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A case study on the feelings of belonging of undocumented people in Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Marieke de Vries
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Nijmegen school of management
Radboud University Nijmegen
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Marieke de Vries

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Thesis supervisor: Martin van der Velde

Internship supervisor: Koen Reijnen

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Globalisation, migration and development

Nijmegen School of management

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Preface

I am proud to present my thesis on the feelings of belonging of undocumented people living in Amsterdam. With this thesis the master Human Geography at the Radboud University comes to an end. Since long I have been interested in concepts such as cities, globalisation and migration. Therefore I was delighted when I found a subject to write my thesis on that combined all three of these aspects, which was undocumented people living in Amsterdam and their sense of belonging.

The field work of this research has been performed during my internship at ASKV. Doing this research combined with an internship has been a really good experience. It provided the opportunity to go beyond the role of the researcher and get to know the people on a more personal level. I am very thankful for the opportunity to be a part of this work and to have my eyes opened for the hard life of undocumented people. This internship has made a deep impact on me, I will never look at migrants the same way again and also not take my own documents for granted anymore.

Even though the work is often hard and sometimes feels pointless, since you can't help the people with what they actually want and need, documents, a job and a house, the interviews showed me that listening to the people and helping where you can makes a great difference for them. Someone who is friendly, understanding and actually takes the time to listen to their stories, makes that undocumented people feel loved and welcome and therefore more at home in Amsterdam and the Netherlands. I am very glad that I could contribute to some positivity in the lives of these people.

Writing this thesis would never have been possible without the help of others. Therefore I would like to thank everyone who has contributed to it in any possible way. Especially I owe a big thank you to the following people. At first to Koen Reijnen, thank you for your support and supervision during my internship at ASKV. Secondly I would like to thank my colleges at ASKV who made the sometimes hard work easier. Furthermore, great gratitude goes out to my respondents and to other clients that I had the opportunity to meet during my internship. You taught me a lot and showed me that providing a listening ear can really contribute to someone's wellbeing.

I would like to thank Martin van der Velde for his supervision and feedback. Finally I want to thank my friends and my family for rooting me on and for keeping me going when times were hard and stressful.

Nijmegen, 25 September 2018

Marieke de Vries

Summary

The current migration flow to the Netherlands is dominated by refugees from the Syrian War and from other troubled countries. To be able to stay in the Netherlands, newcomers must apply for asylum. Migrants who are denied asylum have to leave the country. Some people whose asylum claim was denied decide to stay in the country illegally. These people are known as undocumented people. The Netherlands is home to approximately 50 thousand undocumented people. The presence of undocumented migrants is often considered a nuisance and leads, according to the Dutch government, to an increase in (survival) criminality. This is the reason why the government has taken actions that will discourage undocumented people from staying in the Netherlands. In 1998, the Benefit Entitlement Act (de Koppelingswet) was passed which has the aim to regulate the entitlement of foreign nationals to benefits, provisions, exemptions and permits to their lawful residence in the Netherlands. People who are not residing in the Netherlands legally, including undocumented migrants, are generally refused benefits. There are however, exceptions to the Benefit Entitlement Act. All foreign nationals including undocumented migrants have the right to legal aid, necessary medical care and every child under the age of 18 has the right to education. Undocumented are often helped by organisations like NGO's, church organizations and volunteer groups, who offer assistance by helping them find shelter, medical care, legal assistance, education and mental support.

Despite the efforts of the Dutch government to make undocumented people feel unwelcome and make their lives hard, there is a large group of undocumented people that stays in the Netherlands. This research is designed to find out how and why the sense of belonging of undocumented people is influenced by their status of being undocumented, and what the influence of NGO's is on this. The city of Amsterdam has been used as the study area, because the city has a relatively large population of undocumented people and a dense network of NGO's trying to help them.

The goal of this research can be described as follows:

To provide knowledge about the group of undocumented migrants and how and why they develop a sense of belonging, with a special focus on the influence that NGO's have on in this.

The central question is:

How and why influences the status of being undocumented the sense of belonging of migrants in larger cities and what is the influence of NGO's on this?

The sub-questions that will be used in this research are:

- *What is the political context regarding undocumented migrants in the Netherlands?*
- *How is a sense of belonging developed?*

- *How does being undocumented influence the sense of belonging of undocumented migrants?*
- *What is the role of NGO's in the daily lives of undocumented migrants and how do they influence the sense of belonging?*

In order to gain knowledge on the concept of belonging and to get a better understanding of the sense of belonging of the undocumented migrants in the Netherlands, Maslow's theory of human motivation has been used. This theory helps to explain where belonging stands, in relation to other human needs. Baumeister and Leary (1995) go as far as stating that belonging can be considered as a fundamental need, meaning that the need to belonging is necessary for survival and that it is nearly universal among human beings. The concept sense of belonging can best be understood when split into two categories, namely social belonging, belonging to other people and groups of people, and place identity, belonging to physical places. Both concepts are heavily interrelated and have an influence people's lives. This research also focusses on the context of reception that immigrants face when staying in the Netherlands, this context consists of three levels, namely the role of the government, the host society and their reception of immigrants and already existing ethnic communities in the host country.

Concerning methodology, a case study is used as research strategy. In this research the case is bounded by the municipal borders of the city of Amsterdam. In order to provide answers to the sub questions and main question, literature study has been used in combination with in-depth interviews and observations.

The Netherlands is an attractive country for migrants because of its reputation as tolerant towards other cultures, religions and the LGBT community. Amsterdam also has the reputation of a tolerant city full of diversity which makes it attractive and safe. People don't feel like they stand out when they walk through the city, which does not only increase the feeling of belonging, but also the feeling of safety. Another reason why people go to Amsterdam after they have to leave the AZC is because they think that in Amsterdam they have better chances of getting shelter. A third reason has to do with people's social network. People come to Amsterdam because of the connections that they already have or the feel that they can make in the city so that they can become a part of a community.

Being undocumented does not influence social belonging in a very negative way. There is not much connection between undocumented people and Dutch people, undocumented people connect more with other undocumented people. A reason for this is that facing the same issues creates a bond between people. But the most important reason is that for undocumented people having connections is not only important to fulfil their need to belong somewhere, it also helps them to

survive. Other undocumented people can for example, help to find new places of shelter or to find places where there is free food. Connections are not formed with just anyone, people often make connections with people who come from the same country as they do, or with people who have the same religion or sexuality.

Despite their feelings of belonging towards the Netherlands, most of the respondents give the national level a lower rating in terms of belonging than the level of the city, meaning Amsterdam. This difference in rating has to do with the fact that Amsterdam is perceived as more tolerant towards different nationalities and LGBT people than other places in the Netherlands. Also in Amsterdam people feel more relaxed and at home because they don't stand out as much as they would in more rural areas where there is not as much 'coloured' people. Being undocumented is often blamed on the IND, the government and therefore on the Netherlands while the city of Amsterdam is seen as a place where there is help. Therefore people feel like they belong to Amsterdam more than they do to the Netherlands.

The reception by the host society in the Netherlands can be characterized by a strict migration policy and a negative public opinion towards immigrants. This negative public opinion, however, is not noticed by the undocumented migrants who participated in this research. In Amsterdam many Dutch people are prepared to help undocumented people and support the work of NGO's. Amsterdam thus makes people feel more welcome and accepted due to the nice and helpful host society.

Being undocumented has a more negative effect on place identity than it does on social belonging. Place identity is often seen as feeling at home somewhere. For undocumented people, who can stay in a shelter, it is hard to feel at home in the shelters that they are staying. One of the most important factors regarding the development of place identity is a psychological investment with the place. This investment tends to develop over time, time that undocumented people cannot spend in their place of shelter.

When it comes to developing a place identity, two important aspects are safety and other people. Many respondents indicated that they feel more at home in a place where they have friends or family close by. People have built their network in the city, know their way around and feel like Amsterdam is a place where they belong.

The everyday life of an undocumented migrant, who is a client of an NGO, is very much influenced by that NGO. ASKV for example, has people staying in their houses, organises courses so people can learn a trade and have something to do during the day, there are language courses in the evening and legal aid is offered to people who have a chance to an asylum permit. People who stay in the bed, bath and bread facilities often go to another NGO, the Worldhouse to spend their days and get a

free lunch. People are dependent on the NGO's to help them and spend a lot of time at these NGO's. A sense of belonging is developed during everyday life, through everyday experiences. Because the NGO's have a large presence in the everyday lives of their clients, they also have an influence on the development of their feelings of belonging.

The NGO does often function as a place where undocumented people meet each other, even if that is not the purpose of the organisation. The social network can be seen as the basis of someone's feelings of belonging and the NGO, which functions as the background of these social interactions, can become a subject of their place identity.

People mainly develop feelings of belonging due to the social network that they have built. If people thus have a group of other people they feel they belong to and have places they can identify with, they will experience a sense of belonging. For undocumented people, their status does hinder the development of their sense of belonging. Even if someone feels like he or she belongs to the Netherlands, the pain of being undocumented is always present and will always be felt.

Table of Contents

Preface.....	i
Summary	ii
List of figures	viii
Notes concerning photographic material	viii
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Project framework.....	1
1.2 Research objective	2
1.3 research question	3
1.4 Scientific and societal relevance	3
Scientific relevance.....	3
Societal relevance.....	4
1.5 Overview.....	5
2 Theoretical framework	6
2.1 The concept of migration	6
2.2 A theory of human motivation	8
2.3 Social belonging.....	9
The need to belong.....	10
Important aspects of belonging	12
2.4 Politics of belonging	13
2.5 Place identity	14
2.6 Reception by the host-society	17
2.7 Conceptual framework.....	20
Conceptual model	20
Operationalisation.....	21
3 Methodology	25
3.1 Case study.....	25
3.2 Methods	25
Semi-structured Interviews	26
Observation	27
Document analysis	27
3.3 Data analysis.....	28
3.4 Justification of the research site	29
3.5 Justification of the research organisation	30
3.6 Ethical considerations	31
3.7 Reflection of methods	31

4 Defining the context	33
4.1 Defining the legal background of the European Union	33
The development of the European migration policy	33
4.2 Defining the legal background of the Netherlands	37
The development of Dutch migration policy.....	37
Current migration policy	38
4.3 Defining the asylum policy implementation in Amsterdam.....	42
5 The influence of being undocumented	45
5.1 Social belonging.....	45
Politics of belonging	45
Cultural	46
Economic	48
Social.....	48
5.2 Place identity	50
The home level	50
The city level.....	51
The national level	52
5.3 Reception by the host society	53
5.4 The influence of NGO's on undocumented people's feelings of belonging.....	53
6 Back to the basis of belonging.....	56
6.1 The social network	56
6.2 The pyramid of undocumented people.....	59
7. Conclusion	60
7.1 Conclusion	61
7.2 Recommendations.....	63
7.3 Reflection on the research process.....	64
Bibliography.....	65
Appendix 1 Social belonging.....	71
Appendix 2 Place identity	99
Appendix 3 Influence of NGO's	114
Appendix 4 Observations	121
Appendix 5 List of codes.....	125
Appendix 6 Interview guide.....	130

List of figures

Front page image: the city of Amsterdam in black and white

Figure 1: Maslow's pyramid of needs

Figure 2: Conceptual model

Figure 3: Operationalisation of undocumented

Figure 4: Operationalisation of sense of belonging

Figure 5: Operationalisation of place identity

Figure 6: Operationalisation of social belonging

Figure 7: Operationalisation of the influence of NGO's

Figure 8: Operationalisation of the reception by the host society

Figure 9: Geographical location of Amsterdam

Figure 10: The pyramid of undocumented people

Notes concerning photographic material

With the exception of figure 1, all photographs and figures featured in this thesis are made by the author herself. The map included in this thesis is produced by the author herself with use of ArcMap 10.

1 | Introduction

1.1 Project framework

Migration is considered to be one of the defining global issues of the early 21st century, as more and more people are on the move today than at any other point in human history (Frontex, 2013, p. 27). This statement became even more true in 2015 with the so called migrant crisis in Europe, which was driven by the Arab spring and the Syrian war that followed. Also ongoing violence in Afghanistan, abuses in Eritrea, and poverty in Kosovo is driving people to look for new lives elsewhere (BBC, 2015). During the height of the migrants crisis the number of asylum seekers who entered the European Union has more than doubled. As a result, the migration flow to the Netherlands has also been dominated by people who have fled the Syrian war and asylum seekers from other troubled countries (Vluchtelingenwerk, n.d.). Especially during the height of the crisis, the population of the Netherlands did not react positively to this increase in asylum seekers. Almost two-thirds of the Dutch population didn't want any migrants to be accepted and approximately 92 percent is of the opinion that the migrants have to leave after a few months or years (Renout, 2015).

What happens to the migrants who don't get an asylum permit, and thus are not accepted, and who decide not to leave? These people are considered to be in the country illegally and are known under the term 'undocumented people'. The Netherlands is home to approximately 50 thousand undocumented people (van de Heijden, Gruyff and van Gils, 2015). Of all these people approximately 60 percent has applied for and been denied asylum and were asked to leave the country (Rtlnieuws, 2015).

The presence of undocumented migrants is often considered a nuisance and leads, according to the Dutch government, to an increase in (survival) criminality. This is the reason why the government has taken actions that will discourage undocumented people from staying in the Netherlands (Amnesty, n.d.). In 1998, the Benefit Entitlement Act (de Koppelingswet) was passed, which states that illegal migrants cannot make a claim on the benefits of the Dutch welfare state. They can't for example apply for financial aid from the government to pay their rent or their medical bills. With this law the Dutch government wants to make it impossible for undocumented migrants to get access to public benefits and have it look like they are in the country legally (Judex, n.d.). With this exclusion the government wants to discourage undocumented migrants from staying in the Netherlands illegally. There are only three exceptions to this policy: the first is that an illegal person has the right to legal aid, the second is that every child under 18 has the right to schooling including children who are in the country illegally, and the third is that everyone is entitled to necessary medical care (Lampion, 2016). But other than these exceptions, migrants have no law to protect them while they are in the Netherlands illegally.

This means that after a person is denied asylum and chooses to stay in the Netherlands illegally, he loses the rights he had as an asylum seeker in procedure. Undocumented people therefore need to literally survive in the Netherlands. To help them organisations like NGO's, church organizations and volunteer groups offer assistance to undocumented people, by helping them find shelter, medical care, legal assistance, education and mental support.

The measures taken against illegal stay in the Netherlands, like Benefit Entitlement act of 1998 and the lack of shelter provided by the national government, are all designed to make undocumented people leave the Netherlands. Despite these efforts of the Dutch government to make them feel unwelcome and make their lives hard, there is a large group of undocumented people who wants to stay in the Netherlands. These people are the focus of this research. What makes them want to stay? And do they feel like they belong in the Netherlands, despite the government's efforts to make them feel unwelcome? And what role do NGO's play in the decision of undocumented people to stay in the country that has rejected them? This research will try to find out how being undocumented influences the sense of belonging of migrants in larger cities and what role NGO's play in this.

For this research the city of Amsterdam has been chosen as the study area. There are several reasons for this. First of all, Amsterdam is the capital of the Netherlands and fits the criteria of being a large city. The second reason why the city of Amsterdam has been chosen for this research, is because of the relatively large population of undocumented people, approximately 15.000 (Kerk in actie, 2017). A third reason is that despite this relatively large population of undocumented migrants in Amsterdam, little existing knowledge can be found on their sense of belonging and the influence of NGO's on these feelings of belonging.

1.2 Research objective

Understanding from the prior context in which the situation of undocumented people in the Netherlands has been sketched, it follows that this research will focus on that situation and the feelings of belonging of undocumented people living in the Netherlands. The main goal of this research is therefore, providing new knowledge about the group of undocumented people by looking into their feelings of belonging and the influence of NGO's on this. The research that is going to be performed needs to have input from undocumented people with different backgrounds and different living situations. All undocumented people that will be interviewed are tied to one NGO, namely ASKV. The input from the undocumented people will be gained through in-depth interviews. Other data will be gathered through observation and literature study.

The goal of this research can be described as follows:

To provide knowledge about the group of undocumented migrants and how and why they develop a sense of belonging, with a special focus on the influence that NGO's have on in this.

1.3 research question

To meet the goal, this research will make use of one central question and several sub-questions. The central question is:

How and why influences the status of being undocumented the sense of belonging of migrants in larger cities and what is the influence of NGO's on this?

There are several sub-questions formulated, which together form the basis to answer the main question. First it is needed to know about the political context regarding undocumented migrants, what is the policy regarding this group of people in the Netherlands and what is the policy of Amsterdam? It is also important to discuss the policy of Europe, since the European Union has a big influence on the Dutch policy. The second question will focus on the concept of belonging and will answer how a sense of belonging is developed. The answer that this question will provide can then be used as the basis to question three, because the third question focusses on the influence that being undocumented has on a person's sense of belonging. The final question will focus on the NGO's that help undocumented migrants. This question is set up to find out what role the NGO's play in the daily lives of undocumented migrants, and how they influence the sense of belonging.

The sub-questions that will be used in this research are:

- *What is the political context regarding undocumented migrants in the Netherlands?*
- *How is a sense of belonging developed?*
- *How does being undocumented influence the sense of belonging of undocumented migrants?*
- *What is the role of NGO's in the daily lives of undocumented migrants and how do they influence the sense of belonging?*

1.4 Scientific and societal relevance

Scientific relevance

Issues of identity and belonging dominate the political landscape in many countries (Anthias, 2016). But it is not only the political landscape that is dominated by these issues. The geographies of belonging and not-belonging are topics of growing interest in geography (Gilmartin and Migge, 2015). Despite this growing interest, the concept of belonging still remains vaguely defined and under theorized (Antonisch, 2010). Furthermore, Antonisch (2010, p. 647) states that "the notion of belonging as an emotional feeling of being at home in a place is not frequently analysed by scholars."

For this research, the concept of belonging is combined with undocumented migrants. The current literature of migration and migrant transnationalism tends to focus on well-off professional migrants and has created the misleading image of highly mobile migrants moving with ease across national borders. However, transnational mobility and obtaining citizenship is not equally available to all migrants. "For less well-off, undocumented migrants and refugees, in particular, transnational mobility comes with difficulty, danger, and bureaucratic obstacles" (Leitner, 2006, p. 1623).

When searching for scientific literature about the topic of undocumented migrants, there was a lot to find, but not about the specific group of migrants who have exhausted all legal remedies and are therefore classified as undocumented. Most literature that exists is on refugees who have a status or are still in the process of applying for asylum. As stated before, the people researched in this thesis are people who have been rejected for asylum and are now staying in the Netherlands illegally.

During this search for literature I did realise that I had found an under researched niche, and that this was the right course for my research. I would therefore argue that the scientific relevance of this research is to contribute to the existing literature through researching the combination of undocumented migrants and the under theorized concept of belonging. Because especially for this specific group of migrants, geographers and social scientist know very little about what belonging stands for and how it is claimed (Antonisch, 2010). And as I would like to argue there is a lot to find behind the simple phrase 'I belong here'.

Societal relevance

As has been discussed in the introduction, the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments and political salience of immigration has led to stricter rules about who can and who cannot become a Dutch citizen. This has led and still leads to many rejected asylum seekers who choose to stay in the Netherlands illegally. This research is designed to find out if these people feel like they belong in the Netherlands, and in why they feel like they belong in a country that has rejected them. It is important to gain insight into these feelings and their development because belongingness is essential to people's health. Baumeister (2010) states that a lack of belongingness constitutes severe deprivation and can be the cause of a variety of ill effects. Moreover, a great deal of human behaviour, emotion, and thought is caused by the fundamental interpersonal motive to belong. This research will provide this insight into the sense of belonging of undocumented people in Amsterdam and thereby aims to develop practical recommendations to the policy framework and decision-making processes that surround the social support and provision of shelter for undocumented migrants in the Netherlands and in Amsterdam. Organisations, like ASKV, that guide and help undocumented migrants can use these results in their future plans and policies. It is hoped that with the results of this research a

positive contribution is made to the lives of the undocumented people that come to the organisation ASKV for help and support.

1.5 Overview

This thesis will consist of 7 chapters. After this first chapter that features the introduction, the second chapter will discuss the theoretical framework. The third chapter will be about the methodology while the fourth chapter will define the context of reception that is established by the host population in the form of laws and policies. The fifth chapter will cover the empirical results and will describe the feelings of belonging of undocumented people living in Amsterdam. The next chapter, the sixth chapter, will then analyse these results. Lastly, the seventh chapter will consist of a conclusion and provide policy recommendations and recommendations for further research. This chapter will also consists of a reflection on this research and the research process.

2 | Theoretical framework

Theory is used to help structure and explain the patterns of the world. In this thesis a theoretical framework will be used to help structure and explain the feelings of belonging of undocumented people in the Netherlands. First the concept of migration will be analysed in relation to undocumented people, then Maslow's pyramid of human motivation will be discussed and analysed to understand how important belonging is in people's lives. After this the concept sense of belonging will be discussed. This concept will be discussed into two separate categories based on different aspects of belonging, namely the social aspect and the physical aspect. The first category thus concerns social aspect of belonging, i.e. belonging to other people and groups of people. The second category covers the physical aspect of belonging, which will be analysed with the help of the place-identity concept. As will become clear, the two categories are heavily interrelated and both influence people's lives. The context of reception is also expected to have a significant influence on the sense of belonging of undocumented people. Therefore, this theoretical concept will be discussed in paragraph 6. The chapter will end with the conceptual model and an operationalisation of the theoretical concepts.

2.1 The concept of migration

According to Knox and Marston (2010) there are two ways to describe the movement of people. The first way to describe it, is by using the term of mobility. Mobility can be defined as the "the ability to move from one place to another, either permanently or temporarily" (Knox and Marston, 2010, p. 85). This term is used to describe multiple forms of human movement, ranging from a daily commute to work or the grocery store to a more permanent move to a country on the other side of the world. The second way Knox and Marston (2010) describe population movement is in terms of migration. They define migration as a "long-distance move to a new location", which involves a "permanent or temporary change of residence from one neighbourhood or settlement to another". Most of these long-distance moves are driven by "a desire for economic betterment or an escape from adverse political conditions, such as war or oppression" (Knox and Marston, 2010, p. 85).

Despite this quite recent definition of the concept that is called migration, the phenomenon itself is as old as time. People have always moved in search for new opportunities. "However, migration took on a new character with the beginnings of European expansion from the sixteenth century, and the Industrial Revolution from the nineteenth century" (Castles, de Haas & Miller, 2014, P. 5). During this time a massive transfer of population was set in motion. These people moved from rural to urban areas within and across borders. After the industrial revolution migration has only increased due to new forms of transportation and technology that make it easier to travel and therefore to migrate.

In this day and age migration has increased so much that Sheller and Urry (2006) go as far as to state that the whole world seems to be on the move. The scale of traveling nowadays is immense, the world's airports, buses, ships, and trains are filled with asylum seekers, international students, terrorists members of diasporas, holidaymakers, refugees, backpackers, commuters, armed forces and many others (Sheller and Urry, 2006, p. 207). Sheller and Urry are not the only ones who have noticed that mobility and migration rates have increased. Castles, de Haas and Miller (2014) call this time, the age of migration. Not because migration is something new, but because migration has gained increasing political salience over the past decades.

There is not one factor that determines if a person decides to migrate. Those decisions are both consciously and subconsciously made and based on push and pull factors. There are different push and pull factors involved in the decision of people to migrate, which leads to different types of migration. When speaking of different types of migration, two main types can be identified. These types are voluntary migration and forced migration. Most migration is voluntary and happens only when an individual decides to move, for economic or other reasons. When an individual migrates against his or her own will it is called forced migration. Forced migration takes place when push factors are so strong that the individual feels like there is no other option but migrating. Often, the decision to migrate comes forth from both forced and voluntary factors. Forced migration (both internal and international) is considered as a significant global problem. "These migrants may be fleeing a region or country for many reasons, but some of the most common are war, famine (often war-induced), life-threatening environmental degradation or disaster, or governmental coercion or oppression" (Knox & Marston, 2010, p. 86).

It is commonplace to define forced migrants as asylum seekers or refugees. According to Castles, de Haas and Miller (2014, p. 222), "popular usage tends to refer to all kinds of forced migrants as 'refugees', but most forced migrants flee for reasons not recognized by international refugee law, often remaining within their country of origin". It is therefore important to distinguish the two concepts. "A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries" (UNHCR, 2017). An asylum seeker is someone who has crossed an international border in search of protection, but whose claims for refugee status have not yet been decided (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p. 222). These determination processes could take up years, and until someone is recognized as a refugee he or she should be considered as an asylum seeker. Host countries offer varying types of protection – typically full refugee status for

those who fulfil the 1951 Convention criteria, temporary protection for war refugees, and humanitarian protection for people not considered refugees, but who might be endangered by return (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p. 222). Beside these groups, there is the group of people who are not recognized as refugees and whose asylum applications have been denied. According to Castles, de Haas and Miller (2014), in some European countries up to 90 percent of asylum applications are rejected. Many of these rejected asylum seekers stay in the country where they applied for asylum. These people have no clear legal status and therefore lead a marginalized existence.

It is because of this lack of legal status that undocumented people reside in the shadows of the Dutch society. Not only rejected asylum seekers are considered as undocumented people, also people who are for example stateless or are what is called an illegal migrant worker, are considered as being undocumented. To identify undocumented people the Dutch Immigration Act is used. This act states that anyone who does not have the Dutch nationality must have a valid visa or residence permit to be able to legally stay in the Netherlands, regardless of the reason and duration of stay. Anyone who stays in the Netherlands for more than three months without a valid residence permit is considered to be there "illegal" and is referred to as an undocumented person (Pharos, 2017).

2.2 A theory of human motivation

In order to gain knowledge on the concept of belonging and to get a better understanding of the sense of belonging of the undocumented migrants in the Netherlands, Maslow's theory of human motivation will be used. This theory will help to explain where belonging stands, in relation to other human needs.

In his theory Maslow attempts to fully understand the full scope and complexity of human motivation and in order to do so, he developed a hierarchy of needs, also known as the pyramid of

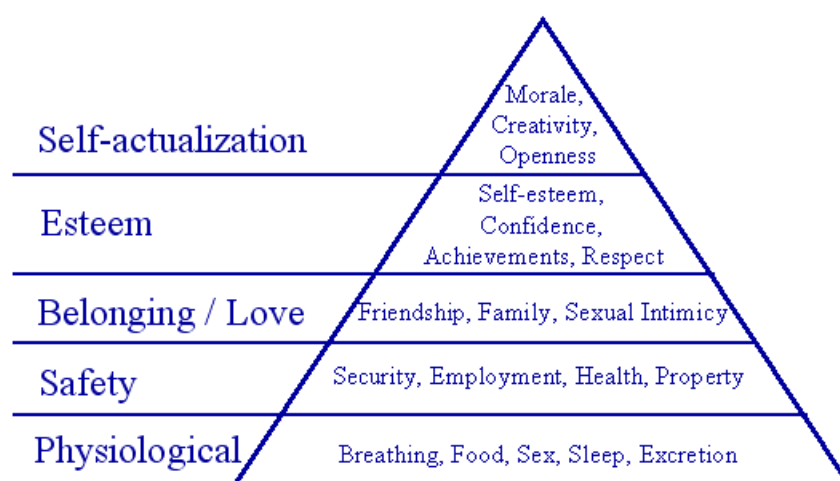


Figure 1: Maslow's pyramid of needs (biz-development, 2009)

needs, which is shown below in figure 1 (biz-development, 2009).

In this pyramid various motivators are grouped and it starts with the physiological needs at the bottom. These are needs that lead to the survival of the human, like food, breathing and sleep. These physiological needs together with the safety needs are considered to be the basic needs. When one level of needs is fulfilled, other (higher) needs will emerge and these will then dominate the person. And when these in turn are satisfied, again new (and still higher) needs emerge and so on. The reason for this is that a wish that is fulfilled is no longer considered to be a wish. People are dominated and their behaviour is organised only by unsatisfied wishes (Maslow, 1943).

The bottom four levels are considered as psychological needs while the top level, the level of self-actualisation, is considered as the need for growth. For people to start wishing for love and belonging, physiological and safety needs have to be fulfilled.

However, a level does not have to be fulfilled 100 percent for a person to be dominated by higher needs. Maslow (1943) states, that “all members of our society who are normal, are partially satisfied in all their basic needs and partially unsatisfied in all their basic needs at the same time”.

Furthermore, exceptions in which the hierarchy does not hold are also identifiable. An example of this that Maslow gives, is that there are some people for whom self-esteem is more important than love. Other people might find their ideals more important than anything, they will give up everything for the sake of a particular ideal, or value.

Despite these exceptions, the pyramid of needs gives a general overview of the place of belonging in people's lives. It will be used in this research because it will help to explain why some people experience feelings of belonging and others don't.

2.3 Social belonging

In the theory of human motivation, Maslow shows that belonging is a very important aspect in a person's life. He places it just above the physiological and safety needs. Baumeister and Leary (1995) go as far as stating that belonging can be considered as a fundamental need, meaning that the need to belonging is necessary for survival and that it is nearly universal among human beings.

Belonging can thus be considered as an important aspect of people's lives and can be understood as “the experience and practice of embeddedness” (Hartnell, 2006). Common dictionaries, like the Oxford dictionaries and the Merriam-Webster dictionary, define belonging as a “close or intimate relationship.” This definition is also used by Pollini (2005), who states that belonging concerns the symbolic dimension of social relations and interactions. Aistear (n.d.) mentions that belonging is about having a secure relationship with or a connection with a particular group of people. The definition that will be used in this research, comes from Anthias (2008), she defines the concept of

belonging as to “be accepted as part of a community, to feel safe within it and to have a stake in the future of such a community of membership. To belong is to share values, networks and practices and is therefore more than a question of identification.”

The need to belong

The need to belong is a powerful, fundamental, and extremely pervasive motivation. It is plausible that this motivation, to belong to groups, comes from the time when group formation was both beneficial and necessary for survival. Group formation had both survival and reproductive benefits and both external threats and the possibility of gaining resources improve the cohesion within the group. The need to belong thus comes from the human biological inheritance, which means that the motivation to belong is universal (Baumeister and Leary, 1995). Forming groups comes thus from evolution and often happens naturally. According to Arcidiacono, Procentese and Di Napoli (2007) people can develop a deep identification with a group or community through a strong feeling of belonging. This feeling is also called a sense of community. In order to be part of a community people have to define themselves as members and also have to be defined by others as ‘belonging to the group’, these others include fellow members and non-members (Pollini, 2005).

People can form social attachments readily under most conditions. Baumeister and Leary (1995), state that much of what human beings do is done in the service of their belongingness, which in turn can be explained by the ill effects on health, adjustment and well-being that are caused by a lack of belongingness. Belonging questions often emerge because of a lack of belonging. There might be spaces, places, locales and identities that a person feels he or she does not and cannot belong to, in the sense that he or she cannot gain access, participate or be included within. “Collective places constructed by imaginings of belonging, on the other hand, are constructions that disguise the fissures, the losses, the absences and the borders within them and can therefore contribute to the positive feeling of belonging” (Anthias, 2008, p. 8).

People’s need to belong consists of the drive to form and maintain at least a minimum quantity of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships. “Satisfying this drive involves two criteria: first, there is a need for frequent, affectively pleasant interactions with a few other people, and, second these interactions must take place in the context of a temporally stable and enduring framework of affective concern for each other’s welfare. Interactions with a constantly changing sequence of partners will be less satisfactory than repeated interactions with the same person(s), and relatedness without frequent contact will also be unsatisfactory.” (Baumeister and Leary, 1995, p. 497)

The need to belong can be directed towards any human being, however interactions with strangers are mainly appealing to people when they serve as the first step toward long-term contacts. One of

the reasons for this is that when the belongingness needs of people are insufficiently met, people experience feelings of loneliness (Higgins and Kruglanski, 2000). This loneliness cannot be 'fixed' with any sort of social contact, lonely and non-lonely people don't differ a lot in the amount of time that they spend with other people. The difference can be found in the quality of those interactions and relationships, lonely people spend less time with friends and family – those who are most likely to fulfil their need to belong – than non-lonely people. Loneliness, therefore, seems to be a matter of a lack of intimate connections (Baumeister and Leary, 1995, p. 500-507). These intimate connections are marked by stability, positive concern, care, continuation into the foreseeable future and loyalty (Pollini, 2005). Relationships that are marked by these features are able to offer satisfaction. Another aspect that needs to be present to satisfy the need to belong is mutuality. A person must believe that the other cares about his or her welfare and likes (or loves) him or her. One reason that explains the importance of mutuality is trust. Trust in turn can strengthen and improve the relationship (Arcidiacono, Procentese and Di Napoli, 2007).

People are thus naturally driven towards establishing and sustaining intimate relationships and satisfy their need to belong. According to Antonisch (2010), analysts believe that inter-personal relations are an existential need of every individual, irrespective of his or her cultural or geographical embeddedness and that these very relations are what constitute the self. However, people don't have the need for an endless amount of intimate connections, once the minimum quantity of good quality relationships has been reached, the motivation to form new connections will go away. What the minimum quantity of good relationships is differs per person. But what does not differ, is that once that level has been reached, the formation of further social attachments will offer less satisfaction and the breaking of these 'extra' relationships will also produce less distress than 'non-extra' relationships. "The belongingness hypothesis predicts that people should generally be at least as reluctant to break social bonds as they are eager to form them in the first place" (Baumeister and Leary, 1995, p. 502). The fact that some people resist breaking off attachments that cause pain shows how powerful and deeply rooted the need to belong is.

The fulfilment of the desire and need to belong often brings about a positive effect, and it leads to people feeling happy. Happiness in life is thus correlated with having the right amount of close relationships. The absence of these good quality relationships, leads to feelings of unhappiness, depression and other woes. These negative effects also follow from broken-off, threatened and refused relationships. Antonisch (2010), states that the absence of belonging, can also lead to motivational problems and mental-health issues. An example of this is given by Baumeister and Leary (1995) who state that people without adequate supportive relationships experience more stress than other people. This is in part, because other people can provide support and assistance, which can function as a buffer against stress. Being part of a network thus reduces stress. However, the

absence of good quality relationships does not only lead to mental-health problems. Being deprived of belongingness may have direct effects on the immune system, and can cause physical illnesses, like eating disorders. A fulfilled sense of belonging can thus be considered as a precondition for a good quality life (Higgins and Kruglanski, 2000).

Important aspects of belonging

A person's sense of belonging can be influenced by a number of different aspects. One example of this is language (Valentine, Sporton, Nielsen, 2008). "Language stands for a particular way of constructing and conveying meaning, a certain way of interpreting and defining situations" (Therborn 1991, 182–183, in Antonisch 2010, p. 648). Language, can take on the form of spoken language, but can also take the form of unspoken language, in for example tacit codes, signs and gestures. Both spoken and unspoken language are understood by those who share the same semiotic universe, which can create a bond or a sense of community. In this sense, language can be experienced as an element of intimacy and thereby generate a sense of feeling 'at home' (Antonisch, 2010). On the other hand language can be a cause for exclusion. When people don't speak the dominant language of a country they are not considered as a part of the collective and therefore don't belong, which can lead to exclusion and marginalisation (Warriner, 2007). Language thus has to be considered as one of the most important aspects that can influence a person's sense of belonging.

The sense of belonging can also be influenced by other forms of cultural expressions, traditions and habits, related, for instance, to religion, as well as to the materiality of cultural practices like, for instance, food production / consumption (Antonisch, 2010, p. 648).

Besides cultural factors, economic factors also matter a great deal. These factors can contribute to the sense of belonging in the way that they can make a person feel that they have a stake in the future of the place where he or she lives (Antonisch, 2010). Linked to economic factors is the access to material resources, which according to Anthias (2016) is central in belonging inasmuch as it is an important part of living with a sense of safety and participation. And living in safety is very important to generate a sense of belonging. Safety is also produced by legal factors, such as citizenship and resident permits. These factors are a precondition to participate in and contribute to the society one lives in, which in turn is important in generating feelings of belonging. "Not surprisingly, empirical studies have highlighted the negative correlation between an individual's insecure legal status and her / his sense of place-belongingness" (Fenster and Vitzel 2006; Nelson and Hiemstra 2008; Yuval-Davis and Kaptani 2008, in Antonisch, 2010, p. 648). A factor that decreases migrants feeling of safety and feelings of belonging is the way that immigrants are often blamed for economic woes and other problems that exist in the host society. "Immigrants become the repository of feelings of fear, insecurity, confusion and frustration for the indigenous population at times of significant change."

(Gilmartin, 2008, p. 1842).

That citizenship is an important part of people's sense of belonging can be found in the effect citizenship has on people's lives. It affects public life in areas such as political participation and development of state policy and it also has an effect on private life, including family and interpersonal relations. "Lack of citizenship or legal status affects household formation and may indeed fracture families by separating members who have legal status from those who do not" (Glenn, 2011, p. 2). Getting citizenship is not just a matter of gaining a formal legal status, it means a person gains full membership in the community within which one lives. Therefore having citizenship can be seen as a matter of belonging. For this belonging, a person needs to not only have citizenship, in the meaning of legal documents and state policies, but he or she also needs to be recognized by other members of the community. In this way "community members participate in drawing the boundaries of citizenship and defining who is entitled to civil, political, and social rights by granting or withholding recognition" (Glenn, 2011, p. 3). Citizenship can thus have a rather large effect on people's sense of belonging.

Another factor that sociologists and environmental psychologists consider relevant to generate a sense of belonging among 'incomers' is length of residence. The longer a person lives in his or her 'new' country and society, the more he or she develops a sense of belonging (Morley, 2001).

2.4 Politics of belonging

Belonging, however, can not only be analysed as an isolated, personal affair. It should also be analysed as a discursive resource that constructs, claims, justifies, or resists forms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (politics of belonging) (Anthias, 2016, p. 176). The main difference between belonging and the politics of belonging is that belonging is about emotional attachment and about feeling 'at home', while the politics of belonging comprise of specific projects aimed at construction belonging to particular collectivities (Anthias, 2016, p. 176). The politics of belonging thus revolves around the questions of who does and who does not belong. This can be analysed at different scales, on the national level the politics of belonging determines who does and who does not belong in a country, in other words who is deserving of citizenship. On the local level, the politics of belonging can for example determine who is welcome in a certain club or social gathering, i.e. who is included in the society and who is not.

Crowley (1999, p.30 in Antonisch, 2010, p. 649) defines the politics of belonging as "the dirty work of boundary maintenance". This is true indeed, as it tries to define who is part of 'us' and who is part of 'them' or 'the other'. Furthermore, the politics seeks to influence what one has to do to be included in the group or excluded from it (Isakjee, 2016).

Every politics of belonging involves two opposite sides: the side that claims belonging and the side that has the power to 'grant' belonging. This means that there is always a process of negotiation, as well as rejection, violation and transgression on either the individual or at the collective scale or both (Antonisch, 2010, p. 650). Politics of belonging is thus about policies that control immigration flows. Some encourage immigration to fill labour needs; others discourage immigration and step up border control and punitive measures (Glenn, 2011). These policies can be influenced by specific political agendas such as counter-terrorism fears around Muslim, meaning that the politics of belonging are always situated temporarily (Isakjee, 2016).

