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Evaluation report 2020

THE HUMANITARIAN CORRIDORS

# EVALUATION OF A PRIVATE SPONSORSHIP PROGRAMME, THREE YEARS ON



Fédération  
Entraide Protestante



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## Report

# French Humanitarian Corridors Program Experience: an Assessment of a Private Sponsored Program, 3 Years Later

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## Table of contents

### P.3 *List of Acronyms*

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>Introduction</b>  | <b>4</b>  |
| P.8 <i>Emerging research questions</i>   |           |
| P.10 <i>Methodology</i>  |           |
| <b>I. General data</b>   | <b>13</b> |
| P.15 <i>Geographical breakdown of HCP</i>  |           |
| P.18 <i>Family Unities' composition</i>  |           |
| P.19 <i>Refugees' status</i>   |           |
| P.24 <i>Housing and financial resources of refugees</i>                                      |           |
| <b>II. HCP from its beneficiaries' standpoint</b>  | <b>28</b> |
| P.28 <i>The selection process in Lebanon</i>   |           |
| P.30 <i>Once in France</i>   |           |
| P.31 <i>Legal Integration</i>  |           |
| P.33 <i>Socio-cultural integration</i>   |           |
| P.36 <i>Economic integration</i>   |           |
| P.37 <i>Positive points and difficulties</i>   |           |
| <b>III. HCP from FEP regional divisions' and citizen committees' standpoint</b>              | <b>41</b> |
| P.42 <i>Hosting groundwork</i>   |           |
| P.45 <i>Early post-arrival support</i>   |           |
| P.46 <i>Legal support</i>  |           |
| P.47 <i>Material support</i>   |           |
| P.48 <i>Towards integration</i>  |           |
| P.50 <i>Positive points and difficulties</i>   |           |
| <b>Conclusion</b>  | <b>54</b> |
| P.54 <i>Key findings</i>   |           |
| P.57 <i>Critics and improvements suggestions</i>   |           |
| <b>Annexes</b>   | <b>62</b> |
| P.63 <i>Annex 1: Digest - When Citizens Host Refugees (Secours Catholique, October 2018)</i> |           |
| P.67 <i>Annex 2: Lettre aux hébergeurs (FEP, December 2019)</i>                              |           |

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## List of acronyms

CC: *Collectifs Citoyens*, French citizen committees granting voluntary host to refugees.

CNDA: *Cour Nationale du Droit d'Asile*, French appeal court for asylum-seekers.

CSE: *Comunità Sant'Egidio*, a Catholic Italian and French network.

DNA: *Dispositif National d'Accueil*, an official French program to host 10000 refugees from Lebanon, Turkey and Sub-Saharan areas.

EU: European Union.

FCEI: *Federazione delle Chiese Evangeliche in Italia*, a spiritual network of almost all of the Protestant Italian communities.

FEP: *Fédération d'Entraide Protestante*, an associative network of around 360 Protestant French associations.

FPF: *Fédération Protestante de France*, a spiritual network of around 500 Protestant French communities.

FU/FUs: family unity/family unities.

GUDA: *Guichet Unique des Demandeurs d'Asile*, French central administrative office for introducing asylum requests.

HCP: Humanitarian Corridors Program.

HCR: UN Refugees agency.

IRAP: *International Refugee Assistance program*, an american NGO in the law field.

MSF: *Médécins Sans Frontières*, a French NGO in the medical and healthcare field.

OFPRA: *Office Français pour la Protection des Réfugiés et des Apatrides*, governmental French agency for the protection of refugees and stateless persons.

RD: Regional Divisions.

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## Introduction

*“2015 ‘migrant crisis’ represented, for many, an ‘hosting crisis’, or better a EU crisis towards international mobility. [...] Since the creation of Schengen Space, the opening of internal borders has gone hand in hand with the enclosure of external borders. [2015 crisis] also revealed the importance of both individual and collective [...] commitments to voluntary host refugees, in response to States reluctance to give migrants a safe reception that is worthy [of the European values]. [...] Thousands of French citizens, generally gathered in local committees, have expressed the wish to help migrants, providing accommodation, food, clothes, as well as leisure, language learning, legal aid... All those citizens acted on behalf of hospitality” [Agier et al., 2019: 7-8].*

This excerpt from the introduction of a recent book, titled *Hospitality in France: political and personal mobilizations*, perfectly summarizes both the international context of creation of the Humanitarian Corridors Program (HCP) and a particular, national French way out to the 2015 migrant emergency: the spreading of dozens of Citizen Committees (CC) supporting various private sponsored help programs. As J. Valluy showed in 2012, whenever “waves of immigration – in the double sense of mobility and board crossing” [Noiriel, 2010] – have been identified as a major public issue in the two decades after the signature of Schengen protocol (1990), EU States have always chose to “radicalize their borders” under the cover of humanitarian intentions [Valluy, 2012: 86]. Anti-immigration policies, repulsion of arrivals, deployment of riot police, building of holding centers have officially been displayed to the public opinion as responses in the interest of migrants themselves: “it’s officially for their own good that migrants are informed about dangers [of their travel]; it’s to preserve the Asylum-seeking right that State select “true” and “false” refugees, and that most of them are rejected; it’s officially to support them in their Asylum-seeking that they are placed in special holding centers” [*ibid.*]. However, since the beginnings of Syrian conflict in 2011 and most particularly the “killing mediterranean summer” of 2015 – “700 migrants died in the Mediterranean Sea that summer, in several shipwrecks off Lampedusa's coast”<sup>1</sup> –, this process seems to know two complementary evolutions.

On the one hand, an additional radicalization of the boundaries enclosing policies, if not a progressive abandon of official humanitarian intentions, especially within the most exposed EU countries – by their South or East boundaries – that have seen a breakthrough of (far-)right parties and governments. Recent troubles at Greek and Turkish border of February and March 2020 are, if needed, a living testimony of this first evolution. On the other hand, citizens, associations, political parties and religious structures have organized in all EU countries to claim dignity, humanity, and safety for migrants, figuring out solutions to host refugees more or less independently by public authorities [Bouagga and Segond, 2019: 83]. Italian and French HCP represent two of these solutions, testifying of this second evolution.

