

Providing hospitality to undocumented migrants in the city of
Nijmegen

Research by
T.W.T. Noten

Supervision by
J. Schapendonk

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**Radboud
Universiteit
Nijmegen**

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Ethnographic fragment: hospitality on the local level

Janitor N: *'The municipality does it perfectly, they help undocumented migrants that are on the streets. The volunteers, the people I see (from Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen) you, volunteer W, volunteer L, volunteer F..they are all doing a good job'* (p1:993)

Guest A: *'Everywhere I go, I work hard. However, here I am safe, in the Netherlands. If I were in the streets of Sudan I would have been death. I love the city. Nijmegen is my country, not Holland! Why? It was the first city I entered. I found love in Nijmegen, I was accepted. People gave my money to eat when I was on the streets'. Then I also used it for marihuana. But when I found the church things changed. The Jozua church community is my family. I am trying to get my official passport from Sudan. 'I want to prove I am not a criminal, that I only look for peace and ease in this life.. Just help me keep my way!'* (p1:94).



Picture 1: the statue of Mariken van Nieumeghen on the market square in Nijmegen. The undocumented migrants have asked if this poster could be up on the wall (Strijbosch, personal communication, 2016).

1.1 Introduction. The bed, bath and bread agreement

On January 2013, the Dutch government set out to reform part of its asylum policy. Their new take on the dilation and detention of rejected asylum seekers has caused quite a stir. The Conference of European Churches (CEC) filed an official complaint at the European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR), arguing that ‘*Dutch government has failed to fulfil its obligations under the Revised Social Charter to respect the rights of undocumented adults to food, clothing and shelter*’ (CEC, 2013). On the first of July 2014, the ECSR sided with the prosecutor, ruling that Dutch legislation and practice concerning ‘undocumented adults’ was in breach with article 13§4 and article 31§2 of the European Social Charter (Netherlands Committee of Jurists for Human Rights, 2014). The Dutch State is obliged to provide undocumented adults with the basic necessities of life (Huisman, 2015), but this aid does not have to exceed the level of a ‘humanitarian emergency’ (Meijer, 2015). Nonetheless, the current lack of care for asylum seekers is at odds with human dignity (Meijer, 2015). Although the ruling of the ECSR is not legally binding it could influence jurisprudence on the national level (Centrale Raad van Beroep, 2014).

Despite all pressure, Dutch government decided to postpone its formal public statement and wanted to await the ruling of the European Committee of Ministers (Kas & Heck, 2015). In the meantime, the supreme administrative court on social affairs in the Netherlands (‘*De Centrale Raad van Beroep*’) ruled that the Dutch state should provide undocumented adults with basic care until two months after the decision of the European Committee of Ministers (Kas & Heck, 2015). This decision was a temporary ‘*mandatory measure*’.¹ The Dutch municipalities would organize basic care on the basis of the ‘*Social Support Act*’. Central government would in turn financially compensate the municipalities. However, simultaneously Dutch government initiated an extensive lobby effort in Europe, arguing that the ruling of the ECSR was not in line with the international agreements on human rights. They stressed that the European Social Charter is not applicable to undocumented migrants in irregular settings (Kas & Heck, 2015). ‘*The European Convention on Human Rights and the relevant legal rules of the European Union on asylum are applicable only to foreigners staying in a regular manner within the territory of the State*’ (Committee of Ministers, 2015).

On the 15th of April 2015, the Committee of Ministers discussed the affair during their 1225th meeting. They unanimously voted that there is a violation of Article 13§4 and 31§2 of the European Social Charter (Committee of Ministers, 2015). The Committee of Ministers thereby underlined the previous judgment of the ECSR (Kas & Heck, 2015). They stressed the human rights of undocumented migrants in irregular settings (Committee of Ministers, 2015), but did not make their statements really explicit (Kas & Heck, 2015). Given the level of abstraction in their ruling they allowed room for different interpretations.

The Netherlands is a monistic state: international treaties and agreements are of a higher legal

¹ ‘*mandatory measure*’. If words are presented in this style, I refer the reader to the glossary for a translation.

order than the national constitution (Sundstrom, 2012). However, European directives and degrees often contain a high level of abstraction. Member states are granted discretion to translate policy and adjust it to national circumstances. This margin often allows for conflicting interpretations and raises the issue of compliance. In our case, the ruling of the Committee of Ministers is not legally binding but can be expected to influence jurisprudence in the Netherlands. The ambiguity in the ruling has resulted in high tensions on the national level (Pelgrim, 2015).

The VVD thought that they would not have to change their policy as a result of the ruling of the Committee of Ministers. However, the PvdA disagreed with this interpretation. The controversy resulted in a series of conversations between the coalition partners that almost culminated in the fall of the government (Weezel, 2015). Eventually it led to the controversial ‘*bed, bath and bread*’ agreement. Basic care will only be provided to undocumented migrants in five major cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag, Utrecht and Eindhoven) for a limited amount of weeks (Pelgrim, 2015). Furthermore, a condition for receiving care is the migrant’s co-operation to return him or her to the country of origin (Fijter, 2015). This decision has evoked much criticism. Many municipalities have declared to continue their care for undocumented migrants despite of potential sanctions. Moreover, the bbb-agreement outraged the political opposition in the House of Representatives. Columnist Bouwkamp (2015) summarized the criticism by stressing that ‘*this is a political compromise for political problems that will hurt people who already have nothing. Moreover, it violates the international rules and regulations. Basic needs should not be debatable but rather the starting point of the debate. Human rights cannot be used as policy instruments*’.

1.2 Research objective

To increase understanding of how the conditionality of hospitality plays out at the local level in order to contribute to societal and theoretical debates on the ‘welcoming’ of ‘strangers’. More specific, I aim to develop practical recommendations to the policy framework and decision-making processes that surround the bbb-treaty.

1.3 Research questions

-How is hospitality produced, conditioned and negotiated in the framework of the welcoming of undocumented migrants in the bed, bath and bread facility of Nijmegen?

In order to answer this question the following sub-questions have been developed:

- 1. How is hospitality enshrined and conditioned by international, national and local regulations?*
- 2. How is hospitality institutionally organized on the national and local level?*
- 3. How is hospitality institutionally expressed in the bed, bath and bread facility in Nijmegen?*

4. *What kind of everyday relations produce and negotiate hospitality in the bed, bath and bread facility?*²

5. *How is this hospitality emotionally experienced by the undocumented migrants in question?*

1.4 Scientific relevance

In this research I link up various debates in order to understand the precarious situation of the undocumented migrant in the city of Nijmegen.

The work of Derrida and Kant explained the logic and ambiguity that underlie the constructs of hospitality and hostility. In reaction to their work I would argue that hospitality and hostility are two ends on a scale. Hospitality could turn into hostility and vice versa. However, there is a difference in power relations that allows the host to impose conditions on the guest (Derrida, 2000). I would therefore argue that the guest is in a more vulnerable position than the host, since the host can allow or withhold certain liberties and restrict the freedom of movement of the guest. I argue that conditionality therefore functions as a moderating factor on the interface between hospitality and hostility.

In this research I will use the concepts of hospitality and hostility to categorize the treatment of undocumented migrants in the Netherlands. I will use previous research on international, national and local conditions that affect the treatment of migrants in the Netherlands. I will translate and specify this to undocumented migrants and centralize their experience of this conditionality.

I argue that the nation-state as a spatial construct is less able to guarantee hospitality than the city. Its exclusive character could easily turn hospitality into hostility. This is in line with the ideas of Young (2011) and Darling (2009) who have studied the dynamics at the ground, and mapped hospitable and hostile gestures. Benjamin Barber proposed that we should look to cities in the twentieth-century to provide the answers (2013). The city holds promise as an emancipatory space where people could struggle for rights and could make contested claims (Young, 2011). Membership and participation are not formulated on the basis citizenship. *'It is a right which arises simply from' residence or 'dwelling in the city'* (Darling, 2009, p 206). This enables contestation and negotiation. I would therefore argue that cities are far better equipped to ensure a hospitable treatment of undocumented migrants than the states.

In this research I depart from the work of Darling (2009). His ethnographical approach to asylum seekers living in Sheffield has inspired me. Darling studied Sheffield as a City of Sanctuary and centralized the experience of the migrant. Like Young (2011), he studies everyday life and the dynamics on the ground. When studying hospitality one could adopt an 'institutional conception of hospitality' or an 'interactional conception of hospitality' (Pogge, as cited in Dikeç, 2002, p 237). Darling (2009) and Young (2011) have adopted an interactional conception of hospitality. Studying the extended hospitality from an interactional point of view means focusing on *'ethics, our actions and*

² In this research the terms *'bed, bath and bread facility'*, *'care center'* and *'shelter'* are interchangeable.

engagements as individuals and groups' (Dikeç, 2002, p 237). In my opinion this emphasizes the facilitators for providing 'hospitality'. However, in this thesis I will study the extended hospitality from an institutional point of view. This means focusing on principles and institutional arrangements. In my opinion this emphasizes the barriers to providing 'hospitality'. It is a different starting point. I will show how hospitality is institutional embedding. Thereafter, I will study how these rules and regulations shape the lives of undocumented migrants and are consequently negotiated.

1.5 Social relevance

For years, immigration has been high on the political agenda. In its wake mass media has broadcasted tons of narratives, stories, opinions and images. I will not be surprised if every single person in the Netherlands has formulated an explicit opinion on the topics of immigration and asylum.

Our current societal debate essentially resolves around issues of solidarity and exclusion (Broeders, 2004). There is tension between helping the foreign 'other' and sharing the benefits of our welfare state, to which Dutch citizens have contributed for years. Every individual seems to have a different opinion on how far we should go. Political parties are equally divided, some emphasizing the social costs, while others underscore the '*duty to care*' of government and upholding international obligations (Grütters & Schapendonk, 2015).

Nevertheless, the Dutch state has put forward a restrictive immigration policy for years (Ali & Kamal, 2002). Among other things, this has resulted in the revision of the asylum procedures and the '*Aliens Act*' (Ali & Kamal, 2002, p 40). These rules and regulations differentiate between migrants. Undocumented migrants are unmistakably the most restricted and marginalized group of migrants. Ali and Kamal (2002) have explained how National Insurance Numbers became obligatory for performing labor, how access to public services was denied to undocumented migrants, and how their detention and eviction was intensified (p 40). Pim Fortuyn characterized these restrictive measures as insufficient, while other politicians called it: '*strict but just*' (p 40).

In the year 2015, immigration and asylum is once again high on the public and political agenda. The societal debate has resurfaced. This is a direct result of the increase in asylum applications that followed from political instability in the Middle East and Africa, i.e. the war in Syria. Politicians and public media spoke of a '*crisis*' even though only few of the Syrian refugees (intent to make their way to Europe (Schapendonk, 2015). There is an extrapolation of numbers (Schapendonk, 2015), but '*if men define situations as real they are real in their consequences*' (Thomas & Thomas, as cited in Wecke, 2011). Central government has responded with new legislative measures, such as the bbb-treaty.

The societal debate is also very much alive in the city of Nijmegen. The foreign 'other' is visible in the city. Especially, the decision to temporarily provide shelter to 3000 asylum seekers in Heumensoord has got every citizen of Nijmegen on the edge of their seats (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015).

However, the city of Nijmegen also provides shelter to several undocumented migrants, which is a vulnerable group of people subjugated to the societal debates, dynamics and legal developments within the nation and this city. Their experiences should be included in the debates, simply because their lives will be affected most.

I will conduct this research in order to improve (our understanding of) the hospitality towards undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen. I will present this research to my internship organization '*Stichting Noodopvang Vluchtelingen Nijmegen*' (SNOV) and our contacts at the municipality of Nijmegen. Moreover, this research could provide input to the policy document on undocumented migrants that the municipality of Nijmegen intends to develop with the help of the aid agencies. They expect to collectively sign this policy document and thereby strengthen the bargaining power of the municipality of Nijmegen in their negotiations with central government. My research could therefore potentially influence the local- and national decision-making processes.

Moreover, this research could be of value to the organization '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' (SNOV). This organization upholds a certain set of rules for the undocumented migrants to whom they provide shelter. This research could bring to light some of the effects that these regulations have on the everyday lives of the undocumented migrants. Therefore I might also provide some insights to SNOV and influence their policy-making.

Furthermore, increased understanding on constrains and facilitators of hospitality at the local level could aid the undocumented migrants in their attempt to feel 'at home'. It could help stimulate positive encounters and interactions that help provide a 'welcome' to the undocumented migrants. Moreover, I could spur the debate and make an activist attempt that tries to change the public sentiment in the city of Nijmegen. This would in turn increase the likelihood of 'welcoming' encounters when the undocumented migrants wander the street of Nijmegen. I would argue that tolerance begins with understanding. To illustrate this I quote the famous phrase of Marie Antoinette: '*S'ils n'ont pas de pain qu'ils mangent de la brioche*'! (If they have no bread, they should eat cake!).

Chapter 2: Framing Bed, Bath and Bread in Nijmegen

In this chapter I will research the institutional configuration on the international, national and local level that arranges the ‘care’ for undocumented migrants. A conglomeration of institutional rules, norms and practices set the boundaries to a framework in which undocumented migrants must operate. On different levels the rules and norms either depart from an unconditional or a conditional logic of hospitality. In this chapter I will answer the questions (1) *‘How is hospitality enshrined and conditioned by international, national and local regulations?’* And, (2) *‘How is hospitality institutionally organized on the national and local level?’*

These questions will be addressed with the help of previous research that neatly describes the legal situation of undocumented migrants in the Netherlands. This chapter primarily builds on insights and information that follow from the institutional publication of Amnesty International *‘Human rights on the streets. Bed, bath, bread and human dignity in the Netherlands’*, the policy documents of *‘Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen’* and other NGO’s who organize the care for undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen and the master thesis of Mandy Schapendonk *‘Proposal for care of strangers in distress’* on the national arrangements.



Picture 2. Reprinted from [Toespraak Harry Westerink] (n.d.) Copyright holder unknown. Retrieved from: <http://www.doorbraak.eu/toespraak-harry-westerink-op-strijdbare-nijmeegse-demonstratie-voor-grenzeloze-solidariteit-met-video/>. I encountered a sticker at the care center that mentioned the same phrase.

2.1 International rules and regulations and their national implications

Applying for asylum is a general principle of international law. The right of asylum consists of ‘*the right of a state to grant asylum, the right of an individual to seek asylum and the right of an individual to be granted asylum*’ (Boed, 1994, p 1). If a person’s livelihood is threatened in his/her country of origin he/she may ask a foreign government for protection, care and shelter. This right is laid down in article 14.1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: ‘*everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution*’ (UDHR, 1948).

However, the state can either grant or deny this request for asylum. It has sovereign authority over its territory and population. In Europe, the applicant is not entirely free to pick her/his country of choice. The Dublin Convention of 1990 has developed general guidelines on the responsibility of member states when processing asylum applications. In practice, a migrant must apply for asylum in the country of entry or where he or she first comes into contact with the authorities. This system puts pressure on the border states of the European Union, such as Italy, Spain and Greece. Therefore, in the wake of the ‘Syrian refugee crisis’, the EU has developed new terms regarding the division of refugees. European immigration policy is currently still under development in Malta (Grütters, & Schapendonk, 2015, Actuality Lecture). The expectation is therefore that much will change on the topic of immigration and asylum in the years to come.

If we study the rights of refugees today, we notice that these rights are firmly grounded in international law. First of all, the UNCHR Refugee Convention of 1951 and Protocol of 1967 has clearly defined ‘*who is a refugee, their rights and legal obligations of the state*’ (UNHCR, 2016). Hospitality, care and the protection of refugees is given a solid legal basis. As a result, hospitality takes substance as a right. However, in the Netherlands, receiving hospitality is made conditional on asylum application. This occurred through the introduction of the ‘*Status Act*’. This act made care and access to social provisions conditional on the ‘*asylum status*’ of a migrant, or more in general to: ‘*right of residence*’ (M. Schapendonk, 2015, p 45).

In practice, hospitality is therefore no absolute right. The nation state can grant and (eventually) withdraw its hospitality when request for asylum is denied. As a result, migrants can be forced into a precarious situation. The most vulnerable group of migrants or refugees are the ‘undocumented migrants’ or ‘illegal’s’. Even though a person cannot be illegal, they can be perceived to have an ‘illegitimate’ claim to the Dutch nation.

A migrant can become unauthorized by ‘*illegal border crossing (entry using false documents or entry using legal documents, but providing false information about these documents), overstaying a visa or temporary permit, failing to meet residence conditions or breaching conditions of residence, being born without a status, rejected asylum seekers, and when the state fails to enforce a return decision (toleration)*’ (Schapendonk, lecture 8 IMGD, 2015). When the migrant or refugee has an illegitimate claim to the nation he or she is consequently deprived of considerable social rights (Darling, 2009, p 47). As a result, the extended hospitality or care is reduced or terminated all

together. The undocumented migrants are in a precarious legal situation. Nevertheless, they can appeal to several international treaties and regulation.

Currently, there is a juridical battle around the *'bed, bath and bread agreement'* and the care for undocumented migrants in the Netherlands. NGOs like *'Amnesty International'* and law firms such as *'Fischer Advocaten'* try to give care for undocumented migrants a legal basis on the national level. In their dealings they often refer to international treaties and regulations that seem to acknowledge the legal position of undocumented migrants. M. Schapendonk (2015) argues that as a result *'the Linkage principle'* has become increasingly criticized. Human rights activists and international human rights committees have highlighted the discrepancy between international treaties and *'right of residence'* as it exists in the Netherlands (M. Schapendonk, 2015, p 44), arguing that the vulnerability of the migrant ought to be more important than *'the right of residence'* (M. Schapendonk, 2015, p 44).

On the 13th of January 2013, The Conference of European Churches (CEC) filled an official complaint at the European Committee for Social Rights (ECSR), arguing that the Netherlands violated article 13.4 and 31.2 of the European Social Charter (ESC). In short, Article 13.4 dictates that given the right to social and medical assistance, all parties must undertake measures to *'apply the provisions referred to in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of this article on an equal footing with their nationals to nationals of other Parties lawfully within their territories, in accordance with their obligations under the European Convention on Social and Medical Assistance, signed'* (Council of Europe, 1996, p 10). Moreover, Article 31.2 states that given the right to housing, the state has to undertake measures *'to prevent and reduce homelessness with a view to its gradual elimination'* (Council of Europe, 1996, p 17). In short, the central government of the Netherlands has been indicted for refraining to provide *'food, shelter and basic healthcare to undocumented migrants'* (Ten Hulscher, 2015, p 4). This denial through the functioning of *'Status Act'* is unlawful (M. Schapendonk, 2015, p 53).

The European Committee for Social Rights processed the CEC complaint and reached the following verdict: *'The Committee observes [...] that the persons concerned by the current complaint undeniably find themselves at risk of serious irreparable harm to their life and human dignity when being excluded from access to shelter, food and clothing. It [...] holds that access to food, water, as well as to such basic amenities as a safe place to sleep and clothes fulfilling the minimum requirements for survival in the prevailing weather conditions are necessary for the basic subsistence of any human being'* (Besselen, 2015, p 7). Dutch government responded that the European Social Charter is not applicable to undocumented migrants in irregular settings (Besselen, 2015, p 7). According to M. Schapendonk (2015) this is also clearly noted in the appendix of the European Social Charter (p 54). Nevertheless, this does not mean that in some circumstances the application of rights is not necessary, desirable or possible through jurisprudence. Some would argue that this should always be pursued when the *'human dignity'* is at stake (M. Schapendonk, 2015, p 53). The Dutch Secretary of State repeatedly neglected the verdict of the ESCR because it is not *'legally binding'* (De Meij, 2015, p 673). Nevertheless, it does prescribe a *'positive obligation'* (Schapendonk, 2015, p 56).

Several Dutch Courts, for example that of Den Bosch, have underlined this obligation and have sought support in article 8 of the *'European Convention on Human Rights'* (EVRM) (De Meij, 2015, p 674).

Along the lines of procedure, the verdict of the European Committee for Social Rights (ECSR) is followed by a formal statement of the European Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. They have the opportunity to strengthen, attenuate or nuance their ECSR verdict. On the 15th of April 2015, the Committee of Ministers published a controversial statement that evoked much confusion. Amnesty International elaborated: *'on the one hand, the Committee states that the jurisdiction of the ECSR is enshrined in the Charter, but at the same time confirms the limited scope of that Charter and the fact that the decision of the ECSR concerning this evokes complicated questions about that jurisdiction. The Committee of Ministers has recommended the Dutch government to report on the developments'* (as cited in Besselen, 2015, p 11-12). The ambiguity in the ruling has resulted in high tensions at the national level (Pelgrim, 2015). The VVD thought that no change in policy would be necessary as a result of the ruling of the Committee of Ministers, but the PvdA disagreed with this interpretation. This confusion resulted in a series of conversations between the coalition partners that almost culminated in the fall of the government (Weezel, 2015). Eventually it led to the controversial *'bed, bath and bread'* agreement.

In short, this agreement strives to reduce the amount of 'care centres' for undocumented migrants in the Netherlands to five or seven locations and make the extended hospitality conditional on a migrants' willingness or signed statement of return to the country of origin. The agreement revolves around providing the necessities of life to undocumented migrants, i.e. shelter, sanitation and food. These social and economic rights are *'positive obligations'* instead of legal obligations (Besselen, 2015, p 9). Therefore they are not enforceable. Nevertheless, central government does have a *'duty of care'* (Besselen, 2015, p 13-14). According to the *'Reception Directive'*, an EU directive, this could include undocumented migrants (Besselen, 2015, p 13-14). Unfortunately, EU directives offers much discretionary space to member states and raise the issue of compliance.

The Netherlands are obliged to make an 'effort' to secure the rights of undocumented migrants. However, their effort has been severely criticized. A special UN investigation was conducted regarding the malpractice (De Meij, 2015, p 673). UN investigator Leilani Farha concluded that *'under international human rights law the Netherlands must provide emergency shelter without discrimination. This means emergency services such as homeless shelters, and adequate housing alternatives, must be made available to migrants, regardless of their legal status in the country'* (as cited in, De Meij, 2015, p 673). Her colleague, UN investigator François Crépeau, condemned: *'politicians in the Netherlands have been trying to score political points at the expense of homeless irregular migrants in the national debate about immigration'* (as cited in, De Meij, 2015, p 673).

In practice, the rights of undocumented migrants are not secured in the Netherlands. It is possible that they can be enforced at the national level through the judiciary. However, the rights of undocumented migrants are enshrined in several international sources of law. I have already

mentioned some treaties, charters, conventions and regulations. In addition, there is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In article 25.1 it states that *'everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control'* (United Nations, 1948). This ruling is transposed and underlined in article 11 and article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights (IVESCR). De Meij (2015) explains that article 11 composes *'the right of an adequate standard of living, food, clothes and shelter'* and article 12 composes *'the right of health'* (p 672).

The sovereign national state is responsible for securing or guaranteeing the before mentioned rights. Article 2.2 of the IVESCR underlined this reasonability. It emphasized that a state must *'guarantee that the rights enunciated in the present Covenant will be exercised without discrimination of any kind as to race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status'* (United Nations Human Right Office of the High Commission, 1966, p 2). Currently, central government discriminates on the basis of *'asylum status'*. Amnesty International argues that central government should guarantee a basic standard of living for undocumented migrants (Besselen, 2015, p 9-10). However, they refrain from providing *'shelter, food and sanitation (basic healthcare) to undocumented migrants'* on the national level (Ten Hulscher, 2015, p 4). Unfortunately, the IVESCR is not legally binding. The Dutch state therefore views the IVESCR as a set of social goals of general application (Besselen, 2015, p 10).

However, there are more international sources of law that enshrine the rights of undocumented migrants. For instance, the *'European Convention on Human Rights'* (ECHR), which gives substance to several important civil, political, social and economic rights (Besselen, 2015, p 12). These rights are abstractly formulated in order to include all. For example, article 2 stressed *'the right to life'*, article 3 the *'prohibition of torture'* and article 8 the *'right to respect for private and family life'* (Council of Europe, 1970, p 6-10). These rights provide the basis for litigation that may help to secure the rights of undocumented migrants. Besselen (2015) explains that the ECHR does not oblige central government to *'provide free or unlimited care'* to undocumented migrants in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, they can be indicted on the basis of article 2 if they fail to offer urgent medical care to undocumented migrants (as cited in Besselen, 2015, p 13). Some rights have been enforced in the Netherlands through litigation on the basis of article 3 and 8 of the ECHR. Undocumented minors (under the age of eighteen) and undocumented psychologically ill have attained care through court decisions (Besselen, 2015, p 14). International treaties, regulations and court decisions do not only legally oblige central government to organize *'care'* for undocumented migrants, but they could also compel municipalities and affect their *'Social Support Act'* (WMO) (De Mijde, 2015, p 672-674).

In conclusion, hospitality towards *'migrants'* and *'refugees'* is enshrined as a right in several international treaties. The *'Universal Declaration of Human Rights'* (1948) and *'International*

Covenant on Economic and Social Rights' (1966) give substance to the right of hospitality in terms of 'an adequate standard of living, food, clothes and shelter' (De Meij, 2015, p 672) and 'without discrimination of any kind' (United Nations Human Right Office of the High Commission, 1966, p 2). Hospitality takes substance as a universal and unconditional right. However, no treaty explicitly mentions the category of undocumented migrants. An exception is the European Social Charter, which mentions that it is not applicable to undocumented migrants in irregular settings (Besselen, 2015, p 7). However, all others argue that rights are 'for all', 'for refugees' or 'the people on the territory of the sovereign'. The international treaties, rules and regulations demand effort from the sovereign to secure these rights without asking something in return.

However, formally these legal sources are not legally binding but an '*obligation of effort*' or '*positive obligation*'. In the Netherlands, central government perceive them as a set of social goals. In practice, the level of abstraction in international treaties, directives and regulations gives rise to discretionary space and raises the issue of compliance. Moreover, many international treaties are more directed towards the rights of 'refugees'. Therefore I find that they already seem to be oriented towards national practices of 'asylum' and 'the right of residence'. Furthermore, the international treaties and regulations are essentially based on consent. This reflects the persistent dominance of national states, not that of a certain 'international order'.

Overall, the rules and regulations on the international level depart from the unconditional logic of hospitality. The rights of humans, migrants, refugees and undocumented migrants are in essence universal and of general application. However, the rules and regulations on the national level depart from the conditional logic of hospitality. For example, the introduction of the '*Linkage principle*' made care and access to social provisions conditional on the '*asylum status*' of a migrant, or more in general to: '*the right of residence*' (M. Schapendonk, 2015, p 45). The contradictions between rules and regulations on the international and national level provide opportunity for litigation. Hence, through (juridical) struggle and contestation about discrepancies or injustices the conditional character of hospitality on the national level might be reduced or dissolved. As a result, it could help secure the rights of undocumented migrants living in the Netherlands.

2.2 The organization of care for (undocumented) migrants at a societal level.

In the Netherlands, several organizations collectively organize the hospitality or care that is provided to certain categories of '*migrants*', '*refugees*' or '*foreign strangers*'. However, the organization of this care greatly differs on the national level and on the local level. In this paragraph I will present a short overview of the national and local practices of 'care taking' for 'refugees' and undocumented migrants in particular. I will specify which parties are involved, how they organize care, at which level they operate, and to what specific groups of 'migrants' they extend their care.

2.3. The national level

Central government has developed a complex system of care for ‘*asylum seekers*’ at the national level. It has extended care to those migrants or ‘*refugees*’ who are ‘*in procedure*’ or who have a history of asylum application (M. Schapendonk, 2016)³. Hence, receiving care and in which type of care centre is determined by the status of the asylum application and personal circumstances of the individual (M. Schapendonk, 2016).

Central government and a couple of ‘*independent administrative authorities*’ (ZBO’s) arrange the material and immaterial facilitation of care at the national level. The involved ZBO’s are: ‘*Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers*’ (COA), ‘*the Repatriation and Departure Service*’ (DT&V) and the ‘*Integration and Naturalisation Service*’ (IeND). In short, the COA is charged with the material facilitation, i.e. housing of asylum seekers. It has established diverse types of care centers: the ‘*asylum seekers’ centers*’ (AZC), ‘*Locations for family relief*’ (GOL), ‘*freedom restricting locations*’ (VBL). Furthermore, DT&V is responsible for the immaterial facilitation, i.e. counselling of asylum seekers, stimulating return to the country of origin, either voluntary or coercively (M. Schapendonk, 2016). Whereas the ‘*Integration and Naturalisation Service*’ handles the intake and processing of asylum applications or extensions that might be granted, for example on the basis of medical conditions like pregnancy or tuberculosis (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 25).

Hospitality and care towards ‘*migrants*’, ‘*refugees*’ or ‘*foreign strangers*’ is organized around ‘*the right of residence*’ and the asylum application. This becomes even clearer when looking at the specific types of care centers and to whom they provide shelter. First of all, asylum seekers may reside in ‘*asylum seekers’ centers*’ (AZC). M. Schapendonk (2016) explains that AZCs are open to asylum seekers who await their first asylum application, who await a decision on an appeal for ‘*the extended asylum application*’, and to those who have been granted care through a ‘*preliminary injunction*’ (p 24). They attain shelter and financial support from central government on the basis of the ‘*scheme benefits, asylum seekers and other categories of aliens 2005*’ (Rva) and the ‘*scheme benefits and determined categories of aliens 1998*’ (Rvb) (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 23-24). However, this support is withdrawn twenty-eight days after a legal verdict on the asylum application has been reached (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 24). Hence, care is often only extended temporarily. If an asylum application is denied, ‘*the right of residence*’ is revoked and converted to a ‘*duty to leave*’ (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 44).

Secondly, care can be extended in ‘*Locations for family relief*’ (GOLs). These centres shelter families with adolescent migrants on the basis of article eight of the EVRM. Their private and family life ought to be protected. However, these migrants are often also charged with a controversial ‘*freedom restrictive measure*’ and ‘*duty to report*’ that limit their freedom of movement (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 26).

³ This paragraph primarily builds on insights of the master thesis ‘*Proposal for care of strangers in distress*’ of Mandy Schapendonk

Thirdly, we distinguish care in ‘*restricting freedom location*’ (VBL). All ‘migrants’, ‘refugees’ or ‘foreign strangers’ who are either staying ‘legally’ or ‘illegally’ in the Netherlands can apply for shelter in the ‘*restricting freedom location*’ (VBL). However, there are some conditions. M. Schapendonk (2016) elaborated that ‘it must be likely that an individual can be evicted within a maximum of twelve weeks, that they must actively and controllably cooperate and willingly restrict his/her own freedom of movement’ (p 72). The entire facility in Ter Apel is set to return the migrant to his or her country of origin (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 72).

