-vluchtelingen.pdf>
- Pharos (2016b, June) Factsheet Syrische vluchtelingen. Retrieved from
<http://www.pharos.nl/documents/doc/factsheet-syrische-vluchtelingen.pdf>
- Pharos (2016c, June) Syrische nieuwkomers in de gemeente. Ervaringen van gezinnen met opvang, zorg en opvoeding. Retrieved from
<http://www.pharos.nl/documents/doc/syrische-nieuwkomers-in-de-gemeente.pdf>
- Pharos (2016d, June) 'Van ver gekomen...' Een verkenning naar het welzijn en de gezondheid van Eritrese vluchtelingen. Retrieved from <http://www.pharos.nl/documents/doc/verkenning%20eritreers%20van%20ver%20gekomen...-.pdf>
- Putnam, R. D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of democracy*,

- 6(1), 65-78.
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian political studies*, 30(2), 137-174.
- Sociaal Wijkteams (n.d.) Retrieved from <http://swtzaanstad.nl/?home=1>
- Stuckey, H. L. (2015). The second step in data analysis: Coding qualitative research data. *Journal of Social Health and Diabetes*, 3(1), 7.
- Stryker, S., & Burke, P. J. (2000). The past, present, and future of an identity theory. *Social psychology quarterly*, 284-297.
- Szreter, S., & Woolcock, M. (2004). Health by association? Social capital, social theory, and the political economy of public health. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 33(4), 650-667.
- Urry, J. (2003). Social networks, travel and talk1. *The British journal of sociology*, 54(2), 155-175.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054.
- Vermeulen, F. F. (2005). The immigrant organising process: the emergence and persistence of Turkish immigrant organisations in Amsterdam and Berlin and Surinamese organisations in Amsterdam, 1960-2000 Amsterdam: AUP
- Vermolen, S. (2017, February 28) *Kom je praten met de nieuwkomers in Zaanstad?*
Retrieved from: <http://www.platformaandezaan.nl/kom-je-praten-met-de-nieuwkomers-in-zaanstad/#more-5721>
- Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland (n.d.) Retrieved from
<https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/westenmiddennederland/locaties-adressen/zaandam>
- Wessendorf, S. (2013). Commonplace diversity and the 'ethos of mixing': perceptions of difference in a London neighbourhood. *Identities*, 20(4), 407-422.
- Woolcock, M. (2001). The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes. *Canadian journal of policy research*, 2(1), 11-17.
- Wynn, J. R. (2016). On the Sociology of Occasions. *Sociological Theory*, 34(3), 276-286.

Appendix A

Topic list

A. Social networks: looking to explore a number of things about the social networks of the status holders. Such as the variety, social support aspect, their contacts locally, with other members of their community and with native and nonnative-Dutch people with a migration background.

I would like to start off with a broad question...

1. Could you describe your social life to me since you have been in the Netherlands?

2. *Social Support*: Do you have people you can go to for support? (Clarifying the question: if you feel lonely, or to have a good time and socialize, etc.)
 - If no: Why not? Has there been before (here in the Netherlands)?
 - If yes: How have you gotten to know these people? Do you see them regularly? How would you describe the basis of your relationship? What do you have in common?

3. *Local*: What do you think of the neighborhood you live in? Have you been able to feel at home in your neighborhood?
 - If no: Why not? Could you give me an example of a time when you did not feel at home?
 - If yes: Could you give me an example of a moment where you felt at home in your neighborhood?

4. *Diaspora*: How is your relationship with other Eritreans/Syrians in Zaandam (could lead to questions on information/opportunities)
 - What about outside of Zaandam, in the rest of the Netherlands? How do you maintain contact with other Eritreans/Syrians?
 - (Could lead to question list in occasions section)

5. *Other ethnic groups*: Have you been able to build up friendships with other non-Eritreans/Syrians?
 - If no: What do you think has hindered that from happening?
 - If yes: How did these friendships come about? Could you describe these friendships to me? What do you have in common?

6. *Language*: How does language play a role in making contacts? (Clarifying question: Has it ever hindered you or helped you when wanting to make contacts?)

B. Social capital: Looking to explore how information reaches status holders, and how they learn about opportunities regarding volunteering, work, school, etc.

I would like to move on to my next topic, and delve in more to how you get to know about important things in the Netherlands, such as volunteering, school, jobs and more.

7. *Information about opportunities* How do you tend to hear about things you can do in Netherlands? (Clarifying the question: things such as volunteering, information about school, information about the care system, etc.)

8. *Interlocks*: Are there people within your community that you can go to for information?
 If no: Why not? How long have they been in the Netherlands?
 If yes: Why them? Could you describe them more to me? Are they active locally? How long have they been in the Netherlands?