As Roberto Zuccolini (CSE) affirms to the French newspaper *Ouest France*, an oecumenic work, involving three Catholic and Protestant organizations (CSE, FCEI, Tavola Valdese), started in Italy during the summer of 2015 “to avoid [Mediterranean] “death trips”. We have found an article in the EU laws allowing member States to deliver humanitarian visas

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<sup>1</sup> Interview of Roberto Zuccolini, CSE for French newspaper *Ouest France*, March 19th, 2016.



to reach Europe legally and safely"<sup>2</sup>. A protocol was soon signed with the authorities: Italian HCP was officially born. Under this program, between February 2016 and March 2017, Italy hosted more than 700 Syrian and Iraqi refugees<sup>3</sup>. Inspired by the Italian experience, an agreement was signed in France during the month of March 2017 between 5 faith-based associations and networks – 3 Catholics (*Secours Catholique*, *CSE*, *Conférence des Évêques de France*), 2 Protestants (FEP, FPF) – and State departments of Homeland Security (*Ministère de l'Intérieur*) and International Affairs (*Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*). This protocol stipulated that France would deliver 500 temporary political asylum visas – part of the larger category of *D Visas*, allowing the right to seek an asylum request after the arrival in the country – within a short delay (90 days) for selected refugees, escaping Syria and Iraqi territories, under certain conditions: to be vulnerable (e.g. families with young children, persons with medical problems), and/or to be in danger (e.g. homosexuals), and/or to have a particular attachment in France (e.g. family members already in the country)<sup>4</sup>. In return, the 5 associations and networks would commit to voluntary host – meaning: “to accommodate, to feed but also to help juridically and culturally”<sup>5</sup> – those 500 refugees, with the support of citizen committees (see insert below).

### FEP and Local CC

Local CC – also designed as “welcoming groups”/“host groups” (see annex 1) – already existed in 2017. They had been created approximately in 2014 by parishioners and FEP members alerting public authorities about the situation of Syrian refugees. An informal agreement was reached with the French department of Homeland Security: the deliverance of a *D visa* with counterpart of a voluntary hosting of asylum-seekers. However, as explained before, these local actions took a more national dimension when French CSE promoted an ecumenic dialogue with other associations, including FEP, on the model of Humanitarian Corridors experience in Italy. Eventually, local CC spreaded all over France.

Selection stage takes place in Lebanon, the main Middle-Eastern state hosting Iraqi and Syrian war refugees [Geisser, 2013]. French and Italian HCP are very similar at this stage: two workers from FEP and FCEI supervise together teams in Beirut. They also share a common personal referencing system with other structures and associations – especially HCR, IRAP and MSF – to identify eligible candidates for the program. Refugees are directed towards France or Italy following specific criteria. First, workers from FEP or FCEI make 2, 3 or 4 interviews with each single person to collect their life stories, a means to be sure that French or Italian Consulate will accept their visa request. If they understand that a file can be rejected, they can preventively stop the procedure and explain motivations to the potential beneficiaries of HCP; rather, if interviews are successful, FEP/FCEI workers will follow the entire visa procedure at the Consulate, except the official interview with the authorities. HCP beneficiaries and their families are invited to integrate a particular psycho-social program provided by a Lebanese association called *Metanoia* to prepare their new life in Europe.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Orient-Le Jour*, November 3rd, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Although the initiative comes from christian structures, it is important to notice that religion is not a condition to be selected.

<sup>5</sup> Interview of François Clavairolly, FEP President, for French newspaper *20 minutes*, June 6th, 2017.

Indeed, once they leave the country, Lebanese authorities request them to sign a paper stating that all come-back in Lebanon is impossible. In other words, integration of HCP is a synonym of starting a new life, far from one's own country as well as Lebanese camps. Refugees are also invited – at least for the French side – to connect to a language learning online platform, and to watch some videos in arab, made by FEP, aiming at mitigating expectations related to accomodation and livelihood and explaining future possible issues and frustrations related to administrative procedures (see [annex 2](#)). During this time, French citizen committees begin to look for accommodation.

Italian and French HCP significantly differ after the arrival of beneficiaries on the European ground. Although both are private-sponsored programs, the first seems to be closer to a “resettlement” logic [Garnier, 2014], meaning that faith-based associations will provide to refugees an accomodation, food, juridical assistance, etc. for a limited time (one year), but that State could take over if needed. Luca Maria Negro, FCEI president, explains to *Confronti*:

“There are no fees for the State during the initial phase [of the program]. We are committed to bringing refugees to Italy and to welcoming these people for a period of several months. This period is necessary to provide them tools and possibilities for integration. It may happen that in this period someone is unable to achieve the desired objectives; in these cases, the State takes over. Whole HCP is financed by the “Otto per mille to the Waldensian Church” (OPM) fiscal agreement. Accommodations are also sponsored by private donations by CSE and other European Protestant churches”<sup>6</sup>.

In contrast, French HCP is totally provided by volunteers, part of local CC, generally composed by 15 or more members (see [annex 1](#)). The State provides the regular allowance and services provided to all asylum seekers except housing, but it doesn't take over if needed. Tasks of local CC include accomodation, integration, language learning, administrative assistance (school registration for example), for a variable period. At the very beginning of the project, at least for FEP, a single platform in Paris, set up by volunteers, centralized all hosting propositions by local CC or parish groups. However, after the first arrivals of refugees, it has appeared that local committees couldn't accomplish the whole process without supplementary support from social workers. Specialized in social assistance, playing a mediation rule if misunderstandings or tensions emerge between beneficiaries and volunteers, social workers are part of associations that use to work with refugees (not only as a part of HCP but also of other programs, including State-based programs). Hence, five regional platforms<sup>7</sup> (or divisions) were developed little by little by FEP to support local CC. Each one is led by an association, member of the larger FEP network, employing a social worker in charge of the HCP. A sixth case, called “Hors-Pôle” (HP), gathering the rest of regions and counties, is directly supported by the central FEP platform in Paris (see [map](#) below).

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<sup>6</sup> Interview of Luca Maria Negro, FCEI President, for Italian magazine *Confronti*, March 2017.

<sup>7</sup> These Platforms don't correspond to the administrative french regional division ; we chose to use FEP appellation.

## **HCP/FEP Regional Divisions, Associations (Location), Social Workers**

Grand-Est (GE)

Ile-de-France (IF)

Rhône-Alpes (RA)

Arc Méditerranéen (AM)

Nouvelle Aquitaine (NA)

Hors-pôle (HP)

