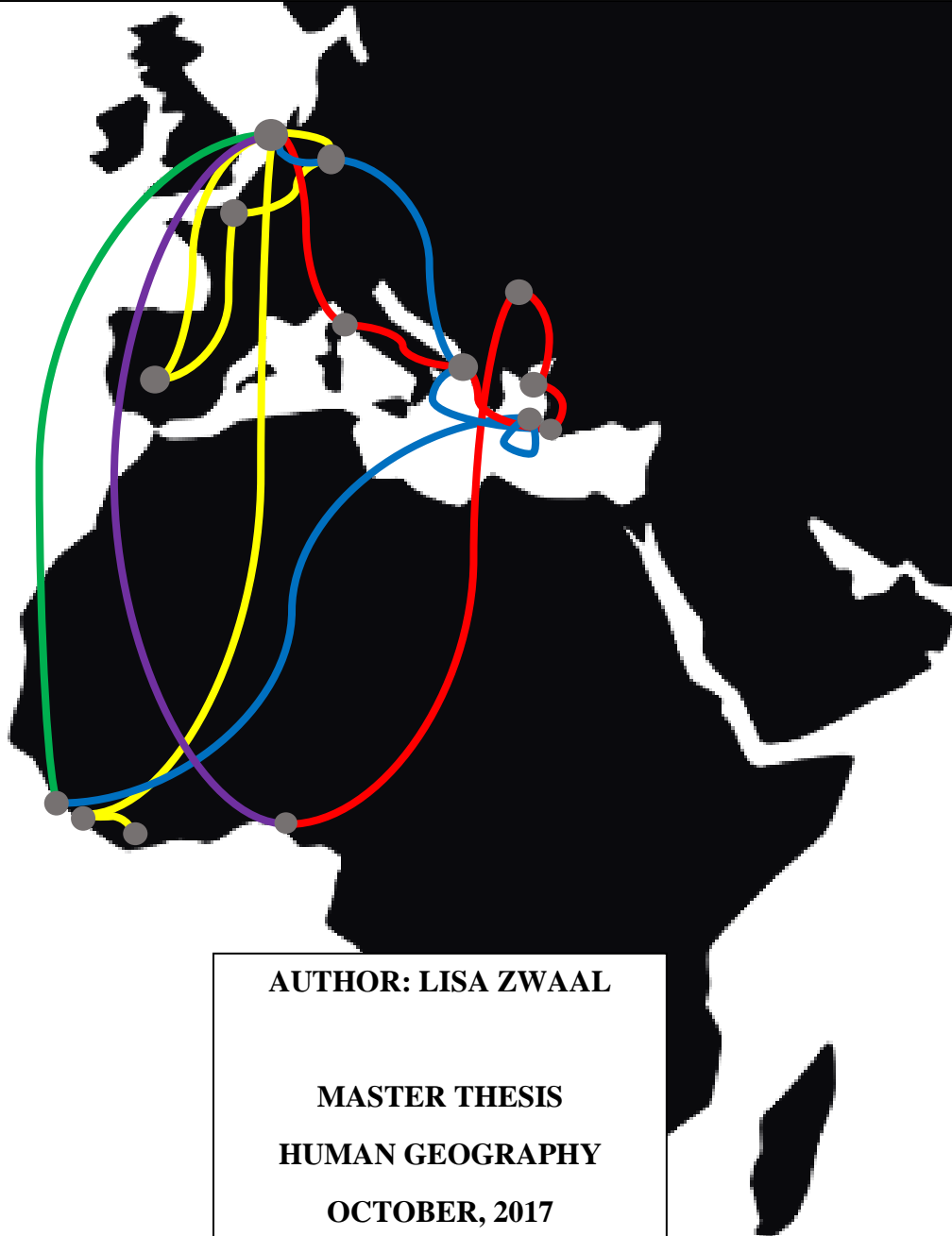


ALONG THE BORDERS OF HOSTIPITALITY

RESEARCH TO THE INFLUENCE OF HOSTIPITALITY
EXPERIENCES ON WEST-AFRICAN MIGRANTS'
TRAJECTORIES



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MASTER THESIS

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

OCTOBER, 2017

Radboud University



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OCTOBER 26, 2017

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NOTE: THE MAP ON THE FRONT PAGE HAS BEEN MADE OUT OF THE TRAJECTORIES OF THE RESPONDENTS

Preface

May 2014 – Marrakech, Morocco.

Noon, the *djemaa el Fna* in the heart of the medina of Marrakech is only occupied by some (Moroccan) snake charmers and monkey tamers, sitting under their umbrella's, waiting for tourists to pass by. The same applies to the women scattering around the square trying to lure people to their henna. In the corners of the square, nearby the entrance of the *souks*, some juice and water stalls have opened their awnings, ready to start their businesses for the rest of the day. "The day", however, begins a couple of hours later, when the heat which the brightly shining sun spreads around the buildings and paths, has diminished. Then, the *djemaa el Fna* comes to life: whole restaurants are built up on the square, with giant pans and washtubs to serve the many guests who come to eat. More stalls open their awnings, selling nuts, spices and natural beauty products. Furthermore, the square becomes a stage for musicians and story tellers, who are quickly surrounded by dozens of people.

Looking at this scene, business seems to be going well, but not for everybody. This is clearly visible from the many rooftops from which you can overlook the square and its main passages. In the corners of the square single men sojourn in the shadows of the buildings, others take in positions in the middle of the passages. For most (Moroccan) people, these men seem to be air, which is hard to believe for a female Dutch tourist, clearly noticing their existence since the men make contact every now and then, trying to sell one of their yo-yos or other toys. What is also noticeable, however, that all of these men are black, none of the people with a Moroccan appearance does this kind of job.

This evening on that rooftop terrace in Marrakech, watching the scenes that took place below, was my first encounter with who later appeared to be West-African migrants, on their way to the European Union (EU). In lively and boisterous Marrakech, what struck me the most were these men: who were they? Where did they come from? What were they doing in this city? Why did the Moroccans not engage with them? And, where were they heading to? After a week of strolling around the square, trying to engage in conversations with these men, I already discovered some information about them, but I also understood that the men I was facing, and the stories they told me, were far more complex than I could imagine at that time. So when I returned to the Netherlands, I was determined to, at one time in my life, unravel their stories, to give this seemingly marginalised group a voice. That time has come now.

I have done research on West-Africans for eight months straight now, and I can finally state that I understand a tiny piece of what is going on in the life and -world of these migrants. This would not have been possible without all the respondents who were willing to talk with me about their experiences. I therefore would like to thank all of them, for their time and effort to talk to me and their trust in me for handling their precious stories carefully. I am also grateful for my supervisor Joris Schapendonk with whom I had substantive discussions on the contents of my work.

Happy reading,

Lisa Zwaal

October, 2017

Summary

Polarisation seems to be on the rise in EU societies these days, whereby the focus often is on migration. The debate evolves around whether to let migrants enter at all or not and about how these migrants should be divided across the EU member states. Seemingly, the migrant is thrown back and forth, whereby the migrant him/herself and his/her opinion on the matter is often neglected. For this reason, the migrant has been put in the centre in this research. It has been researched to what extent the trajectories of migrants are influenced by the hospitality experiences they have during their travels.

The literature firstly shows that migrants' trajectories are highly diverse. Even though similarities between individuals' trajectories may exist, they cannot be lumped together. Secondly, literature demonstrates that people tend to prescribe characteristics and behaviour to people who they consider to (not) belong to their own group. These thinking patterns can be ascribed to a hospitality continuum along which all kind of hospitable language, attitudes and actions can be placed. This results in the more theoretical notion of (counter-)cosmopolitanism, whereby the decision making and agency of migrants themselves is crucial.

Guided by a life history approach, the following findings have come forward. Migrants maintain transnational networks, hospitable relations with people who bring them further in their travels. These relations also stimulate their imaginations of the places they are heading to, or willing to head to, which do not always fit reality. Migrants' experiences are therefore directly influenced by their imaginations: expecting particular behaviour from the government or citizens of a nation state also effects how migrants experience life there, influencing their imaginations once again. The way migrants react on these hospitality experiences can go either way: both hospitable as hostile experiences have made migrants move and stay, again stressing the importance of acknowledging the diversity of migrants' trajectories.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

When James was released from prison in Turkey, where he was put after his first attempt of reaching the EU, he immediately tried again to reach Kos by boat. This boat, not being seaworthy or deserving of the title 'boat', just like the vessel during his first attempt, started to sink soon after it departed from the coasts of Bodrum. The engine of the boat was old and way too small for this size of boat, so the only speed they could sail was that of a snail. The passengers really wanted it to speed up but it just could not. So then they started to use the paddles that were on the boat but no one was experienced in paddling so they did not know what they were doing. Moreover, the sea was rough that night. The waves were being propelled by the increasingly heavy winds and continuously burst into the boat since the railing was not high enough to withstand the waves.

Then, they saw the lights of a police boat shining towards them. They started to get closer and they turned on their sirens, but this time around, luckily enough, the boat had already crossed the border so the police stopped following them. That is when they thought they were safe, at least safe for being caught and put in prison once again. However, the water started to increasingly enter the boat so some of the men took of their shirts, soaked them with water and wrung them out outside the boat. To make matters worse, the engine completely stopped. At the same time, they started to see land at the horizon, so at least they knew where they were going. Yet, then they saw lights from a boat again, starting to become increasingly visible. In blind panic they reached for the paddles once again, trying to get away. Of course, they did not succeed but when this police came across, they immediately saw that these were not the Turkish and then they knew for certain that they had finally arrived in the European Union.

Soon after he came ashore, James started to meet people who could help him to get around in the EU, first by providing him food and other first necessities. Thereafter, he met people who helped him to arrange papers and transport to cross the borders within the EU without too many problems. He considered these hospitable acts, felt welcome in many countries he arrived in, and believed people really helped him to move on to new places. His first real encounter of hostility then was in Germany, where a shopkeeper mentioned right in his face that he was not wanted in the country and that he should leave. So he did, eventually arriving in the Netherlands where he felt comfortable enough to stay.

1.1 Context of the research

The anecdote above gives us a sense of the time in which we are living: from the summer of 2015 onwards, migration has been one of the focal points of the debates in the European Union (EU), as well as in the Netherlands. Since then, European societies have been dealing with what is called “the refugee crisis”, the assumed “massive influx” of migrants or refugees, who are believed to have a tremendous effect on life in the EU (Van Houtum, 2015; Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). Nevertheless, when the numbers of these people arriving in the European Union declined in the aftermath of 2016, the attention given to these migrants declined too.

This is not the case with the attention given to migrants coming from mainly West-African countries to the EU, since they have been given attention already for a longer period of time. However, the re-growing focus on migration last years caused the (hostile) closing of both the inner and outer borders of the EU to become a considerable option again for EU member states’ parliaments to stop migrants, including the West-Africans, from entering, something that had been unthinkable since the foundation of the European Union and the conclusion of the Schengen Agreement (Van Houtum, 2015; Holmes & Castañeda, 2016).

This agreement assured the citizens of the participating countries that the borders within the so-called Schengen zone would be always open and that people, whether they were EU-citizens or not, would be free to travel throughout the EU without any checks, inspections or other limitations at the border. The in 2015 renewed closings of the inner and outer borders of the European Union, however, led to the opposite situation than what Schengen was meant for: a poignant reality of undocumented and irregular migration: to the images of boats filled with people, floating directionless on the Mediterranean Sea trying to reach the EU (Van Houtum, 2015).

These EU decisions and its consequences were received with mixed feelings in the EU. On the one side, there came into existence the (groups of) people who strongly identify with the migrants and who consider it inhuman to count out other people. Some of these EU citizens have decided to take action themselves that may be considered undocumented and irregular too. Some people for example crowdfunded a mission to buy a ship with which they could search for boats in need of assistance on the Mediterranean Sea for nights in order to bring them ashore. Others tried to help migrants to cross dangerous areas in the Alps by driving them to places on a bus. Even though these seem to be hospitable acts, they have not always been perceived as such by governments and judges: various EU citizens got convicted for this “humanitarian smuggling”, making the already fragile relations between (groups of)

people in favour of and against migration very tense once again (Landry, 2016; Nossiter, 2017).

On the other side, there came to be the people who do not identify themselves with the migrants at all. One look at different social media reveals many pages on which (groups of) people gather to express their negative messages concerning the influx of migrants, such as “own people first” and “migrants who do not adjust have to be sent back to their country” (Nederland mijn Vaderland, Facebook 2017). Seemingly, these people take in a rather hostile attitude towards migrants, based on the culture or nation state from where the migrant originated. They, for example, express these feelings by protests and demonstrations against AZCs¹, by voting for a party who promises to “ban out all migrants and make the Netherlands for the Dutch again” (Voorn, 2016). Of course, these two groups do not form the entire population of the Netherlands, nor of the European Union. Between these two extremes, many (groups of) people exist who do not consider themselves belonging to either of the two when thinking about migrants.

This migrant however, is the one it is all about, but his/her opinion does not seem to have a part in the entire discussion. It is evident that the migrants seems to encounter different “treatments” from both citizens and governments during their travels throughout the EU whereby they come in different spaces and places. Some EU citizens and nation states welcome them warmly, for example by giving migrants shelter, food and clothes. Others try to repel them as much as possible, in order to make them go back to where they came from, or by all means try to make them going to another place (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). It therefore seems that there exist these thinking patterns, attitudes, and actions, with which migrants have to cope, that can be placed along a continuum, starting from hospitality and ending in hostility in the EU at this moment (a hostipitality continuum), whereby it is crucial to understand how hospitality and hostility involve in a complex interplay with migrants’ decisions (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002; Van Houtum, 2010; Derrida, 2000; Gibson, 2007). Moreover, hospitality and hostility come forward in how someone views the world, in a (counter-)cosmopolitan way (Hannerz, 1990; Malkki, 1997; Molz & Gibson, 2007). What is not evident, however, is to what extent this continuum from hospitality to hostility influences the movements (trajectories) of migrants and their pathways to integration in the EU when

¹ AZC stands for ‘asielzoekerscentrum’, which is the Dutch word for describing a place where people who have arrived in the Netherlands and have asked for asylum are accommodated firstly, before getting a living place on their own when their application for asylum gets accepted.

they finally arrive here. The focus in this research will therefore be on the relation between hospitality and migration trajectories seen from the migrants' point of view.

1.2 Relevance

As may be clear, migration is complex. It is an interplay of different causes, consequences and actors in a particular place and moment that constitute the migration experience (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2014). However, this does not always seem to be acknowledged. Rather, various (below explained) assumptions are ascribed to migration, which often do not seem to fit reality. In order to overcome assumptions like this, researching migrant's trajectories is highly relevant both scientifically and societally.

1.2.1 Scientific relevance

Firstly, the research will be about the trajectories of the migrants themselves. This already points to a different approach or methodology than is usually applied when researching (our perspective on) migration, and therefore signposts the research to a particular scientific relevance. Namely, the research will be conducted by using a life history approach. In short, this means that, by talking with migrants themselves, they combine their life experiences into a coherent whole. They will stress both their accomplishments and their disappointments and will come to conclusions that explain why they have made certain choices in their life. Hence, the methodology itself is scientifically relevant (Brettell, 2003).

Secondly, the research will adhere to various academic disciplines, including social sciences and human geography. Since the research will focus on the migrants, on people and their experiences with hospitality feelings, it will narrowly intersect with anthropology. Moreover, the approach that is used is intrinsically anthropological since the insights will be gained by using qualitative methodologies, by conducting in-depth interviews for instance. Besides, in the discussion about migrants' trajectories and life experiences, the more geographical concepts of "place" and "space" have a role, even though they will not be *the* key concepts (Knox & Marston, 2013; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). As a consequence, the research will combine "the best of both disciplines" to serve the research objective, which will be discussed below.

Furthermore, the research will contribute to conceptual debates concerning the fluidity of migration. Research is often based on the so-called "myth of transit migration": migrants are believed to move from place A to place C, whereby they wait in place B for a while and that is everything. Yet, their movements are often more complex and dynamic than this transit

model assumes (Schapendonk, 2011; Belloni, 2016). The research will therefore be constituted by key concepts that stress this fluidity of migration: transnational migration, trajectories and the hostipitality continuum. Although space and place do matter, the focus in migration research has often only lied on the places alone, while the in-between phase between these nodes is often forgotten. This research will therefore concentrate on hostipitality experiences on the way, whereby concepts as transnationalism are pulled apart from the bipolar nature that has been attributed to them until now.

Documenting migrants' experiences during their movements is possible due to the methodology that is used, in combination with these key concepts that constitute this methodology. Actually, since the use of the life history approach allows people to express their own ideas and experiences, it is possible to conceive concepts as hospitality and hostility flexible and unbounded (Brettell, 2003). Finally, this flexible approach of researching migration, both in concepts and methodology, will automatically lead to a more flexible understanding of migration in practice. In earlier research, the aspirations and intentions of people were proven to contribute to the choice of a specific trajectory (Schapendonk, 2011), but it has not much been researched how the level of feeling welcome or feeling deterred influences the choice of migrating elsewhere which makes the research scientifically relevant (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

1.2.2 Societal relevance

Migration in relation to a hostipitality continuum is a complex matter. It is this complexity that is difficult to grasp for scientists, but perhaps even more for societies themselves. Hence, doing research to migrants' trajectories is societally relevant mainly, for gaining insights in the migrant's perspective on their own experiences. This perspective is often overlooked, since the various groups of people that are mobile in and around the EU, are not always differentiated from each other in policies or in the media. This means that all migrants, be it Syrian refugees or West-African often so-called fortune seekers, are lumped together as if they are one group trying to enter and even to destroy the so-believed safe community of the EU (Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007; McLaren, 2003).

It may be questioned why categorising all people into one and the same thing is problematic but the answer is rather simple: it is the perspective of the host communities, the perspective of people here, that is ascribed to what migrants are doing, even though this does not seem to fit reality at all (Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007; Stolcke, 1995; McLaren, 2003). Nevertheless, this reality is not always taken into account. In practice, this usually means that

migration policies assume migrants to think about their migration in a particular way, or to take particular decisions on where to go without having taken into account their own voice. This becomes clear in the trend of migration to Europe during the years after World War II. At that time, governments wrongly expected “guest workers” to return to their country of origin after they finished their work here, but they did not. Migrants’ families came here and they set up a life (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). In the years from then until now, much has been changed: migration takes place in a completely different world now, in which other behaviour is expected from migrants and from the societies which receive them. The way to enhance knowledge about this is by doing research on migrants’ trajectories (Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016; Mainwaring & Bridgen, 2016; Belloni, 2016; Schapendonk, 2011).