I conclude that ‘care’ on the national level is only extended to some specific categories of ‘migrants’, ‘refugees’ or ‘foreign strangers’ in particular types of care centres. In other words, hospitality or care is extended in AZCs, GOLs or VBLs and limited to include only those ‘asylum seekers’ who are ‘in procedure’ or have a history of asylum application. However, not all migrants are ‘asylum seekers’ or have a history of asylum application. Some categories of migrants are excluded as a consequence of the organization of care at the national level (M. Schapendonk, 2016). This includes migrants who are in stage of: ‘*(higher) appeal or are not granted a temporary measure*’, or ‘*who apply for asylum for a second time*’, or ‘*started a procedure at the European Court of Human Rights*’ or ‘*requested extension on the basis of severe physical or physiological conditions*’, or ‘*have no history of asylum application*’ (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 9). For these categories of migrants it might not (yet) be possible to find a sustainable individual solution, being either a ‘residence permit’ or return to the country of origin (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 18). M. Schapendonk (2016) has explained that this might be impossible ‘because a migrant might not cooperative or be willing to return on a voluntary account, the current assessments of asylum applications could lead to hopeless situations, i.e. an immobilizing limbo or the cooperation between central government, municipalities and NGO’s might be insufficient’ (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 12-13). The before mentioned categories of migrants could be excluded from care at the national level and consequently come to dwell on the streets. However, M. Schapendonk (2016) has shown: ‘*exclusion to care and social provisions on the national level does not necessarily lead to exclusion on the local level*’ (M. Schapendonk, p 23). Municipalities and ‘nongovernmental organizations’ jump in and take responsibility. They organize care on the local level for those categories of migrants who are excluded from national care, in short, they do this in order to guarantee public order and secure public health as well as for several humanitarian reasons (M. Schapendonk, p 23). Currently, their ‘*bed-bath-bread*’ provisions are complementary to the national care for asylum seekers (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 108-109).⁴

2.4 The local level

On the local level, the ‘*central municipalities*’, NGOs and medical practitioners provide hospitality and care for those migrants who are excluded from national provisions and practices. In the previous

⁴ This paragraph primarily builds on insights of the master thesis ‘*Proposal for care of strangers in distress*’ of Mandy Schapendonk

paragraph I have outlined which categories of migrants this group consists of. The main characteristics of this group are their exclusion from national care, the ongoing inability to find a ‘sustainable individual solution’ and their overall vulnerability. Most of these migrants dwell on the streets of cities. Their local governments do not find this ‘dwelling’ desirable for public order, public health and for humanitarian reasons (M. Schapendonk, p 23). As a consequence, many municipalities have started to organize local care for these undocumented migrants.

They are not alone in this attempt. ‘*The international network of local initiatives with asylum seekers*’ proposed a model for the division of responsibilities between NGOs, churches and other charity organization (INLIA, 2016). It gave rise to a partnership in which municipalities financially facilitate and local NGO’s materially arrange and operate local care centers or ‘shelters’ that provide care to ‘*homeless foreigners*’ (M. Schapendonk, p 8).⁵

However, on the local level we can distinguish ‘basic care’ from ‘plus care’. Basic care consists of sanitation, food and shelter (‘*bed-bath-bread*’) provisions that are extended to undocumented migrants by a local ‘*Foundations for Emergency Care*’. It tries to ensure basic human rights and keeps undocumented migrants off the streets. However, ‘*plus care*’ regards facilities that are open to really ‘vulnerable refugees’, either mentally or physically vulnerable (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 11). M. Schapendonk (2016) argues that it offers professional treatment to help improve the conditions of the migrant (p 11). However, not every municipality has arranged such a facility. For example, in the city of Nijmegen undocumented migrants in need of more extensive care are either transferred to ‘*De Hulsen*’ or ‘*het MOO*’. ‘*De Hulsen*’ is a facility in Nijmegen for homeless and drug-dependent people, that is operated by ‘*IrisZorg*’ (2016). However, this facility is not equipped or specialized in treating undocumented migrants with psychological problems. But, the city of Amsterdam has developed a ‘plus care facility’ for undocumented migrants or ‘*homeless foreigners*’ with psychological problems called: ‘*medical care project undocumented migrants*’ (MOO, 2016). Undocumented migrants from Nijmegen are transferred to the ‘*MOO*’ as a result of lacking local alternative.

In this thesis I research a shelter that extends ‘*basic care*’ to undocumented migrants in Nijmegen. On the local level, ‘basic care’ is organized around a particular set of criteria. Hence, hospitality or care at the local level does impose a certain conditionality. These criteria are the result of a series of conversations in the ‘*National Consultation Local Authorities Reception and Return Policy*’ (LOGO, 2016). A conglomeration of municipalities has settled on certain criteria for the extension of ‘*emergency care*’ or ‘*basic care*’. Moreover, it clarified that this type of care is intended for ‘*migrants in irregular settings that are excluded from national forms of care, or those who actively and controllably cooperate and try to return to their country of origin but do not realize departure on time and those who lack all others options for care and should be sheltered for humanitarian reasons*’ (M.

⁵ This paragraph primarily builds on insights of the master thesis ‘*Proposal for care of strangers in distress*’ of Mandy Schapendonk

Schapendonk, 2016, p 29).

The criteria that surround the organization of local care for undocumented migrants are ‘(1) *need*’, ‘(2) *regional ties*’ and ‘(3) *perspective*’ (M. Schapendonk, p 34).⁶ These criteria are not conditions for overall access but should be perceived as ‘organizational principles’ of local care. ‘M. Schapendonk (2016) has clarified that the criteria of (1) *need*’ assesses the urgency and necessity for providing shelter. The criteria of (2) *regional ties*’ states that undocumented migrants should find shelter in the municipality in which he or she has previously resided during the asylum application (AZC) or is most socially rooted (*central municipality*). The criteria of (3) *perspective*’ involves the assessment on whether it is realistic that a residence permit could be obtained or one should make an effort to return to their country of origin’ (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 8). This assessment is performed by ‘*Dutch Refugee Council*’ (and other local NGOs that assist undocumented migrants juridical and emotional through counselling (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 13-14).

If an undocumented migrant comes to the local NGO for ‘*basic care*’, or is directed to the local NGO on the basis of the before mentioned criteria, he or she can apply for care or shelter. The local NGO, ‘*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*’ (SNOV) will conduct a short intake that discloses some personal characteristics of the applicant and explains the house rules that ensure the liveability and security of the care centre, i.e. shelter (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 15, 62). Moreover, the temporary nature of this care is emphasized. The general coordinator of the shelter performs important tasks in this regard.

On the local level, municipalities, NGOs and medical practitioners provide care for undocumented migrants who are excluded from all other (national) alternatives. Central government criticizes the municipalities for undermining their policy. They want to stop the financial support that municipalities offer to local care centers that shelter migrants who are ‘illegally’ residing in the Netherlands (M. Schapendonk, 2016, p 18). Currently, they are negotiating an ‘*administrative agreement*’ that should ensure the cooperation between all higher and lower governmental bodies. It remains to be seen whether they can resolve their conflict of interest. Meanwhile, undocumented migrants look towards cities and their local governments for providing hospitality and care in the absence of national effort.

2.5 The organization of hospitality in the city of Nijmegen.

‘Currently, the care for undocumented migrants is threatened by legal developments on the national level. The municipality of Nijmegen and several nongovernmental organizations plea for the continuation of hospitality towards undocumented migrants. They are committed to provide care to undocumented migrants who dwell on the streets without the basic necessities of life. Their vulnerability and human dignity ought to be protected especially because this group often contains

⁶ This paragraph primarily builds on insights of the master thesis ‘*Proposal for care of strangers in distress*’ of Mandy Schapendonk

many traumatized individuals who have fled from war and persecution. Moreover, many still have a realistic claim to or perspective on attaining a residence permit in the Netherlands' (Dolmans, 2015, p 1).

There are five non-governmental organizations that are responsible for the care of undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen. These NGOs are: '(1) *Dutch Refugee Council East*' commissioned by the municipality of Nijmegen, (2) *Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen* (SNOV), (3) *World Women's House Mariam of Nijmegen*, (4) *Foundation Guest* and the (5) *Protestant Parish (House of Compassion)*' (Dolmans, 2015, p 1). These organizations perform different but complementary tasks. First of all, the *Dutch Refugee Council* (2016) represents the interests of refugees in the Netherlands giving important juridical advice and offers counselling (p1). Secondly, *Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen* (SNOV) tenders the *'bed-bath-bread care'* and the more physical facilitation of providing care for male undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen. Thirdly, *World Women's House Mariam of Nijmegen* provides physical and material care to female undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen. Fourthly, *Foundation Guest* (2016) dedicates itself to the care for refugees and asylum seekers who are excluded from *'normal care'* (p 1). It primarily arranges medical assistance and juridical counselling for these undocumented migrants. Fifthly, the *Protestant Parish* (2016) promotes justice and mercy in society (p 1). In this specific case, it assists undocumented migrants financially.

These NGOs are cooperating increasingly often and are included in a series of conversations (*'platform talks'*) with the municipality of Nijmegen. They represent the interest of undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen. It is important that their voice and practices are heard against the background of the ongoing negotiations between central government and the Dutch municipalities and the development of an *'administrative agreement'*. 'For this purpose, the NGOs have constructed the policy document or jotting *'care rejected asylum seekers in Nijmegen'* that will be presented to the municipality of Nijmegen during a series of conversations.

In this policy document the NGOs have explained why we should take care of undocumented migrants. They have argued that 'from a humanitarian perspective we should provide assistance to the weak and physically or mentally ill. A society should be judged on how it treats its minorities. Secondly, all are entitled to an adequate standard of living on the basis of art. 25.1. of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Thirdly, care for undocumented migrants who dwell on the streets is desirable given the public order. Fourthly, hospitality towards undocumented migrants in care centers secures their mental condition and reduces the medical costs. Fifthly, many undocumented migrants eventually attain a residence permit. Finally, care could contribute to integration and/or return to the country of origin' (Dolmans, 2015, p 1).⁷

However, this 'care' should be provided in correspondence to the criterion *'regional ties'*. If a

⁷ This paragraph primarily builds on insights from the policy documents of *'Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen'* and other NGO that organize care for undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen.

migrant has spent time in an AZC in a previous stage of his asylum application he or she should continue receiving care in the same city. The NGOs argue that given the traumatic past and experiences of relocation, detention and expulsion the undocumented migrant would profit from rest and stability. Moreover, their (supporting) network is most likely developed in their direct environment' (Dolmans, 2015, p 2).

Furthermore, the NGOs have prescribed some requirements 'adequate care' for undocumented migrants should comply with. This should at least contain the basic necessities of life: 'shelter, food and sanitation', in other words '*bed, bath, bread*' (Dolmans, 2015). In practice, this means a bed, the ability to shower and the dispensation of two meals a day. However, to make this minimum of care 'adequate', it should be expanded with some extent of privacy, lockers, access to (digital) means of communication, assistance or counselling and a small personal budget for basic purchases (Dolmans, 2015, p 3). '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' (SNOV) and '*World Women's House Mariam of Nijmegen*' should realize these requirements to take adequate care of undocumented migrants. However, for some this care will still not suffice. There are some undocumented migrants that have encountered hardship in life which has left them in need of more intensive physical or psychological assistance' (Dolmans, 2015, p 1). They need care in a special centre or '*bbb-plus care*' (M. Schapendonk, 2015, p 10-11).

Finally, the NGOs have formulated a couple of general recommendations regarding the care for undocumented migrants. These will be presented to the municipality of Nijmegen during a series of conversations that should guarantee the continuation of 'adequate' care for undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen (Dolmans, 2015, p 4). The advice of the NGOs is to 'first make a careful diagnosis of the asylum seeker. Including his/her juridical perspective, health and relations or network. Second, create a sense of security. The undocumented migrants must attain some measure of stability, rest and peace and not be fearful of immediate detention. Third, take the network of the refugee in consideration. Do not only look to which AZC has provided care in a previous stage but look at the network of social relations of the individual. Fourth, provide twenty-four hour care in which individual have to rest to work on their future instead of making it through the day. Fifth, offer a small personal budget for basic purchases. Sixth, do not place undocumented migrants in other centers meant for homeless or drug addicts' (Dolmans, 2015, p 3).

2.6 Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen and their shelter in Nijmegen-Oost.

'*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' (SNOV) is an organization charged with the care for undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen.⁸ It is responsible for the physical realization of a 'care centre', where undocumented migrants can spend the night and receive '*bed, bath and bread*' provisions, i.e. shelter, sanitation and food. It has established a centre for male undocumented

⁸ This paragraph primarily builds on insights from the policy documents of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' and other NGO' that organize care for undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen.

migrants at a secret address in Nijmegen-Oost, since the 1th of January 2015 (SNOV, 2016). The organization was revitalized after years of inactivity that followed the ‘*Amnesty*’ of 2007. The request for revitalization came from alderman Frings from the municipality of Nijmegen. He wanted to realize a ‘*bbb-facility*’ in the city of Nijmegen (SNOV, 2016).

Currently, the care centre is fully operational. It is managed by a board of three members: a chairman, a treasurer and a process manager. They manage all facilitation that makes a care centre possible and keeps it functioning. This contains diverse activities, ranging from the actual facilitation to setting rules and norms and recruiting personnel. On the first of July 2015, the board appointed a general coordinator to supervise the daily activities. The general coordinator structures daily life in the care centre. ‘She coaches the concierges and volunteers, manages the intake of new undocumented migrants (clients), keeps the care centre maintained, neat, and organized and handles initial contact with close partners or cooperatives, such as ‘*Foundation Guest*’ (SNOV, 2016). This position is subsidized for 12 hours per week (SNOV, personal communication, 2016). The other personnel of ‘*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*’ (SNOV) perform their tasks on a voluntary basis.

The concierges spend the night at the care centre and are the eyes and ears of the general coordinator. They perform executive tasks, household chores and contribute to a relaxed, open, and welcoming atmosphere. They keep clients in check and keep the care centre running. The volunteer assists the concierge in the morning and evening, from eight to ten, and performs household chores or support and entertain the clients (SNOV, personal communication, 2016).

‘*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*’ (SNOV) maintains a good relation with the neighbourhood surrounding the care centre. They have arranged several informal meetings to exchange thoughts, opinions and preferences with the neighbourhood in order to maintain these good relations (SNOV, personal communication, 2016). Furthermore, SNOV keeps relations with several other organizations at the local and national level. For example, at a local level they include: ‘*Dutch Refugee Council East*’ commissioned by the municipality of Nijmegen, ‘*World Women’s House Mariam of Nijmegen*’, ‘*Foundation Guest*’, ‘*Protestant Parish*’, ‘*Emergency Care Nijmegen of VWON*’, ‘*National Station of Support Undocumented Migrants*’ (LOS) and ‘*the municipality of Nijmegen*’ (SNOV, personal communication, 2016). And on a national level there are in contact with organizations such as the ‘*National Station of Support Undocumented Migrants*’ (LOS). Currently, the care centre of SNOV is funded by means of subsidies from the municipality of Nijmegen who receive funds from national government by order of a ‘*temporary provision*’. Additionally, ‘*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*’ acquires money from funds and donations. For example, from the ‘*Dutch Catholic Religious*’ (KNR) (SNOV, personal communication, 2016).

Through monetary means and institutional arrangements the care centre for male undocumented migrants is realized. SNOV has formulated a mission: ‘*no undocumented migrant should sleep on the streets. They ought to attain a bunk, sanitation and food. For this purpose we have*

established a care centre for males and females' (SNOV, personal communication, 2016). However, the extended care is not unconditional. First of all, it is strictly demarcated to only include male undocumented migrants who are in urgent need of shelter, preventing them from sleeping on the streets. Furthermore, upon entry the undocumented migrant should be registered during an 'intake' and should sign a contract stating that he or she will conform to a set of norms and rules that are established to ensure a secure, peaceful, and liveable care centre. It is a memorandum of understanding where the undocumented migrant pledges that he or she will not use drugs or alcohol, carry weapons, steal or touch someone else's property and only smokes in the appointed room. He or she will be friendly and calm in and around the care centre and does not bring people 'without a card of entry' back to the centre. The care centre is open from 20.00 a.m. until 10.00 p.m. The undocumented migrant does not appear on the street before 8 a.m. and leaves the street at least at 10 p.m. (SNOV, personal communication, 2016).⁹

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the institutional configuration, the rules and regulations on the international, national and local level, that provide a legal basis to the organization of 'care' for undocumented migrants. This conglomeration of institutional rules, norms and practices set the boundaries to a framework in which undocumented migrants must operate. It strongly influences how 'hospitality' takes substance.

On the international level the rights of migrants are enshrined in several treaties and charters. The rights of undocumented migrants are recognized in international law. For example: the European Social Charter (ESC), the European Convention on Human Rights (EVRM) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) provide a legal basis. However, these sources of law often do not explicitly mention undocumented migrants. Moreover, many of these social and economic rights are '*positive obligations*' instead of legal obligations (Besselen, 2015, p 9). They are therefore not enforceable (Besselen, 2015, p 13-14).

On the national level central government only provides care to particular categories of '*migrants*', '*refugees*' or '*foreign strangers*'. The '*linkage principle*' made care and access to social provisions conditional on the '*asylum status*' of a migrant, or more in general to: '*the right of residence*' (M. Schapendonk, 2015, p 45). Central government has developed a complex system or organization for this care. There are different types of facilities (*asylum seekers' centers*', '*locations for family relief*', '*freedom restricting locations*' etc) that provide a certain type of care. Different organizations are charged with the execution. However, care is only extended to those migrants or 'refugees' who are '*in procedure*' or who have a history of asylum application (M. Schapendonk, 2016). Some categories of migrants are excluded as a consequence of the organization of care at the

⁹ This paragraph primarily builds on insights from the policy documents of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' and other NGO' that organize care for undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen.

national level (M. Schapendonk, 2016) For example: the undocumented migrants.

On the local level municipalities and NGO's organize care for those categories of migrants who are excluded from national care, in order to guarantee public order, secure public health and humanitarian reasons (M. Schapendonk, p 23). They organize 'basic care' or 'emergency care' and 'plus care'. Not every municipality has developed a bbb-facility or created 'plus care'. Furthermore, a conglomeration of municipalities have settled on several 'organizational principles' of local care, '(1) *need*', '(2) *regional ties*' and '(3) *perspective*' (M. Schapendonk, p 34). These principles manage the claim of undocumented migrants to local care.

In short, on the international level human rights of undocumented migrants are given a legal basis. The right of food, shelter and sanitation is included. On the national level, central government only extends care to certain categories of migrant. The exclude undocumented migrants and do not uphold international treaties and charters. On the local level, municipalities and NGO's jump in. They extend 'basic care' or 'emergency care' to undocumented migrants at 'bed, bath and bread' facilities. They uphold human rights to food, shelter and sanitation but undermine national policy. This leads to friction between central government and the municipalities. There is discrepancy between international law and national law that allows room for litigation. Often international law only prescribed '*positive obligations*' instead of legal obligations (Besselen, 2015, p 9). Jurisprudence and juridical struggle might help enforce the rights of undocumented migrants in the Netherlands.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

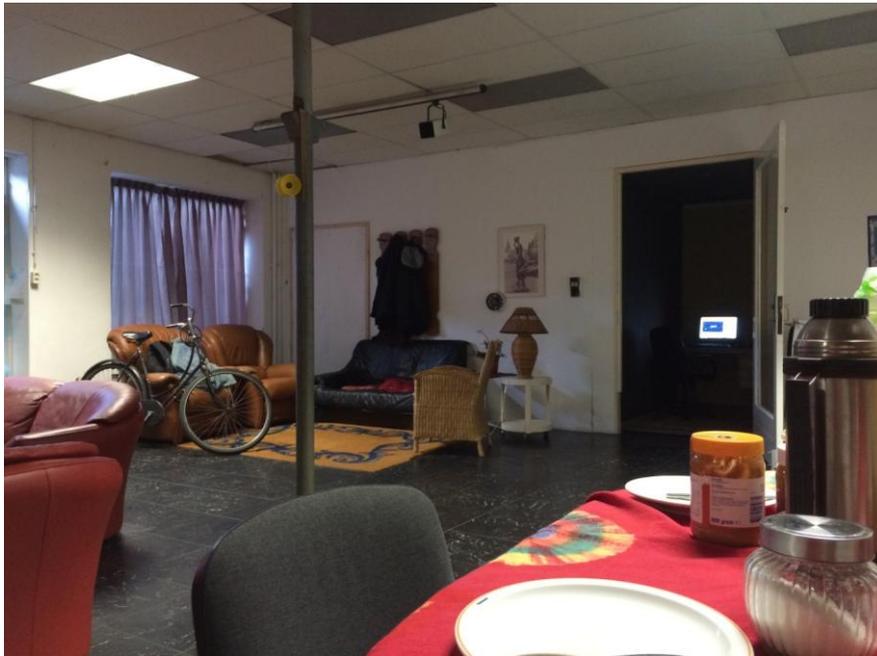
3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I have tried to outline the theoretical work that could help answer my research question: *How is hospitality produced, conditioned and negotiated in the framework of the welcoming of undocumented migrants in the bed, bath and bread facility of Nijmegen?*

First of all, I will explain what hospitality is. I will describe the construct of hospitality and its counterpart, named hostility. I will unravel the ambiguity of the concept and show how this strongly limits its application. Thereafter, I portray the two dominant perspectives that have been developed on the issue of hospitality. I explain their content and oppositional nature.

Secondly, I will explain the practice of providing hospitality to undocumented migrants in the Netherlands. I determine which of the two perspectives on hospitality is currently dominant. Moreover, I explain the current outcome of its application. I will describe its juridical, political and ethical implications. Thereafter, I will explain how it can be contested and negotiated. This political struggle is largely an opposition of logics. I explain how the other perspective on hospitality could function as a counterforce. And, I underline the juridical, political and ethical possibilities and limitations of applying this oppositional logic of hospitality on the city-level.

Thirdly, I recap and underline the layeredness of the practice of providing hospitality. I reflect on how these layers and ‘spaces’ are intertwined and come to shape a complex field of possibilities and limitations. I emphasize the mediating role of conditionality to hospitality.



Picture 3: the living room of the care center

3.2 The concept of hospitality

Hospitality is a relationship of engagement between a 'host' and a 'guest'. According to Kant, providing hospitality is granting access to public space (as cited in Haak, lecture, 2015). The host has sovereign authority over this space and the goods which he opens up to the 'stranger' or 'foreign other' (Derrida, 2000, p 14). This 'act' of hospitality has clear 'ethical, juridical, political, social and economic' dimensions' (Derrida, 2000, p 3). Within history and distinct cultures we have witnessed a diverse array of responses to the issue of hospitality (Haak, lecture, 2015). Overall, the 'welcomed guest' is either treated as an ally or as an enemy (Derrida, 2000, p 4). Hospitality and hostility are therefore two sides of the same coin. All revolves around this 'welcoming' of the 'foreign other' or 'stranger'.

It is the host who offers hospitality. He is master of his own house and grants or denies passage over the threshold (Derrida, 2000). The host governs the threshold (Derrida, 2000). In practice, the host might be reluctant to extend hospitality to a particular 'stranger' or 'foreign other'. Darling therefore (2009) argues that '*the ethics of hospitality as an unconditional visitation is an impossible decoupling of the threshold from the mastery it implies*' (Darling, 2009, p54). As a consequence, scholars have come to distinguish: (1) unconditional hospitality and visitation (2) from conditional hospitality and invitation (Young, 2011).

In his article on '*Perpetual peace*', Kant (1991) portrayed hospitality as a 'natural right'. Kant (1991) argued that this '*Weltbürgerrecht*' should be a universal right of all the world's citizens in order to ensure 'perpetual peace' (Haak, lecture, 2015). Humans have communal possession of the earth. Its territory is finite. People are therefore forced to coexist and tolerate one another (Derrida, 2000). With regard to hospitality this means that '*the stranger has the right not be treated with hostility as he enters someone else's territory, so long as he behaves in a peaceful manner in the place he happens to be*' (Derrida, 2000, p 5). The host should grant the 'foreign other' or 'stranger' unlimited access to public space without demanding something in return, not even the mentioning of his name (Haak, lecture, 2015). This categorical imperative of hospitality takes form as an obligation, duty and right. It is an international right upheld by states, determined to its relation with citizenship and enshrined in treaties (Derrida, 2000). Scholars call the before mentioned logic (1) unconditional hospitality.

However, I have already explained that hospitality demands a host who is master of his home. In practice, the host is able to place limits and conditions on the proffered 'gift' of hospitality (Derrida, 2000). Derrida (2000) therefore argues that there is no such thing as unconditional hospitality. Hospitality requires juridical demarcations to take substance (Haak, lecture, 2015). It implies sovereignty and governance (Haak, lecture, 2015). For Derrida (2000) hospitality is '*the law of the household, oikonomia, the law of his household, of a place, city, nation, language and law of identity which de-limits the very place of proffered hospitality and maintains authority over it*' (p 4). Unconditional hospitality demands a host who even allows for potential possession and his

replacement by the guest (Haak, lecture, 2015). The conditional logic of hospitality therefore rightfully argues that the presence of the 'foreign other' might pose a threat to the authority of the patron (Derrida, 2000). One could argue that the first conditionality of hospitality is that the 'foreign other' is only greeted as a friend if the host retains authority over his own household (Derrida, 2000, p 4). In practice, the 'foreign other' is 'folded into the internal law of the host and subjugated to circles of conditionality like family, nation, state and citizenship' (Derrida, 2000, p 7). Scholars call the before mentioned logic (2) conditional hospitality.

Darling (2009) states that these opposing logics of (1) unconditional and (2) conditional hospitality are an '*ethico-political impasse*' (p 54). Derrida argues that it consists of '*two irreconcilable yet indissolvable demands*' that requires continuous negotiation (as cited in Darling, 2009, p 54). Hanna Arendt explains how arduously the natural law of Kant works (Haak, lecture, 2015). Derrida (2000) therefore concludes that '*hospitality does the opposite of what it pretends; hospitality immobilizes itself on the threshold*' (p 14).

3.3 The practice of proving hospitality

When a migrant wants to enter the Netherlands he or she has to apply for asylum. The application for asylum is essentially 'a claim for space' (Darling, 2009, p 240). The unconditional logic of hospitality dictates that the 'stranger' or 'foreign other' should be given unconditional access to public space (as cited in Haak, lecture, 2015). However, in the Netherlands asylum applications are rather used as a 'filtering system' (Darling, 2009, p 84). Hospitality takes form as a good that is used, offered or abused in accordance with national preference (Darling, 2009, p 84). Through processes of screening and identification migrants are either categorized as being 'worthy' or 'undeserving' of hospitality (Darling, 2009, p 42-84). Currently, the threshold is characterized by national securitization and 'domopolitics' (Darling, 2009, p 251). This is the result of fear stemming, processes of 'othering', public sentiments and right wing politics that frame immigration as a problem of national space (Darling, 2009, p 4). Hospitality is extended in a '*specific context and towards particular individuals, not simply to strangers in general*' (Darling, 2009, p 84). It is therefore a '*gesture of spatial power*' (Darling, 2009, p 84). Hospitality is extended in a conditional form to migrants who are perceived to have a 'legitimate claim' to the nation. Space is political and applying for asylum becomes a political act.

Undocumented migrants are perceived to have an 'illegitimate' claim to the nation. They become unauthorized by '*illegal border crossing (entry using false documents or entry using legal documents, but providing false information about these documents), overstaying a visa or temporary permit, failing to meet residence conditions or breaching conditions of residence, being born without a status, rejected asylum seekers and when the state fails to enforce a return decision (toleration)*' (Schapendonk, lecture 8 IMGD, 2015). When they are rendered 'illegal' they are consequently deprived of considerable social rights (Darling, 2009, p 47). Hanna Arendt's work on statelessness and

'denationalization' after the Second World War has shown that civil rights are essential for enforcing human rights. When an individual loses his civil rights he could also lose considerable human rights (Haak, lecture, 2015). Darling (2009) therefore rightfully argues that '*.. rights can be expelled as a function of the threshold*' (p 47). For this reason Dikeç (2002) perceives hospitality as '*a set of rules and contrasts, and interstate conditionality that limits the very hospitality it guarantees*' (p 233-234).

Applying for asylum is 'a claim for space' (Darling, 2009, p 240). The right of refuge or asylum is strictly demarcated in the Netherlands. The state will make a decision about every individual application. During and after the application process migrants are subjugated to several rules and regulations. It is a structuralizing force that (pre-) determines the possibilities of the applicant. Young (2011) argues that the '*state seeks to manage individuals and collective mobilities and identities, as well as the extend and contest of claims made by all inhabitants*' (p 537). These managerial visions of national space aims to '*suppress all irregular migration and increase control over political and economic migration*' (Squire, as cited in Darling, 2009, p 64). Dikeç (2005) therefore argues that institutions primarily order space and maintain domination. The 'natural order of domination' is policed and institutionalized (Dikeç, 2005, p 175).

Space becomes a 'container of containment' with disciplining effects (Dikeç, personal communication, 2015). It has a strong impact on the lives of undocumented migrants. Dominant structures heavily determine their chances and opportunities (Dikeç, 2001). Space is therefore highly political. It contains diverse structures and social relations that are steeped with tension (Dikeç, lecture 12 January 2015). However, these relations are never absolute or ultimate but are negotiated and contested (Dikeç, 2002). This means that the 'naturalized order of politics' can be challenged (Darling, 2009, p 246). Structures could be altered through relational properties.

Connolly (1999) points to a 'politics of becoming' '*a movement and struggle for recognition and rights which profoundly alters the political designation of roles of responsibilities previously in place*' (as cited in Darling, 2009, p 245-246). Lefebvre agrees that people can indeed '*conquer space through collective processes and consequently exert their rights..*' (Dikeç, 2001, p 1800). Both scholars emphasize a bottom-up approach of political participation that could turn '*noises*' into '*voices*' (Dikeç, 2001). It could challenge the 'established order' and change how social relations are spatialized (Dikeç, 2001, p 1800). According to Darling (2009) this political struggle '*is not a conflict between well defined interest groups; it is an opposition of logics*' (Darling, 2009, p 116-117).

Currently, the extended hospitality to undocumented migrants in the Netherlands is severely conditioned. This current logic of conditional hospitality should get more counterweight from the logic of unconditional hospitality. Especially, because Darling (2009) has shown that we '*witness the emergence of not simply a politics of limited hospitality..but an active politics of discomfort*' (p 215). Destitution and sovereign abandonment leaves undocumented migrants in appalling circumstances (Darling, 2009, p 215-217). Hanna Arendtz might be right in her observation that 'people can lose human rights when they lose their civil rights' (Haak, lecture, 2015). It seems that conditioned

hospitality is turning into hostility in disguise.

However, this ‘naturalized order of politics’ can be contested through political struggle. Unconditional hospitality is opposed to logics of conditional hospitality. This categorical imperative is a right but it could also be envisioned and deployed as a ‘sensibility’ (Dikeç, 2002). In this manner, an abstract law might be concretized in practice. Dikeç (2002) proposed that we develop hospitality ‘*as a sensibility in social relationships and interactions, as well as in institutional practices*’ (p 236). It implies, ‘*the cultivation of an ethics of political engagement*’ (Dikeç, 2002, p 237) that could ‘*reorient the politics of the state*’ (Darling, 2009, p 19). Cosmopolitan ideals that focus on the ethical and social issues could counter-balance the politico-juridical domopolitics of the state.

Several scholars have argued that this ‘sensibility’ and the ‘politics of belonging’ should best be cultivated in the city. The city is an alternative to the conventional nation-state (Barber, 2013). It is a political space ‘*where inhabitants make claims to rights and struggle over the substance of citizenship*’ (Young, 2011, p 536). However, here membership and participation are not formulated on the basis of citizenship. ‘*It is a right which arises simply from*’ residence or ‘*dwelling in the city*’ (Darling, 2009, p 206). Undocumented migrants do not have a ‘legitimate’ claim to the nation but nonetheless have a ‘legitimate’ claim to the city.