1. *L'Étage* (Strasbourg), social worker: Cécile Clément

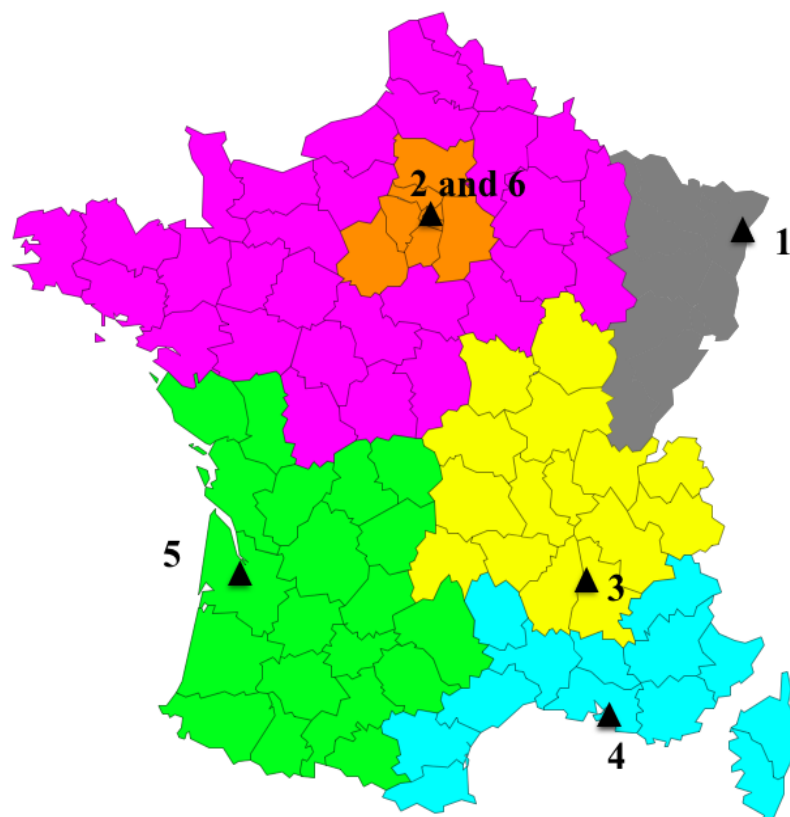
2. *CASP* (Paris), Ludovic Tourbet

3. *Diaconat Protestant Drôme Ardèche* (Valence), Aurélie Fillod

4. *Jane Pannier* (Marseille), Olivier Landes

5. *Diaconat Protestant de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux), Tariq Bellefquih

6. FEP central platform (Paris)



This division in five different regional platforms corresponds, for a large part, to the wider Protestant French areas. Each regional division is independent from another, and social workers' practices can variate as well, according to Guilhem Mante (FEP general coordinator of hosting programs): for example, in the Nouvelle-Aquitaine division, Tariq Bellefquih follows the entire migrants' asylum-seeking process at the OFPRA, while elsewhere this task may be accomplished by CC themselves or by other associations. After the creation of regional divisions, beside its own mission of following Hors-Pôle beneficiaries, FEP central platform in Paris continues to occupy a main role of coordination, both nationally (clustering accommodation offers, for example) and internationally (linking Lebanon FEP worker and French CC or regional divisions, for example). However, this structure has become more and more professional: one of its first helpers, Sophie de Croutte, has been hired as a wage earner, supported by two other volunteers and by Guilhem Mante. They elaborate together a newsletter, called "*La lettre aux hébergeurs*", sent to more than 200 contacts, most of them part of local CC.

Since the beginning of HCP, around 400 refugees have been hosted in France, 236 of whom by CC supported by FEP central and/or regional platforms, for a total of 62 family unities (FUs, including individuals and families). In a report published at the end of the year 2018, faith-based association *Secours Catholique* estimated that HCP allowed the hosting of 160

welcomed persons, “that is 38 families and 3 individuals arrived in France”, 70 of whom by CC linked with FEP (see [annex 1](#)). In other terms, considering only this last Protestant network, 166 additional refugees were welcomed to France in a 16 months-delay, an increase of more than 200% compared to 2018. Additionally, HCP program has been extended since 2018 to other EU countries, including Belgium and Andorra.

### **Emerging research questions**

From the FEP standpoint, goals of French HCP were – at its beginnings – and still are – three years later – mainly symbolics. As Guilhem Mante explains in an interview, the program is indeed based on two main purposes:

“first, to suggest that we can open boundaries to the refugees, avoiding risks, to access legally and safely an EU country; secondly, to show that a citizen host is possible. 500 refugees are a very little portion considering the fact that, only in Lebanon, there are currently more than a million of refugees, and that more than three quarters of refugees in the World are hosted in the developing countries, not in the most rich ones”<sup>8</sup>.

In other terms, this private-sponsored program intends more to model alternative opinions, meeting at the same time the needs of a particular population, than being a solution to humanitarian and hosting State deficiencies. On the contrary, Mante and FEP expresses a fear of governmental recuperation, and a certain vigilance against “resettlement” programs and logics (see [insert](#) below).

#### **Resettlement and HCP**

The DNA program started in 1973, and a new protocol was signed in November 2019 to host 10000 more refugees from Lebanon, Turkey and Sub-Saharan Africa areas. OFPRA officials directly travel in these areas to make interviews and deliver official refugee status. State finance not only the travel but also the accommodation of resettled refugees. The fear developed by FEP in 2017 was that the HCP could be used as an alibi by the French government to delegate to associations and citizens the accommodation of refugees and, at the same time, to reduce the number of beneficiaries of resettlement programs. The signature of a new resettlement protocol in 2019 seems to have reassured FEP, but the network, according to Guilhem Mante, is “still vigilant”<sup>9</sup>.

Despite this, HCP has been criticized by radical left, considering this program as an alternative way to resettle populations (“HCP even contributes to extend EU boundaries, selecting people in Lebanon” [Bouagga and Segond, 2019: 96]). Moreover, this program has been built by faith-based associations claiming an “humanitarian exception” [*ibid.*: 84] – the 2015 migrant crisis – within a national context of “silence” by media and politics about asylum-seeking, better termed as an “aphasia” [Stoler, 2011]. Indeed, as it has been recently noticed by two researchers, Ugo Palheta et Damien Carême, even left-wing liberal French political parties currently prefer to avoid any discussion on refugees, except when the subject becomes topical (riots in “Calais Jungle” migrants camp of 2016, for example), because, under the

<sup>8</sup> Interview of Guilhem Mante (FEP), Paris, 22/1/20.

<sup>9</sup> Interview of Guilhem Mante (FEP), Paris, 22/1/20.



influence of the far right, categories of economic migrants, asylum-seekers – and, more recently, terrorists – become more and more interchangeable. According to the researchers, this process started at the very beginning of the 1990s, when Prime Minister Michel Rocard claimed that “France cannot welcome all the world’s misery”. Refugees’ question is, since, more or less invisibilized in the country: “the idea is that “the less they talk about that, the less far right scores will increase” [Palheta and Carême, 2018: 68]. According to Pierre Jova, some French protestant ministers and congregations would also prefer to avoid this “contentious subject”, criticizing “pro-refugees mobilization of institutional protestantism” when FEP and FPF decided to start the HCP [2017: 76]. An additional demonstration of this “aphasia” is represented by the silence of French press about HCP: a research on (most of) francophone newspapers and periodicals published between March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017 and March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020 shows only few results<sup>10</sup>. Around 20 articles have been published either in religious or generalist national and regional press in a three year long period, most of them soon after the signature of the protocol or the arrival of first families in France.

