

Faith and the Stranger: A Christian Response to Asylum in the Netherlands

An ethnographic study of Faith Based Organisations and the
process of asylum within the Netherlands

MA Thesis: Jessica E Clark

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

MaThesis

**Faith and the Stranger: A Christian Response to
Asylum in the Netherlands**

An ethnographic study of Faith Based Organisations and the process of asylum
within the Netherlands

By:

Jessica E Clark

2845679

DOB: 15th October 1987

First Supervisor Dr. M.W. Buitelaar

Second Reader: Dr. J Tarusarira

August 2015 - August 2016

For the completion of the Master Program:

Religion, Conflict & Globalisation

Abstract

This thesis researches Faith Based Organisations within the local setting, paying specific attention to the religious narratives used by the Dutch FBO, INLIA, and how this – if at all – affects the day-to-day practices and decision making processes of the organisation, identifying any assets and drawback as a result. It elaborates on current literature by applying theory to my personal experiences of working as an intern at INLIA. This thesis concludes with the recommendation that similar studies should be carried out across multiple Faith Based Organisations in order to compare how religious narrative and its affects differ from one organisation to another, thus providing a more profound understanding of how FBOs operate in assisting displaced persons and offer alternative ways to how we respond to discriminatory practices.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr. Marjo Buitelaar for her excellent supervision, her support, encouragement, and valuable advice during the development of this thesis. I would also like to thank Dr. Joram Tarusarira for his thorough reading of my work and helpful feedback which allowed me to make improvements near the end of the process. To John van Tilborg and all the staff at the INLIA Foundation who welcomed me into the organisation and allowed me to carry out research; without this, this thesis would not have been possible. To my dear friends, especially Amke and Selena for their emotional support and guidance; to my family for continuously encouraging me to keep on working; to Laura for offering her translation services; and to Anthony for supporting me in my decision to return to university.

List of Contents

List of symbols, abbreviations and words	7
1. Introduction	8
1.1 Beyond the secular	8
1.2 My research	12
1.3 Methodology	13
1.4 Chapter overview	17
2. Welcoming the Stranger: My first day at INLIA	18
2.1 Respect	18
2.2 Braking through barriers	20
2.3 A troublesome religion	24
2.4 INLIA, an outsider	27
3. Faith within the Secular	29
3.1 Defining Faith Based Organisations	29
3.2 Funding faith	31
3.3 Reacting to the fear of religion	32
3.4 A source of intervention	34
4. Finding Faith within Employees	37
4.1 Staff motivations: are they ‘faith-based’?	37
4.2 Eleonora	38
4.3 Joost	41
4.4 Esther	44
4.5 Melvin	45
4.6 Shared goals	47
5. Fear not, for I am with you	49

5.1 The bottle neck effect	49
5.2 Inclusion and Exclusion	54
5.3 Christian faith and fear	55
5.4 The spirit of the Living Stone	58
6. Conclusion	63
Appendix I	68
Appendix II	69
Bibliography	71

List of symbols, abbreviations and words

Below is a list of all symbols, words and abbreviations used. Words borrowed from languages other than English, such as Dutch are italicised in the text.

[] Text between block brackets is added or altered from the original transcription in order to increase clarity

() Text between rounded brackets is added text to explain where or what participants are referring to

(.) Pause

(...) Deleted text from the transcript to increase clarity

BBB – Bed, Bad, Brood (or Bed, Bath Bread)

CCME – The Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe

CEC – The Conference of European Churches

COA – Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers

FBO – Faith Based Organisation

IND – Immigration and Naturalisation Services

INLIA – International Network of Local Initiatives with Asylum Seekers

LOGO – The National Consultation on Local Authorities Reception and Return Policy

NGO – Non Government Organisation

PKN – The Protestant Church in the Netherlands

UNHCR – UN Refugee Agency

UNICEF – United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

VNG – The Association of Dutch Municipalities

WCC – The World Council of Churches

1. Introduction

1.1 Beyond the secular

The subject of asylum seekers, displaced persons and refugees has been at the forefront of the European political agenda and media headlines, with claims about a new ‘migrant refugee crisis’ where ‘vast numbers of migrants and refugees have made their way from Iraq and Syria across the Mediterranean to Europe’ (‘Migrant refugee crisis’, 2015).

According to the latest report by the UNHCR, a total 65.3 million people were displaced at the end of 2015 as a result of persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or human rights violations (‘UNHCR Global Trends’, 2016); on average 24 people were forced to flee each minute in 2015. Of the 65.3 million migrants, 21.3 million persons were refugees and 3.2 million were asylum-seekers (‘UNHCR Global Trends’, 2016). The main contributing factor to the recent rise in numbers is the war in the Syrian Arab Republic. Syria is now the largest source country of refugees, with the refugee population rising from 20,000 at the end of 2010, to 4.7 million by mid-2015 (‘UNHCR Mid-Year Trends’, 2015). In addition to this, the number of displaced persons who are unable to return to their place of origin has increased, and so, many will continue to live in exile for years to come.

In the Netherlands, when asylum seekers enter the country, they must report to an application centre where initial registration takes place. According to the Immigration and Naturalisation Services (IND), asylum is:

[A] form of protection for those who fear persecution or who risk torture or an inhuman treatment in their country of origin. Any person has the right to request asylum. The IND will then investigate whether this person is eligible for asylum. (‘Asylum’, 2016)

Although the IND are responsible for deciding if asylum is granted, it is the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA) who are responsible for the supervision of asylum seekers during the asylum process in the Netherlands. Here, ‘first’ asylum seeker applicants are entitled to shelter from the time they request asylum until a decision has been made (‘first’ meaning, those who are not making a repeated application or family reunification). According to the latest IND report from June 2016, first asylum applications made since January 2016 totalled at 8’422 with the majority being from the Syrian Arab Republic (IND report, 2016).

After registering with the IND, asylum seekers must complete their registration at the main COA central reception location. They are moved to a process reception centre and then finally, they are moved to an asylum centre. The length of time an asylum seeker spends here depends on how long the decision making process takes and of course, the outcome of their request. According to COA's website, if asylum applications are successful, they may stay in an asylum centre for up to 12 weeks while permanent accommodation is arranged, or if they are refused, they can only stay a maximum of 4 weeks in which time they're responsible for arranging their repatriation or appeal. However, due to the increased number of applicants, permanent accommodation is taking considerably longer than 12 weeks, with reports of waiting time taking up to 1 year. This development will be discussed further in section 5.1 of this thesis.

There are many laws, guidelines and rules involved in the asylum process, from the national to international level. The reason I have described COA's responsibility in particular is because they are the ones who are primarily responsible for providing housing, food and clothing to asylum seekers in the Netherlands; an individual's right under article 25 of the human rights declaration (United Nations General Assembly, 2016).

This right, however, does not apply to everyone; it comes with conditions. For example, if an individual is trying to find new evidence in order to appeal their refused asylum, if they have been unable to attain the required documents in order to arrange their repatriation, or those who have made an application for a residence permit based on medical grounds rather than asylum, they are not entitled to reception; instead, they are forced onto the streets. In the Netherlands, as a result of such restrictions on who is given the right of shelter, clothing, and food based on the Dutch asylum policies, there has been an urgent need for alternative providers of support and assistance to those who are not a 'first' applicant.

Faith-Based Organisations (or FBOs as I will also refer to them in this thesis), are non-government organisations that refer to religion or religious values (Dierckx et. al. 2009: 11). Faith Based organisations have a historical role in giving sanctuary, refuge, and providing basic needs. Furthermore, they engage in a pursuit for justice, a pursuit which is 'grounded in a divine nature of humanity' (Wilson, 2013: 147). Although this is the historical role of FBOs, I aim to identify what this looks like in practice in today's postsecular society and how religion plays a role within the day-to-day running of an FBO; how FBOs assign justice, development, and hope to those in need and how these concepts intersect with notions of religion. I aim to use observations within a Faith Based Organisation to generate reflections on the ways religion is manifested daily in public action, conversation and decision making

and how this transforms into helping displaced persons. This research is necessary to add value to both the studies of asylum and FBOs by providing a better understanding of how Faith Based Organisations use religion outside traditional religious settings (such as a church) and integrate religious values into the lives of believers and non-believers to reach shared goals. This research will provide a more varied picture of the affects FBOs have in assisting displaced persons and identify how the daily actions of FBOs, based on religious values, can have positive or negative effects on asylum seekers in the Netherlands.

Therefore, this thesis researches when and how religious symbols, values, and narration are used on a day-to-day basis within an FBO in the Netherlands. I will provide an overview of the Christian FBO, INLIA, and its involvement with the asylum procedure. I worked as an intern for three months at the INLIA Foundation and carried out an ethnographic study of the Faith Based Organisation and the process of asylum within the Netherlands. In this thesis, I aim to identify in what ways FBOs are valuable (to the government and to asylum seekers themselves), and what pitfalls and hindrances challenge FBOs. I will discuss the various roles FBOs engage in and the projects INLIA has developed, as well as how INLIA operates. I will observe when and how religious values are displayed and question what motivates INLIA staff members as well as discussing how INLIA tackles the concept of the ‘other’.

The analysis of any FBO requires that researchers take seriously any faith related underpinning which shapes the organisational thought and action (Hefferan et al., 2010: 1). I will critically investigate the criticisms FBOs face within a postsecular society and relate this to my experience of being an intern at INLIA, as well as identify any religious link to the day-to-day decisions being made in the organisation. This will then allow me to answer my research question: *How does religion play a role/when do we see religious narrative being used in the day-to-day running of a Christian organisation? What assets and drawbacks does this produce?*

FBOs can provide assistance with trauma, integration, healthcare, shelter, spiritual guidance, and removing barriers, all of which are provided under the influence of doctrinal elements (Wilson, 2013: 161-62). The actions carried out by FBOs and the services they provide continue to make an imprint on social landscapes. They have been used as a ‘gap-filler’ (Clove, 2010: 224), along with other third sector organisations in the public sphere as a result of neoliberal governance.

Neo-liberalism is viewed as the dominant form of capitalist globalisation (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) where governments across the globe promote privatisation and deregulation which has not only transformed the economy but also the provision of public services (Clove

et al., 2010: 22). Many services which were previously provided by the government or state have been contracted out and so opportunities have been created for faith-based organisations to step in and assist those in need.

Also important to take into account when discussing FBOs in the Netherlands is the assumptions which are made about the nature of religion. For the most part, religion is still defined in secularist terms i.e. something which is separate from the state, something which is private, fixed and unchanged and these assumptions influence policy. As described above, FBOs have been used as a gap-filler between the state and persons who need support, and therefore, the lines between politics and religion are blurring. Due to this development, there has been an emergence of a postsecular society. Erin Wilson (2014) states that postsecular implies:

[A] progression beyond the secular, yet somehow also remaining connected to such ways of thinking. It limits space to consider questions such as the extent to which societies may have been fully secularized to begin with and does not escape the normative frameworks of the secular – page 349

Due to the tensions between the discourses of secularism and post-secularism, FBOs find themselves in a very unique, and often times, difficult position. Religion is posed as a threat to secular society and is ‘demonized as the cause of the world’s worst evil’ (Cloke, 2010: 223). This demonization plays a role in why FBOs can be regarded with suspicion. There is also a concern that asylum seekers will convert to Christianity in order to help their asylum case (Wilson, 2013: 151), with further scepticism that FBOs would encourage conversion. Questions have been raised over Faith Based Organisations’ motivation, with concerns of pursuing their own agendas which would potentially cause tension within communities and possibly prevent integration (Farnell, 2009: 193).

Juger Habermas, an influential scholar on the topic of postsecularism, explains there has been a re-emergence of religion in Western secular societies. Rather than religion ‘dying out’ as predicted by secularisation theory, religion is taking on a new form within the public sphere (Habermas, 2006: 15). Habermas argues that religious meaning and language should not only be allowed into the public sphere but should not have to be translated into secular language. He states that religious language is more useful than rational language for conveying ‘truth, beauty and essence’ (Wilson, 2014: 352). Faith-based organisations can bring this truth, beauty and essence into conversations between politics and society using religious symbols, values, and narration.

1.2 My research

My research began in February 2016 while interning at a Faith Based Organisation in the city of Groningen. This organisation, INLIA, works with asylum seekers and refugees within the city and surrounding areas, but also challenges government policies. In 1988, the organisation, INLIA (International Network of Local Initiatives with Asylum Seekers), was founded. At the base of this organisation, there are around 500 faith communities which operate within the INLIA network. Not only are they the main financiers of this organisation, they are also involved with projects and in the past have provided sanctuary to individual asylum seekers. These local religious (predominately Christian) communities were concerned about the asylum policies within Europe and ‘felt the need to support and encourage each other on a more permanent basis’ (‘English summary’, 2016). As a result, a “covenant” was created and signed by 300 churches primarily from the Netherlands, but also from England, Germany, and Italy. This text is known as ‘The Charter of Groningen’ and following the charter, an office was set up in the city of Groningen to coordinate the network of members. The charter states:

As local churches, parishes, faith communities and basic groups we feel that our moral responsibility calls us to act in this situation. Refugees and those seeking asylum make it clear to us how much violence and injustice there is in the world. To avoid the burden and sorrow connected with giving protection to refugees means refusing to regard this violence and injustice as a common problem. Our faith that God wants the oneness of humankind, urges us to reject this refusal and take sides with refugees and asylum seekers. (‘Charter of Groningen’, 1988)

Within the INLIA office, there are around 25 full-time and part-time staff, trainees and volunteers covering five different departments: The Church Contacts and Public Relations; Office Personnel and Management; Legal and Social Assistance; Emergency Accommodation; and the ‘Transithouse’ Project.

Since INLIA was established, the type of services it provides has changed due to the development of policies within the Netherlands. It began by offering legal aid and sanctuary within churches to failed asylum seekers in addition to going on fact finding missions to research the countries which asylum seekers were coming from. However, nowadays the organisation feels the need to devote its time and resources to providing shelter. As mentioned above, shelter is only required to be given by COA to first asylum seekers. If an asylum request is denied, displaced persons have the right to appeal, but only by putting forward new

evidence. There is no government assistance or shelter during this time, and so, many hundreds find themselves living on the street.

In response to this situation, INLIA set up an emergency shelter in Groningen, known as the Formule 1, for those who are not entitled to government-sponsored accommodation. This has been done in cooperation with the local municipality, the churches, and other NGOs. Generally speaking, there are three groups of people who qualify to stay at the Formule 1: i) Those staying legally in the Netherlands but because of their procedure (i.e. a repeated request or request on medical grounds), they are not entitled to government shelter; ii) Those working on their repatriation but who do not have all the required documents yet; iii) cases where there are serious humanitarian or medical issues.

1.3 Methodology

Within the context of postsecular studies and international relations research, there has been a lot of focus on how FBOs differ from NGOs as well as attention being paid to the role of Faith Based Organisations within the international development context. There has been less research into FBOs in Western politics and activism which Wilson argues is a trend that reinforces that assumption that FBOs are self-interested and passive organisations (Wilson, 2014: 222-23). Furthermore, researchers have lacked a common set of definitions of what constitutes an FBO. As well as no agreed definition, there is yet to be a clear analytical framework for understanding the impact of faith upon their structures, behaviours, and development outcomes (Ware et al., 2016: 322). This thesis aims to research FBOs within the local setting, paying specific attention to the religious narratives used by the Faith Based Organisation, INLIA, and how this – if at all – affects the day-to-day practices and decision making processes of the FBO. The research for this study was completed using a literature study, participant observation, keeping field notes, and semi-structured interviews.

The ethnographic study presented in this thesis consists of 4 months of focused fieldwork conducted in the Groningen based organisation, INLIA, between February 2016 – June 2016. In this time period, I worked in the office 3 days per week for 7 hours each day. In addition, I attended conferences throughout the Netherlands and visited INLIA's two shelters (the Formule 1 and the Halfway House). The emphasis of my research was on observation as I participated in the organisation as an intern; noting when and how religious narrative was used within INLIA on a day-to-day basis. Most employees and interns at INLIA were aware that I was carrying out research and using INLIA as a case study, however, the specifics of my research were only ever questioned in detail by one member of staff. When asked about

my research, I would inform people I was studying how FBOs assisted asylum seekers in the Netherlands. While this is, indeed the essence of my research, I did not specify that I was observing religious narrative as I did not want knowledge of this to affect the research by conversations potentially becoming unnatural. During meetings and while I was working in the office, I would take notes to record any relevant dialogue I heard. As well as observing conversations which took place within the INLIA office, I also observed communication which happened out with the office (for example, at a conference). I felt this was still relevant for researching when and how religious narrative takes place within an FBO, as employees of INLIA were still representing/speaking on behalf of the organisation within these settings.