The politics of belonging is often treated as a synonym of citizenship, which can be explained by the fact that those who claim belonging often claim the right to stay and work in a place. These claims might vary from resident permits to full citizenship (Antonisch, 2010, p. 650). Politics of belonging thus encompasses and relates to both citizenship and identity, and therefore adds an emotional dimension which is central to the notions of belonging (Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran and Vieten, 2006).

Although the expression of 'I belong here' remains first and foremost a personal and intimate feeling, the working power relations, also known as the politics of belonging, cannot be underestimated in the conditioning of these feelings and can therefore be considered as an important aspect in the generation of people's sense of belonging (Antonisch, 2010; Isakjee, 2016).

2.5 Place identity

Through everyday experiences people not only develop bonds toward other people, they also develop bonds toward certain places, e.g. the house where they grew up, the place of work etc. (Knez, 2005). When speaking of belonging, it is thus important to recognize the physical aspect as well as the social aspect. "Through personal attachment to geographically locatable places, a person acquires a sense of belonging and purpose which give meaning to his or her life." (Relph, 1976, p. 20). Thus when speaking in terms of how a person defines him- or herself within the society, it is imperative to ask the question 'what are the effects of the built environment?'. This is what will be done in this chapter. With the help of Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983) and their development of the place-identity concept, the physical aspect of belonging will be discussed.

Place and identity are interrelated in multiple ways (Clare, Twigger-Ross and Uzell, 1996) and there are many concepts that describe the relationship between people and their environment (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006). These include, amongst others, place attachment, topophilia, insideness, place identity and sense of place/rootedness (Chow and Healey, 2008). Of these concepts place attachment and place identity are two concepts that overlap most frequently. The reason for this is that the samples used in most studies (native persons who have resided in that place for a long time)

show a high level of both place attachment and place identity (Hernández, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace & Hess, 2007). It is therefore important to define these concepts and to clarify what relationship between these two concepts will be used in this research.

The main characteristic of place attachment is the affective positive bond between a person and a place (Knez, 2005). The development of place attachment is regulated by factors like rootedness and length of residence leading to a strong tendency of a person to remain close ties to that place. Place identity on the other hand can be defined as “the process by which, through interaction with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place” (Hernandez et al., 2007, p. 310). Place-identity is formed by “cognitions about the physical world (memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience), together with the environmental past (memories of places and associated behaviour) of the person involved” (Proshansky et al., 1983, in Hay, 1998, p. 248).

According to Hernandez et al. (2007), at least four different perspectives on the relationship between place attachment and place identity exist in the literature: “(1) they can be considered the same concept (Brown & Werner, 1985); (2) place attachment can be a component of place identity (Lalli, 1992); (3) place identity can be a component of place attachment (Kyle, Graefe, & Manning, 2005); (4) both concepts are only dimensions of a supra-ordered notion (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001).” (Rollero and De Piccoli, 2010, p. 198). For this research place identity is seen as the integrating concept under which attachment is subsumed (Chow and Healey, 2008).

In the theory of place-identity, “the primary function of ‘place’ is to engender a sense of belonging and attachment” (Proshansky et al., 1983, p. 61). This development of belonging and attachment comes naturally and changes over time and per person. Place-identity starts to develop in small children and modifies over the course of someone’s lifecycle. One of the most important factors regarding the development of place identity is a psychological investment with the place. This investment tends to develop over time (Rollero and De Piccoli, 2010). In his research on migrants in Ireland Inglis (2009) found that the development of a sense of belonging had more to do with the length of residence and a commitment to the area in which the migrants lived now than it had to do with having been brought up there.

Place-identity is often described as clusters of positive and negative perceptions of physical settings (Proshansky, 1983). People develop feelings of belonging if they have mostly positive feelings when spending time in a physical place. The reverse can also happen, people can develop place aversion when they experience more negative feelings than positive about that place. Of course, people can also develop positive feelings towards very poor physical settings because the social context is very rewarding as positive for the person (Hay, 1998). This shows that other people are important in

shaping the place-identity of the person. It does not only matter what a person's experience is with his physical settings but it also matters what other people do, say, and think about what is right or wrong and good or bad about these physical settings (Proshansky et al., 1983). Physical settings thus function as a background of social interactions, making these settings significant sites of belonging (Easthope, 2004). Also everyday practices and routines play an important role in shaping peoples attachment towards spaces. "Over a long period of time individual experiences build up to a narrative of a resident's life: identity intertwined with space" (Isakjee, 2016, p. 1345). These everyday activities in familiar surroundings over a long period of time can contribute to the development of a sense of security and comfort which leads to an appreciation of the physical setting. Social connections, interaction and contact are thus fundamental to establishing a sense of place-identity (Isakjee, 2016).

Like social belonging, place identity is also formed at an early age, its development starts in the earliest processes of the socialization of the child. This makes it understandable that people are often unaware of "the variety of memories, feelings, values, and preferences that subsume and influence his or her responses to the physical world. One is simply comfortable in certain kinds of physical settings, prefers particular spaces, kinds of lighting, furniture arrangements, number of people in a room for a party, number of people in an office, and so on." (Proshansky et al., 1983, p. 63). This unawareness is considered to be an important feature of place-identity. Although the development of place-identity starts at an early age, it does not stop there. The development will continue over the entire length of a person's life and is bound to change as the person gets older. Like changes in someone's personal life, changes in the physical world can also impact the place-identity (Proshansky et al., 1983). The place-identity of a person thus mirrors in a broad sense all the important physical settings that he or she routinely experiences and uses daily, that is, the home, the work place, the gym, school, neighbourhood, and play environments. Or for undocumented people, the Bed, bath and bread facilities and the NGO's where they spend the majority of their time.

Feelings of place-identity are often described as 'feeling at home' in a certain place. The focus of place-identity research often lies on the home. The reason for this is that "Without exception, the home is considered to be the 'place' of greatest personal significance in one's life" (Relph, 1976, p. 20). But when researching place-identity it is important to not only look at the home setting but to look further to other physical settings who also contribute to an individual's development of place-identity. Examples of settings outside the home are the school, the office and the club house. Individuals define who and what they are in terms of strong ties to 'house and home' and/or neighbourhood and community (Lalli, 1992). Place-identity can also take place on an urban level. In the complex physical world that is the city, people develop environmental skills, e.g. the use a

complex rapid transit system, working in the middle of noise, navigating the city by foot, using an assortment of technical equipment, and in general coping with very tall buildings as places to live and work. These skills help them with making the city instrumental for their needs and purposes, which contributes to a positive place-belongingness to the urban setting. When environmental skills are not developed or not adequately developed it can lead to a negative place-belongingness and may result in a move away from the city (Proshansky et al., 1983).

Place-identity thus influences what people see, feel and think in relation to the physical world. It serves as a database in which experiences with physical settings are stored and against which other physical settings can be analysed.

2.6 Reception by the host-society

“Immigrants and their descendants constitute an important and continuously growing segment of the population in many European countries.” (Kogan, Shen and Siegert, 2016, p. 2). These people search for a place they can identify with and people they can belong to. They do not immigrate to unsettled regions of the world; instead, they settle within a context of reception already established by a host population (Connor, 2010). The context of reception differs per country and has a large influence on the integration of immigrants. It also influences the popularity of a country to immigrants, since immigrants tend to choose the country that offers them the best package of high quality public goods, low levels of inequality and a welcoming reception climate. Recent immigration trends show that these “immigrant-magnet” countries have been Nordic countries, as well as Germany and Austria (Kogan, Shen and Siegert, 2016).

According to Castles (1995) a receiving country can respond to immigration in four ways, namely; total exclusion, differential exclusion, assimilation and pluralism. All these models have an influence on both institutional factors as well as social factors, which in turn determine migrants' position in society and have an effect on their feelings of belonging.

The model of total exclusion is used when a country tries to prevent the entry of immigrants. Although some countries have tried, since 1945 no highly-developed country has succeeded in preventing immigration. A reason for this can be found in the process of globalisation and the economic and political forces that have led to labour migration. These forces have proved to be more powerful than government policies and have encouraged migrants to keep coming into the country. The second model Castles (1995) describes is the differential exclusion model. When this model is used, immigrants are only excepted in certain areas of society. This often means that migrants are excepted in the labour market, but denied access to areas like welfare systems, citizenship and political participation. There are two ways in which this model can be put into practice, the first way

is through governmental policy (for example through refusal of naturalisation and by making distinctions between the rights of citizens and noncitizens), the second way is through informal practices (such as racism and discrimination).

The motivation to use the differential exclusion model often comes from the belief that the migrants are in the country on a temporary basis. "Permanent settlement is seen as threatening to the receiving country for economic reasons (pressure on wages and conditions), social reasons (demands on social services, emergence of an underclass) cultural reasons (challenges to national culture and identity), or political reasons (fear of public disorder, effects political institutions or foreign policy)" (Castles, 1995, p. 294). The differential exclusion strategy has often been employed in former 'guest worker' recruiting countries in Western Europe.

The assimilation model has been used by all highly-developed immigration countries to some extent. The model expects that the migrant undergoes a one-sided process of adaptation in which he or she becomes indistinguishable from the majority population. In most countries, assimilation policies have made place for policies of integration. These policies can be seen as a weaker form of assimilation, as they are based on the idea that adaptation is a gradual process in which group cohesion and interaction play an important part. Despite that, complete absorption into the dominant culture (assimilation) is still the final goal (Castles, 1995).

The last model that Castles (1995) describes is the pluralism model. This model is characterized by the fact that immigrants are allowed to remain distinguishable from the majority population with a regard to language, culture, social behaviour and associations over several generations. When a country uses the pluralism model, it gives immigrants and non-migrants equal rights in all aspects of the society, without expecting assimilation. Although it is expected that immigrants conform to the key values of the host society, they are allowed to keep their diversity. There are two types of the pluralism model. The first type is typical of the USA and is called the 'laissez-faire' approach. In this approach difference is tolerated but it is not seen as the responsibility of the government to support the maintenance of ethnic cultures. The second type is focussed on multi-cultural policies. In this variant the majority group is willing to accept cultural difference and to change social behaviour and institutional structures accordingly.

To put these models along a continuum of immigrant receptivity, there is the exclusion of migrants on one end and active encouragement on the other. In the middle of the continuum is passive acceptance where immigrants are essentially permitted into the society, but the assistance to their integration by the public is slim to non-existent (Connor, 2010).

Castles has based his four ways of reception on governmental policies and his models are to be applied on the national scale. There are two points of critique that can be made with regard to these

models. The first point is that none of these models fits one country completely and many countries have elements of more than one model. Furthermore, there is no state that possesses a truly coherent incorporation regime (Freeman, 2004). The second point of critique is that even though, the context of the reception is often conceived as being made by national policies, the local policies as well as the responses of the community to immigrants vary considerably across physical and political spaces within nations (Jaworsky, Levitt, Cadge, Hejtmanek, Curran, 2014).

So although national policies are important when it comes to immigrant reception, multiple factors play a role. The reception of immigrants into the host society can be divided over three levels, namely the role of the government, the host society and their reception of immigrants and already existing ethnic communities in the host country (Jaworsky et al., 2014). Together these factors are also called modes of incorporation, which is defined by Portes and Rumbaut (2001, p. 46) as 'the social environment that receives them [immigrants], including the policies of the host government, the attitudes of the native population, and the presence and size of a co-ethnic community.' The combination of the three levels are thus considered to be the mode of incorporation for a particular immigrant group (Pasura, 2013). On top of these factors, Reitz (2002) also names the labour market and the changing nature of international boundaries, which is a part of the globalisation process, as factors that have an influence on immigrants integration. Successful immigrant integration can thus be seen as a function of the opportunities and the barriers immigrants face in the host community (Jaworsky et al., 2014).

The immigration policy of the Netherlands was originally based on the assimilationist model, but has later shifted towards a more pluralist model (Castles, 1995). The country used the second variant of the pluralist model, since the minority policy of the 1980s had strong multi-cultural elements. However, more recently the policy has made a shift towards a greater emphasis on economic and cultural integration. Public opinion however has a more total exclusion or differential exclusion tone. Especially during the height of the refugee crisis in 2015 the public opinion turned negative towards new migrants. Almost two-thirds of the Dutch population didn't want any migrants to be accepted and approximately 92 percent is of the opinion that the migrants have to leave after a few months or years (Renout, 2015). Recently, public opinion has changed in favour of migrant acceptance. According to the news source nu.nl (2018) 77 percent of the Dutch population is of the opinion that the Netherlands should provide shelter for refugees. People that migrate for economic reasons are still not welcome and should, according to public opinion, not be allowed to work or live in the country. The current citizenship model that the government uses permits immigrants who have become members of civil society to join the nation and to participate in the state, but with an expectation of linguistic and cultural integration (Castles, 1995).

2.7 Conceptual framework

Conceptual model

Before the research can be carried out, the theoretical concepts need to be defined empirically (Vennix, 2011). The connection between being undocumented and sense of belonging is what has been the main focus of this research. The relationship between being undocumented and the sense of belonging is portrait in this conceptual model with a one-way arrow, because a person's sense belonging does not have an influence on the legal status of being undocumented. It is however, expected that the legal status has an influence on the sense of belonging. It is also expected that the reception by the host society has an influence on an undocumented person's sense of belonging. There is also a relationship between the work of NGO's and the sense of belonging. The work of NGO's is expected to have an influence on the sense of belonging of undocumented migrants. This influence is portrait in the conceptual model as having an effect on the relationship between being undocumented and the sense of belonging.

Even though the work of NGO's might have an influence on a person's legal status, this influence is not structural and is not relevant in this research, therefore this connection is not portrait in the conceptual model shown below.

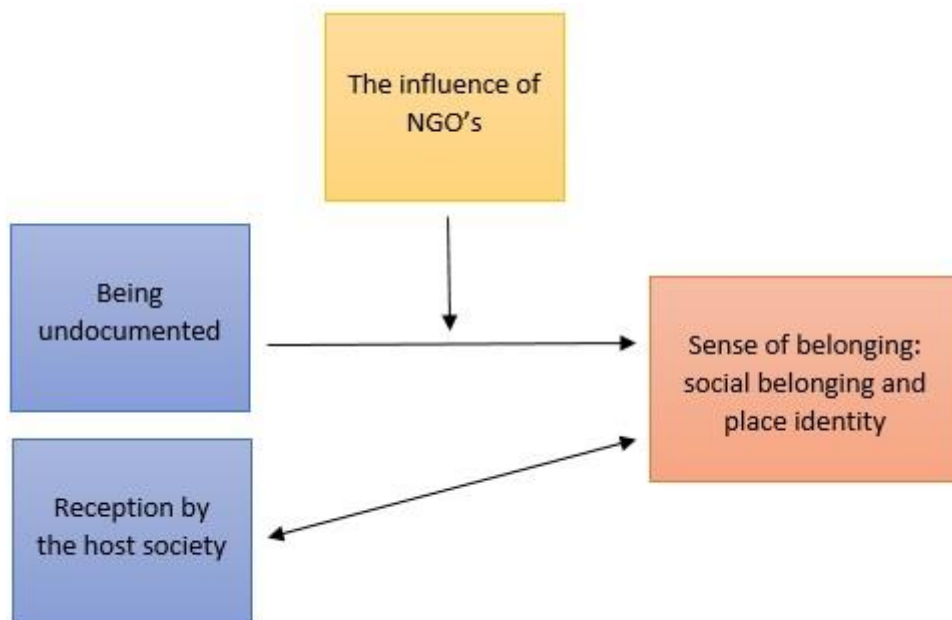


Figure 2. Conceptual model

Operationalisation

The most important concepts of this research, and who therefore need to be operationalised, are undocumented, sense of belonging, reception by the host society and the influence of NGO's. In this chapter these concepts are operationalised and portrait in three figures.

According to the definition given in chapter 2, people are considered as undocumented when they have stayed in the Netherlands more than three months without a valid residence permit. Most people who are considered as undocumented have applied for asylum, but were denied. People with a Dublin claim have also applied for asylum and have also been denied. A Dublin claim however, is considered to be a special case, since people who have this claim are supposed to apply for asylum in another European country. After 18 months it is possible for them to again apply for asylum in the Netherlands. This law will be explained further in chapter 4.

Naturally there is also a group of people that has come to the Netherlands and is undocumented because they have never applied for asylum. This group is not focused on in this research, therefore that connection has not been portrait in the figure.



Figure 3. Operationalisation of undocumented

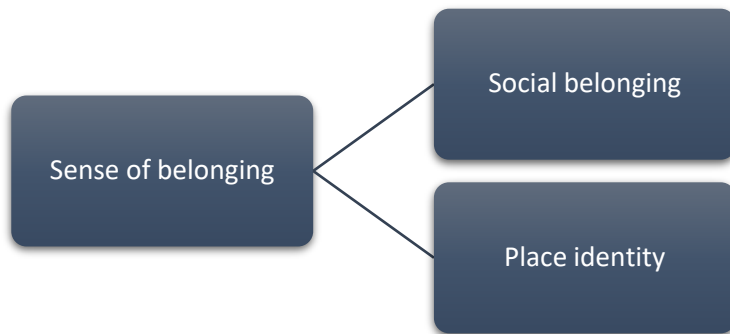


Figure 4. Operationalisation of sense of belonging

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, the concept of sense of belonging can be split into two separate categories to make it easier to research. These two categories are social belonging and place identity, as portrait in figure 4. These two concepts will both be operationalised further below, see figure 5 and 6.

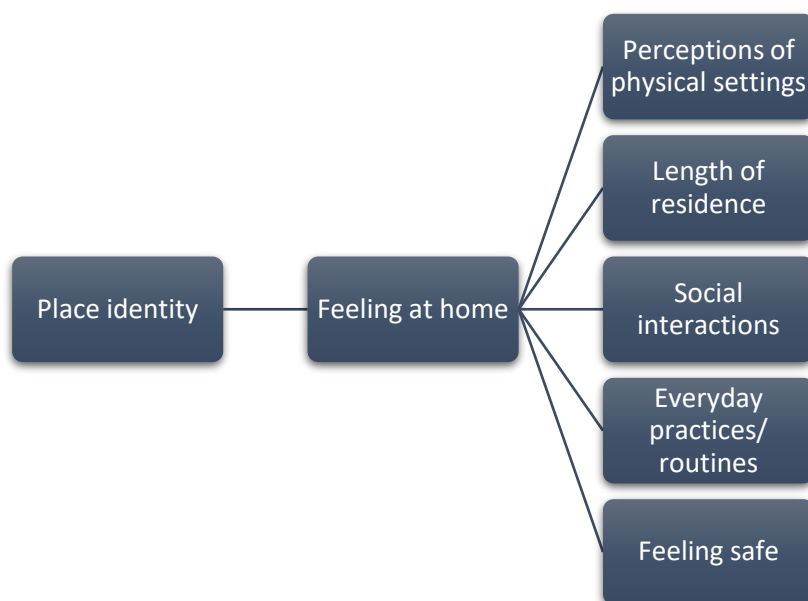


Figure 5. Operationalisation of Place identity

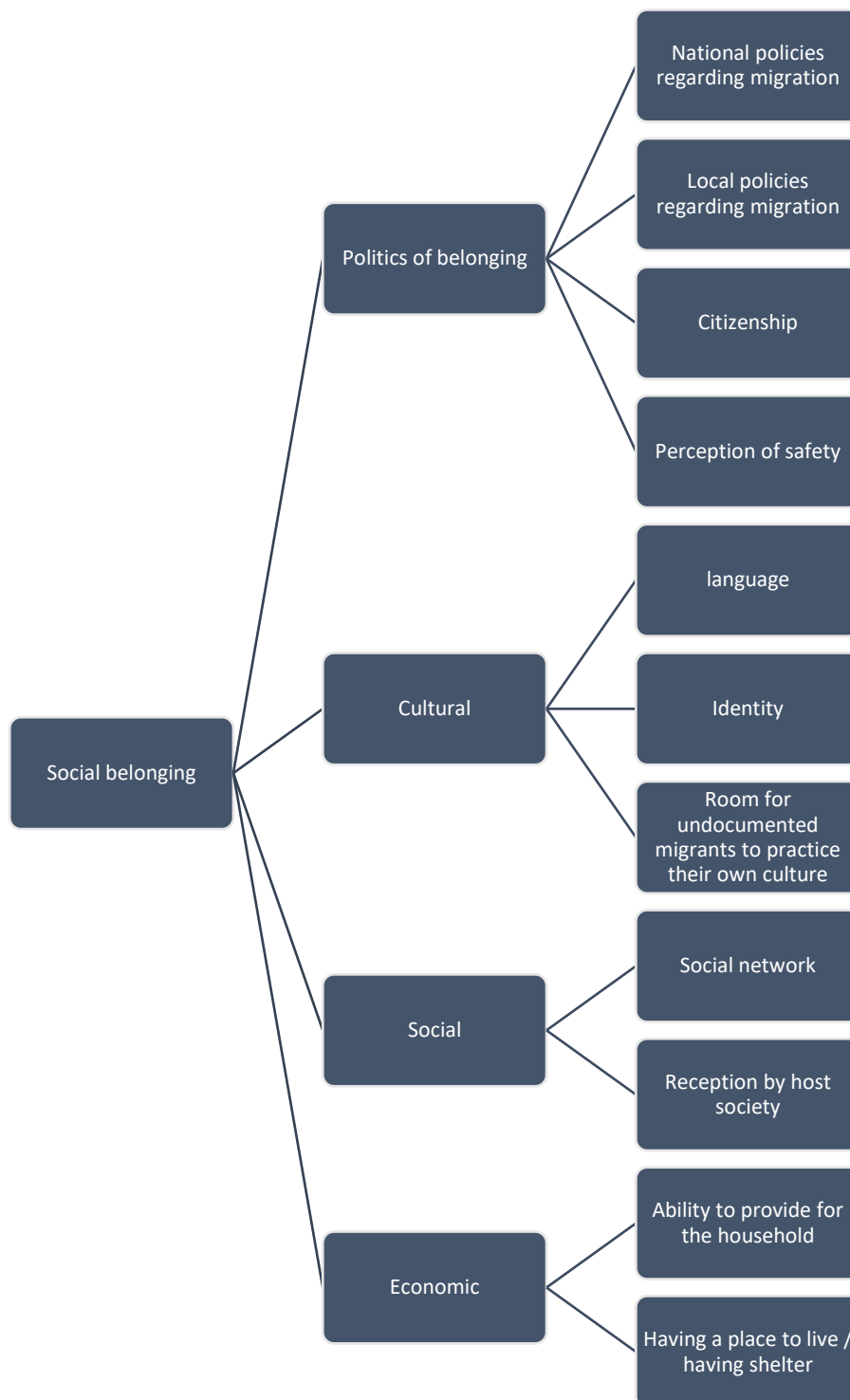


Figure 6. Operationalisation of social belonging.



Figure 7. Operationalisation of the influence of NGO's.

This operationalisation of the influence of NGO's is mainly based on the work of ASKV, because this NGO has been the main NGO researched in this thesis. ASKV provides social and juridical support to undocumented people. The way that the influence of these forms of support can be measured and observed is portrait in figure 7.

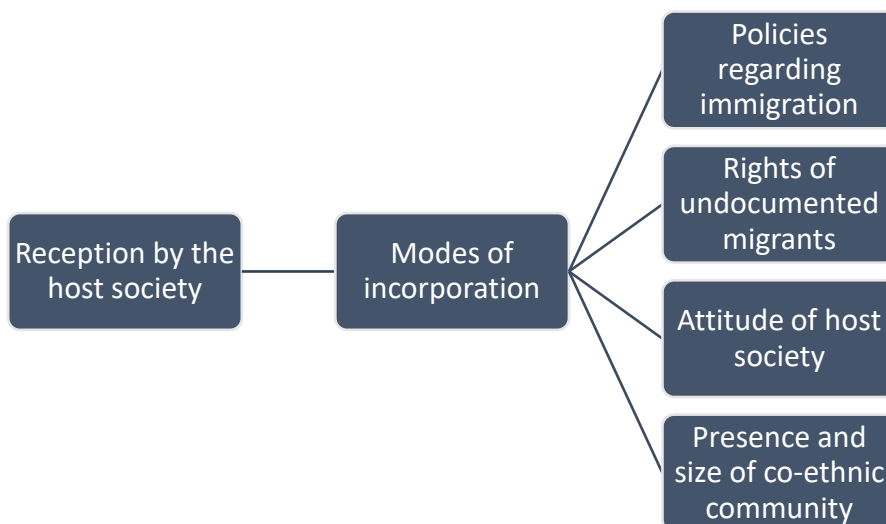


Figure 8. Operationalisation of the reception by the host society

3 | Methodology

The objective of this research is to provide a contribution to the knowledge about the group of undocumented migrants and their sense of belonging in larger cities, while simultaneously finding out what role NGO's play in this. In order to understand people's feelings of belonging and the influence of NGO's on that feeling, a qualitative research strategy was employed.

3.1 Case study

Since this research focusses on a specific case and its context, the case study methodology was selected as the qualitative research strategy. "A case study is an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used." (Yin, 1989, p. 23, in Vennix, 2011). The case study is a flexible research strategy that can fit with a range of theoretical perspectives and is usually employed in small-scale, in-depth studies. The research usually begins with the identification of a specific case (Creswell, 2013, p. 98). This can be done by selecting a case that can be bounded or described within certain parameters, such as a specific place and time.

In this research the case is bounded by the municipal borders of the city of Amsterdam.

The selection of the case is connected with the choice to either perform a single or multiple case study. For this research a single case study has been performed. The choice for a single case study can be justified according to Yin (2014, p. 51-53, in Clifford et al. (2016) if the case is critical, unusual, or extreme, common or every day, revelatory or longitudinal. For this case the choice for individual case study was made because the case is both common, there are many undocumented people in the Netherlands, and also revelatory since it is not easy to gain access to these people and have them contribute in a scientific research.

Besides the choice between single or multiple case study, the researcher also has to decide if he or she wants to perform an intrinsic or an instrumental case study (Creswell, 2013). Because the intent of this case study is to understand a specific issue, an instrumental case study was selected. This research has thus made use of a single instrumental case study, in which it focusses on the concept of belonging under undocumented people and the bounded case of Amsterdam was selected to illustrate this issue.

3.2 Methods

As stated before it is important in a case study research to make use of different data collection methods, to generalize depth in the research. Working with several sources is called triangulation and is thus considered as an important part of the case study methodology (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2007). The most common sources for data collection in case study research are

observations, interviews, documents and audio-visual materials. In this research semi-structured interviews, observations and document analysis have been used to collect data.

Semi-structured Interviews

One of the most common methods used by qualitative researchers according to Clifford et al. (2016) is semi-structured interviews. “A semi-structured interview is a verbal interchange where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions.” (Clifford et al, 2016, p. 143). The interviewer goes into the interview prepared with a list of questions, but this list does not completely determine the course of the interview. The interview unfolds in a conversational manner and allows the respondents to explore the issues they feel are important. This style of interviewing has been used in the interviews that were held for this research. Before the interviews started a list with questions was made, but the order of these questions was different per person that was interviewed, depending on what direction the conversation went. A list of these questions can be found in the appendixes.

Interviews were held with people who are undocumented and who have come to ASKV to seek help. All the respondents were at that time a client at the NGO of ASKV, but were different in many other aspects. In total 13 people were interviewed, 5 female and 8 male. They come from a variety of different countries, have different ages and live in different settings. Some in the Bed, bath bread facility, others in a room provided by ASKV and again others rent their own room. A list of the respondents can be found below. In this list all the names of the informants have been changed to keep them anonymous.

Name	Age	Gender	Country of origin	Place to stay
Informant 1 Talisa	58	Female	Ghana	BBB
Informant 2 Haben	30	Male	Eritrea	BBB
Informant 3 Yazeed	35	Male	Armenia	ASKV house
Informant 4 Chidi	28	Male	Iran	BBB
Informant 5 Kibo	45	Male	Iran	BBB
Informant 6 Faiza	43	Female	Nigeria	ASKV house

Informant 7 Malaika	23	Female	Eritrea	ASKV house
Informant 8 Nala	28	Female	Somalia	ASKV house
Informant 9 Safia	28	Female	Eritrea	BBB
Informant 10 Kofi	32	Male	Sudan	ASKV house
Informant 11 Tevin	25	Male	Cote d'Ivoire	AZC
Informant 12 Daren	32	Male	Colombia	Rents own room
Informant 13 Juma	27	Male	Colombia	Rents own room

Observation

Another key method of data collection in case study research is observation (Clifford et al. 2016). For this research both the clients of ASKV, as well as the people working and volunteering there, were observed. This has been done by using the method of participant observation. This method of observation relies on the researchers participation in the process or situation that he or she is observing. Participant observation can help to identify patterns, show similarities, and it can help to uncover differences. The power of this method lies in “its intimacy with, and grounded perspective upon, the places, practices and people studied” (Clifford et al., 2016, p. 170). By participating at the NGO through working as a volunteer, the researcher had full access to the clients and could observe their behaviour freely. The used method of observation was to write down things that stood out and to take note of small talk conversations that were held with people that could provide additional insights and knowledge on top of the other used methods. These notes can be found in the appendixes.

Document analysis

The results gathered from the fieldwork have to be supported by current knowledge, which can be found by performing desk research. A third common method in case study data collection is therefore document analysis (Clifford et al. 2016). Document analysis has mainly been used to provide a background to the case study. Furthermore it has been used to write the theoretical

framework. The knowledge uncovered from document analysis can thus be seen as the basis upon which this research lies. Various types of documents were used, ranging from scientific articles and books to newspaper articles. An overview of the used documents can be found in the list of sources.

3.3 Data analysis

The type of analysis that will be performed is an embedded analysis i.e. an analysis on specific aspects of the case (Creswell, 2013). The first aspect that will be analysed will be the feelings of belonging of undocumented people and the second aspect that will be analysed will be the influence of NGO's on that feeling of belonging.

The analysis will start with the transcription of the interviews and by grouping of all the notes made of the observations. After this initial stage, the data will be coded in order to find themes and patterns. After coding and identifying themes and patterns, the final interpretive phase of analysis emerges. In this phase a detailed description of the case can be made. In this description the results of the fieldwork will be presented by using quotes and stories derived from the interviews.

From these results conclusions can be formed about the overall meaning derived from the case. It is however difficult to generalize these results to other cases. Because there is only one case studied in this research, the external validity is under pressure. "The fewer cases studied, which is often needed for achieving in depth knowledge, the more difficult it is to apply the results to a broader population on interest or to similar cases." (Verschuren and Doorewaard 2007, p. 185). Despite the relatively low external validity of the study, the results that follow from this research can provide a meaningful contribution to the existing theory. The reason for this is that this research makes a relatively new connection between being undocumented and belonging. Furthermore policy recommendations will be provided that are based on the results from this case.

3.4 Justification of the research site

As stated before, the research site of this thesis will be the city of Amsterdam. Since the sixteenth century, Amsterdam has been at the core of the Dutch society when it concerns economics, politics and culture. Amsterdam has always been, and still is, the largest city and is the capital of the Netherlands. In figure 9 a map can be found that shows the geographical location of Amsterdam.



Figure 9. Geographical location of Amsterdam.

The city has a reputation as a very international or global place and is known for its tolerance.

Tolerance towards sex and drugs, but also tolerance towards cultural diversity and migrants (Nijman, 1999).

This tolerance and the popularity of Amsterdam for migrants started in the 15th century. In 1585 Amsterdam's biggest competitor Antwerp was occupied by the Spanish and therefore not able to function. This led to the immigration of many entrepreneurial South Dutch people who gave a huge boost to the economy, the city became a metropolis. The municipality had a very tolerant attitude towards people with other religions than Calvinism, and towards migrants. The tolerant attitude was not out of ideological viewpoints, it was pure pragmatism. The trade was not to be hindered (OnsAmsterdam, 2004). Because of this tolerance, Amsterdam has become and still is an attractive city to immigrants.

On January first in 2018 the city counted 855.965 inhabitants, meaning that in 2017, the city gained approximately 11.000 people, mainly through migration (Couzy, 2018). Undocumented people are not a part of these figures since they are in the country illegally. It is therefore not clear how many undocumented people there are in Amsterdam. Officials say that through the programs like the Vreemdelingenprogramma, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4, the Bed, Bath and Bread facilities and the registers of NGO's, approximately 500 undocumented people are known to be in

Amsterdam. Besides these 500 people, there are hundreds more who remain in the shadows and survive on the streets of the city (Keulemans, 2017).

Amsterdam thus forms the home of many undocumented people, which is one of the main reasons why Amsterdam has been chosen as the site where the fieldwork for this research will be performed. The city is home to many NGO's that offer aid to undocumented people, which is another reason why Amsterdam has been chosen as the research site. These NGO's increase the visibility of the group of undocumented people and make that the group is easier to locate and therefore easier to research. Because Amsterdam is the home to many undocumented people, the research group will be more varied in gender, age and background. This leads to the expectation that the research will have a higher validity.

3.5 Justification of the research organisation

There are many NGO's that help undocumented people in Amsterdam. According to Chris Keulemans (2017) there are about 24 organisations active in the city to help undocumented people including, Leger des Heils, HVO-Querido, Wereldhuis, Vluchtelingenwerk, Equator Foundation, Bridge to Better, and de Regenboog. The organisation at which this research was performed, is ASKV.

Approximately 30 years ago, the Amsterdams Solidariteits Komitee Vluchtelingen (ASKV/ refugee support) was established. ASKV/ refugee support is an Amsterdam-based organisation that supports undocumented refugees by providing shelter, legal and social assistance, daytime activities, and vocational training (ASKV, n.d.).

ASKV/ refugee support has particular expertise in providing housing in the form of temporary shelter, social support, and counselling to undocumented refugees with psychiatric conditions. The part of the organisation called Project Activering Ongedocumenteerden (PAO) also organizes Dutch language training, courses focused on entrepreneurial skills, and future orientation seminars to increase knowledge, competence, and confidence so that undocumented refugees can have the best possible chances of making a life for themselves in the Netherlands (ASKV, n.d.). In addition to direct assistance, ASKV/ refugee support is an advocate for refugee rights, both locally and nationally. The organisation engages in direct policy advocacy, and furthermore organizes debates with policy makers for the general public. ASKV also engages in awareness campaigns to bring these issues into the public debate (ASKV, n.d.).

One reason why ASKV was chosen as the organisation to perform this research at, is because ASKV is one of the best known organisations in the Netherlands when it comes to offering aid to undocumented people. Also ASKV's unique combination of social help and juridical assistance offered possibilities to both broaden and deepen this research.

Another reason, and possibly the most important reason, why the ASKV was chosen to perform the fieldwork of this research at, is the access that they were willing to give to their clients.

3.6 Ethical considerations

This research is completely dependent on the input of undocumented people and at ASKV it was possible to develop a bond with their clients and eventually interview them. This bond could be formed because the researcher functioned as a social worker in the organisation.

Even though it is possible to form a bond with the clients of ASKV, one must be careful when forming such a bond, because undocumented people are considered as vulnerable. The reason why these people are considered as vulnerable is because of their background as refugee which in many cases has caused emotional problems such as PTSD. Another reason why these people are considered as vulnerable is because when they are found by the immigration police they risk getting deported.

ASKV thus wants to keep them anonymous and out of the spotlight to keep them as safe as possible and to give them a chance to heal without being afraid.

Because of this vulnerability particular care must be taken when entering and also exiting the field.

Therefore all the names of people who were interviewed have been anonymized. Furthermore all work must be carefully checked for its ethical implications. In order to be able to start my fieldwork at this NGO I had to sign a document that stated their rules and regulations regarding the interaction with undocumented people. With this the codes of conduct and agreed good practice of ASKV have been followed.

3.7 Reflection of methods

Before starting the fieldwork at the organisation, I had made a deal that I would do volunteer work for them as a social worker. By doing this volunteer work I would be able to establish a bond of trust with clients, which would make it easier to interview them later. Although this worked in some cases, it was harder to interview people than it originally seemed. Multiple reasons can be indicated as to why this was the case. The first reason is that people often don't remember their appointments and don't show up when they are supposed to, for example I had to reschedule three times with one person. Another reason is the language barrier. Most people don't speak Dutch or English and the translators used are also undocumented people who do speak Dutch or English. This works when you are trying to get everyday things done, but outside of this the language skills are not sufficient which makes communication difficult. The final reason that made interviewing people hard is their low education level. Many people who come to ASKV are not able to read or write, which makes some questions difficult to answer, for example the question to give a grade to how much they feel at home in the place where they stay.

Another aspect of the methodology that needs reflection is the method of observation. Because I was doing social work with the clients I had the opportunity to observe the people and the situation very closely. I was able to see where and how the people lived and who their friends are. People also trusted me and told me about their lives and their situation. Although this gave me a unique opportunity to do observations, my close connection with the undocumented people also increases the risk that the observations become biased. To eliminate that risk and increase transparency I made sure that I kept my notes in order. Every time that I observed something I wrote it down and went back at a later time to review these notes.

4| Defining the context

As explained in chapter 2, people's feelings of belonging are influenced by the reception they get in their host country. So, in order to identify the feelings of undocumented migrants it is important to know the context of reception that is established by the host population. This context is mainly set by the policies regarding immigration and integration. It is therefore imperative that one knows about these policies in order to analyse the feelings of belonging of undocumented migrants.

The Netherlands is a member of the European Union and therefore has to follow the laws and policies of the EU. This means that the migration policies have to be analysed on three different levels namely, at the European level, at the national level and on the municipal level.

As discussed earlier, migration is not a new phenomenon. Therefore, this chapter will cover the development of policy in relation to migration history. First the policies of the European Union will be discussed, then follow the policies made by the Dutch government, the chapter will end by analysing the policies made by the municipal government of Amsterdam.

4.1 Defining the legal background of the European Union

The development of the European migration policy

During the 1950s and 1960s most western European countries experienced an inflow of immigrants who were there primarily as extra workforce. The economic situation was booming and there were shortages in cheap and flexible workers. Countries like France, Germany and the Netherlands used a permissive and promotional migration policy motivated by their need for extra labour (Castles, 1986). In the late 1960 and the 1970s these national immigration policies changed to more control-oriented and restrictive when immigration increasingly became a subject of public concern. Although the policy changed and became more restrictive, the immigrant population continued to grow due to a permissive policy regarding immigration on the basis of family reunion. The guest workers and their families had become permanent settlers (Huysman, 2000). During this period, migration policy was not an important issue for the European Community. That changed during the 1970s when the European Community became interested in migration. At this time there were approximately 10 million migrant workers in Europe, many of them from Turkey, India, Pakistan, British, Dutch and French colonies of the Caribbean, various African countries and the East Indies (Okólski, 2012, p. 27). The increase in interest was connected to the enlargement of the European Community to the UK, Ireland and Denmark and led to the first important step in the development of common positions on migration in the European Community, namely the adoption of the action programme in favour of migrant workers and their families in 1974 (Huysman, 2000). "Since the beginning of the 1980s migration and asylum policy in Europe has increasingly been elaborated in supranational forums and

implemented by transnational actors.” (Guiraudon, 2000, p. 251). In other words, since the 1980s migration policy has become more and more Europeanized.

