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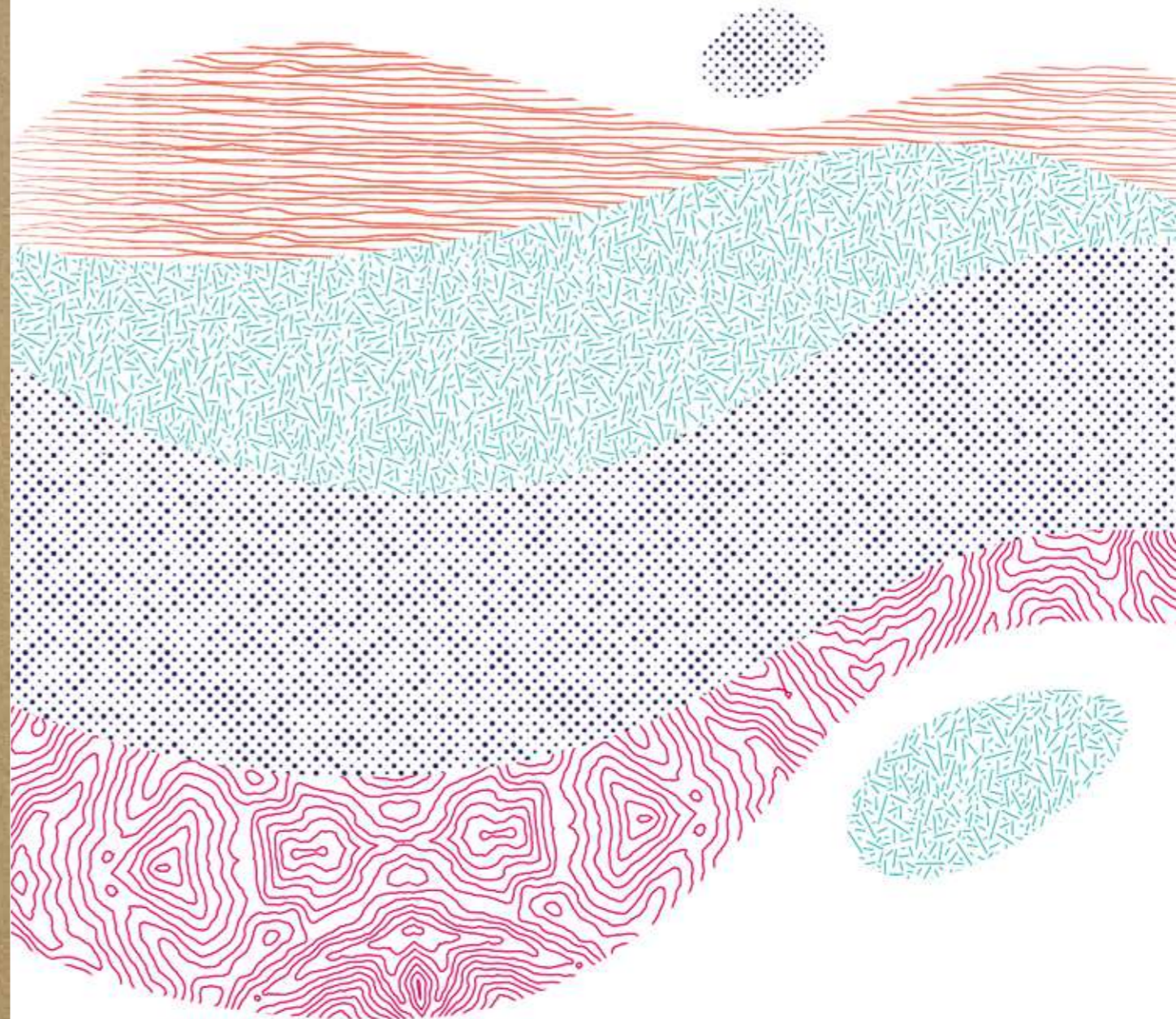
10
YEARS

OF RESEARCH
GOING TO THE HEART OF
VULNERABILITIES

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Migrations & Displacements



KEY FIGURES

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funded research projects

6

countries



Migrations and displacements within and between States pose a formidable humanitarian challenge that mobilises numerous solidarity organisations and ad hoc initiatives. The routes taken by exiles and their circumstances have become more complex in recent years due to stricter migration policies and have exposed exiles to a greater range of vulnerabilities. The social sciences are dedicated to better understanding and documenting the experiences of exiles and public and private responses to them.

THE ROUTES OF EXILES:
A HUMANITARIAN ISSUE

The media is replete with reports and images covering migration. In recent years, numerous “migration crises” have dominated the news, sometimes fuelling negative perceptions of mass displacements. Situations compelling people to exile occur more frequently in Europe, as evidenced by the 2015 “reception crisis” in sub-Saharan Africa and, more recently, in Ukraine and its bordering countries.