Short interviews were also conducted in order to further understand staff motivations for working at INLIA. The interviews were carried out with members of staff from the legal department, social work department and communications department. I wanted to include a range of employees (both paid and unpaid and from different departments) to gain a holistic as possible ‘picture’ of the motivations of the staff. Some of the interviewees worked primarily in the main office, while others split their time between the office and the *Bed-Bad-Brood* shelter, Formule 1. These interviews were semi-structured and recorded. Participants gave consent to being recorded and for their interview to be used in this thesis. They were also given the option of retaining anonymity. I made the decision to change the names of any individual involved in the INLIA Foundation that are referred to in this thesis, to retain their anonymity. The only individual this does not apply to is the INLIA director, John van Tilborg, who is a public figure and occasionally seen in the media and therefore is well known in connection to the organisation.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, casual interviews were conducted during numerous car journeys which were not recorded and were carried out in a conversational, unstructured setting. Notes were written up directly afterwards or during the conversation itself. During the semi-structured and unstructured interviews (or conversations), I was aware that the employees were conscious of what they were saying and this may of course have affected their answers, knowing their responses would perhaps be available for others – including their boss – to eventually read. People may also have felt more comfortable had they been speaking with someone who was spending a longer period of time with the organisation or held a similar position to them (i.e. a social work or legal background); that said, it is also possible that being an ‘outsider’ allowed some staff members to speak with me more freely.

Out with the interview setting, in the day-to-day office activity, I felt part of the team and people spoke openly around me. The office setting in general was rather quiet, though – something which concerned me at the beginning. People were always busy with clients and I happened to be interning at INLIA when new projects were being launched, so on the whole, conversation between staff was kept to a minimum as everyone was busy with their own tasks. In the regular meetings however, there was a lot of dialogue and this is where I was most interested in seeing how religion came into play. Fortunately, for the most part, meetings where I was present were held in English. However, I am also aware that one of the biggest limitations of my research was working in a Dutch speaking environment when I am not a fluent Dutch speaker. This meant I was relying on narrative which was being specifically shared with me; I was unable to assess dialogue which I was not directly involved in and this may have resulted in a less thorough data collection.

I used literature from journals and books (accessed for the most part through the University of Groningen) to gain knowledge about FBOs in order to structure this thesis. I researched the definition of FBO, the ways in which they are funded, their relationship to the government, and how they differ from NGOs. I also looked at their position in a postsecular society in relation to the current neoliberal political climate. By doing this, I was able to conduct a comparative analysis – comparing what the literature states to my own experiences in INLIA. This provided a concrete framework in which I could provide examples of where religious narrative was (or was not) used. I found there were few studies which evaluated religious language or imagery within an FBO context. As a result, I was concerned in how I should ‘measure’ the impact of INLIA’s use of faith. I realised early on in my research that faith does not have to be explicit to have an impact (Aiken, 2010: 6) and allowing myself to not rely on hearing religious dialogue was also important; the absence of such narrative had to be considered and assessed just as much as faith-orientated communication.

The main piece of literature I used to guide me in this ethnographic study was, *Heaven’s Kitchen: Living Religion at God’s Love We Deliver*, written by Courtney Bender. Although she carries out ethnographic research at a non-faith organisation, she does evaluate how religion is displayed by observing volunteers’ conversations and I was able to use her experiences to help prepare for any limitations I was likely to face. This piece of literature was very much used as a model to help me develop my own ideas on how to carry out my research and what religious dialogue or actions I could observe or consider within the ethnographic study. Bender claims that sociologists know remarkably little about how people practise religion in daily activities and her aim was to identify what actions shape volunteers’

lived experience of the sacred. Although her research aim is different to my own, there were overlapping concepts I could adopt, such as: what meanings were attached to certain tasks or actions within the workplace; how actions could be interpreted as religious even when they were not explicitly explained in religious terms; and being able to broaden what might be considered religious when actions or dialogue take place outside traditional religious settings. Her writing allowed me to acknowledge that although ethnographers usually study a group with a common ground, not everyone being observed will hold the same values or beliefs and therefore how religion is put into action can differ from person to person. I reminded myself of these concepts throughout my internship, especially when religious displays were not so obvious; her study gave me confidence to interpret meaning based on my own participant observation and the literature I was reading.

I analysed the data collected using a mix of inductive and deductive methods. I was reading and re-reading literature from before the internship started and for several weeks after it finished. I found that as I engaged in more conversations with people and interviewed staff members, my understanding of the literature changed; that the data provided clearer explanations or caused me to challenge theories. The research analysis resembled a circular process, with continuous repetition of observing, note taking, and reading literature; none of which were carried out in a set order. Although I steered some of the conversations by asking specific questions based on previous reading, I would not necessarily link what I had read with the data produced by my questioning: the reading was used as a guideline for myself; the final connecting of data and literature was made when I found there to be strong enough evidence to do so. Although I used a combination of inductive and deductive methods, the former eventually became the most natural method for me to use. I learned to note as many observations as possible, regardless if I thought they were relevant to my research, as I found by reading and re-reading literature as the study developed, my notes transformed into worthy examples I had not foreseen at the time of observing.

A decision I had to make at the beginning of this study was, in how far I wanted to discuss religion and faith itself. Many of the studies and articles I read focused on either *how* FBOs work (in regards to funding and political relationships) or *what* biblical scripture drives FBOs to help those in need. My aim was to find a middle ground; bringing the *how* and *what* together and seeing where they connect. I am not a theologian and so therefore, had concerns about doing research which involved evaluating Christian-based dialogue, but this was not actually relevant to my study in the end. I was able to assess the *how* of INLIA using the literature (how is it funded, how does it position itself politically) and conclude whether there

was a religious link to the day-to-day decisions being made. This then allowed me to answer my research question: *How does religion play a role/when do we see religious narrative being used in the day-to-day running of a Christian organisation? What assets and drawbacks does this produce?*

1.4 Chapter Overview

Over the years, INLIA has also been involved in many political debates demanding more to be done for asylum seekers, with the director, John van Tilborg, regularly engaging with the government, the public, and the media. My first ever encounter with the organisation began with a meeting with John in February 2016, a meeting which was held behind the largest church in Groningen, in a room displaying two Christian crosses and a small statue of an angel. In the next chapter of this thesis, I will provide an insight into this very encounter, giving details about the people I met and the conversations I had. By doing this, it will allow the reader access to how the INLIA Foundation promoted itself to an ‘outsider’, and to what extent religion was displayed during that very first meeting. Following this, in chapter 3 I will look at how INLIA assists asylum seekers by providing real support and how it works towards changing policy by challenging the government. I will also discuss how INLIA is funded as an ‘outsider’ organisation. I will highlight how FBOs should be seen as more than just gap-fillers, that they advocate for change and use religious values to challenge neo-liberal policies as well as looking into the non-faith organisation linked to INLIA. In chapter 4, I will observe the reasons of motivation of four of INLIA’s staff members for which I used semi-structured interviews to identify in how far their motivations are faith related. Finally in chapter 5, I will discuss two of INLIA’s ongoing projects, the Half-way House and Living Stone Award, as well describe a conference I attended with INLIA, ‘Have No Fear’. Here I aim to identify if religion plays a part in how INLIA combats society’s fear of the ‘other’ and how it helps refugees integrate into an established community.

2. Welcoming the Stranger: My first day at INLIA

2.1 Respect

My first day at INLIA was more informative than I had expected. Waiting in the small, box shaped reception area, I was greeted by the director, John, and taken along a narrow corridor which opened up into a deceptively large office space. The first thing I noticed was the abundance of plants. There must have been close to 50 plants of all shapes and sizes. The green of the leaves was the only colour which stood out amongst the dark terracotta carpet, pale grey tables and magnolia and terracotta walls. I was surprised, however, to see so many people dotted around the open plan room. I guessed there were around 18, mostly female employees. I would come to realise that I would know which day of the week it was by the amount of people in the office. This was a Thursday, and Wednesdays and Thursdays are the busiest office days. John led me through the room, passing by friendly faces who all looked up from their computer screens and greeted me. Everyone was very young looking and dressed in casual clothes, which made me wonder if people assumed I was someone important due to my formal attire – or maybe they could tell I was just trying to make a good first impression.

John's office was attached to a small hallway which separated him from the main office space. "Please, take a seat. Would you like tea or coffee?" He gestured for me to sit at a large table with 6 chairs rather than sitting at his desk, which was in an area of its own due to the slight L shape of the room. On the shelving surrounding John's large wooden desk were candles, two freestanding crosses, a white porcelain looking angel with large wings, and three framed photographs of his children. We chatted about a recent trip to Spain I had been on and he told me a story about how one of the social workers who works for INLIA had to travel to Spain and back in one day to pick up documents for a client. I realised very quickly that John is a talented story teller and he seemed to have a never-ending catalogue of them.

My purpose here, in giving a detailed description of my first day at INLIA is to provide an overview of what INLIA as an organisation do, but from the perspective of the organisation. I believe it is worthwhile to show the reader how INLIA introduces itself to 'outsiders' and thus give an insight into to how and where religion is made present to a new employee (or intern, in my case). Therefore, this chapter will consist of describing my interactions and observations from the moment I arrived, to when I left at the end of my first

day, in the hope that this should paint a vivid picture for the reader of the initial impression INLIA aim to give.

“So, can you remind me again of your studies?” he asked. After providing the title of both my masters and bachelor degree (journalism and religious studies), he informed me that he had studied theology and had been a journalist. I appreciated the fact he was attempting to map out common ground, even though theology and religion are very different studies; something I find is commonly misunderstood. Then the familiar question came which I almost always get asked when people hear the title of my degree, “so, are you religious?” John quickly added, “we have people from many different backgrounds working here. I am more asking because of the degree you have chosen; it’s interesting.” I told him I had been brought up Protestant and was christened as a young child, but I do not consider myself religious. John went on to tell me that he knew something about the Church of Scotland and began to ask me some questions about it. I felt a little awkward having to admit that I do not actually know much about the church which I was christened into. “So, why do you study religion if you aren’t religious”, John asked, sounding surprised. This is also a question I get asked often. “Religion fascinates me”, I replied with my well-rehearsed response. “Well, the reason why people are religious fascinates me and how it affects their life. How religion plays a part in society interests me.” At this point, John reassured me that INLIA employs people from all backgrounds, “from Singapore to Italy,” but despite questioning me, he chose not to reveal his own religious views. He then insisted that I meet with a contact of his, Anna, who is a journalist and works closely with INLIA. He said he would contact her and arrange an appointment for that day. It was with this suggestion I assumed I must have been successful in gaining an internship position, which is what this ‘interview’ was supposed to determine.

When my meeting with John was originally planned, that is all it was meant to be; a meeting, or more specifically, an interview. However, our conversation that morning was very relaxed. John found it necessary to tell me that respect is one of the most important things to him. He expects respect to be shown between colleagues, for respect to be given to those who are helped by INLIA, and respect to be shown to him. He explained that he feels the Netherlands has found itself in a confusing situation where the belief in free speech has overtaken the belief in respect. John spoke very deliberately about this. He seemed upset that the right of free speech is being used, in his opinion, as an excuse to disrespect others. Just then, a tall, young looking female passed and John called her in. “Jessica, I would like you to meet Eline. She is a social worker for INLIA and the social workers’ team leader. She also started as an intern here.” We shook hands and John began informing her of what projects I

should be involved in. Although they spoke in English, I was so unaware of the projects they were discussing they may as well have been speaking in Dutch, as none of it made any sense to me.

The meeting came to an abrupt end, and rather than being walked to the door, I was sent into the main office and told to put my jacket and bag down and find a seat. Then I heard agendas being discussed, times and names being mentioned, and I had the suspicion that what I thought was just an interview would actually be a full day spent at INLIA. It became apparent over time that this is how John works. He gets an idea and acts on it immediately. I was introduced to an Italian girl, Eleonora, who had started as a volunteer only 2 days before. John announced I would be working alongside her on two different projects and that we would get together later that day. Before I was led out the office to begin my tour of INLIA, Eleonora quickly asked in a thick Italian accent, “do you speak Dutch?” When I told her I can only understand a very little, she exclaimed, “oh, thank goodness for that!”

2.2 Braking through barriers

After only an hour of being in the office, I found myself in John’s car, with John, Eline, and another young social worker, Krista. We were driving to INLIA’s emergency shelter, Formule 1. The white building is situated off a main road, near a retail park. The Formule 1 used to be a budget hotel from a French owned international chain until INLIA took it over in 2014, but everyone still uses the hotel name when referring to the shelter. When we arrived, there were a few men sitting outside on office type chairs, smoking. They all said hello as we walked towards the door. I had no idea what to expect; I had never been in a shelter for asylum seekers before.

We entered into the main reception area which for the most part is for staff only and has secured entrances at either side. The set of double glass doors we entered through lead to the small car park at the front of the building. There was another door inside the reception which leads to the main corridor of the shelter. There was a sliding window above a desk full of papers, folders and a PC. The purpose of the window is to communicate with the guests and pass papers back and forth without having to continuously open and close the locked door, but in fact, the door was used more as the central communication point. I use the term guests here because while driving back from the shelter a few weeks after my first visit, John explained that he calls the asylum seekers staying at the centre his guests and furthermore, he sees himself as their host. John expects the relationship to be based upon these terms and by

doing so, as a host, he can advise his guests how to behave in his property, it suggests their stay is temporary, and most importantly to John, both parties respect one another.

Krista offered to give me a tour of the shelter. We walked along the downstairs and upstairs corridors where I was shown the toilet and shower rooms. There were showers for males and females, but there was also the option of a toilet with paper or water. There were two large industrial looking kitchens and the one on the top floor was being used by three men. Vegetables were being chopped and delicious smells were coming from a simmering pot. I wished it was not so close to lunch time, not only was it making me feel hungry but the longer I stood there, the more unappealing my cheese sandwich was becoming. The men had greeted us with kind smiles and Krista made pleasant conversation, asking about what they were cooking. I wasn't sure if she knew them personally, but she spoke to them as if she did.

As we walked along the corridors where the sleeping dorms were, a woman up ahead glanced at us and quickly locked her door before heading to wherever she was going. "You're a stranger around here", Krista reminded me. "People will lock their doors because they don't know you." Krista stopped a different woman who was coming out of her room and asked if we could quickly look inside. The shelter was full and so there were no unoccupied rooms available to show me. The woman agreed, with no hesitation. It was small and very basic. There was a single bed on either side with about a meter space between the beds. A small fridge and a sink were positioned at the bottom of the room. There were a lot of belongings scattered around due to the lack of storage which gave the room a chaotic feel. We thanked the woman and headed back downstairs. I felt relieved to be leaving the corridors and heading back to the communal area. To me, this section was the guests' personal space, I felt I had no right to be there and was conscious of not wanting to make the guests feel they were in some kind of zoo, with strangers peering into the unnatural habitat they had found themselves living in.

The final area Krista took me to see was in a separate building across from the main reception area. This was referred to as the recreational centre. Along the left hand side of the corridor, there was a small medical room and an office space where lawyers and social workers come on certain days of the week to meet with guests who require their assistance. The end of the corridor opens up into a reasonably big, bright room with large windows, mismatching couches and seats and a long table with free tea and coffee. There was a round table to the left of the room with a pyramid shaped pile of salad bags that had been donated earlier that morning. Across from the table is a classroom where a Dutch language lesson was being conducted. It was raining outside and the room smelled damp. Outside, two long rows

of bikes were housed under a large corrugated roof and a washing line with women's clothes hung above the bikes. At the far end of the property, there is a large section of grass which Krista proudly tells me gets used by the men for football in the better weather. I couldn't work out if she seemed proud about this because it gave the sober shelter a feeling of fun and normality, or if it was because she is a football player herself. When I am at the shelter a few weeks later however, one of the guests informs me that no-one plays football on the grass because everyone living there is too unhappy for games.

The Formule 1 shelter is part of the '*Bed-Bad-Brood*' (Bed-Bath-Bread) programme which was introduced by the government in 2015. There was confrontation between the Dutch national government and the municipalities and organisations such as INLIA about homeless asylum seekers and stateless persons. The government held the opinion that if accommodation was provided to those who were not entitled to stay in the COA asylum centres, it would encourage displaced persons not to leave the Netherlands. Those in opposition of this opinion believe it is against article 25 of the human rights declaration to force people onto the street and furthermore, it would actually counteract an individual's progress as they would use their time and energy trying to survive rather than improve their situation. Organisations such as INLIA also worried about the negative image being homeless would create of asylum seekers and that it could leave them in an even more vulnerable position which could result in them turning to crime and this would further encourage the negative stereotyping INLIA is trying to combat. There was also a concern about displaced persons who have already been through traumatic experiences and what living on the street would do to their mental health.