The period after 1980 can be characterized as the period of asylum seekers, refugees, and illegal immigrants. This period was one of political upheaval, particularly in Eastern Europe with the fall of the Soviet Union. People from former Soviet countries started to join the thousands of people fleeing conflict elsewhere and came to Western Europe to seek asylum. As the immigration policy was tightened, people who previously travelled as guest workers, were now directed to the ‘asylum door’ (Stalker, 2002). In the period of 1989-1998, over 4 million people applied for asylum in Europe. Of these people, 43 percent came from elsewhere in Europe, 35 percent came from Asia and 19 percent came from Africa (Salt, 2000). As the number of asylum seekers started to rise, Western European governments started to tighten up on asylum applications, and more people tried to enter illegally, either travelling on their own initiative or with the help of smugglers (Stalker, 2002).

The greater securitization of migration policy is related to the creation of the internal market. With the Single European Act (1986) internal borders were abolished and an internal market with free flow of goods, people, services and capital was established. To guarantee a sufficient level of control over who and what can legitimately enter this space of free movement, the controls at the external borders were strengthened (Huysman, 2000). Following on from the Single European Act and the Schengen agreement, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 was signed. From then on the internal security, including migration policy, was no longer a part of the Community pillar but instead formed a new intergovernmental third pillar on Justice and Home Affairs. Soon dissatisfaction with this approach emerged. The reason for this was that internal security ministry officials shunned cooperation and guarded their national legal systems jealously, therefore the 1990s saw only a handful of specific actions. In the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam it was mandated that the sections of the Third pillar relating to immigration, asylum, visas would become part of the Community pillar (Bomberg, Peterson and Corbett, 2012).

Also in 1997 the Dublin convention was held. In the case of asylum seekers this convention is known to be the most significant effort at establishing common frontiers. The Dublin convention i.a. states that asylum seekers must apply for asylum in the first EU country in which they ‘land’ (Stalker, 2002, p.166). Someone who for example enters the European Union in Italy, must apply for asylum in Italy. Other EU countries will send the “Dublin claimant” back to their country of entry. The Dublin claim however expires after 18 months. Many of the undocumented people in the Netherlands, are hiding for these 18 months so that they can apply for asylum in the Netherlands.

During a meeting of the European Council in Tampere in 1999, the need for a common European policy on asylum and immigration was established. A blueprint was set out that contained all the headings for such a strategy: common entry and post-entry standards for asylum seekers; the management of immigration policy, as well as the integration of third country nationals; and the need to address the causes and push factors of migration, leading to partnerships with source countries (Moraes, 2003). The European Council had decided that the common European asylum system should be implemented in two phases. The first-phase instruments would be implemented through the Tampere programme and the second-phase instruments would be implemented through its successor, namely The Hague programme. This programme started in 2004 and would again last 5 years (European Parliament, 2018).

The European Pact on Migration and Asylum, adopted on 16 October 2008, 'solemnly reiterates that any persecuted foreigner is entitled to obtain aid and protection on the territory of the European Union in application of the Geneva Convention' (European Parliament, 2008, p. 4). In this pact the European Council makes five basic commitments, namely: to organise legal immigration, to control illegal immigration, to make border controls more effective, to construct a Europe of asylum and to create a partnership with countries of origin. Furthermore it calls for the establishment of a single asylum procedure, which comprises common guarantees and adopts a uniform status for refugees and other beneficiaries of subsidiary protection (Council of the European Union, 2008).

The Hague Programme was succeeded by the Stockholm programme, which was adopted by the European Council on 10 December 2009 for the 2010-2014 period. This programme reaffirms 'the objective of establishing a common area of protection and solidarity based on a common asylum procedure and a uniform status for those granted international protection'. The programme focussed in particular on the central role that would be played by the new European Asylum Support Office and on the need to promote solidarity with Member States that faced the greater pressures of migration (European Parliament, 2018).

Building on the progress that was achieved by the Stockholm Programme, the European Council defined strategic guidelines for legislative and operational planning within the area of freedom, security and justice for the coming years. These guidelines stress that it must be a priority to effectively implement the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) (European Parliament, 2018). Since then the European Union has dealt with the so called 'refugee crisis'. In 2015 more than 3.2 million refugees have applied for protection in the EU, most of these people fled from the war in Syria and other troubled countries. The common migration and asylum policy was designed to deal with the many challenges generated by immigration into the EU, and was used to deal with the crisis. Projects to address the most urgent humanitarian needs of the refugees were financed,

humanitarian aid to refugees and migrants in countries outside of the EU was provided and the EU has supported work to address the root causes of irregular migration (European Commission, 2018). A proposal from the European Commission to relocate asylum seekers from Greece and Italy to other Member States was accepted and implemented.

Furthermore the Union is working on increasing the rate of returns of irregular migrants with no right to stay in the Union. In 2016 the arrival of irregular migrants has been decreased through an agreement with Turkey that all irregular migrants and asylum seekers arriving on the Greek Islands from Turkey may be returned to Turkey. In exchange for this, for every person that is returned the EU will take in a migrant that has not crossed in an irregular way.

The crisis has led the European Commission to propose a deep reform of existing asylum laws, so that they are in line with current and future needs. Asylum seekers still need to apply in the first Member States that they arrive in, unless they have family elsewhere, however there must be solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility within the European Union (European Commission, 2018).

Relevance of European policy

Despite the efforts of the EU to implement a common European migration policy, currently Member States still determine their own migration policies. The influence of the Union is limited to setting minimum norms and -procedures for asylum seekers that are set up to protect those who need it and to prevent abuse. It is for example determined how and where an asylum request should be taken on, what the status is of people who have applied for asylum, who have been granted asylum and what responsibility the national authorities of the Member States have in complying with these rules (European Union, 2018).

However EU member states are working towards a coherent European immigration policy to take advantage of the benefits of legal immigration while simultaneously addressing the burden that is illegal immigration. The aim is to respond to the needs and priorities of all EU countries and to promote the integration of immigrants from outside the EU into their host country. The European Union also wants to manage legal immigration and prevent illegal immigration through partnerships with countries from which many immigrants come or travel. The EU tries to limit immigration by stimulating development in home countries and promoting the rule of law and human rights (European Union, 2018). In chapter 5 and 6 it will become clear what the effects are of the European policies on undocumented migrants in the Netherlands and how they influence their feelings of belonging.

4.2 Defining the legal background of the Netherlands

The development of Dutch migration policy

The first law to regulate migration into the Netherlands was made in 1849. It the first time that a fundamental distinction was made between Dutch citizens and foreigners. The new law was called the Aliens Act (vreemdelingenwet) and served as an instrument to regulating the arrival of 'unwanted' people. The Aliens Act made that it was mandatory for aliens to report to the Dutch police, who then determined if the person was allowed to stay in the country (Wörmann, 2012).

Immigration into the Netherlands can roughly be divided into three phases: labour migration was followed by migration with reasons of family reunion, which in turn was succeeded by the phase that is characterized by the arrival of large amounts of asylum seekers. Each of these phases has led to changes in the existing migration policy.

After world war 2 and the de-colonization period, the Netherlands became a country of emigration. Many Dutch citizens moved overseas to countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In the same period the country was affected by high rates of return migration from European colonists and by the inflow of workers from their former overseas territories (Bauer, Lofstrom and Zimmermann, 2000). In the late 1950 and early 1960s a new period started, the period of labour migration. During this time the Netherlands experienced high levels of economic growth, which had led to shortages in the labour market. Because of these shortages, a very lenient policy towards migration was adopted. The Netherlands was among the group of western European countries that experienced a large inflow of guest workers, mainly from Turkey and Morocco (Penninx, 2006).

The Aliens Act of 1849 was revised in 1965 in order to regulate the admission and deportation of foreigners by law. In the revised Act the legal status of migrants was improved, because the legal certainty of the various types of residence permits for migrants were now anchored in the law. The revised Aliens Act also stipulated in which cases a residence permit could be refused. Furthermore, the deportation of migrants was put under strict rules. The new Aliens Act was put into operation in 1967 (Wörmann, 2012).

In the 1970s the migration policy became stricter due to the fear for a recession after the first oil price shock. During this time, the Dutch population became more aware of the consequences of the recruitment of the guest workers and social tension rose. Although the active recruitment of guest workers stopped and the immigration policy had become more restrictive, the number of migrants kept increasing. The guest worker programme was designed for temporary migration, however return migration was difficult to induce (Dustmann, 1996). On top of that, the Dutch government continued to allow the guest workers to bring their families to the Netherlands. Immigration in the period from 1974-1988 was therefore largely determined by family reunification (Bauer, 2000).

The disappearance of borders within the EU contributed to a rise in labour migration from central and eastern European countries. Although the immigration to the Netherlands since 1988 was mainly dominated by both east-west migration and the inflow of asylum seekers and refugees, the third phase of migration is characterised by asylum seekers. Especially in the period 1990-2000 when large groups of asylum seekers came to the Netherlands (Engbersen, 2012).

Due to this significant increase in asylum requests, the Aliens Act was revised again in 1994. The purpose of this revision was to limit the number of procedures concerning admission and deportation and also to shorten the length of the procedures (Wörmann, 2012). Also in 1994 the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) was established. The IND specifically focusses on the efficient implementation of the asylum and migration policy. Despite the amendment of the Aliens Act, immigration procedures continued to take a very long time and number of application continued to be high. In order to better regulate the asylum policy and to reduce the number of asylum applications, the law was revised again. On the first of April 2000 the Aliens Act 2000 came into effect. In this new law it was particularly important to end the long-term uncertainty for asylum seekers about 'staying or returning' by instating better and faster procedures. Now there is only one temporary asylum permit, which can be converted into a definitive residence status after five years. The Aliens Act 2000 still is the most important law about asylum and migration in the Netherlands (Wörmann, 2012).

In the years 2000-2010 the migration flow to the Netherlands was mainly dominated by family reunion migrants, labour migrants, migrants who come for their studies and asylum seekers. The Arab spring and the Syrian war that followed were cause for an increase in the amount of refugees. Since the summer of 2015 the number of refugees entering the European Union has doubled (Government of the Netherlands, n.d.). Currently the migration to the Netherlands is mainly dominated by refugees from the Syrian War and from other troubled countries (Vluchtelingenwerk, n.d.).

Current migration policy

The Aliens Act 2000 outlines the conditions under which a person will be granted asylum and get a residence permit. In the Netherlands a person is eligible for a residence permit when he or she falls into one of the following categories (IND, 2015):

- That person has a well-founded fear of persecution in his or her country of origin because of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or because you belong to a particular social group.
- That person has well-founded reasons to fear the death penalty or execution, torture or another form of inhumane or humiliating treatment in his or her country of origin.
- That person has well-founded reasons to fear becoming a victim of random violence from armed

conflict in his or her country of origin.

- That person has a spouse, partner, father, mother or minor child who recently received an asylum residence permit in the Netherlands.

To qualify for a residence permit a person must go through an asylum procedure. This procedure starts when the person applies for asylum. What kind of procedure will follow after someone applies for asylum depends on the place where the request for asylum is made clear. Foreign nationals seeking asylum who come into the Netherlands over land must report to the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) at Ter Apel. After identification and registration, asylum seekers are transferred to a reception centre, where they will prepare for their asylum procedure. People seeking asylum who come into the Netherlands by plane must report to the Royal Netherlands Marechaussee at Schiphol Airport. There he or she will be denied admission into the Netherlands and a border procedure is started to handle their application for asylum. The asylum seeker remains in the application centre at Schiphol Airport during this procedure. A special accelerated asylum procedure applies to people who are from a country that is listed as a safe country. The accelerated procedure is also used when there are indications that the asylum seeker has a Dublin claim, meaning that he or she already receives protection in another EU Member State (Government of the Netherlands, n.d.).

The asylum procedure that starts when a person reports to the IND at Ter Apel, is considered as the regular asylum procedure. After identification and registration, which is done in the reporting interview, the asylum seeker is given time to rest and to prepare him- or herself for the coming procedure. The rest and preparation period (RVT) lasts 6 days and is spent in a reception centre. The central agency for the reception of asylum seekers (COA) is responsible for the reception, supervision and departure (from the reception centre) of asylum seekers (IND, n.d.).

After the RVT the general asylum procedure will start, which lasts 8 days. In this procedure there will be an initial interview on day one and a detailed interview on day three. After these interviews, the IND will make a decision regarding the granting of a temporary residence permit. Three decisions are possible: the asylum seeker will be granted a temporary asylum residence permit, the IND needs more time to make a decision which means that the Extended Asylum Procedure will start, or the asylum permit will not be granted. When the latter happens, the rejected asylum seeker is transferred to another asylum seekers' centre. Here people get 28 days to arrange their return to the country of origin, with the help of the Repatriation and Departure Service (DT&V). After these 28 days, the right to reception is lost. If a person does not return by him- or herself, a forced return will take place (IND, n.d.).

In reality however, many of the rejected asylum seekers don't leave the Netherlands. In 2017, approximately 5000 people did not leave the country while they were supposed to, which is around 25 percent of all the rejected asylum seekers (Navis, 2018).

Rejected asylum seekers who stay in the Netherlands after their period of 28 days has expired are considered to be in the country illegally. These people are often called undocumented migrants. They have limited rights to public resources, which is regulated in the Benefit Entitlement (Residence Status) Act (de Koppelingswet) of 1998. In this law a distinction is made between lawful and illegally residing foreign nationals. The Benefit Entitlement Act is an adaptation of the Aliens Act and has the aim to regulate the entitlement of foreign nationals to benefits, provisions, exemptions and permits to their lawful residence in the Netherlands. People who are not residing in the Netherlands legally, including undocumented migrants, are generally refused benefits. There are however, exceptions to the Benefit Entitlement Act. Some facilities are accessible to all foreign nationals including undocumented migrants (Brouwer, Cleton and Cnossen, 2017). Brouwer et al. (2017) outline in their paper the rights of rejected asylum seekers. Using this source, their rights will be discussed.

The access to shelter

In principle, rejected asylum seekers have no right to shelter. Families with minors can be accommodated in a family location (gezinslocatie) of the DT&V. In this location the family does have to work with DT&V towards their departure. The Dutch government believes that providing accommodation to aliens who have exhausted all legal remedies, undermines the credibility and sustainability of Dutch asylum policy. Therefore, no shelter has been arranged, by the Dutch government, for undocumented people who do not actively cooperate with their departure. An exception to this policy are people whose medical circumstances demand otherwise.

In practice, however, on the local level multiple arrangements have been made for undocumented people. This has led to a political and social discussion called the "bed, bath and bread" discussion. The central question was whether there is an international legal obligation for the Netherlands to provide unconditional care to non-legally residing foreign nationals. After intensive discussions and a lot of media attention, the government parties VVD and PvdA reached a compromise. They agreed that illegal immigrants would be entitled to temporary relief in a limited number of municipalities, which would be called Local Aliens Facilities (LVVs). In other municipalities emergency shelters would be closed. The government was in discussion with the municipalities about the details of this plan. However, negotiations were discontinued in November 2016, due to the uncertainty that the opening of the LVVs would lead to the municipalities actually closing their bed, bath and bread facilities. An agreement was not reached and the bed, bath and bread facilities are still the main providers of shelter for undocumented migrants.

The right to work

Rejected asylum seekers are not allowed to work in the Netherlands. In practice, however, it occurs that they provide an income through undeclared work.

The access to legal aid

Foreign nationals are allowed to receive government funded legal assistance, regardless of their residence status. The Legal Aid Council will assess whether legal aid assistance is required and if a personal contribution is required. The personal contribution to the legal costs depends on the income of the person, and can also be exempted if that person has no income.

The access to social support

Even though it is not arranged by law, in practice it also occurs that special assistance is provided to undocumented migrants. The reason behind this is that municipalities can deviate from the legislation due to the fact that special assistance concerns a municipal decree. In addition, illegally staying foreign nationals sometimes receive financial and material support from charities or NGOs.

The access to health care

Rejected asylum seekers who reside in the Netherlands after the expiry of their departure decision, are still entitled to medical care. However, only the emergency medical care is free, other health care must be paid by the foreign national him- or herself. Healthcare providers in the Netherlands receive a contribution from the National Healthcare Institute in order to be able to pay the costs that are made. Undocumented migrants are not able to take out health insurance.

The right to education

Everyone who is residing in the Netherlands, including undocumented migrants, has to follow compulsory education until the age of eighteen. In principle, any rejected asylum seeker may complete his or her training, unless he or she can be deported. However, if deportation is not possible, the educational institution is not allowed to check whether the parents of the minor lawfully reside in the Netherlands or not.

Undocumented people also have many opportunities to follow Dutch lessons. Most organizations that provide assistance to people without a residence permit also offer their own language courses.

4.3 Defining the asylum policy implementation in Amsterdam

In the Netherlands municipalities are responsible for the local implementation of the national asylum policy. They translate the national policies to the local level by applying the rules to their jurisdiction. In this chapter the local implementation of the asylum policy in Amsterdam will be discussed.

When it comes to providing shelter, the rules of the national government are clear. Shelter is only for those that are willing to actively work towards their departure from the Netherlands. Even though the city of Amsterdam is encouraging migrants to work towards their return, they are offering shelter without conditions. By offering this kind of shelter the municipality of Amsterdam is going against national policy. The reason for this is that Amsterdam has to ensure the public order and quality of life for all the people in the city. The obligation to cooperate with their return for shelter, means that undocumented migrants often end up on the street, which increases homelessness and potential inconvenience for other people living in the city. According to the municipality, the state can point to legal obligation to departure, but practice shows that migrants who still see perspective will not leave. The order and liveability of the city must be guaranteed and the Bed, Bath and Bread (BBB) facilities only guarantee the lowest level of provisions possible (Vleeschhouwer, 2018). People can stay in the BBB from 16.00 to 09.00, they have the opportunity to shower and they will receive an evening meal and a breakfast (Amsterdam, n.d.). The difference in policy between the national government and the city of Amsterdam, is also visible by the way they react to We Are Here group. This group travels around Amsterdam and gets shelter through squatting. Although the municipality formally distances itself from squatting, in practice the squatting of the We Are Here group is usually tolerated. The alternative will be that more people are homeless, the shelters will be fuller and more potential inconvenience. The national government however does not see it in the same light. They would rather see the foreigners are punished for the squatting and that Amsterdam orders them to leave (Vleeschhouwer, 2018).

The newly elected local government plans on providing a new type of shelter for undocumented people. In this shelter five hundred people can stay 24 hours a day for the duration of eighteen months. After this time the people fall under the mercy of the mayor who then has to decide what will happen next (Isitman, 2018a) The shelter will be, like the BBB, without any conditions and during their stay people won't be arrested by the police for being illegal. The most controversial part of the plan is that the undocumented people staying in the new shelter will be working in the shelter. As stated before, it is against the law in the Netherlands for undocumented people to work. If Amsterdam executes this plan, the national government will probably step in. Currently, also undocumented people in Amsterdam are not allowed to work (Isitman, 2018b).

Besides offering shelter in the form of Bed, Bath and Bread, the city of Amsterdam has an Aliens Programme (Programma Vreemdelingen). With this programme the city wants to offer future prospects to undocumented people who want to work on their future, be it in the Netherlands or elsewhere, and it is focussed on guiding people towards either admission into the Netherlands or return to their country of origin. For the Aliens Programme the municipality works together with multiple NGO's, including ASKV /Steunpunt vluchtelingen, Vluchtelingenwerk (VW), Worldhouse, Bridge to Better, IOM and Leger des Heils. These NGO's offer assistance to undocumented people in the form of legal help, shelter, clothes, food, language course etc. (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). The target group of the Aliens programme are people who have been rejected by the IND for asylum, who are not allowed to stay in shelters provided by the national government and who are not from a country that is defined by the Dutch government as a 'safe' country. The person has to have a connection to Amsterdam, is not a (war) criminal, and wants to actively work towards a sustainable solution, meaning that return is a valid option.

The programme distinguishes three categories of undocumented people: people who want to return, people with a clear perspective to legally stay in the Netherlands, and people without a clear perspective. People with a clear perspective will be quickly be referred to the right NGO to help them. People without a clear perspective will first get an orientation phase to see what is possible and whether they are willing to seriously investigate the return perspective (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017).

The guidance process for all undocumented people who want to work on a solution is as follows: People who are willing to return voluntarily will receive guidance towards that goal. They also have the possibility to stay in a 24-hour shelter for a period of up to three months. During these three months the NGO that guides the person will make a trajectory plan with agreements and will monitor his or her progress (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017).

People who also want to investigate their perspective to legally stay in the Netherlands, are given a trajectory that will guide them towards both admission and return, in case the admission fails. Gatekeepers determine whether there is a promising legal perspective and a promising return perspective. The NGO that supervises the trajectory draws up a trajectory plan with agreements and monitors the progress. The public health service of Amsterdam (GGD) assesses whether there are people in this group that have such serious somatic and/or psychological problems, that it would be better for them to get 24-hour shelter for a limited period. Other people in this group stay at the regular BBB (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017).

During the trajectory there are multiple evaluations to see if people are actively participating and to see if the agreed work has been done and what results have been achieved. If someone does not meet the agreements, he or she loses the right to participate in the programme and the right to 24-

hour shelter. If no solution is reached within the duration of the trajectory, the undocumented person can go to a state shelter (Freedom Restrictive Location) or to the BBB (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017).

When it comes to medical care, Amsterdam has the same policy as the national government. Undocumented people have access to urgent medical care and they can go to a general practitioner, which is free of charge. Other forms of medical care will have to be paid for by the person him or herself. According to the national policy, for every drug prescription a personal contribution of five Euros must be paid. In Amsterdam undocumented people are relieved of this burden due to an emergency fund (Noodfonds Amsterdam) that is set up to help undocumented people get the medical care that they need (Dokters van de wereld, n.d.).

5| The influence of being undocumented

In this part attention will be paid to the feelings of belonging of undocumented people living in Amsterdam. This will be done by analysing the answers that were given by respondents during the interviews and by making use of observations that were made by the researcher during the fieldwork period. These observations and a summary of the interviews can be found in the appendixes, the following is a summary of the answers given in these interviews. Some information comes from literature, when this occurs the source will be provided using APA style of referencing.

5.1 Social belonging

During the operationalisation of social belonging the concept was split into four main categories. These categories are politics of belonging, cultural, social and economic. In this part of the chapter these four categories will be discussed.

Politics of belonging

Chapter 4 has already discussed the politics of belonging, by explaining the different policies and laws regarding migration and undocumented people in the European Union, the Netherlands and Amsterdam. Here the effect that these policies have on people's sense of belonging will be discussed.

The European policy that was brought up the most during the interviews is the Dublin Regulation. This regulation aims to determine which member state is responsible for the asylum claim. Usually, the responsible member state is the state through which the asylum seeker entered the European Union. Some of the respondents in this research have a Dublin claim, meaning that their asylum claim in the Netherlands is rejected based on the Dublin regulation. These people have two options, they go back to the country that is responsible for their claim and apply for asylum there or they go into hiding for eighteen months, after which their Dublin claim expires and it is possible for them to apply for asylum in the Netherlands.

During these eighteen months, people have to survive and have less rights than 'regular' undocumented people, they are, for example, not allowed to sleep in the Bed, bath and bread facilities. This has a negative influence on the development of place identity, since people feel that they are not allowed to join in, they are not allowed to feel like they are at home. "I like but I don't feel Dutch because I am undocumented" (Haben, personal communication, 2017). The eighteen month period can, on the other hand, have a positive influence on the development of feelings of social belonging. Sharing the same problems can create a bond between people, which is visible in Amsterdam. People with a Dublin claim are often in contact with fellow claimants, who they meet through the different NGO's. They form, so to speak, a group within the group of undocumented

people and help each other out where they can, for example by translating for someone who does not speak Dutch or English.

‘Regular’ undocumented people also have trouble developing feelings of place belongingness. The reason behind this is the strict asylum policy of the Netherlands. People who have been denied asylum feel like they are not welcome in the country, which stands in the way of the development of place identity. “I am undocumented, so I am not allowed to feel Dutch” (Tevin, personal communication, 2017). Another example that shows that the development of place identity is limited due to the strict governmental policy is that respondents often mention that they are willing to work or want to go to school, but are withheld from these things because they are undocumented. Being undocumented thus has a negative influence on people’s feelings of belonging and on their integration into the Netherlands.

When asked about their feelings of belonging towards Amsterdam, most of the respondents indicated that their feelings of belonging towards Amsterdam are greater than their feelings of belonging towards the Netherlands. This can partially be explained by the presence of NGO’s in the city. These NGO’s are there to help undocumented people and cause people to think of the city as more lenient than the national government, even though Amsterdam has to follow national rules. Another explanation can be found in the diversity of people who live in Amsterdam. This difference in place identity feelings will be discussed further in chapter 5.2.

Cultural

Many of the undocumented migrants, who were able to choose the country that they were migrating to, have chosen to come to the Netherlands because of its reputation as tolerant towards other cultures. “When I was coming to Europe the reason why I came to the Netherlands is the support for black and tolerance for black people.” (Talisa, personal communication, 2017). Not only the support and tolerance towards other cultures was mentioned as a pull factor, also the tolerance towards LGBT people and the already existing community of LGBT people is a massive pull factor for people who identify as LGBT. All of the LGBT respondents, Faiza, Nala, Daren and Juma, stated that they “feel that Amsterdam is a good place for LGBT people”. Nala said that she loved Amsterdam because “everywhere you go you see the LGBT flag and no one has a question about LGBT.” This makes people feel safe and accepted in the city.

It became clear that the acceptance of different cultures is an important factor in the decision of people to come to Amsterdam, when the question was asked why people moved to Amsterdam after their asylum claim was rejected. Almost all of the respondents answered that they chose to come to Amsterdam because of the amount of different nationalities and cultures in the city. “Having

diversity in a city is important for me” (Malaika, personal communication, 2017). People don’t feel like they stand out when they walk through the city which does not only increase the feeling of belonging, but also the feeling of safety. Being undocumented means that that person is in the country illegally, if he or she gets stopped by the police and cannot produce legal documented he or she can be held in captivity and deported, which makes going up in the crowd and not standing out a way of survival. Talisa stated that “if they catch you, you go to jail. And look at my age, if I go to jail I don’t want to live.”

Some respondents also say that they find other forms of culture important when choosing a city to live in. Yazeed and his family have chosen to come to Amsterdam partially because of the architecture and the museums.

A very important cultural aspect in people’s lives is religion and the freedom to practice their chosen religion. Some respondents have fled their country because of their religion. In the Netherlands and in Amsterdam it is possible for them to practice their religion in safety and be who they want to be without being afraid. This safety however is partially dependent on what type of shelter someone has. In the Bed, bath and bread facilities for example, all religions are mixed which can be the cause of some tension. Most of the people who sleep in the BBB facilities are Muslim, which makes that Muslim practices are accepted while people with other religions have to be more careful. For example, Chidi and Kibo are Christian and they stated that when they practice their religion in the BBB they will be bullied and ridiculed by other people.

Due to its international outlook, most people in the Netherlands speak Dutch and English. This makes the integration easier for the undocumented people. All of the people that were interviewed say they feel that speaking either Dutch or English makes life easier. “It is not difficult for me, I can communicate with people in an easy way.” (Haben, personal communication, 2017).

Although English works fine to get around, it is preferred by all to be able to speak Dutch. Kibo stated that he thinks that speaking Dutch makes him feel more connected to the Netherlands. “If I don’t understand English, I can never go to the future, never. You know language is very important and for many people is the challenge. Language of course, in Netherlands Dutch language is very important. If someone do not understand English and Dutch it is very big problem for them. So I, myself want to learn Dutch beside English to integrate.”

When people don’t speak either Dutch or English, it is hard to communicate which make their lives more difficult. These people have to make use of translators when coming to NGO’s for help. Often these translators are people who come from the same country and who they met not that long ago and who are not trained translators. For example at ASKV many of the new clients are from Eritrea and don’t speak Dutch or English. Often they ask someone to translate for them who they just met

and who can only speak a few words in English. This leads to for example entire sentences being translated with only one or two words, which in turn can lead to misunderstandings and miscommunication. These situations can be quite difficult for both parties involved. Making use of a translator that is not familiar and who is a part of the community of undocumented people, also leads to people not opening up completely because they might be embarrassed, which can make it difficult for an NGO to help. Learning Dutch is thus a significant step in the integration of undocumented people and in the development of them feeling like they are Dutch. When speaking the dominant language of the host country people no longer feel like a complete outsider.

Economic

A second reason why people go to Amsterdam after they have to leave the AZC is because they think that in Amsterdam they have better chances of getting shelter. Most people stay in the Bed, bath and bread facilities, which has the capacity to house 170 people (Pen, 2017). The BBB facilities are open from 4 in the afternoon until 9 am the next day. During this time people can get a hot meal, a shower, a bed and breakfast the next day. Between 9 and 4 the BBB is closed and the people have to spend their time elsewhere, usually outside. The BBB however, is not available to all undocumented people. People with a Dublin claim and people who are from, by the government determined 'safe' countries, are not allowed to sleep in the BBB facilities. Because of this rule, these people have to find other kinds of shelter and often end up sleeping on the streets.

Other options for shelter are 24-hour BBB, which is only for people who have a serious medical condition, shelter from a charity or NGO like ASKV, an apartment or room that is rented by the people themselves or people can stay with other people, whom they know from church for example. Most of the time undocumented people don't have much of a choice where they live or sleep and they are grateful with whatever they can get. The overall opinion is that everything is better than sleeping on the street. "I don't have anything. I am happy with any shelter." (Malaika, personal communication, 2017).

People who reside in the Netherlands illegally are not allowed to work, which means that they either have to survive on the charity of others, or work informally. Some people get money from the municipality through the aliens programme so they can rent their own house/room. People who live in a house of ASKV get approximately 200 Euro per month living money, so they can buy groceries.

Social

Another reason Amsterdam is chosen as place to go to after being rejected is because of the connections that people already have or they feel that they can make in the city. Having a social network and people that you are connected with is very important in a person's life. People have a

need to belong, which causes the drive to form and maintain lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships. People can form bonds and start relationships readily under most conditions. This is also expressed by all the respondents, who indicated that they make friends everywhere they go because love and support is something they need in their lives. “I need peoples love, I need love.” (Faiza, personal communication, 2017).

Situations in which people are forced to live together, for example in an AZC or BBB, are ideal for meeting other people. “I meet some people, and you can change telephone number, you can communicate in the future.” (Faiza, personal communication, 2017). Other places where (undocumented) people gather, like the church, Worldhouse and LGBT groups are places where friendships are formed. Connections are thus mainly formed with other undocumented people, but not solely with undocumented people, most respondents are also in contact with some Dutch people or with people who are documented.

What stands out is the amount of respect that people have for each other, despite their different nationalities or differences in colour. “So we, everybody respects each other, despite your nationality or despite your colour we have respect for each other and we live together as one family we don't make problems for each other.” (Faiza, personal communication, 2017). Because of this respect people can live together peacefully and take care of each other.

Many people feel that they are part of a community. Worldhouse is often mentioned when they are asked about that community. In the Worldhouse undocumented people gather during the day, they can have lunch together and hang out. An important base for a community is nationality. People often make connections with people who come from the same country as they do. “I meet some people in the church, I meet some people in the street because some people would look at you and say he where do you come from. I say I come from so so place, and they say he I am also from that place. So you can exchange number to telephone.” (Faiza, personal communication, 2017). Having the same background thus serves as a binding factor and leads to the formation of a group or community. The people within these communities often help each other with for example translation or finding a place to sleep. Tevin stated that he came to Amsterdam because he already knew people there. “I already knew people here. African, Ivorian people like me.”

Communities are also formed based on religion or sexuality. The church is an important place when it comes to meeting people. Many of the connections that undocumented people have with Dutch people are formed in church. Other great meeting places are LGBT organisations. Here people not only meet undocumented people but also Dutch people and people who are documented. “Some time we were in COC – and LGBTQ organisation – and in this place there are many people that come

from other country and also from this country and you have to opportunity for to talk with all the people and you have connection with the right sort of people.” (Daren and Juma, personal communication, 2017).

Connections are thus made quickly and communities are formed easily, however not everyone stays in contact forever. Most connections that are made will fade once the shared bond, for example living together, is over. “I meet a lot of people, but I don't see them anymore.” (Safia, personal communication, 2017). Also not everyone is automatically part of the community. When someone does not follow the ‘normal’ code, which happens when for example someone has HIV or has a different religion, he or she is treated as an outsider and might even be bullied.

5.2 Place identity

The concept of place identity can be analysed on multiple scales. People can develop strong feelings of belonging towards a city or country that they live in. During the gathering of the results attention was paid to these different scales. They will be discussed in the following order, the home level will come first and is followed by the city level. Lastly the national level will be discussed.

The home level

When it comes to feeling at home, multiple aspects can be identified as important. The interviews showed that the most important aspect for people is their safety. All respondents indicate that they feel more at home in a place where they feel safe. Faiza went as far as to state that she would rather sleep on the streets in the Netherlands than go back to her own country, because she considered sleeping on the streets as the safer option. “I was thinking even sleeping on the street is better for me because nobody will kill me on the street or molest me on the street again.”

Another important aspect, which is related to feeling safe, is that the house needs to offer peace. The respondents indicated that they feel more at home when the house they live in feels peaceful, i.e. the house is a place where they can rest and be themselves.

Undocumented people can stay in different kinds of shelter, for example the Bed, bath and bread facilities or a room in a house that is managed by a NGO. Many of these options mean that the room is shared with other people. The development of someone’s place identity, is influenced by the people he or she is living with. If the people do not except you, it is hard to love the house you live in and therefore to develop the feeling that you are at home there. “Sometimes I feel like what needs to be changed is people I live with.” (Kofi, personal communication, 2017). But when people do except each other and there is mutual respect the house can become a home that offers connections to other people. “So we, everybody respects each other, despite your nationality or despite your colour we have respect for each other and eh and eh yeah, we live together as one family.” (Faiza,

personal communication, 2017). Not only the people that live in the same house are considered as important for the development of place identity. Many respondents indicated that they feel more at home in a place where they have friends or family close by.

A last factor that was mentioned by Kofi, to have a positive influence on feeling at home is having facilities like a hospital or pharmacy close by.

Place identity is used in this research as a synonym of feeling at home in a place. Although this description of the concept puts the focus on the home of people, other places are also part of a person's place identity, for example the workplace, the school or a clubhouse. For undocumented people the places that are the most important for their development of a place identity, besides their shelter, are the places that offer social connections and places that activities, like language courses, take place in. For the people who have to spend their days on the streets, e.g. people who stay in the BBB facilities, places that offer them shelter during the day are very important and can feel like home.

The city level

At the city level, safety is again mentioned as an influencing factor on people's place identity. Another factor that makes Amsterdam a place where undocumented people feel at home is the diversity. When people are asked why they moved to Amsterdam almost everyone mentioned the diversity of the population, which makes people feel accepted and safe. As mentioned before, people often form communities with people who come from the same country. More diversity in the city thus means that there are more people to form a community with. This development of a social network is what makes Amsterdam an attractive place to live. "Yes it is very different. Here are many people from different countries. It is better here." (Daren, personal communication, 2017). Besides ethnic diversity, also its sexual diversity and tolerance towards LGBT people makes Amsterdam a good place to live for undocumented people who identify as LGBT. "We feel that Amsterdam is a good place to be for the LGBT people." (Juma, personal communication, 2017).

To many people, Amsterdam symbolizes opportunities and a nice life. Many undocumented people come to Amsterdam after their asylum application has been denied because they think that in Amsterdam there are more opportunities to get shelter. "Like a shelter, what I need that is why I want to live in Amsterdam." (Malaika, personal communication, 2017). Other people have not only moved to Amsterdam for the shelter but also because they heard about the NGO's that help undocumented people. "The reason why I came to Amsterdam is because I found out about ASKV that eh you help out if someone is undocumented." (Safia, personal communication, 2017). The city is thus seen as the place where people get help and shelter. This makes that people really love the

city and feel at home here, they feel that Amsterdam offers them a future and safety. When people were asked the question if they want to continue living in Amsterdam if they would become documented, almost all responded with yes. People have built their network in the city, know their way around and feel like Amsterdam is a place where they belong.

The national level

Not everyone who was interviewed had a choice in what country they were migrating to. Most people did not have a clear destination when they left their home country and people often stay in the Netherlands, after they are rejected, because they have nowhere else to go to. However they do develop feelings of belonging towards the country. People feel connected to the Netherlands through the security and sense of peace they experience in the country. Faiza states that she feels protected for almost eight years now. "Since I came to Netherlands even without document I have peace, even without money I have peace nobody beat me, nobody molest me, nobody raped me, nobody threatening my life." Another aspect that makes the Netherlands an attractive country to stay in is the good and free health care. "I love the country. All I want is to get my medication and also if I'm sick I can consult a doctor." (Tevin, personal communication, 2017). People's feelings of belonging are also positively influenced by the tolerance and freedom they experience in the Netherlands. Many respondents commented that the freedom of speech and the freedom of religion are what makes the Netherlands feel like home. People also feel they are accepted because "Dutch people are very friendly and welcoming" (Talisa, personal communication, 2017).

Despite their feelings of belonging towards the Netherlands, most of the respondents give the national level a lower rating in terms of belonging than the level of the city, meaning Amsterdam. This difference in rating has to do with the fact that Amsterdam is perceived as more tolerant towards different nationalities and LGBT people. "The Netherlands is nice for LGBT people, but it is not the same as Amsterdam where everywhere you go you see the LGBT flag and no one have any question about LGBT." (Nala, personal communication, 2017). Also in Amsterdam people feel more relaxed and at home because they don't stand out as much as they would in more rural areas where there are not as much 'coloured' people. Blending into the crowd is very important for undocumented people because it, as explained before, makes them feel safer. Another explanation for the fact that many respondents give the Netherlands a lower rating than Amsterdam is because undocumented people feel less connected to the Netherlands because the development of place identity is hampered by the lack of documents. When asked if she felt like she belonged in the Netherlands Nala said: "I feel like I belong to the Netherlands, but I feel at the same time. Always when I feel that, I feel at the same time my document problem." Being undocumented is often blamed on the IND, the government and therefore on the Netherlands while the city of Amsterdam is

seen as a place where there is help. Therefore people feel like they belong to Amsterdam more than they do to the Netherlands.