However, it would be rash to expect this research to turn recent EU policies around 180 degrees. Although the results may suggest considerable improvements in policy, it is unlikely that the influence of this research will be noticeable. The same is true for the media. Even though they could pick up on this research, it is unlikely that they will drastically change their way of thinking on migration, even if this research would recommend them to do so. The relevance of research to migrant trajectories according to the hospitality continuum should therefore be set in a smaller framework. It is the migrants themselves who are going to tell their stories about the poignant reality that they have faced and sometimes still face, about where they have been and where they felt and feel welcome or not. Hence, it is the way of doing this research, and the people who get to speak that is societally relevant, something that is desirable to happen in a society where polarisation seems to increase. It is therefore time to show that a migrants’ voice is valuable too.

1.3 Research objective and research question(s)

In short, the research will be about how the mobility of West-Africans within the EU is influenced by feelings put along a continuum of hospitality. The way to find out about this is by constructing a life history of some specific migrants. It is their stories, their trajectories and their life that are central in the research.

The research objective therefore is:

Gaining insight in the influences (counter)-cosmopolitan life worlds have on the migration dynamics of West-African migrants in the EU, in order to enhance the knowledge about migrants’ trajectories in human geography.

This aim can be unfolded in the following way. The term “migration dynamics” is used to indicate that the research will be about the flexible and fluid nature of migration whereby the whole (life) experience of the migrant is central (Schapendonk, 2011; Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016). Although this may sound rather vague, it is logical since the information will be gained by constructing and analysing life histories, which means that not a single part of the migration is highlighted from the beginning of the research. The essence of constructing a life history is to listen to the stories of people themselves. They can tell what they consider important for their migration (Brettell, 2003).

The objective therefore leads to the following research question:

To what extent do experiences of hostipitality influence West-African migrants' trajectories and their pathway to integration in the EU?

This question covers the theme of the research, whereby hostipitality experiences must be seen as the operationalisation of (counter)-cosmopolitan life worlds, something that will be discussed in the next chapter. This main question should be divided into sub questions in order to make it answerable.

1. How do migrants narrate the imaginations of their (un)chosen migration trajectories?

Here, it will be illuminated what kind of perception migrants have of their migrations, the line they have followed and how they feel during the trajectories themselves. The imagination of the migrants is central here.

2. How do migrants experience the trajectories they have gone through? What did they come across during their travels and how does this influence their perception of their identity(ies)?

This question captures the hostipitality experiences that migrants might have and how these may have evolved during their pathways of travel (Ingold, 2011). The hostipitality experiences of the migrant are the focus here.

3. How do migrants react to the attitude of other people in particular spaces and places along their trajectories?

This question mainly dives into the reactions that the migrants have and the decisions they take in response to the hostipitality of EU citizens, migrants and others whom they have met during their travels. The only thing that is left but what should be mentioned, is that the trajectories of migrants may be influenced by feelings of hospitality/hostility, while other factors may be relevant too. Although the focus of the research is clear, the research has been built up by using life histories as its main methodology of data collection. Therefore, it has been open to other findings while doing fieldwork, in order to get the best understanding of the migration dynamics of West-African migrants.

1.4 Thesis structure

The thesis is structured in the following way. Firstly, the existing literature about the subject in general is discussed, whereby a framework will be established on both migration (trajectories) and hostipitality, in which their connection will be explicated. The concepts that are central in this research are transnational migration combined with migration trajectories and hostipitality experiences, coming out of (counter)-cosmopolitan thinking patterns. They will be clarified and operationalised in detail so that they can be properly used for the actual data collection. Subsequently a chapter on how the research is built up is presented. It will concentrate on the methodology, methods and the argumentation for these choices. Next, the five collected life histories of West-Africans are demonstrated. Finally, a conclusion is presented, as well as reflections on the research and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical framework

'I wish these people would try to understand another person a little bit more, that they show some more empathy towards others' – Odion, during an interview on June 25, 2017.

As emerges from this quote of one of the participants of this research, hostipital behaviour can much be observed in public nowadays. Even though the research focuses on the influence of the experiences of migrants themselves on their trajectories, the theoretical contributions that other researchers made in migration and hospitality research are important to be able to set up a theoretical framework. However, as is already mentioned, migration and the issues that are associated with it, are complex, in causes, consequences and actors involved in a particular space and time (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2014). The theoretical approach that is going to be used is one that tries to grasp the complexity fully. Although the theoretical frameworks in migration studies are diverse, this chapter will be about the ones that are relevant for this research, that is, the notions of transnational migration in combination with trajectories will be discussed first, where after hospitality and hostility in combination with (counter)-cosmopolitanism deserve attention. In earlier research, these four notions have not been combined which makes the combination of them all the more interesting. The conceptual framework will therefore consist of both the (operationalisation of) key concepts as well as the successive elements that are important in this migration research.

2.1 From transnational migration to migration trajectories

It has already been acknowledged by scientists that migration does not only take place within countries or spaces themselves, but that migration also tends to take place across borders, and between spaces (McLaren, 2003). Sometimes, these movements of people come forward out of earlier existing relations between countries of origin and countries of settlement, such as a colonial one, as may be the case with Algerians and Moroccans migrating to France (Malkki, 1997). In other cases there does not exist a clearly visible relation between places that may explain why migrants go to a particular place, which led scientists to focus their migration research on integration and assimilation in the country of settlement whereby it was expected that the migrant would not have any bonds with (people in) the country of origin anymore (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2014; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).

What became evident, however, is that migrants do maintain ties with people in their country of origin, as well as constituting bonds with people in their country of settlement.

These relations can be of diverse natures, but are often said to be socioeconomic in the first place (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Belloni, 2016). Naturally, this changed the perspective of transnationalism, which led to new insights in migration studies, whereby it was discovered that migration across borders can even be an export strategy for countries (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2014), but these studies still forgot to take into account a crucial aspect of migration: the migrants' movement itself. Even though theories on transnational migration emphasise the relations people can form in different places, it still focuses on a bipolar thinking pattern of migration: that of fixity – (unimportant) movement – fixity, the relations people have in their countries of origin and their countries of settlement (Schapendonk, 2011; Ingold, 2011). Even though these relations should be acknowledged, more relations can emerge “being on the way”.

In this research, therefore, transnational migration and transnationalism need to be seen in a more dynamic way that stresses the whole migration process and not only parts of it. It is therefore essential to take into account people's contacts and ties from beginning to end, whereby the actual movement, the phase of “being on the way” in a migration process is crucial. This means that the fixity – movement – fixity kind of transnationalism will not be useful for this research, since the research is based on migrants' experience *during* their movement. Moreover, the movement of people does not stop when they arrive in a place

[s]ince we live in a world of incessant movement and becoming, one that is never complete but continually under construction, woven from the countless lifelines of its manifold human and non-human constituents as they thread their ways through the tangle of relationships in which they are comprehensively enmeshed. In such a world, persons and things do not so much exist and occur, and are identified not by any fixed, essential attributes laid down in advance or transmitted ready-made from the past, but by the very pathways (or trajectories, or stories) along which they have previously come and are presently going (Ingold, 2011, p. 141).

Migration trajectories therefore exactly have come into existence to highlight that migration is a process in which the actual phase of moving is crucial to understand the migration process as a whole. Firstly, this leads the vocabulary used to describe migration processes and issues to be of importance. Whereas the use of words like “route” and “journey” might indicate migration to be a more linear path aiming to go from one place and

end in another (like a GPS navigating one to his/her destination), the use of the word “trajectory” emphasises the flexibility of migration. People move in multiple directions and keep having experiences before ending somewhere, a place that could become a new starting point once again (Schapendonk, 2011; Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016; Ahrens et al., 2016).

Even though trajectories clearly show that movement is crucial to understand a migration process, they also demonstrate that migrants cannot be mobile at every moment. Due to increasing border controls and lack of means (sometimes), migrants cannot be on the move all the time. Moreover, they have to wait in particular places, awaiting money from their relatives to be able to pay their passage to a (desired) place, but what differs from the transit migration approach, that was discussed in chapter 1, is that trajectories do not leave the matter here but try to explain the whole process around migration. Migrants then, rather search for new ways to get around the so-feared border controls. Trajectories should therefore not be considered linear at all (Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016; Belloni, 2016).

Furthermore, trajectories do not only take into account the actual migration. Although this seems the case, since they do focus on the movement of people, many underlying factors are taken into account as well. Trajectories should therefore be seen as a collective name for ‘[a]n experience with indeterminate beginnings and ends, transcending easy conceptual borders, as well as physical ones. Thus, the concept encompasses imagined journeys before migration, journeys from countries of origin through countries of transit to destination, as well as deportation journeys’ (Mainwaring & Bridgen, 2016, p. 244). Trajectories, therefore, encapsulate more than just the phase of “being on the move”, they also illuminate people’s decisions, social relations and life which all constitute their experiences in their migration process.

It is important here to understand how “trajectory” is operationalised in order to be able to use it in the research. Trajectories can be divided in places (Where have you been?), in-between phases and spaces (How did you travel? How did you get there? Who took you with him/her?), and in experiences (What influenced your decisions to go?). Of course, these experiences can be influenced by all domains imaginable. Nevertheless, as was explained earlier, in the highly polarising time of today, it seems to be important to notice the feelings of hospitality and hostility experienced on the way (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002; Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). As these feelings are often associated with EU citizens’ ideas and/or behaviour towards migrants, they need to be explained and operationalised for us to be able to gain insights in how migrants experience these feelings (Malkki, 1997).

2.2 Hospitality and hostility

Terms as hospitality and hostility are widespread in society nowadays, as well as in social scientific research. Usually, the initial point for using the concepts is an occurrence or problem in EU societies on which all kind of hospitality and hostility theories are applied (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016), but it does not often happen the other way around: it is not often researched yet how migrants experience the hostility that they are confronted with since it is always about the ideas and life worlds (social environments) of the people here (Van Houtum, 2010).

Therefore, in today's world, in which migration seems to be *the* subject of debate, hospitality and hostility are more crucial than ever. Migration is (seen as) one of these problems which is always related to migrants being welcome or not, being desired or undesired (McLaren, 2003). This seems to have everything to do with the degree of hospitality or hostility that exist towards migrants in a particular society, before migrants even start to enter the life world of the citizens living in the same society (Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). Hence, hospitality and hostility are crucial in understanding how migrants' trajectories evolve.

In order to be able to place migration trajectories along a continuum starting from hospitality and ending in hostility (the hostility continuum), the two concepts should be further illuminated. As is already mentioned, both concepts cover a range of diverse meanings, including some that do not strongly relate to migrants' choices in their trajectories. Although hospitality is often associated with welcoming and being generous to other people, these associations lack the possibility to really encapsulate the core of what hospitality entails: '[t]hinking about hospitality, more importantly, is to think about openings and recognition. (...) Hospitality is about opening, without abolishing, boundaries and giving spaces to the stranger where recognition on both sides would be possible' (Dikeç, 2002, p. 229; Derrida, 2000).

In this sense, hospitality is founded on the relation between the Self and the Other, on the relation between the known and the unknown whereby welcoming migrants and being generous towards them is only the effect of this mutual recognition. In this light, hospitality is a form of sensibility, in social relations and interactions, as well as in institutional practices in the first place (Dikeç, 2002; Molz & Gibson, 2007; Derrida, 2000). This comes forward in the diverse notions of cosmopolitanism, a concept that fills the meaning of hospitality in relation to migration perfectly, whereby hospitality should be seen as the outcome of a cosmopolitan thinking pattern: the language, attitudes and actions that are expressed (Molz & Gibson,

2007). Therefore the concept of cosmopolitanism will be discussed first. The same applies to hostility, whereby the literature about the subject covers a wide range of subjects and facets about how the Self is (not) able to deal with the migrating Other. The Self is believed then, to express its hostile feelings towards the Other in language, attitudes and actions, which can be evidently linked to the concept of counter-cosmopolitanism (Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007; Malkki, 1997; Stolcke, 1995).

The focus in explaining hospitality and hostility, as well as where these thinking patterns, attitudes and behaviours come from, will therefore not be on gaining abstract insights in the terms themselves by using an approach such as philosopher Derrida (2000). Rather, hospitality will be treated as theoretically being a cosmopolitan view and hostility as theoretically being a counter-cosmopolitan view on the influx of migrants (Molz & Gibson, 2007). This because migration nowadays always seems to imply a Self-Other relation, combined with a clear-cut view on identity and with that on what the world should look like. It is that kind of thinking that defines how a migrant is treated in society that may influence that person's trajectory. In order to be able to understand how (counter)-cosmopolitanism works in society, "identity" is the key concept of cosmopolitanism that is going to be discussed before all else.

2.2.1 The pathway from identity to cosmopolitanism

Traditionally, "having" and carrying out an identity was being ascribed to the individual whose personal characteristics were the key to the construction of "an identity". After some time, the concept of identity was being changed and it became increasingly related to society, whereby the focus came to be on the interaction between the individual and society (Van Meijl, 2010). This meant that the concept became connected to more social aspects and symbols, rather than a person's own features, which led identity to be related to the social system that drives society, with which the "sameness" of the people in that society became the focus. People were considered to share the same identity because they were having a common history and culture. The society in which they were living was emanated from this history and culture which meant that this society, populated by people with the same identity would be fixed and unchangeable (Van Meijl, 2010).

These ideas of people, (nation) state and culture were further developed and led to various theories concerning identity in research on nationalism and ethnicity. In the transition from an agricultural society, to one dominated by industrial factors, nationalism and ethnicity were the key factors. Herewith, the idea that identity came forward out of history became

even more plausible, in which again people, (nation) state and culture were used to demonstrate how homogeneous a society was (Gellner, 1983).

However, this images of identity proved not to be maintainable with the arrival of the era of globalisation: identity does not only imply sameness and uniqueness anymore, ‘since these features cannot be defined in isolation of other – cultural – identities. In increasingly multicultural contexts, identity obtains its meaning primarily from the identity of Others with whom the Self is contrasted. People therefore only know who they are by knowing who they are not’ (Van Meijl, 2010, p. 45).

In this point of view on the concept, identity cannot be designed anymore by an individual only. The identity or multiple identities of an individual can only arise from the interaction which that individual has with others: a migrant’s identity therefore constantly changes during his or her travels (Ingold, 2011). According to several researchers, this may lead to a situation that within an individual’s identity cultural conversations take place which lead to a Self that can take in diverse cultural positions and can identify itself with other diverse positions (Van Meijl, 2010).

Furthermore, globalisation causes identity as a concept to be less fixed (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Globalisation then stimulates identity to be “on the move”. The ever increasing economic, social and political cooperation between nation states influences the sovereignty of these nation states, and with that the identity of that country. States that join transnational organisations such as the European Union collaborate on diverse areas, from establishing free trade to checking the outer borders of the EU (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002).

Moreover, people themselves can look beyond the borders of their country. They make contact with people living in other countries. They seem to be loyal to things happening “there”, far away from their own life world (Molz & Gibson, 2007). This applies to people who have been migrating, or to people who consider themselves a member of transnational communities. The equation between people, (nation) state, culture and identity does not seem to fit reality anymore in the globalising world of today. Globalisation therefore does not only give space for the existence of multiple identities next to each other, it also expects a deeper view on identity, in which (counter)-cosmopolitanism is the key word (Malkki, 1997; Beck & Sznaider, 2006).

2.2.2 Cosmopolitanism

Many authors have researched the concept of “cosmopolitanism” since the term was first used after World War II, which resulted in a highly diverse collection of literature on the subject

(Molz & Gibson, 2007). The ones that are relevant for the relation between hospitality and migration trajectories are going to be discussed here. Firstly, the term “cosmopolitanism” comes from the Greek words *cosmos* which means world, and *polis* which means city. Cosmopolitanism therefore refers to people who consider themselves “citizens of the world” (Werbner, 2008). In addition to globalisation where the free movement of goods, capital and ideas around the world are the focus, it is argued that cosmopolitanism tries to emphasise more on tolerance, empathy and respect for different cultures and values. Cosmopolitanism would take care of diminishing cultural differences by stimulating conversations and mutual respect between people “living in different cultures”. Cosmopolitanism thus especially symbolises the idea that different people can live together (Werbner, 2008).

It is the meaning of cosmopolitanism to create a home for everyone (Werbner, 2008). A peaceful and hospital environment for people in places that are strange to them since they did not originate there but which gives them the feeling of belonging to an international community. This stems from the idea that cosmopolitanism assumes that people have the capacity to empathise with the Other, to imagine a world in which borders do not divide people and in which the plurality of people’s identities is central (Werbner, 2008). Hence, cosmopolitanism should be seen as a kind of commitment, a view on the world that should be put in practice. The cosmopolitan way of thinking therefore does not focus on the individual, but on the collective between whom relations exist that are founded historically (Werbner, 2008).

Cosmopolitanism, therefore, does not necessarily have to be paired with uprootedness, a misconception that has existed for a long time (Werbner, 2008; Malkki, 1997). Put differently: people with a cosmopolitan attitude can still be rooted in a place. There exist many cosmopolitan people who are rooted somewhere, who find themselves in a rather fixed place, but do express a cosmopolitan thinking pattern or attitude. This is called “rooted cosmopolitanism” and it is normal in the world of today, in which people who put effort into participating in social movements for the rights of minorities fit as good as the privileged affluent elite (Werbner, 2008; Notar, 2008). This only confirms that cosmopolitanism assumes diversity but despite these differences these do not need to cause problems in society (Werbner, 2008).

Yet, it is questioned whether people who are locally rooted are able to identify with people belonging to the elite, who are trans-local, transnational and modern. Linked to this, it is examined whether people who cross borders in case of (forced) migration can be compared with people who travel the world in case of a holiday (the elite) in which they get the

opportunity to meet people from other cultures. In other words, the question is whether there can exist a kind of privileged cosmopolitanism, designed by “modern values” while there seem to be many people who do not belong to the elite and therefore cannot always identify with others (Werbner, 2008).

This is what other authors deal with. They problematise the concept of “culture” according to how culture is perceived (Hannerz, 1990, Abu-Lughod, 1991). Historically, there is a deeply rooted perception of cultures being self-contained structures of meaning-giving, connected to a territory. In this view, individuals living in this territory are automatically connected to these cultures. These people are not mobile, with which being the local became the ideal to pursue (Hannerz, 1990). Cultures, however, are no defined entities anymore, which can be placed between the borders of a territory. Cultures are systems of interaction and social relations and when these relations start to coincide with a particular territory less and less, as is the case due to globalisation processes, such as migration, these cultures also start to coincide less and less with that territory. As a consequence, cultures can overlap and merge into new ones (Hannerz, 1990; Abu-Lughod, 1991).