Moreover, as a construct, the city is far more inclusive than the nation-state. Lefebvre therefore approaches the ‘right to a city’ ‘*as a means to reframe citizenship away from a bounded status governed by the nation-state to a substance practice engaged in by all residents of the city*’ (as cited in Young, 2011, p 537). The city holds promise as an emancipatory space and allows for political struggle, negotiation and contestation (Young, 2011). However, Young (2011) makes clear that ‘*refuge is not easily attained*’ (Young, 2011, p 535). Undocumented migrants have to fight and actively claim ‘refuge’ through contestation in a range of spaces and interactions (Young, 2011, p 535). Barber (2013) underlines that ‘*participation on behalf of equality is always locked in a struggle with power in defence of privilege*’ (p 227).

Currently, an unfavourable status-quo is maintained. Barber (2013) has shown that nation-states are increasingly dysfunctional when it comes to solving problems in the twenty-first century, for example on the topic of immigration (p 168). This is largely the result of their inability to ensure cross-border collaboration. Barber (2013) highlights the issue of ‘*cities that are brimming with immigrants whose legal (state-based) status is problematic*’ (Barber, 2013, p 326). Studies from Amnesty International suggest that ‘*government is deliberately using destitution in an attempt to drive refused asylum seekers out of the country*’ (Amnesty International, 2006b, as cited in Darling, 2009, p 216). However, this ‘*deliberate policy of destitution*’ is failing ‘*in promoting voluntary removals*’ (Darling, 2009, p 217-219). Moreover, in the process this policy ‘*removes all fragile and transitory rights which might be conditionally bestowed upon the asylum seekers..*’ (Darling, 2009, p 219). This conduct is dysfunctional but also, more importantly, morally indefensible. It might be a direct violation of human rights.

The response of the Dutch nation-state towards undocumented migrant is a policy fiasco. *'States still the terms, but cities bear the consequences'* (Barber, 2013, p 22). Barber (2013) therefore suggests that nation-states should stand down and let cities do the job (p 332). The city is *'driven by collaboration and pragmatism, by creativity and multiculturalism'* (Barber, 2013, p 4). It has more problem-solving capacity due to these qualities. Moreover, it is more inclusive due to its *'natural tendency to connect, interact and network'* (Barber, 2013, p 106). It *'embodies local liberty and promotes participatory engagement by citizens'* (Barber, 2013, p 171). Undocumented migrants have a legitimate claim to participation in the city. The city provides a political space in which undocumented migrants *'make claims to rights and struggle over the substance of citizenship'* (Young, 2011, p 536). The city enables participation, negotiation and contestation.

Nevertheless, there are limits to what the city can do. The cities might bypass national rules and regulations. However, they *'lie within the jurisdiction and sovereignty of superior political bodies'*. (Barber, 2013, p 9). They are *'subsidiary civic entities'* that are subordinate to the nation-state. Barber (2013) argues that *'legislative sovereignty and budget authority give states plenty of ways to block run-away towns'* (p 8).

3.4 Conclusion

The unconditional logic of hospitality is an obligation, duty and right. It is enshrined in treaties and closely related to basic human rights. However, in practice it is never upheld. The national political space is structured around a logic of conditional hospitality. Undocumented migrants living in the Netherlands receive a 'welcome' of limited hospitality or even of blunt hostility. The political space of the city enables contestation and political struggle for recognition and rights. It could give rise to opposition that follows the unconditional logic of hospitality. Nevertheless, the top-down structuralizing forces of the state remain far more powerful than bottom-up initiatives of contestation. These tensions all play out at the local level and become visible in the household. The 'home' of the undocumented migrant is therefore also a political space. Blunt (2005) states that it is *'is a spatial formation fraught with tension..the home itself is intensely political, both in its internal intimacies and through its interfaces with the wider world'* (as cited in Darling, 2009, p 225). In the home relations are made and rules are contested. In the home everyday life is practiced and experienced.

Chapter 4: From researcher to volunteer

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will elaborate on the adopted methodology of ethnography that will uncover how hospitality and its conditionality become visible in practice. Furthermore, I will bring to light how this ‘hospitality’ is experienced by undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen.

This chapter will be structured as follows. First, I will provide theoretical explanation on conducting ethnography. I will specify and disclose the ethnographic nature of this research (4.2 - 4.4). Secondly, I will actually engage in ethnographic research and elaborate on my methodological choices. I have adopted a structure that is derived from the following statement. Crang & Cook (2008) have distinguished three stages in ethnographical research: *‘first, gaining access to a particular community, second, live and/or work among the people under study in order to take on their world views and ways of life, and third, travel back to the academy to makes sense of this through writing up an account of that community’s culture’* (Crang & Cook, 2008, p 21). Applying this classification means that I subsequently treat the issue of sampling, access and preparing for fieldwork (4.5 – 4.7). Thereafter, I will describe the practices and methods for data collection (4.8). The operationalization of theory (4.9). And, finally I will describe the practice of data analysis (4.10).



Picture 4: the biggest dorm of the care center

4.2 Ethnography

In this research I have conducted ethnographical research. First and foremost, '*ethnography is defined by its methodology*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 23). It advocates the use of a particular set of methods that are applied to study 'communities' (Crang & Cook, 2008, p 21). This set of methods predominately consists of '*participant observation, interviewing, focus groups and increasingly, video/photographic work*' (Crang & Cook, 2008, p 4). Although ethnographic methods can either be of quantitative or qualitative nature, qualitative research is far more common (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005).

I have studied the community of undocumented migrants that reside in the care center of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' in Nijmegen-Oost. I have engaged in participant observation, document analysis and interview sessions to understand this community and '*their world, from their own point of view*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 60). This ethnography is an intersubjective product that was developed through 'extensive social contact with the research population in the framework of their daily lives' (Marcus, 1995). The quality of the ethnography depends on the relation between the researcher and the study population (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005, p 4). I have spent at least seven months in the field to develop these relations and collect data. Data collection and data analysis were executed simultaneously. Ethnography could therefore be characterized as an '*open-ended emergent learning process*'; an '*interpretive, reflexive and constructivist process*' (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005, p 4); and '*an interactive process*' of iterative research (O'Reilly, 2009, p 52).

An ethnographer focuses on studying '*the socio-cultural contexts, processes, and meanings within cultural systems*' (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005, p 5). In this research I described this socio-cultural context as a conglomeration of social systems. Marcus (1995) has explained that we should be aware that a single space is often connected to other sites and agents that maintain particular relations (p 111). Social systems are connected and networked. For example, the care center is linked to other spaces (see data collection on the socio-cultural context for more information). I have uncovered the interrelations between these systems. These interrelations are important because they influence the individual behaviour of undocumented migrants (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005). Secondly, (b) I described the socio-cultural processes that occurred within one single social system. I researched the individual interactions at the care center and focused on repetition to uncover more systemic relationships or patterned behaviour (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005). Thirdly, (c) I described the socio-cultural meanings that undocumented migrants assign to the entire socio-cultural context. I focused on the emotional interpretations of the undocumented migrants.

4.3 Types of ethnographical research

There are several types of ethnographic research. In short, we distinguish single-sided ethnography from multi-sited ethnography and conventional ethnography from critical ethnography.

Traditionally ethnographers focused on one single location and its context (Marcus, 1995, p

95). This location is extensively studied through ethnographic observation and participation. However, increasing global interconnectivity and mobility of people, objects and ideas has forced the ethnographer to adopt a methodology able of studying multiple and mobile places and spaces (O'Reilly, 2009, p 144). Therefore the ethnographer might need to study multiple sites and/or become mobile to '*follow the people, follow the thing, follow the metaphor, follow the plot, story or allegory, follow the life or biography or follow the conflict*' (Marcus, 1995, p 106).

Furthermore, the ethnographer could want to understand and solely study a community or could actively seek out reform. Conventional ethnography seeks understanding. Critical ethnography seeks reform, exposing inequalities and trying to change the world of disadvantaged groups (O'Reilly, 2009, p 51). However, critical ethnographers seek reform to a different extent (O'Reilly, 2009, p 51-53). Nevertheless, all wish to '*expose hidden agendas, challenge oppressive assumptions, describe power relations, and critique the taken-for-granted*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 51-53).

In practice, the adopted methodology often does not fit the categorizations of single-sited ethnography, multi-sited ethnography, conventional ethnography and critical ethnography. For example, in this research I focus on one single site but also research the connections with its multi-layered context. Furthermore, I engage in critical ethnography but also wish to understand the community of undocumented migrants in the framework of their daily lives. Hence, I aim to develop practical recommendations to the policy framework and decision-making processes that surround the bed, bath and bread treaty. And, I aim uncover how undocumented migrants experience everyday hospitality. Therefore I would argue that this research combines elements of several types of ethnographic research.

4.4 A 'place perspective', single-sited ethnography and its multi-layered context

In this research I focused on studying one single spatial entity: the care center of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' (SNOV). I followed the advice of Gielis (2009) that suggested to '*focus on a specific migrant place (like a house, workplace or village) and to study how various networks intersect that place*' (Gielis, 2009). The ethnographic fieldwork was conducted at the care center '*standing still and watching the world (with all its networks and relations) moving around*' (Gielis, 2009). Hence, I studied this single site and the multi-sited context at the same time (Gielis, 2011, p 257).

However, I have also studied the multi-sited context outside of the care center. I visited other spatial entities and actively uncovered the links of the social systems that together formed the socio-cultural context. For example, I structurally attended the board meetings of SNOV at the '*Protestant Parish*' and occasionally accompanied the undocumented migrants when entering the public library, '*Foundation Guest*', catholic masses or other social systems. Nevertheless, the care center always remained the most important site of ethnographical research and fieldwork.

In this thesis I will study the extended hospitality from an institutional point of view (Pogge,

as cited in Dikeç, 2002, p 237). The hosts engage in material and immaterial facilitation of the care center. They have developed institutional arrangements to providing ‘adequate’ care and guarantee a safe environment. In this thesis, I studied the care center as ‘political space’ or ‘institutional space’. International, national and local rules and regulations impact on the care center. Here, the undocumented migrants negotiate the rules and regulations, the dominant structures and the multi-layered context.

The care center can be considered the house of the undocumented migrants. They reside in the care center as guests. There is relationality between this one place (the household) and its multi-sided context. Saunders and Williams (1988) therefore argue that ‘the house acts as a vital interface between society and the individual’ (as cited in Gielis, 2011, p 259). Gielis (2011) argues ‘it is the coming together that makes the house a relational place’ of ‘foreign and near spheres’ of hospitality (p 259). First of all, *migrants reach out to foreign and near places from their house*’ (Gielis, 2011, p 260). Secondly, the spheres come into the home ‘through opposite processes’. For example, the house is penetrated via telecommunication, rules and regulations or several people that enter the facility without the need of their consent (Gielis, 2011, p 260). I therefore conclude that the care center functions as a ‘meeting place’ of diverse ‘social processes’ (Gielis, 2011, p 260). Here, I can study how the spheres of, international, national and local, hospitality (inter)relate. Moreover, this impacts on everyday hospitality to undocumented migrants in the framework of their daily lives.

Therefore, the house of the undocumented migrants cannot be perceived as ‘socially stable and spatially fixed location’ (Gielis, 2011, p 258). Blunt (2005) explains that the house is a ‘spatial formation fraught with tension..the home itself is intensely political, both in its internal intimacies and through its interfaces with the wider world’ (as cited in Darling, 2009, p 225). There is a lot of social instability. The undocumented migrants express their feelings about this instability and assign meanings to the external developments that strongly influence their lives (Gielis, 2011, p 258). These emotional expressions also impacts on the relational processes on the ground. For example, they can create cooperation or tensions between the guests and/or the hosts. Katie Wash rightfully argues that ‘expatriate experiences are lived through in the domestic sphere’ (Gielis, 2011, p 258). The undocumented migrants process these emotional experiences alone or in relation to people (Gielis, 2011). These emotional processes can be studied in order to develop a emotional sense of the house (Gielis, 2011, p 261).

In short, the ‘household’, ‘house’ or ‘home’ is a particularly interesting site for ethnographers to study. The home of the undocumented migrants is an institutional, relational and emotional place. I can study whether the undocumented migrants experience the care center as a (hospitable) home place despite of the institutional, relational processes and emotional processes (Gielis, 2011, p 261).

4.5 Sampling

O'Reilly (2009) pointed out that in ethnographic research sampling is '*ongoing, interactive, theoretically informed, and practically limited*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 22). The researcher should consciously select the '*settings, contexts, times and people*' for applying ethnography (O'Reilly, 2009, p 194). He or she must make methodological choices that suit the research design.

When we 'sample', the researcher selects some case(s) that are either illustrative or 'atypical' and allows for generalization to a broader whole or larger phenomena (O'Reilly, 2009). There is a big difference between single-sited and multi-sited ethnography when it comes to sampling. In single-sited ethnography it is common to study a singularity (or case) in great depth and detail. O'Reilly (2009) therefore advises when possible '*we should try to talk with anyone and everyone, of all types and personalities, of all roles, in all settings*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 22).

I spend seven months in the field gathering extensive descriptive material on all aspects of social life. However, I did apply some 'sampling' or 'demarcation'. O'Reilly (2005) distinguishes four types of sampling: '*purposive, theoretical, opportunistic, and snowball*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 194). First of all, I engaged in purposive sampling. I selected the single case on the basis of the criteria '*content, strategy, snowball, proximity, period, and involved actors*' (Bleijenbergh, lecture, 2013). 'The guests and hosts of the care center were the respondents I needed to ask questions, '*content*'. They would grants access to information, '*strategy*'. I could easily refer to information of other respondents, '*snowball*'. And the respondents could inform about someone else, '*proximity*'. Furthermore, the respondents resided in the care center for the 'right period of time', '*period*' (Bleijenbergh, lecture, 2013). Their residence was of temporary nature. Here, hospitality was granted to a community of undocumented migrants, '*the involved actors*' (Bleijenbergh, lecture, 2013). Secondly, I engaged in theoretical sampling. The care center was the appropriate site to engage in ethnographical research on the basis the research question and research objective (Crang & Cook, 2008, 11). Thirdly, I engaged in opportunistic sampling. I sampled in accordance with the '*demands of the research and thoughts of the participants*' and captured information opportunistically (O'Reilly, 2009, p 198). The fieldwork contained a high level of unpredictability. I opportunistically went along with most aspects of daily life at the care center. However, I continued to perform the duties of host. Moreover, I welcomed any invitation of the undocumented migrants to share experiences inside and outside the care center. The socio-cultural context, interrelations between the social systems and the multi-layered context were often studied opportunistically through invitations of the undocumented migrants or everyday occurrences in the field.

Nevertheless, in ethnography most of the 'sampling' often does not occur in advance of the research but evolves gradually. O'Reilly (2009) argues '*this is because ethnographic research is usually iterative-inductive*' (p 199). There is 'sampling over time' that requires a researcher to '*gradually come to know who are the relevant people to talk to, and can follow leads and pursue hunches by gathering more information from various avenues*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 199).

I conclude that I engaged in purposive, theoretical and opportunistic sampling. However, to a limited extent. I decided to study the community of undocumented migrants that reside in the 'care centre' of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*'. The fieldwork was either conducted from eight o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock in the morning or from eight o'clock in the evening until ten o'clock in the evening. I predominately focused on the interactions at the dinner table because it was here that most interactions occurred.

Moreover, it is important to notify that the community of undocumented migrants was not static. There was a certain influx and outflow of migrants that changed the composition of the group or community. Furthermore, the migrants spoke several languages. Some respondents therefore hold a key position in this research. These key informants translated for other migrants who only spoke their native tongue, and dissolved the language barriers.

4.6 Fieldwork and access

My ethnographical research began when I entered the field on the first of July 2015. I gained access to the home or 'care centre' of undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen. This access was not granted for an unlimited amount of time. Initially all parties decided on a period of a couple of months, this was renegotiated and extended on the 8 of December 2015, after a short evaluation with the board of SNOV. I performed three roles that of 'researcher' 'volunteer' and 'board member'.

As a volunteer I had several predetermined tasks and responsibilities (see annex 8). Every time I entered the field I performed these tasks. I never entered the field solely as a researcher. The tasks and responsibilities of the volunteer demanded participation and somewhat structured the interactions with the research population. However, I think that these participatory tasks facilitated the exchange between the undocumented migrants and the researcher. O'Reilly (2009) explains that '*people often find it much easier to relate to someone in terms of a role they understand and which is accepted in the setting*' (p 10).

As a researcher, I entered the field and gathered data on everyday hospitality in the framework of daily life. At the first stage of the fieldwork I focused on establishing 'early contacts' and explained the research project to the research participants (Crang & Cook, 2008, 14-24). An important choice was whether I would conduct my research covertly or overtly. However, O'Reilly (2009) argues that '*in practice, the decision to be overt is usually one of extent*' (p 59). I decided to enter the field overtly, introducing myself as a 'researcher' and a 'volunteer' and making my intentions known. However, thereafter I adopted a semi-overt role. I reminded people in the field of the ongoing participant observations but also hoped that the undocumented migrants would '*act naturally*' (O'Reilly, 2009). Moreover, if a new guest arrived at the care center I would explained my research project again. And, I would again be completely overt when I conducted the interviews with the undocumented migrants.

As a board member, I attended the meetings of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees*

Nijmegen' (SNOV). However, during the board meetings I only played the role of distant observer who participated as little as possible. Nevertheless, sometimes I would provide some information on the state of affairs regarding the undocumented migrants and the execution of their policy. Moreover, sometimes I advised on daily life in the care center.

During this ethnographic research I have lived and worked among the people I study (Crang & Cook, 2008, p 21). And, I performed these three roles during this process. I tried to build trust and establish a relation with the community under study. In a sense, the quality of these relationships determines the quality of the research (O'Reilly, 2009). However, this access also contained some hazards.

First of all, the information we uncover might be damaging to the community. I felt a clear ethical obligation towards the community under study. The undocumented migrants are in a precarious situation. I did not want to contribute to their vulnerability. Therefore I closely collaborated with the board and always asked for the consent of the undocumented migrants. The most important terms for this research were set by 'gatekeeper' M, and involved guaranteeing the anonymity of the undocumented migrants and granting her a final opportunity to check the research before publication. Moreover, before I conducted interviews and decided to take pictures I asked for permission. O'Reilly (2009) rightfully states that gatekeepers '*enable us to contact the hidden groups and individuals*', they '*control access to the field*' and '*determine procedures that have to be met before research can proceed*' (p 22-57).

Secondly, there was a danger of 'going native'. O'Reilly (2009) explains this '*refers to the danger for ethnographers to become too involved in the community under study, thus losing objectivity and distance*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 87). The researcher might find the role of stranger uncomfortable. As a result, he or she might seek acceptance from the community and become unconsciously socialized (O'Reilly, 2009). In the worst case scenario, this could lead to the abandonment of the whole research project (O'Reilly, 2009). Although, I gradually became more emotionally involved. I tried to carefully choose the amount of hours that I would spend in the field and tried to balance participation and maintain a professional distance.

Thirdly, there is the treat of subjectivity. I tried to be aware of my personal attributes as a researcher (see annex 3). They might influence the interactions with the undocumented migrants and impact on the research. For example, one day guest A stated: '*we like that you're young, most volunteers are old people*'. I have developed the most intimate relations with undocumented migrants of the same age as me. Furthermore, I should be aware of my own opinion and attitude on given topics (Crang & Cook, 2008, 10-11). During my fieldwork I decided to withhold my opinion, steer the conversation to issues of interest, and only present my own opinion when asked upon. I decided to try to behave as an '*intelligent, sympathetic and non-judgmental listener*' (Crang & Cook, 2008). Moreover, I decided to theorize myself in order to be aware of the personal attributes and attitudes I bring into this research (see annex 3) and keep an intellectual diary (see annex 4) to enhance the

reflexivity.

Finally, the ethnographer may not be granted access to all aspects of social life. For example, after ten o'clock (or at least eleven o'clock) at night I was expected to leave the care center. Moreover, the undocumented migrants did not always speak openly about their feelings and thoughts. The social fabric of the care center is very complex. There were a lot of things aspects of social life that I did not (immediately) understand.

4.7 Report

Once access was acquired, I started my observations and report. When an ethnographer enters the field he or she takes field notes. O'Reilly (2009) defines field notes as '*written records of the observations, jottings, full notes, intellectual ideas, and emotional reflections that are created during the fieldwork process*' (p 70). One should not enter the field when he or she does not have sufficient amount of time to write these field notes down in a field diary, it is important to capture your first impressions. According to O'Reilly (2009) ethnography is '*about exploring, uncovering, and making explicit and detailed interactive and structural fabric of the social settings*' (p 13). The social setting could be an '*organizations, institutions, meeting*', households or other space of interaction' (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005, p 14). I tried to uncover their fabric by including extensive and detailed descriptive observations in my field diary. At the care center, I only took mental notes or occasionally wrote down some jottings in my mobile phone. Immediately after I left the care center I would write down all observations in my field diary.

O'Reilly (2009) rightfully argued that '*ongoing fieldwork is an intellectual process*' (p 75). The actual operationalization in this research differed from the initial observation scheme (see annex 1) and aspects of social setting (see annex 2) that I paid attention to when I first entered the field.

4.8 Methods

In this ethnographical research I used participant observations, interviews and document-analyses in order to study the community of undocumented migrants that reside in the city of Nijmegen. Their everyday life is studied in order to uncover how hospitality and its conditionality become visible in practice, and bring to light how this 'hospitality' is produced, experienced and negotiated.

In this thesis participant observation is the most important method of ethnographical research. I carefully conducted fieldwork and took extensive field notes. O'Reilly (2009) argues that '*the participant observer is participating in order to observe, notice, record, and try to make sense of actions and events*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 152). O'Reilly (2009) explains: '*the participation is instrumental*' (p 151).

However, I needed to decide on the extent of participation. Gold (1958) has described four positions on a scale from covert to overt research: '*the complete participant; participant as observer; observer as participant, and complete observer*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 153-154). This decision is

important because an ethnographer also ‘samples’ through his/her participation. And, the ‘*participation and asking questions also become more active, focused, and directed as time progresses*’ (O’Reilly, 2009, p 152). Moreover, it is important to ‘*consider why they want to use participation and to what end*’ (O’Reilly, 2009, p 160).

In this research I moved back and forth between the position of ‘*participant as observer*’ and ‘*observer as participant*’. This is also the result of the dual role of ‘*researcher*’ and ‘*volunteer*’. The role of volunteer always demanded a certain extent of participation. I engaged in participant observation in order to uncover the (political) orientations and the negotiation of institutional rules and norms, attitudes about relational processes and properties and emotional expressions and experiences. O’Reilly (2009) states: ‘*participation enables the ethnographer to learn about events, feelings, rules and norms in context rather than asking about them*’ (O’Reilly, 2009, p 160). Sue Estroff (1981) adds that we can ‘*sensitize oneself to the world of others*’ (O’Reilly, 2009, p 160-161). In my opinion it is therefore through participation that we interpret and understand ‘meanings’ (O’Reilly, 2009, p 159).

In advance of the participant observations, I tried to determine to which kind of aspects of social life and social settings I would pay attention. First of all, I developed an observation scheme (see annex 1). Secondly, I followed the advice of Whitehead & Hyg (2005) and described the social setting in terms of: ‘space, objects, individual actors, social systemic context, and behaviour in terms of acts, activities and events, languages, expressive culture, patterns of interaction, emotional level of the discourse, ideational elements, broader social systems, physical environmental elements and the goals, motivations or agenda of undocumented migrants within the care centre’ (p 13). I specified these characteristics before observations began (see annex 2). Thirdly, I decided to pay special attention to structures. I tried to detect routinized patterns, dominant practices and rules of behaviour. Whitehead & Hyg (2005) argue that these ‘*routines and rules may sometimes provide clues regarding deep structural, as well as surface functioning and the broader socio-cultural contexts*’ (p 15).

Secondly, I engaged in several interviews with guest A, guest B, guest C, guest D, guest E, guest F, guest H janitor L, janitor M and Janitor N (p:1). It complemented the participant observations. Providing more information on ‘*the private realm of ideas, thoughts, opinions and feelings, to what people actual do/did in given circumstances and how they felt about it*’ (O’Reilly, 2009, p 21). However, the ethnographer should be highly reflective of the developed ‘intersubjective understanding’. This is necessary because I might have steered the conversation with the questionnaire and personal ideas and feelings (Crang & Cook, 2008, p 48)

In this research I have engaged in semi-structured interview sessions (for the interview guide see annex 6). Open and unstructured interview are more common in ethnographical research (O’Reilly, 2009). However, I conducted my interviews almost at the end of the fieldwork. O’Reilly (2009) explained that questionnaires then are often fairly structured. The ethnographic research becomes more directed and focused over time to uncover some issues in-depth (O’Reilly, 2009, p 20). In this research interviews were used to understand the rational, feelings and experiences of individual

guests or hosts. The structure of the questionnaire was derived from deductive codes that were developed during the research (see annex 6).

Thirdly, I engaged in document analysis. The board of governs the care center. Together with several other (partner) organizations they arrange care for undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen. I occasionally attended some meetings of most of the bbb-facilities in the Netherlands, a seminar of Amnesty International on the human rights of undocumented migrants and several talks between all local NGO's in the city of Nijmegen. Moreover, I structurally attended the 'board meetings' of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' (SNOV). These organizations are document producing entities (Bleijenbergh, 2013). I studied their minutes, e-mail correspondence, bookkeeping, strategic documents and other institutional publications to develop understanding on the governance of the care center and its multi-layered context. They also contained information of daily life in the care center and institutional, relational and emotional processes.

4.9. Operationalization

Through the ethnographic methods of participant observation, interviews and document analysis I tried to understand their world from their point of view. I tried to uncover how hospitality is produced, conditioned and negotiated in the framework of the welcoming of undocumented migrants in the bed, bath and bread facility of Nijmegen?

First of all, I provided a description on the composition of the group or 'community' of undocumented migrants, living in the home or 'care centre' in Nijmegen-Oost. Secondly, I briefly described the social setting in which they are situated, in terms of: 'the space, the objects, the individual actors and the physical environmental elements' (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005, p 13). In short, I have presented an overview of the community and their social setting. Hereafter, I discussed the three dimensions or pillars of this research: (1) institutional space, (2) relational space, and (3) emotional space. I focused on the social setting at the care center but also disclosed some information on the multi-layered context.

(1) The dimension of institutional space covered the socio-cultural context or conglomeration of social systems (the patterned interrelations) that influences the individual behaviour. I engaged in single-sited ethnography and described the social system of the care center. This institutional space is structured through institutional rules and norms (indicator one) and guest-host relations (indicator two). This structuralizing force influences the behaviour of the undocumented migrants. Furthermore, I described the multi-layered context. For example, international, national and local rules and regulations impact on the care center. And, the board and partner organizations continue to govern the care center. They translate into the deductive codes (see figure 1) that are complemented by several sensitizing concepts (see figure 2). These sensitizing concepts add information to the institutional rules and norms, guest-host relations and how it influences the individual behaviour or is embedded in a multi-layered context.

(2) The dimension of relational space covers the socio-cultural processes or individual interactions that occur within social systems or the broader socio-cultural context. I predominately describe the relational processes within the social system of the care center. This relational space is characterized by tensions (indicator three), conflict (indicator four), cooperation (indicator five) or negotiation (indicator six). However, this relational space is embedded in a multi-layered context. The house also acts as an interface between society and the individual (Saunders and Williams, as cited in, Gielis, 2011, p 259). Therefore the multi-layered context also impacts on relational processes within the care center. They translate into the deductive codes (see figure 1) that are complemented by several sensitizing concepts (see figure 2).

(3) The dimension of emotional space covers the socio-cultural meaning or emotional interpretation that individuals assign to their socio-cultural context, social systems, interactions, relationships and patterned behaviour (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005). The undocumented migrants express their feelings and give/assign complex and diverse meanings. Their experiences are lived through in the domestic sphere (Katie Wash, as cited in Gielis, 2011, p 258). The undocumented migrants have developed an emotional sense of the home. This might be rooted in domestic objects or practices. I describe this emotional space in terms of the emotions (indicator seven) and the experiences (indicator eight). They translate into the deductive codes (see figure 1) that are complemented by several sensitizing concepts (see figure 2).

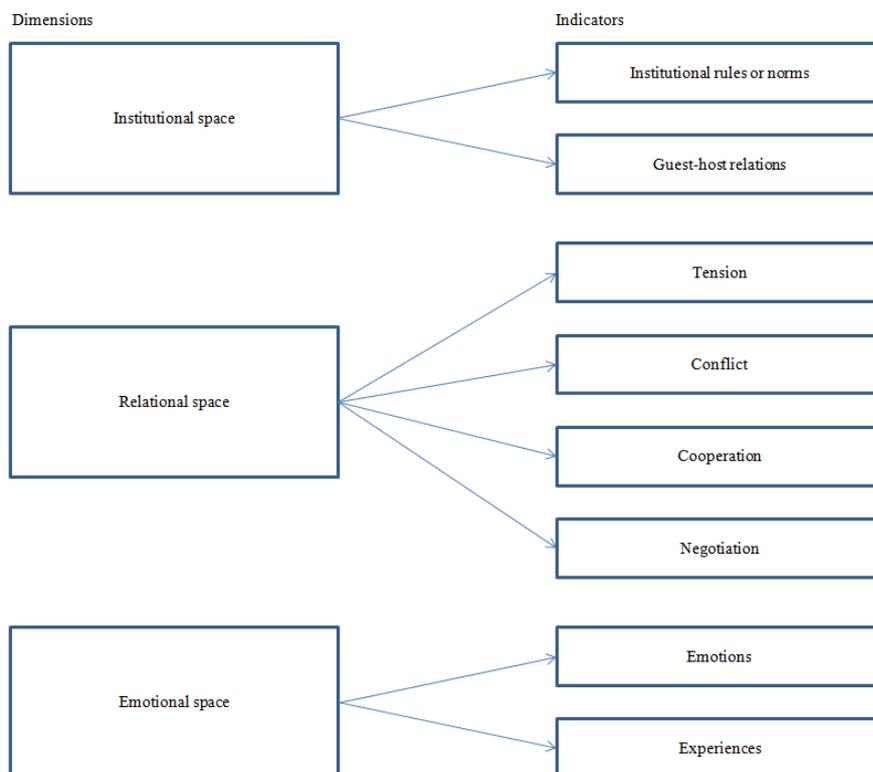


Figure 1: deductive codes

4.10 Data analysis and coding

I collected much ethnographic material by applying the methods of participant observations, interviews and document-analysis. Thereafter, I analysed the data with a software program for qualitative data analysis called '*Atlas*'. I assigned deductive labels (see figure 1) and inductive labels (see figure 2) to the textual material.

The deductive codes 'institutional rules or norms, guest-host relations, tension, conflict, cooperation, negotiation, emotions and experiences' are derived from theory. I have described the theory that resulted in these deductive 'codes' or 'labels' in annex 11. Moreover, I have explained how theory becomes visible in practice. Hence, during the data analysis I compared theory to empiricism (Bleijenbergh, 2013).