Since the 2000s, around 3% of the world’s population are international migrants, living in a country where they were not born!. The IDMC (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre) estimates 103 million people were forcibly displaced in 2022, including 60 million within their own country². They have all fled their homes to escape conflict, violence, human rights violations, persecution, or natural disasters.

Migrations and population shifts pose some of our most pressing humanitarian challenges. In response to them, the International Movement of the Red Cross and Red Crescent is mobilised at every moment, striving to prevent suffering and helping people cope with exposure to migration risks. With its network of 191 National Societies, the Movement provides humanitarian aid to millions of migrants, whether in their home country, in transit, or in their destination country.

“Immigrant”, “foreigner”, “refugee”, and “migrant” are among the many terms commonly employed to categorise those who have relocated. “Exile” is the term many researchers use to distance themselves from institutional or legal categories and their associated representations. Addressing the subject of “exile” makes it possible to explore the subjective dimension of those who have left their homeland since the term expresses the experience of being uprooted, of departing from a familiar environment. Migratory routes are many and occur across varying periods and in various forms depending on the context.

In contrast to some discourse that tends to obscure the truth, stigmatise exiles and stifle their voices, the human and social sciences strive to offer insight and conduct analyses from conclusive data. Since 2014, the primary thrust behind the

French Red Cross Foundation's funding for research has been to seek a better understanding of the survival techniques and life trajectories of exiles. The results should lead to more effective action on their behalf. The interaction of sociologists, geographers, and political scientists can help grasp the multifaceted dimensions of the migration phenomenon.

How do asylum procedures and systems for the reception (or non-reception) of migrants generate gender-based forms of violence?

What are the perceptions held by refugees in camps in Rwanda toward the various organisations operating in camps and their practices?

How does dependency affect food relief, and what role does food play in a migratory situation?

How do issues relative to security and insecurity modify and influence the conceptualisation of humanitarian aid by refugees?

What are the underlying justifications, practices, and ethical considerations of those actively engaged in humanitarian action with exiles living in camps?

How have immigrants integrated into the social and solidarity economy, and how have they become "alternative citizens"?

To what extent does transitioning from a camp to an urban setting give rise to new forms of solidarity, and what are their limitations?

TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING

1. SURVIVAL TRAJECTORIES

The conditions for receiving migrants are becoming more stringent in many geographical regions, and the journeys undertaken by exiles are often strewn with violence. Humanitarian actors attempt to fulfil their basic needs despite the obstacles and migration policies that are sometimes restrictive or exclusionary.

Numerous researchers supported by the Foundation have queried displaced persons and humanitarian workers to learn more about exiles' life trajectories and survival strategies. Anthropologist **Estelle FOURAT**, in Paris, has accompanied food relief organisations to understand better the exiles' conditions for survival and access to food. **Joséphine LEMOUOGUE**, in Cameroon, has attested to the significant impact of material poverty on the health of Central African refugees. Geographer **Nicole TABET** in the Lebanese municipality of Bar Elias has reported on the living conditions of Syrian exiles who have remained in Lebanon for over a decade due to war and political unrest in their homeland.

The context in which the host country receives exiles often exacerbates their vulnerabilities. Precarity, marginalisation, instability, and difficulty in guaranteeing their security increase the likelihood of being physically or mentally harmed. During her investigations in Calais, **Marjorie GERBIER-AUBLANC** met many people who settled in makeshift camps while waiting to pursue their migratory journey. They persisted in remaining in these places even though the camps had already been demolished or dismantled and cut off from all resources.

“**M**y stomach is gnawing. Leaving “la Jungle” will be good because I will learn proper French. I’m going to a city for vocational training. I am happy. Today, I’m packing my suitcase to go to a city. I’m sad to be leaving my friends behind and not knowing exactly where I’m heading. I regret leaving “la Jungle”, my friends, my teachers.”

Comments gathered by Marjorie GERBIER-AUBLANC in response to the question, “How do you feel?” during a course given by volunteers in Calais³

Documenting the “Migrant Condition”

The “Migrant Condition”⁴ refers to the conditions of an exile’s journey. People embarking on such a journey can be plunged into a situation in which their living, social, financial, and political conditions are transformed into matters of survival. Put in a position where they must endure waiting times, precarity, and uncertainty regarding their options and future, exiles experience the “Migrant Condition” contingent on their reception and the humanitarian and social policies in effect during their journey in very different ways.

“In 2012, I was registered as a refugee at the border, and once I arrived in town, I was taken to the stadium where there were already several refugees. I found my aunt there. We spent eight months in the stadium, and the UNHCR and Social Action took us in. They gave us tents and food. I suffered so much at the stadium under those conditions because it was my first time as a refugee.”