5.3 Reception by the host society

The reception by the Dutch host society can be characterized by a strict migration policy and a negative public opinion towards immigrants. Especially during the height of the so called refugee crisis of 2015, the public opinion regarding immigrants turned negative and has only improve slightly since then (Renout, 2015). This negative public opinion, however, is not noticed by the undocumented migrants who participated in this research. In Amsterdam many Dutch people are prepared to help undocumented people and support the work of NGO's, like ASKV, by for example volunteering as a buddy or by donating stuff for the clients. Not only individuals donate stuff, also companies send donations in the form of clothes or other stuff that undocumented people need but cannot buy themselves. "I feel that the Dutch people are very nice with us, because all the time they try to help." (Daren and Juma, personal communication, 2017).

Amsterdam thus makes people feel more welcome and accepted due to the nice and helpful host society. People also feel more welcome and accepted due to the fact that in Amsterdam there are more nationalities that present than in, for example, more rural areas. Multiple respondents have stayed in other more rural areas of the Netherlands before and they feel that the people living there are less welcoming. They feel that in those areas they stand out more, while in Amsterdam they blend into the crowd which gives a feeling of safety and belonging. "I can easily connect with people. If they don't give me a problem I feel welcome there" (Nala, personal communication, 2017).

5.4 The influence of NGO's on undocumented people's feelings of belonging

The NGO's that this research discusses about are NGO's that are set up to provide aid to undocumented migrants in Amsterdam. These NGO's play a very important role in the daily lives of undocumented people in Amsterdam. People are dependent on their help for survival, especially if they are not allowed to stay in the BBB facilities. NGO's provide amongst other things, shelter, living money and language courses.

One of the most prominent NGO's in Amsterdam that helps undocumented people and where this research was carried out is ASKV. Often people's whole lives, including what they do and how they live, are in a certain way influenced by ASKV. They might live in their shelter and thus have to follow their rules, they receive money from ASKV to buy food and other necessities, during the day they follow a course that is provided by ASKV and for legal advice they come to the office of ASKV. "Every month they gave me some money to eat" (Faiza, personal communication, 2017). People are thus dependent on ASKV to help them and often show great gratitude when the NGO is brought up in the

interviews. "I am very thankful to ASKV. I mean really, they help me with a lot of help that I needed. Like a doctor and being safe in a place that is my own." (Nala, personal communication, 2017). And when Malaika was asked if she likes where she lives she states that "it is so peaceful, so ASKV thanks. I don't need more."

Another NGO that is of great importance to undocumented people in Amsterdam is the Worldhouse. "The Worldhouse is a day-care centre and provides a warm lunch, information, both educative and leisure activities and counselling" (Worldhouse, n.d.). It is a place where undocumented people can spend time during the day and not be on the streets. In the Worldhouse people can meet other undocumented people and increase their social network. Safia stated that the Worldhouse really helped her to feel at home in Amsterdam "because it gave me a lot of chances to learn and to meet new people".

These, and other, NGO's thus play a big role in the lives of undocumented people and because of that, they can influence people's sense of belonging.

Through their legal work and social support, NGO's help people make sense of the, for them, complicated legal system and the situation that they are in. "I don't even know what to do, I don't know how to contact lawyer, I don't know how to do anything, I don't even know who to tell my problem. I would just like confused. Somebody in the middle of the water and I don't know who would rescue me. But since I come to this house of ASKV, I have some little back, I have back some peace." (Faiza, personal communication, 2017). By offering support, NGO's show undocumented people that they are interested in their problems, that their problems are taken seriously and it is possible for them to speak openly. Nala stated that she feels connected to ASKV because "they ask a lot of questions and they were interested in my problems and me and that feels like more open to talk with them." Undocumented people thus feel like the NGO is a safe place and a place where they can feel love. "I don't have any relative here that will help me then. But it is when I know that Worldhouse and ASKV I see some people, they show me love, I take them as my own. I love everybody that show me love." (Faiza, personal communication, 2017).

People mainly develop feelings of belonging due to the social network that they have built. Usually it is this network that leads them to the NGO's, who then in turn help them to increase their network even further. In the organisations, people have the opportunity to meet other, likeminded, people and thereby they can integrate into the group of other undocumented people and also into the Dutch society. Leading to a bigger social network which, in turn, leads to people feeling more at home. "Because we go to many special organisations. Some time we were in COC in this place there are many people that come from other country and also from this country and you have to

opportunity for to talk with all the people and you have connection with the right sort of people.”
(Daren and Juma, personal communication, 2017).

The influence of NGO's can also be found in the attraction they have on undocumented people. Some people, like Yazeed and Kofi, moved to Amsterdam because they heard of ASKV and the help that they offer to undocumented people.

Organisations, like ASKV, Worldhouse, LGBT organisation and religious organisations, can thus help people to feel more at home in their place of residence, in Amsterdam and also in the Netherlands.

6| Back to the basis of belonging

In this chapter the relationships between the concepts in the conceptual model will be analysed. This will be done by linking these concepts to the theories discussed in the theoretical framework. The analysis will be made by analysing answers that were given by respondents in the interviews and finding patterns in them. The observations that were made by the researcher will also be analysed for patterns. The summary of the interviews and the notes of the observations can be found in the appendixes.

6.1 The social network

A person's sense of belonging is operationalised in this research as consisting of social belonging and place identity. These two theoretical concepts have many things in common. Amongst these commonalities is the fact that they both rely heavily on the thought that social contact and a social network are crucial if someone wants to feel like he or she belongs somewhere or if they want to feel at home in a place. The two theories do think that social contact is influential for different purposes. Social belonging finds that social contact is something that every person needs and is necessary for survival. People want to belong to a group or community, in this group they will get the kind of social contact that will lead to the development of feelings of belonging. For place identity social contact is what forms and structures places. Other people are important in shaping the place-identity of a person. Physical places usually function as a background for social interactions, making these settings significant sites of belonging. Social connections, interaction and contact are considered as fundamental in establishing a sense of place-identity. If people thus have a group of other people they feel they belong to and have places they can identify with, they will experience a sense of belonging.

The statements of these theories that the social network is important and necessary for someone to develop feelings of belonging can also be found in the results of this research. According to the theory people make contact readily and under all conditions, which is true for the people who participated in this research. Faiza spoke about how and where she had met people since coming to the Netherlands. "When I was in the prison also I meet some people, when I was in the prison we meet some people, we also wrote our phone number down for each other, because when we come out we don't know." The observations, that can be found in the appendixes, also showed that people will not be alone for long. Someone who first comes to ASKV alone, shows up a week later with a group of friends. These friends they will have met in the BBB or at the Worldhouse or through common connections. People are also really helpful towards each other, if someone doesn't speak Dutch or English someone else will step in and translate for them even if these two people don't

know each other.

The contacts that are made are different in each place that they are made in. In an asylum seekers centre, for example contacts are made with other asylum seekers. The undocumented people in Amsterdam, are mainly in contact with other undocumented people. These are the people that they meet in their daily lives, in the places where they spend their time and where they feel at home, i.e. in the bed, bath and bread facilities or at the different NGO's where they spend their time.

Something that stands out is that people tend to mainly make connections with people who come from the same background. This background can, for example, be sharing the same ethnicity, religion or both being a part of the LGBT community. Daren and Juma, an LGBT couple spoke about how they go to COC, an organisation for LGBT people, and that there they can meet likeminded people. "Some time we were in COC in this place there are many people that come from other country and also from this country and you have to opportunity for to talk with all the people and you have connection with the right sort of people."

In every social situation language is a very important factor. People can only have meaningful and lasting social contact with people who speak the same language, which can partially explain why many people are drawn to form social connections people who have the same ethnic and linguistic background.

The connections that are made are not only important to fulfil peoples need to belong somewhere, they also help people to survive. Without connections, many undocumented people would sleep on the streets, because they don't know that there is such a thing as a BBB or ASKV. Many people who come to ASKV, sleep on the streets and where brought in by someone who recognized them as being an undocumented migrant. People who are not allowed to stay in the BBB or when the BBB is full, often find shelter within their network. Some people get shelter via their church, but most find shelter with other undocumented people who have a place to stay. The network is also very important for finding food. If someone stays in the bed, bath and bread facilities they will receive breakfast and dinner. For lunch they have to find other options. But there are also people who stay with friends or who sleep on the streets and who have to find food elsewhere. Then the network is really important, there is always someone who knows a place where there is free food.

People also use their networks to stay busy during the day. Due to the strict asylum policies of the Netherlands, undocumented people, above the age of 18, are not allowed to work or go to school. During the day they usually hang out and spend time with their friends. Many of the people who participated in the research spend their days in the Worldhouse, because that is a place where undocumented people can get a free lunch and meet up with their friends at the same time.

Especially for people who stay in the BBB facilities, this is a way they can spend their days of the streets.

Despite the strict asylum policies and a negative public opinion, which have been discussed earlier, undocumented people feel welcome in the Netherlands and most of them feel like they have found a place where they belong. This can be attributed to social contact and people feeling like they are loved. “When I see people I look at their face, I know if there is love from the heart. Then I feel at home, I need people’s love, I need love.” (Faiza, personal communication, 2017). This love can come from someone’s personal network, but can also be felt when spending time at the NGO’s and organisations that help undocumented people. These NGO’s provide support and a safe environment for people. They also give people hope for a future in the Netherlands by providing legal aid. Furthermore, and perhaps their most important work, is bringing undocumented people in contact with each other and helping them build their network and feel like they are accepted and loved. People who try to help undocumented people, and who are not connected to an organisation, have a positive influence on the context of reception in the Netherlands. Their kindness makes that undocumented people feel welcome and accepted, which could increase their sense of belonging. “I love Amsterdam because I know a lot of friends like Dutch people like a lot of friends in Worldhouse or as well as Amsterdam. I like it” (Haben, personal communication, 2017).

6.2 The pyramid of undocumented people

In the theoretical framework the pyramid of Maslow has been discussed. In this pyramid, which can be found in figure 1, Maslow orders different needs so that it becomes possible to fully understand the full scope and the complexity of human motivation. This research has found discrepancies between Maslow's pyramid and the lives of undocumented people. Therefore a new pyramid has been set up that will reflect the specific needs of undocumented people. This pyramid can be found in figure 10.

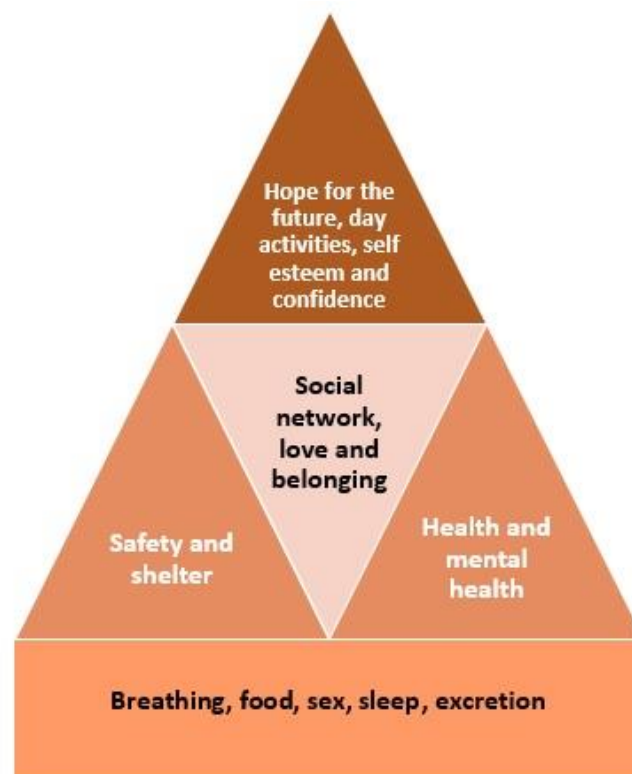


Figure 10. The pyramid of undocumented people.

The physiological needs that Maslow identified are of course the same for all people, including undocumented people. This level thus forms the base of the pyramid. After the physiological level is where the change occurs. Undocumented people don't have the same rights as people who are in a country legally. Therefore things like employment and property are not realistic wants and needs and will not be part of the pyramid. What undocumented people do need and want is safety and access to shelter where they can sleep at night. As important and intertwined with safety and shelter is health and mental health. Undocumented people are allowed to go to a doctor and in Amsterdam there is an organisation that provides trauma counselling. This means that it is possible for them to stay healthy, although that is a lot harder when there is no access to shelter and people have to sleep on the street. In the pyramid social network, love and belonging are put in the middle, connecting

everything else. They are at the same level, but also just above safety, shelter and health. The reason for this is that a social network is what helps undocumented people survive and forms the basis that is necessary to go to the highest level which is hope for the future, day activities, self-esteem and confidence. A social network can help people find their way in the city, help them find a shelter and food. It can also help to direct people to NGO's who in turn help to broaden the social network. These NGO's also provide day activities and give people hope for the future by providing legal aid. Self-esteem and confidence are again copied from Maslow and put on a higher level than love and belonging. People develop their self-esteem and gain confidence from the people around them and from achieving things. For an undocumented person achievements are for example, getting access to a shelter, getting access to mental health care, broadening their social network, getting access to day activities or the biggest achievement of all, making progress in their legal case for an asylum permit.

7. Conclusion

In this part of the thesis the main question will be answered. Furthermore there will be policy recommendations and recommendations for further research. Lastly there will be a reflection on the research.

7.1 Conclusion

The main question posed at the beginning of this thesis is as follows:

How and why influences the status of being undocumented the sense of belonging of migrants in larger cities and what is the influence of NGO's on this?

To give an answer to this question, the question has to be split in three parts. How influences the status of being undocumented the sense of belonging of migrants in larger cities? Why influences the status of being undocumented the sense of belonging of migrants in larger cities? And what is the influence of NGO's on this?

How influences the status of being undocumented the sense of belonging of migrants in larger cities?

This research has argued that a person's sense of belonging consists of social belonging and place identity. There is a difference between these two aspects in how much they are influenced by the status of being undocumented. Being undocumented has a more negative effect on place identity than it does on social belonging. Place identity is often seen as feeling at home somewhere. For undocumented people, who can stay in a shelter, it is hard to feel at home in the shelters that they are staying in. The reason for this is that the shelters are always on temporary basis and in the majority of the shelters, people can only stay during the night. One of the most important factors regarding the development of place identity is a psychological investment with the place. This investment tends to develop over time, time that undocumented people cannot spend in 'their' place of shelter. This time however can be spend in places that offer people 'shelter' during the day, like NGO's or other types of organisations. A good example of such a place is the Worldhouse. Many people indicated the Worldhouse as a place to which they felt connected and as the place where they spend most of their time.

People can also feel connected to a city or a country. Undocumented people living in Amsterdam feel more connected to the city than they do to the Netherlands. This difference is influenced by their status of being undocumented. Amsterdam is perceived as more tolerant and therefore safer than other places in the Netherlands. The city has a reputation that it is inclusive and tolerant towards different cultures, religions and sexualities. In Amsterdam there are more nationalities present than in, for example, more rural areas. This presence of different nationalities makes that undocumented people don't stand out as much as they would elsewhere. When the police finds out that someone does not have the right documents that person will be taken detention centre and eventually will be deported. It is thus very important for someone who wants to stay in the Netherlands, to go up in the crowd and don't raise suspicion. Amsterdam is also seen as a place that is considered to have more opportunities for survival, to for example find shelter, food and legal aid. Another reason why people

feel like they belong to Amsterdam more than they do to the Netherlands is directly related to their undocumented status. Being undocumented is often blamed on the IND, the government and therefore on the Netherlands while the city of Amsterdam is seen as a place where there is help and love.

Being undocumented does not influence social belonging in a very negative way. There is not much connection between undocumented people and Dutch people, undocumented people connect more with other undocumented people. A reason for this can be found in the fact that facing the same issues creates a bond between people. But the most important reason is that for undocumented people having connections is not only important to fulfil their need to belong somewhere, it also helps them to survive. Other undocumented people can, for example, help to find new places of shelter or to find places where there is free food. Connections are, however, not formed with just anyone. They are mainly formed with people who have the same ethnic and linguistic background.

Why influences the status of being undocumented the sense of belonging of migrants in larger cities? Being undocumented influences people's feelings of belonging because it has a huge influence on the way that people can live their lives. When someone becomes undocumented and decides to stay in the Netherlands, he loses most of the rights he had when he was an asylum seeker. With the Benefit Entitlement Act of 1998, the Dutch government regulated that undocumented people have very limited rights to public resources. They do have a right to health care and legal aid. In principle, rejected asylum seekers have no right to shelter if they don't cooperate with their departure. However, multiple municipalities have set up the bed, bath and bread facilities where it is possible for undocumented people to spend the night.

Being undocumented hinders people's development of a sense of belonging. Even if someone feels like he or she belongs to the Netherlands, the pain of being undocumented is always present and will always be felt.

What is the influence of NGO's on this?

The everyday life of an undocumented migrant, who is a client of an NGO, is very much influenced by that NGO. ASKV for example, has people staying in their houses, organises courses so people can learn a trade and have something to do during the day, legal aid is offered to people who have a chance to an asylum permit and there are language courses in the evening. People who stay in the bed, bath and bread facilities often go to the Worldhouse, where they spend their days and get a free lunch. People are dependent on the NGO's to help them and spend a lot of time at these NGO's. A sense of belonging is developed during everyday life, through everyday experiences. Because the NGO's have a large presence in the everyday lives of their clients, they also have an influence on the

development of their feelings of belonging.

Another way in which NGO's have an influence on the development of the feelings of belonging of undocumented people, is through the stimulation of the social network of their clients. The NGO does often function as a place where undocumented people meet each other, even if that is not the purpose of the organisation. The social network can be seen as the basis of someone's feelings of belonging and the NGO, which functions as the background of these social interactions, can become a subject of their place identity.

7.2 Recommendations

Policy recommendations

The results of this research show that NGO's have a very big influence on people's lives and on their feelings of belonging. It is important that in future policy this influence will be taken into account. NGO's should also be aware that they play a large role in the development of the social network of undocumented people. For undocumented people the social network is the basis of everything, and people need this basis to survive and to feel good. It is therefore highly recommendable to be a place, and to promote places, that can help to increase this network.

All (political) policy is directed towards the end goal that is the departure of undocumented people. In order to achieve this end goal it can be recommended that the pyramid of undocumented people is taken into account. This pyramid shows that people only start thinking about their future and their legal perspective when their basic needs are fulfilled.

Recommendations for future research

This thesis brings forth a couple of recommendations for future research. If future research is performed on the feelings of belonging of undocumented migrants living in larger cities, it could be interesting to make a difference between people who are undocumented with a Dublin claim and 'regular' undocumented people. People who apply for asylum in the Netherlands, but who arrived first in another EU country, will be rejected for asylum because of their so called Dublin claim. A Dublin claim lasts for eighteen months, which means that if someone goes into hiding for this time, it is possible for them to apply for asylum in the Netherlands. People with a Dublin claim are thus considered as undocumented people, but they are people with more hope for the future. Their case has not been rejected because they have no right to an asylum permit, it was rejected because of their Dublin claim. However, people who have a Dublin claim might have more hope for the future, in the present they have less rights than 'regular' undocumented people. They do have rights to medical care and legal aid, but in Amsterdam it is not possible for them to get a place in the BBB facilities. Many people with a Dublin claim thus sleep on the streets and struggle with finding food. It

can be expected that this will have a large influence on someone's feelings of belonging and it can thus be recommended to future researchers to perform a comparative research between people who have a Dublin claim and 'regular' undocumented people.

A second recommendation that can be made to future researchers, who will be researching the feelings of belonging of undocumented migrants, is to include people who sleep on the streets in their research. This research has only included people who have a place to sleep, even if that place is temporary. It can be insightful to include people without shelter, because their feelings of belonging are expected to be different.

A final recommendation that can be made to future researchers is to perform a comparative research between different cities. In this research only people who are living in Amsterdam have been researched, however another city will have a different policy regarding undocumented people. Other policies will most likely have a different influence on the development of people's feelings of belonging and can therefore lead to different conclusions to those that were made in this research.

7.3 Reflection on the research process

Reflecting on this research, some remarks have to be made. First I would like to say that it can be recommended to combine this research with an internship. During this internship observations could be made, that helped me to understand the undocumented people better and it helped me to get an insight into their daily lives.

Interviewing people turned out to be much more difficult than I had originally anticipated. Even though the internship helped me to get closer to some people, it did not get me the amount of interviews that I expected. Many of the clients that came into ASKV in the period of my internship, and therefore became my clients, were people who did not speak Dutch or English. And most of the people who translated did not get much further than very basic English, which made interviewing them difficult. I therefore opted to interview people who did not need a translator or who had a good translator. These people however, did not have English as their first language and therefore had difficulty with understanding some questions. This did make it difficult to get all the questions answered and to go more in depth on certain topics. Language barriers have thus led to a lack of depth in the interviews, which could sometimes be compensated with observations but not always.

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Appendix 1 Social belonging

Cultural

A: Maybe see some black people like yourself it is in Amsterdam.

Q: Oke, And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home here?

A: Hmm you know here, we are now everybody we are like one family here and nobody disturbs each other. We are like, if you need help or if you need anything even I have fan here, I have fan but the pregnant woman because she is too hot she asked me for the fan and I give it to here, to use in her room. So we, everybody respects each other, despite your nationality or despite your color we have respect for each other and eh and eh yeah, we live together as one family we don't make problems for each other.

Q: So if you have to give it a grade one to ten?

A: One to, oke so you want me to give a grade on how we live together?

Q: yeah on how much you feel at home here

A: How much, oke. How much I feel at home here, anyway I like it. Will I say 10? I don't know haha.

Q: It is fine if you say 10

A: Yes I like it, I like here because I have some peace. Because before I don't have a home and couple with my situation and the church woman that I was staying with she was telling me that I am a crazy person, that I disturb them in the night, that I was shouting in her house, I do this or I don't know. I was not feeling good then because I cannot eat what I want to eat, I cannot cook what I want to cook. But now I feel at home because I live, the Netherlands people are helping me, I am grateful for that and eh eh eh eh at least I have a place to put my head. Because before ehm I was thinking even sleeping on the street is better for me because nobody will kill me on the street or molest me on the street again.

Q: Oke

A: Yeah

Q: Oke, so it is mostly that you can do your own thing here, just live the way you want to live and be safe. And loved that is very important.

A: Yeah

Q: So you keep in contact by calling and texting.

A: Yes, so even the girl that let me be in her house in Gein, from the church. I met her, she told me she is for Nigeria also. I met her when we were living in the same house, because my house I am living in Huigenbos

Q: Ja

A: That time I was living in Huigenbos and she was living there also. So when I was going to church I would meet her downstairs. So we greet each other, we would say I am Nigerian, I am Nigerian, I am Ibo, I am Ibo that kind thing so from their we start to communicate to each other, I can go to her house sometimes when we were living together. But later she packed to Gein, then when I got a lot of stress and troubles she asked me that I come and stay with her for some time. yeah, so from the church I meet a lot of people also.

Also do you feel like the language, like you speak English very very well, and do you also speak Dutch?

A: Yes I speak little and I understand better. I understand a little bit. I speak Dutch a little bit and I understand. I can speak Dutch on the street, I can speak Dutch to buy what I want to buy and I speak Dutch to ask question little question when I am kind of lost. I can ask alsjebliet kan u alsjebliet doen dit voor mij. Of dit of dat. So I can speak a little bit of Dutch and I can hear also a little bit.

Q: So you can get around in Dutch and in English

A: Yes

Q: Do you feel like that helps you a lot with feeling like

A: It help me a lot, I like the language and I like the people because they have helped me with the help that I could not have for my country from my parents, from my mother, from my father. I did not get any help like that, to in my country I didn't get any help like that. I have seen the help here, so I love the country and I love the language. With the problem I have I cannot concentrate to learn

Q: Yeah

A: It, but I like the language.

Q: So you are slowly learning it, by speaking it

A: Yeah

Q: And what do you like about living here? Is it the people or

A: It is the people and the city. You can live here, you cannot sit in house, you go outside you see people. People you see, but [not understandable]

Q: Oke do you have connections with Dutch outside of ASKV?

A: No, really

Q: Do you think that makes a difference when feeling at home in the Netherlands or

A: Yes, but it is problem to communicate with these people Dutch, you can learn Dutch quickly. You can live, you don't like people when people you don't know.

Q: You feel more like an outsider?

A: Yes

Q: Yeah, do you learn Dutch already?

A: Yes I go to Dutch school

Q: You go to Dutch school, do you think that helps with the integration? Do you think that learning Dutch helps you with becoming more an insider in the Netherlands?

A: Yes, You can do anything if you have problem but sometimes you speak English, my English is not good.

Q: It is good.

Q: Did you already learn to speak Dutch?

A: A bit

Q: A little bit. Do you think that helps you in integrating, so to say?

A: Yeah

Q: Is that important for you to feel at home, the groups of friends and family?

A: Sorry?

Q: the group of friends and family, is that important for you to feel at home?

A: Yes, Yes

Q: Oke, what other things are here to make you feel at home, what do you find important?

A: Yeah, for example if for future if I get status and I stay in Amsterdam, it is not difficult for me, I can communicate with peoples in an easy way.

Q: Because of the language?

A: yes, so in future it is not difficult for me because I know the peoples before.

Q: Yeah

A: So I have interact with them and it is better for me

Q: Oke and on a scale again, like 1 to 10 how Dutch do you feel? Like a Dutch person.

A: It's nice, It is nice because you know what all of our where we are living now. with different language with different culture but at this moment the Dutch people have one culture. If I join with 1 of to 10 people, for me it is nice, it is better all the culture

Q: The different cultures?

A: Yeah all the culture as well as I like the peoples and I can practice the language easily you know? In a short period of time, like two months, three months

Q: Dutch? You are learning Dutch?

A: Yeah, If I get Dutch people yeah, or if I took more practice with Dutch peoples. So I can improve my language.

Q: Yeah you think it really helps the language?

A: Yeah

Q: En waarom ben je naar Amsterdam gekomen?

A: Mijn procedure was afgewezen en ik mocht niet in AZC blijven.

Q: En waarom koos je dan voor Amsterdam?

A: Ja, ik ken de mensen hier. Afrikaanse, Ivoriaanse mensen hier.

Q: Dus gewoon voor connecties?

A: Ja voor connecties ja.

Q: En wat vind je leuk aan Amsterdam?

A: [laughter] wat vind ik van Amsterdam, even kijken. Ja is een grote stad, druk

Q: Dat vind je fijn?

A: Ja. Zijn een heleboel mensen

Q: Zou je hier ook blijven wonen als je procedure goed gekeurd wordt?

A: Ja, als het kan.

Q: Als het kan

A: Ja

Q: En Nederland voel je je thuis in Nederland? Je spreekt al aardig goed Nederlands?

A: Nee niet goed. Maar eh ja, jawel.

Q: Oke, en denk je dat het Nederlands je ook helpt, om je meer thuis te voelen?

A: Ja. het is niet hetzelfde als mijn echte afkomst taal, maar ik voel me thuis.

Ik heb wel ergere, ja kijk mijn situatie ik ben ziek gekrijgen ehm zorg en ook alles gratis. Dat is heel veel.

Q: Ja dus als je het een cijfer moet geven, 7 ofzo of een 8.

A: Een 8 is wel

Q: Even kijken hoor, heb je het idee dat het Nederlands spreken je meer helpt om je meer verbonden te voelen met Nederland?

A: Ik denk het wel

Q: Oke. What do you like about Amsterdam

A: I like everything about Amsterdam. The people around here

Q: Yeah, there is more diversity

A: Yes that is important, that is why I want to live here and ehm to lifetime, they give me something inside.

Q: Yeah, and why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

A: I don't know why, but from the time that I start to leave my country I like to live, I like to live in the Netherlands.

Q: Yeah the next question is why

A: yeah I can not explain, but I like it

Q: You have an overall feeling that you like it

A: Yeah I like it.

Q: Do you feel at home here, is that a good description?

A: I like the Netherlands, that is why I am here ehm I don't know. I like to have people here.

Q: Let's see, so you speak English, also a little bit Dutch?

A: No, no Dutch

Q: But do you feel that speaking English helps you here to move around?

A: No I like to speak Dutch more.

Q: Oke, but you have friends in Amsterdam now?

A: Sure

Q: Or more people you talk to?

A: yeah, a lot. In the church, in community, I have known the country good and I love it.

Q: Why did you choose to come to the Netherlands specifically, did you know about the country or?

A: Well, When I was coming to Europe the reason why I came to the Netherlands is [understandable] the support for blacks and tolerance for black people. You have, Surinam's, black, the Netherlands they, so they all from Africa, they all from.. they love the country to be warm.

Q: oke

A: Yes. the stories I read about the Netherlands or the Surinam was good.

Q: Is that why you decided to stay after you got rejected?

A: What?

Q: The opinion that the Netherlands is friendly to black people

A: Yes, they accept black people that is what I was told and I thought I want that.

Q: Why did you stay in the Netherlands after being rejected?

A: Nowhere to go

Q: ehm, did you make new friends since arriving here? Since coming to the Netherlands?

A: one yes, that is what I always hear from people, so many black ones and white ones.

Q: How did you meet these people?

A: Meeting people, sometimes in the working place, sometimes in school, sometimes in the kerk, sometimes a lot of places.

Q: Oke a lot of places

A: yes

ke how do you feel there, [not understandable]. Because you need to drink a lot of ehm, today you have to take your back with you and you can't early go to [not understandable] Everybody was stressed that was when I see her, everybody was stressed to take your back. And the back will be with you, you go around with your back and then when you go you would have the same want. And when wash you pants, the pants they dry and you go in the streets. [not understandable] and I told them, no I don't have problem but look at the woman you have to go to church you have your friends [not understandable] but now you wash your pants, put them in your back and go to another room you you you it is still damp, it is not hygienic. You do not want to live in Walborg some are dirty some are clean [not understandable] But now the situation has calmed down. Now when you come to BBB in the night they say go to your room.

Q: So now you have the same room?

A: yes

Q: Oh that is a lot better

A: Yeah, it was good and before it was not good.

A: toeristen en ook architectuur, veel museums, democratie, vrijheid
Maar hier kun je je mening geven.

Q: Eh, deze vraag is spreekt u Nederlands of Engels, maar

A: Ja

A: Ja en Mikael kan vrij met een agent praten ofzo, dat is echt leuk

Q: Why did you move to Amsterdam?

A: It is more safe, more friendly and everyone is. It just feels safe.

Q: Oke, that is also what you like about Amsterdam, the feeling of safety?

A: The feeling of safety and being an LGBT it is closer to meeting other LGBT, other peoples the same.

Q: Yes, it is more together?

A: Yes more together

Q: Oke, and if you would eventually become a Dutch citizen you would still live in Amsterdam?

A: For sure, there is no question

Q: And the Netherlands?

A: Also, but it is not the same as Amsterdam where everywhere you go you see the LGBT flag and no one have any question about LGBT.

Q: So the Netherlands is more like 7?

A: Yes. 7?

Q: Yes, I am just suggesting something, or 8 or..

A: yeah

Q: ehm, lets see. Do you have friends or family in the Netherlands?

A: No family, friends yes.

Q: Oke, did you meet them after coming to here?

A: Today?

Q: No to the Netherlands

A: yeah I meet them here, and some of them I know before.

Q: How did you meet most of your friends?

A: In everywhere. Where we talk the same language we become closer than eh the other people

Q: Do you feel part of a community? Like the LGBT community for example?

A: Yeah I mostly go to [not understandable, but name of place], and I have more contact with them.

Q: And how do you feel, do you feel like you are Dutch already a little bit? Like you belong in the Netherlands?

A: I feel like I belong to the Netherlands, but I feel at the same time. Always when I feel that, I feel at the same time my document problem.

Q: Yes that is really in the way of

A: Yes, at the same time

Q: So if you have to give it a grade again, how Dutch do you feel?

A: 99 I would say, and directly then I could feel the pain that I am illegal.

Q: Does it help to speak English, because you speak English very well, to be more in Dutch i guess.

A: Yes and if the Dutch person does not also speak English, I try to speak also a few words Dutch.

Q: Oke you are learning also?

A: yeah

Q: You are integrating so to say

A: yeah and now since I am in Vrankrijk there is a computer so I am watching youtube for Dutch lesson.

Q: And why did you move to Amsterdam?

AJ: the reason was because IND gave negative for our political asylums, and that was our case, so in this moment we decide to stay here because we don't feel safe to come back to Colombia because our situation is complicated. Also because we feel that Amsterdam is a good place to be for the LGBT people so

Q: And is that true?

AJ: Yeah I think that it is true.

Q: What do you like most about Amsterdam? About living here?

AJ: I think that there are many place nice for the LGBT people

AS: Yes the people is also very friendly

AS: I think that is important because you can be one place nice to rest and enjoy with your partner so, because it is difficult to try to live with other people because there are different situations because these people do not understand you. It is better to have one place ehm for to be yourself.

Q: Or COC is also

AJ and AS: Oh yes yes

Do you have connections with Dutch people outside of ASKV?

AS: Yes

Q: And do you feel more connected to Dutch people with ASKV or because of your connections with other Dutch people?

AS: We have connections with ASKV and also the Dutch people outside of ASKV. And I think that all the Dutch people is very nice, especially with us. Ja, indifferent ASKV or outside people, for us is the same people. But it is good for us, with us.

Q: Do you think speaking English and speaking Dutch in the future will help with integrating?

AJ and AS Yes very much

Q: Oke, What is important for you to feel at home somewhere?

A: The first thing that is eh, i have to leave my country is my religion. Based on new idea I can not stay in Iran so many people want to push me to catch me and transfer me to jail for a long time. Of course my brother and my father. So I have to hidden first of all for one month in Iran and when i realised there is nothing, there is no way to stay in Iran I make plan for myself to go out.

Q: So religion is very important?

A: yes religion is very important, as you know christianity is not religion it is a new life.

Q: Do you feel at home in the BBB, like it is your home?

A: No

Q: No?

A: No

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, when 1 is bad and 10 is good what would you give it?

A: Zero

Q: Zero oke, so it is very bad?

A: It is very bad of course

Q: And why?

A: Because they, you know, they mix all religions in one small place so they don't know how to clean themselves how to talk to each other, how to eat, how to talk to each other. you know, most of them are very very primary very very primary. in a general room they speak loudly and when i complain more time more time they never, they, i mean the administration college never pay attention to my voice, you know?

Q: Oke, yeah so if you would change something it would be religion, they people

A: Of course yes

Q: What do you do mostly during the day?

A: going to bibliotheek for learning Dutch, I cooperating to church very closely and we have many books and social network groups to understand the bible, how to read bible, how to think about bible, how to think about Christian behaviour you know. This is my life today and these days

Q: Oke, and do you think it is important to have something to do during the day? To feel more connected?

A: Yes yes of course.

Q: Oke, do you have friends or family in the Netherlands?

A: of course no

Q: no, no friends in Amsterdam?

A: Friends yes, but after I come to Amsterdam, because of going to church, Christ Church, and Afshin also goes to church i have come in many groups and become familiar with them and right now one of my friends in Christ Church invites me to have house for 21 days because she and her husband went to united states for vakantie.

Q: Oke so you live there for now?

A: Yes

Q: Oh that is nice

A: Yes for 20 days.

Do you feel like the language helps you get around better in the Netherlands? Is it an important part for you to feel at home in this country?

A: the language?

Q: Yes that you speak English

A: of course, if I don't understand English, i can never go to the future, never. You know language is very important and for many people is the challenge. Language of course, in Netherlands Dutch language is very important. If someone do not understand English and Dutch it is very big problem for them. So I, myself want to learn Dutch beside English.

Q: to integrate as well?

A: Exactly to integrate.

Q: Do you already feel like you are a bit Dutch?

A: Yes of course i learn Dutch, ik kan spraak Dutch beetje.

Q: Een beetje

A: ja

Q: so if you have to give it a grade again from 1 to 10, how Dutch do you feel?

A: 1 to 10? To connect to other people...

Q: Yeah, like if you are a Dutch person

A: Ah, 5.

Q: What is important for him to feel at home? Also religion?

Q: Oke, what does he mostly do during the day?

A: Go to library, Sunday go to church

Q: oke

A: And bible study

Q: Oke, how important does he think that speaking the language is on feeling at home here?

A: he is very upset, being angry because of the lack of speaking Dutch. He would like to learning Dutch

does he already feel like he is a bit of a Dutch person?

Like he is integrating?

A: Yes it is possible for him

Q: Oke, and if he has to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how Dutch does he feel?

A: How Dutch?

Q: Yeah

A: I don't understand your question

Q: If he has to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much does he feel like he is a Dutch person, like he belongs in the Netherlands? How much does he feel like he is already integrated?

A: 10

Q: oke, really Dutch. Now just the language and it will be perfect.

A: Yes haha.

Mohammed vertelde tijdens het uitje naar Artis dat hij al door super veel landen in Europa is gereisd, maar dat hij heel graag in dit land wil blijven. Hij voelt zich ook echt Nederlander ondanks dat hij geen verblijfsvergunning heeft en zijn broer in Duitsland woont. Mohammed wil ook heel graag Nederlands leren en heeft een Nederlandse vriend.

De laatste tijd komen er heel veel Eritreeërs bij ASKV, ik weet niet of dit in verband staat met de vorige observatie dat mensen uit Eritrea minder gauw slaapplekken vinden binnen hun netwerk. Maar iedereen heeft het er over, dat er heel veel mensen uit Eritrea aankomen. Het lastige is dat deze mensen vaak helemaal geen Engels kunnen en dat maakt communiceren vrij lastig. Wat me ook opvalt is dat veel mensen niet precies weten wie hun advocaat is en niet zuinig omgaan met hun papieren. Als iemand een brief heeft is die vaak opgevouwen tot hele kleine stukjes of helemaal verfrommeld. Dit kan heel goed te maken hebben met het feit dat ze op straat verblijven en geen goede spullen hebben om de papieren in te bewaren. Het is vaak lastig communiceren met de mensen. Vooral veel Eritreeërs kunnen geen woord Nederlands en Engels. Gelukkig zijn er veel mensen die Tigrinya spreken die wel willen vertalen, maar ik merk dat de communicatie dan toch verstoord wordt. En daarmee bedoel ik dat soms de cliënt heel veel zegt en dat de vertaler daar dan een korte samenvatting van geeft. Dit haalt de nuance eruit en maakt dat het soms nog wel lastig is om elkaar te begrijpen. Veel mensen die geen Nederlands of Engels spreken kunnen zelf iemand bellen die voor ze wil vertalen, maar dit is niet altijd iemand die super goed kan vertalen wat het ook nog wel lastig maakt. Aan de andere kant is dit wel heel positief want het geeft aan hoe snel mensen een netwerk opbouwen en hoe mensen elkaar willen helpen. Als er iemand in de wachtkamer zit die kan vertalen en er zitten mensen te wachten op een intake die geen Nederlands of Engels kunnen, dan vertalen zij vaak voor die persoon terwijl ze elkaar helemaal niet kennen.