The *Bed-Bad-Brood* (or BBB) programme consists of a small shelter in multiple cities around the country. Each municipality influences how their particular shelter works. Over the years, INLIA has developed a good relationship with the mayor and councilmen in Groningen and as a result, the way INLIA runs its BBB shelter is unique to all others. The Formule 1 shelter is known as a BBB+ and is the only one in the programme to provide 24-hour accommodation. The other shelters have strict rules about how long people can stay and even how close proximity they can be to the shelter during 'out' hours.

In Amsterdam for example, shelter is available between 5pm and 9am. A basic dinner is provided, then in the morning, those staying at the shelter have to leave, taking all their belongings with them – which is actually restricted to 'one suitcase per person and one piece of hand luggage' ('Bed Bath Bread Arrangement Amsterdam', 2016), much like the rule dictated by airlines. Furthermore, there is no guarantee of being given a room every night.

Discussing this one day with one of INLIA's law advisors, Joost, he said "it's purposely made difficult and unattractive. Many people choose to stay with friends rather than at this place which is what they [the municipality] want. But if they made it more attractive, they would find double, triple the amount of people needing assistance. Only then can they evaluate the scale of the situation and at the moment they don't know what they are dealing with."

INLIA claim that this is not enough. A phrase I hear time and time again around the office is "the street is not a solution, it's the problem." As well as shelter, the BBB+ aims to give people a sense of independence, of taking control of their lives again, and a sense of dignity. This is done by allowing guests to shop and cook for themselves rather than simply being provided with a basic meal. A small allowance is given every week in which chores have to be completed for guests to receive the full amount. If they don't want to do a particular chore, they can ask one of the other guests to do it for them. In return, money is deducted from the guest who does not want to do the chore and given to the individual who does. This involves having to discuss with others and find solutions, negotiate with others and share responsibilities. During a presentation at the shelter one day, John told myself and other interns, "this is where they start... people [INLIA staff] are here to help guests move on, move on from here and help them with their baggage, their past... we don't make promises, we act. People have to trust us."

Scholar Susanna Snyder talks about the ways FBOs assist asylum seekers in 'settling' into their new environment. She states FBOs seek ways to help asylum seekers adapt, 'adaption being "the process through which individuals seek to satisfy their needs, pursue their goals and manage demands encountered after relocating to a new society"' (2011: 6). She goes on to explain that much of the support given by FBOs comes under the term 'settling', that these organisations put the displaced person at the centre of their focus: providing shelter, making referrals, assisting in breaking through any barriers which occur. INLIA can be seen as an example of this. Not only does it provide a safe place for people to stay, or assist in adapting to a new country by providing language lessons it, 'offer[s] people seeking sanctuary valuable psychological, emotional, spiritual and practical resources for coping' (2011: 7).

As INLIA's guests are given 24-hour access to shelter, this will undoubtedly provide a sense of stability, routine, the opportunity to get to know the staff and other guests and thus build trusting relationships. Guests can use the services of social workers and law advisors to assist with their practical and emotional needs. They receive help in getting medical

assistance and correct medication. They have the physical and emotional space to prioritise and act on what they have to do in order to move on to a better, permanent solution, whether that be in the Netherlands or to return home. When INLIA gives presentations explaining what the organisation does, the message given is always the same: “the BBB+ is not an end station” and this is followed by five beliefs (or commandments) which INLIA states the Formule 1 shelter and the staff at INLIA follow. These beliefs are: space and respect, trust, shared responsibility, removing barriers, and working together for the guests’ futures.

Just before I leave the shelter to return to the office, one of the men who was cooking in the kitchen arrives at the office door. He is carrying two large catering style trays of noodles and informs us he has made lunch for us. I am amazed that someone who lives off such a small amount of money would go out of their way to prepare a meal for us; for his hosts. The girls in the office state it is not unusual for guests to share their home cooked food with them and they begin to share stories about how some of the spicier dishes make their eyes water. With the action I have just witnessed of a guest offering food, I wonder if the other BBB shelters create opportunities for asylum seekers to share with one another, to give something back to those who are helping them, or whether this experience is unique to the Formule 1.

2.3 A troublesome religion

Back at the INLIA office, myself and Eleonora are asked to join Joost in one of the meeting rooms. John explains that the legal department is working on important projects which aim to help those at the shelter who are “stuck in limbo”. Joost, a tall man who looks younger than his 40 years, has been working as a law advisor at INLIA for almost 15 years. I sit hoping he and Eleonora won’t use too much law jargon so I have a chance to fully understand his aims. Joost asks about my studies which briefly takes us down the usual questioning of my religious beliefs. Once it has been established that I do not consider myself religious despite studying religion, Joost begins.

He tells us briefly about the research he is carrying out on how the IND determines the nationality of asylum seekers. He states the nationality tests that are carried out are problematic and ambiguous. People can be asked very specific questions about where they live and if they answer incorrectly, their case will be rejected. An example was given of a case INLIA worked on involving a man from Eritrea. The man failed the nationality test because when asked if the road he lived on was flat or on a slope, the man answered flat, which according to Google maps and therefore the IND, is incorrect. The road in question is

set within a mountainous area and technically has a slight slope, but compared to the surrounding mountain roads, it appears flat to the asylum seeker. I sat thinking about the street I grew up on, where my parents still live. Could I answer specific questions about the buildings or the flatness of the road? Surely the more familiar you are with a place, the less details you remember because you stop paying so much attention? I could understand why INLIA are questioning these seemingly simplistic methods the IND use.

Although INLIA cannot change how the IND conduct their reports, Joost is working on what asylum seekers can do when their nationality is doubted and are rejected as a result of this doubt. Currently, asylum seekers who cannot prove their nationality because of lack of paperwork are also in a position where they cannot return home either. The research which Joost is working on is not only aimed at asylum seekers being granted refuge in the Netherlands, it's about making sure they can return home if it is the best solution and if it is safe. INLIA further support the repatriation process by providing practical skills courses in the Formule 1. Since many asylum seekers have made the journey to Europe hoping for better opportunities, learning new skills offers the best chance at improving their economic situation once back home. The new skills required can also be used as a persuasion tool at the embassy for new documents to be issued. Before my intern experience, I was very naive to the issues stateless people face. Joost says about this, "If they can show that they are bringing something positive or useful back to their country, then there is a better chance of them being given the documents to return. All we are doing is trying to find solutions."

The other project Joost explained is the project Eleonora has been given responsibility of. Eleonora started at INLIA as a volunteer only two days before I had my 'interview'. She moved to the Netherlands with her Italian partner when he was offered an engineering job. Having only passed her bar exam a few months previous, she was determined to find work within the legal sector, even if it meant not being paid. I asked her one day how she found out about INLIA. "I went to a careers office and told them I was a lawyer and they suggested INLIA... I had been offered a full time role as a retail assistant, but I know I would be very unhappy. Even though I knew I wouldn't be paid here, I wanted to try and work as a lawyer and my boyfriend supported me. It's great for me to be learning about the law of another country also. My law friends at home are so stressed, working long hours and I feel good that I am working within my field without all that stress. It's relaxed here."

Eleonora is researching article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Joost explained the plan is to publish the research on the INLIA website to vocalise the less known options rejected asylum seekers have. He hopes to relay this knowledge in a way that both

lawyers and asylum seekers themselves can understand. The options proposed mean using European law to counteract decisions made by the Dutch national courts – the highest Dutch national courts. INLIA providing alternatives to the current established policies, which are causing difficulties for asylum seekers, is an example of an FBO ‘unsettling’ government procedure. Snyder not only discusses the process of ‘settling’ techniques in her paper, but she also explains how FBOs can ‘unsettle’ negative attitudes and policy. She states that FBOs aim to bring about change ‘directed at the established society... rather than at asylum seekers themselves’ (2001: 9).

Snyder also comments that the unsettling work of FBOs demonstrates, “‘admirably troublesome’ religion’. As I explained in the introduction of this thesis, churches have been involved in INLIA since its birth. Although originally providing sanctuary within the churches themselves, INLIA has developed into an organisation which is not only providing shelter but is fighting negative policies and attitudes. John one day explained to a group of theology students about how INLIA work with churches and the municipality as a way to help not only asylum seekers, but the community in general; “the people”. He reminded the students that the municipality are not the state and although he has chosen to have a working relationship with the municipality, it is at his own discretion when to work with the national government and not the other way around. This is a reiteration of the slogan found on INLIA’s leaflets; ‘partner of the churches, partner of the municipalities, partner of refugees, partner of the people’. The image to go with the slogan is of a female, who appears to be of African origin, standing in front of the Martini Church Tower, lighting a candle while smiling. Although INLIA is not ‘troublesome’ for the municipality, the fact it works so close with the municipality, could be seen as troublesome for the state. It is worthwhile to note, that Snyder warns there is a danger of exploitation by the government. FBOs which use their voice to unsettle policy may actually be expected to provide asylum support, allowing the government to cut funding knowing FBOs will fill the gap (2001: 16).

INLIA are always in dialogue with their community of churches, especially those who signed the Charter of Groningen, and INLIA discuss monthly ideas and solutions they have with the church representatives. This suggests that the church continues to play an active role even though the organisation’s aims have changed since its establishment. Ultimately though, INLIA have been able to carry out a lot of their current work because of its relations with the municipalities. The municipality of Groningen is also against the state’s opinion of leaving displaced persons on the street will solve problems by deterring new arrivals. INLIA was approached by the Mayor of Groningen to run the city’s BBB shelter. When I enquired in the

office about why it was INLIA who was given the responsibility I was informed it was because the organisation was recognised for the type of work it does and the fact INLIA was in agreement with the municipality about how the shelter should be run and what it should provide. I am unsure, however, to what extent this demonstrates INLIA using Christianity specifically as an “‘admirably troublesome’ religion’, as at this stage, the only evidence of Christianity I had seen revolved around my studies. There was nothing to suggest that faith is responsible for the work which had been shown to me so far.

2.4 INLIA, an outsider

My final introduction of the day was with Melvin, INLIA’s Coordinator of Church Relations and Public Information. FBOs tend to have a database of constituents who are ready to receive information about new projects/developments and this part of the organisation will always require a communications officer (Miller, 2014: 9), which in this case, is Melvin. Just before he gave me a briefing on INLIA’s history, we were in a meeting together with John, Eleonora, the journalist Anna who I was told earlier in the day I should meet, and some of the social workers. The meeting was held in English, but the project being discussed had not actually been explained to myself or Eleonora and so we spent most of the hour bonding over our mutual confusion. It was during this meeting I witnessed religion being referred to for the first time without it directly involving me. The meeting seemed to be about organising a gathering with the church community to inform them about a new project. John was asking Melvin which date he thought would be best and Melvin reminded everyone that Easter was only a few weeks away and this would restrict availability. “We only really have the choice of one date before Easter or we have to wait until after Easter, and I think for us, before is too soon. We can certainly schedule in between those dates, but don’t count on many people showing up; Easter is one of the busiest times.”

Melvin and I moved into the same meeting room I had been with Joost only a couple of hours previous. I could tell Melvin had worked at INLIA for a long time. Not only could he provide the history of the organisation by heart, the words rolled off his tongue with ease, like he had rehearsed a monologue for a play. I had already read most of what he was telling me via the one available English page found on INLIA’s website: the description of the history, the structure of the organisation, and the projects INLIA is running. Melvin did provide more detail than the website however, informing me that INLIA is an independent FBO that refuses any subsidies from the government. As an organisation, INLIA believes that the more financially independent it is of the state, the more freedom it has to do things its own way.

This is reiterated by scholar, Paul Cloke, who notes that the more FBOs enter into contracts with governments, the more their character can be forced to change (2010: 229).

Balancing the need for funding, but also staying true to their ethos, can make the landscape of FBOs difficult to manoeuvre. Cloke describes FBOs who do not accept government funding, as an ‘outsider’ organisation (2010: 224) as oppose to an ‘insider’ organisation. Elizabeth Ferris states that two of the things which makes an organisation an FBO is characterised by, ‘a mission statement with explicit reference to religious values’ and ‘financial support from religious sources’ (2005: 312). In INLIA’s case, the mission statement with explicit reference to religious values is the Charter of Groningen and secondly, INLIA very much relies on financial support from the community of churches due to the fact it chooses to be an ‘outsider’ organisation. Of course, being affiliated with religion means FBOs miss out on donations by those who would rather support a secular organisation and in the next chapter of this thesis, I will explain how INLIA’s director, John, established an alternative ‘secular’ organisation.

As the clock reached 5pm, Joost and I packed up our papers and got ready to leave for the day. John had already left the office to go to another meeting and that is when I realised I had not officially been informed of my role as an intern or even when I should come back. I emailed John when I returned home, thanking him for such an insightful day and enquired about the next step; I wouldn’t hear back from John for almost two weeks, when I would finally become the newest intern at INLIA.

Here, I have provided a walkthrough of my first day at INLIA in an attempt to a) give an overview of what INLIA do, and b) demonstrate in what ways religion was (or was not) present. By doing this, I have given an introduction to INLIA from the organisation’s point of view. What I mean by this is, I have shown the reader what I was exposed to on my first day, thus allowing the reader to gain insight into what INLIA deem important to show new employees; what first impression they aim to make. As it turned out, this first impression was by no means a particularly religious one. The vast majority of religious discussion I engaged in was about my own studies, with the small exception of a meeting date being debated because of Easter. I questioned from this early stage of how I was going to recognise religious acts and narrative within an organisation where religion did not appear to be overtly displayed, but I learned – as will become apparent throughout this thesis – to interpret actions as religious even when they were not explicitly explained in religious terms. In the next chapter I will provide more detail of the definition of what a Faith Based Organisation is and how INLIA position itself within a postsecular society.

3. Faith within the Secular

3.1 Defining Faith Based Organisations

In the previous chapter, I described my first day at INLIA and by doing so, provided an overview of what INLIA as an organisation do and gave an insight into when religion was made present in front of a new employee (or intern in my case). It therefore seems appropriate to briefly look further into how FBOs are defined in academic literature and how some definitions can create stereotypes of what FBOs are. Following this, I will outline how INLIA positions itself within a secular society and discuss further how the postsecular can affect FBOs in terms of funding as well as the power imbalances found between the state and the marginalised (the marginalised in this case being asylum seekers in the Netherlands).

The term Faith Based Organisation is often used as a one-fits-all label, when in fact, FBOs can differ from one another. It is often assumed all FBOs are service organisations, but this is not necessarily always the case (Wilson, 2014: 222). They can also be active in political campaigning and work towards affecting social change. INLIA would consider itself more than a service organisation. It has been directly involved in political movements, such as assisting in the successful campaign which lead the Dutch government providing shelter for children and families with children under the age of 18 regardless of their asylum status (this campaign was called ‘Coalition No Child on Street’ or ‘Coalitie Geen Kind op Straat’, as part of the ‘Children’s Pardon’). INLIA currently works alongside municipalities to challenge the state on issues regarding shelter; they advocate for change while simultaneously providing services which are not offered by the Dutch government.

As well as being thought of as service organisations, FBOs ‘act as safety nets’ (Ware et al., 2016: 329) or gap fillers where services are not being provided by governments. This however, positions FBOs as passive groups, accepting their role and filling in the best they can, which is too simplistic a view. FBOs can be very active in wanting to challenge government policy in addition to assisting society’s most vulnerable (Wilson, 2014: 222). By making simplistic assumptions, Wilson argues that the potential for FBOs is overlooked. While neoliberal policies and the emergence of a postsecular society has contributed to the space that FBOs are filling, it is part of FBO ethos to care for the vulnerable and marginalised and furthermore, religious values are being used to challenge neoliberal policies. When speaking with the director of INLIA one day in the office about how INLIA is challenging the way the IND is conducting nationality tests, he explained that, “Jesus was a revolutionary.

People were afraid he was trying to change the laws but he was showing people how to use the commandments. We should follow Him.” This is an example of how INLIA can relate religion, or religious values, to the work it is carrying out. John challenges the policies which the IND adhere to, he wishes them to be used more efficiently and most of all fairly, which can be argued is similar to Jesus teaching others how to follow the Ten Commandments (The Ten Commandments, Exodus 20, New International Version); rules, commandments, and policies can be used for good, if applied in a just way.

As a result of religious values being a motivator behind the action FBOs take, they can often be seen as more efficient in providing services on a local level or in smaller scale projects compared to NGOs (Ware et al., 2016: 326). INLIA was established as an international organisation, but over time the emphasis on international projects and communication has fallen away and INLIA now primarily works to combat local issues. It could be said that lack of funding, resources, or disagreements with churches in other countries has caused INLIA to take this ‘smaller scale’ direction, rather than reasons exclusively motivated by faith. When explaining to me why INLIA is no longer considered an international organisation despite its name, Melvin (the coordinator of church relations and public information for INLIA) mentioned that although churches from outside the Netherlands signed the Charter of Groningen, challenging multiple governments would require several plans of action and this was too much to organise. He also implied there were differences of opinions which affected any progress being made as an international community. However, keeping the relationship going between the network of churches does provide valuable resources with the sharing of information, having contacts ‘on the ground’ and of course, provides funding.