Extract from an interview with a refugee by researcher **Sadio SOUKOUNA**⁵



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2. SITES OF THE MIGRANT CONDITION

More than 6.6 million people across the globe live in camps for the displaced, which international organisations and NGOs essentially run. According to researchers, these sites have multiplied. They were initially conceived as a response to crises. But as the settlement of exiles often overextends, these camps have become settings where the migrant condition prevails.

In a research study on refugees in Cameroon published in 2018, anthropologist **Pierre Boris N’NDE** examined survival conditions at a camp. In 2017, Cameroon took in a large part of the Central African population fleeing armed clashes. The Gado-Badzéré camp received more than 10% of those refugees. While the camp can be presumably considered secure ground, Pierre Boris N’NDE’s analysis reveals, on the contrary, that exiles experience a prevailing sense of insecurity inside them.

Even though the camp offers access to food and basic needs, it is also a place of forced waiting and potential violence. The author recalls that, by acquiring greater autonomy, refugees can end this waiting time and overcome the insecurity of their status as migrants. Pierre Boris N’NDE, by shedding light on various experiences of camp life, calls into question the image of the camps intended to be a safe, hospitable environment for people in exile.

Sadio SOUKOUNA also documents this state of waiting in her analysis of the life trajectories and survival techniques among Malian refugees in Burkina Faso. Since 2012, Mali has experienced political turmoil and chronic instability resulting in population shifts in neighbouring countries, particularly in Burkina Faso, where displaced people live primarily in camps..



“As one person I met stated, “You can’t live in the camps, only survive”.”

Interview with researcher Sadio SOUKOUNA reporting on the comments gathered in a Burkina Faso refugee camp.⁶

Sadio SOUKOUNA
Doctor in Political Science

In her article written following a field survey in Ouagadougou, the researcher examined the restrictions on mobility resulting from life in a camp. Despite providing access to resources, these camps impose physical and temporal immobility, leading them to be consequently perceived as places of confinement and dependence. Sadio SOUKOUNA shows how some refugees escape this “forced waiting” by adopting empowerment strategies to transition into city life. They subsequently rely on their social capital, as well as on their know-how and existential skills, to eventually develop a set of social networks and bonds of solidarity on the margins of the humanitarian sector.

The research carried out by the Foundation highlights the significance of the refugee camp environment that a growing number of refugees are experiencing during their periods of migration. Also, according to these studies, camps envisaged initially as emergency refuges in response to crises have evolved into settings that specifically foster exclusion.

Sociologist **Emeline UWIZEYIMANA** conducted her research in the Burundian refugee camps of Rwanda in 2015, focusing on the perceptions of refugee recipients of emergency humanitarian aid. According to her findings, although they acknowledge that this aid is needed to alleviate their precarity, the refugees nevertheless demand that they be granted their autonomy. Due to the asymmetrical nature of humanitarian interventions and cooperation, international NGOs cannot respond to this demand. However, local NGOs, whose staff share a more significant cultural affinity with beneficiaries, are more inclined to respond to refugee demands and are consequently viewed more favourably by them.



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Transitioning from Refugee to Researcher in a Refugee Camp

RESEARCHER FOCUS

In her words, it was “the frustration of populations receiving humanitarian aid” that prompted Emeline UWIZEYIMANA to propose her research project to the Foundation on the appreciation of humanitarian aid received by Burundian refugees in the Rwandan camp in Mahama - an observation drawn from personal experience.

“In 1994, I received international aid in a camp for displaced people. I experienced the relationship that exists between humanitarian organisations, as well as the sense of frustration of aid recipients. Later, through my work for an NGO, I was placed in a position where the dynamics were reversed. And there, I once again witnessed the disparity between the good intentions of humanitarians and people’s unmet expectations. Our NGO had chosen to work on a breeding project to provide 18 cows to women in a village in Rwanda. After a long trip, a night in a truck, and a ceremony organised by the village authorities, we could finally draw lots to distribute the cows. Thirteen of the cows were given in this manner, but five women flatly refused to accept them because the colour of the cows was incompatible with that of the clan. A full day of negotiations amounted to nothing. How should we understand this reaction? As a lack of gratitude? A frivolous demand? One of the women was a widow; she was poor and owned nothing. But poverty is a relative concept. Social capital, a source of mutual assistance, and a sense of cultural belonging are stronger than the absence of material goods. When receiving a gift means sacrificing what you perceive is fundamental, it’s a poisoned gift that emphasises your impoverishment and humiliates you.”