Ik heb twee cliënten uit Iran die allebei zijn gevlucht vanwege hun geloof. Ze zijn Christelijk in plaats van Moslim en dat is gevaarlijk in Iran. Zij vertelde me vandaag dat ze wel in de BBB slapen omdat ze geen andere plek hebben maar dat de BBB voor hun ook nog een nare plek is, omdat mensen daar ook over het algemeen Moslim zijn. Als die mensen erachter komen dat de Iraniërs Christelijk zijn wordt ze het leven zuur gemaakt. Dan horen ze niet meer bij de groep en worden ze gepest. Ook gaven ze aan, en dit is iets wat ik al van veel meer mensen heb gehoord, is dat het in de BBB heel rumoerig is en dat dit zorgt voor een slechte nachtrust. Om hun woorden te parafraseren: die Afrikanen zijn vaak heel luid, die schreeuwen in plaats van praten en hier kunnen wij niet door slapen. Iedereen heeft zijn eigen cultuur en zijn eigen gewoonten en dat moet samen wonen in de BBB, maar dit komt niet ten goede van iedereen's nachtrust en welzijn.

Social

A: maybe see some black people like yourself it is in Amsterdam.

Q: yes, more than a Dutch citizen?

A: Eh, I am used to the environment here, but I can live anywhere

Q: Oke

A: Yeah, I am a kind of person I can live anywhere any part of the Netherlands. But if I have piece, I like it. I can easily connect with people, if they don't give me problem I will easily feel welcome there.

Q: Yeah. So do you like living in the Netherlands or would you rather go anywhere in Europe?

A: Yeah, since I came to Netherlands even without document I have peace, even without money I have peace nobody beat me, nobody molest me, nobody raped me, nobody threatening my life. I feel protected for almost eight years now. Also I don't know.

Q: Yeah, that is really good.

A: Yeah I have peace

A: At home.. when I see when the people love me

Q: That is when you feel at home

A: Yes, when I see people I look at their face, I know if there is love from the hart. Then I feel at home, I need peoples love, I need love.

Q: Oke, And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home here?

A: Hmm you know here, we are now everybody we are like one family here and nobody disturbs each other. We are like, if you need help or if you need anything even I have fan here, I have fan but the pregnant woman because she is too hot she asked me for the fan and I give it to here, to use in her room. So we, everybody respects each other, despite your nationality or despite your color we have respect for each other and eh and eh yeah, we live together as one family we don't make problems for each other.

Q: So if you have to give it a grade one to ten?

A: One to, oke so you want me to give a grade on how we live together?

Q: yeah on how much you feel at home here

A: How much, oke. How much I feel at home here, anyway I like it. Will I say 10? I don't know haha.

Q: It is fine if you say 10

A: Yes I like it, I like here because I have some peace. Because before I don't have a home and couple with my situation and the church woman that I was staying with she was telling me that I am a crazy person, that I disturb them in the night, that I was shouting in her house, I do this or I don't know. I was not feeling good then because I cannot eat what I want to eat, I cannot cook what I want to cook. But now I feel at home because I live, the Netherlands people are helping me, I am grateful for that and eh eh eh eh at least I have a place to put my head. Because before ehm I was thinking even sleeping on the street is better for me because nobody will kill me on the street or molest me on the street again.

Q: Oke

A: Yeah

Q: Oke, so it is mostly that you can do your own thing here, just live the way you want to live and be safe. And loved that is very important.

A: Yeah

Q: Yeah, Oke ehm, so you made some friends after coming to the Netherlands, how did you meet most of them?

A: When I was in appelska ehm Ter Apel I meet some people. From that in Ter Apel I know some people, the kind of people you meet first. So from there, most of them they got their document not that long and they got their own house. We change our telephone that time we can call each other. And one they send me also to camp, I met a lot of people Somali, Arabic, a lot of people different both African countries and Arab they are in the camp. So I meet also a lot of people, so from their some people are also close to you, you can change telephone number with your phone you can communicate. We I come to [name of town] I also meet some people, and you can change telephone number, you can communicate in the future. When I was in the prison also I meet some people, when I was in the prison we meet some people, we also wrote our phone number down for each other, because when we come out we don't know. When I was in Rotterdam I also meet a lot of different people, from their we also gave our phone numbers to each other so in the future we can communicate with each other. When I came to Amsterdam I also meet some people, but in the Church, even when I was in Borkum I meet some people also in the church. So when I go to church here, that time I have my document, I meet some people, even my girlfriend I meet her in the church here in Amsterdam. So I meet some people in the church, I meet some people in the street because some people would look at you and say he where do you come from. I say I come from so so place, and they say he I am also from that place. So you can change number to telephone.

Q: So you keep in contact by calling and texting.

A: Yes, so even the girl that let me be in her house in Gein, from the church. I met her, she told me she is for Nigeria also. I met her when we were living in the same house, because my house I am living in Huigenbos

Q: Ja

A: That time I was living in Huigenbos and she was living there also. So when I was going to church I would meet her downstairs. So we greet each other, we would say I am Nigerian, I am Nigerian, I am Ibo, I am Ibo that kind thing so from their we start to communicate to each other, I can go to her house sometimes when we were living together. But later she packed to Gein, then when I got a lot of stress and troubles she asked me that I come and stay with her for some time. yeah, so from the church I meet a lot of people also.

Q: Oke so you have a wide network of people in the Netherlands now?

A: yes I meet them, but not all of them I contact now.

Q: yeah of course

A: But I ...

Q: You do have connections to a lot of people

A: yes to a lot of people, but I don't see them, and I don't call them. I can call few that is in my head now. I meet a lot of people, but I don't see them anymore.

Q: Yeah, of course you lose contact.

Q: Yeah, of course you lose contact. So do you feel part of a community? Like you are part of the undocumented people community or church.

A: Eh, I don't see myself as an undocumented person

Q: Oke

A: I see myself as a normal person, I see myself as a normal person that is living a normal life. And eh even when I was on the street because I have lived on the street before I just got a pillow, this pillow [shows the pillow on her bed] I don't feel, I don't feel undocumented.

Q: You don't feel like you don't belong here?

A: Yes, I have stress every time I pass through, but I see those things as part of my life. Maybe that is how God want it you know. And eh, I don't even see any difference in my eyes between document and undocument so I, so far I see where I sleep, I eat or I see some voluntary work to do or if it is possible to do good job, I can also do because I am willing.

Q: Yeah

A: I am willing but is only eh situations that withheld somethings that I can be able to do. Because with or without document I have.

Or I call my girlfriend to know, because I know I talk to her I ask her if she can come to me. Yeah sometimes she comes, when she is free.

Q: Yeah

A: Yeah

Q: Your girlfriend also lived in Amsterdam?

A: Yeah.

Q: Oh that is nice. Yeah so, you basically had a really tough time when you came here. But now that you are staying here you are slowly getting a lot better.

A: Yeah

Q: Right?

A: Yeah

Q: And you have a family sort of. Oke that is really nice.

Do you also have contact with people who have asylum/ who are documented?

A: undocumented?

Q: Who are documented

A: Who are documented.. yeah there is a woman also that ehm we met in Barukum. Her name is Lovely, she live in eh, she live in Madrid now. I used to contact her. And there is another woman also we met in Appelska, her name is [not understandable] she live also her in Wibautstraat.

Q: Oh that is nice, you are still in contact

A: Yeah, I still have the contact but I don't like, I don't love staying to long with people in their house. I don't know the reason, to visit I can visist but I will leave.

Q: yeah of course. You will leave then soon, but you can visit for like an evening?

A: I can visit, but I will leave.

Q: Yeah, but you have a home here, this is your home now.

A: Yes

Q: That is really nice

A: Yes

Because I don't have brother here, I don't have sister here , I don't have children here, I don't have any relative here that will help me than. But it is when I know that worldhouse and ASKV I see some people, they show me love, I take them as my own. I love everybody that show me love. But if I see that you are scare or you don't want me, I give you space because I don't want somebody to add stress to the one I have. I don't want anybody to add stress to the one I have. That is why sometimes I am so aggressive to people, because when I see that you want to

add stress to my stress I will brush you out. And I don't want what has happened to me before to repeat itself. I don't want anybody to intimidate me again. So that is the reason

Q: But that is really logical

A: I don't normally associate with people to much.

Q: Yeah, so you are mostly on your own, unless you have your friends or your girlfriend..

A: Yes, and also I go to people maybe to do something. I do it, I go somewhere and I come back to the house.

Q: Yeah this is your happy place in the house.

A: Yes

Q: Oh I am really glad you have found one then.

So if you have to give it a grade again, like from 1 to 10, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: For me now, I feel already like a Dutch person because now I cannot live in Africa. One of the things that make that I can't live in Africa: One, my safety, Two, the the, I cannot eh eh the environment. Like now when it is to hot. Even here when the summer is to hot, it is to much for me. So if you compare it to Africa now, if you don't have anything you would just go there and die.

Q: Yeah it is to hot and cold

A: Yeah and the behave of people, the way people behave there is not the way

Q: You have become to western so to say

A: Yeah, like here we do things rustig. But in Africa they don't do things rustig [calm]

Q: They don't?

A: They don't do things rustig. You can be walking on the street and somebody will hit you and nobody, you cannot say anything, before you know the person is dead.

Q: And what do you like about living here? Is it the people or

A: It is the people and the city. You can live here, you cannot sit in house, you go outside you see people. People you see, but [not understandable]

People, if you need to go somewhere like hospital or pharmacy

Q: Things close by?

Q: And ehm what would you change if you could?

A: huh?

Q: What would you change about living if you could?

A: Sometimes I feel like need to be changed is people I live with

Q: It is the people?

A: Sometimes you do something wrong, you do everything wrong about eating. Sometimes I do like, but that is life you are here that means where I go.

did you make friends after arriving in the Netherlands?

A: Friends no, but you say in Netherland like kennis. You see them, sometimes I see them now, you see them in BBB or

Q: Yeah you meet them wherever you go

A: Yes but not friend

Q: Oke, do you feel part of a community?

A: Yes

Q: And can you describe that community?

A: For people yeah?

Q: Yes

A: I don't have community really, with people.

Q: Oke, so you don't feel part of a group?

A: Yes

Q: Oke, do you go to the worldhouse/

A: Sometimes I go

Q: Oke, do you things that makes a difference in how you feel about the Netherlands?

A: Yes, if you see few people [not understandable] you feel something yeah

Q: If you see people

A: Yes

Q: Oke do you have connections with Dutch outside of ASKV?

A: No, really

Q: Do you think that makes a difference when feeling at home in the Netherlands or

A: Yes, but it is problem to communicate with these people Dutch, you can learn Dutch quickly. You can live, you don't like people when people you don't know.

Q: You feel more like an outsider?

A: Yes

Q: And if you have to give it a grade again, from 1 to 10, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: I don't see myself as a Dutch person, don't know any yet.

Q: So you don't feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: Yes not, not here. I don't see these people, I don't know anything about them. Only living with people.

Q: Yeah oke. Well, thank you.

Q: Oke, How did you hear of ASKV?

A: A friend, she was also a cliënt of ASKV.

Q: She told you about it

So you have been here also for a while?

A: A year and four months

Q: ohja. Ehm if you would get a status would you still live in Amsterdam?

A: Yes

Q: Why do you like it?

A: Well I have made a lot of connections, networks and eh I like a crowded place, because I go up in a city.

Q: Yeah, you disappear

A: Yes

Q: So do you feel part of a community?

A: Yes

Q: Can you describe that community?

A: Worldhouse, it gave me eh also ASKV, because it gave me a lot of chances to learn and to meet new people.

Q: Ohyeah, And do you have connections with Dutch people outside of ASKV?

A: Yes

Q: Do feel more connected to the Netherlands or Dutch people because of ASKV?

A: Because of ASKV? eh Yes, because ASKV they helped me in one way, they have given me like some voluntary work and through that I have met a lot of new people.

Q: And do you also have connections with people who had a Dublin claim, but have now a status?

A: Eh Yes

Q: Do you think having those connections with Dutch people makes you feel more at home in the Netherlands?

A: Eh Yeah, because you know people see less even people from your own country sometimes feel sorry for you and stuff. Which is not bad, but at the same time I don't want to feel sorry, I don't want anyone to feel sorry for me. Because not having a paper doesn't mean I can't do anything.

Q: And if you have to give it a grade again, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: Oeh, a Dutch person ie. That is eh

Q: more difficult?

A: Yes. Probably 6, because I have a lot to learn

Q: Oke yeah, so I you would get a status after having your Dublin claim, would you still live in Amsterdam?

A: Yes

Q: Yeah you like Amsterdam?

A: Yes I love Amsterdam because I know so a lot of friends like Dutch people like a lot of friends in Worldhouse or as well as Amsterdam. I like it.

Q: Yes, so you have a real group here now

A: Yes

Q: Is that important for you to feel at home, the groups of friends and family?

A: Sorry?

Q: the group of friends and family, is that important for you to feel at home?

A: Yes, Yes

Q: Oke, what other things are here to make you feel at home, what do you find important?

A: Yeah, for example if for future if I get status and I stay in Amsterdam, it is not difficult for me, I can communicate with peoples in an easy way.

Q: Because of the language?

A: yes, so in future it is not difficult for me because I know the peoples before.

Q: Yeah

A: So I have interact with them and it is better for me

A: For me it is difficult. because more people are,

Q: yeah it depends on the people?

A: Yeah it is a lot of shouting and eh not understand. every person wants to live what he wants and i do not understand your situation so it is difficult for me because eh i like all the people is the same, but some peoples have different behaviority from another

Q: Yeah, so you would feel more at home if it was just you in a small apartment or something?

A: Yeah

Q: oke. ehm you have friends, how did you make the friends? Only through worldhouse, ASKV?

A: Yeah, the friends yeah. In worldhouse, in the station of Amsterdam, ASKV. Where ever I go, I make friends.

Q: Your friends are mostly undocumented as well? Or also Dutch people?

A: ehm, yeah I have two friends of Dutch people, but the other are undocumented like me and live in BBB or some other place but we meet in Worldhouse.

Q: Yeah so mostly worldhouse?

A: Yeah

Q: Do you feel part of the group of undocumented people? That you say we are from the worldhouse

A: Yeah

Q: This is the people I belong with

A: yes so they live in we are here, I know them I have some friends from them.

Q: Oke, How did you hear of ASKV?

A: ASKV, yeah when I came here in Amsterdam. The people who have before came here, they tell me there is an organization ASKV and after that I came here in ASKV.

Q: Do you feel more connected to Dutch people through ASKV?

A: Ehm yeah, first time I came here, I take intake here and after that because of the good information of ASKV I go to the Worldhouse and I talk to some Dutch people in other groups in the Worldhouse.

Q: Oke, ehm Do feel like you have found a place where you belong, like Amsterdam, through organizations like ASKV or worldhouse?

A: no, I don't think

Q: No, you have found it on your own

A: no i don't think anything about that.

Q: En waarom ben je naar Amsterdam gekomen?

A: Mijn procedure was afgewezen en ik mocht niet in AZC blijven.

Q: En waarom koos je dan voor Amsterdam?

A: Ja, ik ken de mensen hier. Afrikaanse, Ivoriaanse mensen hier.

Q: Dus gewoon voor connecties?

A: Ja voor connecties ja.

Q: En wat vind je leuk aan Amsterdam?

A: [laughter] wat vind ik van Amsterdam, even kijken. Ja is een grote stad, druk

Q: Dat vind je fijn?

A: Ja. Zijn een heleboel mensen

Q: Zou je hier ook blijven wonen als je procedure goed gekeurd wordt?

A: Ja, als het kan.

Q: Als het kan

A: Ja

A: Ja oke, mensen om me heen. Vrienden enzo. Ja

Q: En waar verblijf je nu?

A: In AZC

Q: En voel je je daar thuis?

A: Niet echt

Q: Als je het een cijfer moet geven van 1 tot 10 wat zou je het geven?

A: 4.

Q: 4. En wat zou je verbeteren, wat zou er anders moeten?

A: AZC is eh, je bent een beetje gesloten, geen connectie en ja heel veel stress.

Q: Oke

A: Ja het is anders dan thuis.

Q: En in het ASKV huis, toen je daar nog zat, wat zou je dat voor cijfer geven?

A: Ja dat zou ik een 6 ofzo geven.

Q: Een 6, gewoon omdat het meer open is?

A: Omdat daar heel veel mensen op visite ja.

: Heb je familie of vrienden in Nederland?

A: Vrienden, maar geen familie

Q: Heb je die voornamelijk gemaakt nadat je naar Nederland kwam?

A: Ja, hier heb ik die mensen leren kennen.

Q: Ja gewoon hier overal en nergens

A: ja ja

Q: In AZC, overal

A: ja ja

Q: Ja, en heb je het gevoel dat je onderdeel bent van een soort groep? Van dit is mijn groep, of een gemeenschap

A: Ja ik ken een paar groepen Ivorianen daar zo ja

Q: Ja, gewoon meer van mensen die ook van jouw land van afkomst zijn?

A: Ja afkomst land ja

Q: Heb je ook contact met mensen van Nederlandse afkomst?

A: Ja ik heb wel een paar vrienden, Nederlandse mensen

Q: Ja heb je voornamelijk met ASKV of ook daarbuiten?

A: Buiten en via ASKV ook

En als je het weer een cijfer zou moeten geven, hoe Nederlands voel je je?

A: Wat bedoel je?

Q: Nou bijvoorbeeld de mate van integratie in Nederland

A: Weet je, over integratie, ik ben ongedocumenteerd, ik ben illegaal. Is moeilijk om te zeggen hoe voel ik me over integratie terwijl

Q: Ja. Want je voelt je misschien wel heel Nederlands, maar je bent nog ongedocumenteerd.

A: Ja ik ben ongedocumenteerd, want dat is anders dan wanneer het mag

Q: Het houdt je tegen?

A: Ja

Q: Oke, dank je wel.

Q: Yeah, and why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

A: I don't know why, but from the time that I start to leave my country I like to live, I like to live in the Netherlands.

Q: Yeah the next question is why

A: yeah I can not explain, but I like it

Q: You have an overall feeling that you like it

A: Yeah I like it.

Q: Do you feel at home here, is that a good description?

A: I like Netherland, that is why I am here ehm I don't know. I like to have people here.

A: Yeah

Q: Ehm lets see, what do you mostly do during the day?

A: Ehm actually like a, I am not active yet. I just clean the house and that

Q: You mostly stay at home

A: Yes

Q: You don't go to worldhouse or anything?

A: Yah, I want to but the transport is very expensive

Q: So you did go before?

A: Yeah before I used to go with the bike I used to go, but now it is not good

Q: Did you meet a lot of people at the worldhouse?

A: Yes, I met a lot of people from different countries there

Q: Do you like that?

A: Yes, I like tha

Q: Did you meet a lot of people at the worldhouse?

A: Yes, I met a lot of people from different countries there

Q: Do you like that?

A: Yes, I like that

Q: Do you feel part of like a community because of things like worldhouse or ASKV?

A: Yes, I think that

Q: Can you describe that community a little bit?

A: Yes I can, because the community there is people from Netherland people they are coming here from different country. they try to swap their stories but they do not know each other yet, so they do all their best from the people that are coming, a mother with a child, man that need shelter, woman. I don't have the [not understandable] I couldn't walk in Amsterdam, I don't have nothing but the people working here in ASKV in Amsterdam as well, I couldn't be like them because they lost their time for free like me. They did a lot of good things. With the people sometimes I saw them [not understandable]. They do a lot of good things, that is why I couldn't describe them the community that I still, because I don't..

Q: Oke. And do you feel more connected to Dutch people because of ASKV or worldhouse?

A: Yeah, Yeah

Q: Do you have contact with Dutch people?

A: No, but just people working at ASKV or working at worldhouse

Q: Yeah, not people outside of ASKV

A: Yes

Q: Oke, but you have friends in Amsterdam now?

A: Sure

Q: Or more people you talk to?

A: yeah, a lot. In the church, in community, i have known the country good and I love it.

Q: Do you have friends or family in the Netherlands?

A: Family no, Friends yeah. Family also yeah but I am not ehm an uncle een nichtje in [name of place]

Q: Do you see them often?

A: not often, but ehm sometimes one in three months.

Q: oh

A: yeah, but you call. Yesterday evening we call.

Q: Oh that is also nice

A: Yes we called [not understandable]

Q: ehm, did you make new friends since arriving here? Since coming to the Netherlands?

A: one yes, that is what I always here from people, so many black ones and white ones.

Q: How did you meet these people?

A: Meeting people, sometimes in the working place, sometimes in school, sometimes in the kerk, sometimes a lot of places.

Q: Oke a lot of places

A: yes

Family also yeah but I am not ehm an uncle een nichtje in [name of place]

Q: Do you see them often?

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Q: oh

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A: Meeting people, sometimes in the working place, sometimes in school, sometimes in the kerk, sometimes a lot of places.

Q: Oke a lot of places

A: yes

Q: Do you feel part of a community of a group?

A: Sure

Q: Do you have connections with Dutch people outside of ASKV?

A: Yeah

Q: A lot, or a little bit or..?

A: Not too much

Q: not too much. Do you have contact with people who have asylum here, so who can stay here?

A: [shakes head]

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home where you are now, where you are sleeping?

A: I am now living in de vrankrijk

Q: yes and how much do you feel at home there?

A: 100 procent really

Q: yeah? that is really good.

A: There is really good friendly people, who talk to me and ask if everything is oke, if I need any help, anything. It is really very friendly people where i am living now.

Q: And the Netherlands?

A: Also, but it is not the same as Amsterdam where everywhere you go you see the LGBT flag and no one have any question about LGBT.

Q: ehm, lets see. Do you have friends or family in the Netherlands?

A: No family, friends yes.

Q: Oke, did you meet them after coming to here?

A: Today?

Q: No to the Netherlands

A: yeah I meet them here, and some of them I know before.

Q: How did you meet most of your friends?

A: In everywhere. Where we talk the same language we become closer than eh the other people

Q: Do you feel part of a community? Like the LGBT community for example?

A: Yeah I mostly go to [not understandable, but name of place], and I have more contact with them.

Q: Oke, and do you have connections with Dutch people outside of ASKV?

A: Yeah

Q: You have Dutch friends?

A: Yes Dutch friends

Q: Ehm lets see do you have friends or family in the Netherlands?

AS: Friends yes, but no family

Q: Did you meet the friends after coming here?

AJ: No, but we met in the Netherlands

Q: Yes so after coming here. How did you meet them?

AJ: Because we go to many special organisations. Some time we were in COC in this place there are many people that come from other country and also from this country and you have to opportunity for to talk with all the people and you have connection with the right sort of people.

Q: Do you feel you are part of a community? Like the LGBT community or the undocumented people?

AJ: Sometimes I think that this is the truth, but I think that it is better here than in my country

Do you have connections with Dutch people outside of ASKV?

AS: Yes

Q: And do you feel more connected to Dutch people with ASKV or because of your connections with other Dutch people?

AS: We have connections with ASKV and also the Dutch people outside of ASKV. And I think that all the Dutch people is very nice, especially with us. Ja, indifferent ASKV or outside people, for us is the same people. But it is good for us, with us.

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10 how much do you feel like a Dutch person, like you integrated?

AJ: I think that also 100 percent. I feel that the Dutch people are very nice with us, because all the time they try to help in all the place, in Echt in other place. And all these people they try to help with many things and sometime you say it is very strange that people help in that way because for example two girls they went to holiday in Tailand yeah, and they say you can stay in our house for one month if you want. They give their keys and it is very strange that people believe in us. And many other people here in Amsterdam also try to help with somewhere to live in this country, because that is necessary.

Q: Yes and speaking the language really helps.

A: Yes

Q: Oke, do you have friends or family in the Netherlands?

A: of course no

Q: no, no friends in Amsterdam?

A: Friends yes, but after I come to Amsterdam, because of going to church, Christ Church, and Afshin also goes to church i have come in many groups and become familiar with them and right now one of my friends in Christ Church invites me to have house for 21 days because she and her husband went to united states for vakantie.

Q: Oke so you live there for now?

A: Yes

Q: Oh that is nice

A: Yes for 20 days.

Q: Do you feel part of a community, like the church that you said?

A: Yes of course, why not?

Q: Oke, do you go to the worldhouse?

A: Never, I don't like it

Q: oke. ehm Do you have friends or family in the Netherlands?

A: No friends

Q: No friends?

A: No

Q: Did you not, do you go to worldhouse or?

A: four months he was there

Q: Oke, and does he feel like it made a difference? That he met a lot of people there?

A: he was, he has many stress when he go to worldhouse

Q: Oke, so he didn't really make new friends or meet new people?

A: Of course, of course

We come here with each other

Q: Oke and does he have contact with Dutch people outside of ASKV?

A: two, three people yes

Wereldhuis -> dagopvang. Geeft mensen een plek om te zijn overdag en biedt een maaltijd (lunch), maar je kan er niet slapen. Wel helpen de mensen van het wereldhuis met zoeken naar een slaapplek voor mensen die op straat slapen.

Het Wereldhuis zorgt voor de integratie van illegalen in de groep van andere illegalen. Hierdoor zouden mensen zich thuis kunnen gaan voelen, feelings of belonging to the group. But probably not to native Dutch people.

Wat ik heel erg merk is dat mensen die bij ASKV komen heel snel een sociaal netwerk hebben opgebouwd. Als iemand eerst alleen komt naar ASKV, zie je hem of haar in de volgende weken als snel met vrienden. Semhar bijvoorbeeld was alleen toen ze voor het eerst naar ASKV kwam. Toen ze een week later weer kwam en we iemand nodig hadden die kon vertalen belde zij zelf iemand op die ook een cliënt is van ASKV. Ik denk zelf dat ze elkaar ontmoeten op plekken zoals het wereldhuis en via via. En dat het cliënt zijn van ASKV een verbindende factor is.

Wat mij opvalt aan de connecties die mensen maken is dat ze voornamelijk connecties maken met mensen die uit hetzelfde land komen. Koen ziet dit ook, we hadden samen een gesprek hierover en hij zei dat mensen heel erg elkaar helpen die uit hetzelfde land komen. Dat het een soort van communities zijn hier. Je ziet ook vaak dat mensen een slaapplek vinden binnen hun eigen community. Een uitzondering hierop zijn de mensen uit Eritrea, ondanks dat ze elkaar wel veel lijken te helpen (met vertalen en dergelijke) vinden hun bijna geen slaapplek bij elkaar. Het is meer ieder voor zich hebben wij het idee.

Het is vaak lastig communiceren met de mensen. Vooral veel Eritreeërs kunnen geen woord Nederlands en Engels. Gelukkig zijn er veel mensen die Tigrinya spreken die wel willen vertalen, maar ik merk dat de communicatie dan toch verstoord wordt. En daarmee bedoel ik dat soms de cliënt heel veel zegt en dat de vertaler daar dan een korte samenvatting van geeft. Dit haalt de nuance eruit en maakt dat het soms nog wel lastig is om elkaar te begrijpen. Veel mensen die geen Nederlands of Engels spreken kunnen zelf iemand bellen die voor ze wil vertalen, maar dit is niet altijd iemand die super goed kan vertalen wat het ook nog wel lastig maakt. Aan de andere kant is dit wel heel positief want het geeft aan hoe snel mensen een netwerk opbouwen en hoe mensen elkaar willen helpen. Als er iemand in de wachtkamer zit die kan vertalen en er zitten mensen te wachten op een intake die geen Nederlands of Engels kunnen, dan vertalen zij vaak voor die persoon terwijl ze elkaar helemaal niet kennen.

Wat me wel heel erg opvalt is dat veel mensen bereid zijn om te onze cliënten te helpen. Ik had op facebook een oproep geplaatst dat ik voor cliënten babyspullen nodig heb en heel veel mensen hebben gereageerd en doneren de spullen helemaal gratis. Ook komen er wel wekelijks mensen langs die kleding en schoenen hebben voor in het kledingrek (waar de cliënten het gratis kunnen meenemen). Ook hebben we regelmatig een donatie van Adidas en laatst ook van Lush met spullen die we kunnen uitdelen.

Wat mensen heel erg aantrekt aan Amsterdam is dat hier heel veel mensen rondlopen die "zwart" zijn. Hierdoor vallen ze minder op als ze op straat lopen en hoeven ze minder bang te zijn voor de politie. Want als er gevraagd wordt om je ID en die hebben ongedocumenteerde mensen niet, dan worden ze naar de vreemdelingendetentie gebracht.

Vandaag is de baby van Semhar geboren en wat mij opvalt is dat iedereen samen komt en haar helpt. Zeker in het huis waar Semhar woont. Ze woont in een huis van ASKV waar mensen met verschillende achtergronden wonen. Ik was bij Okoro op bezoek, en zij vertelde dat ze bijvoorbeeld de baby vaak de fles geeft zodat Semhar kan rusten. Dit geeft weer aan hoe snel en sterk het community gevoel is.

Cadette wil verhuizen uit het ASKV huis, ze heeft zelf een eigen kamer gevonden om te huren. (mensen die recht hebben op de BBB kunnen ook geld krijgen van de gemeente en een eigen kamer huren, in plaats van slapen in de BBB). Omdat ik de sleutel van Cadette moet krijgen en haar niet te pakken krijg, bel ik naar haar huisgenoten. Niemand in dat huis weet wie Cadette is, pas als ik uitgebreid beschrijf waar haar kamer is snappen ze over wie ik het heb. Okoro omschrijft haar als "the black girl". Nou is Cadette vaak op zichzelf en spreekt zij Nederlands terwijl de rest communiceert in het Engels, maar dit geeft toch aan dat niet iedereen onderdeel is van de community. Zelf als je bij elkaar in huis woont ben je niet automatisch lid van de groep.

People form a community and help each other but when someone does not follow into the 'normal' code he or she is treated very different.

Naast mijn stage hielp ik PAO ook door een buddy te zijn voor Mercy een vrouw die de naaicursus had gevolgd. Mercy verblijft in de BBB, en heeft last van suikerziekte. Ze geeft aan dat ze haar medicijnen stiekem neemt in de badkamer, zodat de anderen er niet achter komen. Heel veel andere mensen doen dat ook, ziektes zijn taboe en er wordt niet over gesproken. Als anderen erachter komen dat je een ziekte hebt val je buiten de groep en wordt je soms zelfs gepest.

Economic

Have you lived in Amsterdam only or also in other places?

A: I have lived in Appelska in Friesland, I have lived in [not understandable] also in Friesland, I have lived in Rotterdam

Q: Oke mostly in AZC?

A: Yes in AZC in lived in eh, I have also lived in Ter Apel when I came new. And eh ja I have lived in Rotterdam also in shelter

Q: When you were already rejected?

A: Yeah, in a shelter. When I was in the shelter I get documents. I have one year documents so that is when I got a house in Amsterdam with address

Q: With the documents?

A: Yes with the documents. I have the documents, but that is when I couldn't renew the documents.

Q: Oke, so you got undocumented. But you stayed in Amsterdam?

A: Yes I stayed in Amsterdam

Q: Oke, and what do you do mostly during the day?

A: During the day, like now when i finish arranging and washing I will go to gym. When I finish with the gym I will come back, take a shower, I maybe I will eat my food and drink my medicine. I will rest a little bit, then I go out, I go out to sometimes I will go to a quiet place to sit down like this park and in front of onze lieve vrouwe hospital. Sometimes I go there to sit down sometimes when is like I have so much stress I love to go to the winkel to look around to see some beautiful things. That will make me feel happy. By the end of the day I will come back. Sometimes also I go to the church, when it is time for church or prayer. Sometimes I will also go to in onze lieve vrouwe chapel there and they let people hold their prayer there, so I go there to sit down for some time and also go home.

A: I see myself as a normal person, I see myself as a normal person that is living a normal life. And eh even when I was on the street because I have lived on the street before I just got a pillow, this pillow [shows the pillow on her bed] I don't feel, I don't feel undocumented.

Q: You don't feel like you don't belong here?

A: Yes, I have stress every time I pass through, but I see those things as part of my life. Maybe that is how God want it you know. And eh, I don't even see any difference in my eyes between document and undocument so I, so far I see where I sleep, I eat or I see some voluntary work to do or if it is possible to do good job, I can also do because I am willing.

Q: Yeah

A: I am willing but is only eh situations that withheld somethings that I can be able to do. Because with or without document I have.

how did you hear of ASKV?

A: Ehm, when I don't eh. It was from a friend in the church. She used to go to worldhouse

Q: Yeah

A: Yeah, so the time I was not receiving any income from the government when the have some problem with my document, so I don't get income from the government. So that girl her name is [name of the girl] she told me there is a place called worldhouse. I can come with her and to, I can explain my problem so then that they can help me out. So, because that time I was very sick so. That time I just want to end my life because I have, it is like what is the life for. I was thinking I went to escape a problem life like I went to face another problem. So I don't talk to people, I always stay indoors, I don't eat even though I can't take my medicine without food. And eh because that woman would everyday she would come to me and say come with me to worldhouse maybe they will help you in this problem. Because I don't know where to go to, I don't know who to run to, I don't know who to... I don't even know where to start a way to end. But when I come to worldhouse I see some love, I see some

love. I met [name of person who works at worldhouse], I met [name of person who works at worldhouse], I met a lot of people, I see other people that are also coming to worldhouse, I feel loved. They have this kind of thing, I don't know. So I bring my document, I bring everything, I show them for them to seek contact with my lawyer. Because I don't even know what to do, I don't know how to contact lawyer, I don't know how to do anything, I don't even know who to tell my problem. I would just like confused.

Q: Yeah

A: I was just confused. Somebody in the middle of the water and I don't know who would rescue me. So when I got there a met Cor, I did intake with Cor [employee of the worldhouse], Pastor Cor, So I did intake there and they contact my lawyer. Everything is beginning. But I was to very sick and my blood pressure is getting higher everyday and the a lot of thing my even when you talk I don't understand what you are saying because my ears, everything is going [make a loud sound] in my ears. And eh I am a kind of, and he looks at me and says it is oke. They contact my lawyer from there, they started helping me that time. Every month they gave me some money to eat that time, but I was still staying with the church member, Stella. So she lived in a camp. So sometimes I have nice time, maybe I don't know that I am disturbing them maybe they said that I am talking and disturbing and shouting or I don't know. The kind of intimidation and things like that you know and sometimes I cannot eat, I start being sick all the time. So I come back to Cor, so Cor there was another help that he would tried. He try to help me is to send me to GGD. So they will check me and eh eh eh see if they can help me. So Cor, pastor Cor write the letter from worldhouse to GGD. So they write me and make appointment to see me. So the day of the appointment I went to GGD. So they did test and they checked everything, so later I was outside in front of the office. Because at that time I don't have money, sometimes I stand in metro station to beg for some money to even to buy any little thing to eat. Sometimes I get one euro, two euros before person I was begging, standing there begging there for money. So when I go to GGD, they test me and the woman saw that I was very sick, physically also and eh I told the woman I am not mad. She said I didn't sound mad. So they later told me that the lawyer would go to the friend if I can get a house to stay. So I was in the metro station, sitting there in front of the metro station in kraaiennest. So the lawyer called me, because not all the time I stay outside. So the lawyer called me, I don't know the lawyer, but he called me and asked me if the friend they got if they would help me that what do I want, do I want money or do I want house? I told the lawyer: "I don't need money, I need house. I don't have a place to put my head".

Q: Yeah

A: Even if he is [not understandable] I can call my own place to put my head is better. I don't need big house. When they gave me this place I did not expect it. So because obvious, when they give me this place I did not expect it. It is oke. Than later the [not understandable] called and he also was there, he told me again what did I say when he was there. Did I need money or do I need house. I told him I don't need money I need a house. I need a place to lay my head, I need to have some peace because the stress that time came to me so much that sometimes I want to jump in the metro station. Sometimes I would be crossing the road, I don't know that car is coming. But since I come to this house of ASKV, I have some little back, I have back some peace because before I was like, I would not know I am talking. People would be look at me, I don't know, but now at least I have my own place to put my head. And I am grateful for that, I thank God for that.

Q: So worldhouse basically got you the help of ASKV?

A: Yeah

Q: Ah that is really good. And now you feel at lot better physically also?

A: I still go for therapy at my physiatrist and take my medication and for the blood pressure. And sometimes, sometimes my two legs will swell up sometimes but my blood pressure is still high sometimes. But I am drinking the medicine, the baxter they gave to me. I used to drink and also do want to sleep. In the night they help me to sleep, because I cannot, because of a lot of thing that have gone wrong for a lot for sometimes I cannot sleep good in the night and eh most of the time my ear will be [makes loud noise]. When I walk in, I feel that somebody is walking behind me, I get more confused, I get more confused.

Q: And that is when you go to the park or your happy place?

A: Yeah. Or I call my girlfriend to know, because I know I talk to her I ask her if she can come to me. Yeah sometimes she comes, when she is free.

Q: Yeah

A: Yeah

Q: Your girlfriend also lived in Amsterdam?

A: Yeah.

Q: Oh that is nice. Yeah so, you basically had a really though time when you came here. But now that you are staying here you are slowly getting a lot better.

A: Yeah

Q: Right?

A: Yeah

Q: And you have a family sort of. Oke that is really nice.

Q: Ehm, What is important for you to feel at home somewhere?

A: Sorry

Q: What is important for you to feel at home somewhere? Like you stay in Kikkenstein right?

A: Yes

Q: What makes you say like oh this is my home?

A: To feel like home?

Q: Yes

A: I do not feel like it is my home now.

Q: Why not?

A: For now my home, but after [not understandable] I leave them behind, maybe another city.

People, if you need to go somewhere like hospital or pharmacy

Q: Things close by?

Q: What do you mostly do during the day?

A: Really nothing

Q: To sit at home?

A: Yes I stay at home, sometimes go outside, sometimes you don't

Q: Oke, when did you come to Amsterdam, and why did you come to Amsterdam?

A: Oke the reason why I came to Amsterdam is because I found out about ASKV that eh you help out if someone is undocumented, so I came to ask for shelter also. That is the reason why I came here.

Q: And if you have to give it a grade, from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home in the BBB?

A: Ehm, 9.

Q: That is really good. And that is just because you feel safe there?

A: Yes, I feel safe there.

Q: Would you change anything if you could, to feel more at home?

A: In BBB?

Q: Yeah

A: Probably during the day, you could stay there

Q: Yeah, because what do you do mostly during the day now?

A: You go out, if I find something to do volunteer work I do that or if I have a class or anything yeah

Q: Ohyeah, And do you have connections with Dutch people outside of ASKV?

A: Yes

Q: Do feel more connected to the Netherlands or Dutch people because of ASKV?

A: Because of ASKV? eh Yes, because ASKV they helped me in one way, they have given me like some voluntary work and through that I have met a lot of new people.

Q: And do you also have connections with people who had a Dublin claim, but have now a status?

A: Eh Yes

Q: So you feel at home in the BBB?

A: Yes

A: Somewhere to live, getting some help it is difficult, but after we get ASKV for me it is really better. We get a course like computer training, later we start also haircutting.

Q: 8 jaar en eh waar heb je allemaal gewoond?

A: 3 jaar in AZC, de rest een beetje buiten, ASKV of van ASKV naar AZC en daar zit ik nu.