According to this “framework”, another notion of cosmopolitanism is designed. In this view, cosmopolitanism is a “state of mind”, a perspective on the world that first and foremost has to do with the will of a person ‘to engage with the Other’ (Hannerz, 1990, p. 238-239). This person engages in social relations with individuals who originated from other cultures, and tries to understand these other cultures without becoming an insider in that culture. Hence, this person thinks and may behave and react hospitable to an Other. To be able to do this, the person needs to be capable: understanding other cultures is a profession on itself, according to Hannerz. Only the elite is therefore capable of being cosmopolitan since this always has to do with being able to travel freely and independently (Hannerz, 1990).

Yet, cosmopolitanism is more than merely travelling the world, because the people who are able to do this also differ from each other in how cosmopolitan they are. Tourists are not considered cosmopolitan since they only travel to get what they have at home, plus a tiny bit of the country to which they go. Here, there is no deeper wish to get to know the people in that country, to engage with them. Cosmopolitans are, however, willing to get to know the country and its people and often do not want to be compared with the society of which they come from (Hannerz, 1990). According to this way of thinking, the argument that cosmopolitanism is something that has to do with the identification with the Other, in the place or space of the Other seems to be maintainable. Therefore, cosmopolitanism does not

seem to be able to exist without the existence of the locals whereby these locals cannot be cosmopolitans (Hannerz, 1990).

Other visions on cosmopolitanism and its possibility for hospitable outcomes exist, in which it is argued that the concept of cosmopolitanism is such widespread, that the term is used in different ways and on different levels of society (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002; Molz & Gibson, 2007). This diversity can be seen as the core of cosmopolitanism, in which the concept is divided into six categories: ‘(a) a socio-cultural condition; (b) a kind of philosophy or world-view; (c) a political project towards building transnational institutions; (d) a political project for recognising multiple identities; (e) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and/or (f) a mode of practice or competence’ (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002, p. 9).

The first point comes forward in the globalisation processes. Globalisation has made it possible that long distances can be covered more rapidly and cheaper. Globalisation processes have also created mass tourism, migration on a large scale and multicultural global cities whereby telecommunication techniques have developed rapidly. In a short time, a social and cultural world was created, what has led to the cosmopolitan thinking patterns of today. Advocates of approaching cosmopolitanism in this way celebrate the cultural creativity and political challenges that come with it (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Slightly different is the second point of this division. This is described as the philosophical approach. In this sense, cosmopolitanism is about political philosophers who believe that we live in a world in which the principles of law and justice are central. This corresponds with the ideas of philosopher Kant who claims that everyone should be a citizen of the world with which a worldwide community of people who adhere the same norms and values is created (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002; Molz & Gibson, 2007).

The third point is called a “political project”, referring to the establishment of transnational institutions. In this light, cosmopolitanism underlies the foundation of political ideas and initiatives that go beyond the nation state. Cosmopolitanism therefore takes care off a particular level of government that transcends the nation state without becoming a state itself. The establishment of a worldwide civil society is part of this political project. On a more individual level, the second political project takes place, in which cosmopolitanism is a symbol for an open attitude towards having multiple identities. In comparison with the first political project, this concentrates on democratic principles: ‘the legitimacy of plural loyalties’ is essential, to which all people need to be motivated to do so (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002, p. 12).

The next point, the attitude which typifies cosmopolitanism, is closely related to the earlier described attitude assigned to cosmopolitans: ‘the willingness to engage with the Other’ (Hannerz, 1990, p. 239), the only thing that is added is that cosmopolitanism is an intellectual attitude of openness to other cultural experiences (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). It therefore is about the feelings of belonging with respect to the global, something that transcends the nation state once again. The practical implementation to this attitude should always be mentioned: a person should have the ability to find his/her way in other cultures. This can be achieved by diving into the systems of meaning-giving, by listening, looking and experiencing them. The possibilities to be able to participate in something different than “the own” are bigger today than ever before, at least, when one belongs to the elite (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002).

This elite, which is mentioned in both argumentations so far, seems to be the crux here. This point is taken up by other scientists who contradict the ideas that cosmopolitanism can only be put into practice by the elite (Abu-Lughod, 1991; Malkki, 1997). Here, a division is made in which everyone can have a place: the concept is divided in *cosmopolitanism from above* and *cosmopolitanism from below*. The first mentioned cosmopolitanism is the one for the elite. People who achieve this form of cosmopolitanism have the possibility to travel and discover other cultures (Hall, 2008)

In contrast to this first form there is also *cosmopolitanism from below*. People who “belong” to this form do not have the possibility to travel. Yet, they can pursue a cosmopolitan thinking pattern, be it forced or not, by composing themselves in a particular way (Hall, 2008). This is because being cosmopolitan does not only consist of identifying with others, but also of being able to have the capacity to interact with people along the cultural boundaries of the human existence (Notar, 2008). It has been proven that the person who pursues this openness, does not always need to be part of the Western elite and as Hannerz would say, would “belong to the locals”. Besides being cosmopolitan in traveling the world, one can be a local but still be able to have a cosmopolitan thinking pattern that can even result in producing it for others (Notar, 2008).

Yet, migrants do not always fit in with these categories. They can be free in their choices of travel, but can consider themselves not belonging to the elite. Since “the elite” is not clearly explicated by the scholars involved in theorising cosmopolitanism, it is not ultimately clear whether one surely belongs to the elite simply when one travels. Moreover, the choice for migration or the choice for going to a particular place does not always need to be a free one, if one still is able to travel and to engage with others while migrating. On the

other hand, *cosmopolitans from below* do not necessarily have to be locals who cannot travel but can only pursue cosmopolitanism in their considered “own environment”.

These diverse notions of cosmopolitanism serve the exploration of the field in which the migrants stroll around (Molz, 2007). In the globalising world of today, in which identity seems to be on the move, space has been created to bring multiple identities into practice, especially for migrants who look beyond the borders of their own state. The highly diverse interpretations of the concept demonstrate that cosmopolitanism is much researched but also that overall it always seems to be about identification with a cultural Other, in one way or another. As is shown by the various authors, many people take in such a particular position. Still, today there seem to be many people who do not (want to) identify themselves with the Other. These views and attitudes on the world are also widely researched, which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

2.2.3 Counter-cosmopolitanism and its origins

The debate about the Other mainly focuses on who the Other is and on how this person or these people should be treated. (Social) scientists have researched the attitude people have already had towards the Other for years. They argue that this attitude derives from a profound vision on both the own society, as well as the society of the Other, which has once been created. As has been made clear by the arguments above, the concept of “culture” takes in an important position in defining who the Other is, causing this to be the starting point of this section. Subsequently, it will be argued where this concept of “culture” comes from and how it is used to make the Other different than the Self.

The use of the concept of culture was already criticised in 1991. In this argument, the focus is on the idea of culture providing a relationship of power between the Self and the Other in which the differences between the Self and the Other are constantly highlighted. This has begun since the West started to dominate the rest, during the times of colonialism, by which the division between the Self and the Other is also based on the power relation between the same West and the rest (Abu-Lughod, 1991).

Yet, in the highly globalising world of today, it cannot be stated anymore that the West only dominates the rest and that the Self represents someone who pursues a “Western modern culture”, which is based on norms and values that the Other does not pursue. Hence, the Self does not need to be the Western person “from our society” anymore. Every person, originating from wherever around the world, can be a Self on its own. In this sense, the person who migrates can be the Self as much as his or her considered Other, depending on the angle

from which someone looks at things (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). However, the same way of reasoning holds true irrespectively that angle, that is why the way of reasoning in Self-Other relations will be discussed now.

The differences between the Self and the Other are always the subject of debate and these differences make sure that the identity of the Self derives from the Other (Abu-Lughod, 1991). This is only possible when the Other really is different, or seems to be different. The concept of “culture” and the way it is used is crucial here: ‘[c]ulture is the essential tool of making other’ (Abu-Lughod, 1991, p. 143). People and (social) scientists keep these ideas in place by continuing to use the concept. They divide various cultures from each other, but homogenise the people who live in these cultures at the same time. Cultural differences are seen to be obvious, while less attention is been given to what happens *within* these cultures (Abu-Lughod, 1991).

Therefore, it seems that the concept of “culture” endeavours to make differences fixed within it, as if they are natural. The way in which contradictions are presented between the Self and the Other seems to indicate that differences are indeed fixed and therefore cannot be changed (easily). In the globalising world of today, this kind of thinking is often rejected by scientists and they therefore argue for a different approach in which the mobility of people worldwide is recognised, by using concepts as “practices” and “discourses” (Malkki, 1997; Abu-Lughod, 1991). They admit that these kind of concepts enlarge the view on this scientific field, but they also states that there is more to win:

Although there may be a tendency in the new work merely to widen the object, shifting from culture to nation as locus, ideally there would be to the shifting of groupings, identities, and interactions within and across such borders as well. If there was ever a time when [one] could consider without too much violence at least some communities as isolated units, certainly the nature of global interactions in the present, makes that now impossible (Abu-Lughod, 1991, p. 149).

Migration is part of these “global interactions” whereby cultures cannot be seen anymore as isolated units (Stolcke, 1995; Malkki, 1997). The notions of culture and cultural difference have entered the language that is used in politics: ‘in which Western geopolitical conflicts and realignments are being phrased’ (Stolcke, 1995, p. 1). Even though some of these works have

been written more than twenty years ago, the same behaviour is visible in the EU society today (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016).

The arguments therefore remain valuable. Migrants are often blamed for the socioeconomic problems that occur in the EU, as well as in the life of the Self (that is the EU citizen at this moment): it is the fault of the migrants that there are no jobs or houses for the Self, or that social security is lacking. According to the Self, this is because migrants do not have the same cultural norms and values as they have, simply because the Other is *there* (Stolcke, 1995). Moreover, it is seen as a consequence of (im)migration that migrants are a threat for the national identity of the nation state, after all, they have another culture than the Self. Opponents of immigration and politicians contribute to the hostility towards migrants by enlarging the problem in their language: they speak of “flows of refugees”, or “the massive influx of migrants”, language that only provides fear for migrants (Stolcke, 1995; Van Houtum, 2015). With this, the migrant only symbolises what is bad, or in other words: ‘[t]he “problem” is not “us” but “them”. “We” are the measure of the good life which “they” are threatening to undermined and this is so because “they” are foreigners and culturally “different”’ (Stolcke, 1995, p. 3; McLaren, 2003).

So again: culture both homogenises and divides but some authors interpret this different than others do. According to some, notions of the concept make culture a compact, restricted local and historically rooted set of traditions, norms and values that are passed on from generation to generation. Instead of reviewing the diversity of different people, notions of culture emphasise the differences in cultural heritage and the immeasurability of it. This is called “cultural fundamentalism” and it is argued that this exact thing legitimises that foreigners or strangers are being excluded. People are differentiated from each other on the basis of essential cultural differences, which are seen as natural (Stolcke, 1995; Malkki, 1997).

Therefore relations between different cultures are hostile by nature since it would be natural for humans to be ethnocentric and xenophobic. With this, the stranger with the other culture is posed against the citizen of the state with its own culture (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002). Of course, as was explained earlier, this reasoning also happens the other way around: the migrant with his “own” culture who considers himself the Self, cannot cope with the “other culture” of the place in which he finds himself. Culture provides therewith the following thinking pattern: since it is the human nature to not be able to live in peace with people from “another culture”, which is performed by Others “*there*”, the best solution is to

continue separating different cultures from each other (Stolcke, 1995). Showing hospitable behaviour towards another therefore seems far away here.

Migration, however, cannot be neglected anymore. Whereas it was normal half a century ago to emphasise that it is essential to the human existence to be rooted somewhere and to have a home where people have the same culture, people nowadays move around the world, which makes it impossible for them and their culture to be connected to the territory *there* (Malkki, 1997). Yet, this images of people and culture seem to be persistent, and this has consequences on the way the Other is viewed and is treated when migration comes into play. Hence, the migrant will be rejected continuously when he or she appears at the borders of the territory of the, in this case, EU citizens, only because of the culture he or she “belongs to” (Malkki, 1997; Ahmed, 2000).

These ideas are not real anymore in the globalising world of this moment. The idea that people are rooted in one place and that they stay there for their entire life should be criticised: ‘[n]ow more than perhaps ever before, people are chronically mobile and routinely displaced, inventing homes and homelands in the absence of territorial, national bases – not in situ but through memories of and claims on places that they can or will no longer corporeally inhabit’ (Malkki, 1997, p. 52). Moreover, migration is not a new phenomenon, people have always been mobile. The difference with ancient times, however, is that nowadays attention is increasingly being paid to migration since borders and border territories are high on the agenda, whereby people who move, and together with them their culture and habits, are central (Malkki, 1997).

Instead of focusing on the concept of “culture” itself, it is tried to encapsulate what consequences the sedentary basis of the thinking about culture has. This can be done by beginning to explain how the equation between nation, nation state and territory evolves. Studies about these subjects often focus on nationalism. It is emphasised that these scientists think that the world exist of clearly from each other separated sovereign units which can be easily designated on a map (Malkki, 1997). As may be clear, nation states are often displayed as coloured blocks to show the political maps in an atlas. Herewith, the way to show a nationality automatically becomes a way to demonstrate the naturalness of it: real nations live in a bordered territory that can be distinguished on a map (Malkki, 1997; see also: Ingold, 2011).

This naturalness is not only visible on maps, it is also present in the daily used language. Whenever people speak about a people, they actually think to say something about a nation that almost directly leads to the assumption that they talk about a nation state

(Malkki, 1997). This same logic applies to “land” and “territory”. Even though these words seem to be innocent, the use of them has serious consequences for the way others are viewed. After a holiday abroad, travellers often like to “step on their own soil again”, despite it being physically the same soil as the one on which they walked during their trip. In this way, the identity of people is connected to the territory on which they live and the nation state that claims its right (Malkki, 1997; Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007).

Besides seeing nation states as clearly bordered and separated units and the language that goes with this equation, the pressure exists to categorise people according to some arborescent roots. This literally means that people are being seen as having roots in particular soil, and thereby belonging to a particular nation state and are having a common culture. They have originated in a particular country and therefore they embody the identity and culture of that country. The roots of that individual are in that soil after all, so that person can only represent that identity and that culture (Malkki, 1997; Stolcke, 1995; Abu-Lughod, 1991; Molz & Gibson, 2007). According to these sedentary metaphysics, a person cannot leave that soil since he or she would get uprooted: getting separated from his or her own identity and culture that belong to that nation and nation state.

Yet, leaving the soil where one was born is not strange anymore, but according to these sedentary metaphysics, migration cannot happen in practice, and results in people judging the one who has become mobile. This particular person is seen as being uprooted and cannot be placed anymore in the world of, in this case again, the Self being the EU citizen. Since the only way the Self is able to think is in the equation of nation, nation state and territory, when someone leaves his or her own soil, this image does not hold (Malkki, 1997; Molz & Gibson, 2007; Van Houtum, 2010; Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). The Self does not know how to react to this and the way out of this “error” seems to be the one of rejection: “that person does not belong here since his or her roots, identity and culture are *there*”, counter-cosmopolitanism at its finest (O’Dell, 2007; Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007).

To this discussion of counter-cosmopolitanism only the importance of geographical territory is left to add. Territory is the tool which is used to equate nation, nation state, territory and culture: it is seen to be obvious that every country has its own characteristic culture and society, causing the culture and society to be equated with the nation state (Malkki, 1997; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Territory becomes a fixed thing here, to which a common awareness about the own society, cultural difference and a form of social organisation are ascribed from the history of a country. This view causes problems (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992).

Firstly, there are people who live on or next to a border of a particular territory. The fixation of a self-contained culture on a self-contained place does not hold for people living in border areas, people who get to know the culture and society of both sides of the border. Besides, there are people who do not always live in the same place, people who cross the borders of nation states several times per year. These can be seasonal labourers or businessmen but the same idea holds true: how can you ascribe a to a nation state related culture to someone when this person is not always in that same nation state? Moreover, there are people who cross the border with a more or less permanent purpose. Do they bring their culture to their new home country? And do they practise it there then (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992)?

Secondly, ascribing cultures to territories problematises the diversity that exist in these places. A concept as “multiculturalism” emphasises that cultures are not fixed in one particular place, but still signposts these cultures to the national identity of again, one nation state. Thereby it is admitted that there can exist subcultures but it is still emphasised that these are connected to the dominant culture that is ascribed to a nation state on a geographically fixed place (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). Likewise, notions of “ethnicity” make this connection, despite not meaning to do so. By acknowledging that people with different cultures can live with each other in one particular place, it seems that it is tried to break through the connection between culture and the nation state, but the relation itself is not problematised in the end.

These different problems are discussed severely by which the following is stated. In the globalising world of today, in which borders and places seem to vanish and get ever more mixed with each other, ideas about cultural diversity and ethnicity become increasingly prominent. In this way, it becomes clear how “imagined communities” get connected with imagined places:

[a]s displaced peoples cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places, or communities in a world that seems increasingly to deny such firm territorialized anchors in their actuality... The partial erosion of spatially bounded social worlds and the growing role of the imagination of places from a distance, however, themselves must be situated within the highly spatialized terms of a global capitalist economy (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 10-11).

This is important because with this the equation between nation, nation state and culture can be better understood. The questions that come up with this, are mostly the same ones many scientists have. They all question where the equation comes from and also take the

sedentary metaphysics as their starting point, in which cultures are seen to be units that manifests themselves in a particular place, a territory. However, some especially criticise the thinking itself, whereas others argue that the state has a significant role in this since the same state is responsible for policy around place making, whereby she also makes and maintains the connection between people and place, which is considered to be so obvious. Still, the scientists argue that the state is not the only actor and that the thinking should be primarily ascribed to a long history in which this equation is always made (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992).

It is therefore concluded that:

The ability of people to confound the established spatial orders, either through physical movement or through their own conceptual and political acts of re-imagination, means that space and place can never be "given", and that the process of their socio-political construction must always be considered (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 17-18).

Even though the above discussed components of counter-cosmopolitanism do not quite seem to fit reality nowadays, they are still widely used in combination with place and space. Therefore, scholars try to come up with new ideas on how place and space could be viewed otherwise. Place and space should for example be seen as dynamic, lively and open-ended. The processes of life are what happen in places and spaces. They are about relations, about connecting multiple identities with each other that can separate once again, some ideas that are shortly mentioned but crucial when migration trajectories are desired to be understood in the light of hostpitality experiences (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Malkki, 1997).