Émeline UWIZEYIMANA
Doctor in Sociology

In postulating that the culture and identity of aid providers should closely resemble those of aid recipients, Emeline’s research is entirely aligned with the discourse on humanitarian transition. It demonstrates that local actors are better equipped to optimise the benefits of humanitarian aid for beneficiaries.

Encampment

Formulated by anthropologist **Michel AGIER**⁷, winner of a Foundation research prize in 2022, the notion of encampment serves to contemporise the approach of managing people in exile. Stricter border controls have led to a proliferation of sites where migrants are confined and marginalised. In Calais and Paris, makeshift settlements have sprung up in recent years. In Lesbos and Lampedusa, undocumented migrants have spent several weeks, even months, penned up at Europe's borders. In Lebanon, generations of Palestinians have grown up in camps to accommodate people in exile. These numerous situations exist in different political, historical, and geographical contexts. Research, however, notes the growing importance of the camp environment, experienced by more and more refugees, and determines the shared characteristics of its various forms.

The refugee camp environment is defined by its extraterritoriality and its indefinite state of limbo. The identifying markers of this camp setting are the residents' isolation from the general population and the experience of something provisional. According to Michel AGIER, encampment is an increasingly prevalent political and humanitarian response. Studying encampments and its various forms in various contexts is a substantial scientific endeavour that should lead us to understand better what exiles encounter on their migration journeys.

“Talking about a setting entails discussing the rationale behind encampments and understanding the relationship between the camps, the land, and host communities. It is also a matter of examining the means employed to develop the camps, the resulting changes, and the output at the structural, socio-political, cultural, economic, and strategic levels.”

Pierre-Boris N'NDE, researcher, speaking about his field of research in Cameroon⁸

3. AN EXILE'S EXPERIENCE

Exiled individuals often face precarious economic, administrative, social and emotional circumstances. Situations that can only deteriorate in the absence of reception facilities and worsen when the waiting time, coupled with the lingering uncertainty of the following day and the urgent need for food, shelter, and security, is prolonged.

In a 2020 survey conducted in the Ile-de-France region, **Nina SAHRAOUI** examined the increased risk of sexual and gender-based violence among exiled women. She investigated the role of aid and support provided by non-profit organisations.

In France, many exiled women find themselves in worrying situations, and some 40% cannot find emergency shelter⁹. Their precarious condition increases their vulnerability to violence that they may be exposed to during their migration and after they arrive in the host country. The resulting social abandonment, insecurity, and violence have increased.



Nina SAHRAOUI
Doctor in Sociology

Excerpt from an interview conducted by Nina SAHRAOUI with Inaya, an activist who fled political repression in Conakry, Guinea, and spoke about her condition.

“I had no idea people slept outdoors in France,” she says.

Inaya's first night in Ile-de-France was spent at the Gare du Nord. She dialled 115 (the emergency helpline for the homeless), but no one answered. She had her suitcase stolen. The next day, she reached someone on the helpline, but they told her there was no room. Her street experience in France came as a shock. “Here it's worse because it's unexpected.” Throughout her journey, Inaya struggled to make ends meet with few material resources, yet she hopes her situation will significantly improve after she files her asylum application. [...] She spent weeks on the street for a time that dragged on and waited for a CHUM (emergency housing) that she finally got after six months when she was already in an advanced stage of pregnancy.”¹⁰

The absence of reception policies and social and material support for newly arriving women in Ile-de-France exposes them to precarity. Being extremely vulnerable and dealing with lengthy, rigid procedures ill-adapted to issues pertaining to gender-based and sexual violence, “the women whom Nina SAHRAOUI met profoundly feel the antagonism of the restrictive asylum system”. Institutional violence has further intensified their vulnerability, and social and humanitarian actors must acknowledge this fact. The author’s research reveals that the reception crisis for migrants in France has fed the growing exposure of women in exile to the violence they were trying to avoid by fleeing their home country.

The experience of precariousness and the sensation of isolation is not unique to newcomers. This is demonstrated by anthropologist **Gloria FRISONE**’s research on elderly immigrants in Seine-Saint-Denis. Starting from the observation that immigrants in France suffer from unequal access to health and care despite the opening of health prevention services to the entire senior population regardless of nationality or origin, the researcher studied the factors contributing to the access or lack of access to health prevention programmes.

Her investigation enables us to understand the impact of past migrations on lifestyles, living conditions, and the ageing process in society. She met people whose social and economic disadvantages have affected their physical and psychological well-being.