This particular context invites to investigate both the symbolic and the practical impact of this pro-refugee mobilization promoted by faith-based structures and by laics CC. Indeed, HCP appears as a concrete – although slightly underground, regarding to the French aphasia mentioned before, and maybe criticable, considering radical arguments – demonstration that “another hosting is possible”, and that, “given the background of DNA crisis, these [volunteers] forms of hosting appears like an innovative formula: people desiring welcome foreigners reinvent – and rediscover – the “hosting laws”, each and every day” [Agier et al., 2019: 35]. How can we assess the impact of French HCP, taking the example of the 236 refugees welcomed by CC supported by the FEP network, with 3 years of hindsight since the program started?

This general question can be completed by a series of other interrogations, focused both on hosted and on hosting people. The presence of CC and FEP regional divisions/associations can be questioned, in particular, from these two standpoints by means of some assumptions. From refugees' standpoint, on the one hand, this dual system may allow them to integrate more quickly French cultural codes, language and, more generally, society by the daily contact they establish with the members of CC (socio-cultural side); on the other hand, at the same time, they may access more easily to their rights by the support they receive by the social worker of the FEP network association helping them (legal side). From CC members and social workers' standpoint, this double system could facilitate some tasks, like cultural mediation, and increase the chances of refugees' legal, social and cultural integration. Do citizen committees and associations really help refugees to integrate more easily French culture, language, system of law, and society? Expectations of refugees developed since the selection process in Lebanon have been satisfied, after their arrival in France? How is their integration pathway? What are their difficulties, and, at the same time, what are hosting people/social workers difficulties with them?

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<sup>10</sup> Combining *Europresse* and *Google News* database, using keywords “Humanitarian Corridors”, “Syria”, and “Airplane” (in order to distinguish HCP from the juridical, UN meaning of the term “Humanitarian Corridors”, normally reserved to the war zones).

## Methodology

This research is based on both quantitative and qualitative methods. It has been completed within a timespan of two months with the support of a core team of interviewers<sup>11</sup> and of an advisor committee composed by a theologian (Elisabetta Ribet, Faculté de Théologie Protestante, Strasbourg), a sociologist (Antonio Ricci, IDOS) and a philosopher (Alberto Romele, Université Catholique de Lille). Claudio Paravati, director of *Confronti*, and Guilhem Mante from FEP have also provided a significant contribution to this project, in various forms ranging from advice to material support.

The quantitative side of the research has consisted in a double, complementary work: first, the statistical analysis of a spreadsheet, called “*tableau de suivi*”, where FEP central platform gather information about each single welcomed person (n=236) and FU (n=62) which is hosted by a CC they support, either directly or by one of their five regional divisions (see insert below).

### FEP “tableau de suivi”

Information includes, at least: name, first name, date of birth, age, nationality, gender, family situation, date of arrival, hosting town and county (“*département*”), date of asylum-seeking request at the central administrative office called GUDA. Following the situation of each single person and FU, table can also include informations about the delay of asylum-seeking procedure, the date of the decision by OFPRA or CNDA, the kind of protection they have obtained (a 4-years or a 10 years refugee card), the date of the signature of an integration contract called CIR (“*Contrat d’Intégration Républicaine*”), the date of output from HCP (including hosting delays), their initial level of French, their final language level, the kind of financial resources, work and accommodation they have found once hosting period has ended.

The main advantage of working on this spreadsheet is the fact that it is progressively updated by FEP central platform volunteers and workers, giving an accurate picture of the 236 refugees welcomed by FEP-supported CC. However, some information can be missing, and in some cases it has been impossible to gather them during our limited survey time. All the family and the first names have obviously been anonymized to realize statistics, and each FU has been identified by a code (their position on the table and the acronym of the regional division, for example NA1 correspond to the first FU hosted by a CC in Nouvelle Aquitaine division).

Secondly, research team submitted 35 questionnaires to adult refugees living in four different regional divisions (see insert below): Nouvelle Aquitaine (n=17), Grand Est (n=8), Ile-de-France (n=4), Rhône-Alpes (n=6).

### French “Recherche sur l’expérience des couloirs humanitaires” adult questionnaire

Translated from Italian, the questionnaire was originally composed of 59 questions. However, some questions have been modified or deleted, either because FEP considered them inadequate or mistranslated: eventually, 52 questions have been submitted to the refugees, who can always choose to

<sup>11</sup> Thanks to Emmanuelle Simon, Lilian Garrissière and Sophie de Croutte for their help in submitting questionnaires and doing interviews.

answer the question or not. In a first part, called “*Renseignements personnels*” including 13 questions, HCP beneficiaries’ were questioned about their sex, age, status, level of instruction, etc. A second part, called “*Conditions avant le départ*” including 9 questions, focuses more about refugees’ knowledge of HCP in Lebanon, their hopes before arriving in France, their travel, etc. A final and a third part, called “*Conditions post-arrivée*” including 30 questions, invited respondents to describe some aspects of their current life in France, including perceptions of the HCP support and hospitality, but also material questions about their work, accommodation, etc.. 6 of these questions were opened, and the last three questions allowed the possibility of describing, in a few words (and, if possible, in french), their hopes, fears for the future, or simply to add something. The idea of submitting a teenagers questionnaire (as italian team did) has been abandoned, because their number is too reduced in France (n=22).

35 questionnaires seems to be – and it probably is – a very reduced number compared to the 236 welcomed persons hosted by CC supported by FEP network in France. However, if we consider that 108 of them are minors and that two beneficiaries died after their arrival in the country<sup>12</sup>, more than a quarter of the total welcomed people over there (35 of 126) have been interrogated. Moreover, we efforted to respect much-as-possible the FUs’ repartition around the national territory<sup>13</sup>, even if our limited time and some practical reasons – for example, the difficulties to reach the beneficiaries living in most rural areas – led us to concentrate the effort of submission and collection of answers in some selected places.

To summarize, quantitative work has consisted into the analysis of data extracted both by FEP “*tableau de suivi*” spreadsheet and by the adult questionnaires (considered as a sample of the whole hosted population). 35 is obviously an exploratory number regarding quantitative standards, suffering – in addition – of several biais. For these reasons, efforts will be made to complete as much as possible data, using both the spreadsheet and the questionnaires.

The qualitative side of the survey has consisted in doing 8 semi-direct interviews with the different actors involved in the French HCP, to gather their standpoint about the program: 2 with social workers (regional division of Grand Est and Rhône-Alpes), 3 with CC members (1 in Rhône-Alpes, 2 in Nouvelle Aquitaine divisions), 2 with local officials (in Nouvelle Aquitaine division), 1 with a beneficiary of HCP (in Ile-de-France division). Four interview guides have been elaborated following the different situations (see insert below).