A final point to consider with how FBOs can differ from one another (and from NGOs especially) is that they face the added challenge of having to differentiate themselves within the religions field. INLIA for example may work with and assist people of all religions, but it is a Christian organisation and this could affect who is prepared to fund it or provide it with resources. FBOs may find themselves in a situation where they have to justify their motives in order to alleviate any suspicions; something which secular organisations, such as Doctors without Borders, would usually not be expected to do (Miller, 2015: 3119). This also means that some FBOs receive bigger funding or are trusted more because of the religion they follow/promote, which will put them at an advantage or disadvantage compared to others within that particular country or society (Miller, 2015: 1327). For example, Christian based

FBOs may receive more support/funding in the Netherlands than an Islamic FBO because the Netherlands is historically a Christian country.

3.2 Funding faith

While visiting the Formule 1 shelter one afternoon with a group of theology students, John explained to the visitors that INLIA's aims do not involve making profit. He said, "We are one of the cheapest *Bed-Bad-Brood* shelters. We don't work for money and that's why the municipality relies on us. If the government offers us money, we refuse. We do not prostitute. If we accepted money, we would have to follow their rules and we are not prepared to do that." Faith Based Organisations tend to have a lower budget than Non-Government or secular organisations and they depend more on donations from the faith community and private sources (Ware et. al., 2016: 328).

FBOs can rely on the church community as a place to seek funds. For example, by signing the Charter of Groningen, churches are agreeing to donate every year to INLIA. Although there is a separation between Church and state, FBOs in the Netherlands are entitled to financial support from the government, if the activities are in the interest of the state (Davelaar et al., 2011: 76). Subsidising faith organisations to provide assistance to groups which the welfare state does not cover is beneficial for the Dutch government. Arguments for this include that FBOs are better at reaching marginalised groups than the state and that they are cheaper because they have private funding and work regularly with volunteers (2011: 78)

Although INLIA refuses money from the Dutch national government because it believes this would affect its freedom to run INLIA how it chooses, and furthermore, affect its ability to criticise the state, it does have a close relationship with the government on a local level and receives funding from municipalities. This of course is dependent on INLIA and the municipality having a common interest and working towards a shared goal. This common goal is demonstrated with the Formule 1 shelter. The state has passed responsibility to the local municipalities to provide shelter for displaced persons, and both FBOs like INLIA and local governments do not want to see people being forced to live on the street. Their reasons for this may be different, however. For example, the mayor will be concerned with future votes or public safety, whereas INLIA is also concerned with the condition of those who are forced to sleep rough. When I asked Melvin why INLIA were approached to run the Formule 1 over other organisations, he explained that INLIA has always had a good relationship with the municipality and that "the Formule 1 was there for many years before it

became part of the BBB [programme]”, therefore INLIA had the experience and resources in place and this made it an easier transition for the municipality. This partnership is an example of ‘religious and secular actors and discourses find[ing] new ways of working together in order to challenge dominant paradigms’ (Wilson, 2014: 226-227).

According to Davelaar et al., the common opinion regarding volunteers from the church is that they ‘escaped’ the consequences of secularisation; volunteers continued to be motivated and as a result, the Netherlands has a relatively high number of volunteers compared to other countries (2011: 16). Despite the decline in Catholic and Protestant church members, volunteers appear to continue providing their services to FBOs. If this was to change however, it would no doubt have a negative effect on the services FBOs could provide as well as managing to keep costs to a low level. In the day-to-day office running of INLIA, there are very little volunteers to speak of, certainly volunteers who are from the supporting church community. The majority of INLIA’s staff are either paid members of staff, or work salary free because they are completing a college internship. The work which is carried out in the office is mainly done so by lawyers, social workers and accountants, and for the most part these are paid positions. INLIA require their unpaid volunteers to assist in the shelters, working face to face with asylum seekers and providing social development skills. I will discuss the employees of INLIA in more detail in the next chapter of this thesis.

3.3 Reacting to the fear of religion

Post 9/11, the topic of religion has found itself at the forefront of secular society discussions, with religion being ‘demonized as the cause of many of the world’s worst evil... presented as a threat to secular society’ (Cloke, 2010: 223). FBOs can be regarded with a sense of mistrust and are at times held in suspicion that they are disguising conversion with providing aid. There have also been stories of FBOs selecting who they assist based on faith alone which ‘violates the humanitarian principles of neutrality and impartiality’ (Miller, 2015: 13).

The negativity surrounding religion, as well as the separation of religion and state, and the mistrust which can be found against FBOs, can result in opportunities of support, funding, and resources to be closed off, especially support from political actors. People at times display an unease when learning that an organisation is associated with religion. INLIA was approached by The University of Groningen’s student UNICEF association to present at an event they were organising about the refugee ‘crisis’. Melvin and I were the ones presenting at the event and the day before the presentation, two of the UNICEF organisers came to INLIA’s office to finalise some details. It was during this meeting, that the organisers learned

INLIA is a Faith Based Organisation. “What’s an FBO? Is it like an NGO?” one of them asked. I provided them with a definition and explained that INLIA is supported by a network of churches. Melvin then went on to tell them about INLIA’s history with the church community and the Charter of Groningen; after all, INLIA would not exist without this community. I could see the relaxed smiles of the two students quickly fade into a look of confusion and anxiousness. I suspected they thought Melvin and I were going to give a presentation about God and speak of asylum in the context of faith. Perhaps they thought our presentation would resemble a religious sermon, with us attempting to spread the word of the Lord, rather than providing an informative speech explaining the issues with displaced people in the Netherlands.

Although INLIA have a good relationship with many municipalities, not all municipalities will work with an organisation affiliated with religion as they want to be seen as neutral. In 2000, there was a shift in Dutch policy which left asylum seekers of any age on the street. The VNG (the Association of Dutch Municipalities), is an advocate of all municipalities in the Netherlands. This policy meant municipalities were dealing with a homelessness issue, which mentioned already above, was seen as a public safety issue. The VND however, failed to challenge the national government on this policy and this greatly concerned INLIA.

As a result of the VND not doing enough to assist homeless asylum seekers (in particular, homeless minors) as well as some municipalities (who did want change) refusing to work with INLIA because they are faith based, INLIA aimed to combat this issue by establishing a non-faith organisation in 2014. This organisation is called LOGO (The National Consultation on Local Authorities Reception and Return Policy) and John is the chairman. Many FBOs choose to separate their religious and social activities as a way to overcome obstacles, sometimes creating separate foundations to ease the access to funding (Davelaar et al., 2011: 63) and this is what John felt was necessary to achieve progress. Melvin informed me that LOGO is not “doing party politics... John switches hats in the meetings, from INLIA director to LOGO chairman. Knowledge gained by INLIA can be used directly in LOGO, this gives INLIA a different power and a wider, more influential audience. It’s about sharing responsibility and knowledge to change policy without being political; LOGO and INLIA do not work exclusively with a particular party.”

Not only does having a separate foundation allow INLIA to have a different type of power, the money the municipalities pay LOGO for its services will indirectly help INLIA achieve its goals. LOGO has its own website and contact number, but all communication

goes through the INLIA office, with INLIA staff answering LOGO calls, and sometimes people will contact INLIA directly when making a LOGO enquiry. LOGO is not a charity, nor does it have any legal rights, but there are influential people who are part of the foundation and so it can be used somewhat successfully as a persuasive tool in The Hague to fight policies. The main topic LOGO specifically works on, is to no longer allow failed asylum seekers, those still in the asylum process, or stateless persons to be left on the street – shelter should *always* be a basic provision.

3.4 A source of intervention

INLIA's law team continuously carry out research and review cases where people have been denied asylum. Before my internship, I was ignorant to the struggles asylum seekers face in proving their stories to the state; stories of torture, rape, persecution and poor quality of life. Erin Wilson points out that an asylum seeker is dependent on the state believing their story; they are powerless and must prove their right as a refugee before being welcomed 'into the political community of the state' (2013: 149). This exchange – which must take place for an asylum seeker to live legally in the country of refuge – puts the state in a position of near absolute power, while the displaced person is the 'absolute, unknown other' (2013: 149).

FBOs are able to assist in offsetting this power imbalance, to act as a bridge between an asylum seeker and the state. FBOs have a history of proving sanctuary and organisations like INLIA can provide basic needs as well as being a source of intervention and providing hope. It has been increasingly suggested that citizens are having to care for themselves and others due to the absence of certain state services. When FBOs step in to assist, it could be said they are acting as an extension of the state, viewed as 'tools of social control' (Hefferan, 2010: 6) and linking the government to the lives of individuals in need. In her article, Wilson goes on to say that FBOs differ from secular organisations because they are 'grounded in divine nature of humanity, rather than worldly conceptions of human rights and international law' (2013: 147). I have seen this ethos of 'divine nature of humanity' displayed at INLIA in very simple, discrete ways. For example, John has spoken about how the church is *always* responsible, implying that the church community cannot turn its back on those who need assistance. I have listened to stories of when the law has been broken to "rescue" those in need when there was "no other option". When INLIA meets with the network of churches, a religious reading is used at the beginning of the meeting before practical matters are discussed as a way of bringing the issues at hand into context – a gentle reminder to the

community of why they gathered to help and contribute, that their faith has brought them together to help.

As I have mentioned above, evidence of ‘divine nature of humanity’ is subtle at INLIA. This is further validation that FBOs cannot all be treated the same. INLIA is an organisation that falls under a category which Davelaar et al. calls ‘Ecumenical platforms and networks’ (2011: 19). This category of FBO connects church members to social and political issues – again, acting as a source of intervention – and is described as, ‘the transformation of religion into an “ethics of engagement”’ (2011: 19). Ecumenical platforms and networks find resources and develop research in issues of poverty and asylum policies while simultaneously taking a political stance; simultaneously proving hope and justice. This particular category of FBO stems from traditional Dutch churches and INLIA was established from the ecumenical platforms of the Council of Churches. This differs from ecumenical networks such as the newer Evangelical Alliance, who put more emphasis on their faith based identity, upholding clear missionary goals and using prayer as part of their social activities (2011: 20). This is not to say INLIA does not uphold a faith identity, but it is not integrated into the day-to-day running of the organisation, something which will be demonstrated further in the next chapter. When discussing the role of religion within INLIA with the visiting theology students, Melvin said, “INLIA developed from the Charter of Groningen but on a day-to-day basis there is nothing visible to show we are backed by churches. It [the work] might be done based on Christian values but this isn’t always visible... we do not start our day with prayer, for example.”

Ferris notes that FBOs actively distance themselves from missionary activity as a way to be taken more seriously, suggesting that ‘professionalism’ and ‘faith based’ can be seen as opposites (2011: 619). Ferris explains that professionalism is a highly-charged word which should include more than simply having an academic background or being able to draw up eloquent funding proposals, it should also include the ability to cope with spiritual crises as when required. She argues that just because FBOs may carry out humanitarian work differently to some NGOs, or that their ethos is different, FBOs should not automatically be labelled as less professional than secular organisations, just as all secular organisations should not be assumed to be professional.

Part of this professionalism is advocating for policy change, without becoming politicised or associated with one particular party. Faith Based Organisations focus is on emergency responses, such as providing shelter, and using building space to provide additional services, like language classes or job training. Being part of a faith community is

about providing paths for social development in addition to the emergency support. But what happens if that support is no longer needed? FBOs such as INLIA focus solely on emergency assistance and social development for asylum seekers; what if the government were to provide the services INLIA currently provide? During my internship, I once heard the statement, “We are working towards our own self-destruction. We aim to solve these issues and once solved, INLIA has no purpose.” Therefore, INLIA’s ultimate goal is not to exist – this would mean justice had been achieved – that those in need would be receiving the support they need from the state.

In this chapter, I have provided a more detailed definition of what Faith Based Organisations are, explained how funding can be accessed, discussed how being associated with faith can create barriers, and shown how FBOs can act as bridge between the government and those seeking asylum. It was important to go into further detail about how FBOs can differ from one another as most literature on FBOs concentrate on what makes them different from secular organisations and this can result in oversimplifying Faith Based Organisations’ roles within a postsecular society. We have also seen how INLIA created a solution to combatting the barriers which can develop when an organisation is associated with faith. Having access to INLIA and LOGO provides a connection to both religious and secular communities which in turn creates more power to reach common goals. I also touched upon how INLIA does not display religion at the forefront of their day-to-day activities and this, along with staff motivations, is what I will discuss in the next chapter of this thesis.

4. Finding Faith within Employees

4.1 Staff motivations: are they ‘faith-based’?

In the previous chapter, ‘Faith within the secular’, I discussed FBO definitions, access to funding, how barriers can appear when an organisation is defined by faith, and how FBOs can act as a bridge between the state and asylum seekers. This gave an overview of different issues which affect FBOs in general, and I used INLIA to provide examples of these particular issues. I now want to bring the attention back to INLIA specifically and look at staff motivations and whether the employees recognise INLIA as a Faith Based Organisation within their day-to-day roles. Researching the different motivating factors of INLIA’s employees will help build a picture of how religion is portrayed within INLIA. By looking at how religion is *felt* by the employees and to what extent they are aware of, or how they interpret the ‘faith’ of Faith Based Organisation, will help identify whether the staff motivations are an asset or hindrance to the assistance of displaced persons. In essence, it will allow us to see how the notion of everyday religion intersects with concepts of ‘doing good’; and whether staff members consciously assign (or do not assign) religious meaning to their work, in a postsecular climate.

Staff motivations can differ depending on the type of Faith Based Organisation. For example, some FBOs only hire staff that share the same religious beliefs, whereas for others, this is not deemed important. Miller suggests, ‘It is also important to note that a number of FBOs hire workers of same principles but cannot guarantee the personal motives of every employee’ (2014: 10). For example, not every World Vision employee will be motivated solely by their belief in Jesus Christ. As FBOs hold a religious viewpoint which secular organisations will not, many of their actions are influenced by their moral obligations. These motivations, based on religious moral obligations can be a huge asset within humanitarian work (2014: 10). FBOs are able to reframe this type of humanitarian work by using particular vocabulary and bringing about positive elements in response to an ‘aching world’ (2014: 10).

Although not all employees and volunteers of FBOs will be religious, they will for the most part be attracted to the organisation’s aims, the working methods or the sense of community (Davelaar et al., 2011: 97). Due to the fact there are differing reasons to why people are employed by FBOs and more importantly to me, why employees choose to work or volunteer for FBOs, I wanted to speak to some of the INLIA staff on a one-to-one basis. I already knew not all staff members were religious as they had disclosed this information to

me when discussing my degree course. Based on this knowledge, I formed the opinion that key personnel in INLIA either were religious or showed active involvement in the religious community and that other staff members were hired because of what they could offer the organisation in terms of skills and of course, how they could assist INLIA's guests and 'clients'.

I felt I would not be able to get answers to some of the specific questions I had by only observing or by participant observation, therefore, I spoke with four employees in total in an informal interview setting using semi-structured questions. As these four staff members knew somewhat about my research, I was confident they would not find it strange for me to carry out interviews and I had seen a social work intern do the same a few weeks previous. I spoke with Esther, who is a social worker/supervisor at the Formule 1 shelter and has worked officially with INLIA for 7 years. I also interviewed two of the legal advisors, Joost and Eleonora (Eleonora is also an International Project Assistant and Joost also works for LOGO). Joost has worked at INLIA for 14 years and Eleonora started only 5 months ago. The final interviewee was Melvin, the communications officer, and he has worked at INLIA for 27 years. My main aim of the interviews was to find out the motivations behind why staff members work at INLIA and in particular, if their motivations are in any way religious. I also wanted to determine whether the fact INLIA is an FBO influences the staff members' work and to what extent are they aware of the 'faith' within the organisation.

In addition to discussing the interviews specifically, I will use three categories developed in FBO volunteer research carried out by Chapman and Hamalainen. These three categories help identify different motivations which can be used by FBO employees and volunteers. I will review the interviews to see if I can recognise any traits described in the three categories and this will provide further insight into the four employees' motivations. Chapman and Hamalainen describe the categories as: 'helping others as a way of expressing identities, values and beliefs', this is when someone acts based on their values, usually religious values; 'giving something back to the community', which is when an employee or volunteer is motivated directly by a personal experience; and 'getting on: acting out of self or organizational interest', this category is based on an individual having free time and wanting to add experiences to their CV (2011: 188).