“ Madame T. is a 63-year-old woman of Congolese origin who moved to France in 2002. She doesn’t eat properly without a kitchen: “I eat biscuits in the evening, and that’s it. If there aren’t any, there aren’t any.” Madame T. must take preventive treatment prescribed by her doctor. She cannot afford it without complementary health insurance and solidarity health protection. “It’s something that I don’t have a good handle on [health]. I struggle, but if I have somewhere to sleep, even if I go without eating, it doesn’t matter.”¹¹

Precarity and social isolation limit access to health prevention and promotion measures, resulting in disparities in the provision of health care services. Considering the specificities of the migratory condition, Gloria FRISONE’s work enables us to recognise the ineffectiveness of health prevention schemes that adopt a territorial approach. Her work advocates an approach tailored to the specific needs of people and their desire to “age better”.



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CRISIS FOCUS UKRAINE



Tetiana STOIANOVA
Doctor in Law

My interest in studying refugee issues in Ukraine stems from the fact that I am a Ukrainian refugee myself [...] I have first-hand knowledge of the problems of loneliness, the distress of refugees and the language and cultural barriers they encounter in their host country.¹²

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022 has had devastating repercussions in Europe, resulting in significant population shifts of civilians and their disturbed living conditions. According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the conflict has displaced more than 14 million civilians. In January 2023, 5.4 million people had been internally displaced, 5 million had fled to other European countries, and 2.8 million had relocated to Russia or Belarus.¹³

In the wake of this situation, the Council of the European Union created a temporary protection status allowing Ukrainian nationals and individuals who have a residence permit and are unable to return to their home country or who benefit from a protective order granted by the Ukrainian authorities, to qualify for a temporary residence permit. This measure provides for a stipend, grants the right to conduct a professional activity, and gives access to healthcare, education for minors, and housing assistance.¹⁴ In 2022, French authorities granted this administrative protection to more than 100,000 Ukrainian refugees.¹⁵ These far-reaching measures have been put in place to ensure the transition of Ukrainians to France.

Bearing in mind the specific responses to these issues, social scientists have delved into the multiple facets of the exile experience in relation to the conflict and its consequences. In coordination with its Scientific Council, the Foundation wanted to fund research projects conducted during the crisis and, in March 2022, launched several calls for papers covering three primary topics.

The first topic addressed the reception of Ukrainian exiles in France, given the specific transitory protection order to which they are entitled. The research funded examines the extent to which they are treated differently, such as the study by sociologist **Ludovic JOXE**, which raises concerns about how their reception as migrants can be sustained and evolve. **Tetania STOIANOVA** devotes her attention to resetting Ukrainian refugees in France and reducing psychological violence. Finally, a project directed by geographer **Camille SCHMOLL** examines the development of a migratory project, its trajectories, and issues related to reconstituted families and the settling-in process of Ukrainian men and women in France from a gender-based standpoint.

The second line of inquiry focused on those left on the sidelines: exiled seniors. Research has described their specific needs and the circumstances that expose them to a high degree of vulnerability as forced exiles. Sociologist **Armelle KLEIN**'s project makes it possible to collect their points of view through ethnographic survey techniques. The work of sociologist **Giovanni MATERA** completes this approach by examining the characteristics of hospitality extended to assisted persons. The findings of this study, derived from feedback collected from caregivers and concerned parties regarding their experiences, should enable us to understand better how the migrant reception system in France has accepted the Ukrainian elderly.

Finally, the third topic investigated humanitarian and social actors, like NGOs, non-profit organisations, or diaspora movements committed to the cause of Ukrainian exiles. Historian **Isabelle DELORME** has been observing these various categories of institutions and their evolution since February 2023 in the face of the fluctuating situation of Ukrainian exiles. Similarly, geographer **Jordan PINEL** is researching citizen solidarity for migrants. He analyses the ramifications of the State's management and media coverage on migrant reception and citizen commitment in several French cities.

Eight projects have been funded to examine and cast light on the crisis at a time when issues are rapidly evolving. Researchers report on exiles' specificities and evolving characteristics by comparing their viewpoints and formulating inquiries across different timeframes. These research projects complement one another and foster introspection over matters concerning Ukrainian exiles. Despite the urgency, these researchers have the time to examine the practices and the ensuing debate that have emerged in France in response to this crisis.



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ACTING MORE EFFECTIVELY

1. TRAJECTORIES TOWARD INTEGRATION

The trajectories and experiences of people in exile call into question the effectiveness of measures designed to integrate and transition them into society. In their investigation of these pathways, the researchers who have received support from the Foundation reassess current reception strategies and improve operational effectiveness for the benefit of exiles.



Research supported by the Red Cross Foundation should lead us to re-evaluate the concept of reception and the manner of improving the living conditions of migrants. This can be accomplished by examining humanitarian practices so that survival, waiting time, uncertainty, dependence, isolation, and precariousness no longer characterise exiled persons' daily lives and trajectories.