Q: En waar verblijf je nu?

A: In AZC

Q: En voel je je daar thuis?

A: Niet echt
Q: Als je het een cijfer moet geven van 1 tot 10 wat zou je het geven?
A: 4.
Q: 4. En wat zou je verbeteren, wat zou er anders moeten?
A: AZC is eh, je bent een beetje gesloten, geen connectie en ja heel veel stress.
Q: Oke
A: Ja het is anders dan thuis.

Q: En in het ASKV huis, toen je daar nog zat, wat zou je dat voor cijfer geven?
A: Ja dat zou ik een 6 ofzo geven.
Q: Een 6, gewoon omdat het meer open is?
A: Omdat daar heel veel mensen op visite ja.

Q: Oke, and why did you come to Amsterdam?
A: To find shelter
Q: You thought that it was more possible here than in Friesland?
A: Yes

Q: What is important for you to feel at home in a place?
A: The place where I am living?
Q: Yes
A: I am sorry, the place where I am living is a men's house. It is very quite difficult to live in a men's house. As long as I don't have any choice I live but it is very difficult.
Q: What would we, what would you like to change to feel more at home? More at peace at home?
A: Yes, it is so peaceful, so ASKV thanks. I don't need more.
Q: Oke but if you would describe your perfect place to live, when you say that is my home
A: yeah
Q: What would you describe it as?
A: I don't have to think about that, I don't have anything. I am happy with any shelter.
Q: You are happy where you are?
A: I am happy
Q: You are not going to be the only girl for long
A: What is that
Q: You are not going to be the only girl for long, with the baby coming
A: Yeah, especially with the baby coming the place I am living is very dirty.
Q: Oke
A: Also with the toilet, I am the only woman living in the house they don't understand and I don't want to bother ASKV every morning but it is strange because the house. With the situation I am here with the pregnancy I don't care about clean, because I am tired. I clean but ja they don't support me.
Q: So if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how would you grade being at home in Kikkenstein?
A: I don't understand
Q: ehm how do you say that, the place where you stay, Kikkenstein yeah?
A: yes
Q: And you feel at home somewhere, like you come home. If you have to give it a grade, from 1 to 10 how much do you feel like at home in Kikkenstein?
A: With the person?
Q: Yes
A: 10/10 I feel but,

Q: oke, that is a good reason. Ehm, what is important for you to feel at home?
A: in here?
Q: Yes or in the place where you sleep. What is important for you?
A: At Walborg?
Q: yes
A: Oh before?
Q: yes when you have a home, is it friends, family..

A: oh yes, yes I have an ehm schoonmaken job at what you call home. And i was also having a friend we live together at [name of place]. We lived a nice live, very peacefully. It was, we come peacefully in the house. And ehm, i was living a nice life, I was having no problem with nothing, with myself. And then one [not understandable] and i fall down and I couldn't go to walk and go on the [not understandable]. That is how I ended up in Walborg.

Q: Oke, on a scale of 1 to 10 how much do you feel at home in Walborg?

A: Where?

Q: Walborg

A: ooh haha, 3

Q: Oke, and why?

A: Why because I get something to eat sometimes you know? At six o'clock. And at six o'clock it is always rice and pasta and stamp.. And with my diabetes I cannot have too much rice all the time.

Q: only sometimes?

A: Yes [not understandable]. Next they always say go out, go out. [not understandable]

Q: Yes. What would you change if you could? To feel more at home

A: Better?

Q: What would you change to feel more at home?

A: At Walborg? I don't understand.

Q: In the Walborg, you said you feel like a three at home. What would you change? To have differently, to feel more at home there?

A: Nothing

Q: Nothing, you just move?

A: yes that is right haha

Q: Back to that apartment with your friend

A: haha

Q: In the Walborg, you said you feel like a three at home. What would you change? To have differently, to feel more at home there?

A: Nothing

Q: Nothing, you just move?

A: yes that is right haha

A: Oke how do you feel there, [not understandable]. Because you need to drink a lot of ehm, today you have to take your back with you and you can't early go to [not understandable] Everybody was stressed that was when I see her, everybody was stressed to take your back. And the back will be with you, you go around with your back and then when you go you would have the same want. And when wash you pants, the pants they dry and you go in the streets. [not understandable] and I told them, no I don't have problem but look at the woman you have to go to church you have your friends [not understandable] but now you wash your pants, put them in your back and go to another room you you you it is still damp, it is not hygienic. You do not want to live in Walborg some are dirty some are clean [not understandable] But now the situation has calmed down. Now when you come to BBB in the night they say go to your room.

Q: So now you have the same room?

A: yes

Q: Oh that is a lot better

A: Yeah, it was good and before it was not good.

A: Wat doe je overdag?

Q: Ja

A: Nu ben ik bezig met Mikael [his son], maar als hij op school is, ik doe vrijwilligwerk in zijn school. Ik geef piano les, dat is echt leuk en ik heb tijden ook geregeld dat ik bijvoorbeeld ook kan gaan. Dan komt hij om twee uur terug, klaar dus ik ben ook om 2 uur klaar. Dus we zijn samen thuis gekomen.

Q: Oh dat is ook wel fijn ja.

A: ja en ook lees ik eh veel boeken in het Nederlands. Want mijn beroep is economie dus ik lees, ik wil een artikel schrijven over de economische situatie, dus nu ben ik daar mee bezig. Maar het is wel echt moeilijk.

Q: Oke, dat is wel interessant hoor.

A: Ja

Q: Oke and have you lived mostly in AZC or?

A: Yes, but not mostly, but I lived in [not understandable] I dont really remember how long it was.

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home where you are now, where you are sleeping?

A: I am now living in de vrankrijk

Q: yes and how much do you feel at home there?

A: 100 procent really

Q: yeah? that is really good.

A: There is really good friendly people, who talk to me and ask if everything is oke, if I need any help, anything. It is really very friendly people where i am living now.

Q: ehm lets see, what do you mostly do during the day?

A: At this moment I dont do that much. but I was thinking to make an appointment with askv here about schooling.

Q: ehm, what do you mostly do during the day? You work haha

AJ: yeah we are working and now we started two weeks ago with going to the gym but it is very difficult because we don't have bane, banke

AS: Bank account

AJ: So one friends payed with bank account but we get cash. But is it difficult

Q: Yeah and you can't pay in cash.

AJ: Yes

AS: Yes

Q: But it is nice that you go to the gym.

AJ and AS: Yeah

Q: How long have you lived in the Netherlands?

A: I think four months in Amsterdam and 6 months and 8 days in Schiphol detention center.

Q: Oke, but all together in the Netherlands, so ten months?

A: Yes

Q: Why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

A: It is optional, the first when i went to Schiphol center i told them i want to go to Denmark. So they said no, you dont allow to leave Schiphol and first of all you go to prison for three days because of using fake pasport and then they transfer to the, another place, for make an asylum case and eh bla bla bla.

Q: where do you stay at the moment?

A: In BBB. schuithuisstraat.

Q: Oke, and if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10 how at home do you feel in the BBB?

A: Sorry i can not

Q: Do you feel at home in the BBB, like it is your home?

A: No

Q: No?

A: No

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, when 1 is bad and 10 is good what would you give it?

A: Zero

Q: Zero oke, so it is very bad?

A: It is very bad of course

Q: And why?

A: Because they, you know, they mix all religions in one small place so they dont know how to clean themselves how to talk to each other, how to eat, how to talk to each other. you know, most of them are very very primary very very primary. in a general room they speak loudly and when i complain more time more time they never, they, i mean the administration college never pay attention to my voice, you know?

Q: Oke, yeah so if you would change something it would be religion, they people

A: Of course yes

Schiphol center

Q: Oke, and the BBB also?

A: In the BBB also

Q: Oke, What is important for you to feel at home somewhere? Like you belong somewhere

A: Yes, he don't like BBB, but he does feel like he belongs here

Q: Oke, and if he has to give it a grade, like 1 to 10 what would he say?

A: Amsterdam or BBB?

Q: Both

A: There is no score for BBB, zero. And Amsterdam 100 not 10 haha

Q: That is outside of the scale haha. But that is really good. Oke, ehm what would you change if you could about the BBB then, your living situation?

A: Yes yes

Q: Oke, and what is important for him to feel at home? Like you said religion, what is important for him?

A: The same

Q: Also religion?

A: Yes

Laatste tijd zijn er veel mensen met een Dublin claim. Dit zijn mensen die al in een ander EU land vingerafdrukken enzo hebben afgegeven. Dan moeten ze ook daar Asiel aanvragen volgens de wet. Na 18 maanden vervalt de Dublin claim. Sinds kort kunnen mensen met een Dublin claim niet meer terecht in de BBB. Dit omdat deze overvol zitten en er een wachtlijst is van ongeveer 100 personen. De gemeente heeft maatregelen genomen zodat de wachtlijst verkort. Mensen met een Dublin claim mogen er niet meer in en mensen die uit 'veilige' landen komen ook niet. Hierdoor slapen er veel mensen op straat

ASKV doet een intake met mensen die voor het eerst komen. In die intake zit altijd iemand van het juridisch team en iemand van het maatschappelijk team. Er wordt gekeken naar iemands juridische situatie, deze bepaald of de persoon cliënt kan worden van het ASKV. De maatschappelijke hulpverlener kijkt naar iemand verblijfplek en of iemand medische zorg nodig heeft. Als iemand cliënt wordt van het ASKV, kan diegene mee doen met een cursus van PAO of een taalcursus volgen. Ook wordt er een hulpverleningsplan opgesteld, de bedoeling van dit plan is om de persoon zo zelfredzaam en zelfstandig mogelijk te maken zodat hij of zij net iets beter af is aan het einde van het traject.

Wereldhuis -> dagopvang. Geeft mensen een plek om te zijn overdag en biedt een maaltijd (lunch), maar je kan er niet slapen. Wel helpen de mensen van het wereldhuis met zoeken naar een slaapplek voor mensen die op straat slapen.

Het loket (vreemdelingenloket) zet mensen op de wachtlijst voor de BBB. BBB is de enige plek om te slapen. Het loket screent mensen ook om te kijken of ze in aanmerking komen voor 24-uurs BBB. Je kan alleen voor 24 uren BBB in aanmerking komen als je een kwetsbaar persoon bent (een ziekte hebt).

De laatste tijd komen er heel veel Eritreeërs bij ASKV, ik weet niet of dit in verband staat met de vorige observatie dat mensen uit Eritrea minder gauw slaapplekken vinden binnen hun netwerk. Maar iedereen heeft het er over, dat er heel veel mensen uit Eritrea aankomen. Het lastige is dat deze mensen vaak helemaal geen Engels kunnen en dat maakt communiceren vrij lastig. Wat me ook opvalt is dat veel mensen niet precies weten wie hun advocaat is en niet zuinig omgaan met hun papieren. Als iemand een brief heeft is die vaak opgevouwen tot hele kleine stukjes of helemaal verfrommeld. Dit kan heel goed te maken hebben met het feit dat ze op straat verblijven en geen goede spullen hebben om de papieren in te bewaren.

Vandaag heb ik voor het eerste een bed bad brood locatie bezocht. Ik mocht samen met een collega iemand begeleiden die daar een plekje krijgt in de 24-uurs BBB. Hij is gescreend door het loket en mag nu naar een locatie waar hij dus 24 uur per dag mag verblijven in plaats van alleen tussen 18.00 en 09.00 zoals bij de gewone BBB het geval is. Onderweg naar de BBB schrok de cliënt, Ali, heel erg van een overvliegend vliegtuig. Hij dook helemaal in een hoekje weg en begon te huilen. Dit maakte heel veel indruk om mij en deed me realiseren dat veel vluchtelingen psychische problemen hebben.

De Bed bad brood locatie zag er best prima uit, het was er redelijk schoon en de keuken was voorzien van de basis dingen. Mensen kunnen in de avond zelf koken, maar meestal wordt er voor iedereen tegelijk gekookt. Wat mij vooral opviel is dat de locatie best lijkt op een studentencomplex zoals hoogeveldt maar dan slaap je met

meer mensen tegelijk op een kamer. Ook mogen mensen maar 1 stuk bagage meenemen en moeten ze direct na het ontbijt weer naar buiten.

In iedere eerste week van de maand wordt het leefgeld uitgedeeld. Dit is een bedrag van 200 euro voor iedereen die in een ASKV huis woont. Het is dan de bedoeling dat wij als stagairs, langs de huizen gaan met de envelopjes met geld. Dit geeft een kans om de huizen te observeren en te kijken hoe de mensen wonen. Elk huis heeft basis meubels die door ASKV worden betaald, zo heeft iedereen een bed met matras, kussen en dekens, zijn er spullen om mee te koken, is er televisie en internet etc. Ook heeft het ASKV een klusjesman in dienst die regelmatig de huizen langs gaat. De mensen level sober, maar zijn dankbaar met een dak boven hun hoofd en een veilige plek om tot rust te komen.

Ik heb een cliënt en zij is zwanger. Ik probeer haar te begeleiden in het verzamelen van baby spullen. Maar dit is heel lastig. In de praktijk ben ik voornamelijk baby spullen aan het verzamelen en is zij alleen maar aan het klagen dat het niet goed genoeg is. Hier hebben we laatst ook een ruzie over gehad, Semhar kwam langs bij het ASKV kantoor om te vragen waarom we geen fatsoenlijk bed hadden gekocht nog voor haar baby (we hadden een bed gekregen waar de baby de eerste maanden in kan slapen). Ik heb haar toen verteld dat wij niet verantwoordelijk zijn voor haar baby en dat zij zelf ook mee kan helpen met het verzamelen van spullen. Ook was het niet goed dat er maar 1 badje was, terwijl er twee baby's geboren zouden worden in dat huis. Dit voorval geeft aan dat in dit geval Semhar en Berhane (de andere zwangere vrouw), maar ook veel andere cliënten, een enorm afhankelijkke houding aannemen en zelf niets of niet veel regelen.

Laatst had ik een dergelijke situatie met Mark een andere cliënt. Hij kan niet slapen omdat hij veel last heeft van nachtmerries en ik vermoed PTSS. Hij heeft hier medicatie voor en ik heb hem oordoppen gegeven omdat hij aangaf niet te kunnen slapen van het geluid in de BBB. Verder is Mark nu in behandeling bij Equator (trauma behandeling). Maar hij kan nog steeds niet slapen en komt dit elke week tegen mij zeggen. Dan komt hij langs en gaat hij in het kantoor van ASKV zitten slapen en zegt hij tijdens het gesprek alleen maar: "Marieke I can no sleep". Wat mij opvalt bij dit soort gesprekken, is dat sommige mensen zich heel zielig voor doen en heel afhankelijk maken. Ik kreeg heel erg het gevoel dat ik de moeder van Mark was, zoals hij deed. Als ik dit koppel aan de literatuur vermoed ik dat dit gedrag wel eens kan voortkomen uit de angst om alleen te zijn. Dat de hulpverlener iemand is die altijd voor de klaar staat.

Wat me wel heel erg opvalt is dat veel mensen bereid zijn om te onze cliënten te helpen. Ik had op facebook een oproep geplaatst dat ik voor cliënten babyspullen nodig heb en heel veel mensen hebben gereageerd en doneren de spullen helemaal gratis. Ook komen er wel wekelijks mensen langs die kleding en schoenen hebben voor in het kledingrek (waar de cliënten het gratis kunnen meenemen). Ook hebben we regelmatig een donatie van Adidas en laatst ook van Lush met spullen die we kunnen uitdelen.

Wat me ook heel erg opvalt is dat er veel moeders met kinderen op straat slapen. Deze moeders zijn weg gegaan uit het AZC zodra ze te horen kregen dat hun asiel verzoek was afgewezen en ze kunnen niet terecht in de BBB. BBB is alleen voor mensen alleen niet voor gezinnen. Waar deze moeders terecht kunnen is een gol (gezinsopvanglocatie). Het nadeel van een gol is dat zodra je daar heen gaat je in aanraking komt met DT&V (dienst terugkeer en vertrek) en je mee moet werken aan je vertrek om daar te kunnen verblijven. Dit willen de moeders niet en daardoor komen ze op straat te staan.

Ik heb twee cliënten uit Iran die allebei zijn gevlucht vanwege hun geloof. Ze zijn Christelijk in plaats van Moslim en dat is gevaarlijk in Iran. Zij vertelde me vandaag dat ze wel in de BBB slapen omdat ze geen andere plek hebben maar dat de BBB voor hun ook nog een nare plek is, omdat mensen daar ook over het algemeen Moslim zijn. Als die mensen erachter komen dat de Iraniërs Christelijk zijn wordt ze het leven zuur gemaakt. Dan horen ze niet meer bij de groep en worden ze gepest. Ook gaven ze aan, en dit is iets wat ik al van veel meer mensen heb gehoord, is dat het in de BBB heel rumoerig is en dat dit zorgt voor een slechte nachtrust. Om hun woorden te parafraseren: die Afrikanen zijn vaak heel luid, die schreeuwen in plaats van praten en hier kunnen wij niet door slapen. Iedereen heeft zijn eigen cultuur en zijn eigen gewoonten en dat moet samen wonen in de BBB, maar dit komt niet ten goede van iedereen's nachtrust en welzijn.

Er is een grote 'opruim/controle' actie geweest in de BBB. Er staat in de regels dat mensen niet meer dan 1 bagage stuk mee mogen nemen. Veel mensen hebben wel wat meer en dat is nu weg gegooid, zonder dat de mensen konden protesteren. Ook is van heel veel mensen hun eten weg gegooid want officieel mogen ze dat niet bij zich hebben. De afgelopen jaren werd er vaak een oogje dicht geknepen en werden de regels niet zo streng gehandhaafd, daardoor kwam deze controle uit het niets en zijn veel mensen weer heel bang geworden. Dit zal de

gevoelens van thuis zijn niet bevorderen, ik denk dat het een negatief effect zal hebben.

Politics of belonging

Q: Yeah, of course you lose contact. So do you feel part of a community? Like you are part of the undocumented people community or church.

A: Eh, I don't see myself as an undocumented person

Q: Oke

A: I see myself as a normal person, I see myself as a normal person that is living a normal life. And eh even when I was on the street because I have lived on the street before I just got a pillow, this pillow [shows the pillow on her bed] I don't feel, I don't feel undocumented.

Q: You don't feel like you don't belong here?

A: Yes, I have stress every time I pass through, but I see those things as part of my life. Maybe that is how God want it you know. And eh, I don't even see any difference in my eyes between document and undocument so I, so far I see where I sleep, I eat or I see some voluntary work to do or if it is possible to do good job, I can also do because I am willing.

Q: Yeah

A: I am willing but is only eh situations that withheld somethings that I can be able to do. Because with or without document I have.

Q: When you were already rejected?

A: Yeah, in a shelter. When I was in the shelter I get documents. I have one year documents so that is when I got a house in Amsterdam with address

Q: With the documents?

A: Yes with the documents. I have the documents, but that is when I couldn't renew the documents.

Q: Oke, so you got undocumented. But you stayed in Amsterdam?

A: Yes I stayed in Amsterdam

So if you have to give it a grade again, like from 1 to 10, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: For me now, I feel already like a Dutch person because now I cannot live in Africa. One of the things that make that I can't live in Africa: One, my safety, Two, the the, I cannot eh eh the environment. Like now when it is to hot. Even here when the summer is to hot, it is to much for me. So if you compare it to Africa now, if you don't have anything you would just go there and die.

Q: Yeah it is to hot and cold

A: Yeah and the behave of people, the way people behave there is not the way

Q: You have become to western so to say

A: Yeah, like here we do things rustig. But in Africa they don't do things rustig [calm]

Q: They don't?

A: They don't do things rustig. You can be walking on the street and somebody will hit you and nobody, you cannot say anything, before you know the person is dead.

Q: So you chose to come to the Netherlands then right? Out of every country in Europe, why did you choose to come to the Netherlands? Or was there no specific reason?

A: I don't choose Netherlands, i find myself in Netherlands because I don't know the country I am going to.

Q: Oh you just when somewhere?

A: Yeah, I just traveled with the man that brought me mister [name of the man]. He told me we were going to Europe but I don't know the particular place in Europe that we are going to.

Q: Oke so you didn't choose

A: Yeah, I don't choose myself where I am going to, but I am happy that I am leaving Africa. I am leaving the problem behind, I am happy.

Q: Yeah, and now that you are here, the Netherlands in treating you well, despite the documents?

A: Despite the documents, even when I am in prison I told them it is better for me to stay in prison, because in Africa it is double prison. In Africa you are free but you are in prison and nobody hears your voice. Even if they are killing you of if anything is happening to you as a woman or you want to, you want to be happy in life to show your gender or anything you are not free.

Q: Oke. So is that also really important for you to feel at home, to be free?

A: Yes, because I have not experience some happiness in Africa and a childhood happiness because the [not understandable word] from the childhood is like, is like how do I say it, it is like an unhappy life. yeah because as a

child you don't see yourself as a child. As a child my parents betrothed me to a man by force to be with the man, but I don't want, when I was 14 years as a child. So really, I don't really enjoy my childhood, coupled with the beating of the [not understandable] and everything. So all those things makes me to have so much stress, but no one could come to my rescue that time. The government cannot come to your rescue, nobody will want to listen to you, there is no social worker to ask you what goes on and what happened or this or that. Everyone is on their own, you fix it by yourself. Even if you die it is your own problem.

Q: And if you have to give it a grade again, from 1 to 10, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: I don't see myself as a Dutch person, don't know any yet.

Q: So you don't feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: Yes not, not here. I don't see these people, I don't know anything about them. Only living with people.

Q: Yeah oke. Well, thank you.

Q: Three years oke and did you have a Dublin before?

A: Yes

Q: Ehm, why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

A: When I was searching my first plan was to go to England actually but the language is easier and everything and when I couldn't I searched for places where I could continue my studies in English.

Q: Oh yeah

A: And I found out that Holland also has that so I choose the Netherlands.

Q: And if you have to give it a grade, from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home in the BBB?

A: Ehm, 9.

Q: That is really good. And that is just because you feel safe there?

A: Yes, I feel safe there.

Q: Would you change anything if you could, to feel more at home?

A: In BBB?

Q: Yeah

A: Probably during the day, you could stay there

Q: Oke, and if you have to give it a grade again from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home in Amsterdam?

A: The same, 9.

Q: And the Netherlands?

A: Regarding that I don't have a paper, 8.

Q: A little bit less.

A: Yes.

Q: But do you feel like you are Dutch?

A: At this moment?

Q: yes

A: haha How?

Q: haha Yes, but that is what I am trying to find out, how Dutch people, how Dutch you feel? Because you are undocumented so I am trying to find out

A: yeah at this moment ehm undocumented, but I have interesting life

Q: You have a good life despite being

A: yeah

Q: But do you feel Dutch at the moment? Would you say you are Dutch?

A: I can't say. Because I am not, I am undocumented person so

Q: But how do you feel?

A: At this moment?

Q: yeah

A: nothing

Q: So you don't feel Dutch?

A: I like but I don't feel Dutch because I am undocumented

Q: yeah, You will start feeling Dutch once you are

A: Yeah, whenever I get status I will. But that happens 12 months

Q: yeah oke, that is also a good answer

A: yeah

En als je het weer een cijfer zou moeten geven, hoe Nederlands voel je je?

A: Wat bedoel je?

Q: Nou bijvoorbeeld de mate van integratie in Nederland

A: Weet je, over integratie, ik ben ongedocumenteerd, ik ben illegaal. Is moeilijk om te zeggen hoe voel ik me over integratie terwijl

Q: Ja. Want je voelt je misschien wel heel Nederlands, maar je bent nog ongedocumenteerd.

A: Ja ik ben ongedocumenteerd, want dat is anders dan wanneer het mag

Q: Het houd je tegen?

A: Ja

Q: Oke, dank je wel.

Q: Why did you choose to come to the Netherlands specifically, did you know about the country or?

A: Well, When I was coming to Europe the reason why I came to Netherlands is [understandable] the support for blacks and tolerance for black people. You have, Surinam's, black, Netherlands they, so they all from Africa, they all from.. they love the country to be warm.

Q: oke

A: Yes. the stories I read about the Netherlands or the Surinam was good.

Q: Why did you stay in the Netherlands after being rejected?

A: Nowhere to go

And look at my age, if I go to jail I dont want to live

Q: oke, so you feel Dutch?

A: Sure

Q: On a scale of 1 to 10 how Dutch do you feel?

A: Of 1 to 10?

Q: Yes

A: I can't say I feel 10, I can't say I feel 1 but I can say i feel 8 to 9

Q: 8 to 9?

A: Yeah

Q: Why did you move to Amsterdam?

A: It is more safe, more friendly and everyone is. It just feels safe.

Q: Oke, that is also what you like about Amsterdam, the feeling of safety?

A: The feeling of safety and being an LGBT it is closer to meeting other LGBT, other peoples the same.

Q: Yes, it is more together?

A: Yes more together

Q: And the Netherlands?

A: Also, but it is not the same as Amsterdam where everywhere you go you see the LGBT flag and no one have any question about LGBT.

Q: So the Netherlands is more like 7?

A: Yes. 7?

Q: Yes, I am just suggesting something, or 8 or..

A: yeah

Q: And how do you feel, do you feel like you are Dutch already a little bit? Like you belong in the Netherlands?

A: I feel like I belong to the Netherlands, but I feel at the same time. Always when I feel that, I feel at the same time my document problem.

Q: Yes that is really in the way of

A: Yes, at the same time

Q: So if you have to give it a grade again, how Dutch do you feel?

A: 99 I would say, and directly then I could feel the pain that I am illegal.

bank account but we get cash. But is it difficult

Q: Oke, and the Netherlands, like the whole country

AJ: About the LGBT people I think it is better here, but another think that is better than my country for example

AJ and AS talk in Spanish

Q: It is the same?

AJ: No here in Amsterdam is better than in for example Echt because Echt is a very small place

Q: Yes it is different

AJ: Yes it is very different. Here are many people from different countries. It is better here.

Q: Ehm, Why did you move to Amsterdam?

A: Because IND give me negative and of course and when they can not come back to Iran, they push me onto the streets

Q: Do you already feel like you are a bit Dutch?

A: Yes of course i learn Dutch, ik kan spraak Dutch beetje.

Q: Een beetje

A: ja

Q: so if you have to give it a grade again from 1 to 10, how Dutch do you feel?

A: 1 to 10? To connect to other people...

Q: Yeah, like if you are a Dutch person

A: Ah, 5.

Q: If he has to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much does he feel like he is a Dutch person, like he belongs in the Netherlands? How much does he feel like he is already integrated?

A: 10

Q: oke, really Dutch. Now just the language and it will be perfect.

A: Yes haha.

Article 25 Universal declaration of human rights – every person has a right to food, clothes and shelter.

Laatste tijd zijn er veel mensen met een Dublin claim. Dit zijn mensen die al in een ander EU land vingerafdrukken enzo hebben afgegeven. Dan moeten ze ook daar Asiel aanvragen volgens de wet. Na 18 maanden vervalt de Dublin claim. Sinds kort kunnen mensen met een Dublin claim niet meer terecht in de BBB. Dit omdat deze overvol zitten en er een wachtlijst is van ongeveer 100 personen. De gemeente heeft maatregelen genomen zodat de wachtlijst verkort. Mensen met een Dublin claim mogen er niet meer in en mensen die uit 'veilige' landen komen ook niet. Hierdoor slapen er veel mensen op straat

Er wordt ook extra gelet op regiobinding. Dit houdt in dat als iemand in een AZC in een deel van Nederland heeft gezeten, hij of zij ook daar moet zoeken naar een BBB voorziening of andere opvang. Zo worden de migranten gespreid en wordt voorkomen dat ze allemaal naar 1 plek trekken.

Wat me wel heel erg opvalt is dat veel mensen bereid zijn om te onze cliënten te helpen. Ik had op facebook een oproep geplaatst dat ik voor cliënten babyspullen nodig heb en heel veel mensen hebben gereageerd en doneren de spullen helemaal gratis. Ook komen er wel wekelijks mensen langs die kleding en schoenen hebben voor in het kledingrek (waar de cliënten het gratis kunnen meenemen). Ook hebben we regelmatig een donatie van Adidas en laatst ook van Lush met spullen die we kunnen uitdelen.

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Appendix 2 Place identity

Feeling at home

Q: Oke, And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home here?

A: Hmm you know here, we are now everybody we are like one family here and nobody disturbs each other. We are like, if you need help or if you need anything even I have fan here, I have fan but the pregnant woman because she is too hot she asked me for the fan and I give it to here, to use in her room. So we, everybody respects each other, despite your nationality or despite your color we have respect for each other and eh and eh yeah, we live together as one family we don't make problems for each other.

Q: So if you have to give it a grade one to ten?

A: One to, oke so you want me to give a grade on how we live together?

Q: yeah on how much you feel at home here

A: How much, oke. How much I feel at home here, anyway I like it. Will I say 10? I don't know haha.

Q: It is fine if you say 10

A: Yes I like it, I like here because I have some peace. Because before I don't have a home and couple with my situation and the church woman that I was staying with she was telling me that I am a crazy person, that I disturb them in the night, that I was shouting in her house, I do this or I don't know. I was not feeling good then because I cannot eat what I want to eat, I cannot cook what I want to cook. But now I feel at home because I live, the Netherlands people are helping me, I am grateful for that and eh eh eh eh at least I have a place to put my head. Because before ehm I was thinking even sleeping on the street is better for me because nobody will kill me on the street or molest me on the street again.

Q: Oke

A: Yeah

Q: Oke, so it is mostly that you can do your own thing here, just live the way you want to live and be safe. And loved that is very important.

A: Yeah

Q: Oke, and if you would be documented again, in the future. Would you still live in Amsterdam?

A: Hmm, For me yes, because of yes, I am used to Amsterdam now.

Q: Yeah, do you feel like an Amsterdam citizen?

A: Yes.

Q: Oke and if you have to do the same thing for feeling at home in Amsterdam, a grade.

A: In Amsterdam?

Q: Yeah like how much do you feel at home in Amsterdam or that you belong in Amsterdam?

A: In Amsterdam I don't really, In Amsterdam I love to live a life of my own. I don't eh, because you must understand I don't really associate with my fellow people, but in Amsterdam I love to do my things and come back home. Maybe I go to the winkel, or I go and visit a friend I come back home.

Q: So it is a nice city for you to live?

A: I don't eh, it is like when I am in Amsterdam eh like in Friesland I don't know so much people. And the people there they are scared, they are scared maybe to invite you in their house, I don't know the reason, in Friesland.

Q: yes

A: Yeah so, it is just but I have a friend also in Friesland [name of the friend] from Jehova Witness, she used to come to the camp we go to her house, we go to her house and we eat together we do things together in her house in Leeuwarden and we come back. In new city I say I feel comfortable. So far it is not a city that can not protect the citizens. Any place I stay here, even if it is in a remote village, I will feel comfortable. So far maybe by that time I have document, I can walk, go out to walk come back home I will feel comfortable.

Q: Oke, so the Netherlands is also your home now?

A: Yeah

Q: So you really found a place where you belong?

A: Yeah

Q: yes, more than a Dutch citizen?

A: Eh, I am used to the environment here, but I can live anywhere

Q: Oke

A: Yeah, I am a kind of person I can live anywhere any part of the Netherlands. But if I have peace, I like it. I can easily connect with people, if they don't give me problem I will easily feel welcome there.

Q: Yeah. So do you like living in the Netherlands or would you rather go anywhere in Europe?

A: Yeah, since I came to Netherlands even without document I have peace, even without money I have peace nobody beat me, nobody molest me, nobody raped me, nobody threatening my life. I feel protected for almost eight years now. Also I don't know.

Q: Yeah, that is really good.

A: Yeah I have peace

So if you have to give it a grade again, like from 1 to 10, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: For me now, I feel already like a Dutch person because now I cannot live in Africa. One of the things that make that I can't live in Africa: One, my safety, Two, the the, I cannot eh eh the environment. Like now when it is to hot. Even here when the summer is to hot, it is to much for me. So if you compare it to Africa now, if you don't have anything you would just go there and die.

Q: Yeah it is to hot and cold

A: Yeah and the behave of people, the way people behave there is not the way

Q: You have become to western so to say

A: Yeah, like here we do things rustig. But in Africa they don't do things rustig [calm]

Q: They don't?

A: They don't do things rustig. You can be walking on the street and somebody will hit you and nobody, you cannot say anything, before you know the person is dead.

Q: Yeah oke, and now you are living here in Sparrenweg, what is important for you to feel at home here? Living here?

A: One, I don't want people trying to intimidate me or provoke me. I always avoid problem because when I am provoked I cannot control the anger. And eh what do make me to feel relaxed.. You said relaxed?

Q: At home, but that is kind of the same thing

A: At home.. when I see when the people love me

Q: That is when you feel at home

A: Yes, when I see people I look at their face, I know if there is love from the hart. Then I feel at home, I need peoples love, I need love.

Q: How long have you lived in the Netherlands?

A: Ehm, since 2009. I don't know how many years it is now, but I know it is since 2009.

Q: Yeah, of course you lose contact. So do you feel part of a community? Like you are part of the undocumented people community or church.

A: Eh, I don't see myself as an undocumented person

Q: Oke

A: I see myself as a normal person, I see myself as a normal person that is living a normal life. And eh even when I was on the street because I have lived on the street before I just got a pillow, this pillow [shows the pillow on her bed] I don't feel, I don't feel undocumented.

Q: You don't feel like you don't belong here?

A: Yes, I have stress every time I pass through, but I see those things as part of my life. Maybe that is how God want it you know. And eh, I don't even see any difference in my eyes between document and undocument so I, so far I see where I sleep, I eat or I see some voluntary work to do or if it is possible to do good job, I can also do because I am willing.

Q: Yeah

A: I am willing but is only eh situations that withheld somethings that I can be able to do. Because with or without document I have.

Q: So you chose to come to the Netherlands then right? Out of every country in Europe, why did you choose to come to the Netherlands? Or was there no specific reason?

A: I don't choose Netherlands, i find myself in Netherlands because I don't know the country I am going to.

Q: Oh you just when somewhere?

A: Yeah, I just traveled with the man that brought me mister [name of the man]. He told me we were going to Europe but I don't know the particular particular place in Europe that we are going to.

Q: Oke so you didn't choose

A: Yeah, I don't choose myself where I am going to, but I am happy that I am leaving Africa. I am leaving the problem behind, I am happy.

Q: Yeah, and now that you are here, the Netherlands in treating you well, despite the documents?

A: Despite the documents, even when I am in prison I told them it is better for me to stay in prison, because in Africa it is double prison. In Africa you are free but you are in prison and nobody hears your voice. Even if they are

killing you of if anything is happening to you as a woman or you want to, you want to be happy in life to show your gender or anything you are not free.

Q: Oke. So is that also really important for you to feel at home, to be free?

A: Yes, because I have not experience some happiness in Africa and a childhood happiness because the [not understandable word] from the childhood is like, is like how do I say it, it is like an unhappy life. yeah because as a child you don't see yourself as a child. As a child my parents betrothed me to a man by force to be with the man, but I don't want, when I was 14 years as a child. So really, I don't really enjoy my childhood, coupled with the beating of the [not understandable] and everything. So all those things makes me to have so much stress, but no one could come to my rescue that time. The government cannot come to your rescue, nobody will want to listen to you, there is no social worker to ask you what goes on and what happened or this or that. Everyone is on their own, you fix it by yourself. Even if you die it is your own problem.

A: I don't normally associate with people to much.

Q: Yeah, so you are mostly on your own, unless you have your friends or your girlfriend..

A: Yes, and also I go to people maybe to do something. I do it, I go somewhere and I come back to the house.

Q: Yeah this is your happy place in the house.

A: Yes

A: Eh, I don't see myself as an undocumented person

Have you lived in Amsterdam only or also in other places?

A: I have lived in Appelska in Friesland, I have lived in [not understandable] also in Friesland, I have lived in Rotterdam

Q: Oke mostly in AZC?

A: Yes in AZC in lived in eh, I have also lived in Ter Apel when I came new. And eh ja I have lived in Rotterdam also in shelter

Q: When you were already rejected?

A: Yeah, in a shelter. When I was in the shelter I get documents. I have one year documents so that is when I got a house in Amsterdam with address

Q: With the documents?

A: Yes with the documents. I have the documents, but that is when I couldn't renew the documents.

Q: Oke, so you got undocumented. But you stayed in Amsterdam?

A: Yes I stayed in Amsterdam

A: We are the Biafra.

Q: how long have you been in the Netherlands?

A: Three years.

Q: When did you move to Amsterdam?

A: Last year

Q: And why did you come to Amsterdam?

A: Because [not understandable]

Q: But did you come to Amsterdam because it is more opportunities here for you to survive?

A: I don't know where I go

Q: You just went somewhere?

A: Yes

Q: Oke, and ehm would you still stay in Amsterdam if you were, got status?

A: Yes

Q: Why?

A: It is better

Q: Do you like living here?

A: Yes

Q: And what do you like about living here? Is it the people or

A: It is the people and the city. You can live here, you cannot sit in house, you go outside you see people. People you see, but [not understandable]

Q: Ehm, What is important for you to feel at home somewhere?

A: Sorry

Q: What is important for you to feel at home somewhere? Like you stay in Kikkenstein right?

A: Yes

Q: What makes you say like oh this is my home?

A: To feel like home?

Q: Yes

A: I do not feel like it is my home now.

Q: Why not?

A: For now my home, but after [not understandable] I leave them behind, maybe another city.

Q: Oke, what is important for you to stay somewhere? Why would you like to stay somewhere? Is it just a place to sleep for you, or is it the people that live there?

A: People, if you need to go somewhere like hospital or pharmacy

Q: Things close by?

A: Yes

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from one to ten with one being really bad, how much do you feel at home in Kikkenstein?

A: Sometimes a lot, sometimes middle and sometimes not so much

Q: It depends?

A: Yes

Q: And ehm what would you change if you could?

A: huh?

Q: What would you change about living if you could?

A: Sometimes I feel like need to be changed is people I live with

Q: It is the people?

A: Sometimes you do something wrong, you do everything wrong about eating. Sometimes I do like, but that is life you are here that means where I go.

Q: And if you have to give it a grade again from one to ten, how much do you feel at home in Amsterdam?

A: If you live here, this is my home.

Q: Amsterdam is, yeah if Amsterdam is your home, if you have to give it a grade 1 to 10.

A: 10

Q: And the Netherlands?

A: 9

Q: And why is the Netherlands lower than Amsterdam?

A: There is no difference, if you live in Amsterdam you live in the Netherlands

Q: And if you have to give it a grade again, from 1 to 10, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: I don't see myself as a Dutch person, don't know any yet.

Q: So you don't feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: Yes not, not here. I don't see these people, I don't know anything about them. Only living with people.

Q: Yeah oke. Well, thank you.

Q: How long have you lived in the Netherlands?

A: Ehm now it has been almost three years

Q: Oke. And what places have you lived in the Netherlands?