4.2 Eleonora

Eleonora originally joined INLIA as a volunteer when she moved to Groningen with her partner. In her previous law position in Italy, she worked on asylum cases and thought INLIA

would provide a good opportunity to use her previously gained experience. Eleonora explained to me that she was aware INLIA is a Faith Based Organisation before she approached them about volunteer work. Although she originally found out about INLIA through a careers agency, she learned of their association to faith by looking at their website. She informed me that this did not affect her decision in wanting to contact them about a possible volunteer role.

Eleonora actually has two job titles within INLIA, as mentioned above. She is a legal advisor where she spends most of her time researching Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights and she is also working on a project called the ‘Living Stone Award’ as an international project assistant. The Living Stone Award will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but to give an idea and some context to her position, I will give a short description here. The Living Stone is an award which INLIA give to a person, organisation or a community whom have shown exceptional dedication in helping refugees. The award itself is a stone brick with a plaque which has a biblical inscription (that refers to the ‘Living Stone’ from the *First Letter of St Peter*, the full inscription can be found on page 58). This year, the Living Stone Award will be presented to the Italian island, Lampedusa, and therefore, Eleonora – as the only Italian speaker in the INLIA Foundation – has found herself with an additional role. As a result of this, not long after she started, her position developed from a volunteer position to a paid one.

During our interview, Eleonora described her feelings about faith within INLIA as something she is aware of while working as an international project assistant, but not as a legal advisor:

I cannot feel [religion] actually when I'm doing my legal work, I cannot feel this presence. I can feel this presence maybe when I am doing my work as an international project assistant for the Lampedusa project... The message they want to give is [religious]; the message of solidarity and welcoming. The Living Stone is very symbolic and has a religious message.

As Eleonora has two very different roles, I wanted to know how she views her position within INLIA; does she see herself more as a legal advisor, a position where she does not *feel* religion, or more as the ‘faith-based’ project assistant. Eleonora told me:

Probably I feel first the position as a legal advisor because it's what I always did and I studied for that... for the company, it's probably also more important the work that I'm doing as a legal advisor. [When I am doing my legal work] it is very technical. I focus my attention on judgements so I cannot feel the religious aspects of the company... If a friend asks me what I

am doing, I say I am helping this foundation as a legal advisor with immigration law, asylum procedure. In a superficial conversation, I am not going to mention [that INLIA is faith-based]. It's not that [religion] is not important... if I have to think, legal work is not easily related to the church.

I found it very interesting that Eleonora referred to her work as a legal advisor as ‘technical’ but not her work as an international project assistant. Part of her role as a project assistant is booking flights to Lampedusa and hotels, translating, organising meetings, researching technical aspects of the ceremony, and being very much the ‘middle man’ between many different people at INLIA and on the island of Lampedusa. This is actually a very technical role, and yet Eleonora does not view it this way herself. She seems to have formed the impression that her ‘secular’ legal work is functional and more important to INLIA, and her ‘faith-based’ project work is convenient to the organisation because she happens to be Italian. Eleonora did mention however, that her role as an international project assistant was useful to her as she is learning new skills and that she does find the work interesting. She did add though, that she would not mention to friends in conversation that she has this position because it’s a temporary project and so only refers to herself as a legal advisor. I also found it of interest, that she used the phrase, ‘I am *helping* this foundation’, rather than ‘working for’ even though she is no longer a volunteer, but a paid employee. Perhaps because Eleonora receives a relatively low salary, carries out legal research for INLIA as oppose to working as a lawyer, and jumps between roles, this makes her feel she is still in a type of volunteer position; assisting in different tasks as and when is needed.

My impression from interviewing Eleonora and working closely with her from my first day as an intern is that her motivation for working with INLIA is to gain experience and to improve her CV. As a young, newly qualified lawyer, she is able to gain practical experience in her field and also has the chance to improve her professional English language skills, something that she has not had the opportunity to do before. When I asked her during the interview what she felt her motivation was, she replied:

I am helping people for sure in a difficult period and also it's really good experience for me. These matters are very important nowadays; I really like to be at the 'good side' of this [migration] problem... I don't have a huge salary so the aspect of helping people is more evident.

Eleonora does mention part of her motivation is the opportunity to gain professional experience. She also states she is satisfied and motivated because she is helping people and

uses her low salary to justify or prove this fact. She claimed in the interview the previous law firm she worked for in Italy also helped people who faced problems with immigration law, but implied because the salaries were high, the money was more of a motivating factor. In addition, although Eleonora refers to herself as being a religious person – however, she did not state which religion – she does not distinctively make a connection to helping those in need with being an act based on religious values. This could be because Eleonora views her legal work as being her profession and assisting people legally would then produce the same worth ethic/motivation regardless if she was working in a Faith Based organisation, an NGO, or a law firm; her motivations for becoming a lawyer were not faith inspired and therefore, her role as a legal advisor is not either.

Using Chapman and Hamalainen's research categories, I would argue that Eleonora's motivation falls under the heading, 'Getting on: acting out of self or organizational interest'. This type of motivation when working for an FBO is based on an individual having free time and wanting to add experiences to their CV (2011: 191). This does not necessarily mean the motivation or individual is not religious, but religion is not their main principal in this particular setting. Eleonora moved to the Netherlands for her partner, with no job in place, and was determined to find a work environment where she could continue being in the legal sector, whether this meant earning a salary or not. Although this sounds one-sided, FBOs can benefit from employees or volunteers who have this type of motivation as they can bring in particular skill sets which ensure community needs, and in both roles, INLIA is certainly benefitting from Eleonora's skills and her career-orientated motivation.

4.3 Joost

When I first asked Joost, the other legal advisor I spoke with, if I could interview him, he immediately told me he is not religious and therefore assumed he would not be of much use to my research. After telling him this did not matter, he was happy to assist, as always. Joost has been working for INLIA longer than any of the other legal advisors and as mentioned above, he also works for LOGO. For the purpose of our interview, I only wanted to ask him questions relating to INLIA.

Joost has always been extremely helpful during my internship, taking the time to explain to me how asylum law works within the Netherlands and sending articles or cases which he thinks may be of interest to me. Having worked at the INLIA Foundation for 14 years, I wanted to know what his motivations are; especially knowing already he is not

religious. I also wanted to find out how he feels as a non-religious person working for an FBO, if this is something he is even aware of in his day-to-day working life.

Joost first heard about INLIA when working for the Refugee Council when he would regularly see INLIA's director, John, on national television in the 1990s. When a position became available at INLIA, Joost was initially concerned that not being religious would affect his chances of getting the job:

I thought, 'do they want me'? I knew they were doing good work, I'd seen that, and I wanted to work for them and assist them but I thought maybe it's a problem I'm not religious. Maybe they say it's a requirement for getting a job here, but it wasn't.

During the interview process, Joost met with the president of the board of INLIA – a Reverend – who at the time held the highest position within the organisation. Joost shared with me that he spoke to the reverent about religion:

I'm interested in religion. I'm not really religious myself but I had a conversation with him about my roots in Friesland because he also came from Friesland and then we also talked about religion. I spoke to him about religion and what it meant and I told him I was educated in Christian ethics... I hadn't been to church or Christian school, but I was educated in a Christian tradition.

What stood out to me when Joost was telling me this, is that although he states he is not religious and that being religious was not a requirement for him to be employed by INLIA, he felt it necessary to talk about religion during the hiring process. Perhaps for some non-religious individuals who work for an FBO, they feel the need to show their respect towards religion or at the very least acknowledge it. Joost, whether it was because he was talking to a Reverend, because he wanted the job, or because of his genuine interest in religion, felt the need to discuss his experience or relationship with religion to INLIA board members.

Joost also explained that his motivation to work for INLIA was to help refugees. Near the end of the interview he spoke about his childhood and how his dad had been a volunteer, working to assist asylum seekers and refugees and so the concept was very natural to him. He did state this was not something he always wanted to do, regardless of witnessing his father's role as a volunteer. His desire to use his law degree to help displaced persons only developed during his time at university. When I asked Joost if he is aware of religion or faith while working day-to-day in INLIA, he replied:

It's there, but I especially don't know if its church related or Christian related or religion related. But of course, we [the INLIA Foundation] regard ourselves as being the last hope to asylum seekers in need and we do not easily give up and holding on is, I think, maybe religion inspires [this] or something... but of course, it's maybe also the person of John who does not give up but then John is also a religious person so you cannot see that loosely from each other. There is an inspiration and I think John shows that all the time because he has an energy. If he believes in something, that's also something personal but maybe something religious, but if he believes in something, he wants to succeed in it. It's maybe not per se religious but with John it has a religious connotation.

This sense of giving hope to those in need and in particular, the inspiration and determination Joost sees in John, could be argued is what religion 'looks like' in the work place to Joost (Bender, 2003: 64). He sees John as the driving force behind INLIA's successes and links this drive to John being religious. So although Joost is not religious himself, he recognises faith being used as a tool to assist displaced persons within the organisation. Furthermore, this idea of not giving up can be found in the Christian belief of having a duty to respond to the needs of the poor and the marginalised; it is not a choice, it is serving God (Miller 2014: 6-7). Joost made reference to when he worked for a government organisation and he claimed they often say "it's enough", but for FBOs this is not an option; they will keep trying to succeed because it is their duty. On one of our first visits to the Half-way House, John had had a meeting with someone from the municipality beforehand where he complained to us that discussions had quickly turned to matters of budget and PR. He made a point of telling us that no-one at the meeting mentioned *why* the Half-way House is needed. He reminded us – the employees of INLIA – that it is our job to tell people and to tell organisations of *who* needs help and *why* they need help and that is of utmost importance.

Joost is able to utilise this commitment of 'doing something' using the religious motivations and values that John and the INLIA Foundation believe in for his own legal work. There is a mutual recognition of the goals in place thus, regardless if this recognition comes from a religious or non-religious person, it helps bring strength to the concept of 'not giving up' and provides a sense of hope to INLIA's guests when others have previously told them "it's enough". I would argue then that Pieter's motivation falls under Chapman and Hamalainen's category heading, 'Helping others as a way of expressing identities, values, and beliefs'. This is when someone acts based on their values, usually religious values such

as ‘love thy neighbour as yourself’, although a person does not have to be religious to be motivated by this message. These feelings encourage human kindness and allow individuals to act based upon – or ‘live out’ – their principles and seek justice and equality (2011: 188). Therefore, although Joost does not claim to be religious himself, he abides by and is clearly motivated by INLIA and John’s faith-based identity.

4.4 Esther

I want to bring the reader’s attention to Joost’s apparent admiration for John and how John’s attitude seems to have an effect on Joost’s motivation. This was of interest to me because I also heard similar from Esther and therefore, I want to concentrate on this point when discussing her interview. Esther is originally from Iran and works for INLIA as a social worker/supervisor in the *Bed-Bad-Brood* shelter, Formule 1, and has worked for INLIA for seven years. She arrived in the Netherlands as an asylum seeker with her two children in 2000 and stayed in the Formule 1 shelter with her children, as a homeless, displaced person. She said about INLIA:

I feel like here [INLIA] is my home. INLIA is so important. The Formule 1 was a good place... we were so glad, so free, you are safe. Nobody is your boss. For your home, you don't do it [work] for money, you do with your heart. INLIA is very good and professional and helps people with problems. INLIA is a church organisation but people are free.

She then went on to speak about John:

In INLIA, I live by John, John is my professor. I live; I come here for INLIA and John. I can always go to John. You can go to him with freedom, I have respect for him. If John tomorrow is not here, I think I am finished. Respect is important, I have respect for INLIA. My children have the feeling also INLIA is their home.

Esther demonstrates a similar attitude as Joost towards John. They both see him very much as a leader and hold him in high regard. When Esther talks about John and INLIA – referring to INLIA as her home and that she would be finished if John was not there tomorrow – allows me to believe that her gratitude to John and the organisation for the work they do – having been on the receiving end of their help – seems to be her motivation for now helping others in a similar position. She acknowledges INLIA being a church based organisation but states people are free; this could be an opinion formed in relation to her experiences living in Iran

where religion and freedom do not necessarily go hand in hand. She therefore does not immediately regard INLIA's connection to faith as being the most important aspect of the organisation, she speaks more about respect.

Chapman and Hamalainen's research also includes a category which describes Esther's motivation, 'Giving something back to the community'. This is when an employee or volunteer is motivated directly by a personal experience, choosing to support those whom they feel a sense of solidarity with (2011: 189). This may or may not be associated with religion, but it can also be linked with a sense of identity (2011: 190) which coincides with Esther's description of INLIA being her and her children's home and how she now assists people she can relate to. Esther also mentions that she works for INLIA, her home, from the heart and not for monetary gain. This further relates to wanting to help those in need as a way of giving back; her sole motivation is to treat others the way she was treated when she found herself homeless and she aims to assist John, her 'professor' in helping others like her.

Although Esther describes her motivation in terms of 'giving something back to the community', she also informs me in our interview that she is still regarded as stateless. As a result of this, an additional motivating factor for working with INLIA could be that Esther's options of employment are limited and she may have fears of what her future in the Netherlands will be. As a result, she may not want to distance herself from those who have supported her and helped her to get to where she is today. As well as John being her "professor", Esther might also see him as her protector, and being involved in INLIA could be described as a safety net as oppose to a "home". This means that as well as wanting to give something back to INLIA, Esther's motivation could also include 'Getting on: acting out of self or organizational interest'. It could be said that Esther's self interest lies in protecting herself and her children's future by ensuring she is in employment as well as having a network of people around her who have been there for her in the past and continue to support her today; this support may be too valuable for Esther to walk away from.

4.5 Melvin

Finally, I will discuss my interview with Melvin. I had presumptions about Melvin's answers to my questions before sitting down with him. I have spent quite a bit of time with Melvin during my internship and we have had many long discussions during car journeys when travelling to other cities in the country together. I knew beforehand that Melvin is a Christian and sings in his church choir as well as playing the organ. Furthermore, his role as Coordinator of Church Relations and Public Information means he is responsible for

communicating with the church network that supports INLIA and as a result, I imagined he felt a sense of faith in his day-to-work work life more than anyone else. Still, I was intrigued to find out to what extent this was true and whether his own faith was actually a key motivating factor.

Melvin started volunteering at INLIA in 1989, translating documents when he was studying English. His interest was never originally to work with asylum seekers but during his time volunteering he became more interested in the topic and questioned how people were allowed to be left homeless and stateless. Melvin told me:

To be working in the field of tension between the church and state, who is responsible for what, I find that very interesting. And the motivation then is there are people in trouble, people in need and you should expect that the [government] organisation who is supposed to do something for them, and it turns out very disappointingly that the government - be it local or central or whatever - is not helping these people properly, then that's where the church steps in. That's why INLIA was set up and we jokingly sometimes say we are already almost 30 years working towards the point where we can abolish the INLIA Foundation.

Melvin relates his motivation here is to help those who the government have turned their back on, but he also goes on to mention motivation based on his faith. In relation to INLIA being a Faith Based Organisation, Melvin said:

It helped keeping me motivated. I think it's very important that churches are not only singing hymns on a Sunday morning but they are doing things throughout the week in society and that is what you find particularly INLIA is doing. That is certainly an attraction for me.

During this conversation, Melvin also confirms he is aware of the faith element in his day-to-day role because he is the one responsible for church relations. Melvin is a unique employee of INLIA. He is not only motivated by that fact INLIA is a Faith Based Organisation, that he feels he is involved in a foundation that does more than sings hymns, but his role within the organisation means he is communicating with churches on a daily basis. Therefore, faith is not only a motivator for Melvin, but it is a direct part of his job. As Melvin believes churches should do more within society, he has found himself in a position where his job allows him – an active church member – to practice this belief every day. For other members of the church, carrying out work to help others would quite often take place in their free time, and most certainly as an unpaid volunteer. Melvin has found himself in an unusual position of being

able to ‘love thy neighbour as yourself’ in his everyday working life; being responsible for extending the work of many churches from inside the church walls, into the community.

Like Joost, I would place Melvin in the category, ‘Helping others as a way of expressing identities, values, and beliefs’. Melvin is ‘living out’ his values, values which in his case are based on his Christian faith. His motivation stems from his religion and his belief in helping those in need. This motivation is something which Baker terms ‘spiritual capital’ (Chapman et al., 2011: 188) and where it differs from Joost’s faith-inspired motivation is simply of where (or who) the inspiration comes from: Joost *feels* religion via another individual and Melvin *feels* religion via his belief in God; but both result in shared goals.

4.6 Shared goals

In this chapter, I brought focus back on to INLIA by looking specifically at the organisation’s employees. It is important to try and gain an understanding of why individuals choose to work for FOBs; is it convenience, career driven, a sharing values, or giving back to a community? As discussed in the previous chapter, there is no one way to define Faith Based Organisations and therefore, FBOs reasons for hiring and employees reasons for working will differ from one organisation to the next. By using Chapman and Hamalainen’s three motivation categories as a guideline, this has helped demonstrate the diversity which can be found in Faith Based Organisations. From only four INLIA employees, we have seen all three categories at play. It is fair to conclude that all four interviewees believe in INLIA’s aims; they do not want to see people suffer unnecessarily and they do not want to give up on those who need help. As far as how the interviewees see religion being displayed within the organisation, this varied greatly: Religion is seen as something separate but free by Esther; Joost sees religion motivate John and thus, this motivates him; Eleonora feels the presence of religion in certain aspects of her job but not in others; and Melvin links his own personal faith to his day-to-day work.