Furthermore, the inductive codes or sensitizing concepts 'characteristics of the community, inflow, outflow, status of the procedure, personal stories, political statements, material facilitation, immaterial facilitation, conflict, differences, invitations of hospitality, practices, activities, involved parties, socio-cultural context and network and international and national on the local level' are derived from empiricism. I have described the empiricism that resulted in 'codes' or 'labels' in annex 11. These sensitizing concepts are guiding concepts (Boeije, 2005, p 47) that shows a researcher which constructs are underdeveloped (Doorewaard, as cited in Bleijenbergh, 2013). The sensitizing concepts therefore complement the deductive codes (see figure 2 for an overview).

Bleijenbergh (2013) argued that 'a researcher can either try to build theory on social phenomena or test existing theory in practice' (as cited in Noten, 2015). In this research I did both. However, this is not unusual for ethnographic research. O'Reilly (2009) argues that '*in ethnographic research the analysis of data 'proceeds in spiral fashion'*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 15). The processes of theory building, data collection, data analysis and interpretation are not neatly consecutive. The research moves back and forth. Ezzy (2002) explains that: '*all data is theory driven.. Rather, the researcher should enter into an ongoing simultaneous process of deduction and induction, of theory building, testing and rebuilding*' (as cited in O'Reilly, 2009, p 105). This is precisely the approach I adopted.

The deductive and inductive coding were '*part of this ongoing process of interpretive analysis*' (O'Reilly, 2009, p 34). I assigned codes or labels to textual material that was continuously revised and refined. It was a highly flexible and creative process that required reflexivity on the subjectivity of my interpretations (O'Reilly, 2009, p 35). The deductive codes were linked to the research interest, theoretical framework and broader processes that were visible in practice. The inductive codes were developed through focused memos that elaborated on links that appeared in the empirical material (O'Reilly, 2009, p 37). I moved back and forth through the research. I developed links, categories and dimensions that ought to be consistent and conclusive (Crang & Cook, 2008, p 82). The 'paper trail' is visible in '*Atlas*'. It enhances the reliability of this research (Crang & Cook, 2008, p 86-87).

Sensitizing concepts:	Complementary to deductive code(s):
Characteristics community	General information
Instroom	General information
Uitstroom	General information
Status procedure	General information
Personal stories	Emotions and Experiences
Political statements	Negotiation
Material facilitation	Guest-host relations
Immaterial facilitation	Guest-host relations
Conflict	Tensions
Differences	Tensions
Invitations of hospitality	Guest-host relations, Institutional rules and norms and Negotiation
Practices	Guest-host relations
Activities	Guest-host relations and Cooperation
Involved parties	Guest-host relations and Cooperation
Socio-cultural context	Guest-host relations and Cooperation
International, national and local	General information

Figure 2: Sensitizing concepts

Chapter 5: Picturing the shelter

Ethnographic fragment: the threshold

'It was seven thirty p.m. when I climbed on my bike. Today I would visit the shelter for undocumented migrants in Nijmegen-Oost for the first time. I was still very sleepy but excited to go. Before I set off, I entered the address in the navigation of my mobile phone. After fifteen minutes of cycling I arrived at the right street. As I cycled up the hill I looked around trying to identify a building that looks like a 'shelter'. Whatever that was supposed to look like! I wondered whether it would be this ordinary house, that commercial property or whether it would be located in the mall that I passed on the right. I made my way up the hill. I looked at my navigation and saw an old building looming on the left-hand side of the road. I parked my bike and continued by foot. I walked alongside a building that was dilapidated and would probably be demolished some time soon. It should be somewhere around here..

I arrived at a door. This should be the right address! However, there were three doors in total. For a short moment I felt uncomfortable. There were curtains hanging in front of the windows and I wondered whether I could ring the door bell this early in the morning. What if I would be ringing the door bell of the wrong house at this hour in the morning. I decided to knock on the door. As I looked around, the street was silent and abandoned. I heard some noise on the other side of the door. The curtains moved aside and two eyes looked at me through the window in the door. I heard the lock turn and the door opened. A tall but skinny man was standing before me and asked: 'Are you the new volunteer'? I confirmed this while he took a step back to let me in. I stepped over the threshold and looked at big living room. I was startled from the loud sound of a guy coughing. There was a bed directly next to the door. An old Arabic man looked at me without saying anything and then turned over to go back to sleep. After this first impression, I stepped into a dark, big but relatively empty living room that did not have the appearance of a warm or welcoming home. It was not unpleasant but I could not help comparing it to the living room of a summer camp I used to visit when I was on high school..

I wandered around the facility but did not immediately dare to enter the dorms of the undocumented migrants. It was very quiet in the shelter and everybody seemed to be still a sleep. I immediately noticed a sticker stating: 'no-one is illegal'. I figured that the man who had opened the door would probably be the janitor. I started to help him in the kitchen with the preparations for breakfast and asked him some personal questions on his name, age, origin and the way I could best help him and perform my duties as a volunteer.

I was washing the dishes when a man, guest A from Sudan, walked in the living room and introduced himself. He asked me: 'Did you know Africans should only wash their hair three times a week or else it will get messed up'. I laughed and said I didn't know that. He responded: 'Yeah man, I ain't kidding'. Janitor L and I put food on the table while one person after another started to pour into

the living room. Next, I shook hands with guest E, a man my age from the Kivut region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. He was surprised I knew this region. We talked about his country while another guy named guest J walked by singing an Arabic song. Guest A yelled something in Arabic to the guy. The situation was becoming more hectic and diverse by the minute. Especially, guest A would not stop talking about Kartum and some sort of conflict that occurred in the shelter when one migrant was privileged over the other by coordinator W. I found it very difficult to understand his English.

Meanwhile, we were sitting at the dinner table drinking coffee while I am observing the people eating. One of the first things I notice is the diverse ways of eating an egg. One peels it, the other puts it on a sandwich, or they pick little pieces out of it and put it in their mouth. Not a single person spoons out the egg or adds pinches of salt, like we do in our family. I am stunned by the cultural differences and differences of languages I hear around the dining table, ranging from English, Dutch, French, to Arabic and Farsi. Everybody eats their breakfast or decides to make a sandwich for during the day. It is almost ten o'clock, the time the undocumented migrants are forced to leave the shelter and go out on the streets.

The Iranian janitor L plays a game of Congolese janitor M. Meanwhile guest A brings his plate to the kitchen while I am cleaning the dishes. When I ask him how he is doing he responds: 'Not good, Thomas. I have little. I have no status, no house, no nothing'. That is quite direct. The comment has an impact on me, for a moment I do not know what to answer. I answer that I can imagine that this must be hard. Then I ask with a smile, but have you at least enjoyed your life so far? Guest A answers: 'Not really'. My smiles fades and I feel stupid for asking that question. It does not seem to bother guest A, though. Then guest E joins us in the kitchen. I ask what he will do today. He responds that he will go to the library and afterwards will go swimming. On this first visit I notice the contact with some guys is easier than with others.

Janitor L shouts: 'Ten o'clock, everybody get out'. It takes me a little while to find all the switches for the lights but five minutes later I am standing outside while the undocumented migrants leave the street by bike or foot, towards...the city center? I turn left and find myself overwhelmed with impressions and thoughts. I feel tired from just spending two hours in the shelter' (p2:4).

I have briefly described my first appearance at the care centre or shelter for undocumented migrants in Nijmegen-Oost. As I passed the threshold much changed. I stepped into a new world or reality that has a logic of its own. All migrants have past that threshold for the first time and experienced somewhat the same. However, the undocumented migrants will only be granted over the threshold if they have signed an official document. He or she will fill in some personal information, declares to conform to the institutional rules and to peacefully coexist with other guests. Thereafter, the host formally bids the guest welcome at the care center (p29:209).¹⁰

¹⁰ (P29:209) refers to the document number and the line number of the fragment or quote in Atlas.

5.1 Introduction

In the previous paragraph I have described my first impression upon arrival at the shelter. In this chapter I will describe what a person will encounter if he crosses the threshold. First of all, I will provide a detailed description on the materialistic or physical attributes of the care centre. Secondly, I will give a description of the social setting and the ‘composition of the community’, i.e. the specific group of undocumented migrants, their broad communalities, differences and basic characteristics. Together, the space, the objects, the individual actors and physical environmental elements introduce the research population and situate them in space. It sets a framework wherein institutional, relational and emotional processes occur.



Picture 5: the smallest dorm of the care center

5.2 The shelter

The care centre or shelter for undocumented migrants in Nijmegen-Oost consists of a threshold, one big living room, a kitchen, a pantry, a separate bedroom for the janitors and a corridor that connects two dorms, two showers and a toilet with the living room.¹¹

The living room is a big rectangular space that consists of four distinct seating's. As one steps over the threshold the door moves aside two small curtains: a white curtain and a blue curtain with red embellishments. Directly on your left side, you find two brown sofas that face each other. A small wooden table stands in between. Even though these seats are not used very often the table contains coffee spots and remains of tobacco. The table and sofas are next to a blinded window that is covered with curtains. Directly beside it, a black couch sits against the left wall. On this couch stacks of linen tower above its railing. The black couch stands on top of a yellow rug with blue embellishments. On the wall behind it a coat rack hangs that is stuffed with coats and scarves. Moreover, a little to the right a framed poster hangs that portrays a statue on the '*Large Square*'. This statue functions as a symbol for the city Nijmegen. The undocumented migrants have explicitly asked the general coordinator to put this poster up. Next to the poster a clock gives the time, in my mind, visualizing the temporary nature of the shelter. These objects hang above a small table that provides as a basis for a wicker lamp. At the right side of this lamp another sofa is located. It is grey and together with a small wooden chair and the other furniture makes up a U-shaped seating.

The second seating within the living room can be found on the right-hand side of the threshold. This U-shape is entirely made up of sofas. A white and brown patterned sofa stands before the window and is turning yellowish by the sunlight and it desperately in need of cleaning, signaled by the large collection of cigarette filters in its joints. Sitting on the sofa one looks towards two red couches, one that faces the sofa and another that shows its side. In the middle there is a brown rug and low wooden table that is an ideal footstool. The three couches or sofas face a television that is positioned against the left wall of the living room. It is tuned to MTV, playing music. The television stands beside a open closet that is filled with CDs, DVDs, games, candles and an old DVD player. Furthermore, old pair of sandals lie on the ground. A painting of water and two ships hangs on the wall, a mug stands on the table besides a news paper and a schedule for the shifts of the janitors.

At the back of the living room, there are two tables for dining. On the left there is a small table with four chairs around it. It stands beside an ironing board. On the right side there is a big table covered by a white and brown tablecloth and four chairs that surround it. It stands beside a big closet that contains the tableware. However, the drawers contain tools, sewing things, sandwich bags and several official documents, e.g. a telephone list of all the volunteers, information on public provisions and services and possibilities in the city of Nijmegen. On top of the closet a homemade poster sits that

¹¹ The shelter, care center and bad, bath and bread facility are three names for the same spatial entity. The care center is often a name that is used from the host's point of view. The shelter is often a name that is used from the guest's point of view. The bath and bread facility is a more formal or institutional designation.

was probably made by or for an undocumented migrants. It contains a saying: *'some of the most beautiful beginnings are disguised as painful endings'*. On the wall there is a schedule of shifts for the volunteers, a document that notifies all residents of the house rules in the shelter (in Arabic and English), and a schedule that divides chores between the clients. Moreover, there is a poster of a Monet painting.

At the left side of the living room there is a pantry. This room is often locked and only accessible with a key that is in the possession of the janitor. When you enter the room there is a computer, black armchair and an Arabic stool. Directly beside it one looks at the back of a massive closet that contains all the supplies. When you walk around it, one will see cleaning products, toilet paper, coffee, tea, sugar, peanut butter, syrup, sprinkles other commodities. Furthermore, other utilities like microwaves and a spare coffee machine are stored. In the pantry there is a big fridge for bread and freezing dinner. Moreover, there is a big garbage container and a collection of old paper.

At the right side of the living room there is an entrance to the kitchen. This kitchen is equipped with a refrigerator, a white table on which the kettle and sugar stands, a brown table on which the egg cooker, coffee machine, electric stove stand, a cupboard for all the herbs and breakfast commodities, a washing machine, a laundry basket and a cuisine with several stoves and cabinets for storing the crockery. Moreover, there is a painting on the wall picturing two kids that stand beside a signpost.

The kitchen leads to a separate bedroom for the janitors. This small room is made up of two beds and a small aisle in the middle. There are more personal belongings in this room than in the dorms of the clients. There is a large collection of sneakers, a guitar, an extension cord, a chair with cloths and several food and beverages. Moreover, there is a drawer for official documents of the janitors labeled J, F and Y. On the left, above the bed, a note is taped to the wall that reads *'Hey buddy, no sleep in my bed. I have allergy'*. The janitor L tries to discourage clients from sleeping in his bed.

Back in the living room, one could find a passage to a hall. This hall is currently painted with great pride and dedication by client S. It contains two sinks, openings to two shower cabinets, an opening to storage of cleaning products and toilet. Moreover, this hall connects the living room with two big dorms.

The dorms are a surprisingly empty, they are a bare and chilly space. The first dorm, on the left, contains five bunks. A boiler is attached to the wall and several chairs and nightstands are covered with cloths and personal belongings. The latter are limited to an empty bottle of coke, toilet paper, a jar of sambal, a box of red wine, a comic book and a cuddly toy. There are iron bars on the window and fluorescent light flickers. At the back of dorm there is a cabinet for an extra toilet.

The second dorm, straight ahead, contains seven bunks. There are several lockers, chairs, nightstands, one sofa and closets for cloths and linen. At the right hand side, there is a huge pile of unsorted and dirty old blankets. The room is a bit messy. There are many slippers, trinkets and cloths on the floor. An empty pack of ice tea lies on the floor and it is kind of smelly. There are two cleaning

5.3 The community

The community of undocumented migrants living in the care centre of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' varies. The care centre has a maximum capacity for sheltering ten migrants. Currently, the organization has applied for a license to expand this amount of migrants up to fifteen migrants a night. Not all undocumented migrants make use of the shelter on a daily basis. Some are there fulltime, others find alternative shelter with friends and family or only sporadically reside in the shelter. This depends on the network and personal circumstances of the undocumented migrant. Nevertheless, there are almost always at least five migrants present in shelter and at most ten.

Furthermore, the community is not static. There is an influx and outflow of people who find a more sustainable solution. Some collect new evidence and resume their asylum application and thereby become eligible for alternative forms of care. They move, for example, to a room at '*Foundation Guest*'. Others, with severe psychological problems, were transferred to a more professionalized facility in Amsterdam called: '*het MOO*'. Moreover, sometimes when people are in need of more extensive medical assistance they move to '*de Hulsen*'. This is a facility for homeless and drug addicted people operated by '*IrisZorg*' in Nijmegen. Furthermore, some undocumented migrants find accommodation with family and friends. Other undocumented migrants do not return to the care centre and are out of the picture. The organization does not know what has become of the undocumented migrant, i.e. if he went back to his country of origin or still dwells on the street.

During my ethnographical fieldwork the community of undocumented migrants who resided on a temporarily basis in the shelter or care centre consisted about sixteen persons. They came from countries ranging from '*Afghanistan, Albania, , Armenia, Azerbaijan (Russisch), Congo, Guinea Conakry, Eritrea, Iran, Nigeria, Palestine, Soudan and Somalia*'. More than sixty percent of the undocumented migrants where in their thirties. The others where almost exclusively younger. Most undocumented migrants were religious, in general either Christian or Muslim. However, they came for various ethnical and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, they differ in sexual preference, personality and customs. The undocumented migrants express themselves either in Arabic, Farsi, Persian, English, French or Dutch. Some undocumented migrants speak the same language, others do not. There are clear language barriers present among migrants, janitors, volunteers, and the board. The undocumented migrants reside in the shelter on a temporary basis. The time the undocumented migrants reside in the shelter ranges from four months to a year and four months. (Strijbosch, personal communication, 2016).

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the threshold, the space of the care center and the community that resides there. If an undocumented migrant arrives at the threshold of the care center he will receive an official intake. This is the first encounter between a guest and his host. What happens?

The guest arrives at the care center because he wishes to stay there. He puts forward 'a claim for space' (Darling, 2009, p 240). This is a political act. The host has sovereign authority over this space and the goods which he could open up to the 'stranger' or 'foreign other' (Derrida, 2000, p 14). He could grant or deny passage over the threshold (Derrida, 2000). The general coordinator of SNOV does not allow passage immediately or freely. First, the undocumented migrant must fill in personal information, declare to conform to several institutional rules and norms and stress that they will peacefully coexist with other guests. Thereafter, the host formally bids the guest welcome at the care center (p29:209). In practice, SNOV places limits and conditions on the proffered 'gift' of hospitality (Derrida, 2000). The general coordinator governs the threshold and subjugates the guest to the internal law of the household: '*oikonomia*' (Derrida, 2000, p 4).

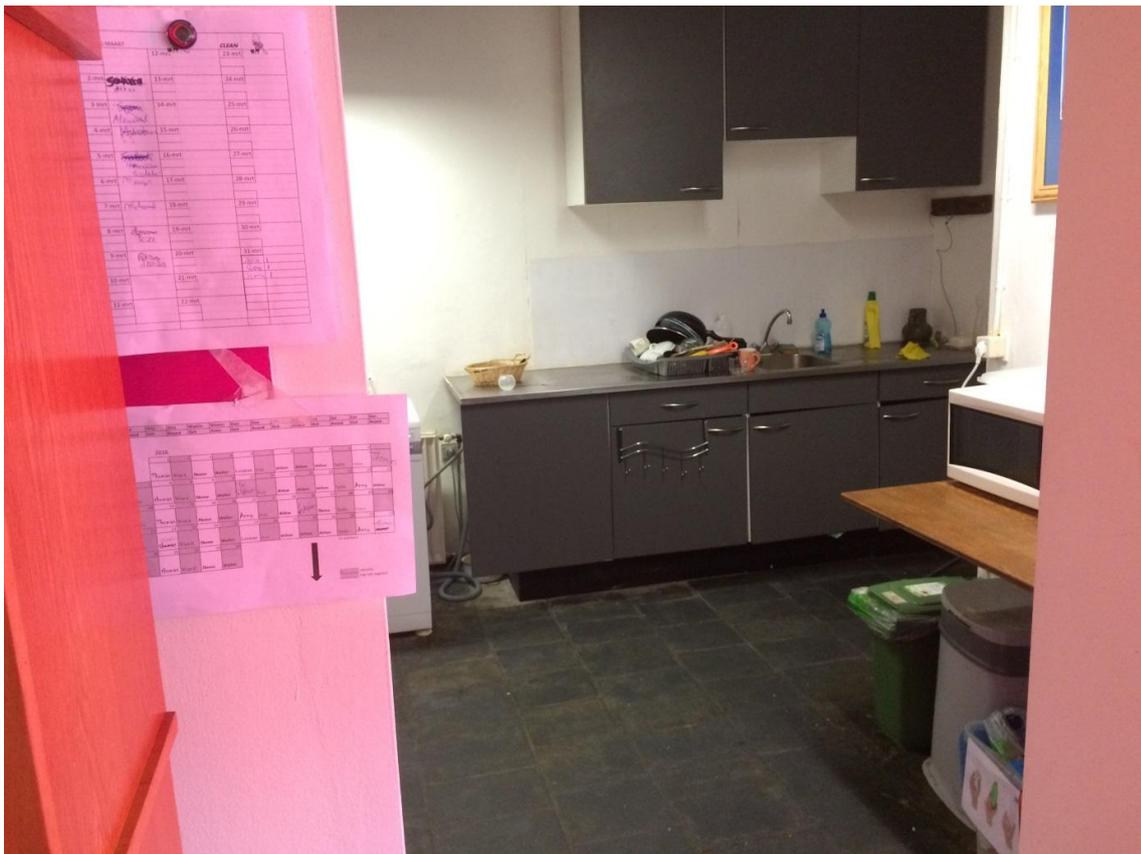
The hospitality that is extended to undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen is conditioned. If the hospitality would be unconditioned, the guests would receive unlimited access to space without offering something in return, not even the mentioning of his name (Haak, lecture, 2015). However, in this instance hospitality is extended in a '*specific context and towards particular individuals, not simply to strangers in general*' (Darling, 2009, p 84). It is therefore a '*gesture of spatial power*' (Darling, 2009, p 84). Through the intake procedure the hosts introduces circles of conditionality to the care center (Derrida, 2000, p 7). The host maintains authority over the care center and the proffered hospitality. If the hospitality was unconditioned the host would even allow for potential possession and his replacement by the guest (Haak, lecture, 2015). However, guest-host relations are introduced. Moreover, the unconditional logic of hospitality argues that humans have communal possession of the earth. Its territory is finite and people are therefore forced to coexist and tolerate one another (Kant, as cited in, Derrida, 2000). However, apparently it not self-evident that the guests will coexist and tolerate each other at the care center. The guests have to formally declare that they are able to coexist with others in a home before they are granted passage over the threshold.

The extensively described 'space' of the care center and the before mentioned community of undocumented migrants are structured by a conditional logic of hospitality. In the following chapter I will describe this 'institutional space': the specific guest-host relations and institutional rules and norms that are in place.

Chapter 6: Institutional space

Ethnographic fragment: institutional space

‘Janitor M and me are cleaning the care center, while the guests are brushing their teeth and packing their bags. Janitor M shouts on a funny yet serious way: ‘this is my house, and I want you out at ten. Tonight it is janitor L’s house, and the day after it is janitor N’s house’. He turns to me and says: ‘you should see them when janitor N is here, then everybody is out at a quarter to ten’. Thereafter, he gets mad on guest J: ‘you are walking in and out, in and out, get all your shit in one time and get out’. Guest J ignores him. Janitor M jokes: ‘maybe I should all lock you in, call the police and say there are illegal’s here’. Guest A laughs and replies: ‘they will burn it’. Guest K laughs and adds: ‘nobody cares’. Janitor M continues: ‘Haha, but they take the organs’. Eventually, all guests are outside a couple minutes after ten o’clock. Everyone gets cranky when they step outside. It is raining. Janitor M turns the key in the lock and everyone goes his own way’ (p2: 323).



Picture 7: the kitchen of the care center, the schedule for the volunteers and the scheme that divides the brushings among the guests.

6.1 Introduction

Hospitality is essentially a relationship of engagement between a ‘host’ and a ‘guest’ (as cited in Haak, lecture, 2015).¹² In this ethnographic fragment we notice that the interactions between the guests and hosts are structured. The janitors perform their tasks and responsibilities and enforce certain institutional rules and norms. These guest-host relations are conceived and imposed top-down on the care center. Or, take substance more naturally through bottom-up processes.

In this chapter I will answer the question: *How is hospitality institutionally expressed in the bed, bath and bread facility in Nijmegen?* I will first describe the institutional rules and norms that are in effect. The guests have declared to abide the internal law of the household before they could cross the threshold. Hence, the hosts govern on the basis of this agreement. Secondly, I will describe all guest-host relations that are present at the care center. I will elaborate on the tasks, responsibilities and performance of each host (janitor, volunteer, (general) coordinator and board). And, illustrate the dominant practices of the guests. In order to develop an understanding of the ‘institutional space’ of the care center.

6.2 The institutional rules and norms

In the care center or shelter there are three types of institutional rules, norms or principles that structure everyday life. First of all, there are rules of general behaviour and sanctions in case of violation. Secondly, there is a daily routine to life in the shelter that the clients are ought to conform to. Finally, there are also norms when it comes to the general usage of space, i.e. the property of the care center.

(a) The rules of general behaviour and sanctions in case of violation are imposed to guarantee a secure and liveable care center. Upon arrival, the clients should sign an intake document in which one state that he or she will conform to the rules. He or she declares: (1) ‘I will not use drugs or alcohol. I will not smoke inside the house, only in the smoking area. I will not carry weapons. (2) I will not steal or touch others things and belongings. (3) I will behave calm and friendly in and outside the house. In case of trouble I will not start an argument or fight, but warn the janitor. (4) I will not bring home other people nor will I tell the location of the care center to others. (5) The care center is open from 6 o’clock in the evening until 10 o’clock in the morning. And, in summer from 8 o’clock in the evening until 10 o’clock in the morning. I will leave the care center and the neighbourhood quietly before this time’ (Strijbosch, personal communication, 2016).

(b) Furthermore, there is a daily routine the clients should conform to. ‘Around 08:15 the clients are expected to wake up. No one will still be in bed after nine o’clock in the morning. Everybody has time until 09:45 to eat his breakfast. After the volunteer and janitor will clear the table. Everybody who makes use of the care center is expected to clean. If it is your turn one should clean

¹² There are multiple hosts: the janitors, the volunteers, the (general) general coordinator, the board and their partners collectively provide hospitality to the undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen.

from 09:30 until 10:00. At ten o'clock in the morning everybody will leave the premises. The care center should be left in order. The house should be cleaned, all guests make their beds and the remaining food should be stored. During winter times, the clients are welcome to enter the care center at six o'clock instead of eight o'clock. No one will arrive at the shelter later than ten o'clock in the evening. At eleven o'clock there is one last opportunity to smoke in the smoking area. At 23:30 everybody is requested to make ready for bed. At 23:45 all lights are switched off and the clients will go to sleep' (Strijbosch, personal communication, 2016).

(c) Moreover, there are rules on the usage of property and the care center. 'Clients are expected to sleep under the sheets not only under the blankets. You will keep your personal belongings close, neat and organized. Clients will not brush their teeth in the kitchen but at the sinks in the hall. Furthermore, the clients will not bring back food or beverages to their dorms. They can find their food in the refrigeration and cupboard and have no access to the pantry unless it is granted by the janitor. No one is allowed to care center before eight o'clock in the morning. There is one exception. Guest G may leave the care center at night but may not return before eight o'clock in the morning. And finally, all clients are obliged to partake in chores and the daily brushings accordingly to the schedule' (Strijbosch, personal communication, 2016).

Most of the guests seem to support the institutional rules and norms that are imposed on the care center. Guest F states: '*Living without a rule is not living. This should be done top-down*' (p1:898). Janitor M adds: '*These rules help, it gives structure. Even in your own house you have rules. They are guidelines, the foundation*' (p1:768). Most guests are aware of the rules that are in place and support it. Guest D states: '*the rules are good as they are*' (p1:363). Many guests are pragmatic. Guest E states: '*if you're serious about yourself and you want to live here, obey. We all have a different background but I don't mind punishment if I am wrong*' (1:668). Other guests give it a religious connotation. Rules are given by God. Guest A states he will conform to the rules because: '*God says: give King to King and God to God. In other words, don't break the law. God asks of me, don't come to the shelter at twelve o'clock, don't shout etc. The rules are good*' (p1:80). However, there are guests who are not completely aware of the rules. For example, guest H did not know some rules were already in place. I explained these rules to him with the use of a translator (p16:78). Nevertheless, the rules are normally communicated to the guest upon their arrival at the care center. They are also put up on the wall of the care center in Dutch and Arabic.

The board wishes to realize a quiet, safe and liveable bbb-facility (p5:642). Guest F argues this is necessary to help people coexist. He states: '*There has to be a rule or else people won't listen. Then they will destroy this place. You should respect one another*' (p1:898). Janitor N adds: '*When you all follow the rules, we are feeling good together. I do not have a connection with everybody but we can all accept and respect each other*' (p1:1041). The institutional rules and norms are grounded on a couple of values that are already internalized by the guests: respect, tolerance and equality. However, the rules should not be applied unconsciously. There is a personal dimension or implication that needs

to be considered. Guest F explains that *'the rules might be more difficult for some than for others. For example, I go to school or my children. I have stuff to do during the day'* (p1:934). For example, spending a day outside is much harder for guest H, who has problems with walking ever since he was shot in his knee by Hamas (p16:91). Janitor M argues one should always consider personal circumstances. He states: *'rules are guidelines. However, these rules should evolve. Let's rectify them and make it work, you've got to be flexible'* (p1:768). It is his belief and advice that *'the rules are enough, only you should involve the people. It is how to make the house work. And tell them if you go this far you go off limits. Involve the people to make it work!'* (p1:780). Their participation is key (p1:780). Janitor N provides a nice contribution to this argument when stating: *'without any rules all will be destroyed. However, with too many rules all guests are suspended. This can also drive us apart'* (p1:1041). The institutional rules should be applied consciously and exceptions could be made. However, this should not threaten equality but should logically follow from the personal circumstances of a client or guest.

6.3 The daily routine

The care centre is organized around a certain daily routine. This routine is grounded in several institutional rules and regulations that seek to ensure a secure and liveable care centre (see institutional rules and norms). The responsibilities and tasks of the host are organized in accordance to this routine. Moreover, the guest's behaviour and their practices are also subjugated to this daily routine. I will describe a typical day in the shelter and incorporate these guest-host relations.

The janitor sleeps over at the shelter. He is present from eight o'clock in the evening (or six o'clock in the winter) until ten o'clock in the morning. In the morning he turns on the heating and wakes the guests (or clients) at a quarter past eight. The volunteer arrives at the shelter around eight o'clock. Together with the janitor they make sure that all guests are out of bed by nine o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile they prepare breakfast. The janitor prepares coffee, tea and serves breakfast, assisted by the volunteer. All guests are able to have a decent meal until a quarter to ten. Thereafter the janitor clears the table and takes out the trash with the help of the volunteer. The volunteer assists and stores the remaining food in the refrigerator. Everybody who lives in the shelter is expected to clean. The guests take turns and the janitor supervises this process. If it is your turn, one should clean the care centre from half past nine until ten o'clock. All guests ought to make their bed and keep their personal belongings neat and organized. The janitor controls if this happens accordingly. He provides all guests with a bunk, a locker and clean sheets. Before ten o'clock the janitor or the coordinator informs the guests about possible activities for during the day. At ten o'clock the care centre should be left in good order. The guests cannot return until eight o'clock in the evening (six o'clock in the winter).

The janitor and volunteer will arrive again at eight o'clock in the evening at the shelter. The guests are allowed to pass the threshold at this time. The janitor and volunteer serve dinner that is

provided by the organization 'ZijaanZij'. The volunteer could do the dishes if he likes to and will wash the sheets of the guests from eight o'clock onward. The janitor and volunteer could play a game with the guests. They try to ensure a quiet and relaxed atmosphere. In case of emergency or conflict the volunteer (and janitor) are supposed to act and inform the coordinator. At ten o'clock the volunteer may leave the care centre. Afterwards, formally no guests are allowed to enter the care centre. The janitor spends the night and provides opportunity for one final smoking break at eleven o'clock. Everyone is asked to prepare for bed at half past eleven, the light go out fifteen minutes later and all guests are expected to go to sleep (The tasks of the janitors, see p31:39 and p32:7. The task of the volunteer see p31:55 and p32:22).

The guests reside in this care centre or shelter. I have witnessed the following recurrent practices they engage in: 'they wake up, greet, shower, drink tea or coffee, smoke, go to the toilet, eat breakfast, interact, wash their dishes, clean the shelter, brush their teeth, shave, do their hair, gather their things for during the day, greet, leave the care centre, come back again, drink tea or coffee, eat dinner, wash their dishes, clean their cloths, interact, watch television, use their mobile phone, use the computer, listen to music, perform handwork, play games, read, study, reflect, express, feel, smoke and sleep' (see data collection, sensitizing concept: practices). Of course, these practices are not performed in this specific order nor are they absolute. Nevertheless, these practices are almost always performed in the care centre.

The host performs certain tasks and the guest performs certain practices. There are some specific moments when the host and guest engage with each other, aside from more spontaneous forms of interaction. At these moments their subsequent roles and power differences become imminent. In the morning this becomes visible when the guest are awakened, when breakfast is served, when a guest asks the key for the smoking area or the pantry, when the guests are asked to clean, and when the guests are asked to leave the shelter. In the evening these moments are when the guests arrive, when dinner is served, when a guest asks the key for the smoking area or the pantry, and when the guests are expected to go to bed.