Hence, it can be stated that, the closer the cultural Other comes to the Self, the more the Other is pushed away (O'Dell, 2007). This kind of thinking and behaviour is called "counter-cosmopolitanism", a view on the world and the own society in which an Other has a culture that cannot be seen separately from that person. The Other should stay far away on its own soil, where the own culture can be practiced. Counter-cosmopolitanism is therefore part of a pendulum that is shared with the earlier discussed cosmopolitanism. As was emphasised, cosmopolitanism is about engaging with the Other. However, as soon as this Other leaves its place and enters the world of the Self, counter-cosmopolitanism emerges which ensures that the Self does not engage with the Other anymore.

In short, counter-cosmopolitanism stems from a deeply rooted idea that culture homogenises people, as well as divides them. By ascribing (groups of) people to a particular culture, there is made, be it consciously or unconsciously, an equation between nation, nation state and territory on which a particular culture takes place. According to these sedentary metaphysics it cannot be that one of these four elements is omitted, which is exactly the case when someone migrates. As a result, the equation is broken but since this arborescent kind of thinking is so deeply rooted, people continue to categorise others in this way and do not engage with the Other. Logically, this collapses when one does break through one of these four elements and moves towards the Self/Other, resulting in migrants being confronted with this situation in society nowadays. It should therefore be discussed what the role of the migrants themselves is in this whole situation, focussing on migrants' decision-making and their role in hostipitality (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

2.3 A hostipitality continuum in relation to migrants' decision-making

Following the theoretical contributions of hostipitality, practical side of the notions should come into sight again. In times of this "crisis:", the EU seems to be part of a pendulum of, on the one side a pragmatic hospitable compassion with the migrants and on the other side a deeply rooted hostile fear for cultural, ethnic and religious differences (Molz & Gibson, 2007). There does not seem to be a shortage of people who, if necessary even beyond official institutions, are willing to help migrants (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016). Yet, others feel "overwhelmed" by a large "flow" of migrants, language that is used in media and politics, that only invokes fear (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016; Stolcke, 1995; Van Houtum, 2015).

However, the perspective of the migrants is still often forgotten. Even though they cannot be lumped together as being one group, the migrants frame the EU in a particular way too. Since migrants' relatives at home want the migrant to be successful in the place he or she has gone to, they also expect them to only come back with stories of success. Even though the migrant faces difficulties when entering the EU, in strolling around the EU and settling somewhere to achieve his or her desired success, he or she feels to not have any other possibility than maintaining the already framed image of life in the EU, be it realistic or not (Schapendonk, 2011). As a consequence, only one-sided stories reach the relatives, stimulating them to continue spreading the stories. The framing, both in the EU as in the migrants' environments, maintains itself. The key word which has not been discussed yet, in this reasoning from the migrants' perspective, is agency (Van Liempt & Doornik, 2006).

It should be mentioned briefly that the decision whether to move or not is not always directly based on the hospitality continuum and its theoretical notions described above since migrants are never only “the victims of the structures of receiving societies”, whereby the migrant can only undergo the above discussed the language, attitudes and actions of the receiving population. Migrants can pursue a proper amount of agency in their times of movement, as well as in their periods of standing still (Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2006; Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007).

To illustrate this during the migration process of migrants, the example of the “smuggling” of migrants will be addressed here. In a sense, migrants are believed to be recruited by criminals, whereby they are passive players in their own migration (Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2006; Belloni, 2016). This means that they are believed to not be able to participate in the decision-making process of where to go, since the “criminal smuggler” has already set out the path for them. Smuggling thereby becomes a global business seen as being ‘[a] closed circuit. Smugglers recruit migrants and the money paid to them is used for expanding the business. Migrants in turn send money back home (...), and some of this money is paid again to smugglers who bring new family members/friends abroad, which keeps the business going’ (Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2006, p. 166). Moreover, recently, various voices came up that revealed the poignant reality of migrants selling organs in Egypt, to pay for their passage to the EU (Reijner, 2017). In this thinking pattern, smuggling is an illegal and hostile act towards humanity whereby the smuggler is the criminal, making money over the back of vulnerable migrants, literally (Belloni, 2016).

However, human smuggling can also be seen different than this, as was briefly mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. It can be ‘[a]n act whereby an immigrant is assisted in crossing international borders whereby this crossing is not endorsed by the government of the receiving state, neither implicitly or explicitly’ (Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2006, p. 166), a fundamental different (hospitable) approach than the above described indicates. Smuggling therefore does not need to be a bad thing, a crime. A smuggler can be the helping hand for the migrant to arrive in the beloved place, whereby they do not feel deprived, neglected or disadvantaged at all (Belloni, 2016).

Furthermore, the idea of the migrant being a passive actor in the whole migration process may not fit reality in the case of smuggling. Stating that a migrant is always simply following the smuggler neglects the complexity of their trajectories, in relation to their hospitality experiences (Molz & Gibson, 2007). Migrants’ own aspirations, motivations and the impact on their decisions which they themselves have during the whole migration process

should not be overlooked. '[M]igrants might turn to various smugglers or arrange certain parts of the journey by themselves and interdependencies between the actors differ within various stages of one person's migration' (Van Liempt & Doornik, 2006, p. 166).

The question that remains here is how migrants shape these interdependencies. Therefore, hospitality and hostility are seen as a continuum in this research. This means that one can have cosmopolitan thoughts towards migrants, or a migrant towards someone vice versa, but that he or she may not bring them into practice (Molz & Gibson, 2007). As a consequence, a migrant may not notice the hospitality of an EU citizen, whereas the aspiration to *be* hospital is there. Subsequently, one can have cosmopolitan thoughts and can also act cosmopolitan. A migrant then, can perceive a person as hospitable, which can eventually affect his or her choice to move on or to stay in a place. The same kind of reasoning is true for counter-cosmopolitanism and with that for hostility. It therefore is important to place the concepts along a continuum, rather than divide them in a bipolar fashion since this enhances the migrant to fully express his or her feelings towards their arrival and possible departure in places and spaces around the EU (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

Moreover, it needs to be clear how hospitality and hostility emerge in practice. In other words, they need to be operationalised in order to research them in society. Both concepts therefore fall apart in three components, referring to the earlier discussed language, attitudes and actions in relation to hostipitality. Hence, the division is made between 1. hostipitality imaginations, in which the focus is on how migrants (may or may not) choose their destination. 2. Hostipitality experiences, in which it is central what migrants came across during their lines of travel. 3. Hostipitality reactions, how migrants react to the existing images and actions towards them. These three components together construct the meaning of hostipitality in practice (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

2.3.1 Hostipitality imaginations

As is already indicated, hostipitality imaginations are the thinking patterns that focus on how migrants (may or may not) choose their destinations. It is about the part of the migration process that may take place in the head of migrants and may be put into practice subsequently (Molz & Gibson, 2007). It is about them imagining how life will look like in the places they (want to) go to, which in the end influences their decisions to move on or to stay. In this sense, both hospitality and hostility can have the same outcomes (staying or moving): a hospital imagination of a place may the migrant be deciding to stay, or may the migrant be desiring to go to that place, whereas a hostile imagination may be the cause for a migrant to

leave a place or not choose a particular place to go to, depending on the place where the imagination evolves in the migrant's head (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

In this light, agency of migrants is crucial. As is illustrated with the existence of smugglers above. Even though migrants go with smugglers, they are not always totally dependent on them, leading them to have their own agency, instead of only agreeing with the places wherever they are taken to. However, their opinions of possible destinations may have been influenced by other people (Van Liempt & Doornik, 2006). These can be people "from home": family, friends or acquaintances who tell the migrant to go to a particular place, or family, friends and acquaintances who are already there and therefore attract the migrant. Moreover, they can meet people on the way, people who do not need to be smugglers but who help them, advise them and trigger them to go somewhere (Van Liempt & Doornik, 2006; Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

The same kind of arguments about migrants' agency apply to the way the hostility imaginations arise anyway. Migrants always have a motivation, or multiple motivations, that lead them to leave their country of origin. Some have to do with safety, others with the search for a better life, but migrants never choose freely to go to a place where they will be treated with hostility (Molz & Gibson, 2007). These kind of thinking may influence their decisions to go or to avoid a place, which can be different for every individual. However, if the same family, friends and acquaintances tell the migrant to avoid a place because of its hostile reputation, the hostility imaginations of the migrant arise, inevitably leading to a migrant's experience and reaction (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

2.3.2 Hostipitality experiences and reactions

More practical than the imaginations discussed above, are the hostility experiences and reactions. Here the language, attitudes and actions that follow on the imaginations are central, in the way that migrants experience and react, especially if migrants come across them during their movements. What makes experiences and reactions so practical is that they are visible in public space. Whereas imaginations take place "behind closed doors", peoples' language, attitude and actions can be directly observed in the streets, and can be questioned according to events that have happened in reality (Molz & Gibson, 2007; Gibson, 2007).

Many things happening can be conceived as hostile, according to migrants but some seem to dominate. Here, it is about acts of racism, being publically humiliated or about feeling unwanted in a particular place. Again, migrants themselves play a role here. It might be ascribed to the structures of society that migrants *experience* a certain amount of

hostipitality but their *reactions* are the ones coming from themselves. The way they react to what is happening to them, may of course be influenced by the structures of their own society, but the fact that they can choose their destinations, their movement or standing still, after being treated either hospitable or hostile (or in-between), is the proof that they are agents of their own life (Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007).

Hostipitality imaginations, experiences and reactions therefore take place during the whole process of migration, whereby there is an ongoing interplay of imaginations, experiences and reactions influencing migrants' trajectories (Molz & Gibson, 2007). The one does not exclude the other and they do not always have to be consecutive. Hence, it is crucial to see hostipitality as a continuum. On the one side of the continuum is hospitality and on the other side is hostility. The imaginations, experiences and reactions can move across the line from left to right, intervening and differing from each other in degree of extremity influence on the migrants' choices (Molz & Gibson, 2007, Laachir, 2007). How this was researched in practice will be central in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 – Methodology, methods and techniques

'You can ask me any question you want. I don't mind answering them. I want you to share my story with the world' – Sam, during an interview on July 13, 2017.

In this chapter it will be discussed how the research was conducted. Firstly, the methodology will be explained. Secondly, the methods will be the focus, as well as the sampling of informants and some “statistics” on the interviews which were held. Lastly, various techniques used in the research, in combination with the way of analysing will be discussed. As is already indicated, the research will be one that is based on qualitative data collection. Since it is the aim to understand the worlds of migrants, qualitative methods are elected over quantitative ones. Specifically, one methodology is useful here, which is the life history approach. The relevance of this approach has already explained been shortly, but here it is important to clarify its methodological significance, amongst others by explaining what kind of data can be collected by such an approach and to what results this leads.

3.1 Life histories as methodology

Firstly, making life histories eminently is a qualitative enterprise. It is about the narratives that the migrants tell of their experiences in their trajectories and broader life: '[t]hrough narratives people weave their experiences into a coherent whole, documenting both their successes and their failures and drawing conclusions from these that help to explain the life [trajectory] choices they have made' (Brettell, 2003, p. 24-25). They therefore help the researcher to understand how, in this case, migrants make sense of their world (Brettell, 2003).

Traditionally, life histories were not used to get to know autobiographical details of the person him/herself but more to gain some representative information of the social group he/she belongs to. Now, it is more emphasised that a researcher comes to know as much about the culture, social group or experiences of a person as of one's personal life, the choices this person makes or has made in various stages of life, as well as the challenges this person faces. The aim of life histories therefore is 'not to present a typical or representative individual, nor to arrive at empirical truth or a "science of culture". Rather, it is to understand one person's life and its meaning to that person in the context of broader history and culture' (Brettell, 2003, p. 26).

Life histories can be applied to migration trajectories as follows. Firstly, by using narratives as the way to understand the migration processes, the researcher is enabled to really get to the bottom of migration theory since the goal is to understand the trajectory from an insider's perspective. These kind of narratives are unsuitable for gaining insights in the statistics of migration processes but they are quite valuable for understanding the particular case as opposed to the general or for understanding how abstract generalisations about migration look in real life, from the migrant's point of view. Life histories therefore enable researchers to get a sense of how migrants may be able to shape their own trajectories, in comparison with the structures of society forced on them (Brettell, 2003). Or, put in another light, life histories are crucial to 'emphasise what generalisations about migration look like on the ground and to delineate how migrants make decisions, forge social relationships, and exercise agency in the face of various local, national, and international constraints' (Brettell, 2003, p. 32).

3.2 Interviews as methods

The data that has been collected primarily, is in oral form, since most of the information is gained by taking interviews. These have taken place in a more formal or informal setting, depending on the relation that I, as the researcher, had with the respondent. Sometimes, the best information was gathered after the interviews had formally been closed. I was aware of that so I could let my phone keep on recording or write extra information down. However, the use of recording equipment also depended on the setting, informant and relation that I had with the migrant. When recording equipment was not desired, I wrote down information that I could immediately review after the interview had taken place and write a more elaborate summary using this extra piece of information (Gobo, 2008).

The interviews were open to a considerable extent since I wanted the respondents to be able to express themselves in their words, not being suggested to follow a particular direction too much due to my questions. I therefore tried to ask as few questions as possible, in order to give them space to tell their own story. However, I did have a general interview guide in which the points that I wanted to discuss were written down. This mainly consisted of guidelines considering the themes of trajectories, (restricted) mobility and hospitality experiences. During the more "formal" interviews, I did not have to take out the guide itself but I always had it with me in case of forgetting to ask the respondent about, for me, crucial points of the migration process.

The informants with whom I could talk needed to be found in order to be able to conduct interviews with them. Finding respondents was mainly done by making use of my

own network. Since I have spent some time in the anthropological circuit of people having their speciality in West-Africa, my network already consisted of some West-Africans, or people who knew them. By talking to the first informants, I was able to get the contact details of others. In that sense, the method of sampling can be ascribed to the so-called “snowball”. While the research was done in the Netherlands only, it was not single-sited in the Netherlands itself. Various interviews took place in Nijmegen, in public space, or in people’s homes, whereas others took place in my own home town. It depended on the informant where we would meet and due to that I tried to be as mobile as I could.

However, whether access to this field was “awarded” to me as a researcher or not was a matter of trust, which I needed to gain from the respondents. When it concerned West-Africans in my own environment, in which they already knew me or my acquaintances, there may have already existed a social relation in which the respondent felt confident to talk freely. In other cases, in which I did not know the respondents yet, it may have been helpful to be not too eager to gain information. Firstly, I started building up a relation, by which I got to know the respondent and more important whereby the respondent got to know me. It was important to make sure that we could meet each other’s expectations of the relationship. After establishing this, I tried to set up more “formal” interviews about the topics that concern the research. However, I always wanted to make sure that my informant would feel comfortable, so I always wanted the interviews to be open talks. I have therefore made good use of informal conversations to collect data too.

Nevertheless, sometimes the expectations of me and the possible respondents did not meet. Here it was important to stay open and clear to each other. When the respondent decided that he did not want to participate in the research, it was a pity for me but this decisions was completely fine too. This does not mean that I did not try to comfort the respondent in telling that he would stay anonymous, and that it exactly is the aim of the research to give him voice, but since the research is about the perceptions of the migrants themselves, I wanted to respect their decisions.

In order to structure the interviews/conversations I have had, I have put them together below.

William ~ 40 years old

When: July 10, not recorded

July 18, recorded

July 22, recorded

Total length of recorded interview: 2 hours

Total length of time spend together: 8 hours

Sam ~ 20 years old

When: July 13, recorded

July 20, not recorded

July 23, recorded

Total length of recorded interview: 1,5 hours

Total length of time spend together: 4,5 hours

Abu ~ 27 years old

When: June 19, not recorded

June 26, recorded

Total length of recorded interview: 1,5 hours

Total length of time spend together: 3,5 hours

Odion ~ 50 years old

When: June 22, not recorded

June 25, recorded

July 1, recorded

Total length of recorded interview: 2 hours

Total length of time spend together: 5 hours

James ~ 30 years old

When: June 19, recorded

June 24, recorded

July 8, recorded

Total length of recorded interview: 2 hours

Total length of time spend together: 5,5 hours

Here, it is important to mention that I first wanted to include a sixth participant in the research. The conversation with him was my first interview of this research so I was a little nervous. Was I prepared well enough? Did I have enough questions? How would he react? He did not want me to record it but I was allowed to write everything down. The conversation

itself was fine and the informal talks before and after were fine too, but he did hesitate in deciding whether he wanted me to use his story in the research for real. Not because he did not trust me, but he explained it was a big step for him to even come out with his story at all. I explained that his name was going to be changed and that he could not be tracked in any way but he still hesitated. I also told him it was the first “real” interview I was having so that I was already quite happy that he wanted to talk with me, even if he did not want me to include it. So I decided to propose to only use the interview as a practice and he agreed. I therefore promised to not use any of the actual material in the research, only mentioning him for “practice” reasons. Still, in the end he told me he was happy that he had shared his story with me, feeling a little relieved that he could tell someone who was not part of an official (migration) institution so that is why I am glad too that I have made this decision and that is why I eventually only included the other five participants.

3.3 Researching and analysing techniques

Doing research is a situation of going back and forth in collecting, writing down and analysing data. A tentative process, that enabled me to really get to the so desired depth in the research. Until now, much has been written about interviews being the main source of data collection. This has also stayed the main source during the whole research. Other ways of data collection should however not be overlooked. Hence, various forms of PA-techniques were used to substantiate or to better understand the viewpoint of the migrant. Here, it was mainly about rankings and mapping, but I was always open to what the migrant wanted to tell and how he or she wanted to express the feelings attached to that (Theis & Grady, 1991).

Finally, the collected data were going to be analysed in various ways. In the beginning of the research, the first semantic relations between different variables became visible after doing some initial interviews. These were directly obtained from the transcripts of the interviews. They were put into the coding program ATLAS.ti, with which the variables that migrants frequently used in their explanations could be made explicit easily. Thereafter, these were put side by side, migrant to migrant in order to be able to find out whether migrants experience the same or different feelings and where these come from. I then was able to create various taxonomies, with which I could increasingly go in depth in the migrant’s experiences.

Finally, with this analysis the life histories of migrants could be written down. Even though there were proven to be particular similarities and differences between people, the life histories aim to show how every person has his own story, that may initially seem to be the

same as another one but in the end has its own context, its own choices and decisions and its own pathway in life.

Chapter 4 – Life histories of West-African migrants

'We all live in the same Europe, but we don't live under the same conditions' – Abu, during a conversation on June 26, 2017.