Overall though, the way these four employees view or *feel* religion is in no way a hindrance to helping displaced persons; in fact, I would say quite the opposite – it appears to be a key motivating factor one way or another. Notions of everyday religion are seen to intersect with notions of ‘doing good’, whether it be carrying out God’s work directly like in Melvin’s case or being motivated by faith through someone else’s beliefs, like in Joost’s. Moreover, these interviews reveal that the Charter of Groningen is being upheld, the moral responsibility to help those in need is being fulfilled, whether staff recognise their role in this as acts of religion or not. As a collective, INLIA’s staff members are pursuing a shared goal

of justice on behalf of displaced persons, a goal which is ‘grounded in a divine nature of humanity’ (Wilson, 2013: 147), but individually, employees do not require the need to *feel* religion in order to work towards this goal. Faith is certainly present within the organisation, the employees interviewed all acknowledged it in some way, but for some it is in the forefront of their day-to-day working routine and for others, it remains in the background. In the proceeding chapter, I will once again be looking at INLIA specifically, but I will discuss the ongoing projects and the notion of fearing the ‘other’.

5. Fear not, for I am with you

5.1 The bottle neck effect

Having identified how the notions of everyday religion intersect with notions of ‘doing good’ in accordance with INLIA employees’ motivations, in this final chapter, I will look at the concept of the ‘other’ in relation to fear and the social exclusion that migrants face. My reasons for discussing the fear of the ‘other’ and social exclusion in this thesis is because many of INLIA’s values and its projects aim to fight both these things; fighting the fear held by displaced persons and the established community as well as trying to combat the social exclusion displaced persons encounter. We have seen examples of this already with how John refers to those living in the Formule 1 as his guests, thus reducing the distance between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and creating a give-and-take relationship based on respect. Using meaningful language helps the Formule 1 guests feel included and the social and legal services on offer by INLIA assists the guests with practical matters that aim to find solutions to the fears they face, as most are rejected asylum seekers or are stateless.

The Charter of Groningen states that ‘God wants the oneness of humankind’ and the INLIA Foundation is aware that fear of refugees is creating a divide within the Netherlands (and other European countries) and as a result there is a danger of displaced persons not receiving the support INLIA believes they are entitled to. Therefore, I want to bring the attention back to INLIA’s projects and the practical work they are carrying out on a day-to-day basis. I have discussed already the Formule 1 shelter but INLIA also has other projects underway, projects which demonstrate the Foundation’s value of wanting to create the ‘oneness of humankind’; helping those in need while simultaneously bringing people together and combatting fear.

This chapter will discuss the two projects, the Half-way House and the Living Stone Award, as well as a conference John and I attended, ‘Have No Fear’, where the topic of fear and migration was discussed by a number of representatives of churches, ecumenical organisations, experts and volunteers from all over Europe working with and for refugees. I will provide further information on the asylum process in the Netherlands to what has already been explained in the introduction as well as describing how the fear of migrants has developed since the 9/11 attacks. By doing this, in addition to explaining more about INLIA’s day-to-day work, I will identify where religion plays a part within these projects, thus establishing how religious meanings or values are used to combat fear of the ‘other’ and therefore identify how religion can open up alternative ways of responding to discriminatory

practices. These alternative ways can help create a oneness between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and by doing so, provides support to those in need.

Many FBOs have developed over the years, changing their main aims from converting people to Christianity, to providing a safety net to those who have limited assistance and resources and who are at times, fully excluded from government benefits, or the benefits in place are insufficient (Davelaar et al., 2011: 41). In the Netherlands, 17’993 people have applied for (first) asylum in the last 12 months, the largest percentage (42%) coming from Syria (IND report, 2016). As explained in the introduction, the government run association, COA, is responsible for accommodating those going through the asylum procedure. In theory, asylum seekers who receive legal status should be housed within 12 weeks (‘Reception process’, 2016). However, due to the large numbers currently seeking asylum, the government is struggling to keep up with the demand, and there are now many legal refugees living in the asylum centres for up to a year.

INLIA has termed this issue as “the bottle neck affect” and they vocalise three main concerns in regards to this: they claim that the refugees are taking up valuable places for new asylum seekers; that while being made to live for longer periods in the centres, refugees cannot start their new lives and begin the process of integration; there are also concerns that a prolonged feeling of displacement and “living in limbo” will cause further psychological damage to refugees. As a result of this, INLIA is working with a handful of municipalities to produce temporary accommodation for status holders while they wait to be rehoused. The aim of this accommodation, known as the *Tussenvoorziening* in Dutch (and also referred to as the Half-way House which is the term I use in this thesis), is to free up space in the COA centres and assist refugees in the next part of their journey. INLIA therefore, is not only providing assistance to excluded groups such as undocumented migrants, but they are raising awareness of unknown social issues and putting these on the political agenda. The general public are most likely unaware of the actual waiting times legal status holders face, a wait which causes delay in being able to fully settle in the Netherlands and join Dutch society – a concern which is widely discussed (usually negatively) throughout the country.

FBOs tend to be invisible in urban areas because they look to use low cost buildings (Davelaar et al., 2011: 39). This is the case for INLIA’s office space, the Formule 1 shelter and now also for the Half-way house, where INLIA has been able to acquire two buildings in quiet areas outside of the city centre. Both buildings will hold a total of 146 people. The Half-way House will initially be a 2-year pilot project, which if successful could be the prototype for similar centres around the country. It is important to INLIA that the number of refugees it

houses here is relatively small (96 in one and 50 in the other), as John believes this is a nicer environment for refugees to live in, but it means there is more chance of the centre – and the people staying there – being accepted into the local community as the ‘newcomers’ will not be seen as ‘taking over’.

The Half-way House aims to be the first step in refugees integrating into their new community. The COA should only send refugees to INLIA who will be housed within a small number of areas relatively near the Half-way House. The idea behind this, is that those living in the centre will get to know the area they will be housed in, thus beginning to integrate from the moment they leave the COA accommodation. This means their transition into their new home and community will be easier and if they are attending college or are working, they should be able to continue without interruptions. In addition, the local residents can get acquainted with their new neighbours, with the knowledge that the refugees who are based at the Half-way House will not be strangers passing through, but will eventually be living as residents in the area. While refugees live in the centre there will be many programmes and activities available, activities such as: cycling lessons and road safety, Dutch language and culture lessons, assistance from organisations like Workers Without Borders (*Werken Zonder Grenzen*), courses available from the local Alfa College, and local sports clubs for children to join. They will also receive help with learning how to open a bank account and register with a doctor and dentist. For those refugees who will be moving to a municipality further away (which is a reality until other Half-way Houses are developed), they will be taken to that town regularly in order to be familiarised before moving permanently.

Before the opening of the Half-way House, there was an open evening for local residents to attend in order for them to ask any questions and/or offer their services as a volunteer. As well as employees of INLIA, the Mayor, members of the municipality, two refugee students from Alfa College, and the organisers of Workers Without Borders were also there to answer the public’s questions. In addition to this open evening, there were various meetings with volunteers and church members held over a period of three months to discuss what the centre needs in terms of services and equipment and to ensure enough volunteer positions were filled.

The initial open evening received a relatively large number of local residents. When organising the event, the question of security was an issue which INLIA’s director John, and the Mayor disagreed on. It had transpired that the municipality had been untruthful about one of the buildings, telling local residents that the empty property was not fit for habitation. However, the residents questioned this information when they began to see furniture being

delivered to the property and only then were they told about the plans for the building; which by this point the residents were unable to stop the development had they wanted to protest it. For this reason, the Mayor expected hostility and an angry reception and was concerned about safety – he therefore requested there be security and police guarding the building.

John wholeheartedly disagreed with this suggestion, believing that the sight of police and security at a centre which was to be used to house refugees would potentially cause unnecessary public fear and in turn, could result in a lack of support and cause negative media coverage. John had said during a meeting, “We are not talking about an asylum centre; we are talking about their (the residents’) neighbours. People will ask unanswerable questions to convey their fears. It’s okay for people to have concerns but are we able to make them understand how it affects their world?” He argued there should be discrete security in place and wanted to use INLIA’s social workers as a means of communication to diffuse any confrontation before security would be allowed to step in; in the end, John’s request was granted. Joost leaned over and whispered to me that John is excellent at dealing with any potential conflict or protests because he never acts out of fear and I was beginning to see this for myself. John is not a person to hide away, here he was putting himself in a position to speak face to face with local residents, some of which would be angry about being lied to; a lie which he was not responsible for. Even after the open evening, John knocked on the doors of some of the local community to offer a personal apology – he wanted to ensure the residents were only displeased at how the situation was handled, and not with the project itself as he needs their support.

During the gatherings which took place in the Half-way House, John and other members of INLIA made presentations to explain why this centre is needed and how it will work. For the most part, the centre was well received with many coming forward to volunteer. There were some concerns raised, with one man asking if John could guarantee him that his children would be safe living so near to almost 100 refugees, and a woman asking if news of the centre would encourage more migrants to come from Syria. John answered these questions truthfully (no, he could not guarantee safety and no, he did not think one small centre would affect the numbers of people seeking asylum in the Netherlands), but he responded in a way that demonstrated respect and understanding, explaining to the man that he was speaking himself as a father and giving a brief explanation to the woman about the current migrant and asylum situation. INLIA can use this shelter for more than freeing up emergency space in the COA centres or helping refugees integrate, it can be used as a valuable tool to bring the ‘other’ and established communities together, in a

safe environment, with professionals (such as INLIA's social workers) at hand to support both groups and by doing so, bring about a 'oneness', like the Charter of Groningen states.

As mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, my first time meeting John revealed his concerns about free speech being used as an excuse to disrespect others and so he is always concerned about showing respect and not allowing decisions to be made based on stereotypes (for example, the stereotypes touched upon above, that refugees are dangerous or that news of free services will only encourage more to come). He is also determined in ensuring the staff at INLIA are well informed about the general public attitude towards asylum seekers travelling to Europe and that the employees are equipped to deal with any negativity or fear they directly encounter. After the 2016 New Year celebrations, there was mass media attention surrounding the story of refugees sexually assaulting women in Cologne. When the news broke, John made the decision to close the office and hold a meeting with all the employees. It was a Friday, and he suspected employees of INLIA might find themselves in a situation where they would face questions about why the organisation is helping such people and that accusations could be made about refugees being dangerous and, in turn, staff at INLIA could bear the brunt of public anger (even from friends and family). He held an open discussion, allowing employees to share their thoughts and only called the meeting to an end when everyone felt comfortable and prepared for potential conversations about the Cologne attacks and the migrant 'crisis'.

By allowing conversations like this to take place, the staff at INLIA are working as a team to fight discrimination and John is reinforcing the meaning of their work and the goals they are working towards, together. However, it must be said, that the concept of the Half-way House, the planning involved in its opening, and discussions surrounding the general public attitude towards asylum seekers has developed for the most part without the use of religious narrative, at least in the meetings I was involved in. Although religion was not explicitly discussed in relation to this particular project, the concept of the Half-way House does demonstrate aims laid out in the Charter of Groningen; aims such as, sharing the international burden and taking the side of refugees and offer them protection as a member of local faith communities. The Half-way house is sharing the burden by providing accommodation in addition to the state's overcrowded centres and INLIA provide this accommodation to protect the refugees – being on the side of the refugee is the motivation behind this project.

5.2 Inclusion and Exclusion

I have chosen to share the above experiences as an example of how public fear of refugees has entered the INLIA office/projects and how it was dealt with. Fear of migrants and the tolerance of foreigners has become a focal point within the social and political realm for the last 15 years. The post-911 environment within Europe is one which combines issues of security that are intertwined with anxieties about religious inspired terrorism in addition to popular ideas about the clashing of cultures. In Europe, religion has also entered the public sphere in relation to Islam, which has become the main focus of hostility (Delanty, 2008: 80). Debates around religious symbols, the hijab, the identity of Europe, multiculturalism and integration have been at the forefront of public and political discussion since the attacks on the Twin Towers, but this debate has heightened since an increased number of migrants entered Europe illegally on plastic boats via Turkey and North Africa.

The boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are always changing depending on how the criteria of the 'insider' and 'outsider' group is made up. Sometimes a specific migrant status is accepted over others (Wodak, 2008:56). For example, Syrian refugees generally gain more public sympathy and support compared to Eritrean migrants, who are usually looked upon as economic migrants and therefore do not 'deserve' to be granted asylum. Sometimes, however, all foreigners are assumed to belong to one single group and are classified as migrants regardless of where they have come from and with what motive (Wodak, 2008: 57). Furthermore, gaining legal status does not mean social inclusion (2008:60).

International migration is a topic surrounded by fear; fear and anxiety from the host country about the reshaping of their society, and fear from those seeking asylum who are fleeing danger and facing the unknown (Snyder: 2011: 351). Asylum seekers are thought to bring with them alien values, culture and language, all of which threaten 'the disintegration of so-called national identity' (Snyder 2011: 352). Many Western Europeans feel they are being forced into multiculturalism and fear for their security, their jobs, their healthcare, and their way of life – these fears lead to stereotyping of migrants and provide convenient scapegoats for wide-ranging societal problems (2011: 353-54).

This fear has not only led to hostility towards asylum seekers, but also to a denial of racism and confusion over where the limits of tolerance lie. Disclaimers such as, "I have nothing against..., but", "we would like to help, but..." are now familiar echoes within Western Europe which Wodak claims are statements adopted in debates to justify the exclusion of a group as being reasonable, factual, unprejudiced and not linked to irrational feelings (2008: 65). Our confusion over what tolerance means – does it mean the right to be

different? Is it the equivalent of acceptance? Does it simply mean indifferent? – has thrown up many questions about Western Europeans' expectations of asylum seekers and in how far they are expected to integrate into the host country's society.

We have already seen these debates and the fears mentioned above affect Europe, with the increase in support of far right political parties and the UK voting to leave the EU; a vote which many in the Netherlands would welcome based on their fears over immigration. This fear, which is magnified by the media, can even be found in INLIA. One afternoon, after I heard that one of the men staying in the Formule 1 shelter was complaining that people looked down on him and that he would only ever be accepted if he 'became Dutch' and discarded his own identity, I was chatting to a colleague in the office about integration and assimilation. During our conversation, she stated that she believed refugees should fully integrate and adopt their host country's culture, admitting that she agreed with France's decision to ban headscarves as they are not part of European dress, adding that burqas are a potential security threat. She went on to say that she gets nervous when flying if there are Arab looking men on her flight. I cannot deny my shock at hearing this opinion from someone who is working for an organisation like INLIA, but it also demonstrates the extent to which the fear of the 'other' has spread.

Some FBOs are criticised for assisting excluded groups, whether it be asylum seekers, the homeless, or drug addicts. The government especially oppose those, like INLIA, who assist undocumented persons and discourage initiatives like church asylum. FBOs emphasise the limitations of the government and stress that people have a responsibility to help others, regardless of their faith (Davelaar et al., 2011: 90). While discussing the Dutch political system with John one day and the fear created by some parties over immigration, he said in regards to the Christian Democrats, "Don't tell me how to be a Christian; I have the right to help those who the state are not helping. Faith Organisations give a voice to the voiceless... I am always telling churches, everything you do and don't do is political. Every decision you make, even to do nothing, links with politics. This is why they have to think about what they're doing... If the state puts someone in a ditch and tells me I should not touch them, Jesus tells me to help."

5.3 Christian faith and fear

Helping those in need, even when the state tells you not to, and fighting the fears much of Western Europe have about the migrant 'other' was central to the discussions held at a The Lunteren Ecumenical Conference, 'Have no Fear' (the name 'Have No Fear' is taken from

Isaiah 41 verse 10: ‘Fear not, for I am with you’) which John and I attended in June. This three-day conference, organised by The World Council of Churches (WCC), the Conference of European Churches (CEC), the Churches’ Commission for Migrants in Europe (CCME) and the Protestant Church in the Netherlands (PKN) brought together more than sixty representatives of churches, ecumenical organisations, experts and volunteers from all over Europe working with and for refugees. The main organiser of the event, the WCC, ‘employ sacred imagery and stories to generate alternative visions for how politics and society can work in ethical ways that are rooted in religious values’ (Wilson et al., 2013: 489). The WCC has opposed neoliberalism and defended the rights of the poor since the 1970s and organised ‘Have No Fear’ in an attempt to better understand what needs to be done to overcome the challenges faced in assisting displaced persons.