In the following paragraphs I will extensively describe the tasks, responsibilities and performance of all the different hosts. And, try to integrate top-down structuring and some bottom-up contestation.

6.4 The janitors

Furthermore, some guest-host relations arise more naturally and bottom-up. They do not follow from the tasks and responsibilities of the host or institutional rules and norms to the behaviour of the guests (see institutional rules and norms). The janitors and volunteers engage in immaterial facilitation of the care center. The hosts are expected to stimulate a quiet and relaxed atmosphere. However, each host approaches this differently.

The volunteers and janitors counsel and emotionally support the guests. The janitors are also

undocumented migrants and therefore understand their guests best. The janitors have alternative accommodations but some have spent time in the shelter themselves. This host has previously been a guest. As a result of these characteristics, they enjoy the thrust of the undocumented migrants who reside in the care centre. They understand one another. For example, janitor M said: 'I understand that you can get lost!' He tries to create a relation with the guests in order to help them. He argues it is important to pay attention to everybody. He spends even his own time to listen and be there for the guests (p1:338). Janitor M argues: '*It is for everyone to find out how to do it, without making other people jealous. They need help!*' (p1:818). At times, they can prevent conflict because they understand when guests are joking or when things are getting serious. The janitors seem to be some kind of mentor. For example, janitor M lectures guest A on repairing his bike. He argued: '*Look at Thomas's bike. That is a bike of a Dutchman, a shitty bike. And you want the best bike? You want someone to come and fix it for you. They have a place at Foundation Guest where you can fix it, you just have to drag your lazy ass over there. Sometimes I can't believe you guys*' (p2:270). Furthermore, janitor M has offered to lend money to guest A or buy groceries for the guests out of his own pocket.

However, all janitors have a hard time performing the duties of host. The janitors struggle with the tension among guests, enforcing the rules and norms and maintaining a professional distance (p22:30). For example, janitors J and F do not enforce the policy around smoking. This bothers janitor N (p4:366). Overall, there are different approaches among janitors regarding the management of the care centre. This is a result of differences in character and knowledge (p6:185). Janitor M thinks these differences could give rise to tensions and conflict (p1:1021). Furthermore, there have been occasions in which the janitor themselves have violated the rules. For example, this happened once through the use of prohibited substances (p4:366). Guest D states: '*The janitor should be a good janitor. He must not be drunk all the time. He shouldn't abuse his power to discriminate among guests. For example, in handing over the key for the smoking section. We are all equal!*' (p1:338).

Moreover, the janitors do not always perform their tasks as host. Guest H has complained that sometimes the janitor did not spend the night (p16:88). Janitor L has repeatedly left the care centre before ten o'clock in the morning (p2:24). At times, janitor N was absent because he would not dare to cross the border (p5:279). He lives in Germany and was afraid of border patrols. In these kinds of situations, guests would be promoted to the function of janitor. However, sometimes the key was just handed over to a particular guest (p2:103). Guest A explains: '*I have been client and (emergency) concierge. I know how to change things because I have knowledge of people. I know how to work the brothers, how to do this and that.*' (p1:89). The promotion of guest A from guest to host was accepted by the other guests. However, it did create a strange power imbalance. When guest A returned towards being a guest he would sometimes assist the volunteer in waking people up or getting the other guests to leave the shelter. I noticed that sometimes he would leave the shelter last without someone asking him to hurry. This is strange because at this time he was not performing his duties as (emergency) janitor. Furthermore, at times the janitors would not cooperate with the other hosts. They did not

always notify the general coordinator of the misbehaviour of the guests. For example, janitor L did not administer whether guest C and guest D would arrive in time at the care centre. These guests were notorious for arriving at the shelter too late and violating their curfew. The general coordinator advised the board to withhold some living expenses in order to stimulate good behaviour. However, janitor L has known money problems himself. Therefore he was reluctant to pass along information on the time of arrival of guest C and guest D. He experienced a conflict of solidarity (p19:9).

The general coordinator has become aware of these difficulties and has informed the board. The board concluded that *'the janitors are doing their best but often just cannot handle the situation'* (p29:221). The general coordinator illustrated this: *'When tensions run high janitor L flees to his room and pulls his blanket over his head'* (Strijbosch, personal communication, 2016). Board member J therefore rightfully stated: *'at the moment we cannot guarantee a quiet and safe 'bed-bad-brood' facility. This is mainly the result of the performance of our janitors. I think it has gone surprisingly well, so far. However, something could always happen and then we will be responsible'* (p5:642).

However, Janitor L has frequently pointed out that the janitors would better perform their tasks if their allowance would not be so low (p1:180). Janitor N argued that they should enjoy more trust. He argued that the general coordinator *'likes to listen and talk to everybody. But she can also listen to the concierge. Trust the concierge to report and don't always talk to every client'* (p1: 993). In order to resolve the problem, board member P has decided to occasionally join the general coordinator in the 'janitor meetings'. However, repeatedly one of the janitors did not show up.

Eventually, the board has decided ask the municipality of Nijmegen for funds that will enable the appointment of professional group leaders (p4:380), even though they have realized that they cannot assess the janitors as if there are professionals (p22:35). Currently, the partner organizations are negotiating about how this should take substance. Most likely, the group leaders will not replace the janitors but will work alongside them. The municipality of Nijmegen stated: *'We are in favour of continuation of the care centre. Moreover, we want to guarantee a manageable and safe environment and understand this is only getting harder when the group becomes larger and more difficult. I assume there is political support for it'* (p5:637).

I conclude that guest-host relations within the care center are not static, but ever changing in response to the challenges of daily life in the care centre.

6.5 The volunteers

The care centre is run by an enthusiastic and reliable group of ten volunteers that support their respective guests: the undocumented migrants in the city of Nijmegen (p29:221). Some of the volunteers hold office or are also volunteer at *'Foundation Guest'* (p7:552). This local organization provides juridical, medical and personal assistance or counselling to undocumented migrants. For example, A is a volunteer at SNOV and the personal tutor of guest G at *'Foundation Guest'*. However, most are solely volunteer at the care centre of *'Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen'*.

They perform their prescribed tasks and responsibilities (see annex 8). For example, in the morning I enter the dorms of the guests, turn on the lights and shoot *'good morning, wake-y-wake-y-eggs-and breakie'* (p2:294). *'I do the dishes and make an inventory of the pantry'* (p2:21). In case of a minor shortage I took a stroll to the local supermarket (p2.2). Pour coffee while a guest raises his bandaged fingers and points out he would love four sugar cubs in it (p2:206).

The tasks of the volunteer are formally prescribed from host to host. However, these tasks contain discretionary space and take substance in the execution. The general coordinator should inform the volunteers of their tasks and responsibilities. However, I learned them along the way with the help of the janitors. Later on, I personally taught volunteer Jesse how everything works (p2:266). Moreover, the general coordinator should monitor the performance of the volunteers. However, the guests and janitors have indicated that the quality of the execution varies among volunteers. Janitor L argues that *'some of the volunteers do nothing, some of them help us. They help with breakfast, the washing of clothing and sheets'* (p1:175). Guest E supports this notion: *'...some are less social. Some just come and sit. It is better if you have guys of the same age. You can share experiences. Don't bring old people but people you can relate to'* (p1:592). It is more difficult to demand certain results when someone does the work on a voluntary basis.

Overall, the janitors and guests seem to appreciate the effort of the volunteers. Janitor N states: *'The volunteer, the people I see, you, volunteer W, volunteer L, volunteer F..they are all doing a good job'* (p1: 993). But, some volunteers succeed in creating something special. Guest A explained: *'they are doing their best. For example, volunteer L she brought pizza. She let everybody sit at the table. This never happens. She helped them to feel at home, people laughed because of the food. Guest H was sitting at the table praying from the Koran to bless the food that was given. Guest A said he was praying to God to bless the food that was given. He enjoyed this and finds how this works funny'* (p1:34). However, not all guests are that preoccupied with their hosts. Guest D argues: *'I am not busy with those kinds of things. I am busy with getting away from this place. If I am here I do not want to see or hear. I do not want to talk behind the back of others. I do not need to talk, why talk? Why tell lies? I just keep to myself, being quiet'* (p1:330).

Some volunteers do more than performing their tasks and responsibilities. For example, some volunteers partake in the material facilitation of the care centre. Volunteer W could be called: *'the handyman of the shelter'*. He has repeatedly fixed broken inventory and has helped out with the maintenance of the property (p22:228). Volunteer Y is an architect. He has collaborated in refurbishing the care centre (p4:457). For example, he proposed to make small wooden cabinets between the bunks of the guests. These cabinets could provide the guests with some extra privacy. *'When you wake up you would not immediately look at another guest'* (p6:468). Moreover, volunteers sometimes assist the guests in their daily affairs and their emotional state of being. For example, Volunteer A arranged a meeting at the hospital for guest A and accompanied him to his appointment (p2:103).

Overall, it seems that every volunteer brings something different to the care centre. They change the dynamics on the ground. For example, *'I noticed that guest A and janitor L are acting different around volunteer F than around me'* (p2:120). Among certain guests and certain hosts there is clear tension. For example, guest D and guest C complained that volunteer W was not very friendly when he would ask the guests to leave the shelter. At times he would even push them out (p1:471). At this specific occasion the guest felt threatened by their host. However, there were also times when the host felt threatened by his guests. For example, *'I felt threatened as a host (volunteer) when mediating a conflict among guests. The emotional intensity of the conflict was profound'* (p2:266). Nevertheless, the volunteers are obliged to act. The volunteer and janitor have the task to try to ensure a quiet and relaxed atmosphere.

Most of the time, the host succeeds in creating a good ambiance. They build a relationship with their guests' one the one hand through spending time in the care centre or shelter and on the other hand by personally organizing several activities for their guests. For example, *'volunteer T is learning Arabic and studies together with guest I who is learning Dutch, volunteer T and volunteer A hosted a 'Sinterklaas', volunteer W teaches guest J and guest A how to play the guitar, volunteer B has organized a soccer match and I have organized a spinning lesson for all guests'* (p22:62). Moreover, the volunteers sometimes join the practices of the guests. This creates friendship and commonality. For example: I ate breakfast with a guest, played a card game with guest K (p2:117) or watched a movie with guest A (p2:117). Furthermore, I listened to music with guest E. We talked about reggae and exchanged songs. I showed him *'dem gone'* from Gentleman and he put on French reggaeton from Nigeria (p2:55). Fourthly, there are small gestures of kindness and hospitality. For example, *'guest A is glad that I brought a new set of DVDs and returned the old ones. However, first he checked if all disks were in their covers while he shouted that all of the other guest should take good care of it. I told him that he should worry about it. However, he replied when you borrow something, you should give something back'* (p2:120).

Furthermore, volunteer H collaborated with guest H in painting the care centre. Guest H could in turn spend time inside the care centre during the day. Or, at times *'when the janitor asked me to buy some groceries in case of a shortage, I occasionally bought something extra from my own money for the guests'* (p2:161). Fifthly, sometimes the guest would ask their host for help. For example, guest B asked me to help out in his contact with the municipality of Nijmegen (p2:269) and guest A asked me to translate a fragment of textual material of a booklet from church that mentioned him as a refugee (p2:294). Or, janitor L would ask me to write him a text message for a girl. *'I want to say something nice to her, but my Dutch is not that good'* (p2:117) and guest J would ask me if he could borrow my phone: *'he took a note with ten telephone numbers and phoned for fifteen minutes or so'* (p2:323). Sometimes the guests, or other hosts, would seek counsel. Sometimes the host would provide it without someone asking. *'I advised guest A that park Brakkestein is very beautiful this autumn and invited him to join me for a stroll'* (p2:229).

However, guest-host relations are not absolute. The volunteer was not always in the position of host. Sometimes these relations would change and he would be counselled, helped or be the recipient of hospitality. Or sometimes they would get something in return. For example, *'I taught guest K a card game called 'toepen'. Thereafter guest K taught me an Iranian gambling game called 'eleven'. The janitor joined and together we played several card games that I all lost miserably'* (p2:117). Furthermore, one time at breakfast we were talking about fitness. *'I brought my own breakfast and offered some to the guests, A got up from the table and returned with a box of Kellogg's cereals. He said: 'Here, you can have this'. I found it difficult that A offered me some of his own food but did not want to turn down his friendly gesture. I responded that he should save it here from me and we would eat it together'* (p2:294). Another time, at Christmas Eve, I decided to bring sweets for the guests at the care centre. Guest A, guest K and guest J appreciated the gesture. Afterwards, guest A invited me to join him for a mass at his church (p2:316). He stated: *'They all know me around there, I will introduce you to them'* (p2:305). The next day, we attended a multicultural Christmas service. Guest A introduced me to his friends of the church and afterwards he started to pray for my well-being (p2:305). He hosted this event and invited me to come along as his guest. At another occasion, guest B bought his own groceries and cooked himself a meal. However, he insisted that I would dine with him. He shared his food. Guest A has done the same. He made me a Sudanese recipe of spicy chicken livers (2:316). He argued: *'If you give good, you get good back'* (p2:316). Normally, the host would provide food for his guests. However, in this instance the guest would provide food to the host. The relation shifted. Even while performing my duties as the host, some guest offered to help out. It has happened that a guest came to me and helped me sweep the floor (p2:377) or decided to do the dishes (p2:294). At this instance, the guest would perform the duties of the host. Furthermore, some guests trusted me with their emotions and personal stories. This could be on their time in captivity, reflections on their life as a refugee, on their asylum applications, fears and anxiety, or nice experiences, family and friends. For example, guest A showed me his family on Facebook (p2:323) and the guests invited me to join their WhatsApp group *'bad and bred'* where they communicated with each other and expressed their feelings, opinions and thoughts. I was invited, as a host, in a community of guests. However, at times I would share personal stories myself, e.g. on daily activities, such as a football match (p2:120), or on my own life and emotional state of being. Moreover, at certain times the guest would counsel me. For example, on activities for during the day (p15:2) or on how to combat the flu (p2:337). Or one time, my back was hurting and guest A said he could fix it. He stood behind me and asked to trust him. I was a little scared when he pulled me up and twisted my back. However, when he put me down the pain was gone. He smiled and told me this was something he learned in the Sudanese military.

Guest-host relations are statically imposed top-down on the care centre through the tasks and responsibilities of the hosts. However, they are negotiated, altered bottom-up and diversified with alternative relations among hosts and guests.

6.6 The (general) coordinator

The care centre has been managed by coordinator W and general coordinator S. When coordinator W departed, general coordinator S also took on the responsibilities of coordinator. These tasks and responsibilities of the coordinator are more directed towards facilitating and managing the daily affairs in the care centre. The general coordinator links the execution (janitors and volunteers) with the governing parties (the board, partners and stakeholders). The general coordinator supports the janitors and volunteers, informs the board and deliberates with stakeholders. Coordinator W managed with a directive approach, which was strict and focused upon enforcing the institutional rules and norms, whereas general coordinator S adopted a human approach, which was fluid and focused on coaching the guests. Currently, the general coordinator is the only employee. All other functions are performed on a voluntary basis. The municipality of Nijmegen has subsidized the general coordinator for twelve hours a week. However, 'Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen' has requested to expand this arrangement to sixteen hours a week (p29:209). In the following section I will elaborate on the tasks and responsibilities of the (general) coordinator and uncover the guest-host relations that are in place.

First of all, the coordinator is responsible for managing the daily affairs of the care centre. Coordinator W, later succeeded by general coordinator S, should 'keep the house in good shape'. Everything must function and be properly cleaned. Furthermore, all chores, works and repairs have to be coordinated (p 31:24). In practice, the janitors and coordinator W controlled whether the guests had performed their daily domestic chores. The guests often complain when it is their turn to clean. Sometimes this leads to tension or even conflict. Furthermore, coordinator S invited some guests to clean the house from top to bottom on a weekly basis. In return, they would receive a small allowance (p5:443).

Secondly, the (general) coordinator materially facilitates the care centre. For example, with the help of some guests and volunteers she has installed new cabinets for the linen and cleaned the old blankets (p3). Moreover, she cleared the bike shed and took the remaining junk to the landfill (p4:763). Furthermore, coordinator W bought lockers, so the guest could store their valuable personal belongings (p4:20). Meanwhile, general coordinator S filled the boiler (p22:228). In general, the guests are satisfied with the material facilitation. Guest E states: *'I think everything is there. They have internet and TV, which is important. And changing the sheets is important to me'* (p1:587). Janitor L adds: *'now they have internet, a refrigerator, shower and cooking. Everything for a normal life, this is good'* (p1:160).

Thirdly, the (general) coordinator performs some domestic work. However, most of the time she only arranged and supervised these works. At times, the guest would be appointed to particular tasks. For example, guest A built a cupboard and guest H and guest B painted the care centre. Volunteer H supervised the process and come up with the idea to let every guest illustrate his country of origin on the wall. Most domestic works were performed by handyman and volunteer W. The

janitors also occasionally offered their support. For example, janitor M offered to do the tiling. Together, the guest, volunteers, janitors and (general) coordinator try to improve the care centre and keep it neat and organized.

Fourthly, the (general) coordinator keeps all guest informed on activities that are organized (during the day). Sometimes the general coordinator and the board arrange these activities themselves. For example, they organized an event on Saint Nicholas Day, celebrated Iranian holiday Nowruz and arranged several farewell parties for the guests that were leaving the care centre (Strijbosch, personal communication 2015-2016). Other times, they inform the guests on activities that are organized by external parties. For example, on free food packages at the ‘*Dutch Refugee Council*’ or the ‘*Peace week*’ organized by ‘*Foundation Guest*’ at the Kaaij (Strijbosch, personal communication 2015-2016).

Fifthly, the coordinator brings in a large bulk of groceries and acquires food from the ‘*Food Bank*’. At first, board member J bought large parties of food at Lidl. On a certain point, it was decided that coordinator W would take over (p4:91). However, coordinator W did not perform these tasks. Products were repeatedly missing in the pantry, he did not buy locks for the lockers and did not properly arrange the brushings (p4:238). General coordinator S started to control coordinator W and the board intervened (p2:161). After the departure of coordinator W, the general coordinator S took over the job of buying groceries. It was decided to provide a more varied breakfast. Hopefully, this would get more guests to eat (p7:48). General coordinator S delegated some of the responsibilities surrounding the purchase of goods to the volunteers. Four volunteers would assist her (p4, 365). S also tried to delegate her weekly visit to the ‘*Food Bank*’ (p4, 365) on Tuesday morning at one o’clock. However, no one volunteered (p4, 365). The general coordinator retrieves coffee, bread and toppings from the ‘*Food Bank*’. In the evening, dinner is served by the organization ‘*ZijaanZij*’. Three times a week ‘*ZijaanZij*’ brings dinner for two consecutive days and once a week the guest eat the leftovers or the general coordinator will buy Chinese food (p29:202). Not all guests like the food. For example, guest H has problems with this diet. Sometimes the guest complains. Janitor M argues: ‘*Basically, everything is there. If someone does not like the food, okay. But there is food. There will always be someone who asks questions*’ (p1:732). However, some guests are less critical. Guest F states: ‘*Everything what I get is all right. I do not find it that important. I am not like that, I want this..or I want that. What God provides me with, I will eat and that is all right*’ (p1:858). However, janitor N underlines perhaps the most important fact: the guest are depending on the host to deliver their food (p1:976). There is no self-determination regarding their diet.

Moreover, the general coordinator handles the recruitment, intake, training and supervision of all volunteers. Moreover, she constructs their timetables and organizes meetings about the state of affairs in the care centre. All volunteers receive a monthly e-mail from the general coordinator on their availability and informing all volunteers of the next ‘volunteer meeting’. The general coordinator had a hard time finding sufficient volunteers for the care centre. She tried to recruit by spreading flyers, approached ‘*Foundation Guest*’ to use their magazine and Facebook account and informed at the

'Graduate School of Arnhem and Nijmegen' whether they could deliver students studying social-pedagogical assistance (SPH) with conflict resolution skills (p4:659).

Seventhly, the general coordinator coaches the janitors. They keep her informed on daily life in the care centre through the 'janitor meetings'. There were problems with the performance of the janitors (see the section on janitors). In these meetings the hosts sorted out their differences. However, at times the janitors did not show up for these meetings. At a certain point in time board member P decided to intervene and attend these meetings himself, also because the general coordinator was unable to get the janitors in line and achieve certain results. For example, the general coordinator would tell the janitors 'to empty the small garbage in the large garbage can in the smoking section. Or that the janitors should see to it that guest use a new mop every time they clean. Or she would inform them on new developments or decisions of the board. During the winter, all guests may enter the care centre at six o'clock instead of eight o'clock' (p2:161). The janitors acknowledge some communication problems. Janitor M states: '*there has to be better communication between the janitors, board and volunteers. Currently, every individual is doing their best. However, we can also work against each other instead of with each other. Don't complain or talk behind the backs of others. Tell me as janitor what I can do better. Take an interest in each other, discuss, and give others basic ideas*' (p1:734).

Eighthly, the (general) coordinator handles the intake of the guest or clients who wish to attain shelter at the care centre. In this meeting the (general) coordinator informs them of the state of affairs in the care centre, the institutional norms and rules, the expected behaviour and bids the guest welcome (p29:209). Sometimes, the guests have a '*client counsellor*' from '*Foundation Guest*' who attends the meeting.

Ninthly, the general coordinator deliberates with partners and stakeholders. She performs these tasks together with the board. Often, actions are a result of decision-making in the board meetings which she attends. Some important stakeholders are the municipality of Nijmegen, the landlord and the neighbourhood. The general coordinator collaborates with other parties in various manners. For example, she organized a 'neighbour's day' where all of the neighbours could meet the undocumented migrants that are guests at the care centre of SNOV. Or, the general coordinator consulted the GGD when one guest had scabies. Several security measures had to be taken to prevent an outbreak of scabies in the care center (p5:128). She informed the landlord '*Standvast*' on their decision-making regarding the ventilation within the care centre (p5:638) and asked '*ZijaanZij*' if they could use less water when cooking for the guest in the care centre (p22:196).

Tenthly, the general coordinator is the leading authority on the floor. This host grants passage over the threshold when handling the intake of guests. She executes the sanctions and expulsions in case of misbehaviour, and prepares the goodbye parties for the guest in case of their departure. Most of the emotional appeals of the guest and the negotiation are directed towards the general coordinator. The general coordinator has been criticized for being too approachable. Board member J stated: '*She*

invests a lot of time in the clients, arranging stuff for the clients. He continued: *'I understand that you will do so in the beginning but we are a 'bbb' center and counselling remains to be the domain of 'Foundation Guest' (p5:289)*. Janitor N would agree, he stated: *'General coordinator S, she likes to hear and talk to everybody. But she can also hear from the janitor. Trust the janitor to report and not always talk to every client' (p1:993)*. Janitor N adds: *'if everyone complains, you cannot manage it' (p1:998)*. Almost all of the conversations between the general coordinator and the guests are held at the care centre. In the pantry there is a space for personal conversations with the guests (p22:8). Sometimes the bedroom of the janitors is used for this purpose. Sometimes, the coordinator uses this space to discipline or sanction the guests. This sanctioning sometimes damages the relation between the general coordinator and the guest. For example, general coordinator S noticed that after the expulsion of guest K, she had less access him (p4:652). At times there is even clear conflict between the guest and the host. For example, guest A would not collect his allowance at *'Foundation Guest'* because coordinator W was also working there. He has no income because he refuses to cooperate with coordinator W (p22:74). Guest A stated: *'they are trying to kill me. They don't give me money because they think I already receive money from the church. But the church does not give me anything. How I am supposed to live' (p2:268)*. Janitor M responded: *'You did this to yourself, you fucked yourself in the ass. You feel coordinator W fucking you in the ass? Do you need some Vaseline?' (p2:268)*. Coordinator W felt the need to explain himself. He argued: *'it is so hard to help these guys. Sometimes he does not provide money to discipline the guests. He argues that some guests say anything to get the money. They are less likely to get it when they tell lies or misbehave. He argues that sometimes the guests make poor decisions on how they spend money. He tells a story about how he provided a guest with money and a bicycle. The guest did not buy a lock for his bike and ended up spending 400 euro a month on the bus. Or one time when he gave money for food and the guest ended up spending it on a train ticket to visit family' (p2:103)*. Coordinator W stated: *'many of the guests talk ill of me' (p2:103)*. I have noticed that the mood shifted in the care center when coordinator W would walk in. The guests turn quiet (p2:161). However, the dynamic also changes when general coordinator S enters the care center (p2:120). Sometimes guest would tell each other *'get out of bed, general coordinator S is coming today'*. However, the mood remains somewhat relaxed and friendly. Furthermore, often the guest would ask something of the general coordinator. A guest complains that his tooth hurt. Or guest B asked if they could stay inside today. He argued: *'it is Christmas, can't we stay for once. People should not be on the streets at Christmas' (p 2:305)*. Furthermore, the general coordinator has to attend in case of emergencies. She mitigates conflicts among guests, took guest G to the hospital, filled in for janitor M, handled the crisis with *'scabies'* and responded to leakage and electricity outage (p4:162).

6.7 The board

The care centre is governed by the board of SNOV. The board develops policy and has constructed the internal laws of the household. They cooperate with the general coordinator who serves as their eyes and ears in the care centre. Moreover, the board guarantees the continuation of the care centre through financial management and material facilitation of the care centre. They cooperate with stakeholders, interest groups and partners and maintain public relations. Furthermore, they maintain order and determine sanctions in case of misbehaviour of the guests. In short, this '*pater familias*' holds most of the decision-making power and is ultimately responsible for everything that occurs in the care centre. The before-mentioned functions of janitor, volunteer, coordinator and general coordinator attained substance through the decision-making of the board. Their performance is evaluated during board meetings. They have consciously developed most of the guest-host relations that are visible in the care centre today (p31:3).

The host governs the care centre at some distance. Board members are only occasionally at the shelter. Before, board member J would buy groceries himself and would pay small allowances to the janitors for their efforts. At these moments he would visit the care centre. Board member M was present in some meetings of the volunteers that took place at the care centre. Moreover, in a period of crisis she delivered the formal warnings of to board to the guests. She helped to restore order. Board member P occasionally visits the care centre and attends the janitor meetings once every two weeks. These meetings take place in the care centre, although during closing hours. Hence, the guests have little contact with the board members. However, there is some interaction. Moreover, the guests also meet some board members in another role, in another context, place and time. For example, as member of the '*Protestant Parish*' when they receive alms or other forms of charity, or as volunteer at hobby center '*de Pontanus*'. However, the guests point out that they miss the presence of the host. Guest E argues: '*I think the board should pay attention. Also be here. I cannot give you advice*' (p1:1016). Janitor M agrees: '*it is all about spending time together. Have the time with them, also the board. If you are in charge, come and spend time*' (p1:600).

'*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' is charged with the material facilitation of care to undocumented migrants. The immaterial care of undocumented migrants is allocated to '*Foundation Guest*'. However, SNOV does facilitate some activities for during the day. Every guest may choose one activity that will be financed (p5:219). Furthermore, in collaboration with others SNOV has rented a room '*de Pontanus*' where activities are deployed. This is financed through a donation or PIN fund from the '*Dutch Catholic Religious*' (p5:329).

In 2015-2016, the board of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' has made several improvements to the care centre for undocumented migrants. For example, they arranged '*two showers, two sinks, a washing machine, a locker for every client, television and internet*' (p29:87). Furthermore, the board acted in case of calamities. For example, there has been a leakage (p2:10), blackouts (p2:658) and the property is moist (p3:78). These posed a threat to the health of the guest.

There were several problems that needed to be tackled. Together with other parties (partners, stakeholders or external parties) SNOV tried to do so. For example, SNOV contacted a plumber about the leakage. Thereafter, they contacted 'Standvast' to fix the roof of the care centre (p4:220). On another occasion, they negotiated with 'Standvast' to arrange heating in the care centre (p5:52), and communicated with 'Cuppens' on the use of their boiler (p5:362). The board communicated with 'ZijaanZij' about the portions of dinner. Furthermore, the board spoke to 'Cuppens' about installing ventilation in the care centre to resolve the health issue (p22:172). All adjustments must conform to the demands of the 'environmental service' and the 'environmental license'. For this reason, the board installed fire alarm systems and emergency lightening (p29:178). The care centre is equipped to provide shelter to ten undocumented migrants. However, the board and 'Cuppens' have requested the 'environmental service' to extend this capacity to fifteen undocumented migrants (p29:178).

The care centre is financed through subsidies of the municipality of Nijmegen and public donations. The board focuses on 'improving care in their centre', preventing people from living on the streets (p5:520) and await 'the administrative agreement' that will have an impact on the future extension of care within the center (p5:34).

The guests are grateful for the help they receive. Guest A stated: '*Those who are in charge are doing their best. I see that they try to make it a normal house. To make it feel like a house. But the situation brings you there. I see they do their best. If they can do more? I do not know. All I know is that they don't let me be in the streets*' (p1:32). Janitor N added: '*The municipality does it perfectly, they help undocumented people who are on the streets*' (p1:988). '*I think it is a nice place here. I like it*' (p1:876). Moreover, they appreciate the changes that the board has made to the inventory of the care centre. Guest A does not want to criticize the host (p1:37). Guest E argues that the board has already made great improvements to the care center (p1:587). Janitor L summarizes the services and concludes that everything is there (p1:160). He argues: '*with current capacity, one could not do more*' (p1:173).

The guests did not complain in case of calamities. At night, there was a blackout and the roof was damaged during a storm. As a result, the bunks of guest A and guest G became wet and there was no light. However, they did not wish to wake anyone and reported it in the morning (p2:120).

6.8 Conclusion

The guests have signed an intake form in order to be granted passage over the threshold. In practice, the 'foreign other' is 'folded into the internal law of the host and subjugated to circles of conditionality' (Derrida, 2000, p 7). The general coordinator governs the threshold and subjugates the guest to the internal law of the household: '*oikonomia*' (Derrida, 2000, p 4). This conditionality consists of: institutional rules and norms and guest-host relations.

These institutional rules and norms and guest-host relations are imposed top-down on the care center. It is a 'natural order of domination' that is institutionalized. Even though, SNOV only has imposed most of the conditions in order to guarantee a safe and adequate care center.

Furthermore, SNOV also enforces these rules and relations. Derrida (2000) states: '*the law of the household, oikonomia...de-limits the very place of proffered hospitality and maintains authority over it*' (p 4). Moreover, the 'natural order of domination is policed. If a guest would misbehave or violate the institutional rules and norms he will receive a sanction. Hence, space becomes a 'container of containment' with disciplining effects (Dikeç, personal communication, 2015).

The 'claim for space' by the guest, is a political act. However, the structuring of the 'institutional space' by the host is also highly political. It impacts strongly on the lives of the guests and determines their chances and opportunities (Dikeç, 2001). Therefore, the diverse structures (institutional rules and norms) and social relations (guest-host relations) are steeped with tensions (Dikeç, lecture 12 January 2015).

However, the 'institutional space' could be altered through relational properties. It is never absolute or ultimate but negotiated and contested (Dikeç, 2002). This means that the 'naturalized order of politics' can be challenged (Darling, 2009, p 246). In this chapter I have extensively describe this 'natural order' but also mentioned examples of negotiation of contestation. For example, guest-host relations would sometimes alter. At times, the host was counseled, helped or be the recipient of hospitality. And, institutional rules and norms are changing in response to the challenges and daily life at the care centre.