4.1 Introduction

I met William, Sam, Abu, Odion and James in the late spring and early summer of 2017. Even though my first attempts to get to know some West-African people failed, I slowly started to infiltrate in some people's life. They were willing to talk to me, some a little bit more than others and I managed to write down some of their stories. Whether these are (chronically) right or not, does not matter. What does matter is how these people have told their experiences, how they have perceived them and how they have come to be the person who they are now (Bohmer & Shuman, 2015). I am glad that I can present some insights in their life here, each one as valuable as the other.

While some of the men told me they did not care whether they were given another name than their real one, I did not want them to be recognisable for other people than myself. This means all their names, names of relatives and living places have been changed in advance. Lastly, I would like to mention that the analytical results that show through the people's stories, will not be exhaustive in this sense that I have only decided to include 5 life histories in this research, which I have touched upon in the methodology chapter and which will be reflected in the last chapter of this thesis. Still, many new questions will derive from these stories, only demonstrating how much can still be researched in the field of migration in general.

4.2 William, the man who was raised in the streets (of Rome)

When I got the chance to meet with William, I first hesitated whether to include him in the research or not since I had already spoken with his biological brother Odion earlier. I was afraid that having two brothers in the same small research would not be valid in some way. Yet, when I eventually decided to do meet with him and went to his house for the first time, I could not have imagined the value of everything he was going to tell me.

His migration trajectory started somewhere in 1992 or 1993, almost 25 years ago. When he was a teenage boy, Nigeria and its people were not in a good condition. The president was better known as a dictator who wanted everything in the country for himself,

thereby depriving the population from their first needs. It did not matter who you were or where you came from, people were just thrown into prison, they were killed or they disappeared. After some time, Nigeria began to fall even further. Schools were closed and supplements like bread were not available anymore. ‘My mother had to walk hours and hours, waiting in a big line, before getting one bread. Just one! She could not feed our entire family of one bread you know’, William cried. While the youth could not go to school, and plenty of other Nigerians became dissatisfied, the population set up demonstrations and riots against the president. William was one of the people rioting, leading his mother to be extremely worried with him. She gave him the choice: ‘You stay here, you go to prison, you go, you may have the chance to live freely’. Since William’s brother Odion was already in the Netherlands, his mother told him to go here: ‘You have to go to your brother, go there. Go living there with your brother. It may be better there, because here you will get into trouble’, William explained. So apparently, some transnational bonding took place here: William’s mother advised him to go to his brother, where he would be safe due to the social connection they still had from their past together (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Belloni, 2016).

So that is when he decided to leave Nigeria. He applied randomly for a visa for Bulgaria, which was granted to him rapidly. He did not know anything of the country, he did not know anyone there, he just knew that he had to leave Nigeria soon. He was only seventeen years old when he got on the plane to Sofia. When he arrived there, he ended up living in the streets. While telling his story, William remembered noticing that there were not many dark skinned people in Bulgaria. William felt he was one of the first dark skinned people ever being there: ‘Once, I was walking in the streets and some old lady passed me. She folded her hands in front of her head and cried: “ahh no! That is way too dark to look at! I don’t look!”’ So yes, Bulgaria is a crazy country. There are many racists in the east of Europe because the people there don’t know anything! They only know Russia and we were the first group there’. William and the fellow Nigerians were always afraid of leaving their rooms and going into the streets alone. They had to go buy groceries with a group of ten to fifteen guys since they experienced a lot of pesky actions from not only the many skinheads, but also from the police. They felt as if these people were waiting for them in the streets to catch them because they were illegal since their visa only granted them three months in the country, and they had already been there longer than that.

This passage of William’s story clearly demonstrates counter-cosmopolitan practices of “othering”. Since the Nigerians were not one of the Bulgarians, or Russians who were seen to be the same as Bulgarians, as William describes, they are not welcome in society and they

should therefore be repelled (Van Houtum & Van Naerssen, 2002; Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). This results in the considered others to lump the Bulgarians together too, them imaging to be one racist group which does not want migrants to be in their country. Hence, “othering” has multiple directions here in which migrants’ agency should not be forgotten. The Nigerians being treated hostile and them giving the Bulgarian population food for hostile action is an ongoing interplay in which both sides have a role, resulting in either trying to cope with the situation (again from both the Bulgarian as Nigerian side), or leaving, as will be discussed now (Van Liempt & Doornik, 2007).

Sometimes, one of the Nigerians was caught and put into prison for some months but the system in Bulgaria then was not as harsh as it is nowadays (Gibson, 2007; Van Houtum, 2015). William experienced Bulgarians to be poor too so the system did not work as it should have. After spending some months in prison, people were released again to continue living there. However, living there was not that easy due to the many racists and the lack of possibilities to get a job. So after approximately one year, when the hostile treatment became too much for him, William decided to leave Bulgaria and to go to Turkey, where he also lived for almost a year. Life was easier there, especially in Istanbul. William experienced the people there to be a bit smarter than in Bulgaria and since the people in Istanbul were highly diverse, everything seemed to come together there. As a foreigner, he was able to do everything there. He could live there, without having any papers. Sometimes he even got a job in a shop, helping customers and cleaning the place. He also washed cars for some time. He described Muslims there being nicer than the Christians in Bulgaria. The Muslims welcomed them while the Christians did not want them to be with them. He could not imagine a Christian thinking in this way, but he did experience it. Still, in Turkey, ‘the people were just good’, William said. On Fridays, everyone gave him food because they thought he was poor and had no money. So, in Turkey, hostility did not seem to be much of an issue, rather, hospitality made William stay for a while.

However, he did not have much money, that actually was the only problem there. With the few and little jobs he earned enough to pay his rent and buy some food, but that was everything he could do. And at that time, he still had a goal: going to Western Europe to better his life. That is why he packed his bags once again and set out to go to Greece by train. In Bulgaria, his visa had already expired so William bought a passport there that was not his, but from a British man. The man seemed to look a little bit like William, but he was way older than him. At that time, William considered himself to be a little boy, because he was only eighteen years old so when he first used the passport at the border of Turkey on his bus trip

from Bulgaria, he was terrified that the police would find out. The opposite eventually happened: the police man only looked at his new and shining passport for a couple of seconds and immediately gave it back, with which William was allowed to go back into the bus, and consequently his first attempt of using the passport he bought was a success. When he went to Greece by train, the situation was slightly different. He travelled with other Nigerians. They had had the same goal from the beginning, they met each other quite often in the same places, sometimes lived with each other and hence travelled together too. With this trip to Greece, William used his British passport again. At the border between Greece and Turkey, the train was stopped by the customs and his heartbeat was rising once again. Even though he thought he had been smart, since he had faked the whole trip that he was an ordinary English man, sitting quietly in the train on his own, not knowing the other Nigerians: ‘I had to behave properly, not like a real African you know’, all dark skinned people had to leave the train at the border. He continued faking he did not know the other people, so with his passport, he succeeded once again: William was allowed to go back into the train, while the rest, even though many of them had (bought) passports too, were taken away by the Turkish police.

In Greece, it must have been in 1994 or 1995, he only lived for half a year, in Athens. ‘I really was not welcome there, I did not get any jobs. We, we are just foreigners, so we try to fix things for ourselves, like selling stuff to the tourists. But that was everything. Greece just was not a nice place to stay’, William explained. He already explained the hostile attitude of people in Bulgaria, and the more hospitable one in Turkey and considered Greek people to be even less cosmopolitan than the Bulgarians since they did not want to help any foreigner at all (Hannerz, 1990; Malkki, 1997; Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2007; Van Houtum, 2010). His urge to move on became even stronger when he tried to contact his “fallen comrades” in Turkey. He succeeded in making contact, but the news he got was terrible. His mates had been held in prison for two months, before they were released again. Since they did not succeed in crossing the border by train the first time, they wanted to try something else. Hence they tried to reach Greece by boat. ‘I was so afraid to go by boat. I can’t swim so I thought I won’t do that and that’s why I always held the passport carefully with me’, William said. Yet, the others could not repeat their stories of being afraid for the water, since the people William spoke to in Turkey could only confirm that his comrades boat had sunk and that they had all drowned in the Mediterranean. Combining the bad news with his bad feelings in Greece, he checked in on the boat from Greece to Italy after six months of staying there, with which he left behind his by himself built up transnational network (Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

When I heard this I was astonished that he could even take the word “boat” in his mouth but William soon explained that it was a different kind of boat. It was a big ferry, while his mates had tried to reach Greece with a sloop being “helped” by human smugglers. William officially bought his tickets, and was extremely confident about his good passport. That is how he went to Italy, and coming there is what he described as the best day of his life. When the passengers wanted to leave the boat, there were only three lines of checks: one for Europeans, one for people from outside Europe and one for “problem areas”, which was meant to be for people from Iraq and Afghanistan that days. William just walked into the line of the Europeans and was still beaming about the situation when he told it to me. The people in the line of Europeans only had to held up their passport closed, just to show it was an European one: ‘There was no stamp, no check, it was great! And then I stepped from the boat, finally, yeeaahh yesssss, I was finally in Europe! It was like, this really was the best day of my life!’, William cried. Although he was already in Europe for quite some time, he considered this to be real, demonstrating what kind of imaginations he had of Europe anyway (Molz & Gibson, 2007). From Bulgaria onwards, he described it had been misery all over, even though I can make up out of his stories that he had some bright spots in his life every now and then. Still, he described that during that time he did not know whether he could eat the next day for instance. He had been waiting outside of restaurants for people to throw away the leftovers of their meal, ‘It was not as it is in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is one of the best places in the world! Really girl, you have to believe me. I have almost literally been everywhere in Europe, but I have not seen any place as good as the Netherlands!’.

In Italy, the joy of being in Europe soon changed into less pleasant feelings: ‘Let me say it like this, Italy is a “country of hate”’. William had been everywhere in Italy, in cities and villages, and he had lived in Rome for almost seven years, until approximately 2002. He spent all his time selling items: socks, glasses and bags, all the small things that he could carry across the streets. However, the people did not want to buy his wares. When he was lucky, they would give him some food but most of the time he was strolling around the streets, not succeeding in selling anything at all. In Italy, he felt a foreigner once again, not being treated fairly, despite his own attempts of trying to belong to the Italian population. The government did not do anything for him (Stolcke, 1995; Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2007; Gibson, 2007). He just had to go in the streets, trying to sell his merchandise, trying to find a room and pay his rent. What he did get from the government was a residence permit, something he did not expect since he was still using the same passport which he bought as he always did. One day, he just decided to stop by the police station, feeling as if he walked straight into the mouth of

a lion. Nevertheless, they believed him and he got a permit for five years. It even got his real photo, which the Italians made after they had granted him the permit. That photo was a big relieve for William. He felt he could go anywhere with his document, because, before getting the permit, he was always afraid of walking in the streets since many extreme groups exposed their hate of foreigners (Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). They expected all foreigners to be prostitutes and that is why they wanted the foreigners to go away. William had been punched for nothing, had been denied access to public toilets, and had been thrown out of the building when he protested, all because of having dark skin. Luckily, these things happened less when he got the permit. He felt he got stronger and stronger and learned to speak Italian.

Although William felt he was not treated fairly, he somehow understood the reaction of the Italians. He compared his situation with the contemporary one: ‘You can see these things on the television. These are so many people, they can’t handle it anymore. In my time, there were not as many as there are now but you saw the same stress as they have now’. In the seven years he was living in Italy, he did not find any “real” job, not even after he got his permit. Thus, things did not get any better for him and that is why he eventually called his brother in the Netherlands, with which he appealed on his transnational network in the Netherlands (Glick Schiller et al., 1995). He asked whether he could go there and his brother answered: ‘You better don’t, but if you want to, try it!’. I asked him why his brother reacted this way: did he not want his brother to come over? William told me his brother had gone through the Dutch asylum procedure and had felt it was a tough experience. Once, his brother came to Italy and therefore he advised William to stay there; Italy was beautiful, ‘but not for living’, William added. ‘My brother had only seen it as a vacation and indeed, Italy is a beautiful country then, but he did not live there, so he had other ideas than I had. My permit was almost expired then and I absolutely did not want to extend it. I wanted to go away!’. That is how William came here. He could travel freely through Europe with the permit so before it was expired, he took the plane to Düsseldorf where his brother picked him up on the most beautiful Winter day just before Christmas, and drove him to the Netherlands.

This passage demonstrates William’s imaginations of the EU and the Netherlands in particular. Even though his family member with experiences in the Netherlands advised him to stay where he was, his imaginations of what the place would be were stronger and eventually led him to go there. Likewise, William did have hostile experiences in Italy, something that his brother was not likely to believe, which led Odion, speaking out of his own experiences in Italy, to imagine life was not too hard there (Molz & Gibson, 2007). The

hospitality imaginations of a migrant are therefore crucial in understanding these migrants' choices for places to go to.

'And then?', William rhetorically asked, 'It only starts'. After his brother picked him up, he felt the warmest welcome he had had so far, which must have been around the start of Winter in 2002 or 2003. He celebrated Christmas with his brother and family in-laws and had a wonderful time, just like a vacation. He did not feel the stress of being hated by the population of a country which he had experienced earlier, since he was used to go anywhere and sleep on the streets for a month, before getting to know anyone who could give him a bed and give him the possibility to shower. This was the first time he actually came home somewhere, and it was a delight. After that Christmas period, he had to take care of himself once again. William still had his British passport but his brother discommended him to use it. Stubborn as William was, he still decided to use it when his brother dropped him at the police station to get a residence permit. He received his residence permit and had to renew it after one year. During that time he worked in a meat factory. Although he did not like the work too much, he was glad he had a real job, a real house which he shared with a fellow Nigerian and with whom he could get to know the country. After, the first two renewing's of the permit went alright, the third time he was caught. The police man saw the photo in the passport, and compared it to William's real photo on the permit. He immediately said: 'that man has such big glasses and is 38 years old, you are such a young boy'. The man did not believe William and although he was allowed to go home, he urged him to come back the next day. William replied that he would surely come back, but he never did. He started doubting about what he should do. He still could not go back to Nigeria, so this situation scared him. He came up with a plan to go to America once he had saved enough money. Going to America was a simple choice for him: 'There are a lot of dark skinned people so there will be no problem'. So again, the experiences of not being welcome and having difficulties in settling in the Netherlands constituted imaginations of an elsewhere, even though William eventually did not go there (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

Hence, that is why he decided to work even harder at the meat factory. One day, his boss came in and asked him to come to his office. Since William worked really hard, he expected that his boss would give him a raise. The opposite was true. When he entered the boss's office, he saw the same police man who did not extend his permit, and he said to William: 'You boy, you have not come back eh.' 'No', William said, and that is how he went

to jail². He spent almost a year in jail and that was one of the toughest periods of his life. Even though William appears to be a happy and cheerful man, enjoying life with his girlfriend and son, that year in prison has changed him a lot. When talking with him about the subject, I initially did not notice how difficult this was for him since he was also laughing about many things all the time. I only noticed it when I saw the tears in his eyes, followed by some words coming out the deepest place in his heart. That year in prison, had ruined him from outside and from within. ‘The people their try to make you crazy. They want you to say: I want to go home, I want to go to Africa, please, take me back! I have seen dozens of people like this, people like me: immigrants, wanting to earn a little bit of money and that kind of stuff, all being put in prison, a real prison’. William assured me I did not want to know what is was like there. He was put into a cell with nine others for the first two months. These were all people from different nationalities, Chinese, Surinamers, and Moroccans. They were constantly fighting, smuggled in tobacco and when the guards discovered their forbidden items, they would punch the prisoners until someone confessed. William told me he was mostly afraid of the Surinamers since they spoke Dutch so well. He did not understand anything which made it all the more scary for him.

That time, he had a Dutch girlfriend outside the prison. They wanted to move in with each other before all this happened. He was ultimately released because she signed a form indicating that they were going to be married. She took a lawyer to plead for his case. She had to find a steady job to prove she could take care of William, because being in love is not enough, and when she had finally proven all of this, William was released. Together they went to court to ask for asylum for him. Since he had been in Europe that long, he did not try to do that at first. And for what did he need to ask asylum? He was from Nigeria and although he had a problem there, it was not that poignant that all Nigerians were granted asylum in the Netherlands. Hence, William always told the people in prison that he was from Liberia, a neighbouring country where a civil war had been going on for quite some time. Since these events were shown on the television every now and then, the Dutch would believe someone coming from Liberia could not be sent back there, in contrast to someone from Nigeria: people were not shot in the streets there so it seemed to be safe. He therefore never revealed his true country of origin since he was afraid he would be put on a plane the day after he would come clean. According to William, that was also the reason why they kept him in prison for so long. They tried to offer him deals every now and then, promising to give him

² “Jail” or “prison” is the word that the migrants used to describe “migrant detention”

money when he would go back to his country, he only had to say where he came from. Therefore, William tried to make these people crazy too. He would never confess and that is what has saved him from being sent away.

After being released from prison he finally asked for asylum. Again, several problems occurred. Since he had used the British passport before, and now came up with a different name once again, the civil servants did not believe him. He really wanted to start all over again but that appeared to be harder than he had hoped. Eventually, the Nigerian embassy granted him a passport with which he could set up all the documents. It only took three years to be freed from the English name since every institute would write his real name down, together with the one from the British passport. After a few more years, William got the Dutch nationality but the image of prison remained clear in his head. During the nights he spent there, William heard others screaming that they could not handle it anymore and that they wanted to be taken back. Since he did not want to admit where he was from, he was thrown in solitary more than once. This meant he often thought of his time in prison, as well as that his friends noticed that he was behaving differently than before. Since he did not talk much to actual people in prison, he had these conversations in his head, leading him to talk to himself when he left the prison. Moreover, since he was only allowed to go outside one hour per day, being able to walk in a tiny square in the prison, he continued to do that after he came out. His girlfriend had a dog at that time so when he was ready he slowly tried to walk the dog and expand its daily round, since he was afraid to go further alone.

These feelings were not diminished by the behaviour of his girlfriend. William married her involuntarily, since she had him stuck with her. When he did not behave according to how she wanted him to, she would threaten him with things the police also did. She would threaten him by saying she would report him to the police, which might have resulted in him possibly being sent away. Although he wanted to continue trying to make the marriage work, he also kept his goal in mind. So after a while, when he got the Dutch nationality, and his marriage still did not work, he felt even more pressure from power his then wife had over him because of what happened in the past. Hence he decided to leave her and their new born daughter.