Geographer **Nicole TABET** has a particular interest in the solutions formulated by public institutions. Her investigation in Lebanon on providing housing and shelter assistance to Syrian refugee tenants examines the scope of a programme designed to improve their living conditions and sense of security. It highlights the disparities between short-term humanitarian aid policies and the realities of refugees, who are compelled to endure ever-longer periods of exile.

Further research analyses humanitarian ethical considerations surrounding restrictive migration policies in other contexts. Anthropologist **Chiara BROCCO**'s work questions how foreigners are received in the Paris region, particularly considering their prevailing precarity and instability. She shows that public intervention centred exclusively on housing assistance fails to satisfy these migrants' need for autonomy and stability.

2. RESPONDING TO NEEDS

Shelter, food, and housing are basic needs that cannot always be fully satisfied due to the conditions in which exiles find themselves and are received. Numerous organised and ad hoc solidarity initiatives are responding to this.

In 2019, sociologist **Estelle FOURAT** researched food aid for people exiled in France living in precarious conditions with limited access to food. The absence of reception policies, drawn-out administrative procedures, and prolonged waiting times aggravate their precarity. She observes that, since 2017, migrant populations have had ever-greater nutritional requirements.

How do migrants feed themselves? What role does food play in a migratory situation? And is the food aid adapted to their needs? Estelle FOURAT's research, co-constructed with several humanitarian aid organisations, sheds light on the food practices and experiences of people in exile. Above all else, she advocates the transition of "food aid" to "food reception".



Estelle FOURAT
Doctor in Sociology

An Afghan lady who is alone and speaks very little French despite having a high level of education in her home country visits the same distribution centre every evening. It is far, taking her thirty minutes by metro from where she is housed, and she has to wait nearly one hour before getting any food. This solution has been exhausting for her, but it's the only one she was aware of in the initial months after her arrival.¹¹⁶

Life experience reported by Estelle FOURAT

She proposes alternatives by highlighting the daily struggles of finding accommodation and food and the negative impact of travelling and waiting on their health and relationship with time. For example, she recommends promoting individual choice, voluntary work, including the people concerned, and combining food aid with solidarity and social activities. By looking beyond the nutritional aspect of food, she highlights the many ways in which people can be accommodated in a restrictive framework.

Marjorie GERBIER-AUBLANC has examined reception strategies in encampment contexts. During a prolonged survey conducted in 2017, she visited the regions of Calais and Paris to observe the emergence and prospects for citizen solidarity. Since 2015, these two regions have witnessed the development of camps where people in exile are placed before pursuing their migratory journey and/or getting housing, a fixed administrative status, etc. Faced with this situation, newly created and expanding networks of organisations and activists have emerged due to citizen initiatives. The researcher has examined their practical implementation. She shows that these initiatives, situated at the interval between specialist humanitarian action and public action (or inaction), are typically carried out by “ordinary citizens”. Her work cautions about the complex and challenging sustainability of these initiatives characterised by the phenomenon of “collective improvisation”. However, they highlight the new forms of humanitarian action and the “ethics of recognition” guiding these initiatives. Through her work, the author prompts us to think about the co-construction of hospitality settings:

“By recognising their capacities to act, they try to restore their social standing and damaged identity. These ethics of recognition, therefore, go well beyond merely ensuring the biological survival of migrants by daily gratifying their need for social and political existence.”¹⁷

In this way, the researchers supported by the Foundation analyse the humanitarian and associative responses to extreme precarity. Their work documents the integration strategies and responses to migrants’ needs and offers a perspective on people in exile.

RESEARCHER FOCUS

When the Field Ceases to Exist

Researcher **Marjorie GERBIER-AUBLANC** is accustomed to challenging terrain. During her Master’s and doctoral research on the social and health survival conditions of migrant populations, she conducted eight months of fieldwork in one of Bogotá’s most dangerous neighbourhoods, Altos de Cazuca, where conditions for investigation can be difficult.

On the strength of these experiences and in the continuity of her initial work, Marjorie proposed a project to the Foundation on the pluralisation of humanitarian aid and social action actors in the migrant camps in northern France, and more specifically in “la Jungle” of Calais. However, she had failed to anticipate one thing: the dismantling of this camp in October 2016 and, therefore, the disappearance of her field of investigation.

“For two months, I was completely immersed in an association in the Calais camp. I worked in the field with the volunteers every day. I observed how this collective functioned from the inside, both day and night and at times, I extracted myself a little bit from this collective to see other non-profits to observe their actions.”

“Due to political contingencies and the camp’s dismantling, the camp no longer existed, and my on-the-ground site had disappeared. I left Calais. I could have remained, but ... it was complicated. I had never imagined such a situation. I had never anticipated it. So, I had to adapt and rethink everything I had planned. And fairly quickly, I became interested in what was happening in Paris because the La Chapelle humanitarian camp had just opened at that time.”