Institutional rules and norms and guest-host relations are imposed top-down on the care centre. And, are negotiated, altered and diversified bottom-up through relational properties. In the next chapter I will describe which relational processes were visible at the care center. The tensions, conflicts, cooperation and negotiation that might bring about bottom-up participation.

Chapter 7: Everyday relations

Ethnographic fragment: tensions are running high

'I am cleaning the table while general coordinator S walked in the care center. We are running late. It is difficult to let guest C and guest D hurry. They still have to perform their brushing and it is almost ten o'clock. Guest D says it is birthday. I congratulate him and general coordinator S jokes that he may clean the care center for his birthday. Everybody laughs. Guest D starts to tell a story. In very poor English sentences he tells of a time when he was glad the police picked him off from the streets. Then he could at least sleep inside. This sad story was drowned by a conversation between general coordinator S, janitor M and guest K. They spoke of the return of guest G to the care center. Guest K saw a note on which guest G declared he would like guitar lessons. Each guest may choose one activity that he wishes to perform. This triggers a lot of emotions in guest K. Moreover, guest K is complaining about an instance in which general coordinator S might not have acted properly. And, volunteer W has pushed guest K out of the care center. Guest K argues that he interprets this as an attack, when someone touches him without his consent.

Furthermore, janitor M argues that the conflict between guest K and guest G is not resolved. Guest K confirms and says he does not want to talk with him about it either. On a certain moment, general coordinator S ends the conversation. She states: 'we are getting nowhere. I have heard your complains'. Janitor M says: 'you simply cannot argue with this guy'. The tensions run high. The violent conflicts are not likely to stop between guest K and guest G. Guest K is also mad that guest G received his own room at 'Foundation Guest' during the cool down period.

I order everybody to leave the care center. General coordinator S and janitor M remain behind to attend the 'janitor meeting'. Outside of the care center I tell guest K 'it is in your own interest not to have a conflict with guest G. You will hurt, you will experience discomfort, and you will also feel it when there is tension and conflict in the shelter. You will both get suspended and have no place to sleep and the quality of living will decrease in the shelter. Therefore it is in your own interest not to have conflict. Try to let your emotions rest'. Guest K replies 'this is not a home, do you think this is better than the streets'? I say: 'if there is anything I can do guest K? He roles a cigarette and shows some gratitude. I get on my bike and cycle home' (p2:398).

7.1 Introduction

In this section I will describe the relational space of the care center in terms of tensions, conflicts, cooperation and negotiation that exist among the guests of the care center. I will characterize the interactions and uncover patterned behavior. In this chapter I answer the question: *What kind of everyday relations produce and negotiate hospitality in the care center?*



Picture 8: the smoking section of the care center

7.2 Tension

There is clear tension between guests in the care center. Volunteer A performs a dual function. She argues: *'at Foundation Guest we do not hear or see everything. It is here at the shelter where all of the tensions are expressed'* (p6:264). These tensions arise for various reasons. Janitor M therefore argues it is essentially inevitable (p1:773). He argues: *'they are frustrated. You can only prevent it from happening. Stop irritation when it manifests'* (p1:763).

The board underlines that we are dealing with a difficult group of people. They lack perspective, have traumatic experiences and continue to live in a limbo (p5:604). Moreover, guest H explained: *'it is difficult, the whole day on the street. And living with people he does not like'* (p16:108). Janitor M therefore argues: *'living together means learning to live with each other'* (p1:763).

However, some guests dislike each other or do not get along. Guest A states: *'guest C and guest A sometimes hurt me (mentally) but I keep silent. I don't want to be around these people'* (p1:54). Nevertheless, the guests are not free to pick their own company. They are condemned to one another. Guest A therefore argues: *'I don't want to sit with them, smoke with them. I don't like them. I want to be out of the shelter. The reality, I am stuck'* (p1:59).

Sometimes the guests are really fed up with the behaviour of other guests. They adopt different attitudes. Guest A argues: *'Fuck guest C and guest D, first they eat everything in the street, and then they come and eat everything in the shelter. I cannot live with these people. I say don't abuse. Take away my pain. Help me with these guys. But I keep silent with them'* (p1:59). Guest H does not even voice his contempt. He has decided to ignore it and keep to himself. Guest E states: *'the way they behave in public creates distance'* (p1:605). *'...some people who behave like that I don't want to talk too'* (p1:610). And, guest K bluntly said: *'I do not give a fuck about the others'* (p2:316). Whereas, guest F reasoned: *'I do not have a problem with others, and if they think so, then it is their problem'* (p1:886).

In general there are a couple of things that create tension among the guests and destabilize the care center. First of all, there has been a series of violent conflicts or fights. The guests do not like this loss of security at the care center (p1:158). Janitor M argues: *'nothing is worse than fights'* (p1:198). Guest A states: *'fight outside, not inside'. Why do they have to do it inside? I need no fights in my house'* (p1:65). It is important for the guests to feel safe at the care center (p1:158).

Secondly, there is pawing and bullying at the care center, in some instances more severe than others. The guests make a lot of jokes. However, sometimes they go on for too long. Janitor L argues: *'we are people and we should understand together. And tell the other no jokes today, stop and show respect'* (p1:220). Guest A comments: *'with guest B I am only playing, it is nothing serious. People always think when I am talking that I am angry because I am shouting. But that is just my voice'* (p1:59). However, guest B voices his discontent: *'I do not want them to touch me anymore, without my consent. A couple of time it has happened that they were drunk and touched me and the day after said*

sorry. You cannot do it like that. I remained calm, I did not punch. I love to respect. I give respect and sometimes it is not returned and they say: 'fuck you' (p1:302). He continued: 'I am afraid to sleep here. I am afraid of guest A. I am calm, I give him tobacco, I do this, I give that..' (p1:394). Moreover, guest B spoke of an incident when *he had a metal splinter in his eye, he came and talked and talked.. I asked him to leave, but he kept going. That night I could not sleep. Mentally it is not good. I want him to leave me alone* (p1:394). On another occasion, guest A said: '*all Afghani are gay*'. Next, he shouts who has a cigarette for him? I try to calm guest A a little. Guest A asks guest B for a cigarette and thereafter guest Y. Guest Y get up from the couch and says: '*suck on this*'. He puts his hands on his pants and portrays that he is holding his penis' (p2:407).

Thirdly, gossip creates tension. According to the general coordinator it makes the atmosphere restless and troubled (p5:441). For example, the relations of guest A and janitor N got chilled. Guest A stated: '*I hate it when people talk behind my back*' (p2:377).

Fourthly, tensions arise when the institutional rules are not uniformly applicable to all guests. This provokes jealousy and indignation. Guest E argues: '*Don't do that. I am already sad that I am living there.. but don't give someone more chance than me. That makes me mad*' (p1:615). Guest K became angry when he saw a note on which guest G requested guitar lessons as the activity he would like to do (p2:398). Moreover, guest K was already mad that guest G received his own room at '*Foundation Guest*' after a conflict (p2:398). Furthermore, guest E and guest A complained about another refugee who was granted a status recently and who came to brag about it (p2:13). And the board is afraid that promoting some guests to the status of emergency janitor will create tension.

Fifthly, guest E explains: '*when there is a lack of privacy. This creates irritation and can lead to conflict*' (p1:717). The guests have limited possibilities to efface one self. This has consequences. Janitor L states: '*It stinks, there is noise* (p1:158). Guest A complained about the bad hygiene of guest C and guest D. Guest K was not amused with guest H, who was singing a song (p2:178). Guest H states that he does not like the guests, '*the noise and the smell. All guests smoke and smell of smoke. How can you talk with someone when they smoked hash. They often do not know what they are saying* (p16:61).

Moreover, tensions rise when people touch each other's personal belongings. For example, guest E started an argument when his iPhone charger went missing. The language barrier intensified the conflict. Eventually, it was settled when the charger was found and guest E commented: '*Keep to yourself, and I will do the same*' (p2:154). Sometimes the guests would touch each other's belongings accidentally or unconsciously. However, at times there is malice. For example, the guitar and guitar tuner of guest G were damaged and the key of his bike went missing (p6:31). Guest G found the first two items broken on his bed. Volunteer W argued that his bicycle symbolizes freedom. Guest G was very upset (p6:31). These practices raise tensions and suspicion at the care center.

Furthermore, there is tension surrounding the brushings. The guests do not always want to clean. Moreover, the system of dividing the brushing does not function properly. Therefore the general

coordinator has repeatedly altered this system. On a certain point, she determined that two guests should clean together in the morning. However, later on this policy was revoked because there weren't enough guests residing in the care center. Janitor M explained: *'there are less people at the care center, some cleaning services are not performed. He argues he does not want to make one guy responsible so early in advance. Then you get tension'. I have seen this with my own eyes. Guest K stares at me and says: 'I already did it yesterday'* (p2:323). The guests do not like the high turnover. They find it is unfair and busy when they have to clean too often. The complaints are often expressed to the janitors, who experience discomfort (p22:175). However, tension also arises when the care center is dirty.

Financial problems create tension as well. The guest can receive some charity from the *'Protestant Parish'* and a contribution from *'Foundation Guest'*. However, some guest still lack sufficient living expenses. Guest P has frequently asked other guests for money (p7:148). And, janitor M has helped out guest A (p2:271). Guest A has no income because he refuses to visit *'Foundation Guest'*. He has problems with coordinator W, who also holds a position at *'Foundation Guest'*. Janitor M has offered to come along (p2:271). Moreover, guest A argues: *'general coordinator S does not give me a job'*.

Moreover, there is tension about some small things. For example, *'Guest A made a strong pot of coffee. Guest A asks surprised, is it too strong? Guest Y says with a sarcastic voice: too strong, fuck you!'* (p2:407). On other occasions the guests would complain about their dinner. Some people do not eat well because they do not like the food that is being served (p7:50). Others cannot conform to the eating hours (p7:50). Moreover, some guests have tooth pain that makes them frustrated (p2:115). On another occasion, guest K was diagnosed with scabies (p5:126). This is communicated to the other guests as *'a skin disease of an infectious nature'* (p5:138).

In addition, sometimes the host creates tension among the guests. The enforcement of the rules could create tension. This is visible at the center. For example, *'at that moment, coordinator W walked in the care center. The smiles of the guests faded'* (p2:207). The guests are rebuked at the care center. This is visible to the others. For example, *'I look to the left and see general coordinator S having an intense conversation with guest K'* (p2:305). Moreover, the guests critique their hosts when they do not perform their tasks and responsibilities. For example, coordinator W *'does not do groceries, does not hang the curtains, does not buy locks for the lockers, and does not manage the brushings'* (p4:238). Or, board member M stressed: *'we should give janitor L a signal. You should choose if you want to do this or not. If not, we will look for a different option. He cannot continue to leave early'* (p5:462). Furthermore, some of the guests do not like the management style of their hosts. For example, guest H and guest A criticizes the janitors for not keeping a professional distance but engaging in the same (mis)behaviour like other guests. However, Janitor N is above the group and properly distances himself from the guests (p6:454). But, guest A is sensitive to (his) authoritarian behaviour (p6:454).

All of the problems should be quickly resolved because otherwise tension will continue to build. Guest B states: *'I have learned in the Armenian military how to coexist and that problems should be solved quickly. Problems should not linger'* (p1:356). At times, the tensions have culminated in a series of violent conflicts (p:178). Guest K put a chair in front of the door and guest G has slept in the smoking room because they fear one another (p2:268). Currently, the hosts are not always able to properly deal with tensions. For example, at times janitor L will retreat to his room and pulls the blankets over his head (p5:285). However, general coordinator S has proposed to have monthly meetings with all guests to work out the differences, and the board has intensified controls and rule enforcement (p7:477). Currently, the board cannot guarantee a safe and quiet care center (p5:642). They have requested the municipality of Nijmegen to finance paid professionals to ensure the continuation of the care center (p5:628).

7.3 Conflict

From July 2015 until March 2016 there have been several instances in which guests have violated the rules. There have been some grave offenses. First of all, there have been a number of violent conflicts among the guests. This is a violation of the rule 'one should not touch another'. Most severe were a series of violent conflicts between guest K and guest G (p2:266). These guests were expelled from the care center for a couple of days. Secondly, guest O repeatedly showed up drunk at the care center. He should have been refused to enter the care center. However, this could have caused disturbance for the neighbourhood (p5:232). Guest O received a formal warning from the board. Thirdly, guest C and guest A have repeatedly arrived too late at the care center, past ten o'clock in the evening. Janitor L commented that you cannot change this: *'if the rule is arrive before eleven o'clock the brothers will come at twelve o'clock, if it is twelve o'clock, they will come at one o'clock. The rules cannot make a difference, you know these brothers'* (p1:213). Moreover, guest C and guest D disturbed the daily routine in the care center. They arrived too late for dinner, did not wake up in time and have difficulty leaving the care center at ten o'clock in the morning. Given the structural nature of their violations guest C and guest D have repeatedly received (official) warnings and suffered from expulsions. Fourthly, some guests have violated the rules on prohibited substances (p2:316). Guest A and guest B received an official warning for smoking hash in the smoking room of the care center (p7:477). Guest A explained himself that sometimes he wishes *'to escape reality. However, when the effects work out, nothing has changed'* (p2:316). Fifthly, guest F has declared that his headset was stolen twice (p1:913). He states: *'I did not make a fight and remained calm, but you should talk to people and find out who did it. Then you should punish the perpetrator. This should be done by the general coordinator or the janitors'* (p1:913). Sixthly, a single guest did not only have difficulties with the institutional rules and norms in the care center but also with those of the general society. Guest D was arrested for shoplifting (p22:283). In short, these were the grave violations that have been penalized.

Furthermore, there have been minor offenses in which the guest did not conform to the daily

routine, or misused the property or the institutional space of the care center. Some guests were held accountable for their pawing and bullying. Others were corrected on not performing their brushings properly, or were criticized for getting up, showering or leaving the care center too late. At times, the guests even corrected each other. For example, when guest I threw the dirty water of his brushing in the sink of the kitchen, were guest K has brushed his teeth. Guest I and guest K had an argument. Both guests were justly mad on each other for violating a rule on the usage of the property and the care center (p2:178).

Institutional rules and norms are normally of general application. They should therefore also be applicable to the host. There have been instances in which the host has violated the rules. For example, the janitors have repeatedly arrived at the care center too late. Sometimes the janitors would also leave the care center before ten o'clock in the morning when his shift would end (p4:465). Moreover, guest H complained that the janitors sometimes did not even spend the night at the care center (p16:83). Furthermore, the board has criticized the janitors for not keeping a professional distance from their guests. Guest H underlines this notion when stating that the janitors often show the same behaviour as their guests (p16:83). Moreover, there has been a grave offense when a janitor used prohibited substances. Therefore some of the guest also criticized their host. Guest B stated: *'the janitors should be good janitors. Not be drunk every day. Or have the power to give the key to the smoking section and pantry or not. The janitors should not be smoking until half past eleven when others may not. Here everything they do is accepted but we are all equal'* (p1:335). Guest E adds, also in their dealings with guests *'give the same goods, equally...don't privilege someone over the others..that makes him mad'* (p1:612). Furthermore, there have been occasions when a volunteer violated the institutional rules and norms. Guest C and Guest D complained that volunteer W has pushed them out of the care center. Although volunteer W enforced the rule 'leave the care center before ten o'clock in the morning' he violated the rule 'not to touch one another' (p1:468).

Sometimes there are exceptions to the institutional rules and norms. The board has determined that a guest may claim residence during the day at the care center if the person is older than seventy years old or has a fever above 38 degrees (p5:40). Furthermore, on the basis of his vulnerability guest G can leave the care center at night but may not return before eight o'clock in the morning.

Furthermore, enforcement of the institutional rules and norms remains a problem. The janitors enforce the rules to a different extent and have a different approach to running the care center (p22:28). Guest E criticizes the hosts for 'always making an exception' (p1:623). There have been violations of all types of rules. Sometimes these violations went unpunished (see violations). There are some rules the janitors and volunteers enforce more persistently than others. For example, the rule 'the guest should leave the care center at ten o'clock' is actively enforced. The hosts are always very preoccupied with getting everybody to leave the care center on time. The janitors will shout *'everybody get out, get out, it is ten o'clock'* (p2:323). If the guests are stalling, the janitor or volunteer would step up. For example, janitor M has shouted: *'this is my house, and I want you out at ten.*

Tonight it is janitor L's house and tomorrow janitor N's house' (p2:323). He grew angry at guest H that was repeatedly walking in and out of the care center (p2:323). However, other rules are not that actively enforced, for example the smoking policy. Guest E rightfully stated: *'my name is J. Make the rule and I obey it. But now you make rules but you themselves don't follow it'* (p1:632). These signals reached the board, who decided to intensify their control on the enforcement of the rules (p7:477). They spoke to general coordinator S and attended some janitor meetings and volunteer meetings (p5:279). Most of the guests declared that enforcing the rules does not necessarily lead to tension or conflict. Guest C and guest D argue *'that tension arises from stress and personal problems, they do not follow from the rules'* (p1:500). However, some guests do have a problem with particular institutional rules and norms. For example, guest C and guest D wish to negotiate the opening hours of the care center (see indicator negotiation). They think this rule is problematic (p1:511). Moreover, janitor M argues that *'sometimes there is tension around the brushings. When you tell someone what to do or when you say the rules'* (p1:754). Nevertheless, guest E argues it is most important to *'make the rules the same for all. 'Don't give one more chance than me. That makes me mad'* (p1:627). Janitor N agrees *'that conflict does not follow from enforcing the rules. He thinks that conflict will appear when the janitors do not apply it evenly. When there is difference in the execution there is conflict'* (p1:1021). Janitor M concludes: *'it is up to everybody to enforce the rules'* (p1:861).

Sometimes the rules are enforced and guests that repeatedly violate them are sanctioned. Janitor N states: *'we cannot be nice to people who do bad things'* (p1:1059). For example, Guest C and guest D were expelled from the care center for a couple of days. They comment: *'we were outside, it was very pesky and difficult. No, we weren't happy. The board had no right, they cannot do such a thing'* (p1:539). At times, the suspension also led to controversy among the hosts. Board member J was not consulted when board member P and board member M decided to suspend guest G. Afterwards, he voiced his critique and stated he would made a different decision. However, board member P and board member M stated: *'we had to give a signal, you have reached the limit'* (p5:394). In the wake of a series of conflicts the board intervened and board member M called a meeting with all of the guests. She reinforced and clarified the institutional rules and norms and explained the corresponding policy on sanctioning in case of violations. In case of a violation, a (informal) warning from the janitors and general coordinator is followed by a formal warning from the board (p7:116). When the offense is repeated the guest or client will be penalized with a suspension of two days. If the misbehaviour persists the guest will be suspended for seven days and thereafter will be excluded indefinitely (p7:88). However, some grave offenses could also immediately lead to indefinite expulsion (p4:454). At times, this policy was undermined by the janitors who did not report offenses (p7:116) and *'Foundation Guest'* who offered a suspended guest a private room. Thereby they softened or even rewarded misbehaviour (p2:407). However, the sanction policy was not applied conscientiously. The board and general coordinator repeatedly deviated from their policy, predominantly because they did not want to put the guest on the streets. General coordinator also

conceived an alternative method of sanctioning with the help of the 'Protestant Parish' (p5:394). The 'Protestant Parish' would not extend money to guest C and guest D if their misbehaviour persisted. However, if the guests would show improvement they would still obtain it (p19:12). This should stimulate good behaviour. Moreover, the general coordinator engaged in a series of talks with the guest in order to let them understand their misbehaviour (p19:12).

It is important to realize that the sanctions have a different impact depending on the guest in question. Janitor M states: *'if suspension occurs to guest G, the impact will be bigger than for guest C or guest D, who are used to sleeping outside'* (p1:816). The general coordinator is currently researching how the rules, their enforcement and sanction are received (emotionally) among the guests (p2:396). She observed that some of the volunteers and herself had problems re-establishing contact with guest G after his expulsion (p7:898). Therefore she concluded that you can also lose safety through suspending a guest (p19:12), contributing to an unsafe feeling among some of the guests (7:898).

7.4 Cooperation

Most of the guests get along with each other. However, every guest likes one guest better than the other. For example, guest A and janitor L share a morning ritual. They are the first to wake up and together will go for a smoke (p2:178). Guest F honestly states he likes janitor L best (p1:878). He argues: *'everyone has a choice, who they like best'* (p1:878). Guest C and guest D solely spend time together and share everything. For example, they leave and arrive together and even perform their brushings together.

Furthermore, there are moments of kindness and friendship in which the guest relax and enjoy themselves. For example, guest E from Nigeria entered the living room and turned up the volume of the television. He started to sing *'what do you mean?'* Together with guest A he danced to this Justin Bieber song. Everybody laughed' (p2:206). Another time, guest K entered the living room in his Bob Marley boxer without drying himself from the shower. He sang *'brazil, jalalalala,..jalalala, brazil'* (p2:206). The guests enjoy themselves and sometimes call each other 'brother'. Moreover, guest K repeatedly said the word 'Esh' to other guests. This means 'respect' or 'love' (p2:327). They share feelings and experiences. For example, guest A showed me and janitor M a picture of him in the military uniform of Sudan (p2:323). Thereafter, janitor M stated: *'if you like I can get you one of those uniforms. I have one at home, he said'* (p2:323). On another occasion, janitor M asked guest A what he would like to eat. *'What do you like then guest A, I can go to the supermarket and get something for you. I have money. What do you like?'* (p2:323). Furthermore, the guests help each other out. Guest A lacked some money to buy cigarettes. Guest G *'jumped off from the couch, gave guest A 0,15 cents, went to his dorm and returned with another 0,5 cents'* (p2:407). Guest A now had sufficient money to buy his cigarettes (p2:407).

However, there are also guests that do not really like each other or have some difficulties. For

example, guest A argues he has good contact with the other guests. However, he makes a lot of jokes because: *'it makes the contact easier and possible'* (p1:51). But guest B often does not appreciate these jokes. Moreover, later on guest A explained that he does not want to be around D and guest D (p1:51). Furthermore, there were a couple of violent conflicts among the guest. Hence, there is cooperation among the guests but also clear tension.

Therefore the statement of guest E seems to be most accurate: *'I have good contact with some guests but not with all'* (p1:602). He argued: *'I don't want to talk to people when we don't connect'* (p1:602). He explained *'it was not always something they did wrong'*. However, *'sometimes their behaviour created distance'* (p1:602). And some guests just, *'have a different style of living..That does not fit mine'* (p1:575). Guest E concludes: *'I was not happy to live there because of the people'* (p1:575).

There are two approaches the guest could adopt. First of all, there is the approach of guest H. He explains that he only would say: *'good morning and good evening and thereafter keep to himself'* (p16:53). *'If people don't talk to him, he won't talk back'* (p16:53). Second of all, you could try to connect the guests. Janitor M proposed this approach. He argues you should: *'organize more things that bind people together, activities etc. Through this you will get to know each other and will learn to respect one another'* (pp1:722). Guest E also advises: *'you should try to connect the guests. Everybody should get to know each other through spending time together. He advises to host small parties or special night were you cook together..'* (p1:580). I characterize this as relationship-building. Janitor M states: *'they should take an interest in each other. You should discuss, give each other basis ideas'* (p1:739), *'don't pick sides because you like one person better than the other'* (p:739). *'Respect is key'*. As a host, *'try to help them, create a relation..listen, just be there'* (p1:796). And, *'..everybody should take responsibility'* (p1:751).

Janitor M states: *'they are adults, so they should know how to function in a group'* (p1:758). However, he has also repeatedly underlined that: *'they need help!'* (p1:820). This awareness is also present among the guests. Guest F argues that we should: *'emphasize that everyone is in the same situation, we are a family. Everyone has to be friendly and offer apologies. Someone can mediate this, help out'* (p1:898). Janitor L explains the benefits of looking out for each other. He would tell the guests: *'to feel like a family. If you get sick, I can help you and vice versa. Clean together, eat together..people should feel at home here, like a family'* (p1:225). However, often *'the people here are only preoccupied with their own life and problems'* (p1:225). Nevertheless, guest F argues: *'when people respect each other', '..explain the differences and similarities and have a goal to feel like a family and do not talk ill of each other'* then *'it should be safe here'* (p1:918).

The systemic relations of the guests could improve. In the care center the guests interact with each other around a set of practices. The most dominant practices are: *'they wake up, greet, shower, drink tea or coffee, smoke, go to the toilet, eat breakfast, interact, do the dishes, clean the shelter, brush their teeth, shave, do their hair, gather their things for during the day, greet, leave the care*

centre, come back again, drink tea or coffee, eat dinner, wash their dishes, clean their cloths, interact, watch television, use their mobile phone, use the computer, listen to music, perform handwork, play games, read, study, reflect, express, feel, smoke and sleep' (see data collection, sensitizing concept: practices). Most of the interaction among guests revolves around breakfast, dinner, smoking breaks, and around the television.

Some guests only interact with others at the care center. For example, guest F states: '*we talk together or watch television. Only at the care center I spend time with the others*' (p1:881). However, some guests also spend time with each other during the day and outside the care center. Frequently, they are in contact through the WhatsApp group '*bad and bred*' and upload photos together. For example, of themselves studying in the library. Their socio-cultural context consists of the public library, the garden of '*Foundation Guest*', and the Radboud University, which has opened up its sport facilities through free subscriptions (p2:13). For example, Guest H is doing fitness and guest E goes swimming. Furthermore, the guests are welcome at the Pontanus, i.e. a centre where they can study Dutch, play games or engage in creative pursuits (p4:558). Moreover, '*Foundation Guest*' has realized a bicycle repair shop, sewing workshop and made plans for a hobby centre for during the weekends (p4:392). At times, special food packages are handed out at '*Foundation Guest*' (p28:29). Furthermore, many of the guests are Christian. They attend the masses of the Jozua church and engage in bible study (p2:55). Sometimes the guests have to meet with organizations that help them in their asylum application. They meet with their lawyer (p2:71), deliver their dossier at '*Refugee Council*' or receive juridical or medical counselling at '*Foundation Guest*'. When it is necessary they visit a doctor or the Canisius hospital (p2:230). Often, the guest would spend the day or some nights with family and friends (p2:103).

However, every day there are only a couple activities that the guest could engage in. The rest of the time the men wander on the streets (p4:295). Upon arrival at the care center, the guests receive a list of places the guest could stay during the day (p29:89). The men predominately go to the city centre or some quiet places, like parks or the riverside (p1:12). Guest Y states that he knows all free WiFi spots in Nijmegen. He explored the streets and used his phone to map public networks and hotspots (p2:178). When I was cycling with guest A towards a mass at the Jozua church, I noticed his deep knowledge of the city of Nijmegen. He said: '*okay, follow me*'. An exciting journey through the streets of Nijmegen began. Guest A knew all the shortcuts and street names as he navigated through the city. It was hard to keep up (p2:305). Moreover, he explained that he always uses the phone at the centre for drug addicts on the Van Schevichavenstraat (p2:55). Most of the time the guest walk, cycle or use public transportation (p2:178).

7.5 Negotiation

The guest-host relations are not absolute or ultimate and the institutional rules and norms are never completely fixed or definite. They can be altered through the decision-making of the board. Hence, they can be negotiated or contested.

However, the guests do not continuously negotiate the guest-host relations, institutional rules and norms, and other aspects of life. In general, the guests are grateful for the care and hospitality that they receive. First of all, they praise the efforts the host. Guest A speaks highly of the effort (p1:32). Secondly, most of the time the guests accept the guest-host relations and institutional rules and norms that are imposed on the care center. Guest A argues: *'you have to follow the rules...so I will do the law'* (p1:44). Guest E agrees that you have conform to the institutional rules and norms of the care center (1:668). Thirdly, all guests agree that the material services are adequate at the care center. They are modest and humble. For example, Guest A states: *'I cannot say what is wrong. They bring stuff, new television etc'* (p1:37). Guest E agrees: *'I think everything is there'* (p1:590). And guest F argues: *'everything I get is good. I am not like, I want this or I want that..'* (p1:858). Janitor L points out the alternative: *'..if you would rent your own room it will cost 400 of 500 euro's. Here you have a free room, free food, free hospital etc'* (p1:233). Therefore guest F concludes: *'I think the shelter is a nice place. It is not so bad. I think it is good'* (p876).

However, there are times that the guests are not that satisfied. Sometimes they engaged in negotiation of institutional rules and norms. First of all, the guests have negotiated the opening hours of the care center. Guest C and guest D frequently arrive at the care center too late. They proposed to change the opening hours to twelve o'clock in the evening until twelve o'clock in the morning (p1:480). At times, they disturb the janitors or other guest that are sleeping. Janitor M and F state: *'you cannot leave the people outside, even if they come at eleven o'clock. I say let them in'* (p1:75). However, guest A adopts a different approach. Whenever he is running late he would call the janitor to inform him on the expected time of arrival (p1:371). The guests were worried about the winter. They argued it is inhuman to spend time outside when it is dark, inclement or too cold. Guest F states: *'If the weather is bad, people should not have to go outside. Last Sunday it was raining. Then the library is closed, where should the people go?'* (p1:938). Some guests can manage themselves on the streets but others struggle, especially those guests with bad knowledge of the Dutch or English language' (p7:146). The guests expressed their critique during the 'peace week' at the Kaaij in Nijmegen. Together they formulated a set of claims. (1) They argued that the care center should be open when weather is bad. They should have a place to get warm when they are getting cold outside (p7:150). (2) Furthermore, they argue that the care center should be open from six o'clock. Then they will have sufficient time for dinner, doing the laundry, studying Dutch and to relax. (3) Moreover, they need some living expenses. No human will survive on the streets without any money (p7:168). These claims were heard by the board of SNOV. Eventually, they decided that the care center would open at six o'clock during winter times. However, guest A does not think this suffices. He argued that there

should be day care during the holidays. For example, he asked the general coordinator: *'it is Christmas, can't we stay, only today?'* (p2:305). She responded: *'I get it guest B, but that is a decision of the board. We can discuss if it is possible during New Year'* (p2:305). Guest K felt mistreated (p2:305). Sometimes the guest would pretend to be sick. They hoped they could spend the day at the care center. Often they complained about having toothaches or headaches (p6:48). Guest H may sometimes stay a little longer at the care center given his weak physical condition (p2:161).

Moreover, the institutional rules and norms of the use of prohibited substances were negotiated. Volunteer W proposed to legalize the use of weed and hash at the care center. It would help some guest to relax. In his opinion it is better than alcohol or fighting (p7:411). Moreover, a lot of guests already use it (p2:316). Janitor M argued: *'the rules don't benefit everybody. Some are depressed, you might need a joint or alcohol to cool off. If you go too hard on them you create a new problem'* (p1:784). Guest E also advised: *'Talk to people, tell them where you stand. If you say, don't smoke weed, maybe there is someone there who cannot sleep without smoking weed'* (p1:643). However, board member M opposed. In her experience this often also leads to the use of hard drugs and she doesn't want to stimulate the guest to become weak and powerless (p7:394).