Thereafter, things started to fall into place, perhaps for the first time in his life. He got a job in a hospital and eventually met his contemporary girlfriend, with whom he had a son. Everything therefore became peaceful in his life and he has been feeling very much at home in the Netherlands since then, even though it took a while (Molz & Gibson, 2007). 'I have become a cheese head hahaha', William said, 'I have been to Austria several times, and I

always miss my sofa after two weeks, and the rest of my house. This is home for me now, you know'. He also emphasised that he feels he is giving back to society here since he is a nurse. Seeing the people's grateful faces after he has finished his work makes him appreciating his work and life even more. He is happy now, enjoying being with his son every day, being able to see him grow up and being like his father, a happy boy. This however also has a dark side; William would never recommend his choices in life to anyone else: 'It isn't worth it, you better stay where you are. Find a solution in your own place, make it work, but don't do anything crazy. Yes, you can migrate, but do it by going through the official procedures. I was only lucky, but this does not always happen'. Then he refers to the time he took his girlfriend and son to the exact places where he had stayed. He took them to Rome, to Athens and eventually he showed them the sea between Marmaris and Rhodos, the place where his mates died years ago.

He would therefore never advise anyone to risk his or her life by taking such a step. He made the trip with his family with a big boat, but the sloops that many migrants take are not that strong. 'They tell you, it is just a tiny piece to Greece, we already set the machine of the boat, you just have to hold the wheel', William cried ironically, 'It is a tiny piece on the map indeed, in reality it is way further than you think'. He would not want his son to undergo the same as he did. William himself has not enjoyed his childhood enough and he notices that now. He feels the urge to play, to be with his friends, have drinks and be able to have fun, something his ex-girlfriend prohibited him to do. 'I was raised by the streets you know, I have grown up too fast. I'm happy now, I have nice clothes, a nice salary, I have everything. But am I really lucky? Luck for me is being free, real freedom, being able to have an empty head, but now, my head is not empty. I have so many regrets of the choices I have made, why did I come with a passport that was not mine? Why did I live in Italy for so long? I'm not proud at all that I have done these things, but it just had to be done'.

4.3 Sam, who goes straight for his goals

I only met Sam because I was spreading the word about my research to friends and colleagues. I told them that I was searching for West-Africans with whom I could talk about their migration processes. One day, when I was talking about it again, my colleague asked me what countries were part of what I thought was West-Africa. I started to sum up a list of countries, not expecting he would know someone, which he ended by asking whether Liberia was "west enough" for me. I replied that Liberia surely was west enough, surprised and impatiently waiting for him to tell what he knew. He said he knew a guy from Liberia who he

would contact for me. Already in heaven I could not believe this was happening. After a couple of days I texted my colleague whether the guy had replied, a kindly reminder for him to send the message in the first place. Yet, things got better when I received Sam's number a couple of hours later. My colleague told me that Sam would love to talk to me and that is how it happened.

Sam and I agreed on meeting in the park for the first time, where he started to tell about his life. He had been in the Netherlands for quite some time already, he came here in 2006, when he was nine years old, with his mother and brother. He came here because of his father, who had already been in the Netherlands for a couple of years and wanted his children to come over too. Since his parents were divorced, his mother would not actually join the children, but she would not let them go to a strange country that they did not know by themselves. They did not even know any people in the Netherlands since Sam had not seen his father since his second birthday onwards, he had already left his family years ago. Although Sam did not remember anything of that situation, his mother and father both had told him the story.

Back in the day, Sam's father was working for an international company which brought him to Liberia's neighbouring countries such as Cameroon, Ghana and Sierra Leone. He therefore knew the region quite well. During one of his trips to Sierra Leone, he got ill. 'I don't know what he exactly got with his ears, but in Africa they believe that when someone suddenly gets ill, something that is not explainable and when someone is not born with it, they believe you are cursed'. Sam's father became deaf and did not know what to do. He could not come back to Liberia since he was afraid of losing face but he was not being treated in Sierra Leone either. After some years his father met an organisation linked to his former work which wanted to help him with his ears. They had three options for him: he could go to Sweden, to America or to the Netherlands, where he could have surgery. The woman who helped him wanted him to go to America since she expected it to be better for him there because they spoke English. Moreover, when he would have recovered, job opportunities would be better there. Sam does not know what exactly happened but he does remember that his father told him that he did not want to go to America at all. He really "attacked" the woman, by using foul language to convince her that he would not go to America. He had no family there so he would not go there. Hence, he stayed in Sierra Leone a little while longer, until he met a Dutch man, named Simon, who told him that he could come to the Netherlands, where healthcare was good and where he was sure that Sam's father would recover. After some years and the processes of paperwork with which Simon helped a lot, Sam's father came to

the Netherlands by plane via France. He first entered an AZC and stayed there for two years. Simon always helped him, and Sam and his brother and mother a lot. When he said he would do something, he would do it. He brought Sam's father to the hospital, stayed during the surgery and was always there.

Nevertheless, when things started to get better for Sam's father, he wanted to get his children to come to the Netherlands too. However, making contact with them was harder than he initially thought. Sam told me that after they had moved multiple times, his mother eventually wanted to go live with her mother again. In order to find his family Sam's father contacted a friend in Sierra Leone who had connections with people in Liberia, appealing to his transnational network indeed (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Belloni, 2016). Since Sam's family is quite well-known in Liberia due to their company, his family then was found rapidly. They could inform his father where Sam, his brother and mother were and that is how they found each other again.

Unfortunately, this was not the immediate bridge to the Netherlands. Sam has experienced several wars before he was able to come here. From the four wars that he has physically experienced, he only remembers two. 'We just woke up in the morning, and a couple of hours later people started running and screaming, then the war had started', Sam told me. 'Of course, I was young, so I went outside. I only saw people carrying guns everywhere. It was a civil war between Muslims and Christians. The Muslims said some Christian had set afire a mosque so the Muslims were angry and started to do the same vice versa. I was living in the middle of the city of Monrovia, where there are many mosques and churches. Exactly there the war started. We heard gunshots everywhere.' Sam emphasised that he lived in a normal apartment in a flat and not in a slum. However, within the flat, Christians and Muslims were living together but all of the sudden, they did not know who they could trust anymore.

In another part of the city, there was a UN building where everyone who wanted to, could flee to. From the flat of Sam's family, it was an hour walk, but one should not forget that there was an ongoing war. Everyone was running and yelling, it was chaos. Once Sam and his family came near the UN building, the line to enter was longer than one could ever imagine. During that time, his mother had a new boyfriend, with whom she had a baby son. She was carrying him on her back, with Sam and his brother both on each side holding her hand. That was when the bomb at the end of the line exploded and complete chaos followed. Sam ran away, as did his brother. His mother panicked and handed her third to a random woman at that moment. 'Seriously', Sam said, 'in the middle of war, you lose your parents.

You have to be extremely lucky when you find them back. I don't know what it has been, but I was that lucky'. His mother's boyfriend went looking for his little brother and eventually found him under a twisted rock. Sam ran to the front of the line of chaos until he came across the place where the bomb had exploded, 'By then, I had seen more dead people than someone who works in a mortuary for twenty years! People with one leg, one hand, no limbs at all, it was a complete mess of human remains. And that, is where my mother found me'. Thereafter they went back in line, and when they finally reached the UN building the random woman also returned the baby son. The family was complete again, but the time to leave Liberia was more pressing than ever.

Soon, when the stormy war diminished a little, Sam and his family returned home and started the immigration procedure with the IND³. They started to have contact with his father and got their vaccinations to be allowed to go to a foreign country. The procedure to get the right passports and papers took quite a long time. The IND needed to know everything about the family before letting them enter the country. In the meantime, Sam started to go to school in Liberia. He never finished it there because, finally, after two years of waiting, they were allowed to come to the Netherlands. He remembers their day of travel really well. It was summer in Liberia, it was around 40 degrees outside so he only wore a pair of lightweight jeans and lightweight raincoat. He did not know what to expect. When he came out of the plane, it was winter in the Netherlands and there was a huge pack of snow: 'It was damn cold, really really cold so the first months that I was here, I did not even go out of the house. I think I have not seen that many snow during the rest of my life until now'.

He did not come in an AZC. Since his father was already living here, they could move in with him immediately. After a couple of months, Sam went out for the first time, becoming acquainted with the hockey club. However, next to the hockey club, there was the football club, something that sparked his interest more. He also became acquainted with an elementary school, where he could start just one week after he was signed in. He was placed in the fifth class but started with learning material from the third class. He could hardly speak any Dutch at that time since they spoke English at home and he had not met many Dutch boys yet. So the first months in school were tough. After some time, he did not want to go to school anymore. He did not understand any of it. However, when the summer vacation started, he often went to the soccer field near his house, watching other children play. Soon, he joined them and that is

³ IND stands for "Immigratie en Naturalisatie Dienst", the Dutch organisation (part of the ministry of safety and justice) that is charged with, amongst others, immigration, Dutch citizenship and integration of migrants in the Netherlands

how he made his first friends. Thereafter, things started to get better. He had finished the material of the third class before the Christmas break and the material of the fourth class before the next summer. He slowly started to learn Dutch better and better and never had any insufficient grade for Dutch anymore.

The only pity, however, was that during school he always had to work by himself, in the hallway next to the classroom. Every day another child would join him to explain the material from all the different courses but he never joined the class itself. Although that was difficult for him, since he wanted to be with his friends, he also felt this was good for him. His goal was to learn Dutch and to complete school, if he would meet friends while doing that it would be fine for him but that was not something which he truly needed in his opinion. So in a sense, Sam had his imaginations too, but these were not based on hospitality. He was here now and since he was a child, making his own choices about whether to stay or to move to another place did not come up in his mind at all, even though he did not feel he had no agency. It just did not fit in his life world at that time (Van Liempt & Doornik, 2007; Belloni, 2016). After three years, Sam could speak Dutch fluently and so he went to secondary school. Since he did not know a lot of the country yet, he mostly stayed in his hometown, and therefore he also wanted to go to the high school in the same place. However, his level of education could not be completed there, so after two years he had to go to another place, to where he had to go by bus. His first day there was a complete disaster. That first morning he heard he had to bring his report card from the former school with him so he went to pick it up. It was also his first time on a public bus in the Netherlands so he really did not know where he had to get off the bus, how he could indicate that he wanted to get off and where he could transfer to another bus.

To make things worse, he arrived too late on his first day, which felt like a disaster to him. When he finally entered the classroom, his class was full of Moroccan Dutch guys, something he was not used to in his hometown. Since he had come to the Netherlands, he mainly had Dutch friends, Dutch children in his class and Dutch acquaintances and neighbours. In his elementary school, there was only one other dark skinned boy with whom he always had “the battle of being the best black guy”. Sam did not understand the hostile attitude of the boy at first, the boy punched him during one of his first days, since he did not speak Dutch and the other boy did not speak English, but eventually he discovered that the boy was just a little jealous that Sam could play soccer a little bit better than he could, ‘And you know, as a black guy, you want to be the best with sports, especially with soccer’, Sam told me. So when he went to his second high school and only saw only “other than Dutch

faces”, he was surprised. However, as he had done in elementary school, he made some friends with the other guys, but did not go too deep: ‘My goal was to graduate, not to waste time with immature behaviour. So all these jokes people make, I really don’t care. Earlier, at the soccer club, when someone didn’t see me, they joked about me being on the roofs so that I could not be present due to other duties, you know. I can laugh about these kind of jokes, those racist things, I really don’t care too much’. Although there may have been signs of hostile behaviour in Sam’s environment, Sam did not care at all. The reason for this is quite simple: it was not his goal to be liked or not, as has come forward earlier in his story. He was here and would stay here, no matter what anyone would think of it. So Sam is not an example of a person who considers his immobility an issue, going together with physical and mental discomforts (Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016)

Sam has experienced some ‘annoying moments’, as he calls them himself, like people calling him names and looking at him in a very exaggerated way in the streets. Of course, he did not like those things but he also did not care too much, since he argues that his ancestors have experienced much worse. It does not matter to him what people say, as long as they behave respectfully, he will do the same vice versa. Until it becomes too much, of course. Once, there was a group of boys, hanging around and they always called him names when he would pass by. Eventually, he went to them and started a conversation: ‘I have not done anything wrong with you. I’m here, I will not bother you, so you guys can also behave normal to me’. Luckily, he has not experienced anything worse than that but when something would happen, he is determined to start a conversation with them just as he has done before. Sam believes that communication is the key to be able to handle things in life and therefore concludes: ‘Just do not care too much and stay who you are. You are valuable on your own and you should always remember that’.

4.4 Abu, who tries to make the best of it

It was ten minutes to eleven when I arrived at our meeting place at the square in the middle of the city. Apparently, the annual fair started that day, so I immediately regretted the choice of meeting there. Yet, since I was ten minutes early, I could easily observe the social situation taking place in the square, leading me to find the best possible option for a “private talk” with someone in a corner of the square. Exactly at eleven, Abu appeared and since I had shortly spoken with him earlier about “Africa time” I could not help joking about him not being late. He told me he would never be late anywhere, having an appointment means he would be on time and that was not debatable. Direct as we both were, we sat down and started talking.

Abu was born in Ivory Coast in 1990 where he lived his early life since his father was from Ivory Coast. He went to school and spoke fluently French at first. His mother however was from Liberia so when his father passed away when Abu was ten years old, his mother had to go back to Liberia. Abu and all of his siblings, being two brothers and four sisters, were allowed to stay since they were born there, but Abu was only ten years old and his siblings all were even younger. Hence their mother took them back home with her in Liberia, where Abu stayed until he found his way into Europe.

Times were hard in Liberia for the whole family. Abu learned English rapidly, but could not fully attend school anymore since his mother did not have a husband to take care of the family, to provide them with money, food and other (first) necessities. He therefore only went to school for a short period of time before he decided: 'I had to stand up on my feet and take care of all this people. I had to take in the position of my father'. He soon found a job at a petrol company. A really good job since he was responsible for the distribution of the petrol to various stations in many cities around the country. However, after three or four years, Abu got engaged in 'some political problem. I became to understand that my life was in danger so I decided to find my way out, and go here'. Luckily, he had some friends from within the oil company to help him to get the papers necessary for leaving Liberia. Also, since he applied straight for a Dutch visa, he had to show he had a proper bank account; that he had enough money, which would prove to them that he would not stay. Again luckily for him, his friends could also help him with that. When he finally got the visa he went to Ghana and took a plane to Amsterdam, which was in 2009. Abu thought he would have left his problem behind and could soon start a new life in the Netherlands.

Nevertheless, new problems only seemed to start from then on: since he has arrived here, his application for asylum has been rejected three times by the IND. Abu emphasises that the IND has been researching his case in 2009, 2010 and 2011 but that they always rejected him, leading him to be arrested and put in prison since he would not leave and was said to be "illegal" because his procedure had already finished. However, Abu has always insisted on not going back because if he would be going back to either Liberia or Ivory Coast, he would be killed. He therefore tried to fight the decision of the IND with a lawyer, who got them to release Abu every time again. He did not get a permit then, but at least he could await the appeal in freedom. Unfortunately, this last appeal got rejected too, whereby he was told to leave in zero hours. As he still was not intending to leave, he went to an organisation in Amsterdam that helps migrant with the difficulties they face, for example by arranging a place

to sleep. However, they could not find a place for Abu so he had to live on the streets since then.

This tough time lasted until 2012, when he got arrested again ‘while I was innocently walking on the streets you know’, according to Abu. He did not know that the men who approached him were from the immigrant police, since they were not in uniform. He explained they started to control everyone who was black at the streets and so they also approached him: ‘I was very bad lucky when they asked for my paper, my document and I could not present any document’. For him, this example clearly shows hostile behaviour towards migrants out of prejudices and racism since there was not any other reason to control him (Van Houtum, 2010). He got arrested and was brought to the police station where they called in his dossier. They immediately saw he was “illegal” and told him, which of course was not anything new for him, that he had to leave the country. Since they did not dare to let him go since they thought he would disappear once again, they brought him to a detention centre where he spent three good months.

In prison he was visited by his lawyer several times, who asked him his passport and birth certificate for trying to clear up things about Abu, which may have worked for his application in the end, the lawyer thought. The Ivory Coast embassy however refused to provide the document since they did not want to take him back. Abu could therefore not be sent back: Ivory Coast did not confirm that Abu was from there so if he would arrive at the borders of the country, they would put him on the first plane back. Seemingly, he was now stuck between the two countries, not permitted to be in the Netherlands, and not able (if he had wanted that anyway) to go to Ivory Coast. This reminds of sedentary metaphysics well since Abu is not welcome in a particular place (Ivory Coast), because he cannot prove he has been born there. The place on the other end of the spectrum (the Netherlands in this case) however states that he is not welcome because he should be rooted somewhere else (Malkki, 1997; Stolcke; 1995; Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). That is why Abu left for Germany when he was finally released but there he was also rejected when he applied for asylum.

‘I had a difficult time then’, Abu explained. ‘I know myself and it’s not that I’m here because I love the country. I’m here for my own security because my life is in danger. I had a good job, a car and a house and I could go anywhere. I can only dream for that again. Now I’m here and I have nothing to do. I can’t do anything because I don’t have the permit and that sucks!’. He emphasised that it costs a lot of energy for him to live anywhere while he is not allowed to be, a kind of mental and physical discomfort for him, which has been described earlier, that comes out of hostility and therefore out of (counter-)cosmopolitan thinking

patterns (Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016; Malkki, 1997; Stolcke, 1995). Moreover, when he got back to the Netherlands, he was put in prison again. That struck him hard again since he could not handle this in his eyes unfair treatment: he never used a false name to come here, he never did something criminal but he felt he was treated as if he had done something extremely wrong. 'I'm not like other people. If they for example get rejected in the Netherlands, they let them try in another country with a different name so they don't get the Dublin thing you know. But I was straight and I always want to be fair so changing your name is like a criminal act and I said I don't want to do that, to ruin my future'. So he never changed his name and just wanted the IND to believe he really was him, but still, the treatment Abu experiences as being a criminal is commonly known for migrants, showing the counter-cosmopolitan sedentary metaphysics once again (Van Houtum & Naerssen, 2002; Malkki, 1997).