During the conference, the subject of fear was a focal point, as the name would suggest. During one presentation, the speaker said, “There are two discourses happening; Christian values and fear. We cannot allow these discourses to run parallel, politicians will take advantage. Migration isn’t just political; it challenges our faith.” Many at the conference believed that a “new solidarity” had to be built, with churches and other faith groups leading the way. There was a consensus that Europe has a reception issue, not a crisis, and the misunderstanding of the situation is causing fear. A French woman stated that church leaders have to create action outside the walls of the church, that relying on people to knock on the door was no longer enough. She continued by informing us that in France, after the string of recent attacks, even Christians are withdrawing their services in helping asylum seekers because they are scared. Many conference members believe providing hope will eradicate people’s fears and that hope is key to moving forward as a united Europe assisting displaced persons. During a smaller group discussion, one conference member said, “The question of fear has to be dealt with theologically for people to be liberated; we will be liberated to meet ‘the other’. Hope is the calling, if there’s no hope, there’s no faith”. In an article written by Holloway, he states that faith and hope are ‘inextricably entwined’ (2013: 207), adding that hope arises from defeats which take place in the present to give assurances for the future.

It appeared to me that in order to help those in need – the migrants, asylum seekers, and refugees – Christians themselves were needing guidance and reassurance, and the fear of the ‘other’ was preventing believers of Christian faith to carry out their duty of welcoming and showing hospitality to strangers. The conference presenters spoke mostly of the migrants’ situation, their journeys, and the laws surrounding asylum, but discussions away from the stage revolved around how the Christian community can overcome their fears. There

were concerns that helping migrants leaves the church open to terrorist attacks, with one person asking, “Is the Church ready to sacrifice itself? Even Christians are afraid; faith is no longer enough”. Only 6 weeks after the Have No Fear conference, a priest was killed in France during morning mass by two armed men who claimed they were from the militant group, Islamic State. On hearing this news, my mind cast back to this very discussion and I caught myself wondering if Christians will decide that the church is ready to sacrifice itself; will it welcome the stranger in spite of the fear of potential attacks?

Strangers are embedded at the heart of Judaeo-Christian tradition, with stories of exile, exodus, and expulsion (Snyder, 2011: 356), with Brueggemann claiming that the bible is addressed to, ‘the central human problem of homelessness’ (2002: 200). However, Snyder suggests that the bible is less clear about how ‘the strange migrant people of God’ (2011: 356) should treat other strangers. It is impossible to apply teachings from the bible to the complex situations we find in our societies today, as every individual will have their own interpretations of biblical texts. In addition, there are also passages that display behaviours of hostility towards the stranger (Snyder, 2011: 359), which can be used in arguments for those who wish to return to a mythical national identity, one absent of the ‘other’.

Snyder, however, makes an interesting point, that although she admits the Bible cannot be used as a literal tool to assist in the acceptance of asylum seekers today, she does state that rather than re-enacting biblical stories, living out theological concepts such as solidarity and hospitality must be done. She suggests that churches must engage in those who are fearful of migrants and that successful integration is a two-way process ‘involving the newcomers *and* established communities’ and the anxiety and needs of both must therefore be taken into consideration (2011: 366). She also states that personal contact is vital, with both sides taking risks, and that migrants should be seen as ‘bringers of new life, insight and glimpses of God’ (2011: 365), and are therefore, not simply treated as a group of submissive people whom cannot offer ‘us’ anything.

I believe this is something which the Half-way House is achieving. As well as living out theological concepts such as hospitality, the project is bringing refugees into a more independent environment and also into the established community, where residents have the chance to meet, socialise with, and *welcome* the stranger. Whether local residents decide to be involved or not, if the centre is well run and proves successful, it can be used as a positive tool in INLIA’s fight of tackling the fear of the ‘other’. As part of tackling fear, this project also allows the opportunity for developing interfaith relations which was a concluding point of the ‘Have No Fear’ conference. Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp, a leading rabbi of the

Reform Jewish Community of The Hague and of the Union of Dutch Reform Jewish Communities, made a very poignant speech on our final day emphasising the need for interfaith relations. He told us how he was saved from Nazi persecution by a non-Jewish couple and made clear that different faiths have to come together in order to help others overcome their current fears of the ‘other’. He finished by saying, “Religion is like fire and water; we cannot live without fire, we cannot live without water, but both can destroy us.” As a display of positive inter-faith relations and recognising non-Christian faiths, John made the decision to have a marquee erected outside the Half-way House for the opening day (the first day of refugees arriving to stay). The opening day landed during Ramadan and the marquee was to have the welcome buffet inside it. The thinking behind this was to make everyone arriving as comfortable as possible, and having the food placed outside and out of view, it would demonstrate respect to those refugees fasting, thus demonstrating solidarity and hospitality and establishing a ‘oneness’.

5.4 The spirit of the Living Stone

The Half-way House, like the Formule 1 shelter, does not overtly display signs of religion, but there is one current project underway by INLIA that does; the Living Stone Award. As mentioned above, the Living Stone Award is a visible token which is given to a person, organisation, or community who has shown dedication in helping refugees. The award itself is a red stone brick with a gold plaque. The Living Stone refers to the bible reading:

As you come to him, the living stone – rejected by humans but chosen by God and precious to him – you also, like living stones, are being built into a spiritual house to be a holy priesthood, offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. – (First Letter of St Peter, second chapter, versus 4 and 5, New International Version)

John explained to those new to working on the Living Stone project that Jesus is the living stone and those receiving the award represent the spirit of the living stone. This year, the stone is being given to the Italian island of Lampedusa. Lampedusa is only 113 kilometres away from Tunisia and at 3 kilometres wide and 12 kilometres long, with a population of 6000, an estimated 280’000 migrants have passed through the island over the last 20 years (according to the island doctor), and it is known as the deadliest migrant route in the world, with hundreds of men, woman and children drowning every year.

INLIA believes the 6000 residents of Lampedusa, the Mayor, Giusy Nicolini and the only doctor on the island, Dr Pietro Bartolo are an example of great dedication and that they

represent a community that we (in Western Europe and elsewhere in the world) can learn from. For the purpose of this thesis, I do not feel it necessary to go into detail of the ways Lampedusa assist asylum seekers, but rather I want to look at the conversations held within INLIA when discussing the organising of the event.

The event itself will be held in the Martini Church, which is the oldest church in Groningen with its huge tower being an iconic landmark of the city. As well as the presenting of the stone, music and visuals will feature heavily during the event, with a live performance of the island's hymn in addition to a live connection with the island itself to ensure the residents of Lampedusa are involved. During the meetings, there was a struggle of deciding who should be included in the 500-person guest list; the network of churches who had signed the Charter of Groningen and are responsible for the living stone have to be represented, but INLIA wants this event to reach further than faith communities – the message is seen too important to only be heard by a limited number. Even deciding who should represent the church network is proving to be tough, with John adamant that it should not be down to those who contribute the most money to the foundation.

The subject of funding was also an issue. John, along with a well-known Dutch composer and conductor, whom I will refer to as Cees in this thesis, are the main organisers of the event. Most of Cees' works are religious in nature and he is well connected within the Christian community in the Netherlands. While discussing funding, I found it interesting that when communication was needed with potential funders who were of Catholic denomination, Cees was instructed or would volunteer to contact the relevant person, and when it came to Protestant connections, John was given the task; this seemed to be the deciding factor on whom John and Cees were to hold communications with (and try and gain funding from).

During meetings, we were at times reminded that this event is “an organisation of churches” when discussions would arise over inviting particular guests, as if it could be used as a bargaining tool, or an act of persuasion. Whereas in other meetings, INLIA's relationship with religion would not be mentioned in discussions at all. A few weeks into planning, Cees' son joined our Living Stone team, and after long discussions about the technicalities of the event, he asked, “but what is the living stone?” He was concerned that its purpose and message was being forgotten amongst all the performances, and he also wondered why INLIA, as a foundation and as the one responsible for the event, was not featuring in the ceremony. At this stage, John did not want INLIA marketing to be seen in the Martini Church and he himself did not want to take to the stage to make a speech; something which Cees' son questioned.

Melvin reacted to this by erecting a 6ft free standing INLIA banner as an example of what could be placed in the Martini Church. The banner shows a black and white photograph of an out-of-focus dark skinned girl, lighting a candle, with the Martini Tower in the background, the candle being the only section of the picture in-focus. The lower part of the banner reads, ‘partner of churches, partner of the municipalities, partner of refugees, partner of the people,’ in black text on a dark purple backdrop. Cees’ son took one look at the banner and immediately asked a series of questions: “Why have black writing on a purple background? You can’t see it. What is the message here? I don’t understand. Where is INLIA? Why is the refugee girl and the church not clear? I’m not even sure if that is a girl.” I had not seen John being put on the spot like this before, but he was ready to defend the banner. He explained that the most important part of the banner is the candle being lit, that the light represents a sign of hope. This is why the girl and the church are not in focus, because the emphasis should be on hope. He also said that the girl is not actually a refugee, that INLIA is a partner of the people, not just refugees. He informed us that the banner is not a commercial, that is not the purpose, and that the text purposely does not stand out because, “We [INLIA] are in the background, this modesty fits us.”

Cees’ son accepted the explanation, but did not seem convinced, believing that marketing should tell a story for itself and not need additional explaining. For me, however, it provided reason as to why INLIA as an organisation is not directly featuring in the Living Stone event. John wants to ensure that the message of how Lampedusa are welcoming the ‘other’ and doing all they can in their power to rescue people and give them hope of a better life is the most important factor; this is the lesson people have to leave the church having learned. The fact that INLIA is behind the organising is not important, it should not be a distraction; for John, this is not an INLIA commercial, but a chance to show the Netherlands that they should be doing more to help asylum seekers and that we should be discarding our own fears to provide hope for those who desperately need assistance.

During the meetings I was involved in for the organising of the Living Stone Award, religion certainly came up in discussion, but the conversations referring to religion were more based around guests and funding. Faith was also occasionally referred to in a joking manner (for example, when discussing back-up plans for connecting with Lampedusa if it was to rain, Anna the journalist raised her palms, looked to the sky and joked, “Surely with all our connections up above, we will be fine!”), but considering the award is one with a religious message, the meaning of the stone itself was rarely discussed. But as everyone working on

the project knows the message behind the stone and its significance, there was no reason for it to be reiterated over and over.

Furthermore, although the award itself represents a Christian message, and the work Lampedusa carries out is viewed by INLIA as ‘doing good’, work which INLIA has assigned the notion of religion to (providing hospitality, hope and seeking justice for displaced persons), John is not aiming for the event to be a show of religion. The Living Stone Award should deliver a religious message but in a way that is accessible for *all* to learn from. The ceremony may be held in a church, there may be hymns involved, and the award may represent a biblical text, but it is important to INLIA that Christians and non-Christians lead by Lampedusa’s example, and as far as I can see, this event is aimed at providing justice for asylum seekers by showing ‘connected’ guests (some with strong political influence) that Dutch policy has to change.

The original date for the award ceremony was planned for May. However, the Mayor of Lampedusa claimed she could not attend until October as the weather conditions improve in May and this marks the beginning of increased amounts of migrants crossing the Mediterranean to reach Europe and during the summer months, she refuses to leave the island, just as a captain refuses to leave their ship in times of emergency. At hearing this news, John was concerned October will be too late, as he strongly hopes the Living Stone Award will have such a profound effect on people, it will result in the Netherlands (at least) in taking action and supporting Lampedusa and as a result saving hundreds of lives. Waiting until October means witnessing a repeat of previous summers which will almost certainly result in hundreds drowning. For INLIA, this is not just a recognition of a community welcoming the stranger, a community that does not fear the ‘other’; it is about saving the lives of desperate human beings, putting a stop to unnecessary dying, and giving those fleeing a hope of a better future.

This chapter aimed to bring the focus back to INLIA’s day-to-day work, provide insight into what action the INLIA Foundation is taking to combat social exclusion and fear, and demonstrate how religion influences these actions. The Half-way House, although not a project which openly demonstrated religion in its development, is linked with religious meaning as laid out in the Charter of Groningen. This project lives out theological concepts such as hospitality, allows communities to welcome the stranger, helps establish a ‘oneness’, and takes the side of the refugee. This religious meaning behind INLIA’s project can also be seen in the Formule 1 shelter as well as representing the motivations which are passed down by John and Melvin to other staff members. There is a more overt religious approach with the

giving of the Living Stone Award, but beyond the more clear acts of religion (the biblical inscription, the church, the singing of hymns, the funding), INLIA is taking a political stance and using the opportunity to reach communities and individuals out with the network of churches, something which has also been seen in the establishment of LOGO. We are seeing INLIA take the side of the refugee and create ‘oneness’ by going beyond the church walls and build a “new solidarity” between the faith community, the political sphere and the secular community, a topic which was discussed during the ‘Have No Fear’ conference. Religion can be identified in the day-to-day actions of these particular projects developed by INLIA, with the combatting of social exclusion and fear, and the fight for social justice being brought to the forefront by assisting established communities in welcoming the stranger and working towards a ‘oneness of humankind’ by taking the side of the refugee.

6. Conclusion

This thesis set out to research FBOs within a local setting, paying specific attention to the religious narratives used by Faith Organisations with Habermas' argument in mind that religious meaning and language should be allowed into the public sphere (Habermas, 2006: 15), and for the purpose of this thesis, I carried out an ethnographic study of the Christian Faith Based Organisation, INLIA. The purpose of this thesis is not to prove that religious narrative *should* be heard within an FBO or that religion means more efficient humanitarianism, or even that FBOs provide assistance for 'better', or more 'pure' reasons than secular organisations. My aim was to bring together the questions of *how* FBOs work when helping asylum seekers and *when* do we see faith play a part in this, and so, my research question set out at the beginning of this thesis is: *How does religion play a role/when do we see religious narrative being used in the day-to-day running of a Christian organisation? What assets and drawbacks does this produce?*

I imagine I would have experienced more overt displays of faith had my internship consisted of shadowing Melvin, who interacts with the church network on an almost daily basis, but this would not have provided an overview of the organisation as a whole, which was my aim. I wanted a more varied picture of how and when religion comes into play and then link this with my literature based research. To build this picture, I looked at how INLIA assists with 'settling' asylum seekers by providing real support and how it works towards changing policy by challenging the government ('unsettling'), as well as how it is funded as an 'outsider' organisation. I then went on to discuss how FBOs should be seen as more than just gap-fillers, that they advocate for change and use religious values to challenge neo-liberal policies. Following this, I explained LOGO, the non-faith organisation linked to INLIA and the ways in which it indirectly assists INLIA in achieving goals by breaking down barriers with the aim of eradicating the homelessness of displaced persons. Following that, I observed the reasons of motivation of four of INLIA's staff members by carrying out semi-structured interviews and concluded that although employees share the same goal of obtaining justice for asylum seekers, individually, employees do not require the need to *feel* religion in order to work towards this goal. Finally, I discussed two projects currently underway, the Half-way House and Living Stone Award, as well as the conference 'Have No Fear', to identify if religion plays a part in how INLIA combats society's fear of the 'other' and how it helps refugees integrate into an established community.

Researching these specific points by participant observation has shown me that religion is not often discussed openly within INLIA. By often, I mean there is not as much religious narrative as I expected for an organisation which is based upon faith and a network of churches. Although this is what I discovered, that does not mean religion was not present. To begin with, Melvin explains the history of INLIA and its connection to faith to every employee on their first day; this suggests it is of utmost importance to INLIA that all staff members are aware of the Charter of Groningen on which INLIA is based and that they respect the fact that the organisation continues to stand by the Charter's 'commandants' today.

Religion plays a background role at INLIA, rather than it being at the foreground. What I mean by this is, the connection to faith is not explicit – there are no religious symbols to be seen out with John's office and the working day does not begin with prayer, for example. In fact, my internship took place during Easter, and even then religion was kept to a minimum. In the office there were some mini chocolate eggs on the communal tables and John sent an office email in which he spoke about the Christian celebration. During the week of Easter, there had been a terrorist attack in Brussels and so John also made reference to those who died in the attack. His email read:

Amersfoort, Holy Thursday: The Passion. The television shows the story of betrayal to crucifixion. I listen to a song that can be written for this week. "If you need me, I'll be there for you." That's the consolation, love and encouragement that Jesus offers us. I would endlessly like to reiterate these images, this sound for anyone who needs it... Right now at INLIA we believe it is our mission to continue our work. Maybe even stepping it up a bit. So we can contribute to a righteous society for the stranger who really needs our help... Justice, humanity and mercy are under attack... This experience offers me consolation this week. Encouragement against hate, against hardening. The love that it speaks, gives strength. (Translated by Laura Scholten)

I am unaware if John always sends an office email during Christian holidays, or if he decided to send one on this occasion because of the attacks. What happened in Brussels created another wave of fear of the 'other' throughout Europe and John was quick to reinforce the message of solidarity and that staff must continue INLIA's work of helping the stranger in need, even suggesting that more has to be done by the organisation.