### Key areas of 4 interviews guides

#### Beneficiaries of HCP

- Presentation (including departure conditions from Syria-Iraq)
- Once in Lebanon (including FEP support to access HCP)
- Once in France (perceptions of hosting, difficulties, relationships with CC or FEP workers, etc.)
- Perspectives for the future (including suggestions of improvement of HCP)

#### Social Workers (regional division)

- Presentation (including career and commitment into the program)
- Perception of the program (with national platform, with CC, refugees etc.)
- Difficulties and perspectives for the future (including suggestions of improvement of HCP)

<sup>12</sup> See below, part 1.

<sup>13</sup> Idem.

CC members

- Presentation (including commitment into the program)
- Description of CC (task division, etc.)
- Perception of the program (with national platform, social workers, refugees etc.)
- Difficulties and perspectives for the future (including suggestions of improvement of HCP)

Local officials

- Presentation (including career and political/administrative commitment)
- Knowledge of HCP (including perceptions of the population)
- Relationships with different structures (FEP, CC, etc.)

Additionally, two exploratory interviews have been done with Guilhem Mante and Sophie de Croutte, from FEP, for a total of 10 interviews. Analyzing them, a specificity can be noticed: interviews with the two local officials can also be categorized as part of CC members. Indeed, first of them was the Mayor of Orthez, a town near the Pyrenees, when he agreed to host into his municipality the first families of refugees that arrived in France in 2015, two years before the official start of HCP. At the same time, he is also the brother of the founder of the local CC, and he is himself committed to support the program. The second official is both a delegate of Prefecture in Bordeaux and a – former – voluntary host of one beneficiary of the program. Hence, the main advantage of the qualitative side of the survey is represented by the fact that we gathered no less than 5 standpoints of CC members, corresponding to the primary French HCP specificity. Once again, our central problem has been our available time to complete the survey: 10 interviews represent a very limited number, and we would have liked to interrogate more persons, especially beneficiaires of the program.

In the first part of this report, we will focus on some general data, mainly extracted by FEP spreadsheet, allowing a first assessment of the french HCP experience. Then, in a second and a third part, we will test our previous hypotheses about feelings and difficulties<sup>14</sup> both from welcomed people's and from social workers'/CC members' standpoints, combining questionnaires, interviews, and, if necessary, FEP spreadsheet. Finally, we will conclude by highlighting key findings, critics and suggestions, both for next surveys and for the HCP itself.

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<sup>14</sup> See above, emerging research questions.

# I. General data

Who are refugees hosted by CC supported by the FEP network? Where do they live? Do they have easily acceded to their status, from their application for asylum to the obtention of their card? What are their current housing, and resources? The answer to these simple questions allow us to profile the 236 welcomed persons and, at the same time, to assess some administrative and practical elements of the french HCP since 2017.

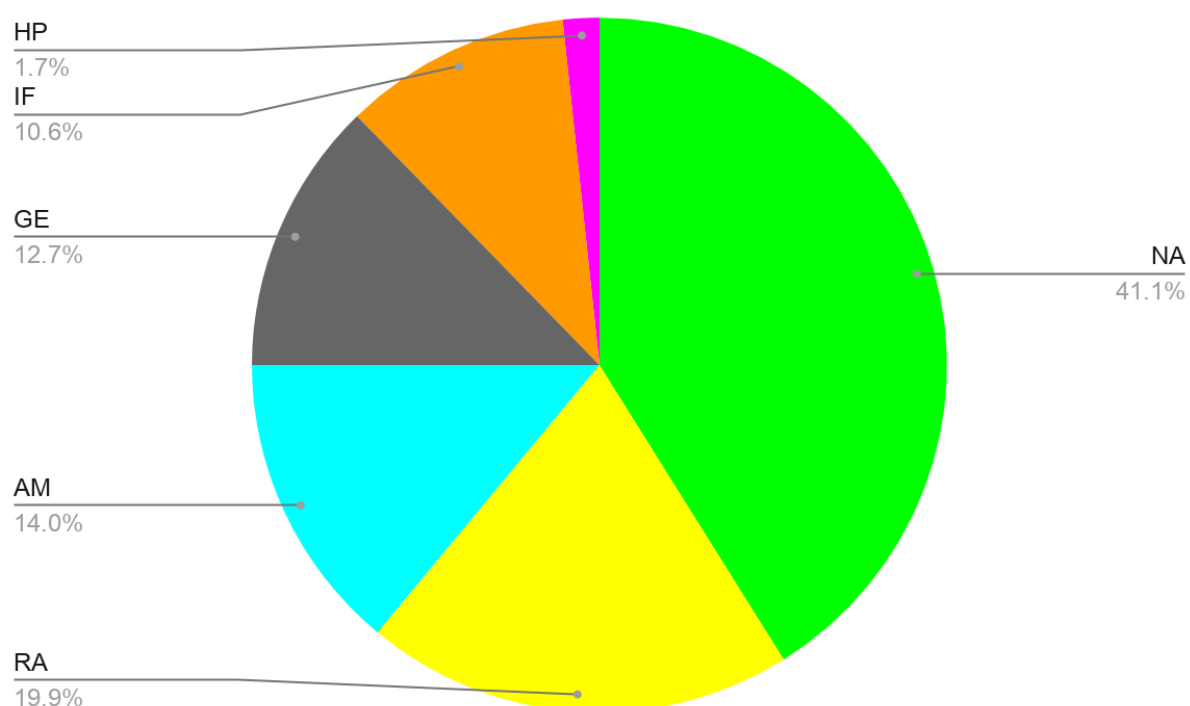
Analyzing the “*tableau de suivi*” by FEP central platform, we can notice that the first beneficiaries of the program arrived in France July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the last ones – at the survey time – January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2020. Around 49% are male, 51% female. Although all of them (n=236) come from Lebanese camps, their origin country is mostly Syria (n=187) or Iraq (n=24), except for 25 young children born in Lebanon (n=23) or in France (n=2). Age – ranging, for living welcomed persons (two of them died after their arrival in France), from two weeks to 77 year-old – is a very important information for several reasons. Indeed, 108 beneficiaries of HCP are minors, but only 22 of them are teena011, so they never knew anything else than war, refugee camps and/or, for the youngest ones, gers. Furthermore, a majority of minors (n=64) were born after the beginnings of Syrian conflict in 2France. More information can be gathered considering the geographical distribution of the welcomed population (see [table](#) below).