They then transferred him to an AZC, where he lived for two years before he got rejected once again. This last rejection became him too much. He had already gone through so much procedures, livings spots, prisons and other nonhuman circumstances that he was fed up. So after some conversations with his lawyer, he decided to start a medical procedure, which someone can start when he or she thinks ejection would harm one's health (LOS, 2017). This meant he was eligible for the "bed, bath, bread arrangement", which meant he got a place to stay during the nights. This was not an easy place since it was designed for people who had already finished their procedure and who got rejected. These people all had their own problems, their own things that they had gone through so Abu saw some of them increasingly becoming crazy. Luckily, he had a friend where he could sleep, since the man already had his own home. That is where he is still staying most of the time, especially when things get tough for him. Abu is awaiting his medical procedure at the moment, but it has been silent for months already. He experiences this as being very stressful, not corresponding with his hospitality imaginations he had before coming here (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

The most striking for him is the improbity of the whole system. As he earlier explained to me, he does not feel "illegal"; he came here by plane, with an official visa. To come over this feelings, he went to other countries in the EU, to see whether things were better there, to compare the places with each other. Abu first attended France since he knew there were many people from Ivory Coast going there. Yet he did not feel comfortable there so then he went on to Spain. He only spent two weeks there before he found out that Spanish people were racist to him, much more than in the Netherlands. 'In the Netherlands', Abu argues, 'they may not like you, but they will never show it to you, so everyone keeps that to themselves'. In Germany, he felt completely different: 'In Deutschland, these people here

show it to you that they don't want you to live there, you have to leave! They don't like you and they just say that in your face'. The same holds true for Spain, Abu emphasises, as if they do not want to share their living space with him as a black person. He considers this behaviour very rude and cannot understand people to be that hostile towards him, only because of the colour of his skin or the place he was born in (Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007; McLaren, 2003; Malkki, 1997; Stolcke, 1995).

Even though he finds it extremely difficult to cope with this kind of behaviour, he also has a strong point of view on it, besides the bad feelings he has. Since he typifies himself as being a guest in the EU, he does never want to react angry to anyone being rude to him: 'You always have to know yourself, know who you are. You must not always want to act'. Even if he wanted to attack someone because of the hostile and counter-cosmopolitan behaviour they were expressing to him, he still did not do anything since he did not want to make any trouble here, while he already had some trouble back home. He does not want to ruin his future by fighting, by being criminal so he tries to ignore all rude behaviour which he experiences. He adds: 'Even if the other person is wrong, and I am right, when it come to the issue of the permit I will always be wrong. It has always been like that. So I already calculate that in my mind. You have to always be careful and stay with yourself. You have to know your attitude and how you do not get into problems'. This stipulates his own agency, for him in a world in which he cannot change others' behaviour but in which he can do the best he can (Van Liempt & Doomernik). He therefore extremely tries to be a good person, to take care of himself and his mental health. Hence he trains a lot in the gym. Abu believes that one's appearance is important for others; he is afraid people will not like him or will not even talk to him when he looks neglected so therefore he invests in that.

Although he talks about it very bravely, I can see him struggling. I can hear his pain shining through his words and I can feel how this whole experience has been influencing him. I asked him how it was possible for him to go on, when life is giving him lemons all over. He replied that he also had to control himself in that, since he would have already gone crazy when he would let the pain sink in: 'If you always think about your problems, when you only sit and think and when you can't win that, you will get sick'. He wants to prevent himself from that, more than anything else, expect for the permit of course, since that would bring him his bewished future he has fought for, for so long. Nevertheless, he cannot prevent himself from that always: 'When I see some black guy I have met during my stay in the Netherlands, passing by with his car, together with his girlfriend or wife and their daughter, I feel the pain.'

He especially notices his lack of permit when he is dating a girl. When she begins to like him, but discovers he does not have a permit, she is gone. He has experienced it himself and he has seen others experiencing it. One of his black friends in the Netherlands got a Dutch girlfriend. They were happy with each other, until the guy had to go and meet her parents. They did not accept him at first, it took a long time before they took them in as their son in law. Now the couple is happily married and they are already pregnant for months. Although he is happy for them, he also had a difficulty with it. It makes him questioning why he is here, having the life he is living: 'cause I'm still living a deprived life. And that life that I'm living, is not the life of others. We all live in the same Europe, but we don't live under the same conditions', Abu concludes (McLaren, 2003).

4.5 Odion, who wishes to be understood

Sometimes, the world turns out to be smaller than one often thinks. As has already been demonstrated, when I least expected someone to be able to help me finding West-African people with whom I could talk, they eventually did. This was also the case with Odion. Already when I spread the rumour about my research months before it even started, an old friend told me his uncle (Odion) was from Nigeria. So when I finally started the research and contacted my friend, I easily found my way to Odion. My friend warned me for him, not because he would be a dangerous man, but because of a whole different reason: 'you will find out he is not that talkative', my friend said. Although Odion indeed hesitated about participating in the research, since he was not sure whether his opinion would be valuable, I could set him at ease quite facile. We then agreed on meeting at his home, me hoping he would feel comfortable enough there to speak. So with good courage I went to the house at the first time, curious about what Odion would tell me (and would not tell me). However, my concerns turned out to be unfounded. Even though our first handshake was a little bit awkward, he burst loose when I had only asked one question. He talked for minutes after each other, eventually asking me whether I did not have any other questions. I then calmly shook my head: 'No, no, you can go on, I will listen'.

Odion grew up in Nigeria with his family. His mother was the youngest wife of the four ones his father had. Odion, his younger brother William, three sisters, and mother lived in one house with one of the other wives and her children so there were always people around to play with or to ask for food. When the one mother would not give any food, the other one would so Odion spent his youth always running back and forth between the mothers, profiting

from their good cooking skills every time again. Even though home was a busy matter, everyone had his or her own room to sleep and to withdraw.

At first sight, it seems nothing was wrong here, and that actually also was the case for Odion. When the nineties started, he did not have any problems anywhere, he just finished school but the only pity thing was that he could not find a job nor a study. The Nigerian economy was not at its best that time so it was difficult for young people to find something. Also, Odion did not try very hard, he just did not feel he had a future in Nigeria, so that is why he decided to leave the country with a friend to just go to some better place. Going to the Netherlands was not a hard matter that time. He just applied for a visa, Odion's mother paid for it and he got it without any problem. So when the plane ticket to Brussels was booked, he could start his trip. He arrived in Belgium at the 29th of January, 1991. It was a cold evening, something Odion and his friend had not experienced before. They decided to find a hotel for the night and try to take a train to the Netherlands the next day. Since Odion's friend knew someone in Dordrecht, they decided to try to go there firstly, immediately using the only persons they knew from the transnational network they had (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Belloni, 2016).

When they came in their first Dutch train station, they did not know where to go or how to find the train to Dordrecht. Then they saw a Nigerian man walking. They asked him whether he knew the person in Dordrecht and he did! However, that person was not living in Dordrecht anymore, but in The Hague so they spent the night with their new made friend who lived together with 9 other Nigerians. The next day Odion and his friend wanted to travel further but their host told them they were in Europe now: 'So nobody is waiting for you illegally. You should apply for asylum!'. Odion and his friend were confused: 'Apply for asylum? We're not asylum seekers!', they cried. The host left the choice to them, so they slept there another night to think about the situation: whether they were going to search for their friend in The Hague, or immediately apply for asylum. After that night they decided to take their life in their own hands first (Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2006). They decided to first search for the friend so their host gave them the phone number, address and the tickets to go there by train. Yet, the friend in The Hague told Odion the same: 'You will not make it last here when you don't apply for asylum, so you should do that'.

Odion and his friend had no idea what they were doing then. They felt offended by being typified as "asylum seekers" but also wanted to stay in the Netherlands, which seemed to be only possible by starting the asylum procedure, again demonstrating their own level of agency (Belloni, 2016). However, they did not even have a story which they could tell the

police. Luckily, the other Nigerians knew what to do so the next evening Odion and his friend were prepared for the big day. They made up a story of why they had left Nigeria, Odion would have fled from war in his village and his friend would be searched by the police for not committed crimes in his village. They were interrogated by the Nigerians until they could keep up their “poker faces” for ever and their stories were “waterproof”. So the next day they were dropped in front of the police station, where they said they had fled. They were put in a corner of the waiting room until they were called and could tell their stories. Thereafter, they immediately got placed in a temporary shelter, far away from the inhabited world. They stayed there for half a year, before they got placed in a more populated place.

There, they stayed for a year. Although they were close to a city centre, they were bored all the time. They were not allowed to do anything, so they also did not have any goal. They did not see many Dutch people since the little houses which they inhabited were divided by country and when they came in the city centre, no one seemed to look forward to talking with them. Odion therefore only stayed with Nigerians and did not meet many other people until he got assigned to a new house once again. Luckily, he made some friends in his new living place and he fell in love. Since Odion and his girlfriend soon wanted to live together and marry, his problem of it always being possible to be sent back to Nigeria since he did not have any residence permit because of being “an economic refugee” seemed to be solved since he was married. However, things only started then, ‘I have only started to meet Holland then’, Odion said to me, referencing to the Dutch asylum procedure (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010).

Odion describes that he has experienced a lot of what he calls discrimination since he has come in the Netherlands, 26 years ago. He was humiliated when he had to apply for a residence permit. He had to hand in his passport to get a stamp, together with all the documents he had from Nigeria but the civil servants always told him there was something wrong when he reported himself every week according to the rules. One time, when he reported himself once again, he saw his passport, lying on the table, completely with stamp. When he asked for it, the civil servant told him his passport was not there. When he replied that he saw it on the table, the civil servant told him he was lying, that he was performing and that he was cheating to get a permit in the Netherlands. Moreover, the same servants would meet him in the streets, asking him for his passport which they knew he did not have and humiliated him in front of passing people. These people were bullying him.

After two years of going through this kind of behaviour, he suddenly got his passport back. He got a residence permit and started to learn to become an electrician in a so-called “immigrant program”, which was meant to guarantee immigrants a job after they would have

completed their education. However, no participant of the program in which Odion participated got a job. The employers were suspicious of migrants, ‘they were afraid of the unknown. They were afraid of you having more knowledge than Dutch people, that you steal their jobs. They are also afraid that you are too dumb to make these things’, Odion explained, considering this to be highly counterworking his integration in the Netherlands (Malkki, 1997; Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007). After a while, Odion got a job as electrician and he performed well. After three years, he should have got a contract for an undetermined period of time. Nevertheless, the discrimination stayed and when the final due date for the contract came closer, co-workers started to bully him more and more, and they started to gossip about him with the boss. He therefore did not get the contract and that hurt him a lot. He always did the best he could, always worked hard and was never ill so he thought he would deserve the contract.

He left the company and soon found a new job but after his first year there, the acts of discrimination got worse than before. He devoted that to the low level of education of the employees but he also could not cope with the bullying so he left that company again. He then started for his own within a new company with which he got to work together with other companies. He got a higher function than before which meant he had to lead the employees from the other companies. Hence, he got to meet his former colleagues and bullies again. Even though this was hard for him, he was also proud: he had made it this far and could show them that he was doing well, even without their support. However, the discrimination never completely stopped. There would always be people who doubt his knowledge and ability to fix things, who would talk negative about his accent, so that they could not work with him because they could not understand him, and he devoted this all to his different skin colour: ‘as soon as there is a foreigner, with a black skin, who tells the Dutch what to do, they don’t accept it’, Odion explained, corresponding with the theoretical contributions of counter-cosmopolitanism (Malkki, 1997; Stolcke, 1995; Abu-Lughod, 1991).

That exactly is what is striking him the most: the lack of empathy. He wishes Dutch people would try and want to understand another person, what that person has to say. ‘Why do they behave like this? That is wasted energy!’. Still, Odion keeps his experiences for himself and does not talk about it with his wife, or others. He does not want to waste his energy on it, let alone the energy of his wife. He does not feel that being angry makes sense, no one can take from him everything that he has accomplished. Nevertheless, he finds it very hard to live in the Netherlands: ‘Once a foreigner, always a foreigner’, (Abu-Lughod, 1991; Malkki, 1997), while someone would be taken in in society more rapidly in Africa, he thinks.

He explains that people there only know poverty so they share everything, not matter whether one is a stranger or not.

Even though he has a hard time here, he does not regret coming to the Netherlands. He does not give up. That is something he has been raised with and wants to share with his children and grandchildren. He does sometimes question himself why he is here, why not another country, like Canada? Odion has never been there so he also thinks he cannot compare the two but these things go through his mind all the time. Still, he has peace with who he has become. He has settled and rooted himself, and found a way to survive here. He “just” only always has to look his own back: ‘you should be free but you don’t have that freedom, so you should be careful all the time. That’s like my destiny’.

4.6 James, who thanks whosoever for still being alive

A couple of months ago, I met James through the mediation of a friend who had done research about the Eastern part of Africa. This meant that James could not participate in his research since he had originated in Sierra Leone and therefore came from West-Africa. James was highly disappointed that my friend could not talk with him, even though he did not even know where the research exactly was about. However, then my research started and I was exactly looking for James (from West-Africa). I therefore contacted my friend, who then contacted James, who was said to have made a little jump out of joy when he heard someone wanted to talk with him for a research. He did not even care where the whole thing was about, he just wanted to participate and that is how I first met him.

James was born in Freetown, Sierra Leone where he spent his entire childhood. When I asked him how old he was, he simply replied by stating that he did not know. I could not hide myself laughing at the matter but also did not want to deride him at all. Nevertheless, he laughed with me and explained: ‘I really don’t count the years, so I really don’t know. I know I was born in 87, but I don’t pick up and count the numbers so I don’t know whether I’m 29 or 27. I also know the birth day, it was the 26th of October and yes, that’s my holiday’, followed by a well-meant laughter, ‘I don’t want to grow old I think, I think that’s the thing’.

James lived in Freetown with his father and two older sisters since his mother passed away in the early nineties. When he finished high school, he went straight on studying business administration at university. He majored in finance but struggled with the maths in it. Still, he finally got his degree and could go looking for a job. His both sisters also studies finance, a trait of the family James thought, and they both moved to the US where they also both married a Sierra Leonean man. James decision to leave Sierra Leone was only made

years later. He had finished his education and found a good job, within the opposition of the Sierra Leonean politics. Since times were not easy that days, everyone who was considered to be part of the opposition was typified as not being good. James was exactly working for these people and was therefore also targeted by the government. Every now and then colleagues of him would disappear, they were arrested or just killed. In James' view, the employees were punished for alleged acts of the opposition's leaders.

So James was not safe there anymore. It was not the case that he was really sought by the police but his instinct just told him to go, in which his own agency shows through (Belloni, 2016). Only moving to another part of the country did not make sense since the supporters of the government would be everywhere: 'When it comes to political things, the system suddenly becomes very effective. Other things are bad, but if they want you political, they will always get you since it is their survival and they really invest in it', James explained. Hence, he had to go abroad, also further away than the neighbouring countries like Guinea or Liberia. Moreover, Guinea is where "James' roots come from" so they would find him even more easily when he would go there. He therefore wanted to leave the African continent but did not set up a clear-cut plan besides having a friend who could arrange a passport and a visa to Turkey for him: 'It is only about the money you know, when you have the money, you can get everything', James said. He bought a plane ticket to Turkey and when the day of departure came, he was in a sad mood. Even though he knew his life would be in danger at a certain point in Sierra Leone, he was not too happy that he had to leave his country. 'I knew it wasn't my time to get caught so in that sense it wasn't too hard to leave cause that was the only option, but it was kinda scary to leave yeah. Of course, migration always has two sides and I chose to go the end'.

When James arrived in Turkey, he did not feel well. He considered it to be a strange county, people did not speak English so he got brutally lost at the airport. He had agreed on meeting someone there who would bring him further, in his case, to the port of Bodrum where he was brought to one of the many little tubes together with many other people who wanted to cross the sea to Greece. James told me the detailed story: 'We were with many on that boat. It was quite a number, so many people. It was fully packed and I couldn't move right or left because there were so many people. And they brought us to Kos then. Even though you can see it from the Turkey side, it is quite a journey. You think you can swim that but no, it is far away. This was in the middle of the night and close to the morning and so it was dark and cold. But then we were caught by the police on the water. We were caught and they arrested us. But that also prevented us from going to die. We were caught when the boat was sinking

and they arrested us just in time then. We were going to drown. The police came over and they put us on their big ship', James told. This police turned out to be the Turkish marine, exactly in search of tubes filled with people all night. They brought in new people on the ship over and over again, and eventually brought them ashore. All the people caught were put in prison for a week, everyone desperately hoping to be released so that they continue their travels.

After James was released, he went to another town nearby and there he went on a tube again, hoping to reach Kos. 'This time I succeeded but not too easy. The thing was drowning and we were with so many and yes, the engine of that thing was a little bit old. It was way too small for the boat, so we were already going on a snail speed eh. We wanted it to hurry up but it just couldn't. So we tried to use those paddles, but we are not experienced so we really don't know what we are doing. And the water was bad that night you know, too much waves and wind and stuff. And... it was drowning like the last time. The waves were, they hit and they came into the boat, and as you know it was a small thing so when the waves come, they hit and the water enters. Like, the boat was really on the surface of the water, it was not high so the waves could enter easily. Then the police came. But that was in a distance. The marine eh, but it was in a distance so they put on their sirens, like prr prr prr. But this time around, luckily enough, I think we crossed a certain area or something, like a border or so, because when we crossed over, they stopped. They stopped following us.

That is when we thought we were safe. We didn't know, but at least they don't following us because we might reach something and they can't so we thought we may have reached that point so that's how it turned out. But, the water was really entering, so the brave ones on the boat, I am one of them, start to... I remove my t shirt, so I would use the hands and the shirt to put it in the water of the boat and then squeeze it outside, cause the boat was really getting full with water. So I put my shirt in the water and squeezed it out. Another guy at the other side did the same and so there were more people doing that. Like one hour to reach I think, the engine stopped. It think it may have been out of fuel or it got exhausted. I don't know, but it stopped. And then the waves and the wind were really strong so we were like aiiii, but then we saw the land so from then at least we see where we are going. But then we also saw the lights, they became more and more visible. So we were there, struggling and trying to use the paddles again but it wasn't that good. And... we tried our best.

Luckily enough, the marine from the other side saw us. And they came to us. We were like let's hope it is not the Turkish marine. But then we saw the varieties and of course they don't look the same as the Turkish people since these were Europeans and then we were like

ohh we are safe now. And yeah, that's how it was. They put us on their big boat and they brought us to Kos. And that was a relieve. We were just thinking that we were going to die. There also was a woman on that boat, she was pregnant and when she came on land she had a premature birth cause it was really intensive too much. On the boat people were puking, people were crying, people were praying to their gods, whatever they believed in. Even me, I don't believe in any God, I was so thankful'.