Thirdly, the guests had some influence on the sanction policy and conflict resolution. The general coordinator and the board repeatedly deviated from protocol. They often did not want to put people on the streets. Often, the general coordinator would engage in a series of talks in which a guest was given the opportunity to explain himself regarding the violations. Guest C and guest D received a tailored approach of counselling, monitoring and sanctions that should enforce the institutional rules and norms (p7:898). Furthermore, the general coordinator expressed a desire to organize a monthly gathering among guests where they could voice their discontent and resolve tensions and conflicts (p6:182). Moreover, the general coordinator evaluates the outcome of the sanction policy. She argues that sanctions could also lead to a situation where you lose (a feeling of) security among the guests (p19:12). She experienced difficulty when trying to re-establish contact and regain trust of the suspended (p19:12).

Furthermore, the general coordinator has provided another opportunity for negotiation to the guests. She and volunteer T are currently engaging in individual conversations with the guests. In these conversations, the guests could express their opinions, emotions and experiences on the improvement of the care center. Moreover, they were given a chance to negotiate the institutional rules and norms and the sanction policy (p5:43). The general coordinator wished to uncover the intrinsic motivation of guests for abiding the rules (p6:59), and their feelings about enforcement (p7:119). This should reveal which rules the guests need at least or at most, to feel safe and secure at the care center (p6:191). Moreover, their participation could increase the support for the institutional rules and norms.

However, the guests have also negotiated the guest-host relations (for more information, see guest-host relations). At times they even challenged these relations or voiced their critique. For example, Guest K has repeatedly opposed volunteer W. When volunteer W would ask him to leave the

care center he would ask another host, janitor M, if he could stay at the care center (p6:193). Moreover, guest A has criticized janitor N for authoritarianism (p6:454). Guest A complains that janitor N is always mad at his guests (p2:419). Guest A stressed that you might need to address some guests differently. For example, guest C and guest D cooperate *'if you say things nicely'* (p2:419). General coordinator S argues that guest A is sensitive to authority (p6:454). Nevertheless, he wishes to be treated differently. Other guests have contested differences in power. Guest E and guest B have repeatedly emphasized: *'all are equal'* (p1:338). Furthermore, guest E states he would like a different host: *'it is better if you have guys of the same age. You can share experiences. Don't bring old people but people you can relate to'* (p1:595).

If one would analyze most of the contestation and negotiation it is either about (1) self-determination, (2) empowerment (3) participation or (4) daily affairs. First of all, (1) on self-determination. The guests wish to help themselves and improve their own situation. Guest E states: *'let me help myself. Help me help myself. I know best what I want for myself. I have been here for four years now, waiting is hard, doing nothing. Talk to me, I know best how I want to live my life'* (p1:670). This is also important for the self-esteem among guests. For example, guest A states: *'I want to look after myself'. I don't like people buying food for me. Or friends that buy things for me. When I buy something for them, they will get mad that I should not do that. But I really want to. I want to do it myself, try myself, and fight for this life. Before I made my own money as a car mechanic. I want to arrange everything myself. The people here are sweet, they go with me to the hospital and stay one hour. Even my mother does not do this. I find this very hard'* (p1:307). *'I cannot stay in the shelter. The people have already given me that much. I find it hard that I cannot give something back. I can go to my lawyer, I speak Dutch, and I want to arrange everything myself'* (p1:340). Guest A wishes to support himself and not be dependent on others. Guest A agrees: *'we have to carry our own cross'* (p1:70). However, their hands are tied. Guest E points out one difficulty. There is *'no freedom to choose for yourself'* (p1:565). In regard to the care center, we cannot decide at which time to go in and out (p1:565).

Secondly (2), on empowerment. Guest B argues: *'I want to have a job. Take care of my own life. I do not want money from the church. I want to work and earn my own living'* (p1:416). It is also about the small things in life. Janitor N argues: *'we are waiting for someone to bring. We are not paying. They cook for them and everything is waiting'* (p1:973). Guest H is really fond of cooking. He likes to buy his own food and cook his own meals (p16:23). Guest E agrees: *'waiting is hard, doing nothing'* (p1:670). He argues he would like more education (p1:670). Guest H voices a similar desire. He wants to have something to do during the day (p1:23), some activities to engage in. Guest C and guest D also desire more joint activities, but preferably for money (p1:506). Guest E explains how activities help him to remain positive: *'Do activity. Spend time with positive things. For my I like theater and acting. If I have theater in two weeks I can look forward to it. But that's my way, everyone has his way'* (p1:655). This can all be summarized by guest E who states: *'I wake up at five o'clock in*

the morning. I do not get that the other people are so long in bed. You got to work on your future' (p2:205). Moreover, joint activities could help connect the undocumented migrants in the shelter. Guest E argues: *'Do something with the guys you're living with'* (p1:577). And, mentions several activities the guest could engage in. There are several initiatives on the local level. On the national level, *'National Station of Support Undocumented migrants'* (LOS) has launched a campaign promoting the participation of undocumented migrants in Dutch society (p10:7). This initiative tries to enhance the possibilities of undocumented migrants, for example through education and (voluntary) work. (p10:8). Janitor M advices and rules are: *'guidelines..the foundation. They should evolve these rules. Let's rectify them and make it work better. You gotta be flexible'* (p1:770). *'Mostly, the rules are followed but there are always exceptions. There should always be a backdoor on every rule'* (p1:787). Guest E states: *'Talk together, with everyone, and do the rules. Then they feel involved. Participation'* (p1:648). Janitor M argues: *'The rules are enough. Only you should involve the people. It is how to make the house work! Go this far..and you go off limits. Involve people to make it work!'* (p1:780). However, janitor N: *'If everyone complains you cannot manage it'* (p1:1001). Janitor M adds: *'There will always be someone that asks questions'* (p1:732).

7.6 Conclusion

In the previous chapter I have explained that the undocumented migrants are folded into the internal law of the host and subjugated to circles of conditionality' (Derrida, 2000, p 7). There is 'natural order of domination', i.e. institutional rules and norms and guest-host relations, that regulate the care center. The institutional space is a structuralizing force that determines the chances and opportunities of the guests (Dikeç, 2001).

Furthermore, this 'institutional space' is connected to a socio-cultural context. Gielis (2011) explained that '*various social processes penetrate the domestic sphere..*' (p 260). Space is therefore relational. The care center functions as an '*interface between society and the individual*' (as cited in Gielis, 2011, p 259). However, most of the '*expatriate experiences are lived through in the domestic sphere*' (Gielis, 2011, p 258). For example, volunteer A states: '*here at the care center all of these tensions are expressed*' (p6:264). Walsh (2006a) argues that: '*emotions about these relational processes get shape and are expressed in specific social relations with people*' (as cited in, Gielis, 2011, p 261).

The institutional space and its socio-cultural context impact on the social relations at the care center. In this chapter I have described the relations between the guests in terms of cooperation and tension. These relations are important because guests negotiate, contest and alter structures through relational properties (Dikeç, 2002). Moreover, Lefebvre explained that people: '*conquer space through collective processes and consequently exert their rights..*' (Dikeç, 2001, p 1800). Hence, negotiation has more likelihood of success when the guests collectively put forwards their set of claims.

Currently, the board cannot guarantee a safe and quiet care center (p5:642). I would argue that this is not good basis for political activism. First of all, they should prevent violent conflict and other forms of misbehavior that destabilize the care center. Hence, they should reduce tensions. Secondly, they should stimulate cooperation. For example, connecting the guests through activities and engage in relationship building. This would improve collective processes of negotiation and contestation. The host could help the guests in their struggles.

Currently, the guests have negotiated a couple of institutional norms and rules and guest-host relations. They did so on own initiative or were granted the possibility by their hosts. Their negotiation voiced a desire for more: (1) self-determination, (2) empowerment (3) participation and influence on (4) daily affairs. Some of the claims were honored, others were not.

In general, the top-down structuralizing forces remain far more powerful than the bottom-up initiatives of contestation. The host could aid their guests in their struggle for more rights. First of all, through developing a '*sensibility in social relationships and interactions, as well as in institutional practices*' (p 236). And, by helping to '*cultivate an ethics of political engagement*' (Dikeç, 2002, p 237). According to janitor M: '*it is how to make the house work..*' (p1:780). And, it might bring about

the kind of bottom-up participation that could help '*reorient the politics of the state*' (Darling, 2009, p 19).

Chapter 8: Emotional space

Ethnographic fragment: sharing emotions and experiences

‘Eventually, I sat alone at the table with guest L. I asked if he would like some coffee or tea. Thereafter, I asked if he has any brothers and sisters. He replied: ‘yes, but I was always the Benjamin’. I am a mama’s boy. Before, he was often cooking with her. He was always at her side. But, she died in Saudi-Arabia. I said that I am sad to here this. I asked if his brothers and sisters were also living in the Netherlands. He replied that he did not have contact with them. It is hard to understand guest L but I think he said that he did not want to endanger them.

All of a sudden, he started a story on his time spend in captivity in a Guinean prison. He asked if I am carrying a Phone with internet. Then, he showed me a YouTube movie on the appalling conditions of prison life in Guinea. He pointed out whenever he would be visible on the movie: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nahza2q8w7M>. I had to swallow a couple of times, terrible! Thereafter, guest L rolled up his trousers and showed his scars. ‘I was tortured and they broke my legs here and here’. He said that many people died in prison. He was brought to a hospital. Here he received medicine. A doctor gave him some money and advised him to leave the country.

On this moment, guest L is already eight years in the Netherlands. I hope I understand everything correctly. I was shocked by the story. It was almost ten o’clock and I have to clear the table. What a terrible story! In the meantime, guest G had eaten his breakfast unnoticed in the kitchen. Often, the guests have made comments that were sad or serious. And, I had a feeling that much more was going on. But never before was their sorrow made so explicit. I got on my bike and felt awful about the fate of this guy’ p2:71).



Picture 9: a poster of a signpost on the kitchen wall. Titled: the way (out of the blue)

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the emotions that the undocumented migrants have expressed at the center. Their 'expatriate experiences are lived through in the domestic sphere' (as cited in Gielis, 2011, p 258). The migrants process these emotions alone and in relation to others. They withdraw from the social setting to reflect and discuss their feeling with others. Therefore, emotions about relational processes also take shape and are expressed in relation to people (Gielis, 2011, p 261). The undocumented migrant express their feelings and give/assign complex and diverse meanings. Together, these emotional expressions lead to an emotional sense of the house' (Gielis, 2011, p 261). I will describe the socio-cultural meanings and emotional interpretations that were ventilated at the care center. I will answer the question: *How is this hospitality emotionally experienced by the undocumented migrants in question?*

8.2. Emotions

The board has published that they are dealing with a difficult group of people that lack perspective, have experienced severe trauma's and continue to live in limbo situations (p5:604). The janitors agree that most of the guests in the care center are not doing too well (p1:230). Guest K is depressed and does not eat and sleep well (p4:386). Guest G is traumatized. And, Guest H summarized some difficulties: *'My knee is hurting me. Hammas put a bullet in it. I am often tired...Sunday is a difficult day (then most public spaces are closed). And this winter was really a problem. Studying does not work because my head is not at ease. Now I have hobbies, like sports, the garden of Foundation Guest and painting the care center. I have more to do. Also I have psychological problems. But it is not getting better'* (p16:99). Moreover, *'I have to wander the streets all day and live with people I do not like'* (p16:108). The other undocumented migrants are dealing with similar problems. Janitor M explains that: *'when they have a bad day, they bring back the negative energy to the shelter'* (p1:808). And then, volunteer A adds: *'here at the care center all of these tensions are expressed'* (p6:264).

The undocumented migrants reside at the care center. But janitor M argues that the guests also feel at home. He argues: *'this is the place where they keep their belongings, were they are free or kind of..here they can come back to themselves and meditate'* (p1:704). Moreover, he has literally heard them call it 'home' (p1:704). The janitors supported this view and repeatedly emphasized that the guests should become a family and feel like a family. They could help each other in times of hardship, for example if someone gets sick (p1:222). Some of the guests share this perception. Guest F states: *'we are in the same situation. We are family'* (p1:888). And, guest B argued: *'that it sometimes feels like a family, when everybody is watching television together'* (p1:290). Furthermore, the guests address each other as *'mister'* or *'brother'*.

However, the meaning of 'home' differs among the guests (p1:712). Janitor M argues: *'the emotional experiences of the migrants are dependent on where you come from, if you have known economical problems, if you are educated or enjoyed life before'* (p2:396). And, janitor M continues:

'it depends on personal circumstances. Whether you have a wife or children' (p1:712). Guest F explicitly states that he does not feel at home at the shelter because *'I have children, my home is there'* (p1:567). However, the guests explain which characteristics a home should have. Guest F does not want any fights, but instead wants good things in his home (p1:915). (a) He argues a home should be safe (p1:915). Janitor M supports this view: *'For me personally, home is a place you feel safe. It does not matter if this is a apartment or shelter, if your basis is secure..'* (p1:709). Janitor N extends this safety: *'If I am safe with my situation, now still scared that the police can come and catch me. When I am home I can do my own things'* (p1:968). (b) At home one has freedom of choice and freedom of movement. Moreover, guest A states: *'I feel at home when I am alone there. In quiet areas. When I am lying on the couch watching TV and no one is there. But I feel more at home outside'* (p1:007). (c) At home one has privacy and can withdraw himself from the outside world. Janitor L advises it would be better if every guest has his own room or only shares it with one single roommate (p1:150). Furthermore, guest C and guest R feel at home when they have time to sleep (p1:443). (d) Home is a place to rest. And, guest R argues he feels at home when people respect him (p1:290). (e) It is a place of emotional security or intimacy.

At first, it seemed that the guests might feel at home at the care center. However, studying the before mentioned characteristics of a 'home' one arrives at a different conclusion. There characteristics (a-e) for feeling at home were repeatedly pressured. First of all, (a) there were fights that reduced the safety in the care center. Moreover, other institutional rules and norms were violated. This has increased the anxiety among guests. Janitor L argues: *'Now that guest K is gone, things are more quiet'* (p1:158). Secondly, (b) there is no freedom of choice or freedom of movement. Guest C and guest D have complained that must leave the care center too early. They have insufficient time to wake up peacefully (p1:451). Janitor M argues: *'It is no home. The amount of people living in the shelter and time to go in and go out. No freedom to choice yourself'* (p1:565). Thirdly, (c) there is a lack of privacy. Janitor L argues there is: *'No private space. Not good things for life'* (p1:148). Guest A states he can only rest in the shelter when he has private time (p1:108). He does not feel at home when: *'People sit on my bed.. I go crazy at night when I am lying in bed in the shelter. When I am around of all those crazy people. I feel anger and frustration'* (p1:20). Therefore Guest F has underlined the need for more privacy (p1:841). Guest B concludes: *'Alone is better, let me be and calm my mind'* (p1:382). Fourthly, the guests have problems resting at the care center. The lack of privacy worsens their inability. Guest F argues that he cannot sleep at the care center (p1:841). Guest A states: *'in the shelter I can only rest when I have private time'* (p1:108). Moreover, Guest H complained that there is a lot of noise. It smells and people use soft drugs and alcohol. If he spends all day outside he will return exhausted. Then he receives food he does not like. This situation creates restlessness and increases his desire to leave the care center (p16:108). Fifthly, sometimes there is a lack of emotional security or intimacy. Guest B states: *'I never have peace. Only when I am here alone in the afternoon. Especially when there is gossip or people behind my back, I get restless'* (p1:403).

He continues: *'It has happened a couple of times that they have been drinking and they started to touch me. The next morning they will say sorry again. No, you cannot do like that. I remained calm, I did not punch them. I like to respect. I give respect and sometimes it is not returned, they will say: 'fuck you' (p1:300).*

Hence, the (a) safety, (b) freedom of choice and movement, (c) privacy, (d) rest and (e) emotional security or intimacy is under severe pressure at the care center. They create a situation in which most guests do not feel at home. Guest E argues: *'I was there for a long time but did not feel home' (p1:570)*. Guest B states: *'I cannot feel at home here. I can only sleep here' (p1:288)*. The reactions of guest D and guest C were most positive. They state: *'we feel good here. Not at home, but it is okay' (p1:444)*. As a consequence, many guests wish to leave. Guest H argues: *'I want to get out of this place' (p16:16)*. And, guest A states: *'I am having a bad time with my situation. I want to get out' (p1:97)*, and *'leave the shelter' (p1:56)*. He comments: *'I feel more at home outside. Nijmegen is my home. The street is my home. In the church I feel at home' (p1:12)*.

The expatriate experiences of the undocumented migrants are lived through in the domestic sphere' (as cited in Gielis, 2011, p 258). The guests withdraw from the social setting to reflect (Gielis, 2011, p 261). The guests retreat in various ways. First of all, the guests spend a lot of time on their mobile phones (p1:808). They send messages to friends and family upload things on social media or play games on their phone (p2:316). Secondly, they watch movies. The language is difficult, so they prefer action movies (p1:808). Thirdly, they spend a lot of time listening to music. Many of the songs have an emotional significance. Guest A listened a song from Passenger – *'Let Her Go'*. I suspect he is thinking of his wife, who is living in Montenegro. In the following conversation he states: *'that is good, you should go party, and you are free. I focus on God and my family' (p2:240)*. Some of the guests retreat at the pantry and sit behind the computer to listen to music. I have encountered guest A there listening to a song of Sami Yusuf- *'Make Me Strong'*, singing: *'I know I'm waiting, waiting for something, something to happen to me, but this waiting comes with trials and challenges. Nothing in life is free. I wish that somehow, you'd tell me out aloud, that on that day I'll be ok, but we'll never know cause that's not the way it works. Help me find my way' (p2:323)*. And, encountered janitor L there listening to Eminem and Adele (p2:239). Fourthly, some guests calm their mind with simple handicrafts. Guest G spends a lot of time braiding (p2:113). Often he is talking to himself. Once I heard him repeatedly say: *'I am the rasta man..too many people die' (p2:117)*. He takes good care of his personal belongings. On other occasions, he is cleaning his bracelet or spending time on the maintenance of his bike. Perhaps these crafts have some therapeutic efficacy (p2:227). Fifthly, sometimes the guests physically retreat themselves to the dorms, smoking room or other parts of the shelter where no one is present. Guest G often preferred to eat his dinner alone at the kitchen table (p2:206), and I have encountered guest K crying alone in the dormitory (p6:267). When I asked him if I could do something for him, he reacted: *'What can you do'?* (p6:267). Guest A explained that he often smokes a joint between six o'clock and ten o'clock in the morning because these moments he

finds most difficult. He does not know how to deal with his emotions. He comments: *'But then the effect is worn out and nothing has changed'* (p2:36). Sometimes the guests go outside to spend time alone. Guest A states: *'I feel anger and frustration. Then I go to quiet places, like the park or river and I cry or pray. I will release my pain and anger'* (p1:22).

However, sometimes the guests do not withdraw from the social setting but discuss their feeling with others. The emotions about relational processes take shape and are expressed in specific social relations with people (Gielis, 2011, p 261).

The guests share experiences with one another. Many guests entrust others with their personal and intimate thoughts. These are expressed during breakfast, dinner, smoking breaks and other occasions. Furthermore, the guests trust the janitors. Guest F spends of a lot of time talking to janitor L (p1:878). The janitors play an important role. Janitor L tries to help his guests (p2:222). Janitor M states: *'I give, even in my own time, attention to everybody. I try to help them. To create a relation. I can understand you can get lost! It is important to listen, to just be there'* (p1:793). The janitors can also be viewed as mentors. The extent to which guests express their emotions and experiences seems to depend of the quality of the relationship.

Personally, the guests have entrusted me with a wide variety of stories, emotions and experiences. Janitor M spoke of the death of his mother (p1:801). Guest L spoke of his life in Guinea. He told about his time in prison, showed his scares and played a YouTube video about the appalling conditions of prison life in Guinea (p2:71). Guest A spoke of his migration trajectory and showed me a picture of his son making a peace sign. He explained his marital problems and said he is missing his son dearly (p2:151). Janitor N played a song on his guitar. He learned this song in a prison in Congo. His cellmate taught him and said he should play it every day in captivity. Janitor N states: *'Now I cannot forget this song'* (p2:250). In another occasion, janitor L spoke of his relation problems with a Dutch girl (p2:341). Or, guest Y would ask me to explain some letters from the tax authorities to him. Guest J played a song: Piet Leegwater- *'War'*. He claimed to be the singer, but guest A did not buy it. And guest K played a song of an Iranian folk singer. He commented: *'Before I did not know why millions of people went to see him. But now I am outside of Iran I understand'* (p2:396). Guest H told his story about his confrontation with Hamas (p2:416), and guest A showed me some pictures of his relatives on Facebook. The guests are glad to have television and internet. Before they felt deaf and blind in the world (p4:180). Before they had to pay for internet on their mobile phones, but now they no longer have to do so (p2:178). The care center is provided with an internet connection, which could be used for private conversations and Skype sessions with friends and family (p22:9). The guests express their feelings to other guests, the janitors or volunteers that might be present at the care center.

8.3 Assigning meaning

The undocumented migrants experience several problems. Among others, their difficulties consist of: a lack of perspective, (mental) health problems, continuing limbo situations (p5:604), not feeling at home at the care center, living with people you sometimes do not like, language barriers and spending each day on the streets (p16:108). The undocumented migrants have adopted different approaches and attitudes for dealing with this hardship. Furthermore, they have assigned different meanings and suggested various solutions that could improve their lives. I will describe these issues in the following section.

In short, the undocumented migrants struggle with all of the before mentioned problems. Guest C and guest D voiced their discontent with the lack of perspective and prevailing limbo situations. They argue: *'we are now here for six years and we have nothing. The procedure is not going well. That is a problem. I should have had a status three years ago'* (p1:526). *'On the moment we are predominantly waiting. That is really bad'* (p1:545). Moreover, the undocumented migrants repulse from their lives on the streets. For example, in one occasion guest B asked if he could spend the day at the care center. It was Christmas and he did not find it appropriate to dwell outside on this day. The general coordinator rejected his request. He voiced his discontent: *'we are dogs, dogs have a better life in Holland'*. Guest K agreed: *'yes, we are fucking dogs'* (p2:305). Another time, the guests negotiated the prospect of living on the streets during the winter (p7:190). During a peace rally, some undocumented migrants stressed that one essentially remains on the run until you receive a permit of residence (p7:152). Furthermore, migrants that lack language skills suffer even more (p7:146). Same goes for the mentally or physically vulnerable migrants (p16:96). Guest H underlined that is hard being on the streets and returning to a care center with people you do not necessarily like (p16:105).

However, the undocumented migrants manage their problems differently. They adopt different attitudes to cope with reality. Guest A adopts a combative attitude. He will: *'never ever again give up in life'. Never let reality bring you down! Hard time, I just have to accept reality. A girl said to me: 'this guy does not look like he is in the street'. Mentally I already left the street, only reality. That is why I am smiling. Many asylum seekers fuck Holland. That I why I do not go to immigration'* (p1:122). However, at times it is hard to stay strong. Guest A argues: *'I struggle to be a good man that is why I cry'* (p1:22). But, guest E adopt a different approach. He has decided to focus on positive thoughts. He comments: *'personally, I put my problem somewhere else. I don't want to have my problem lead my thinking. I never stopped sleeping well. Put yourself in the positive. Okay, the problem is now..but what is future?'* (p1:655)..*But that's my way, everyone has his way'* (p1:655). However, not all guests manage to remain as positive like guest E. Guest F argues: *'I have decided long ago to remain calm. I can only do it myself'* (p1:853). But, he will need help. Guest F states: *'I visited a psychiatrist and received medicine to relax'* (p1:925). Some guests become depressed by their problems. Guest V stated that there is little point in life. He has no residence permit, no home and he does not enjoy his life (p2:13). And, guest G replied to a casual question 'how are you doing': *'I*

am never good. I am alone in life (p2:407). However, some guests are able to change their state of mind. Guest A explains: *'at the IND I was crying for my life. Until Nick, the leader of the Church asked my: what is your problem? I responded: 'my problem is that I only see my problem'. That is when I realized'* (p1:32).

Then, the undocumented migrants mention a couple of things that help them remain positive. Guest E argues: *'For my I like theater and acting. If I have theater in two weeks I can look forward to it. But that's my way, everyone has his way'* (p1:655). Guest F also underlines the importance of activities. He argues: *'I want to find a solution myself. When I have palpitations, I read the bible or pray. My faith helps me, it gives me peace and strength. Also I do running, cycling and sports. Or I go to the library to read a book or go to church'* (p1:943). Guest C and guest D comment: *'a status can make us happy, and fitness. We want to do sports'* (p1:526). It is important to spend your day useful. And, have a some say in how to life your life. There are many conditionalities in place. As a result, self-determination becomes an important issue. Guest B comments: *'I want to fight for this life. I do well, don't do drugs and light a candle in church. I am really Christian. Before I made my own money as a car mechanic. I stopped my welfare check and found a job through an employment agency. I want it myself, I want to arrange it myself'* (p1:311). Furthermore, janitor L argues: *'the expectations should not be that high. They want a solution by tomorrow. Guest K has now been here for one and a half year and he is getting crazy. I have been here for five years and I do not have a solution and still remain calm'* (p1:238).

Furthermore, the undocumented migrants have mentioned a couple of (small) changes (at the local level) that could improve their lives. First of all, attaining a residence permit. Guest B: *'I am now busy with my papers'* (p1:414). Secondly, spending your day usefully. Guest E argued: *'..put me in school because school will help me. Talk to someone, then you know who he is and you can help him. Ask me? I will say put me to school. If they eventually send me home I feel I have continued live my life. If I learn, spend my time useful, than it is good'* (p1:670). Education could give meaning to life. But, another person would rather set career goals. Guest B wants to get a job. *'Guest B is watching a YouTube movie on how to repair the gears. 'The rest, I know. The motor, tires, starting..I can do everything'. I want to get a job. Take care of myself. I do not want money from the church. I want to work myself, earn money myself'* (p1:414). Thirdly, the undocumented migrants could be helped to feel more at home. Primarily, at the care center. For example, guest A mentioned that volunteer L has connected the guest through collective activities (p1:42). But, also in Dutch society. For example, guest A argues: *'I feel more at home outside. Nijmegen is my home. The street is my home. In the church I feel at home'* (p1:12). He is grateful for finding love and acceptance in the city of Nijmegen. In Sudan he would have suffered a different fate (p1:94). Fourthly, the undocumented migrant could be helped to relax and engage in hobbies. Guest E explains that he will go to the library, the garden of *'Foundation Guest'* and the swimming pool. At times, they can withdraw: *'better alone, leave me alone..'* (p1:333). Or, have fun together. For example, like the time guest E and guest A were singing

and dancing together on Justin Bieber - What do you mean? (p2:206). Or, share experiences, intimate feeling and thoughts. For example, like the time guest A showed me his friends and family on facebook (p2:323).

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I provided insight in the diverse ways undocumented migrants might feel or experience their lives. The undocumented migrants express their feelings and assign complex and diverse meanings at the care center. The expatriate experiences of the undocumented migrants are lived through in the domestic sphere' (as cited in Gielis, 2011, p 258). Volunteer A rightfully states: *'here at the care center all of these tensions are expressed'* (p6:264).

The undocumented migrants experience several problems. They consist of: little or no perspective, severe traumas, (mental) health problems, street dwelling, forced coexistence with other guests and continuing limbo situations. The guests express their discomfort of this hardship.

However, they might find 'shelter' at the care center. The proffered hospitality might soften their problems and make life more bearable. But did the undocumented migrants experience the care center as a hospitable home, despite these personal problems and relational processes? Gielis (2011) rightfully states that: *'houses are no longer the private (and emotional) paradises of yesterday'* (p260). At first, it looked like the guests felt 'at home'. However, the meaning of 'home' differs among the guests (p1:712). The guests described the characteristics of 'a home'. It seem that the guest do not feel at home because of a lack of: (a) safety, (b) freedom of choice and movement, (c) privacy, (d) rest and (e) emotional security or intimacy. Although, they did appreciate the efforts of their hosts.

Many of the feelings and experiences were processed at the care center. Or, as Gielis (2011) would say: *'lived through in the domestic sphere'* (as cited in Gielis, 2011, p 258). They withdraw themselves from the social setting in various ways. For example: they focus on their mobile phones, watch movies, listen to music, perform handcraft or physically retreat to the dorms, smoking room or other parts of the shelter to be alone. Moreover, many *'emotions about relational processes get shape and are expressed in specific social relations with people'* (Gielis, 2011, p 261). The care center is not a *'socially stable and spatially fixed location'* (Gielis, 2011, p 258). And, the undocumented migrants *'express their feelings about this social instability'* and *'give meaning to these external developments that influences their lives'*, in relation to others. (Gielis, 2011, p 258). I have described various instances in which guests share their stories, emotions and experiences.

However, the undocumented migrants do not only emotionally experience institutional and relational processes. They assign meanings to them. I have described the emotional interpretations of various guests. They manage their problems differently. And, adopt different attitudes for dealing with their hardship. One adopt a combative attitude, the other is depressed. However, they guests mention several things that help them too remain positive. Moreover, they give a couple of solutions that could improve their lives. These consist of: attaining a residence permit, spending your day usefully (preferably through education or labor), feeling more at home and receive help to relax and engage in hobbies.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Ethnographic fragment: the temporary nature of hospitality

'It is Tuesday morning, I get on my bike and depart for the care center. It has been ten months since I passed the threshold for the first time. I remember searching the entrance, janitor L answering the door and allowing passage into a new world or social reality.

At the care center, I combined the role of volunteer with the role of researcher. At times, I struggled. For example, some tensions and violent conflicts between the guests affected me. Often, I was obliged to respond and give substance to my duties as a host. However, thereafter I would withdraw from the field and try to describe the occurrence in an objective and more detached way. Sometimes this was very hard. I developed bounds of friendship with the guests and gradually became socialized.

When I look around today, I must confess that much has changed over the course of the last ten months. The composition of the community has altered dramatically. Not a single undocumented migrant I encountered at my first visit is still a resident at the care center. Moreover, the space has changed. Some of the furniture was replaced and a couple of rooms were redecorated. The board and (general) coordinator has made some improvements to the care center. For example, they installed a cabinet for the storage of linen and old blankets. Furthermore, some of the institutional rules and norms were altered through negotiation and contestation. For example, the undocumented migrants can nowadays enter the care center at six o'clock in the evening. Moreover, the relational and emotional processes also altered through the changing composition of the community of undocumented migrants. Other, cooperation, tensions, conflicts and instances of negotiation are visible as all of the undocumented migrants deal differently with the social instability.

However, not everything has changed. For example, most of the hosts are still performing their duties. And, most of the institutional rules and norms are still upheld. Many structures are still in place. I can conclude that hospitality is temporarily extended to particular strangers or foreign others that are folded into the internal law of the household. However, the care center is also a very dynamic place. The institutional, relational and emotional properties alter.

When I first entered the field I realized that every migrant has crossed the threshold and entered a new social reality. As I depart, I realize that my stay and duties as a host were also temporary. Through my participation I have changed the care center and the care center has changed me' (see annex 7).

9.1 Everyday hospitality

In this research I studied a community of undocumented migrants living in the bed, bath and bread facility of Nijmegen. And, asked the research question: *How is hospitality produced, conditioned and negotiated in the framework of the welcoming of undocumented migrants in the bed, bath and bread facility of Nijmegen?*

This dynamic single-site is embedded in a multi-layered context. I adopted an institutional conception of hospitality (Pogge, as cited in Dikeç, 2002, p 237) and used principles and institutional arrangements as a starting point. Hospitality is institutionally embedded. International, national and local rules and regulations provide a legal basis to the organization of 'care' for undocumented migrants. They set the boundaries to a framework in which the undocumented migrants must operate.