| Regional Division (RD)  | Number of beneficiaries | Number of FUs | Men/Women        | Minors (Teenagers / Born after 2011) |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Grand-Est (GE)          | 30 (1 deceased)         | 6             | 13 / 17          | 13 (1 / 9)                           |
| Ile-de-France (IF)      | 25                      | 7             | 14 / 11          | 11 (3 / 7)                           |
| Rhône-Alpes (RA)        | 47                      | 11            | 27 / 20          | 24 (8 / 9)                           |
| Arc Méditerranéen (AM)  | 33                      | 8             | 17 / 16          | 16 (4 / 11)                          |
| Nouvelle Aquitaine (NA) | 97 (1 deceased)         | 29            | 43 / 54          | 42 (6 / 26)                          |
| Hors-Pôle (HP)          | 4                       | 1             | 2 / 2            | 2 (0 / 2)                            |
| <b>Total</b>            | <b>236</b>              | <b>62</b>     | <b>116 / 120</b> | <b>108 (22 / 64)</b>                 |

Some differences can be immediately observed between the five RD besides Hors-Pôle: for example, CC in NA division currently hosts a total of 96 beneficiaries (29 FUs) when Ile-de-France welcomes only 25 persons (7 FUs). A rank between the five (or six) different divisions can be established (see [table](#) and [chart](#) below).



| RD                      | Number of beneficiaries | % beneficiaries | Number of FUs | Rank |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------|------|
| Nouvelle Aquitaine (NA) | 97 (1 deceased)         | 41,1%           | 29            | 1    |
| Rhône-Alpes (RA)        | 47                      | 19,9%           | 11            | 2    |
| Arc Méditerranéen (AM)  | 33                      | 14%             | 8             | 3    |
| Grand-Est (GE)          | 30 (1 deceased)         | 12,7%           | 6             | 4    |
| Ile-de-France (IF)      | 25                      | 10,6%           | 7             | 5    |
| Hors-Pôle (HP)          | 4                       | 1,7%            | 1             | 6    |



The most represented RD is NA (41,1%), followed by RA (19,9%), AM (14%), GE (12,7%), and finally IF (10,6%). HP beneficiaries are only 1,7% of the total of welcomed persons. These differences invite us to focus more accurately on refugees' hosting areas.

## Geographical breakdown of HCP

Former findings seem to show that there exists a sort of hosting line between the north of the country and the south: indeed, if we add NA, RA and AM divisions, we can notice that CC in these 3 RD host the  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the total French HCP welcomed persons. However, some differences can be observed within the regional divisions themselves, especially considering the fact that some counties (“*départements*”) and towns – where local CC have been created – host more refugees than others (see [table](#) below).

| RD   | Département (number and appellation) | Number of beneficiaries / FUs | Most represented town (by beneficiaries / FUs) |
|--|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 1.Nouvelle Aquitaine (NA)<br><br>Tot benef.: 97<br>Tot FUs: 29 | 33 - Gironde                         | 33 / 12                       | Bordeaux (17/8)                                |
|  | 64 - Pyrénées-Atlantiques            | 21 / 6                        | Orthez (13/4)                                  |
|  | 47 - Lot-et-Garonne                  | 11 / 2                        | Agen (11/2)                                    |
|  | 17 - Charente Maritime               | 9 / 3                         | Ile d'Oléron (5/2)                             |
|  | 24 - Dordogne                        | 7 / 1                         | Grand Brassac (7/1)                            |
|  | 81 - Tarn                            | 5 / 1                         | Vabres (5/1)                                   |
|  | 31 - Haute Garonne                   | 4 / 1                         | Toulouse (4/1)                                 |
|  | 16 - Charente                        | 4 / 1                         | Villefagnan (4/1)                              |
|  | 79 - Deux-Sèvres                     | 3 / 1                         | Parthenay (3/1)                                |
| 2.Rhône-Alpes (RA)<br><br>Tot benef.: 47<br>Tot FUs: 11        | 26 - Drôme                           | 15 / 4                        | Buis-les-Baronnies (6/1)                       |
|  | 01 - Ain                             | 12 / 3                        | Lhuis (12/3)                                   |
|  | 63 - Puy-de-Dôme                     | 6 / 1                         | Tours sur Meymont (6/1)                        |
|  | 07 - Ardèche                         | 5 / 1                         | Vernoux (5/1)                                  |
|  | 69 - Rhône                           | 5 / 1                         | St Romain en Gal (5/1)                         |
|  | 84 - Vaucluse                        | 4 / 1                         | Vaison la Romaine (4/1)                        |

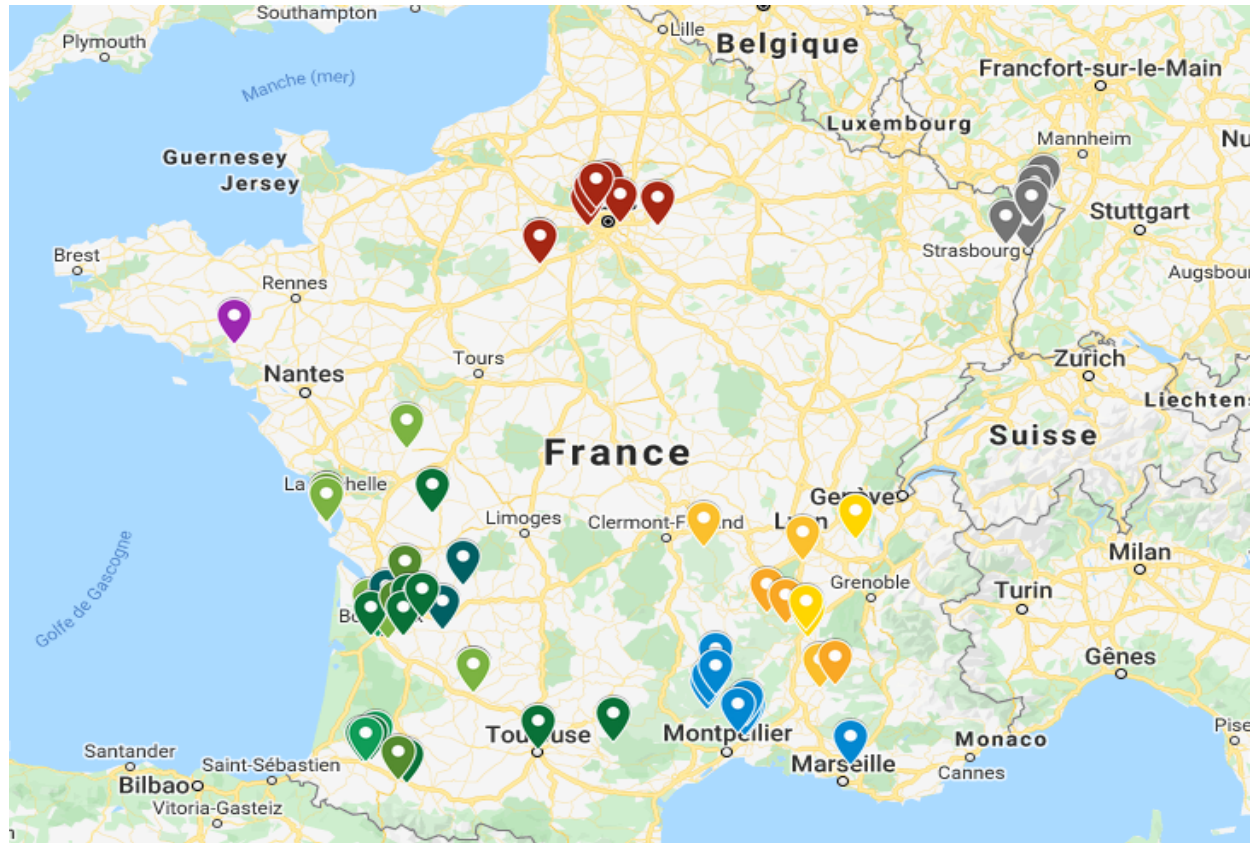
|   |                       |        |                           |
|---|-----------------------|--------|---------------------------|
| 3.Arc-Médit.<br>(AM)<br><br>Tot benef.: 33<br>Tot FUs: 8    | 30 - Gard             | 18 / 5 | Mandagout (6/1)           |
|   | 48 - Lozère           | 11 / 2 | Pont-de-Montvert (7/1)    |
|   | 13 - Bouches du Rhône | 4 / 1  | Gardanne (4/1)            |
| 4.Grand Est (GE)<br>Tot benef.: 30<br>Tot FUs: 6            | 67 - Bas-Rhin         | 30 / 6 | Wangen (11/2)             |
| 5.Ile-de-France<br>(IF)<br><br>Tot benef.: 25<br>Tot FUs: 7 | 78 - Yvelines         | 8 / 3  | Montesson (4/1)           |
|   | 28 - Eure-et-Loir     | 5 / 1  | Luisant (5/1)             |
|   | 94 - Val de Marne     | 5 / 1  | Champigny-sur-Marne (5/1) |
|   | 95 Val d'Oise         | 4 / 1  | Deuil la Barre (4/1)      |
|   | 77 - Seine-et-Marne   | 3 / 1  | Farmoutiers (3/1)         |
| 6. Hors-pôle<br>(HP)<br>Tot benef.: 4<br>Tot FUs: 1         | 56 - Morbihan         | 4 / 1  | Questembert (4/1)         |