Kos was like an open space for settlement. James was received there and registered by the UN. There were not any camps or centres where he had to stay, he could find his own way out, feeling mobile all the time (Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016). That was something he wanted to as fast as possible, surely after he spoke to a Swedish woman on the island. She gave him food, drinks and clothing. She also told him to go to Sweden, or to the Netherlands and since he did not feel anything for Sweden, from then on he knew he wanted to go to the Netherlands, referring to transnational networks he formed on the way (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Belloni, 2016). In his view, Greek people did their jobs but they were not nice. For him it felt that the Greek were there because it was their duty, rather than out of a willingness to help him and all the other people, not to cosmopolitan as James described it (Hannerz, 1990; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). He therefore wanted to move but had to wait on the papers and since there were that many people, that cost more time than he would have wanted it to have. So after two weeks, he got on the boat to Athens and from there he immediately went further to Macedonia. This Swedish woman he met on Kos also helped him arrange the tickets for trains, buses and boats from Greece on so James did not have to search for them every time he arrived in a new place.

From Macedonia, he immediately crossed the border to Serbia but from then on, the progress of his travels stagnated. The border with Hungary was closed and was guarded severely. He therefore had to bypass Hungary via Croatia, to try it sometime later, feeling immobile for a while, and leading him to have the mental and physical discomfort (Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016). Here he had a tough time 'since the people there were against us', James clarified. He devoted that to the existing chaos because of the high number of people traveling. That meant he was also treated as the causation of the chaos, which made him to be treated badly (Van Houtum, 2010). Together with many others, James set up camp near the Hungarian border. After a couple of weeks, the border was opened again and so he was brought to Hungary, where he could transfer to trains, leading him to Budapest and later to Austria. James told that many people decided to stay there: 'it was all about the courage you had to go on. And I don't remember these people being nice, from Austria and Hungary. But

always, there would be individuals on the way, who would really volunteer, they were there, along the way, everywhere we went. They gave us refreshments, cause it was during that time, the weather was not good. So if you were lucky you could change clothes and things, or get new ones, shoes, stuff like that, blankets', James said, something he considered to be hospitable again (Molz & Gibson, 2007). Since James still had the energy to go on, and did not like the places he had come in yet, he decided to travel further, to Germany firstly. There, the Germans told him right in his face he was not welcome there, because he would steal other people's jobs, (Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007; McLaren, 2003), so eventually he made the last trip, coming in the Netherlands at the end of October 2015.

He did not know many things about the Netherlands, except for the football but when he finally arrived here, he was tired. Moreover, more borders got closed these times so it became increasingly difficult to cross. However, he was slightly lucky with that since the police focused on the Arabs mostly. 'I would almost had a free pass. I did not know where I was going so I don't know where I came from or where it was, I only know it was a long journey, but I was stranded in the train station like doubting how to do it, seeing all these police walking around. I cannot just go and buy a train ticket. But, you know I am not a believer at all, but God, just did this thing and I suddenly went through with this Syrian guy, and they controlled him instead of me because they saw him and his family firstly', James clarified about his trip from Germany to the Netherlands.

James arrived in Enschede in the evening after a long journey. Since it was the end of October, it was already freezing and there were no trains driving anymore. It was the coldest he had ever been, 'Cause I'm this African guy you know, I usually do not need this coat but I really needed one then. Cause I would sleep the night there and that was really cold. That really was too much cold for an African'. When the morning came, there came a man who James could speak to. He helped him to buy a train ticket and told him to register. He then asked for asylum in Amsterdam. Since then, James has been staying at the same place in the Netherlands. He thinks he is quite lucky with that since his AZC does not lay as deeply in the forests as others do. He can go outside, meet people, talk with them and participate in society, and therefore be an agent of his own life, just as he has been during his travels (Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007). He does like the way the Dutch treat him until now and he devotes that to the education and culture: 'the way they are raised up, the way they are educated, to not judge. I think, perhaps, the majority of the people here have the same level. You find view people who would complain', James thinks.

He is still awaiting his procedure and is not sure whether he will be granted a residence permit or not. ‘The problem that they have is that they try to equate our environment to the Dutch environment. But it is very different, so when something cannot happen here it doesn’t matter that it can’t happen there you know. Also, my nationality is an issue. Remember, I came on a boat eh, so I lost everything in the water. My passport was there, so basically I don’t have a passport and I did travel with my own passport to Turkey, with my real name. And that basically is the thing, they doubt. When they find a really small thing, they will dig deep, deep and deep so I am still fighting for my permit. I don’t know whether I will get it or not, but I know I’m safe here now. And that’s the most important you know’.

4.7 Synthesis

To be able to draw conclusions from all that has been said by the respondents, it is useful to set up a synthesis. It will be explicated how these thick described stories correspond as well as differ from each other in imaginations, experiences and reactions, leading to a conclusion in the next chapter. Hence, here the five stories will be discussed shortly in order to be able to put everything together.

William has had quite a journey before he finally arrived in a peaceful stage of his life, here in the Netherlands. His migration trajectory has been full of knots and lines between places and spaces, of moving and standing still (Schapendonk, 2011; Ingold, 2011; Ahrens et al., 2016; Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016). Furthermore, his trajectory has been full of hospitality imaginations, experiences and reactions whereby his own agency was crucial. Initially, he chose Bulgaria not out of its hospitable reputation, he just needed an opening to what he considered to be Europe or the EU, in order to get closer to his transnational network: his brother in the Netherlands (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Belloni, 2016). The Netherlands as goal has everything to do with his brother, who was already here when William’s trajectory started.

However, in Bulgaria he started to make decisions out of hospitality experiences (Molz & Gibson, 2007). He left Bulgaria because making a living was not possible there: he could not go in the streets by himself without being harmed mentally or physically. Yet, his next stage, Turkey, was completely fine in hospitality experiences, but he could not make a living there because of money. Moreover, the idea of “the real Europe” in which his brother lived pulled him to move on. From then on, both hospitality imaginations as experiences made him go further, indeed ending in the Netherlands (Molz & Gibson, 2007; Laachir, 2007; Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2006). Even though he felt not treated hospitable in the

Netherlands at first, he broke apart from the stereotypes being stuck at him and (old) relations which kept him down, and he set up his own life in which he felt and still feels comfortable (Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2006; Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007).

Sam has had a migration trajectory which seems to be the opposite of what William experienced. Sam could move straight to the Netherlands, with official papers “to be here legally”. He could enter school and started to understand life here, helped by fellow classmates and friends he made. Moreover, it has never been Sam’s own choice to leave Liberia anyway, he felt he was too young for that, it just happened to him. Still, he does not feel the urge to move on. He has the Dutch nationality and feels he belongs here, especially since he does not have too much contact with family and acquaintances in Liberia (Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Malkki, 1997). Sam has grown up now and clearly is an agent of his own life: he makes his own choices in study and work and feels comfortable in his own life (Van Liempt & Doomernik, 2006; Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007).

Abu, on the contrary, has had a different trajectory that has not come to an (temporary) end yet. Even though he came directly to the Netherlands by plane, and did not have a long journey of moving and staying, he has been rejected in multiple places in the EU several times, leading him to be stuck in “the system” (Van Houtum & Pijpers, 2007; McLaren, 2003; Gibson, 2007). Since he came here because of a political problem in both Ivory Coast and Liberia, he cannot go back and since he cannot prove he is from either of the two countries, they do not allow him to even come back at all. He therefore finds himself in a rather closed space in the EU, being pulled back and forth, not having a finish line in sight (McLaren, 2003; Gibson, 2007; Stolcke, 1995). Although he has tried to be the agent of his own life, leaving Liberia and Ivory Coast and trying different places in the EU, he feels considerably deprived, leading him to question what he is doing here and how he can get a better life (Lynch, Domenico, Sweeney, 2007).

Odion, then, has succeeded in becoming a Dutch citizen, just as William and Sam, in contrast to Abu. Odion’s reasons to leave Nigeria were also different than the ones of William, Abu and Sam (the first two both left of safety reasons while Sam left for family reunion), Odion wanted to get a job somewhere in the world where the economy was better than in Nigeria. Choosing the Netherlands was therefore more slightly a coincidence for him, even though he did come here because of his friend and travel mate having acquaintances in the Netherlands (Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

Integrating here was more difficult for Odion, having difficulties with racism at work (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010; McLaren, 2003; Gibson, 2007). He therefore questions the

Dutch hospitality, since he has seen hostile language, attitudes and behaviour towards him all over. He clearly devotes this to a lack of empathy, a lack of the willingness to engage with the other (Hannerz, 1990; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Yet, he does not try to victimise himself in this scene. He tries to stay out of it as much as possible and when he encounters hostility towards him, he disregards it in his life, something Sam also emphasised (Holmes & Castañeda, 2016).

James, finally then, has other experiences with hospitality in the Netherlands. He imagines Dutch people to be hospitable and he devotes that to their education. He considers the Dutch to all have some kind of the same level, corresponding in their thinking patterns about others and therefore leading them to think and behave hospitable towards migrants (Hannerz, 1990; Werbner, 2008; Stolcke, 1995; Molz & Gibson, 2007; Van Houtum, 2010).

Even though James has had a migration trajectory of actually moving and standing still every now and then, he has been in the Netherlands for more than two years now and asked for asylum when he got here, awaiting the procedure since then. Before coming here, he judged the places he was in according to hospitality and with that made the decision whether to stay or to go, but also used his (new made) transnational network to move (Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007; Belloni, 2016; Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

What is left here worth mentioning is the sense of time the migrants demonstrated to have. For example, James emphasised he did not know his age, eventually exactly knowing when he was born. Moreover, William said he was already here for 25 years, even though he clearly stated that he had left Nigeria in 1992 or 1993, whereby he had been in Bulgaria and Greece, and thereafter in Rome for seven years, actually being only able to be here for 15 years or so (Bohmer & Shuman, 2015). I could have hammered more on the time schedule, expecting them to count exactly how long they had been there but I questioned myself what I would achieve with that. Apparently, this time thing was not a big deal for them and since I wanted to completely respect their stories and their view on life, I decided to leave the matter untouched.

Lastly, the choices these migrants have made consist of not only one reason, it has always been an interplay of multiple imaginations, experiences and reactions (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

Chapter 5 – Conclusions and reflections

‘Arriving in Europe was like the best day of my life. The problems however only started then...’ – William, during a conversation on July 22, 2017.

In chapter 1, I have presented the main question of this research: *To what extent do experiences of hospitality influence West-African migrants’ trajectories and their pathway to integration?*

After conducting this research, I should now be able to answer the question, but first, I want to stress that my trajectory of research, -yes, slightly corresponding with the migrants whom I have talked to, I consider my research to be a trajectory too- has been a tentative enterprise. From the beginning of the research, until the end, I have been moving back and forth between my used theories, my interviews and my methodology, leading me to critically review my previous findings every time again. Subsequently, this also means that many more conclusions can be drawn from the data gathered than the ones only focusing on the questions asked. Nevertheless, even though I have been open to anything that came on my way, I cannot conclude everything I have touched upon. Hence, this chapter will be structured according to the sub questions posed in chapter 1. So first, the migrants’ imaginations of their travels will be presented, where after their hospitality experiences will be demonstrated. Thereafter, migrants’ reactions to the attitudes they face will be explained and lastly, I will reflect on the research and present some ideas for further research on the topic.

5.1 Migrants’ imaginations

Every time I spoke to one of my respondents, I wanted to make sure that they felt comfortable with me, with the place we had agreed to meet upon, and with the reason for us to meet anyway. I wanted them to feel that they could speak without any restrictions and could tell their stories open and free to me. This way of approaching my respondents made it happen that they were quite willing to talk, to narrate and to make sure that I completely understood what they wanted to tell me.

All men whom I have spoken to, clearly emphasised that they would not have been here when their homes would have been safe for them. Whether the one fled for ongoing war and the other for some threatening danger for himself does not matter here. What does matter

is that they felt unsafe in the place where they were and therefore decided to leave. None of the respondents clarified that the Netherlands was their “all time desired place of going to”, whereas they were all sure that they wanted to go to the European Union, even before their actual travels started (Belloni, 2016; Schapendonk, 2011; Mainwaring & Bridgen, 2016). However, they also all explained that they did not imagine the EU as the beloved place to be, since they all stressed that they would have stayed in their country of origin when they would not have had any problems there.

Furthermore, most respondents did not expect their trajectory to be as difficult as it turned out. Some of them imagined that the actual travel would be the most hard part since they knew they would not follow the “regular” procedure of immigrating in the EU. They came by boat, transported by people who they had paid to bring them to the other side. They came by train, showing papers of people other than themselves, or they lied about why they had left their country of origin. Every time, the (social) experiences and relations the migrant had in a particular place, made him go to an elsewhere, leading them to travel along until they decided it was enough (Mainwaring & Bridgen, 2016; McLaren, 2003).

Yet, some of the migrants also stressed that the hard times only started when they had already arrived in the EU in a place where they imagined themselves staying for a longer period of time (Gibson, 2007; McLaren, 2003). They could not have imagined in advance what kind of procedures they needed to follow in order to be allowed to stay and when they did find out, they were overwhelmed by its difficulty sometimes. Their imaginations of *coming to* and *staying in* the EU thus differed from reality, whereby reality always turned out to be more difficult than they could have ever imagined back in the day (McLaren, 2003).

5.2 Migrants’ experiences and reactions

Migrants do experience a lot during their travels. Besides the physical movements they make, they also continuously undergo “social travels” in every stage of their trajectory and thereafter (Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016). Most of the migrants initially tried to come in the European Union in the first place, whereby the actual place within that area did not matter. These only started to matter during their trajectories when they engaged in (social) experiences and relations. One of the respondents for example met a woman who advised him to go to the Netherlands, whereas others only stayed here because they were tired of moving on (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

However, these experiences and relations do have a common ground, that is hospitality, coming forth out of having a (counter-)cosmopolitan view on the world (Molz &

Gibson, 2007; Malkki, 1997). Most of the migrants explained that they moved away from a place when they felt harassed there, by the (local) population or by the (regional) government. These events took mostly place in the east and south of the EU, whereby the migrant knew these were ‘racist places’ in advance sometimes (Abu, James). Yet, in other cases, the hostility of both populations and governments came more unexpected. Three of the five migrants for example indicated that they were told that they were not wanted in Germany, when they arrived or went there (Abu, William, James). Another migrant still feels treated hostile in the Netherlands, feeling extremely deprived in his integration, even after being here for more than twenty years (Odion) (Gibson, 2007).

The migrants did not always “fight” back when they were treated with hostility, but their agency should not be undermined (Bridgen & Mainwaring, 2016; Belloni, 2016; Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007). Still, migrants have told stories in which they were harassed physically, or were afraid that this was going to happen but did not do anything when it did happen in practice. The same applies to non-physical harassments, by which calling names, discrimination and racism is meant. Some just did not dare to do anything against it while others believe that doing anything does not make sense, or deeply feel that they should always behave properly due to them feeling guests in the societies in which they try to live and integrate right now. Again others just did not feel addressed when they were treated hostile so they also did not react, or only reacted in entering a conversation (Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007).

However, there were also multiple cases in which migrants reacted, demonstrating that they experience hostility not only as victims or passive actors, but that they are agents of their own life (Lynch, Domenico & Sweeney, 2007; Van Liempt & Doornik, 2006). For example, migrants reacted in word and deed (Sam), when treated hostile in public. Others reacted with moving on due to hospitable acts of people. They clarified that they moved on when someone who helped them, advised them to go to a particular place and so they went on to that place. They also accepted peoples’ help on the way, in providing them first necessities, and help after they had arrived at a place. Moreover, hospitable treatment made them stay in places (for a while) too (Molz & Gibson, 2007).

Therefore, it should be mentioned that hostility, in its language, attitudes and actions has taken care of both staying and moving on. Hostile behaviour has, in this research population, taken care of moving more than once in which these are only some of the many examples: William leaving Bulgaria, Abu leaving France and Spain, James moving from

Germany to the Netherlands. However, as Odion demonstrates, even though hostility has taken place a lot for him, he has stayed all the time and he is not planning to ever move again.

The other side of the continuum should be explicated too. Again more than once, hospitality has taken care of the migrants staying in a particular place (for a while): in short William stayed in Turkey for a while only due to hospitality reasons, James wants to stay in the Netherlands. Moreover, migrants have chosen to move because of hospitality reasons too: they met someone hospitable to them, took advice and therefore went to the advised place (Molz & Gibson, 2007). Besides, about the integration process only few conclusions can be made. Only Odion has clearly spoken about how he felt stopped in incorporating in society by hostile attitudes and behaviour, while his brother William, even though he has had a hard time in his early period in the Netherlands, does not go in detail about being helped in his integration here. The integration part is therefore underexposed.

Nevertheless, it can be concluded that the hospitality continuum has influenced migrants' trajectories, even though in a highly diverse way (Molz & Gibson, 2007). The migrants all have had their own reasons for making a particular choice and none of the stories presented here can or should be compared with each other. Since every trajectory has had its own starting and (temporary) ending point, coming out of different aspirations and motivations, with hospitality stimulating the migrants to be who they are, migrants are influenced to make their own decisions eventually leading them to new places (to stay).

5.3 Reflections

Doing research is a subject on itself, whereby its difficulty often is neglected. This paragraph will therefore catch both the enhancements of this research, as well as its limitations. This means that first the objective will be reflected.

The objective was: *gaining insight in the influences (counter)-cosmopolitan life worlds have on the migration dynamics of West-African migrants in the EU, in order to enhance the knowledge about migrant's trajectories in human geography.*

It appears to be highly relevant to research hospitality practices in times of an increasing polarisation in society. The individuals with whom I have spoken also feel this and notice that their space of being who they are, is getting increasingly limited. This asks for research to demonstrate the voice of the migrants, a group who is not heard often. However, logically this research has had its limitations too.

Firstly, it is worth mentioning that only five people have been talked to for this research. This is a very small research population which is not used often. It fitted this research format well, since it was meant here to encapsulate the migrants' life histories, so including more than five could have caused the loss of attention during reading the stories, as well as too much information of too many people. However, in further (other) research, this research population might be too small. Secondly, the research was only held in a "single place" and even though this can have positive implications, the downside should also be exposed: I have only spoken the migrants in the Netherlands itself, and not during their travels on the way. Of course, the Netherlands does not need to be the finish for some of them, as they already told me that they had been in other places after they had entered the Netherlands at first. Still, I have only seen them and their opinions and stories here, which makes their thinking and feelings which they had in other places not exposed well enough.

As this thesis has demonstrated several times, further research on migration dynamics is needed in order to understand migration at all. Whether we will ever be able to grasp its complexity is an unanswerable question but in the globalising times of today, one should try by all means. Further research is therefore especially needed to enhance knowledge in the combination of both hospitality experiences as well as integration since I left that under discussed here. Hostipitality experiences are an underexposed part of migration anyway, something that is always there but is not mentioned on the surface. It finds its way within peoples' trajectories, influencing them more than one could ever imagine, but how they evolve in migrants' integration might be an interesting starting point for other scientists.

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