C. Occasions: looking to explore group activities/interactions with others in a group setting. Aiming to find out more about who these activities brings together (diversity of the group, social status, etc.), why (common interests, religious/ ethnic background) and how they influence the formation of social networks.

For my next topic, I would like to learn more about the group activities you partake in.

9. *Occasions*: Are there group activities that you take part in? (Clarifying the question: Such as volunteering? Sport activities? Cafe's? Parties? School? etc.)
 If no: Why not? Have you ever attended something like [...] in the past?
 If yes: Could you describe the type of people present at those [insert activities]?
 (Clarifying the question: What are their backgrounds? What do you have in common?)

What about online? Has social media websites been useful to you?
 Do you go/attend those events regularly?
 If no: Why not?
 If yes: Why?

Have you build up contacts/friendships through [insert activity]?
 If no: Why not?
 If yes: Could you describe the contacts and friendships you have?

Have you been able to get good information about Holland through them? (Clarifying the question: About volunteering, jobs, school, sport, etc.)

Conclusion: What do you think could be done for status holders? Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix B

| Themes | | Sources | References |
|----------------------------|--|---------|------------|
| Culture | | 0 | 0 |
| Bad information | | 1 | 3 |
| Cultural norms | | 8 | 16 |
| Distrust | | 3 | 3 |
| Gender | | 3 | 6 |
| Prejudice | | 3 | 6 |
| Interlock | | 7 | 17 |
| Inspiration | | 2 | 3 |
| Language | | 0 | 0 |
| Language - Arabic | | 4 | 11 |
| Language - English | | 8 | 18 |
| Language - Dutch | | 11 | 22 |
| Technology | | 12 | 19 |
| Translating | | 8 | 13 |
| Social Capital | | 0 | 0 |
| Barriers | | 1 | 1 |
| Bad information | | 1 | 3 |
| Cultural norms | | 7 | 14 |
| Distrust | | 6 | 8 |
| Eritrea - Ethiopia contact | | 2 | 2 |

| Themes | | Sources | References |
|-------------------------------|--|---------|------------|
| Family abroad and back home | | 2 | 2 |
| Frustration (language) | | 7 | 15 |
| Frustration (general) | | 9 | 23 |
| Gender | | 3 | 6 |
| Isolation | | 3 | 7 |
| Language Barriers | | 3 | 4 |
| Prejudice | | 4 | 7 |
| Regime | | 1 | 5 |
| Identity | | 0 | 0 |
| African Identity | | 2 | 5 |
| Arab Identity | | 4 | 4 |
| Dutch Identity | | 1 | 1 |
| Identity as newcomer | | 3 | 6 |
| Interaction | | 2 | 2 |
| Interethnic contact – African | | 3 | 3 |
| Interethnic contact – Arab | | 9 | 21 |
| Interethnic contact – Diverse | | 6 | 7 |
| Interethnic contact – Dutch | | 12 | 46 |

| Themes | | Sources | References |
|--|--|---------|------------|
| Interethnic contact – Suriname | | 1 | 2 |
| interethnic contact - Syrian – Eritrean | | 1 | 1 |
| Interethnic contact – Turkish | | 7 | 10 |
| Information | | 11 | 28 |
| Bad information | | 1 | 3 |
| Connections through others | | 1 | 4 |
| Contact with officials | | 7 | 11 |
| diversity of social network | | 1 | 1 |
| Eritrean - Eritrean contact | | 5 | 18 |
| Friendships | | 2 | 2 |
| Help | | 2 | 2 |
| Syrian - Syrian contact | | 4 | 6 |
| Sociology of Occasions | | 0 | 0 |
| AZC | | 3 | 5 |
| Education | | 2 | 2 |
| Gatherings | | 9 | 12 |
| Interaction | | 3 | 5 |
| Neighborhood | | 1 | 1 |

| Themes | | Sources | References |
|------------------------------|--|---------|------------|
| Neighborhood - Hornseveld | | 1 | 2 |
| Neighborhood - Kogersveld | | 3 | 4 |
| Neighborhood - Poelenburg | | 6 | 13 |
| Neighborhood - Zaandijk | | 2 | 3 |
| Occasions | | 9 | 20 |
| Religious meetings | | 5 | 9 |
| School | | 8 | 13 |
| Social media | | 8 | 15 |
| Work | | 1 | 3 |
| Special Characteristics | | 2 | 3 |
| Language - English | | 8 | 18 |
| Personal motivation | | 8 | 17 |
| Status | | 1 | 2 |