Marjorie GERBIER-AUBLANC
Doctor in Sociology

3. RETHINKING INTEGRATION

Beyond survival strategies, people in exile are encouraged to settle in more permanent locations. While considering reception, it is also necessary to consider how their location can facilitate their social, economic, and administrative transition.



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Sociologist **Florence IHADDADENE**'s work focuses on the effects of a State-designed means of integration: the civic service "Volont'R.". Developed in 2018 under the impetus of the Civic Service Agency and the Interministerial Delegation for the Reception and Integration of Refugees, this programme was designed to transition juvenile refugees or those with a similar status. The researcher's fieldwork with different parties reports on the effects of this public policy. It shows that the utopian ideal upheld by non-profit organisations runs head-on against real economic stakes and the "urgent" material needs of these youths. She observes that young people are mainly assigned manual tasks and that hospitality is delegated to non-profit organisations participating in the programmes that they "privatise". As a result, the individualised integration policy of the Volont'R programme helps depoliticise the reception issue, resulting in further discrimination and unequal employment opportunities.

Her work leads to an inquiry into integration and citizenship and the discrimination endured by people in exile. Ahmed's trajectory mentioned in her research exemplified the impact of the Volont'R programme described by the author.



Florence IHADDADENE
Doctor in Sociology

Ahmed, on an assignment in a recreation centre, passed the BAFA (Brevet d'aptitude aux fonctions d'animateur) as a youth group leader. However, he has no intention of taking up a career as a leader. He studied Human Rights in Sudan and hopes to resume his studies in France soon. As for income, however, he relies on his extensive experience in the restaurant business. In his case, the desire to structurally integrate requires him to practically abandon his professional goals. Since he must integrate as quickly as possible, he is asked to reconsider his goals to align with his "objective opportunities". Integration into French society is occasionally possible despite the subjectivity of these young refugees.¹⁸

Extract from the article by
Florence IHADDADENE

The work of **Cristèle BERNARD** highlights the contribution that those involved in the social and solidarity economy (SSE) have achieved in the construction of knowledge, and in this way, act more efficiently on behalf of exiles and promote their integration. In analysing their work, she looks into the values they create and the degree to which they diverge from the values developed and promoted by public institutions.

Her survey was conducted in Grenoble and Briançon, two municipalities that are members of the Association of Welcoming Towns and Territories. She examines the knowledge and values built by SSE activists engaged in migrant rights. SSE actors advocate for policies on integration and participation in relation to the unconditionality of aid, empowerment, reciprocity of contributions, and the security and stability of aid.

These claims contradict public policies and the assessments of State institutions. The State's posture on the conditionality of aid, the accountability of beneficiaries, and the primacy of national security "limits mutual aid and reception"¹⁹. In this context, Cristèle BERNARD emphasises the political role of SSE actors and their contribution to bringing the problems they face to the attention of people in exile.



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In another context, the work of political scientist **Fanny CHRISTOU** examines the alternative models of integration and the knowledge developed by migration actors. Her investigation concentrates on the participation of Palestinians in Berlin's social and solidarity economy. It points to the two-sided dynamics of this commitment, which, on the one hand, permits these exiles to find support and assistance within numerous SSE organisations and, on the other, deploy practices that will facilitate their successful transition into the host society.

In Berlin in 2015, the author met a Palestinian who arrived from Syria and was involved in artistic and socio-cultural activities in Berlin. He produced the short film, *We Will Not Forget*, which features his family. He intends to strengthen the ties between integration into Berlin society and the memory of the refugee camp, Yarmouk, from which he emerged.²⁰

Specifically, it underscores the great diversity of initiatives set up by Palestinian SSE activists who attempt to redefine the models of European integration and citizenship. By creating settings conducive to solidarity and sociability, migrants are positioned to gain autonomy and cultivate an "alternate citizenship". The author demonstrates the subjective dimension of citizenship and proposes three lines of action to redefine European societies' integration processes.

AND TOMORROW?



Interview with...

Yasmine BOUAGGA
Doctor in Sociology

Yasmine BOUAGGA has a doctorate in social sciences. A researcher at the CNRS, she specialises in the sociology of law, migration and asylum. Her research focuses on the use of law in prisons and on immigration issues. In addition to the social issues she studies, she strives to make the social sciences accessible to a wider audience through comics. In 2020, she won a research prize from the Foundation.

In your opinion, what are the significant challenges and issues related to migration that researchers face and will need to address in the coming years?