Most represented “*départements*” are Gironde (NA division, 33 beneficiaries/12 FUs), Bas-Rhin (GE division, 30 beneficiaries, 6FUs), Pyrénées-Atlantiques (NA division, 21 beneficiaries, 6FUs), and Gard (AM division, 18 beneficiaries, 5 FUs). Regarding the hosting towns, besides Bordeaux, we can notice that a majority of CC are located in middle-sized (like Agen, in NA division) or small-sized, rural towns<sup>15</sup> (for example, Wangen in GE division, or Pont-de-Montvert in AM division). Moreover, although Paris and its region concentrate around the sixth of the total French population, we can observe: first, that IF division is the less hosting RD of the program; secondly, that the Capital is not represented; thirdly, that the hosting towns in this RD are relatively distant from Paris (the nearby town is Champigny-sur-Marne, around 30 min by train). In other terms, the hosting line seems to concern more a division between – the most – rural and – the most – urban French areas than a division between the north and the south of the country. A map elaborated by FEP central platform helps to localize the geographical distribution of the 62 FUs welcomed by local CC (see [map](#) below).

Interviews with FEP central platform members and social workers seems to confirm this urban/rural breaking: according to Sophie de Croutte, for example, “refugees’ common

<sup>15</sup> Combining a “small density of population, a distance from most services and an economy turned to agriculture” [Balouzat, Bertrand, 2019: 2].

representation of France is Paris, and, [when they are in Lebanon], they are expecting to be hosted in Paris. Once arrived in France, they are often disappointed by the rural location of their accomodation”<sup>16</sup>.



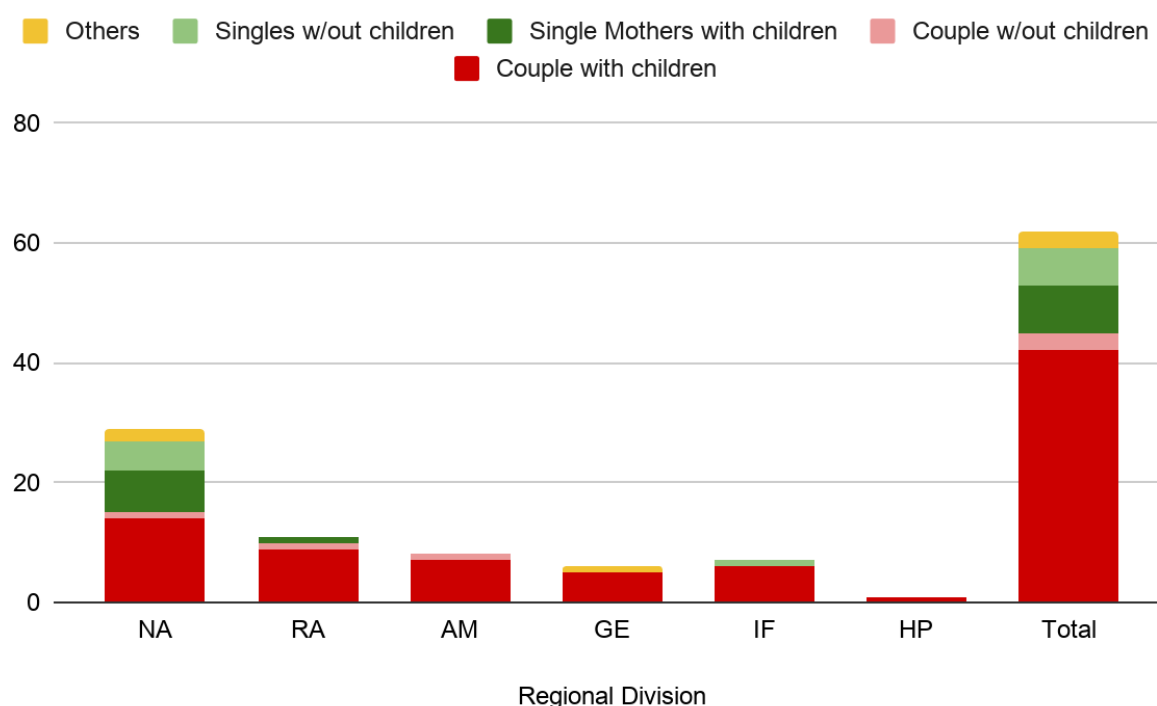
Two hypotheses can explain this geographical breakdown. The first is linked to a long-term process of “invisibilization” of migrants by locating them in rural areas. Indeed, as Simona Tersigni and Chantal Crenn showed in an article of 2014, French administration has always considered that “it is preferable to allow ten hectar of our land to a foreigner than a single pavement stone of our cities”, as a high official, M.Paon, wrote in 1926” [Crenn and Tersigni, 2014: 59]. This process continues today under the influence of the EU common market, fostering occupations that face manpower shortage like farm workers [*ibid.*: 74-76]. Because HCP is a private sponsored program escaping State resettlement logics, however, a second hypothesis seems to be more pertinent to explain the rural location of a great number of welcomed persons: as noticed before, CC have spreaded in historical protestant french areas, and a majority of these areas are rural, like Cévennes<sup>17</sup>. Again, differences can be observed between RD (for example, a large majority of HCP beneficiaries live in rural areas in the AM division, whereas all of them live in cities, even small or distant from Paris, into the IF division). Lastly, we can observe that rural places only host families or singles with children. This aspect invites us to interrogate the composition of beneficiaries’ FUs.