Easter however, was not to be celebrated at the Formule 1 shelter. Esther had asked if she could paint eggs with some of the guests and she was told this was okay, as long as the activity was done without the acknowledgment of Easter. The consensus in INLIA seemed to

be that it is less hassle to not celebrate any religious holidays, rather than having to celebrate all religious holidays, across different faiths. This does raise the question of whether people, especially those in vulnerable situations, should be allowed to express religious freedom with the argument that faith can heal in times of difficulty, or whether having so many people living together whom are in desperate situations are best living in as neutral an environment as possible. That is a question for another thesis, but it was of interest for my research to see where within INLIA religion was displayed during a Christian holiday and where it was not displayed (or in this case, forbidden).

My research in INLIA identified that religion plays a direct role in the funding of the organisation, with those who sign 'The Charter of Groningen' giving donations and providing resources. The network of churches is a huge asset to INLIA which provides guaranteed financial support. Being linked to faith, however, means some support avenues are cut off, with potential donators not wanting to be associated with religion in a postsecular society. INLIA does allow itself a certain amount of freedom because it refuses state funding and although this means cutting off a source of money, it allows INLIA to challenge government policy more freely than if it was relying on state money. Thus, INLIA can continue in Jesus' work and "[show] people how to use the commandments" with more freedom than some other organisations.

The semi-structured interviews I carried out identified that INLIA employees are all aware of the faith elements of the organisation. Motivation which comes directly from faith was more apparent in some employees than others, however, INLIA's ethos was at the very least respected by all four employees and so in this way, faith does play a role in motivating staff. The employees are expected not to give up on those who are in need and are taught how INLIA was set up to carry out the work of the church on a larger scale. Providing sanctuary was no longer enough and INLIA developed to assist with trauma, integration, healthcare, shelter, and removing barriers, all of which are provided under the influence of doctrinal elements (Wilson, 2013: 161-62); a set of goals that all employees of INLIA work towards.

I found while interning at INLIA that in addition to religion being in the background, it was also found on a top-down structure. Those in higher positions are religious and are directly motivated by faith, and this motivation then flows down to all other employees, regardless of their personal religious beliefs. I could *feel* faith when working alongside the likes of John and Melvin, even when I was not specifically discussing religion or my studies with them. Between John's stories of hiding people in churches, to hearing jokes about the Popemobile, to being invited by Melvin to go and watch him play the organ in the Martini

Church – faith was present and was displayed in many different forms for different purposes. Within INLIA, faith is present for funding, for motivating staff, for bringing everyone together to aim for the same goals, it is present when things go wrong or there is fear, it is present in humour, and it is present when trying to bring about change to public opinion or government policy.

Faith in these disguises is an asset to Faith Based Organisations like INLIA, but can result in pitfalls also. They are an asset because in each form that faith is present it plays a role in assigning justice, development, and hope to asylum seekers and INLIA succeed in bridging a gap not only between displaced persons and the government, but also between displaced persons and established communities, and between people of faith and non-faith. This allows INLIA to be a progressive organisation as it has the ability to spread its services and its message to many different people, living out theological concepts such as solidarity and hospitality. Where faith creates pitfalls is the barriers it creates. The churches are not always willing to take action because they do not want to get involved in politics and this can restrict what INLIA is able to achieve. It can also result in INLIA being put in a position of having to act against what the network want. There are also restrictions on a practical level which I witnessed on my first day when Melvin was attempting to schedule a meeting with church members, but due to religious celebrations, this dictated the speed of which INLIA could move forward with project plans. Being associated with faith means certain funding options are off limits to INLIA and potential political allies do not want to be involved with organisations that are religious. INLIA's ethos of not giving up could also lead to frustrations for employees and may lead to work dissatisfaction. The employees who are motivated via something or someone else and not directly motivated by Christianity might feel they are fighting a losing battle and seek employment at an organisation that does not provide goals based on Judaeo-Christian tradition. In further research, it would be beneficial to speak to ex-employees of FBOs to identify their reasons for leaving Faith Organisations.

This thesis has identified the different ways religion plays a role in the day-to-day running of a Christian organisation, giving examples of the assets and drawbacks this produces. The analysis of any FBO requires that researchers take seriously any faith related underpinning which shapes the organisational thought and action and I would argue that in order to gain further understanding of the effects of religious narrative in the day-to-day running of an FBO, similar studies should be completed across multiple Faith Based Organisations. As explained in this thesis, FBOs differ widely from one another and it would be beneficial to the research of FBOs to compare how religious narrative and its affects differ

from one organisation to the next. This would provide a deeper understanding of how FBOs work in assisting those in need, especially on a local level. Wilson et al. state that religion can open up alternative ways of responding to discriminatory practices (2013: 483), and so at a time when the social and political environment is in a state of confusion over how to deal with mass migration, as well as the fear experienced by asylum seekers and established communities as a result, further research into Faith Based Organisations is vital as, ‘faith alongside asylum seekers might be able to reignite “utopian hopes” and act “as [an] engine of social transformation”’ (Forrester, 5: 2001).

Appendix I

The Charter of Groningen

<http://www.inlia.nl/uploads/File/Charter%20of%20Groningen%20English%20text.pdf>

1. The situation of refugees and those seeking asylum in Europe is alarming. There is a general tendency for European governments to close the borders and to stop the influx of the growing number of refugees and asylum seekers. All sorts of legislative and bureaucratic measures are being taken at national and regional levels. Increasingly the refugee concept and the Geneva Refugee Conventions of 1951 and 1967 are being interpreted in a restrictive way. As local churches, parishes, faith communities and basic groups we feel that our moral responsibility calls us to act in this situation. Refugees and those seeking asylum make it clear to us how much violence and injustice there is in the world. To avoid the burden and sorrow connected with giving protection to refugees means refusing to regard this violence and injustice as a common problem. Our faith that God wants the oneness of humankind, urges us to reject this refusal and take sides with refugees and asylum seekers.
2. Taking sides means to us in the first place that in local co-operation we wish to make efforts, to the best of our abilities, to receive and support refugees and asylum seekers. In addition it means that we must continue pressing our governments that their asylum policies be not conceived only in terms of national or European interest, but rather that they need to reflect a broad-minded interpretation of the international conventions of refugees and human rights. We pledge ourselves to urge our countries to participate in sharing the international burden in a way that corresponds to the European position in the world and its responsibility resulting from this position.
3. When we have good reason to assume that a refugee or asylum seeker, threatened with deportation, is not being given humanitarian treatment, or that decisions are being taken that may seriously affect the quality of his or her existence, we pledge ourselves to take in and protect him or her until a solution has been found that is acceptable to all parties concerned. We will not avoid open confrontation with our governments or direct action of solidarity and protest when in our opinion the situation requires it.
4. We shall continue to point out to local, national and international councils and federations of churches what we see their responsibility as being in matters and problems relating to refugees and asylum seekers, and shall urge the councils and federations to meet their responsibilities within their own means and possibilities.

5. Regarding ourselves as partners in a covenant of local faith communities and other groups that take sides with refugees and asylum seekers, we promise each other support and solidarity, and we endeavour to encourage many other churches, faith communities and basic groups to also join us as partners in this covenant.

Appendix II

Original version of John's 'Easter' email (sent on 29/03/2016):

(The sections of this email included in the thesis were translated by Laura Scholten)

Lieve vrienden en vriendinnen,

Op deze Goede Vrijdag blik ik terug op een bewogen week.

Een week waarin we aanslagen zagen en onze gedachten uitgingen naar hen die daardoor getroffen werden. Een week waarin je zoekt naar manieren om bij te dragen aan vrede in de wereld. Een week waarin wij bij INLIA zorg met elkaar deelden. Een week ook waarin we troost en inspiratie vonden.

Brussel, dinsdag: de aanslagen. Mannen, vrouwen en kinderen wordt meedogenloos het leven ontnomen. Jong en oud niets ontziend geraakt. Ik denk aan allen die zij lief hadden, allen die hen lief hebben. Verdriet overmant me. Ik blijf tv kijken, zoals waarschijnlijk velen van jullie. Maar uiteindelijk wil ik deze beelden niet meer zien, het geluid niet meer horen.

Amersfoort, Witte Donderdag: The Passion. De televisie toont het verhaal van verraad tot kruisiging. Ik luister naar een lied dat voor deze week geschreven kan zijn. "Als je me nodig hebt, zal ik er voor je zijn." Dat is de troost, de liefde en de bemoediging die Jezus ons biedt. Ik zou deze beelden, dit geluid, eindeloos willen herhalen. Voor iedereen die het nodig heeft.

Juist nu vinden wij het bij INLIA onze opdracht door te gaan met ons werk. Een tandje harder misschien nog. Om bij te dragen aan een rechtvaardige samenleving. Om de vreemdeling die onze hulp echt nodig heeft. Want hoewel er op de meeste plaatsen in Nederland meer begrip is voor asielzoekers dan weerstand, zien we dat de discussie soms erg hard gevoerd wordt. Ook dat zien we op tv. Rechtvaardigheid, menselijkheid en barmhartigheid liggen onder vuur. Het kan anders.

Twee weken geleden was ik samen met onze Italiaanse collega Benedetta op Lampedusa. Een Italiaans eilandje vlak voor de kust van Noord-Afrika, dat 6.000 inwoners telt en met 25 km² nog kleiner is dan Schiermonnikoog. Een eilandje waar veel, heel veel vluchtelingen

aankomen. We lunchen op een terrasje, er lopen 5 asielzoekers langs. De uitbaatster pakt broodjes en zoetigheden bijeen op een schaal, loopt naar hen toe, overhandigt de schaal “voor jullie om te delen”, draait zich om en gaat weer aan het werk. Benedetta en ik wisselen een blik van verwondering.

Aan de overkant zit een groep asielzoekers op een ander terrasje. Ze genieten van de muziek die er draait. Iets bestellen doen ze niet. Ze hebben niks. De asielzoekers op dit eiland krijgen in het opvangcentrum eten, een tandenborstel, tandpasta en zeep, maar verder niks. Ze hebben geen cent. De eilandbewoners weten dat. De eigenaar van het terras aan de overkant ook. Hij zegt: “Laat ze maar even genieten van de muziek.” Opnieuw wisselen Benedetta en ik een blik.

Er zijn op Lampedusa de afgelopen jaren al 280.000 vluchtelingen, levend en dood, aangekomen. 280.000 mensen, op dat eilandje, kleiner dan Schiermonnikoog. Dus zijn Benedetta en ik verwonderd. Over de menselijkheid, de empathie, het begrip.

Deze ervaring biedt mij troost deze week. Bemoediging tegen haat, tegen verharding. De liefde die hieruit spreekt, geeft kracht. Dat wilde ik graag met je delen.

Ik wens jullie allen een gezegend Pasen,

John W R van Tilborg,
Directeur INLIA

Bibliography

Books, chapters, articles, and journals

Aiken, A. (2010). *Assessing the Impact of Faith: A Methodical Contribution*. Praxis Note No. 55, INTRAC.

Bender, C (2003). *Heaven's Kitchen: Living Religion at God's Love We Deliver*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brenner, N. & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and the Geographies of “Actually Existing Neoliberalism”. In: Castree, N., Peck, J. & Jane Wills, J. *Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe*. New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell. pp1-32.

Brueggemann, W (2002). *The Land: Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress.

Chapman, R. & Hamalainen, L. (2011). Understanding Faith-Based Engagement and Volunteering in the Postsecular Society. In: Baker, C. & Beaumont, J. *Postsecular cities: Religious Space, Theory and Practice*. London: Continuum. pp184-202.

Cloke, P. (2010). Theo-ethics and Radical Faith-Based Praxis in the Postsecular City. In: Molondijk et. al. *Exploring the Postsecular: The Religious, the Political and the Urban*. Leiden: Brill. pp223-242.

Cloke et al. (2010). From Neoliberalization to Postsecularism. In: *Swept Up Lives? Re-envisioning the Homeless City*. West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing. pp22-60.

Davelaar et al. (2011). Faith-based organisations and social exclusion in the Netherlands. Netherlands: University of Groningen.

Delanty, G. (2008). Dilemmas of Secularism: Europe, Religion and the Problem of Pluralism. In: Delanty et al. *Identity, Belonging and Migration*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. pp78-96.

Dierckx et al. (2009). Introduction to the National Context Report Publication. In: Dierckx et. al. *Faith-based Organisations and Social Exclusion in European Cities*. Leuven: Uitgeverij Acco. pp11-32.

Farnell, R. (2009). Faiths, government and regeneration: a contested discourse. In: Dinham, et.al. *Faith in the public realm: Controversies, policies and practices*. Bristol: Policy Press. pp183-202.

Ferris, E. (2011). Faith and Humanitarianism: It's Complicated. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 24 (3), pp606-625.

Forrester, D (2001). *On Human Worth: A Christian Vindication of Equality*. London: SCM Press.

Habermas, J. (2006). Religion in the Public Sphere. *European Journal of Philosophy*. 14 (1), pp1-25.

Hefferan, T. & Fogarty, T. (2010). The Anthropology of Faith and Development: An Introduction. *Intersections of Faith and Development in Local and Global Contexts*. 33 (1), pp1-11.

Holloway, J. (2013). The Space That Faith Makes: Towards a (Hopeful) Ethos of Engagement. In: Hopkins et al. *Religion and Place: Landscape, Politics and Piety*. Dordrecht: Springer Media. pp203-218.

Miller, S.A.D. (2015). Faith Based Organizations and International Responses to Forced Migration. In: Brunn, S.D. *The Changing World Religion Map*. Dordrecht: Springer Media. pp3115-3133.

Snyder, S. (2011). Encountering Asylum Seekers: An Ethic of Fear or Faith? *Studies in Christian Ethics*. 24 (3), pp350-366.

Snyder, S. (2011). Un/settling Angels: Faith-Based Organisations and Asylum-Seeking in the UK. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 24 (3).

Ware et al. (2016). Domains of faith impact: how "faith" is perceived to shape faith-based international development organisations. *Development in Practice*. 26 (3), pp321-333.

Wilson, EK. (2013). Be Welcome: Religion, Hospitality and Statelessness in International Politics. In: Baker, G. *Hospitality and World Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp145-170.

Wilson, EK. (2014). Theorizing Religion as Politics in Postsecular International Relations. In: *Politics, Religion & Ideology*. 15 (3), pp347–365.

Wodak, R. (2008). 'Us' and 'Them': Inclusion and Exclusion – Discrimination via Discourse. In: Delanty et al. *Identity, Belonging and Migration*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. pp54-77.

Webpages

'Asylum'. Available: <https://ind.nl/en/individuals/residence-wizard/asylum>. Last accessed 14/05/2016.

'Bed Bath Bread Arrangement Amsterdam'. Available: <http://wereldhuis.org/bed-bath-bread-arrangement-amsterdam/>. Last accessed 20/06/2016.

'Charter of Groningen'. (1988). *Charter of Groningen*. Available: <http://www.inlia.nl/uploads/File/Charter%20of%20Groningen%20English%20text.pdf>. Last accessed 10/08/2016.

COA. *Reception process*. Available: <https://www.coa.nl/en/asylum-seekers/reception-process>. Last accessed 12/08/2016.

'English summary'. Available: <http://www.inlia.nl/englishsummary.html>. Last accessed 10/08/2016.

Immigration and Naturalisation Service. (2016). *Asylum Trends*. Available: <https://www.ind.nl/Documents/Asylum%20Trends%20June%202016.pdf>. Last accessed 12/08/2016.

'Migrant refugee crisis'. (2015). *'Migrant refugee crisis'*. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-35126311>. Last accessed 10/08/2016.

'The Living Stone and a Chosen People'. *1 Peter 2:4-6 New International Version*. Available: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1%20Peter%202:4-6>. Last accessed 10/08/2016.

'The Ten Commandments'. *Exodus 20 New International Version*. Available: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Exodus+20&version=NIV>. Last accessed 23/08/2016.

'UNHCR Mid-year Trends'. (2015). *UNHCR Mid-year Trends 2015*. Available: <http://www.unhcr.org/uk/statistics/unhcrstats/56701b969/mid-year-trends-june-2015.html>. Last accessed 14/05/2016.

'UNHCR Global Trends'. (2016). *Global Trends*. Available: <https://s3.amazonaws.com/unhcrsharedmedia/2016/2016-06-20-global-trends/2016-06-14-Global-Trends-2015.pdf>. Last accessed 12/08/2016.

United Nations General Assembly. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Available: <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>. Last accessed 14/05/2016.