Migration is part of humanity's history, and its present forms are taking shape during this phase of economic globalisation. They will continue to evolve with the advancement of transportation, information systems, and, most importantly, communication technologies. The most significant challenges related to migration in the next ten to twenty years will be attributable to climate change: how will it impact why migrants leave or how they are received? The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reports predict a rise in population displacements while pointing out that a growing number of interrelated factors complicate analysis and interpretation. Current population displacements resulting from armed conflicts are problematic, as they lead to the demise of communities due to insufficient access to sustenance, the erosion of institutions, and competition for resources.

What are the major evolving trends associated with population displacements?

We are seeing overlapping patterns, such as certain EU countries that close their borders in places that guarantee free movement. At the same time, their border controls or reception procedures for illegal immigrants are delegated to other countries through “subcontracts”, as is the case with the EU and the countries situated on its southern flank along the Mediterranean. These trends amplify the geopolitical implications of migration. At the same time, they have concrete effects on the migratory experience of people, the violence they experience during their journey, the trauma they endure, and the fatalities that occur. This also raises concerns about the conditions for performing research in potentially highly insecure transit zones or restricted areas, such as those in the Sahel.

In addition, we have observed an increase in internal and regional population displacements, which are more challenging to research. Yet, they also raise issues pertaining to humanitarian relief, legal protection, access to public services, and the transformation of societies.

Can we hope that camps will disappear?

Camps are problematical settlements, whether we consider them as safe havens for people in emergencies (refugee camps), as centres to control and confine people (hotspot camps), or as makeshift encampments and shanty towns where vulnerable migrant populations lack access to adequate housing. We must not abandon the utopian ideal of these camps eventually closing. However, we can anticipate that whatever practices led to their development will persist. The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights has a strategy meant to reabsorb these settlements and bring relief to their occupants without compelling them to regroup. However, States continue using these settlements for border control and population surveillance. Furthermore, with regard to encampments and slums, large metropolitan areas still draw migrants despite the difficulty of gaining access to suitable

accommodation. We cannot foresee population displacements occurring more evenly across the land, but rather concentrating where resources are abundant (with a thriving economy, where migrant communities have already established themselves, or where public services are available) and not where adequate housing can be found.

What will specialist researchers investigate over the next ten to twenty years?

The transformation of legal frameworks pertaining to the protection and reception of displaced populations will undoubtedly be a research topic. We have seen this occur with the response to the Ukrainian crisis, where European countries have adopted streamlined procedures for migrants to qualify for work permits. These changes will be thoroughly scrutinised as they are implemented on a larger scale by international organisations, States, and even local authorities, particularly municipalities, large cities, and rural towns. This raises queries regarding public policies (relating to relief for the homeless, for example) and the rationale used to adapt or tailor them in response to migration issues.

Equally interesting is the matter of general informality that research has already examined, not only in the context of illegal migration and trafficking, but also informality in economic practices and informality in administrative services in which intermediaries who are not necessarily translators or legal experts play an important role. It is important to point out that the presence of informality also contributes to the distribution of aid and the implementation of acts of solidarity. After a period of professionalisation of social work and humanitarian roles, we have seen non-profit organisations, collective groups, and individuals newly engaged in solidarity since 2015 shift to less formalised practices.

In conclusion, I believe that questions relating to integration, particularly the definition of “integration”, will continue to galvanise researchers. How is a society formed through diversity? What resources are necessary to facilitate integration (financial resources, access to education, etc.)? What social policies should host countries

adopt, or what are the obstacles? The scope of inquiry must include not only the humanitarian dimension of migration but should also extend to the family, economic considerations, and the individual's experience and aspirations.

Regarding migrations, how do you envision the profession of researcher and the research landscape evolving over the next ten to twenty years in France and around the world?

Research evolves with adequate instruments, regulations, and funding. As for available tools, we can mention the most recent advancement in digital technology, and this is a new area of study that unveils its advantages and limitations. But it will not be a replacement for learning about the knowledge that migrants have acquired along their journey, including observing how they use this technology: in transit, in their host country, or links with the communities of their home country.

Regarding regulations, those governing data protection impose stricter parameters, but as long as they do not hinder research, they offer a valuable ethical framework.

Finally, with regard to research financing, the intense politicisation of migration has made it an issue for which research has received significant financial backing in recent years. In France, the Institut Convergence Migrations has emerged as a national hub for research on migration that advocates joint projects spearheaded by researchers from various regions of France and abroad. The work of foundations, such as the Red Cross Foundation and others, is also vital to enable this research in a context where publicly funded research must rely less on long-term credits. The subject of migration holds significant appeal to students, and their commitment to it as activists often takes shape as an initial field experience that leads to the development of a research topic. However, some countries receive less attention than others (usually because they are harder to access for security reasons) and establishing strong collaboration with these countries to develop their social science research on migrations represents a formidable challenge.



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