This legal framework provides some opportunities or rights and some barriers or conditions to the extension of hospitality towards undocumented migrants. On the international level, several treaties and charters enshrine the rights of undocumented migrants. For example, the right of shelter, sanitation and food. They depart from the unconditional logic of hospitality. On the national level, rules and regulations impose several conditions to hospitality. They only extend care to specific categories of 'migrants', 'refugees' or 'foreign strangers' in particular types of care centres on the basis of '*the right of residence*' and the status of the asylum application. Undocumented migrants are excluded from all social provisions. Hospitality turns into hostility in disguise. The rules and regulations on the national level depart from the conditional logic of hospitality. On the local level, municipalities have organized 'basic care' or 'emergency care' for the undocumented migrants in bed, bath and bread facilities. They address the discrepancy between international and national rules and regulations. However, they impose some conditions or 'organizational principles' themselves. The rules and regulations on the local level depart from a conditional logic of hospitality but also negotiate or contest the policy of the state.

It is important to realize that hospitality take substance differently on each level. On the one hand, the international, national and local level is relational and impact on each other. On the other hand, the actors produce condition and negotiate hospitality in their own way on each level. For example, municipalities have decided to shelter undocumented migrants despite of the national rules and regulations. And, the volunteers of the care center have deviated and bend some organization rules and regulations.

I would argue that we should focus on the hospitality as a practice. In the home relations are made and rules are contested. In the home everyday life is practiced and experienced. It is the coming together of institutional, relational and emotional processes that produce the everyday hospitality that undocumented migrants experience.

The host is able to place limits and conditions on the proffered 'gift' of hospitality (Derrida, 2000). And, the host maintains sovereign authority over the space and the goods that are opened up to the undocumented migrants (Derrida, 2000). Derrida (2002) is right that there is no such thing as

unconditional hospitality. I recommend that we focus on the functioning of the conditions that are in place. This conditional hospitality could result in care and in control. The thin line between care and control demands dialogue. Top-down structuralizing forces and bottom-up initiatives of contestation should meet. Then, the ‘naturalized order of politics’ can be challenged. Or, negotiated, altered and diversified through relational properties. Without political struggle the position of undocumented migrants in Dutch society is not likely to change. In practice, spatial negotiation is far more productive than pursuing the unconditional hospitality that Kant (1991) proposes.

On the local level, there is much opportunity for bottom-up processes of negotiation and contestation. The undocumented migrants could turn ‘noises’ into ‘voices’ and shout ‘*we are here*’. On the basis of their residence and their street dwelling in Nijmegen, they ought to have a say in the structuring of their daily lives. They could be assisted in this pursuit. The struggle for more rights may be realized through developing ‘*a sensibility in social relations and interactions, as well as in institutional practices*’ (Dikeç, 2002, p236). And by helping to ‘*cultivate an ethics of political engagement*’ (Dikeç, 2002, 237) that could help ‘*reorient the politics of the state*’ (Darling, 2009, p 19). And, together the host and guest could improve the practice of providing hospitality.

9.2 Recommendations

I have formulated presented a list of recommendations (see annex 12) to the Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen (SNOV) in order to: improve the hospitality that is extended to undocumented migrants in the bed, bath and bread facility of Nijmegen, contribute to societal and theoretical debates on the ‘welcoming’ of ‘strangers and influence the policy framework and decision-making processes that surround the bed, bath and bread treaty

In short, I recommend that the host should realize that everyday hospitality is the product of institutional, relational and emotional processes. The space, the community and these processes are ever changing. We should therefore focus on the practicing of hospitality. The host can only govern and manage to a certain extent and its institutional rules and norms should be there only to guarantee a safe and liveable care center. Moreover, the rules and their enforcement should be grounded on the values of respect, tolerance and equality. In practice, this could mean ‘tailoring’, equally applying the rules to the hosts and allowing for the diversification and alteration of guest-host relations. The undocumented migrants demand more self-determination, empowerment, participation and influence on daily affairs. The host should stimulate these bottom-up processes of participation, contestation and negotiation. And, engage in a dialogue of spatial negotiation. Hence, the host could help undocumented migrants to exert their rights. Firstly, by developing ‘*a sensibility in social relations and interactions, as well as institutional practices*’ (Dikeç, 2002, p 236). And, secondly by cultivating ‘*an ethics of political engagement*’ (Dikeç, 2002, p 236). The host could organize joint activities that bind people together and stimulate group processes. Moreover, they could reduce the violent conflicts that destabilize the care center and approach the tensions as opportunities for dialogue and social learning.

Furthermore, they could create the privacy for withdrawal and personal reflection and the intimacy for the sharing of emotions and experiences. On the local level, 'an ethics of political engagement' might take substance that could 'help reorient the politics of the state' (Darling, 2009, p19).

9.3 Reflection and follow-up studies

In this research I engaged in ethnographic research and studied the community of undocumented migrants that reside in the care center of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' in Nijmegen-Oost. I studied how hospitality is produced, conditioned and negotiated and positioned myself in societal and theoretical debates on the 'welcoming' of 'strangers'. I adopted a methodology that applied the methods of participant observations, interviews and document-analyses. And, focused one single site and its multi-layered context.

This research could have been improved or complemented in various ways. First of all, I only engaged in participant observation at the care center between eight o'clock and ten o'clock in the morning and evening. I could have also spent the night at the care center. I expect that most intimate thoughts and feelings are expressed later at night when no or little hosts are present. Furthermore, I could have engaged in participant observations at the intake of new guests. This is an important communicating event in which the hosts assert 'the natural order of domination'.

Secondly, I spent a lot of effort on understanding the lives of the undocumented migrants. This could have reduced the attention for the role of the host.

Thirdly, I could have included the methods of video/photographic work and focus groups. The photographic work would have helped capture the social setting. And, described the domestic objects and symbolism in the care center. For example, the paintings on the wall have a symbolic meaning. Furthermore, focus groups might help capture group processes. This might uncovered more bottom-up initiatives of contestation and negotiation.

Fourthly, I researched the multi-layered context of the care center as a 'board member'. And, opportunistically uncovered the interrelations with other social systems through invitations of the undocumented migrants and everyday occurrences in the field. Follow-up study could adopt a multi-sited ethnographical approach and actively uncover the social systems or socio-cultural context in the city of Nijmegen. This would give a more context to my research. And, specify which interrelations penetrate the domestic sphere of the care center. Moreover, it might uncover that hospitality is also extended, conditioned and negotiated in other spatial entities in Nijmegen. Furthermore, the researcher could also pay more attention to how international, national and local spheres of hospitality intersect. For example, the undocumented migrants might refer to the universal declaration of human rights while formulating their political claims on the local level.

Fifthly, this research could be repeated in a different municipality and bed, bath and bread facility. I am curious what we would learn from cross comparison. The coming together of institutional, relational and emotional processes produces the everyday hospitality that undocumented

migrants experience. Therefore the practice of hospitality is likely to differ in each bed, bath and bread facility. This cross comparison would reveal the local negotiation involved. And would enhance or reduce the generalizability of this research. Moreover, it might create understanding on the impact of the multi-layered context. For example, the political orientation of a certain municipality might impact on the (organization) of the local bed, bath and bread facility.

Sixthly, I would recommend further research on the temporary nature of hospitality. Much of the complexity and the dynamics in bed, bath and bread facilities are a result of this temporality. For example, the '*management of individual and collective mobilities and identities, and the extend and contest of claims*' becomes more difficult for the host if the community of undocumented migrants continuously varies (Young, 2011, p 537). Moreover, the guests might encounter problems organizing collective processes to exert rights. In further researcher, the ethnographer could draw up a portrait of the community present in the local bed, bath and bread facility. Thereafter, he/she could track the inflow and outflow of undocumented migrants. And, research how this changes dynamics on the ground. For example, the top-down structuralizing forces and bottom-up initiatives of contestation might be disrupted or facilitated. And, which institutional, relational and emotional processes alter? The temporary nature of hospitality might be a moderating variable.

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Glossary

aliens act= vreemdelingenrecht

administrative agreement= bestuursakkoord

amnesty= generaal pardon

asylum seekers' centra= asielzoekerscentra

asylum status= verblijfsstatus

basic care= basisopvang

bed-bath-bread= bed-bad-brood

bed, bath and bread agreement= bed, bad en brood regeling

bed, bath, bread care= bed, bad, brood opvang

bbb-plus care= bbb-plus opvang

bbb-facility= bbb-voorziening

brushings= poetsbeurten

care rejected asylum seekers in Nijmegen= opvang uitgeprocedeerde asielzoekers in Nijmegen

central agency for the reception of asylum seekers= centraal orgaan opvang asielzoekers

central municipalities= centrumgemeenten

duty to care= zorgplicht

duty to leave = vertrekplicht

dutch catholic religious = katholieke nederlandse religieuzen (knr)

dutch refugee council = stichting vluchtelingenwerk Nederland

dutch refugee council east = stichting vluchtelingenwerk Oost-Nederland

duty to report= meldplicht

european convention on human rights = europese verdrag voor de rechten van de mens

environmental service= omgevingsdienst

environmental license= omgevingsvergunning

emergency care= noodopvang

emergency care nijmegen of vwon'= noodopvang nijmegen van vwon

extended asylum application = verlengde asielprocedure

food bank= voedselbank

foundation for emergency care refugees nijmegen= stichting noodopvang vluchtelingen nijmegen

foundation for emergency care= stichting noodopvang

foundation guest= stichting gast

freedom restrive measure= vrijheidsbeperkende maatregel

graduate school of arnhem and nijmegen= hogeschool van arnhem en nijmegen

human rights on the streets. bed, bath, bread and human dignity in the netherlands= mensenrechten op

straat. bed, bad, brood en de menselijke waardigheid in Nederland

human dignity= menselijke waardigheid

independent administrative authorities = zelfstandige bestuursorganen

integration and naturalisation service = integratie en naturalisatie dienst

perspective= perspectief

positive obligation= positieve verplichting

plus care= basisplus opvang

platform talks= koepelbesprekingen

preliminary injunction= voorlopige voorziening

protestant parish (house of compassion)= protestantse diaconie (huis van compassie)

proposal for care of strangers in distress= voorstel tot de opvang van vreemdelingen in nood

obligation of effort= inspanningsverplichting

large square= grote markt

linkage principle = koppelingsbeginsel

locations for family relief= gezinsopvanglocaties

mandatory measure = ordemaatregel

medical care project undocumented migrants = medisch opvangproject ongedocumenteerden

national consultation local authorities reception and return policy= landelijk overleg gemeentebesturen
opvang- en terugkeerbeleid

national station of support undocumented migrants =landelijk steundpunt ongedocumenteerden

normal care= reguliere opvang

need= nood

social support act = wet maatschappelijke ontwikkeling

scheme benefits and determined categories of aliens 1998= regeling verstrekkingen bepaalde
categorieën vreemdelingen 1998

scheme benefits, asylum seekers and other categories of aliens 2005= regeling verstrekkingen
asielzoekers en andere categorieën vreemdelingen 2005

strict but just= streng maar rechtvaardig

status act= koppelingswet

reception directive= opvangrichtlijn

regional ties= regiobinding

restricting freedom location= vrijheidsbeperkte locatie

repatriation and departure service= dienst terugkeer en vertrek

refugee council= vluchtelingenwerk

right of residence = verblijfsrecht

temporary provision= tijdelijke voorziening

world women's house mariam of nijmegen= wereldvrouwenhuis mariam van nijmegen

Annex

Annex 1. Observation scheme for fieldwork

Themes	
1.	Conditionality
2.	Experience of the migrant
3.	Sanctuary zones
4.	Guest-host relations
5.	Facilitation of care centre
6.	Tensions
7.	Cooperation
8.	Negotiation

Annex 2. The social setting

I followed the advice of Whitehead & Hyg (2005) and described the social setting in terms of: '(1) The space; I provide a detailed description of the care centre and support it with photographic material. (2) The objects; I will describe which objects there are in the room of the care centre. (3) The individual actors; I will briefly portray them and describe their personalities, characteristics and affiliations. This also provides information on the 'composition of the community' (Crang & Cook, 2008, p 30). (4) The social systemic context; I will describe how the group of undocumented migrants function. With special for shared practices, conflicts and alliances. (5) Their behaviour in terms of acts, activities and events. (6) The languages that are spoken and draw up a picture who can communicate with whom or hold key positions in interactions. (7) The forms of expressive culture that are present within the care centre, for example: music, dance, handcraft, art or architecture. (8) The patterns of interaction among actors. (9) The emotional level of the discourse, map who brings in which emotions, feelings, or experiences. (10) The ideational elements that are expressed in the care centre, e.g. their beliefs, attitudes, values or the significant symbols. (11) Broader social systems that impact on the undocumented migrants in the care centre. (12) The physical environmental elements present around the care centre, e.g. the neighbourhood or weather. (13) The goals, motivations or agenda of undocumented migrants within the care centre' (Whitehead & Hyg, 2005, p 13).

Annex 3. Personal description of the ethnographer

I am a male student, twenty-six years old. A Dutch and New-Zealand citizen. With a background in

history, public administration and social geography. I come from a middle class family. My parents are divorced. I have one brother, one sister, two stepsisters and one stepbrother. My family member and I are lefties except for my dad. I travelled a great deal as my mother thought it was part of my education to see the world and learn how other people lived. I am open, social and curious and undecided on many things in life. This is a short introduction of the ethnographer because personal characteristics might have influenced the participant observations.

Annex 4. Intellectual diary

Interwoven with the field diary (see data collection in Atlas).

Annex 5. Personal diary

Interwoven with the field diary (see data collection in Atlas).

Annex 6. Interview guide

Theme	Vragenlijst	Answer
Sense of home	1. Voel jij je 'thuis' in de opvang?	
	2. Wanneer voel jij je 'thuis' in de opvang?	
	3. Wanneer voel jij je niet 'thuis' in de opvang?	
	4. Wat is er voor nodig zodat jij je meer thuis voelt in de opvang?	
Negotiation	5. Vind je dat er voldoende voorzieningen in de opvang worden geboden?	
	6. Wat mist er nog volgens jou?	
	7. Hoe vind je de begeleiding en facilitering vanuit de	

vrijwilliger en vanuit het
SNOV

8. Heb je nog aanbevelingen aan het SNOV?
- Cooperation and tension
9. Hoe is jou contact met de andere mannen?
10. Met wie kan je het goed vinden, met wie minder en waarom?
11. Hoe denk je dat we de spanningen kunnen verminderen?
12. Denk je dat het stellen van regels hier bij helpt?
13. Zo ja, welke regels?
14. Onderschrijf je de regels die er nu liggen? Zo ja, zijn deze afdoende voor een leefbare situatie in de opvang? Zo nee, wat heb je er op aan te merken en waarom?
15. Vind je dat de regels goed gehandhaafd worden?
-

16. Wat kan jij er zelf aan doen om de leefbaarheid in de opvang te vergroten?
- Feelings and experiences
17. Hoe voel jij je op het moment? Hoe gaat het met je?
18. Kom je tot rust in de opvang? Zo nee, wat belet dan?
19. Hoe wat is de impact die regels (zoals een schorsing) op je leven hebben?
20. Wat heb je nodig om aan perspectief te gaan werken?
-

Annex 7. The temporary nature of hospitality (last visit of the care center).

‘It is Tuesday morning, I get on my bike and depart for the care center. It has been ten months since I passed the threshold for the first time. I remember searching the entrance, janitor F answering at the door and allowing passage in a new world or social reality. I combined the role of volunteer with the role of researcher. At times, I struggled. For example, some violent conflicts between the guest affected me. Often, I was obliged to respond and give substance to my duties as a host. However, thereafter I would redraw from the field and describe the occurrence in a objective and more detached way. This was sometimes hard. Furthermore, I developed bounds of friendship with some of the guest that resided at the care center. However, when I entered the care center for the last time and looked around I must confess that much has changed. The composition of the community altered dramatically. Not a single undocumented migrant I encountered at my first visit was still residing in the care center. Moreover, the space has changed. Some of the furniture was replaced and the rooms were a little redecorated. The board and (general) coordinator has made some improvements, for example installing a cabinet for the storage of linen and old blankets. Furthermore, some of the institutional rules and norms were altered through negotiation and contestation. And, relational and emotional processes also altered through the changing composition of the community of

undocumented migrants. Other, tensions, conflicts and negotiation became visible and the individual undocumented migrants all deal differently with this social instability. However, not everything has changed. Most of the hosts are still performing their duties. And, most of the institutional rules and norms are still uphold. Many (physical) structures are still in place. Nevertheless, I can conclude that hospitality is temporarily extended to particular strangers or foreign other that are folded into the internal law of the household. Moreover, the care center is a very dynamic place. And, the institutional, relational and emotional processes are also not static but dynamic. When I entered the field I realized that every migrants has entered the same threshold without an idea about what lies beyond. As a depart, I realize that I also temporarily performed the role of host. Through my participation I have changed the care center and the care center has changed me'.

Annex 8. Tasks and responsibilities of the volunteer

- Monitors if there is food in the evening between eight and ten o'clock and from quarter past eight and ten o'clock in the morning.
- Together with the janitor he/she is responsible for maintaining a calm and relaxed atmosphere at the care center.
- Together with the janitor he/she arranges coffee, tea, food, cleaning the table, the dishes, the separation of waste etc.
- Performs the tasks of the janitor in case of his absence.
- Acts in case of calamities and problems. Mediates the conflicts that arise.
- Arranges the cleaning of sheets after eight o'clock in the evening.
- Stores the leftovers of breakfast and dinner in the refrigerator.
- Occasionally helps do the dishes (p:32).

Annex 10. General information on the respondents

Guest A, a Sudanese man

Guest B, an Armenian man

Guest C, an Iranian man, brother of guest D.

Guest D, an Iranian man, brother of guest D.

Guest E, a Congolese man

Guest F, an Afghani man

Guest G, a West-African man

Guest H, a Palestine man

Guest I, a Palestine man

Guest J, a Syrian man

Guest K, a Iranian man

Guest M, an Guinean man

Guest P, an Syrian man
Janitor L , a Iranian man
Janitor M, a Congolese man
Janitor N, a Congolese man
Volunteer W, a middle-aged Dutch man
Volunteer L, a middle-aged Dutch female
Volunteer F, a middle-aged Dutch man
Volunteer Y, a middle-aged Dutch man
Volunteer T, a young Dutch man
Volunteer R, a middle-aged Dutch female
Volunteer A, a middle-aged Dutch female
Volunteer B, a young Dutch man
General coordinator S, a middle-aged Dutch female
Coordinator W, a middle-aged Dutch man
Board member P, a middle-aged Dutch man
Board member J, a middle-aged Dutch man
Board member M, a middle-aged Dutch female
Gatekeeper M, a middle-aged Dutch female

Annex 11. Operationalization of deductive codes and sensitizing concepts

Indicator 1. International rules and norms

-Theoretical explanation: The host offers hospitality. He is master of his own house and grants or denies passage over the threshold (Derrida, 2000). However, he governs this threshold. For Derrida (2000) hospitality is ‘*the law of the household*’ (p 4). The ‘foreign other’ is folded into the internal law of the host and subjugated to circles of conditionality’ (Derrida, 2000, p 7). Dikeç (2005) argues that institutions primarily order space and maintain domination. This ‘natural order of domination’ is policed and institutionalized (Dikeç, 2005, p 175). Hence, space becomes a ‘container of containment’ with disciplining effects (Dikeç, personal communication, 2015).

-Empirical explanation: I research which types of institutional rules and norms are in effect at the care center and how they are spatially expressed. I researched how the institutional rules and norms are communicated to the guests. I researched how it demanded a certain performance of the host and formulated expected behaviour guests had to conform to. I researched how the international rules and norms are enforced by the hosts and if there was any support for these rules under the guests.

-Visible at the care center: physical (signing an intake document declaring to conform to the rules, the rules are put up on the wall of the care center in Dutch and Arabic). Propagated, communicated and enforced by the hosts. They demand a certain behaviour of the guests. The reception of the guests, attitudes or general support are often expressed.

Indicator 2. Guest-host relations

-Theoretical explanation: Hospitality is a relationship of engagement between a 'host' and a 'guest' (as cited in Haak, lecture, 2015). These relations are top-down structured by conceiving certain tasks and responsibilities of the hosts and the expected behaviour of the guests. And, altered and diversified through bottom-up processes.

-Empirical explanation: The host perform certain tasks and responsibilities and engage in more spontaneous forms of interaction with the guests. The guests have to engage in expected behaviour and are able to develop some practices of their own. I describe the attitudes of the hosts, their counselling, advice and struggles. And, the attitudes of the guests, their opinion of the structuralizing forces and their negotiation, alteration or diversification of guest-host relations. Moreover, I map the positive (activities) and negative (enforcement and sanctioning) practices and how it impacts on the relationship building.

-Visible at the care center: structured interactions (performance and expected behaviour), spontaneous interactions and the expression of attitudes and opinions.

Indicator 3. Tension

-Theoretical explanation: Overall, the 'welcomed guest' is either treated as an ally or as an enemy (Derrida, 2000, p 4). All revolves around this 'welcoming' of the 'foreign other' or 'stranger'.

Dominant structures heavily determine their chances and opportunities (Dikeç, 2001). Space is therefore highly political. It contains diverse structures and social relations that are steeped with tension (Dikeç, lecture 12 January 2015). However, the structures could be altered through relational properties.

-Empirical explanation: The community of undocumented migrants share several problems. These group of people have to coexist. However, many of the undocumented migrants do not like each other or are fed up with each other's behavior. I can analyze their relations, expressions and attitudes.

Moreover, I can analyze which type of behavior creates tensions among the guests. Moreover, I can study the conflict resolution, orientations and personal reactions.

-Visible at the care center: physical behaviour, attitudes, opinions and conflict resolution.

Indicator 4. Conflict

-Theoretical explanation: Overall, the 'welcomed guest' is either treated as an ally or as an enemy (Derrida, 2000, p 4). Kant argues that '*the stranger has the right not be treated with hostility as he enters someone's else territory, so long as he behaves in a peaceful manner in the place he happens to be*' (Derrida, 2000, p 5).

-Empirical explanation: there have been several instances in which guests have violated the rules. There were violations, grave offenses and (violent) conflicts between the guests. I can analyse the

reactions of the guests and that of the hosts. The hosts try to restore order and enforce the rules. The hosts adopt different approaches. They maintain a sanction policy but also make exceptions. Their dealings also influences the attitudes and opinions of the guests. Moreover, the sanctions impact differently on the guests.

Visible at the care center: physical behaviour, attitudes, opinions and conflict resolution.

Indicator 5. Cooperation

-Theoretical explanation: Humans have communal possession of the earth. Its territory is finite. People are therefore forced to coexist and tolerate one another (Derrida, 2000).

-Empirical explanation: In the care center the guests like one person better than the other. I can analyse their relations and the practices they engage in. There are several instances of cooperation. Guests care for each other and help each other. The hosts could stimulate these group processes. The guests and hosts have particular attitudes and sentiments in this regard. Moreover, they suggest different approaches towards improving the relations. I analyse the dominant practices and systemic relations and discuss the role of activities.

Visible at the care center: physical behaviour, dominant practices, systemic relations, group processes, attitudes, opinions and orientations.

Indicator 6. Negotiation

-Theoretical explanation: Dominant structures heavily determine their chances and opportunities (Dikeç, 2001). However, the ‘naturalized order of politics’ can be challenged (Darling, 2009, p 246). Structures could be altered through relational properties and undocumented migrants can ‘*conquer space through collective processes and consequently exert their rights..*’ (Dikeç, 2001, p 1800). Bottom-up processes of political participation that could turn ‘*noises*’ into ‘*voices*’ (Dikeç, 2001). It could challenge the ‘established order’ and change how social relations are spatialized (Dikeç, 2001, p 1800).

-Empirical explanation: the institutional space of the care center is not absolute or fixed. I can analyse the appreciation and acceptance of the dominant structures among the guests. And, review their opinion of the ‘care taking’. However, I can also voice their discontent. I analysed several instances of negotiation and contestation. The undocumented migrants put forward critique, mobilization and claims. There are examples of successful and unsuccessful negotiation. Moreover, I analysed the content of the negotiations and distilled underlying values.

Visible at the care center: physical behaviour, attitudes, opinions, group processes, contestation, negotiation, political claims.

Indicator 7. Emotions

-Theoretical explanation: Undocumented migrants are deprived of considerable human rights (Haak, lecture, 2015). Hospitality is extended in a ‘*specific context and towards particular individuals, not*

simply to strangers in general' (Darling, 2009, p 84). It is therefore a '*gesture of spatial power*' (Darling, 2009, p 84). The care center is not a '*socially stable and spatially fixed location*' (Gielis, 2011, p 258). There is a lot of social instability. The undocumented migrants express their feelings about this instability. They withdraw from the social setting or process these emotions in relation to people. The '*expatriate experiences are lived through in the domestic sphere*' (as cited in Gielis, 2011, p 258).

-Empirical explanation: I have described the emotional expressions of the guests. I mentioned the instances the feel at home and when they did not feel at home. Moreover, I analyzed the characteristics a home should have for the migrants. And, whether these characteristics are currently present at the care center. Their orientation on sharing experiences and living as a '*community*'. I specified the various ways in which the undocumented migrant withdraw or retreat from the social setting. And, I mentioned instances in which the undocumented migrants shared their emotions and experiences.

-Visible at the care center: physical behaviour, withdrawal, sharing, emotional expressions, practices, attitudes and orientations.

Indicator 8. Experience

-Theoretical explanation: When undocumented migrants are rendered '*illegal*' they are consequently deprived of considerable social rights (Darling, 2009, p 47). There is a lot of social instability. The undocumented migrants express their feelings about this instability and assign meanings to the external developments that strongly influence their lives (Gielis, 2011, p 258).

-Empirical explanation: I described the socio-cultural meanings and emotional interpretations that were ventilated at the care center. I mapped the communal problems of the community of undocumented migrants. Their attitudes and approaches to deal with the hardship. And, the orientations or meanings they have developed. All adapt a certain logic to make sense of their lives. I described the mechanisms to remain positive and survive. And, mapped the changes that could improve the lives of the undocumented migrants.

-Visible at the care center: physical behaviour, emotional orientations, practices, attitudes, orientations and solutions.

Sensitizing concept 1. Characteristics of community

General information on the community living in the care centre or shelter.

Sensitizing concept 2. Inflow

Descriptive information on the inflow of undocumented migrants in the care center.

Sensitizing concept 3. Outflow

Descriptive information on the inflow of undocumented migrants in the care center.

Sensitizing concept 4. Status of the procedure

Information on the procedure, asylum status and perspective of the undocumented migrants.

Sensitizing concept 5. Personal stories

Short stories of undocumented migrants about their lives and the personal circumstances.

Sensitizing concept 6. Political statements

Political statement of undocumented migrants about their lives, the institutional configuration and their rights.

Sensitizing concept 7. Material facilitation

Material facilitation of the care centre or shelter by of the hosts of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' (SNOV).

Sensitizing concept 8. Immaterial facilitation

Immaterial facilitation of the care center or shelter, i.e. counseling, advice or help of other sorts, by the hosts of '*Foundation for Emergency Care Refugees Nijmegen*' (SNOV).

Sensitizing concept 9. Conflict

Grave offenses, violations and violent conflicts that lead to destabilization of the care center.

Sensitizing concept 10. Differences

Differences between the guests that are present in the care center. These differences are cultural, religious, sexual etc.

Sensitizing concept 11. Invitations of hospitality

Instances of (spontaneous) hospitality extended towards the guests or the hosts. Often, relevant in terms of relationship building or there is an alteration of the established order. For example, guest-host relations could change through relational properties if a guest decides to cook for a host.

Sensitizing concept 12. Practices

Physical behavior that occur frequently or routinely within the care center.

Sensitizing concept 13. Activities

Occasional, occurrences that require some planning and serve a specific purpose. Some activities are structural and belong to the social system others come from personal initiative.

Sensitizing concept 14. Involved parties

Stakeholder, NGO'S and other involved parties that are related to the realization or continuation of a bed, bath and bread facility.

Sensitizing concept 15. Socio-cultural context and network

A conglomeration of social systems that have interrelations with the care center. These spaces and relations are networked and influence each other. The care center acts as an interface between society and the individual, a meeting place of diverse social processes.

Sensitizing concept 16. International and national on the local

The international, national impact on the local level. Space is relational. And, the institutional configuration also structures the opportunities and changes and the local level.

Annex 12. Recommendations

General recommendations	
	Realize that everyday hospitality is the product of institutional, relational and emotional processes.
	Assess the conditions that are imposed as a function of the threshold of the care center.
	The conditions should only serve the purpose of realizing a safe and liveable care center.
	Realize that governance or management is limited because of the high turnover at the care center.
	Realize that hospitality is extended temporary to specific 'foreign others'.
	Realize that the community, space and social system of the care center are ever changing.
	Focus on the practising of hospitality.
	Continuously stimulate a dialogue of spatial negotiation. Stimulate bottom-up processes of participation, contestation and negotiation.
	Develop 'a sensibility in social relations and interactions, as well as in institutional practices' (Dikeç, 2002, p 236).
	And, cultivate of 'an ethics of political engagement' (Dikeç, 2002, p 237) that could 'help reorient the politics of the state' (Darling, 2009, p 19).
	International, national and local spheres of hospitality are relational. This creates challenges and opportunities. Help undocumented migrants to exert their rights.
Concrete recommendations	
Institutional space	Distinguish between rules of general behavior and sanctions, the daily routine guests are ought to conform to and the norms on the general usage of space and property of the care center.
	Improve rule enforcement to guarantee a safe and liveable care center.
	Increase support for the institutional rules and norms by grounding rules on the values of respect, tolerance and equality.
	Increase tailoring in rule application. However, this should not pressure the equality.
	Ensure that institutional rules and norms are also applicable to the hosts.
	Stimulate diversification and alteration of guest-host relations.
	Preserve the current janitors. They play a vital role as mentors of the undocumented migrants.
	Recruit enthusiastic volunteers that develop personal initiatives and bring people together.
	Organize joint activities and stimulate group processes.
	Maintain a professional distance to perform your duties and responsibilities as a host.
	Professionalize the communication and cooperation between the hosts.
	Continue the current material facilitation.
	The board members should occasionally spend time at the care center.
Relational space	Prevent (violent) conflicts that destabilize the care center. Stability and safety are very important for this vulnerable group of people.
	Resolve the tensions immediately to prevent escalation.
	Distinguish between major and minor offenses in case of violations.
	Consider the personal circumstances and the overall vulnerability of the undocumented migrant when applying sanctioning.
	Connect the undocumented migrants. Engage in relationship building and stimulate group processes.
	Develop structural opportunities for negotiation and contestation. And, allow for spontaneous moments of negotiation and contestation.
	Stimulate self-determination, empowerment, participation and influence on the daily affairs of the undocumented migrants.
	Enhance dialogue and provide room for political claims.
Emotional space	Increase privacy. Create spaces to retreat from the social setting or reflect on emotions and experiences
	Stimulate the sharing of emotions and experiences.
	Stimulate activities, hobbies or other practices that help undocumented migrants relax.
	Help them to remain positive and work on perspective. And, stimulate the sharing of experiences to enhance social learning.
	Help the undocumented migrants to spend their day useful.