A: Eh, I was in Ter Apel, and a [name of place], Wageningen, Arnhem, Uithoorn and also Almelo and Amsterdam.

Q: Oke, when did you come to Amsterdam, and why did you come to Amsterdam?

A: Oke the reason why I came to Amsterdam is because I found out about ASKV that eh you help out if someone is undocumented, so I came to ask for shelter also. That is the reason why I came here.

So you have been here also for a while?

A: A year and four months

Q: ohja. Ehm if you would get a status would you still live in Amsterdam?

A: Yes

Q: Why do you like it?

A: Well I have made a lot of connections, networks and eh I like a crowded place, because I go up in a city.

Q: Yeah, you disappear

A: Yes

Q: Ehm, why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

A: When I was searching my first plan was to go to England actually but the language is easier and everything and when I couldn't I searched for places where I could continue my studies in English.

Q: Oh yeah

A: And I found out that Holland also has that so I choose the Netherlands.

What is important for you to feel at home somewhere?

A: At home?

Q: Yes

A: When I am safe, when I feel like nothing is going to happen to me. Like in BBB I know the police won't come and take me away if something happens

Q: Yes, you feel safe.

A: Yes

Q: And if you have to give it a grade, from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home in the BBB?

A: Ehm, 9.

Q: That is really good. And that is just because you feel safe there?

A: Yes, I feel safe there.

Q: Would you change anything if you could, to feel more at home?

A: In BBB?

Q: Yeah

A: Probably during the day, you could stay there

Q: Oke, and if you have to give it a grade again from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home in Amsterdam?

A: The same, 9.

Q: And the Netherlands?

A: Regarding that I don't have a paper, 8.

Q: A little bit less.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you think having those connections with Dutch people makes you feel more at home in the Netherlands?

A: Eh Yeah, because you know people see less even people from your own country sometimes feel sorry for you and stuff. Which is not bad, but at the same time I don't want to feel sorry, I don't want anyone to feel sorry for me. Because not having a paper doesn't mean I can't do anything.

Q: And if you have to give it a grade again, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person?

A: Oeh, a Dutch person ie. That is eh

Q: more difficult?

A: Yes. Probably 6, because I have a lot to learn

Q: How long have you been in the Netherlands?

A: Almost ehm, this is from the begin yeah?

Q: Yes

A: this is almost ten months

Q: Oke, so you are 5 months in Amsterdam as well?

A: Yes

Q: Why did you move to Amsterdam?

A: Because of that I get negative and because i have a Dublin claim, so i get reject so i find somewhere place and organization and I can here in Amsterdam

Q: Because of the organization?

A: Yeah

Q: Was it ASKV or?

A: Yes ASKV as well as worldhouse and vreemdelingenloket

Q: Oke yeah, so I you would get a status after having your Dublin claim, would you still live in Amsterdam?

A: Yes

Q: Yeah you like Amsterdam?

A: Yes I love Amsterdam because I know so a lot of friends like Dutch people like a lot of friends in Worldhouse or as well as Amsterdam. I like it.

Q: Yes, so you have a real group here now

A: Yes

Q: Is that important for you to feel at home, the groups of friends and family?

A: Sorry?

Q: the group of friends and family, is that important for you to feel at home?

A: Yes, Yes

Q: Oke, what other things are here to make you feel at home, what do you find important?

A: Yeah, for example if for future if I get status and I stay in Amsterdam, it is not difficult for me, I can communicate with peoples in an easy way.

Q: Because of the language?

A: yes, so in future it is not difficult for me because I know the peoples before.

Q: Yeah

A: So I have interact with them and it is better for me

Q: So you feel at home in the BBB?

A: Yes

A: For me it is difficult. because more people are,

Q: yeah it depends on the people?

A: Yeah it is a lot of shouting and eh not understand. every person wants to live what he wants and i do not understand your situation so it is difficult for me because eh i like all the people is the same, but some peoples have different behaviority from another

Q: Yeah, so you would feel more at home if it was just you in a small apartment or something?

A: Yeah

Q: Oke and on a scale again, like 1 to 10 how Dutch do you feel? Like a Dutch person.

A: It's nice, It is nice because you know what all of our where we are living now. with different language with different culture but at this moment the Dutch people have one culture. If I join with 1 of to 10 people, for me it is nice, it is better all the culture

Q: The different cultures?

A: Yeah all the culture as well as I like the peoples and I can practice the language easily you know? In a short period of time, like two months, three months

Q: Dutch? You are learning Dutch?

A: Yeah, If I get Dutch people yeah, or if I took more practice with Dutch peoples. So I can improve my language.

Q: Yeah you think it really helps the language?

A: Yeah

Q: Hoe lang woon je al in Nederland?

A: eh 8 jaar en een half zo

Q: Wanneer ben je naar Amsterdam gekomen ongeveer?

A: Ehm 2012 denk ik.

Q: 2012, dat is 5 jaar geleden

A: Ja

Q: En waarom ben je naar Amsterdam gekomen?

A: Mijn procedure was afgewezen en ik mocht niet in AZC blijven.

Q: En waarom koos je dan voor Amsterdam?

A: Ja, ik ken de mensen hier. Afrikaanse, Ivoriaanse mensen hier.

Q: Dus gewoon voor connecties?

A: Ja voor connecties ja.

Q: En wat vind je leuk aan Amsterdam?

A: [laughter] wat vind ik van Amsterdam, even kijken. Ja is een grote stad, druk

Q: Dat vind je fijn?

A: Ja. Zijn een heleboel mensen

Q: Zou je hier ook blijven wonen als je procedure goed gekeurd wordt?

A: Ja, als het kan.

Q: Als het kan

A: Ja

Q: En wat vind je belangrijk om je ergens thuis te voelen?

A: Thuis te voelen? Ja. Dit is moeilijk [laughter]

Q: Ja

A: Belangrijk om thuis te voelen?

Q: Ja dat je ergens woont en dat je zegt dit is mijn thuis. Is het de mensen is het je veilig voelen

A: Ja oke, mensen om me heen. Vrienden enzo. Ja

Q: En waar verblijf je nu?

A: In AZC

Q: En voel je je daar thuis?

A: Niet echt

Q: Als je het een cijfer moet geven van 1 tot 10 wat zou je het geven?

A: 4.

Q: 4. En wat zou je verbeteren, wat zou er anders moeten?

A: AZC is eh, je bent een beetje gesloten, geen connectie en ja heel veel stress.

Q: Oke

A: Ja het is anders dan thuis.

Q: En in het ASKV huis, toen je daar nog zat, wat zou je dat voor cijfer geven?

A: Ja dat zou ik een 6 ofzo geven.

Q: Een 6, gewoon omdat het meer open is?

A: Omdat daar heel veel mensen op visite ja.

A: Ik vind het leuk, het is een leuke stad. Amsterdam is een leuke stad

Q: En als je het een cijfer moet geven, voel je je thuis in Amsterdam? Als je hier over straat loopt, voel je dat dit je huis, dat dit je stad is?

A: Nah, je natuurlijk voel ik me hier thuis.

Q: En Nederland voel je je thuis in Nederland? Je spreekt al aardig goed Nederlands?

A: Nee niet goed. Maar eh ja, jawel.

Q: Oke, en denk je dat het Nederlands je ook helpt, om je meer thuis te voelen?

A: Ja. het is niet hetzelfde als mijn echte afkomst taal, maar ik voel me thuis.

Ik heb wel ergere, ja kijk mijn situatie ik ben ziek gekrijgen ehm zorg en ook alles gratis. Dat is heel veel.

Q: Ja dus als je het een cijfer moet geven, 7 ofzo of een 8.

A: Een 8 is wel

En als je het weer een cijfer zou moeten geven, hoe Nederlands voel je je?

A: Wat bedoel je?

Q: Nou bijvoorbeeld de mate van integratie in Nederland

A: Weet je, over integratie, ik ben ongedocumenteerd, ik ben illegaal. Is moeilijk om te zeggen hoe voel ik me over integratie terwijl

Q: Ja. Want je voelt je misschien wel heel Nederlands, maar je bent nog ongedocumenteerd.

A: Ja ik ben ongedocumenteerd, want dat is anders dan wanneer het mag

Q: Het houdt je tegen?

A: Ja

Q: Oke, dank je wel.

Q: Ehm, How long have you lived in the Netherlands?

A: Forgive me for a second, ehm 9 months or 10

Q: Oke, And have you lived only in Amsterdam or also other places?

A: No, when my husband and I were rejected we come to Amsterdam.

Q: Oke, and why did you come to Amsterdam?

A: To find shelter

Q: You thought that it was more possible here than in Friesland?

A: Yes

Q: Would you still want to live in Amsterdam when your Dublin is over and the procedure went well?

A: Yes, I want to live in Amsterdam and I want to for free ASKV I help.

Q: Oke. What do you like about Amsterdam

A: I like everything about Amsterdam. The people around here

Q: Yeah, there is more diversity

A: Yes that is important, that is why I want to live here and ehm to lifetime, they give me something inside.

Q: Yeah, and why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

A: I don't know why, but from the time that I start to leave my country I like to live, I like to Netherland.

Q: Yeah the next question is why

A: yeah I cannot explain, but I like it

Q: You have an overall feeling that you like it

A: Yeah I like it.

Q: Do you feel at home here, is that a good description?

A: I like Netherland, that is why I am here ehm I don't know. I like to have people here.

Q: What is important for you to feel at home in a place?

A: The place where I am living?

Q: Yes

A: I am sorry, the place where I am living is a men's house. It is very quite difficult to live in a men's house. As long as I don't have any choice I live but it is very difficult.

Q: What would we, what would you like to change to feel more at home? More at peace at home?

A: Yes, it is so peaceful, so ASKV thanks. I don't need more.

Q: Oke but if you would describe your perfect place to live, when you say that is my home

A: yeah

Q: What would you describe it as?

A: I don't have to think about that, I don't have anything. I am happy with any shelter.

Q: You are happy where you are?

A: I am happy

And if you have to do the same for Amsterdam, how much do you feel at home in Amsterdam?

A: I don't like eh, for me just like my thinking. I am from military, I like Amsterdam more than the [not understandable], because it gives you a lot of things.

Q: Oke

A: Like a shelter, what I need that is why I want to live in Amsterdam. I don't know, I couldn't express what it means to me. Maybe if I could express the feeling I have inside. I couldn't express yet what I have it.

Q: But you feel happy in the city?

A: I am really happy in the city

Q: Oke and if you have to grade it again. How much do you feel like a Dutch person, like you are Dutch? If you have to rate it 1 to 10.

A: What?

Q: If you have to give it percentage, how much do you feel like you are a Dutch person? Like you belong in the Netherlands?

A: Oh I couldn't be like a Dutch people, even when I am trying. Because they are very [not understandable]. I am sure I could not be like them, I try to be but I don't know. That is why there is something that [not understandable]

Q: Yes, but do you feel like you belong in this country?

A: Yes, I want to spend my life in this country.

Q: Oke that is really good.

How long have you lived in The Netherlands?

A: It has almost been ehm 24 years.

Q: And what places have you lived? Have you only lived in Amsterdam or..?

A: Ehm I lived in ... I have not been.. Oh you were asking if I have lived outside of Amsterdam? no no no

Q: Oke, only Amsterdam. Why did you come to Amsterdam? Did you, did you want to live in Amsterdam?

A: Sure, I love Amsterdam because one, I love here is Netherlands is [not understandable] and also sure I love the country and I love the people here.

Q: So if you would eventually become a Dutch citizen, would you still live in Amsterdam or?

A: Where am I to go again?

A: Sure, with my [not understandable], everything go here. I have been here for long and now I don't have any friends outside, my life is in my country. I have only one daughter and at the moment she can't be my friend except when she say mama hello. You have a [understandable] for me, six months. That's all, you can't, I have no friends. even [understandable]. yeah

Q: Is that why you decided to stay after you got rejected?

A: What?

Q: The opinion that the Netherlands is friendly to black people

A: Yes, they accept black people that is what I was told and i thought i want that.

Q: Why did you stay in the Netherlands after being rejected?

A: Nowhere to go

Q: oke, that is a good reason. Ehm, what is important for you to feel at home?

A: in here?

Q: Yes or in the place where you sleep. What is important for you?

A: At Walborg?

Q: yes

A: Oh before?

Q: yes when you have a home, is it friends, family..

A: oh yes, yes I have an ehm schoonmaken job at what you call home. And i was also having a friend we live together at [name of place]. We lived a nice live, very peacefully. It was, we come peacefully in the house. And ehm, i was living a nice life, I was having no problem with nothing, with myself. And then one [not understandable] and i fall down and I couldn't go to walk and go on the [not understandable]. That is how I ended up in Walborg.

Q: Oke, on a scale of 1 to 10 how much do you feel at home in Walborg?

A: Where?

Q: Walborg

A: ooh haha, 3

Q: Oke, and why?

A: Why because I get something to eat sometimes you know? At six o'clock. And at six o'clock it is always rice and pasta and stamp.. And with my diabetes I cannot have too much rice all the time.

Q: only sometimes?

A: Yes [not understandable]. Next they always say go out, go out. [not understandable]

Q: Yes. What would you change if you could? To feel more at home

A: Better?

Q: What would you change to feel more at home?

A: At Walborg? I don't understand.

Q: In the Walborg, you said you feel like a three at home. What would you change? To have differently, to feel more at home there?

A: Nothing

Q: Nothing, you just move?

A: yes that is right haha

Q: Back to that apartment with your friend

A: haha

A: I don't want another country and I have all.

Q: All you need

A: yes. I love the country. All I want is to get my medication and also if I'm sick I can consult a doctor. [not understandable]

Q: On a scale of 1 to 10 how Dutch do you feel?

A: Of 1 to 10?

Q: Yes

A: I can't say I feel 10, I can't say I feel 1 but I can say i feel 8 to 9

Q: 8 to 9?

A: Yeah

Q: Hoe lang woont u al in Nederland?

A: Ik woon hier al 8 jaar

Q: Oke en hoe lang woont u nu in Amsterdam?

A: 2 jaar en dan 3 jaar in Almere en daarvoor ook 2 jaar. Dus 4 jaar in totaal.

Vind u het leuk om in Amsterdam te wonen?

A: Amsterdam is leuke stad.

Q: Ja, en wat vind u er zo leuk aan?

A: Die drukheid en veel toeristen en ook architectuur, veel museums

Q: Is dat ook waarom u naar Amsterdam bent gekomen?

A: Ehm, nee het was ons probleem daarom.

Q: Oke, dus voornamelijk voor ASKV ook?

A: Ja

Q: En als u nou Nederlanderschap krijgt, zou u dan in Amsterdam willen blijven wonen?

A: Als dat mogelijk is dan ja, graag.

Q: En als u nou Nederlanderschap krijgt, zou u dan in Amsterdam willen blijven wonen?

A: Als dat mogelijk is dan ja, graag.

Q: Waarom heeft u gekozen om naar Nederland te komen?

A: Ik heb het niet gekozen, wij hadden geen andere keuze. We moesten gewoon vluchten

Q: Ja, maar waarom niet naar België of Duitsland, waarom naar Nederland?

A: Ja, het was een echte grote probleem bij ons, dus we komen ook daarmee. De leider van mijn partij opgesloten dus drie dagen leven we in Georgië en daarna met de auto komen we hier. Gewoon omdat ze tegen ons hebben gezegd dat is veilige land

Q: Ga maar daarheen?

A: Ja

Q: Ja dat u zegt nou hier ben ik thuis

A: Oh eh, democratie, vrijheid dus bijvoorbeeld in Armenië kun je niet vrij over iets praten als je iets wil zeggen, maar dan krijg je echt problemen met de regering. Maar hier kun je je mening geven.

Q: Dus u voelt u zich hier wel thuis?

A: Ja en ook bijvoorbeeld verkiezingen heb ik gezien, twee keer heb ik verkiezingen gezien. Ik was echt, ik was echt verbaasd. Want in Armenië kan je niet met iemand van de regering grappige dingen ofzo, maar hier is het echt anders.

Q: Oke, ja en als u het een cijfer zou moeten geven van 1 tot 10, hoe voelt u zich hier?

A: eh 10.

Q: top

A: Ja 10

A: Ik denk dat ik geïntegreerd ben van al die tijd, want ik ben, ik weet dat in Armenië hoef je niet op tijd te zijn als je een afspraak hebt, maar hier moet je afspraken maken met telefoon en respect luisteren enzo

Q: Ja dus u voelt zich wel heel Nederlands?

A: Ja

Q: Ja, hoe erg voelt u zich een Nederlander?

A: Ook 10, want ja het is echt als ik iets vraag bijvoorbeeld op straat, ze kunnen mij de weg wijzen en de politie is echt super met alle dingen. In Armenië kun je niet met de politie vrij praten

how long have you lived in the Netherlands.

A: Like 6 years or so

Oke, and in Amsterdam?

A: In Amsterdam, like a year or so.

Q: Why did you move to Amsterdam?

A: It is more safe, more friendly and everyone is. It just feels safe.

Q: Oke, that is also what you like about Amsterdam, the feeling of safety?

A: The feeling of safety and being an LGBT it is closer to meeting other LGBT, other peoples the same.

Q: Yes, it is more together?

A: Yes more together

Q: Oke, and if you would eventually become a Dutch citizen you would still live in Amsterdam?

A: For sure, there is no question

Q: Why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

A: Since I have the problems and I can hear that I can be safe, then I said [long silence]

Q: This is your country?

A: [laugh] Yes

Q: Oke, ehm

A: This really feels home

Q: Ehm, what is important for you to feel at home

A: Safety

Q: Yeah, mostly safety?

A: yes, for me the most is safety

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home where you are now, where you are sleeping?

A: I am now living in de vrankrijk

Q: yes and how much do you feel at home there?

A: 100 procent really

Q: yeah? that is really good.

A: There is really good friendly people, who talk to me and ask if everything is oke, if I need any help, anything. It is really very friendly people where i am living now.

Q: And Amsterdam, how much do you feel at home in Amsterdam?

A: 100 also

Q: And the Netherlands?

A: Also, but it is not the same as Amsterdam where everywhere you go you see the LGBT flag and no one have any question about LGBT.

Q: So the Netherlands is more like 7?

A: Yes. 7?

Q: Yes, I am just suggesting something, or 8 or..

A: yeah

Q: And how do you feel, do you feel like you are Dutch already a little bit? Like you belong in the Netherlands?

A: I feel like I belong to the Netherlands, but I feel at the same time. Always when I feel that, I feel at the same time my document problem.

Q: Yes that is really in the way of

A: Yes, at the same time

Q: So if you have to give it a grade again, how Dutch do you feel?

A: 99 I would say, and directly then I could feel the pain that I am illegal.

Q: Does it help to speak English, because you speak English very well, to be more in Dutch I guess.

A: Yes and if the Dutch person does not also speak English, I try to speak also a few words Dutch.

Q: Oke you are learning also?

A: yeah

Q: You are integrating so to say

A: yeah and now since I am in Vrankrijk there is a computer so I am watching youtube for Dutch lesson.

Q: Oke how long have you lived in the Netherlands?

AJ: Netherlands, 3 years

AS: 3 years yeah.

Q: Have you only lived in Amsterdam or also other places?

AS: In Echt

AJ: We were living in Echt, in Limburg yeah

Q: Oke, and when did you move to Amsterdam?

AJ: February in this year

Q: And why did you move to Amsterdam?

AJ: the reason was because IND gave negative for our political asylums, and that was our case, so in this moment we decide to stay here because we don't feel safe to come back to Colombia because our situation is complicated. Also because we feel that Amsterdam is a good place to be for the LGBT people so

Q: And is that true?

AJ: Yeah I think that it is true.

Q: What do you like most about Amsterdam? About living here?

AJ: I think that there are many place nice for the LGBT people

AS: Yes the people is also very friendly

We feel so happy and also there are many place that you can enjoy because there are special for the LGBT people.

Q: So you feel very welcome?

AJ: Yeah.

Q: Oke. And if you would become a Dutch citizen, would you stay here?

AJ: what?

AS: I don't..

Q: If you would get asylum here, would you stay in Amsterdam?

AJ: Yes I would like that

Q: Oke. And why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

AJ: The reason? In the first minute we did not know nothing about this country. But the only reason was, we had the problem in Colombia in this moment and we try to find some place nice for the LGBT people so in this moment we saw Netherland so we read some information about this country that is nice for the LGBT people and this is the principal reason. And also we come we bought one bound ticket for Calais to Amsterdam, Amsterdam Moscow. But Moscow is not good for LGBT people so we decided to stay here and go for the political asylum.

Q: Oke. And what is important for you to feel at home somewhere?

AS: I think that is important because you can be one place nice to rest and enjoy with your partner so, because it is difficult to try to live with other people because there are different situations because these people do not understand you. It is better to have one place ehm for to be yourself.

Q: Yeah, And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much do you like living in Amsterdam?

AJ: I think in this moment 100 percent.

Q: Oke, and the Netherlands, like the whole country

AJ: About the LGBT people I think it is better here, but another think that is better than my country for example

AJ and AS talk in Spanish

Q: It is the same?

AJ: No here in Amsterdam is better than in for example Echt because Echt is a very small place

Q: Yes it is different

AJ: Yes it is very different. Here are many people from different countries. It is better here.

Q: That you feel at home in Amsterdam, that you belong, that you can say this is my place

AS: Oke, hmm I think for us I think it is much better than in our country but now we feel we are good here in Amsterdam.

Q: And did organisations like COC or ASKV help with that?

AS: Yes

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10 how much do you feel like a Dutch person, like you integrated?

AJ: I think that also 100 percent. I feel that the Dutch people are very nice with us, because all the time they try to help in all the place, in Echt in other place. And all these people they try to help with many things and sometime you say it is very strange that people help in that way because for example two girls they went to holiday in Thailand yeah, and they say you can stay in our house for one month if you want. They give their keys and it is very strange that people believe in us. And many other people here in Amsterdam also try to help with somewhere to live in this country, because that is necessary.

Q: Yes and speaking the language really helps.

A: Yes

Q: How long have you lived in the Netherlands?

A: I think four months in Amsterdam and 6 months and 8 days in Schiphol detention center.

Q: Oke, but all together in the Netherlands, so ten months?

A: Yes

Q: Ehm, Why did you move to Amsterdam?

A: Because IND give me negative and of course and when they cannot come back to Iran, they push me onto the streets

Q: yeah

A: and that is why

Q: You were in AZC in Amsterdam?

A: Yes

Q: Oke, so you just stayed here?

A: Yes

Q: Do you like living in Amsterdam?

A: Of course, why not?

Q: Yeah, would you stay here if you would be able to live anywhere in the Netherlands?

A: Amsterdam, that's it

Q: Why did you choose to come to the Netherlands?

A: It is optional, the first when I went to Schiphol center I told them I want to go to Denmark. So they said no, you don't allow to leave Schiphol and first of all you go to prison for three days because of using fake passport and then they transfer to the, another place, for make an asylum case and eh bla bla bla.

Q: Oke, What is important for you to feel at home somewhere?

A: The first thing that is eh, I have to leave my country is my religion. Based on new idea I cannot stay in Iran so many people want to push me to catch me and transfer me to jail for a long time. Of course my brother and my father. So I have to hidden first of all for one month in Iran and when I realized there is nothing, there is no way to stay in Iran I make plan for myself to go out.

Q: So religion is very important?

A: yes religion is very important, as you know Christianity is not religion it is a new life.

Q: where do you stay at the moment?

A: In BBB. schuithuisstraat.

Q: Oke, and if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10 how at home do you feel in the BBB?

A: Sorry I can not

Q: Do you feel at home in the BBB, like it is your home?

A: No

Q: No?

A: No

Q: And if you have to give it a grade from 1 to 10, when 1 is bad and 10 is good what would you give it?

A: Zero

Q: Zero oke, so it is very bad?

A: It is very bad of course

Q: And why?

A: Because they, you know, they mix all religions in one small place so they don't know how to clean themselves how to talk to each other, how to eat, how to talk to each other. you know, most of them are very very primary very very primary. in a general room they speak loudly and when I complain more time more time they never, they, I mean the administration college never pay attention to my voice, you know?

Q: Oke, yeah so if you would change something it would be religion, they people

A: Of course yes

Q: What do you do mostly during the day?

A: going to bibliotheek for learning Dutch, I cooperating to church very closely and we have many books and social network groups to understand the bible, how to read bible, how to think about bible, how to think about Christian behaviour you know. This is my life today and these days

Q: Oke, and do you think it is important to have something to do during the day? To feel more connected?

A: Yes yes of course.

Q: Do you already feel like you are a bit Dutch?

A: Yes of course i learn Dutch, ik kan spraak Dutch beetje.

Q: Een beetje

A: ja

Q: so if you have to give it a grade again from 1 to 10, how Dutch do you feel?

A: 1 to 10? To connect to other people...

Q: Yeah, like if you are a Dutch person

A: Ah, 5.

Q: Oke, How long have you lived in the Netherlands?

A: 9 months

Q: 9 months. And have you lived in Amsterdam all that time?

A: 2 months in Schiphol center, and 7 months in Amsterdam.

Q: Oke, if you would become Dutch would you still live in Amsterdam?

A: Of course, yes.

Q: Oke, What is important for you to feel at home somewhere? Like you belong somewhere

A: Yes, he don't like BBB, but he does feel like he belongs here

Q: Oke, and if he has to give it a grade, like 1 to 10 what would he say?

A: Amsterdam or BBB?

Q: Both

A: There is no score for BBB, zero. And Amsterdam 100 not 10 haha

Q: That is outside of the scale haha. But that is really good. Oke, ehm what would you change if you could about the BBB then, your living situation?

A: Yes yes

Q: Oke, and what is important for him to feel at home? Like you said religion, what is important for him?

A: The same

Q: Also religion?

A: Yes

Q: Do you feel like you have found a place where you belong? In the Netherlands?

A: found a place..

Q: Where you belong, feel at home?

A: Yes of course, yes

Q: If he has to give it a grade from 1 to 10, how much does he feel like he is a Dutch person, like he belongs in the Netherlands? How much does he feel like he is already integrated?

A: 10

Q: oke, really Dutch. Now just the language and it will be perfect.

A: Yes haha.

In iedere eerste week van de maand wordt het leefgeld uitgedeeld. Dit is een bedrag van 200 euro voor iedereen die in een ASKV huis woont. Het is dan de bedoeling dat wij als stagairs, langs de huizen gaan met de envelopjes met geld. Dit geeft een kans om de huizen te observeren en te kijken hoe de mensen wonen. Elk huis heeft basis meubels die door ASKV worden betaald, zo heeft iedereen een bed met matras, kussen en dekens, zijn er spullen om mee te koken, is er televisie en internet etc. Ook heeft het ASKV een klusjesman in dienst die regelmatig de huizen langs gaat. De mensen level sober, maar zijn dankbaar met een dak boven hun hoofd en een veilige plek om tot rust te komen.

Wat mensen heel erg aantrekt aan Amsterdam is dat hier heel veel mensen rondlopen die "zwart" zijn. Hierdoor vallen ze minder op als ze op straat lopen en hoeven ze minder bang te zijn voor de politie. Want als er gevraagd wordt om je ID en die hebben ongedocumenteerde mensen niet, dan worden ze naar de vreemdelingendetentie gebracht.

Wat me ook heel erg opvalt is dat er veel moeders met kinderen op straat slapen. Deze moeders zijn weg gegaan uit het AZC zodra ze te horen kregen dat hun asiel verzoek was afgewezen en ze kunnen niet terecht in de BBB. BBB is alleen voor mensen alleen niet voor gezinnen. Waar deze moeders terecht kunnen is een gol (gezinsopvanglocatie). Het nadeel van een gol is dat zodra je daar heen gaat je in aanraking komt met DT&V (dienst terugkeer en vertrek) en je mee moet werken aan je vertrek om daar te kunnen verblijven. Dit willen de moeders niet en daardoor komen ze op straat te staan.

Ik heb twee cliënten uit Iran die allebei zijn gevlucht vanwege hun geloof. Ze zijn Christelijk in plaats van Moslim en dat is gevaarlijk in Iran. Zij vertelde me vandaag dat ze wel in de BBB slapen omdat ze geen andere plek hebben maar dat de BBB voor hun ook nog een nare plek is, omdat mensen daar ook over het algemeen Moslim zijn. Als die mensen erachter komen dat de Iraniërs Christelijk zijn wordt ze het leven zuur gemaakt. Dan horen ze niet meer bij de groep en worden ze gepest. Ook gaven ze aan, en dit is iets wat ik al van veel meer mensen heb gehoord, is dat het in de BBB heel rumoerig is en dat dit zorgt voor een slechte nachtrust. Om hun woorden te parafraseren: die Afrikanen zijn vaak heel luid, die schreeuwen in plaats van praten en hier kunnen wij niet door slapen. Iedereen heeft zijn eigen cultuur en zijn eigen gewoonten en dat moet samen wonen in de BBB, maar dit komt niet ten goede van iedereen's nachtrust en welzijn.

Er is een grote 'opruim/controle' actie geweest in de BBB. Er staat in de regels dat mensen niet meer dan 1 bagage stuk mee mogen nemen. Veel mensen hebben wel wat meer en dat is nu weg gegoooid, zonder dat de mensen konden protesteren. Ook is van heel veel mensen hun eten weg gegoooid want officieel mogen ze dat niet bij zich hebben. De afgelopen jaren werd er vaak een oogje dicht geknepen en werden de regels niet zo streng gehandhaafd, daardoor kwam deze controle uit het niets en zijn veel mensen weer heel bang geworden. Dit zal de gevoelens van thuis zijn niet bevorderen, ik denk dat het een negatief effect zal hebben.

Appendix 3 Influence of NGO's

Q: how did you hear of ASKV?

A: Ehm, when I don't eh. It was from a friend in the church. She used to go to worldhouse

Q: Yeah

A: Yeah, so the time I was not receiving any income from the government when the have some problem with my document, so I don't get income from the government. So that girl her name is [name of the girl] she told me there is a place called worldhouse. I can come with her and to, I can explain my problem so then that they can help me out. So, because that time I was very sick so. That time I just want to end my life because I have, it is like what is the life for. I was thinking I went to escape a problem life like I went to face another problem. So I don't talk to people, I always stay indoors, I don't eat even though I can't take my medicine without food. And eh because that woman would everyday she would come to me and say come with me to worldhouse maybe they

will help you in this problem. Because I don't know where to go to, I don't know who to run to, I don't know who to... I don't even know where to start a way to end. But when I come to worldhouse I see some love, I see some love. I met [name of person who works at worldhouse], I met [name of person who works at worldhouse], I met a lot of people, I see other people that are also coming to worldhouse, I feel loved. They have this kind of thing, I don't know. So I bring my document, I bring everything, I show them for them to seek contact with my lawyer. Because I don't even know what to do, I don't know how to contact lawyer, I don't know how to do anything, I don't even know who to tell my problem. I would just like confused.

Q: Yeah

A: I was just confused. Somebody in the middle of the water and I don't know who would rescue me. So when I got there a met Cor, I did intake with Cor [employee of the worldhouse], Pastor Cor, So I did intake there and they contact my lawyer. Everything is beginning. But I was to very sick and my blood pressure is getting higher everyday and the a lot of thing my even when you talk I don't understand what you are saying because my ears, everything is going [make a loud sound] in my ears. And eh I am a kind of, and he looks at me and says it is oke. They contact my lawyer from there, they started helping me that time. Every month they gave me some money to eat that time, but I was still staying with the church member, Stella. So she lived in a camp. So sometimes I have nice time, maybe I don't know that I am disturbing them maybe they said that I am talking and disturbing and shouting or I don't know. The kind of intimidation and things like that you know and sometimes I cannot eat, I start being sick all the time. So I come back to Cor, so Cor there was another help that he would tried. He try to help me is to send me to GGD. So they will check me and eh eh eh see if they can help me. So Cor, pastor Cor write the letter from worldhouse to GGD. So they write me and make appointment to see me. So the day of the appointment I went to GGD. So they did test and they checked everything, so later I was outside in front of the office. Because at that time I don't have money, sometimes I stand in metro station to beg for some money to even to buy any little thing to eat. Sometimes I get one euro, two euros before person I was begging, standing there begging there for money. So when I go to GGD, they test me and the woman saw that I was very sick, physically also and eh I told the woman I am not mad. She said I didn't sound mad. So they later told me that the lawyer would go to the friend if I can get a house to stay. So I was in the metro station, sitting there in front of the metro station in kraaiennest. So the lawyer called me, because not all the time I stay outside. So the lawyer called me, I don't know the lawyer, but he called me and asked me if the friend they got if they would help me that what do I want, do I want money or do I want house? I told the lawyer: "I don't need money, I need house. I don't have a place to put my head".

Q: Yeah

A: Even if he is [not understandable] I can call my own place to put my head is better. I don't need big house. When they gave me this place I did not expect it. So because obvious, when they give me this place I did not expect it. It is oke. Than later the [not understandable] called and he also was there, he told me again what did I say when he was there. Did I need money or do I need house. I told him I don't need money I need a house. I need a place to lay my head, I need to have some peace because the stress that time came to me so much that sometimes I want to jump in the metro station. Sometimes I would be crossing the road, I don't know that car is coming. But since I come to this house of ASKV, I have some little back, I have back some peace because before I was like, I would not know I am talking. People would be look at me, I don't know, but now at least I have my own place to put my head. And I am grateful for that, I thank God for that.

Q: So worldhouse basically got you the help of ASKV?

A: Yeah

Because I don't have brother here, I don't have sister here, I don't have children here, I don't have any relative here that will help me than. But it is when I know that worldhouse and ASKV I see some people, they show me love, I take them as my own. I love everybody that show me love. But if I see that you are scare or you don't want me, I give you space because I don't want somebody to add stress to the one I have. I don't want anybody to add stress to the one I have. That is why sometimes I am so aggressive to people, because when I see that you want to add stress to my stress I will brush you out. And I don't want what has happened to me before to repeat itself. I don't want anybody to intimidate me again. So that is the reason

Q: But that is really logical

A I don't normally associate with people to much.

Q: Yeah, so you are mostly on your own, unless you have your friends or your girlfriend..

A: Yes, and also I go to people maybe to do something. I do it, I go somewhere and I come back to the house.

Q: Yeah this is your happy place in the house.

A: Yes

Q: Oh I am really glad you have found one then.

Q: Oke, do you go to the worldhouse/

A: Sometimes I go

Q: Oke, do you things that makes a difference in how you feel about the Netherlands?

A: Yes, if you see few people [not understandable] you feel something yeah

Q: If you see people

A: Yes

Q: Yeah, How did you find ASKV? Did you hear from someone or

A: No, I go to [name of a place] In [the place] they told me about ASKV and that I need to talk with you. I don't know about ASKV before.

Q: How long have you been at ASKV?

A: One year now.

Q: One year. And do you feel more connected with Dutch people through ASKV?

A: Yeah, For [not understandable] What I need I call you and you come and help.

Q: Yeah to call

A: For school or another [not understandable]

Do you feel like you have found a place where you belong? Because and did organisations like ASKV or Worldhouse help you with that?

A: Yes, everyone has helped for something

Q: Oke, when did you come to Amsterdam, and why did you come to Amsterdam?

A: Oke the reason why I came to Amsterdam is because I found out about ASKV that eh you help out if someone is undocumented, so I came to ask for shelter also. That is the reason why I came here.

Q: Oke, How did you hear of ASKV?

A: A friend, she was also a cliënt of ASKV.

Q: She told you about it

Q: Yeah, because what do you do mostly during the day now?

A: You go out, if I find something to do volunteer work I do that or if I have a class or anything yeah

Q: So do you feel part of a community?

A: Yes

Q: Can you describe that community?

A: Worldhouse, it gave me eh also ASKV, because it gave me a lot of chances to learn and to meet new people.

Q: Ohyeah, And do you have connections with Dutch people outside of ASKV?

A: Yes

Q: Do feel more connected to the Netherlands or Dutch people because of ASKV?

A: Because of ASKV? eh Yes, because ASKV they helped me in one way, they have given me like some voluntary work and through that I have met a lot of new people.

Q: Yeah. So do you feel that you have found a place where you belong because of organisations like worldhouse or ASKV?

A: Eh you can say.

Q: They help

A: Yes in a way.

Q: Oke, so you are 5 months in Amsterdam as well?

A: Yes

Q: Why did you move to Amsterdam?

A: Because of that I get negative and because i have a Dublin claim, so i get reject so i find somewhere place and organization and I can here in Amsterdam

Q: Because of the organization?

A: Yeah

Q: Was it ASKV or?

A: Yes ASKV as well as worldhouse and vreemdelingenloket

Q: Do you feel part of the group of undocumented people? That you say we are from the worldhouse

A: Yeah

Q: This is the people I belong with

A: yes so they live in we are here, I know them I have some friends from them.

Q: Oke, How did you hear of ASKV?

A: ASKV, yeah when I came here in Amsterdam. The people who have before came here, they tell me there is an organization ASKV and after that I came here in ASKV.

Q: Do you feel more connected to Dutch people through ASKV?

A: Ehm yeah, first time I came here, I take intake here and after that because of the good information of ASKV I go to the Worldhouse and I talk to some Dutch people in other groups in the Worldhouse.

Q: Oke, ehm Do feel like you have found a place where you belong, like Amsterdam, through organizations like ASKV or worldhouse?

A: no, I don't think

Q: No, you have found it on your own

A: no i don't think anything about that.

A: Somewhere to live, getting some help it is difficult, but after we get ASKV for me it is really better. We get a course like computer training, later we start also haircutting.

A: Somewhere to live, getting some help it is difficult, but after we get ASKV for me it is really better. We get a course like computer training, later we start also haircutting.

Q: 8 jaar en eh waar heb je allemaal gewoond?

A: 3 jaar in AZC, de rest een beetje buiten, ASKV of van ASKV naar AZC en daar zit ik nu.

Q: Ehm ja, hoe zeg je dat, dat je meer verbonden bent met Nederland door ASKV?

A: Nee, niet alleen maar door ASKV. Ik ben iemand die altijd, zoek eh ik zoek altijd contact met mensen en door zo heb ik veel vrienden maken.

Q: Ja je zoekt gewoon altijd contact

A: Ja

Q: Met iedereen en alles

A: Met iedereen ja

Q: Did you meet a lot of people at the worldhouse?

A: Yes, I met a lot of people from different countries there

Q: Do you like that?

A: Yes, I like tha

Q: Do you feel part of like a community because of things like worldhouse or ASKV?

A: Yes, I think that

Q: How did you hear of ASKV?

A: Hear of ASKV?

Q: Yeah, how did you find it?

A: I don't know about that, the day, the first 4/5 days I was homeless when I was in Amsterdam. I don't know any about worldhouse or ASKV, but somebody another black person, brought us to the worldhouse and then from the worldhouse we got to the ASKV.

Q: Oke. So you just met someone who got you to worldhouse?

A: Yeah, and from that time we just saw worldhouse I think yeah. And Anita send you a message about me decision that I already have and then in the morning we come to ASKV. And then from that time they did a lot of things for me.

Q: Oke, how long have you been at ASKV now?

A: It is almost 5 months.

Q: Oke. And do you feel more connected to Dutch people because of ASKV or worldhouse?

A: Yeah, Yeah

Q: Do you have contact with Dutch people?

A: No, but just people working at ASKV or working at worldhouse

Q: Yeah, not people outside of ASKV

A: Yes

Q: Ehm yeah, what do you do during the day mostly?

A: Mostly I am, on Tuesday I go to bridge for better for classes, on Monday. On Tuesday I go to sewing course, and on Wednesday also computer class and on Thursday to woman's group where we sew and [makes sounds of people talking a lot]. And often we get 5 euro.

Q: How did you hear of ASKV?

A: ASKV, ehm there was a person who died in Walborg and ehm and ehm we were meeting the ceremony of that lady and ASKV lady, of here, and we were talking of how do you find it.

Q: Oke, how long have you been at ASKV?

A: ASKV here? It has been almost two years

Q: Almost two years

A: yeah

Q: Do you feel more connected to Dutch people through ASKV?

A: ASKV no

Q: no?

A: no

Q: Is dat ook waarom u naar Amsterdam bent gekomen?

A: Ehm, nee het was ons probleem daarom.

Q: Oke, dus voornamelijk voor ASKV ook?

A: Ja

Q: Oke, en heeft u het gevoel dat u meer verbonden bent met Nederlandse mensen door het ASKV?

A: ehm, het ASKV heeft heel veel ons geholpen toen we in Amsterdam kwamen in 2015 had mijn vrouw toen geen behandelaar. Dus het ASKV heeft behandelaars gevonden eh nu heeft ze echt goede behandelaars. Dus twee klinieken bij Mentrum en bij Equator en ook andere dingen. Bijvoorbeeld voor Mikael als ik iets nodig had en over juridische zaken. Dus ja echt he

Q: Dus heeft u het gevoel dat Amsterdam een plek is waar u thuis hoort, mede door ASKV bijvoorbeeld?

A: eh, ik begrijp niet

Q: Heeft u meer het gevoel dat u in Amsterdam of in Nederland thuis hoort, door organisaties zoals ASKV?

A: Ja

Q: Oke, ehm how did you hear of ASKV

A: I am very thankful to ASKV. I mean really, they help me with a lot of help that I needed. Like a doctor and being safe in a place that is my own.

Q: How did you find ASKV?

A: From a friend.

Q: Oke. And how long have you been here? A few weeks right?

A: Yes a few weeks.

Q: Do you feel more connected to Dutch people because of ASKV?

A: More I am connected to ASKV because I, they ask a lot of questions and they were interested in my problems and me and that feels like more open to talk with them.

Because we go to many special organisations. Some time we were in COC in this place there are many people that come from other country and also from this country and you have to opportunity for to talk with all the people and you have connection with the right sort of people.

Q: Does that make a difference in feeling at home in the Netherlands?

AS: Yeah, It is really nice here and with COC and work and else

Q: And how did you hear of the ASKV, how did you find out?

AS: hmm, yeah COC

Q: Oke

AS: In COC, one guy who works in COC he told us about ASKV.

Q: How long have you been at ASKV then?

AJ: I think that

Q: April

AS: four months

Q: That you feel at home in Amsterdam, that you belong, that you can say this is my place

AS: Oke, hmm I think for us I think it is much better than in our country but now we feel we are good here in Amsterdam.

Q: And did organisations like COC or ASKV help with that?

AS: Yes

Q: Do you feel like you are more welcome in the Netherlands through ASKV?

A: Sure, ASKV ehm. It depends on the situation. I know in the future what happens exactly, I know through ASKV if I can do something more or not in the future

Q: Do you feel like organisations like ASKV or church help you to feel more

A: It depends on my knowledge and my activity, so I know myself and have activities to go to many people to donate blood for example. Like this [shows stickers of blood bank] or donate body organism to when someone dies when accident. This organisation like this have to take the organism and give it to people who need organs. All I say here, I think it depends on the personality of people.

Q: Did you not, do you go to worldhouse or?

A: four months he was there

Q: Oke, and does he feel like it made a difference? That he met a lot of people there?

A: he was, he has many stress when he goes to worldhouse

Q: Oke, so he didn't really make new friends or meet new people?

A: Of course, of course

Q: Oke, does he feel more connected to Dutch people since coming to ASKV?

A: No more

Q: And does he think that organizations like ASKV, or church help with that?

A: A little bit, few

Veel mensen komen bij ASKV omdat ze via via over de organisatie hebben gehoord. Mensen komen naar Amsterdam omdat ze denken dat ze in de hoofdstad betere kansen hebben op overleving. Vaak komen ze dan iemand tegen die ook ongedocumenteerd is en die brengt ze dan naar ASKV.

ASKV doet een intake met mensen die voor het eerst komen. In die intake zit altijd iemand van het juridisch team en iemand van het maatschappelijk team. Er wordt gekeken naar iemands juridische situatie, deze bepaald of de persoon cliënt kan worden van het ASKV. De maatschappelijke hulpverlener kijkt naar iemand verblijfplek en of iemand medische zorg nodig heeft. Als iemand cliënt wordt van het ASKV, kan diegene mee doen met een cursus van PAO of een taalcursus volgen. Ook wordt er een hulpverleningsplan opgesteld, de bedoeling van dit plan is om de persoon zo zelfredzaam en zelfstandig mogelijk te maken zodat hij of zij net iets beter af is aan het einde van het traject.

Wereldhuis -> dagopvang. Geeft mensen een plek om te zijn overdag en biedt een maaltijd (lunch), maar je kan er niet slapen. Wel helpen de mensen van het wereldhuis met zoeken naar een slaapplek voor mensen die op straat slapen.

Het loket (vreemdelingenloket) zet mensen op de wachtlijst voor de BBB. BBB is de enige plek om te slapen. Het loket screent mensen ook om te kijken of ze in aanmerking komen voor 24-uurs BBB. Je kan alleen voor 24 uren BBB in aanmerking komen als je een kwetsbaar persoon bent (een ziekte hebt).

Het Wereldhuis zorgt voor de integratie van illegalen in de groep van andere illegalen. Hierdoor zouden mensen zich thuis kunnen gaan voelen, feelings of belonging to the group. But probably not to native Dutch people.

Wat ik heel erg merk is dat mensen die bij ASKV komen heel snel een sociaal netwerk hebben opgebouwd. Als iemand eerst alleen komt naar ASKV, zie je hem of haar in de volgende weken als snel met vrienden. Semhar bijvoorbeeld was alleen toen ze voor het eerst naar ASKV kwam. Toen ze een week later weer kwam en we iemand nodig hadden die kon vertalen belde zij zelf iemand op die ook een cliënt is van ASKV. Ik denk zelf dat ze elkaar ontmoeten op plekken zoals het wereldhuis en via via. En dat het cliënt zijn van ASKV een verbindende factor is.

In iedere eerste week van de maand wordt het leefgeld uitgedeeld. Dit is een bedrag van 200 euro voor iedereen die in een ASKV huis woont. Het is dan de bedoeling dat wij als stagairs, langs de huizen gaan met de envelopjes met geld. Dit geeft een kans om de huizen te observeren en te kijken hoe de mensen wonen. Elk huis heeft basis meubels die door ASKV worden betaald, zo heeft iedereen een bed met matras, kussen en dekens, zijn er spullen om mee te koken, is er televisie en internet etc. Ook heeft het ASKV een klusjesman in dienst die regelmatig de huizen langs gaat. De mensen level sober, maar zijn dankbaar met een dak boven hun hoofd en een veilige plek om tot rust te komen.

Ik heb een cliënt en zij is zwanger. Ik probeer haar te begeleiden in het verzamelen van baby spullen. Maar dit is heel lastig. In de praktijk ben ik voornamelijk baby spullen aan het verzamelen en is zij alleen maar aan het klagen dat het niet goed genoeg is. Hier hebben we laatst ook een ruzie over gehad, Semhar kwam langs bij het ASKV kantoor om te vragen waarom we geen fatsoenlijk bed hadden gekocht nog voor haar baby (we hadden een bed gekregen waar de baby de eerste maanden in kan slapen). Ik heb haar toen verteld dat wij niet verantwoordelijk zijn voor haar baby en dat zij zelf ook mee kan helpen met het verzamelen van spullen. Ook was het niet goed dat er maar 1 badje was, terwijl er twee baby's geboren zouden worden in dat huis. Dit voorval geeft aan dat in dit geval Semhar en Berhane (de andere zwangere vrouw), maar ook veel andere cliënten, een enorm afhankelijkke houding aannemen en zelf niets of niet veel regelen.

Laatst had ik een dergelijke situatie met Mark een andere cliënt. Hij kan niet slapen omdat hij veel last heeft van nachtmerries en ik vermoed PTSS. Hij heeft hier medicatie voor en ik heb hem oordoppen gegeven omdat hij aangaf niet te kunnen slapen van het geluid in de BBB. Verder is Mark nu in behandeling bij Equator (trauma behandeling). Maar hij kan nog steeds niet slapen en komt dit elke week tegen mij zeggen. Dan komt hij langs en gaat hij in het kantoor van ASKV zitten slapen en zegt hij tijdens het gesprek alleen maar: "Marieke I can no sleep". Wat mij opvalt bij dit soort gesprekken, is dat sommige mensen zich heel zielig voor doen en heel afhankelijk maken. Ik kreeg heel erg het gevoel dat ik de moeder van Mark was, zoals hij deed. Als ik dit koppel aan de literatuur vermoed ik dat dit gedrag wel eens kan voortkomen uit de angst om alleen te zijn. Dat de hulpverlener iemand is die altijd voor de klaar staat.

De meeste mensen voelen zich een stuk veiliger met een pas van ASKV. Dit is een pas waarop de basis gegevens van de mensen staan (als een soort van ID kaart) en de kaart geeft aan dat mensen cliënt zijn van het ASKV. Cliënt zijn van het ASKV biedt geen enkele juridische bescherming, maar geeft de mensen het gevoel dat ze onderdeel zijn van een groter geheel dat achter ze staat. En inderdaad, als iemand wordt opgepakt en ze hebben zo'n kaart bij zich wordt er vaak een bericht gestuurd naar ASKV dat die persoon is opgepakt. Met deze informatie kan het juridisch team aan de slag om te proberen de mensen vrij te krijgen.

In de laatste week van het veldwerk had ik nog een aantal interviews gepland en moest ik afscheid nemen van mijn cliënten. Veel mensen vonden het heel jammer dat ik weg ging, en waren erg aan mij gehecht geraakt. Dit geeft een beetje weer wat voor invloed de NGO heeft op het leven van de mensen. Zij zien mij in dit geval als de belichaming van ASKV, een NGO die altijd voor ze klaar staat en dat geeft ze houvast in deze onzekere wereld en onzekere tijd. De NGO zorgt ervoor dat mensen het gevoel hebben dat ze ergens op terug kunnen vallen, dat er een iemand/ een plek is die altijd alles zal doen om ze te helpen en dat geeft rust. Ik denk dan ook dat het een goed beleid is van ASKV dat cliënten gekoppeld worden aan bepaalde medewerkers, dat geeft hun rust. Ook vind ik het slim van ASKV om een stage minimaal 6 maanden te laten zijn, dit geeft ook wat meer rust voor de cliënten. Wel zou ik ze als advies willen meegeven dat de overdrachten een andere aanpak kunnen krijgen, naar mijn inziens zou het beter zijn voor de cliënt als ze eerst weten wie hun nieuwe contactpersoon wordt voordat de oude weg gaat.

Appendix 4 Observations

These notes were made both in Dutch and English.

Article 25 Universal declaration of human rights – every person has a right to food, clothes and shelter.

--

Laatste tijd zijn er veel mensen met een Dublin claim. Dit zijn mensen die al in een ander EU land vingerafdrukken enzo hebben afgegeven. Dan moeten ze ook daar Asiel aanvragen volgens de wet. Na 18 maanden vervalt de Dublin claim. Sinds kort kunnen mensen met een Dublin claim niet meer terecht in de BBB. Dit omdat deze overvol zitten en er een wachtlijst is van ongeveer 100 personen. De gemeente heeft maatregelen genomen zodat de wachtlijst verkort. Mensen met een Dublin claim mogen er niet meer in en mensen die uit 'veilige' landen komen ook niet. Hierdoor slapen er veel mensen op straat.

--

Er wordt ook extra gelet op regiobinding. Dit houdt in dat als iemand in een AZC in een deel van Nederland heeft gezeten, hij of zij ook daar moet zoeken naar een BBB voorziening of andere opvang. Zo worden de migranten gespreid en wordt voorkomen dat ze allemaal naar 1 plek trekken.

--

Veel mensen komen bij ASKV omdat ze via via over de organisatie hebben gehoord. Mensen komen naar Amsterdam omdat ze denken dat ze in de hoofdstad betere kansen hebben op overleving. Vaak komen ze dan iemand tegen die ook ongedocumenteerd is en die brengt ze dan naar ASKV.

ASKV doet een intake met mensen die voor het eerst komen. In die intake zit altijd iemand van het juridisch team en iemand van het maatschappelijk team. Er wordt gekeken naar iemands juridische situatie, deze bepaald of de persoon cliënt kan worden van het ASKV. De maatschappelijke hulpverlener kijkt naar iemand verblijfplek en of iemand medische zorg nodig heeft. Als iemand cliënt wordt van het ASKV, kan diegene mee doen met een cursus van PAO of een taalcursus volgen. Ook wordt er een hulpverleningsplan opgesteld, de bedoeling van dit plan is om de persoon zo zelfredzaam en zelfstandig mogelijk te maken zodat hij of zij net iets beter af is aan het einde van het traject.

--

Wereldhuis -> dagopvang. Geeft mensen een plek om te zijn overdag en biedt een maaltijd (lunch), maar je kan er niet slapen. Wel helpen de mensen van het wereldhuis met zoeken naar een slaapplek voor mensen die op straat slapen.

Het loket (vreemdelingenloket) zet mensen op de wachtlijst voor de BBB. BBB is de enige plek om te slapen. Het loket screent mensen ook om te kijken of ze in aanmerking komen voor 24-uurs BBB. Je kan alleen voor 24 uren BBB in aanmerking komen als je een kwetsbaar persoon bent (een ziekte hebt).

--

Het Wereldhuis zorgt voor de integratie van illegalen in de groep van andere illegalen. Hierdoor zouden mensen zich thuis kunnen gaan voelen, feelings of belonging to the group. But probably not to native Dutch people.

--- (na Artis)

Mohammed vertelde tijdens het uitje naar Artis dat hij al door super veel landen in Europa is gereisd, maar dat hij heel graag in dit land wil blijven. Hij voelt zich ook echt Nederlander ondanks dat hij geen verblijfsvergunning heeft en zijn broer in Duitsland woont. Mohammed wil ook heel graag Nederlands leren en heeft een Nederlandse vriend.

--

Wat ik heel erg merk is dat mensen die bij ASKV komen heel snel een sociaal netwerk hebben opgebouwd. Als iemand eerst alleen komt naar ASKV, zie je hem of haar in de volgende weken als snel met vrienden. Semhar

bijvoorbeeld was alleen toen ze voor het eerst naar ASKV kwam. Toen ze een week later weer kwam en we iemand nodig hadden die kon vertalen belde zij zelf iemand op die ook een cliënt is van ASKV. Ik denk zelf dat ze elkaar ontmoeten op plekken zoals het wereldhuis en via via. En dat het cliënt zijn van ASKV een verbindende factor is.

--

Wat mij opvalt aan de connecties die mensen maken is dat ze voornamelijk connecties maken met mensen die uit hetzelfde land komen. Koen ziet dit ook, we hadden samen een gesprek hierover en hij zei dat mensen heel erg elkaar helpen die uit hetzelfde land komen. Dat het een soort van communities zijn hier. Je ziet ook vaak dat mensen een slaapplek vinden binnen hun eigen community. Een uitzondering hierop zijn de mensen uit Eritrea, ondanks dat ze elkaar wel veel lijken te helpen (met vertalen en dergelijke) vinden hun bijna geen slaapplek bij elkaar. Het is meer ieder voor zich hebben wij het idee.

--

De laatste tijd komen er heel veel Eritreeërs bij ASKV, ik weet niet of dit in verband staat met de vorige observatie dat mensen uit Eritrea minder gauw slaapplekken vinden binnen hun netwerk. Maar iedereen heeft het er over, dat er heel veel mensen uit Eritrea aankomen. Het lastige is dat deze mensen vaak helemaal geen Engels kunnen en dat maakt communiceren vrij lastig. Wat me ook opvalt is dat veel mensen niet precies weten wie hun advocaat is en niet zuinig omgaan met hun papieren. Als iemand een brief heeft is die vaak opgevouwen tot hele kleine stukjes of helemaal verfrommeld. Dit kan heel goed te maken hebben met het feit dat ze op straat verblijven en geen goede spullen hebben om de papieren in te bewaren.

--

Het is vaak lastig communiceren met de mensen. Vooral veel Eritreeërs kunnen geen woord Nederlands en Engels. Gelukkig zijn er veel mensen die Tigrinya spreken die wel willen vertalen, maar ik merk dat de communicatie dan toch verstoord wordt. En daarmee bedoel ik dat soms de cliënt heel veel zegt en dat de vertaler daar dan een korte samenvatting van geeft. Dit haalt de nuance eruit en maakt dat het soms nog wel lastig is om elkaar te begrijpen. Veel mensen die geen Nederlands of Engels spreken kunnen zelf iemand bellen die voor ze wil vertalen, maar dit is niet altijd iemand die super goed kan vertalen wat het ook nog wel lastig maakt. Aan de andere kant is dit wel heel positief want het geeft aan hoe snel mensen een netwerk opbouwen en hoe mensen elkaar willen helpen. Als er iemand in de wachtkamer zit die kan vertalen en er zitten mensen te wachten op een intake die geen Nederlands of Engels kunnen, dan vertalen zij vaak voor die persoon terwijl ze elkaar helemaal niet kennen.

--

Vandaag heb ik voor het eerste een bed bad brood locatie bezocht. Ik mocht samen met een collega iemand begeleiden die daar een plekje krijgt in de 24-uurs BBB. Hij is gescreend door het loket en mag nu naar een locatie waar hij dus 24 uur per dag mag verblijven in plaats van alleen tussen 18.00 en 09.00 zoals bij de gewone BBB het geval is. Onderweg naar de BBB schrok de cliënt, Ali, heel erg van een overvliegend vliegtuig. Hij dook helemaal in een hoekje weg en begon te huilen. Dit maakte heel veel indruk om mij en deed me realiseren dat veel vluchtelingen psychische problemen hebben.

De Bed bad brood locatie zag er best prima uit, het was er redelijk schoon en de keuken was voorzien van de basis dingen. Mensen kunnen in de avond zelf koken, maar meestal wordt er voor iedereen tegelijk gekookt. Wat mij vooral opviel is dat de locatie best lijkt op een studentencomplex zoals hoogeveldt maar dan slaap je met meer mensen tegelijk op een kamer. Ook mogen mensen maar 1 stuk bagage meenemen en moeten ze direct na het ontbijt weer naar buiten.

--

In iedere eerste week van de maand wordt het leefgeld uitgedeeld. Dit is een bedrag van 200 euro voor iedereen die in een ASKV huis woont. Het is dan de bedoeling dat wij als stagairs, langs de huizen gaan met de envelopjes met geld. Dit geeft een kans om de huizen te observeren en te kijken hoe de mensen wonen. Elk huis heeft basis meubels die door ASKV worden betaald, zo heeft iedereen een bed met matras, kussen en dekens, zijn er spullen om mee te koken, is er televisie en internet etc. Ook heeft het ASKV een klusjesman in dienst die regelmatig de huizen langs gaat. De mensen level sober, maar zijn dankbaar met een dak boven hun hoofd en een veilige plek om tot rust te komen.

--

Wat mij op valt is dat veel mensen veel te laat komen of hun afspraken vergeten. Ik heb nu al een aantal keer een afspraak gemaakt met cliënten en een aantal komen wel op tijd, maar dat is eerder een uitzondering dan de regel. Ik moest vandaag met iemand naar Equator (traumabehandeling) en die persoon kwam pas opdagen toen zijn afspraak al voorbij was. En met opdagen bedoel ik bij ASKV opdagen, wat meer dan 40 minuten reizen ligt van Equator. En zo zou ik nog wel veel meer voorbeelden kunnen bedenken.

--

Ik heb een cliënt en zij is zwanger. Ik probeer haar te begeleiden in het verzamelen van baby spullen. Maar dit is heel lastig. In de praktijk ben ik voornamelijk baby spullen aan het verzamelen en is zij alleen maar aan het klagen dat het niet goed genoeg is. Hier hebben we laatst ook een ruzie over gehad, Semhar kwam langs bij het ASKV kantoor om te vragen waarom we geen fatsoenlijk bed hadden gekocht nog voor haar baby (we hadden een bed gekregen waar de baby de eerste maanden in kan slapen). Ik heb haar toen verteld dat wij niet verantwoordelijk zijn voor haar baby en dat zij zelf ook mee kan helpen met het verzamelen van spullen. Ook was het niet goed dat er maar 1 badje was, terwijl er twee baby's geboren zouden worden in dat huis. Dit voorval geeft aan dat in dit geval Semhar en Berhane (de andere zwangere vrouw), maar ook veel andere cliënten, een enorm afhankelijkke houding aannemen en zelf niets of niet veel regelen.

Laatst had ik een dergelijke situatie met Mark een andere cliënt. Hij kan niet slapen omdat hij veel last heeft van nachtmerries en ik vermoed PTSS. Hij heeft hier medicatie voor en ik heb hem oordoppen gegeven omdat hij aangaf niet te kunnen slapen van het geluid in de BBB. Verder is Mark nu in behandeling bij Equator (trauma behandeling). Maar hij kan nog steeds niet slapen en komt dit elke week tegen mij zeggen. Dan komt hij langs en gaat hij in het kantoor van ASKV zitten slapen en zegt hij tijdens het gesprek alleen maar: "Marieke I can no sleep". Wat mij opvalt bij dit soort gesprekken, is dat sommige mensen zich heel zielig voor doen en heel afhankelijk maken. Ik kreeg heel erg het gevoel dat ik de moeder van Mark was, zoals hij deed. Als ik dit koppel aan de literatuur vermoed ik dat dit gedrag wel eens kan voortkomen uit de angst om alleen te zijn. Dat de hulpverlener iemand is die altijd voor de klaar staat.

--

Wat me wel heel erg opvalt is dat veel mensen bereid zijn om te onze cliënten te helpen. Ik had op facebook een oproep geplaatst dat ik voor cliënten babyspullen nodig heb en heel veel mensen hebben gereageerd en doneren de spullen helemaal gratis. Ook komen er wel wekelijks mensen langs die kleding en schoenen hebben voor in het kledingrek (waar de cliënten het gratis kunnen meenemen). Ook hebben we regelmatig een donatie van Adidas en laatst ook van Lush met spullen die we kunnen uitdelen.

--

Wat mensen heel erg aantrekt aan Amsterdam is dat hier heel veel mensen rondlopen die "zwart" zijn. Hierdoor vallen ze minder op als ze op straat lopen en hoeven ze minder bang te zijn voor de politie. Want als er gevraagd wordt om je ID en die hebben ongedocumenteerde mensen niet, dan worden ze naar de vreemdelingendetentie gebracht.

De meeste mensen voelen zich een stuk veiliger met een pas van ASKV. Dit is een pas waarop de basis gegevens van de mensen staan (als een soort van ID kaart) en de kaart geeft aan dat mensen cliënt zijn van het ASKV. Cliënt zijn van het ASKV biedt geen enkele juridische bescherming, maar geeft de mensen het gevoel dat ze onderdeel zijn van een groter geheel dat achter ze staat. En inderdaad, als iemand wordt opgepakt en ze hebben zo'n kaart bij zich wordt er vaak een bericht gestuurd naar ASKV dat die persoon is opgepakt. Met deze informatie kan het juridisch team aan de slag om te proberen de mensen vrij te krijgen.

--

Vandaag is de baby van Semhar geboren en wat mij opvalt is dat iedereen samen komt en haar helpt. Zeker in het huis waar Semhar woont. Ze woont in een huis van ASKV waar mensen met verschillende achtergronden wonen. Ik was bij Okoro op bezoek, en zij vertelde dat ze bijvoorbeeld de baby vaak de fles geeft zodat Semhar kan rusten. Dit geeft weer aan hoe snel en sterk het community gevoel is.

--

Cadette wil verhuizen uit het ASKV huis, ze heeft zelf een eigen kamer gevonden om te huren. (mensen die recht hebben op de BBB kunnen ook geld krijgen van de gemeente en een eigen kamer huren, in plaats van slapen in de BBB). Omdat ik de sleutel van Cadette moet krijgen en haar niet te pakken krijg, bel ik naar haar huisgenoten. Niemand in dat huis weet wie Cadette is, pas als ik uitgebreid beschrijf waar haar kamer is snappen ze over wie ik het heb. Okoro omschrijft haar als "the black girl". Nou is Cadette vaak op zichzelf en spreekt zij Nederlands terwijl de rest communiceert in het Engels, maar dit geeft toch aan dat niet iedereen onderdeel is van de community. Zelf als je bij elkaar in huis woont ben je niet automatisch lid van de groep.

--

People form a community and help each other but when someone does not follow into the 'normal' code he or she is treated very different.

Naast mijn stage hielp ik PAO ook door een buddy te zijn voor Mercy een vrouw die de naaicursus had gevolgd. Mercy verblijft in de BBB, en heeft last van suikerziekte. Ze geeft aan dat ze haar medicijnen stiekem neemt in de badkamer, zodat de anderen er niet achter komen. Heel veel andere mensen doen dat ook, ziektes zijn taboe en er wordt niet over gesproken. Als anderen erachter komen dat je een ziekte hebt val je buiten de groep en wordt je soms zelfs gepest.

--

Wat me ook heel erg opvalt is dat er veel moeders met kinderen op straat slapen. Deze moeders zijn weg gegaan uit het AZC zodra ze te horen kregen dat hun asiel verzoek was afgewezen en ze kunnen niet terecht in de BBB. BBB is alleen voor mensen alleen niet voor gezinnen. Waar deze moeders terecht kunnen is een gol (gezinsopvanglocatie). Het nadeel van een gol is dat zodra je daar heen gaat je in aanraking komt met DT&V (dienst terugkeer en vertrek) en je mee moet werken aan je vertrek om daar te kunnen verblijven. Dit willen de moeders niet en daardoor komen ze op straat te staan.

--

Ik heb twee cliënten uit Iran die allebei zijn gevlucht vanwege hun geloof. Ze zijn Christelijk in plaats van Moslim en dat is gevaarlijk in Iran. Zij vertelde me vandaag dat ze wel in de BBB slapen omdat ze geen andere plek hebben maar dat de BBB voor hun ook nog een nare plek is, omdat mensen daar ook over het algemeen Moslim zijn. Als die mensen erachter komen dat de Iraniërs Christelijk zijn wordt ze het leven zuur gemaakt. Dan horen ze niet meer bij de groep en worden ze gepest. Ook gaven ze aan, en dit is iets wat ik al van veel meer mensen heb gehoord, is dat het in de BBB heel rumoerig is en dat dit zorgt voor een slechte nachtrust. Om hun woorden te parafraseren: die Afrikanen zijn vaak heel luid, die schreeuwen in plaats van praten en hier kunnen wij niet door slapen. Iedereen heeft zijn eigen cultuur en zijn eigen gewoonten en dat moet samen wonen in de BBB, maar dit komt niet ten goede van iedereen's nachtrust en welzijn.

--

Er is een grote 'opruim/controle' actie geweest in de BBB. Er staat in de regels dat mensen niet meer dan 1 bagage stuk mee mogen nemen. Veel mensen hebben wel wat meer en dat is nu weg gegoooid, zonder dat de mensen konden protesteren. Ook is van heel veel mensen hun eten weg gegoooid want officieel mogen ze dat niet bij zich hebben. De afgelopen jaren werd er vaak een oogje dicht geknepen en werden de regels niet zo streng gehandhaafd, daardoor kwam deze controle uit het niets en zijn veel mensen weer heel bang geworden. Dit zal de gevoelens van thuis zijn niet bevorderen, ik denk dat het een negatief effect zal hebben.

--

In de laatste week van het veldwerk had ik nog een aantal interviews gepland en moest ik afscheid nemen van mijn cliënten. Veel mensen vonden het heel jammer dat ik weg ging, en waren erg aan mij gehecht geraakt. Dit geeft een beetje weer wat voor invloed de NGO heeft op het leven van de mensen. Zij zien mij in dit geval als de belichaming van ASKV, een NGO die altijd voor ze klaar staat en dat geeft ze houvast in deze onzekere wereld en onzekere tijd. De NGO zorgt ervoor dat mensen het gevoel hebben dat ze ergens op terug kunnen vallen, dat er een iemand/ een plek is die altijd alles zal doen om ze te helpen en dat geeft rust. Ik denk dan ook dat het een goed beleid is van ASKV dat cliënten gekoppeld worden aan bepaalde medewerkers, dat geeft hun rust. Ook vind ik het slim van ASKV om een stage minimaal 6 maanden te laten zijn, dit geeft ook wat meer rust voor de cliënten.

Wel zou ik ze als advies willen meegeven dat de overdrachten een andere aanpak kunnen krijgen, naar mijn inziens zou het beter zijn voor de cliënt als ze eerst weten wie hun nieuwe contactpersoon wordt voordat de oude weg gaat.

Appendix 5 List of codes

Informant 1

Accept black people
Afraid to go to jail
Amsterdam
ASKV
BBB
Church
Community
Connections with Dutch people
Day activities
Family
Feeling a part of a community
Feeling at home
Feeling Dutch
Friends
Friends and Family
Good medical care
Hard on the body
Health care
Length of stay in the Netherlands
Life is now only in Amsterdam
Living peacefully
Love Amsterdam
Love NL
Love the country
Love the people
Nice people
No change, move
Nothing left in old country
Scale
Scale BBB
Scared - jail
School
Stay because nowhere else to go
Stay in Amsterdam
Stay in NL
Stress
Tolerant for black people
Why NL
Work place
Worldhouse (no)

Informant 2

ASKV
ASKV makes life better
AZC
BBB
Belonging
Can't feel Dutch because undocumented
Community/group

Courses
Dutch friends
Feeling at home
Feeling at home depends on people
Feeling Dutch
Friends
Language
learn Dutch
Length in NL
Lots of cultures
Love Amsterdam
Meeting people
Meeting people through NGO
Network
NGO
NGO's
People
Stay busy
Through network
why Amsterdam
Worldhouse

Informant 3

Architecture
ASKV
Come to A'dam for ASKV
Connected to NL due to ASKV
Crowdedness
Day activities
Democracy
Feeling at home
Feeling Dutch
Feeling Dutch (10)
Freedom
Freedom of speech
Health
Integration
Language (speaks Dutch)
Learning Dutch
Length of stay in A'dam
Length of stay in NL
Museum
s
Safety
Scale
School
Stay in Amsterdam
tourists
Voluntary work
Why Amsterdam
Why NL

Informant 4

ASKV
BBB
Church
Community
Connection to Amsterdam
Day activities
Family
Feeling at home
Feeling Dutch
Friends
Integration
Language
Length of stay in Amsterdam
Length of stay in Netherlands
Meeting people
Migration
Netherlands
Place identity
Religion
Scale
Shelter (BBB)
Shelter (by government)
Social belonging
Why in the Netherlands
Worldhouse

Informant 5

Amsterdam
ASKV
Asylum
Attitude of natives
BBB
Church
Community
Day activities
Dutch
English
Family
Feeling at home
Feeling Dutch
Friends
Integration
Language
Length of stay in Amsterdam
Length of stay in the Netherlands
Reason for coming to NL
Religion
Scale
Shelter
Shelter (schiphol)
Social network
Social support
Worldhouse

Informant 6

10
Amsterdam citizen
Amsterdam is better than Friesland
ASKV
Behaviour of people
Belonging
Belonging to NL
Can live anywhere
Care
Climate
Connecting because both from Nigeria
Contribute to belonging
Day activities
Documented does not matter
Documented first
documented people
Doing own thing
English
Exchange phone numbers
Family
Feeling at home
Feeling at home in NL
Feeling Dutch
Friends
Girlfriend
Grateful
Happy place is the house
Health
Help
Home
I am willing
integrating
Language
Learning Dutch
Leaving Africa
Length of stay in NL
Living normal life
Love
Love people that show love
Love the language
Meeting people
More diversity
More social connections
Network
NL is oke with document
No choice
No family
No intimidation anymore
No stress
Not undocumented
Peace
Place to stay
Places in NL
Proud of where she comes from
Relaxed
Safety
Scale
Shelter

Sick
Social person
Stress
Stress is part of life
Visit
Why Amsterdam
Why NL
Worldhouse

Informant 7

Amsterdam when rejected
ASKV
Belonging
Clean
Community
Connections to Dutch people (through ASKV)
Day activities
Diversity
Dutch would be better
English
Feeling at home
Feeling at home in Amsterdam
Feeling good in NL
For shelter
Happy but not ideal
Happy in Amsterdam
Help ASKV
Language
Length in NL
Like Dutch people
like it
Meeting people
NGO's contribute to community
Not like Dutch people
peace
Scale
Shelter
Stay in A'dam
Why Amsterdam
Why NL
Worldhouse

Informant 8

Amsterdam
ASKV
Being at home
Being illegal
Belonging
Beloning
Community
Connection to ASKV
Day activities
Dutch
Dutch friends
Education
English

Feeling at home
Feeling at home in Amsterdam
Feeling at home in the Netherlands
Feeling Dutch
Friendly
Friends
Health
Identity
Integration
Language
Learning Dutch
LGBT
LGBTQ
Meeting people
Network
No papers - no belonging
People
Safety
Scale
Shelter
Stay in the Netherlands
Why NL

Informant 9

Amsterdam
ASKV
BBB
Chances (voluntary work)
Connections
Connections with Dutch people help
crowded place
Day activities
Don't stand out
Dublin claim
Feel more at home when staying in the day
Feeling at home
Feeling Dutch
Friends
Go up in crowd
Language
Length in NL
Lot to learn
Love Amsterdam
Meeting people
Meeting people through NGO's
Network
NGO's contribute to belonging
NL
NL little bit less
Not feel sorry
Places in NL
Safety
Scale
Scale 6
Scale 9
Shelter
Why Amsterdam

Why NL
Worldhouse

Informant 10

Adam 10
ASKV
Better opportunities
Can see people
Change the people to feel more at home
Day activities
Don't know any Dutch people
Dont feel at home
Dont have to hide
Dont stand out
Facilities
Feel at home in Amsterdam
Feel like an outsider
Feeling at home
It depends
Language
Language makes a big difference
language means more inclusion
Length in NL
Like Amsterdam
Maybe move somewhere else
More connected to NL
More connected to NL through ASKV
NGO's help with integration
NL 9
No connections with Dutch people
No friens more connections (kennis)
Not Dutch yet
Only AZC
Part of a community/ group
People
Scale
seeing people makes a difference
Survive
Temporary
Things close by
Why Amsterdam
Worldhouse

Informant 11

Amsterdam
ASKV
ASKV house
AZC
Belonging
Closed
Communtiy
Crowded
Day activities
Dutch people as well
Ethnicities
Everywhere

Feeling at home
Feeling Dutch
Friends
Health care
Higher
Language
Length of stay in A'dam
Length of stay in NL
Mainly same ethnicity
Meeting people
More social
Network
No people to connect with
Not at home
Not more belonging ASKV
People visit
Places of shelter
Scale
Shelter
Stress
The Netherlands
Undocumented stops integration
Why Amsterdam

Informants 12 and 13

100 percent
Acceptance
Amsterdam is better than NL
ASKV
ASKV does not make difference in belonging
Being yourself
COC
Community
Conditions for feeling at home
Connections with NL people
Day activities
Difficult no bank account
Dutch people are good
Feel more at home because of COC
Feeling at home
Feeling at home in Amsterdam
Feeling welcome
Friendly people
Friends
Going to the gym
Good for LGBT
Integration
Language
Length of stay in NL
LGBT
Meet in organisations
More at home in Amsterdam
NGO helps with feeling at home
Nice people
People help
Rest
Safety

Scale
Stay in A'dam
Why Amsterdam
Why NL
Work

Worldhouse

Observations

ASKV
BBB
Boyfriend
Communities
Community
Connected to ASKV
Connections to people with same nationality
Different cultures don't mix well
Dublin
Enhancement of community
Eritrea
Fall out of community
Feeling at home
Feeling safe at home
Feeling safe by connection to ASKV
Feels connected to NL
Gol
Health care
Help each other
Illness is taboo
International policies
Juridical support
Language
Local policies
Making friends quick
Mothers sleeping in the street
National policies
NGO
NGO's
NGO is connecting factor
NGO is place to meet others
No shelter
Not automatic part of the community
People act like the victim
People are willing to provide stuff for ASKV
People come too late
Psychological trauma
Reception by natives
Religion
Rest
Safety
Safety due to not standing out
Sense of community
Shelter
Shelter by government
Social network
Social support
Translation
Trauma
Vreemdelingenloket

Appendix 6 Interview guide

Introduction into the research

For ASKV I am doing a research about the feelings of belonging of undocumented people. With this research I am hoping to help ASKV improve their policy towards helping undocumented people, making them feel more at home.

Can I record this interview?

- About the respondent
- How long have you lived in The Netherlands?
- What places in the Netherlands have you lived? And for how long?
- When did you move to Amsterdam?

Place identity (belonging to a place/ being at home)

- Why did you move to Amsterdam?
- What do you like about Amsterdam?
- If you would become a Dutch citizen, would you still want to live in Amsterdam? Or would that not matter?
- Why did you choose to come to The Netherlands? And why do you stay here after being rejected?

- What is important for you to feel at home?
- On a scale of 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home at the place where you stay?
- And why did you give that grade?
- What would you change if you could?
- Where do you stay at the moment? How did you find that place?
- What do you do during the day?

- On a scale of 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home in Amsterdam?
- On a scale of 1 to 10, how much do you feel at home in The Netherlands?
- When there is difference, why?

Social belonging (belonging to a group)

- Do you have friends/ family in The Netherlands?
- Did you make new friends since arriving here?
- How did you meet them?
- Do you feel part of a community?
- Can you describe that community?
- Do you go to the worldhouse? And did that make a difference?
- How did you hear of ASKV?
- How long have you been at ASKV?
- Do you feel more connected to Dutch people through ASKV?
- Do you have connections with Dutch people outside ASKV?
- Do you have contact with people who have asylum?
- Do you feel like you have found the place where you belong because of organisations like the worldhouse, askv, pao?

- Do you think speaking Dutch or English makes you feel more Dutch?

- On a scale of 1 to 10, how Dutch do you feel?