<sup>16</sup> Interview of Sophie de Croutte (FEP), Paris, 19/2/20.

<sup>17</sup> A mountain range shared between AM and RA divisions.

## Family Unities' composition

Following the “*tableau de suivi*”, five different FUs have been identified: couples with children, couples without children, singles without children (“*célibataires isolés*”), single mothers with children – there are no fathers with children: either they died or they remained in Syria, Iraq or Lebanon – and, finally, a case, called “others”, for more specific situations (for example, a refugee family, hosted in GE division, composed by a couple with three adult children, an aunt – mother’ sister – and a grandmother). This case is however uncommon: out of a total of 62 FUs, only 3 of them (around 5%) are composed by “others” FUs. Couples with children – which are, as seen before and for a large part, young children – represent the majority of FUs (n=42, around 68%), attesting the importance of the progeny factor into the HCP selection process in Lebanon. Indeed, as Yasmine Bouagga and Rapah lle Segond observed in their article of 2019, HCP is based on a “discrete negotiation [...] allowing NGO to select beneficiaries because of their vulnerability. [...] Distinguishing individuals with particular needs, vulnerability includes biopolitical issues linked to age, gender, and health [...]. This notion doesn’t fit with a fixed juridical category, but it is negotiated case by case by NGO, depending on the moral appreciation of personal exposure to given risks” [Bouagga and Segond, 2019: 92]. The second most important FUs are constituted by single mothers with children (n=8, around 13%). Singles without children (n=6, around 10%) and couples without children (n=3, around 5%) are also represented: they include both heterosexuals and homosexuals (homosexuality is indeed one of the factors that can be associated to the “vulnerability” of the HCP beneficiaries). As noticed before, however, differences can be observed between RD (see [chart](#) below).



NA is the most representative division of the FUs' diversity. This RD also attests the breaking between rural and urban places: indeed, 21 FUs are living over there in urban areas,



8 in rural places; yet, all of these FUs are composed either by couples (n=6) or single mothers with children (n=2). According to Sophie de Croutte, singles (n=5) or couples without children (n=1) “all live in Bordeaux or its nearby area”, and this factor “is particularly important regarding homosexuals”<sup>18</sup>. The presence of these different FUs, selected from Lebanon according to specific “vulnerability” criteria, also interrogate the asylum-seeking procedure: indeed, after having obtained a D Visa to reach France and having been hosted by a CC, what about their asylum request once in the country?

## Refugees' Status

French asylum procedure is a two (or, better, three) step administrative process. First, a request must be introduced within 90 days after the arrival in the country to an office called GUDA. Then, the request is transferred to the OFPRA, the governmental French agency for the protection of refugees and stateless persons, based in Fontenay, near Paris. Officials examine the request, convene the asylum-seeker, and take a decision. If the request is rejected or if it is dissatisfying, the seeker has the right to appeal to a national administrative court called CNDA, also located near Paris. Once convened and auditioned, this court takes a definitive decision, prevailing on the former status allowed (or not) by OFPRA officials. Last data from government (January 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020) indicate that in 2019 OFPRA examined 132 614 asylum requests (+7,3% compared to 2018) and that 36 512 refugees cards were delivered (+9,5% compared to 2018)<sup>19</sup>.

FEP “*tableau de suivi*” contains several indications for each step of the procedure (date of the introduction of the request to the GUDA, day of convening at OFPRA, delays between GUDA and OFPRA, date of the OFPRA decision, type of status allowed by OFPRA, date of convening to CNDA, delays between OFPRA and CNDA, final decision of CNDA) even if some cells are sometimes empty, either because the procedure is still in progress or, less frequently, because data are missing.

First, we can observe how many procedures have been achieved and how many are still in progress (see table below).

| RD                      | Procedures<br>In progress/FUs (nbr ben) | Procedures achieved<br>/FUs (nbr ben) | Total/FUs (nbr<br>ben) |
|-------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Nouvelle Aquitaine (NA) | 7 (26)                                  | 22 (71)                               | 29 (97)                |
| Rhône-Alpes (RA)        | 3 (12)                                  | 8 (35)                                | 11 (47)                |
| Arc-Médit. (AM)         | 2 (6)                                   | 6 (27)                                | 8 (33)                 |
| Grand Est (GE)          | 3 (12)                                  | 3 (18)                                | 6 (30)                 |

<sup>18</sup> Interview of Sophie de Croutte (FEP), Paris, 19/2/20.

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.immigration.interieur.gouv.fr/Info-ressources/Actualites/Communiques/L-asile-en-2019>

|                    |                |                 |                 |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Ile-de-France (IF) | 4 (16)         | 3 (9)           | 7 (25)          |
| Hors-pôle (HP)     | 1 (4)          | 0 (0)           | 1 (4)           |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>20 (76)</b> | <b>42 (160)</b> | <b>62 (236)</b> |

The 20 procedures in progress concern mainly the beneficiaries of HCP and their FUs that arrived more recently in France, especially those who reached the country during the summer or the fall 2019 and during January 2020. However, information of FEP “*tableau de suivi*” seems to show that some procedures were initiated since a longer period of time and that they are still not achieved. How to explain these delays, when we know, according to Guilhem Mante from FEP, that “OFPRA officials, when the HCP protocol was signed, committed to reduce timeline for the beneficiaries of the program”<sup>20</sup> and that, according to anthropologist Carolina Kobelinsky, “consecutive french governments always tried to decrease the asylum-seeking time horizon, considering more the costs of the procedure”<sup>21</sup> than humanitarian interests” [Kobelinsky, 2014: 22]?

To answer this question, we can gather information on FEP “*tableau de suivi*”, but only for the procedures that have already been achieved, concerning 42 FUs and 160 welcomed persons<sup>22</sup>. We can especially observe, nationwide and for each RD, what is the minimum and the maximum time frame between the first request at GUDA and the final decision by OFPRA or CNDA. We can also calculate some daily averages. In particular, we can estimate the difference between the procedures sought to OFPRA by the means of the HCP and the national average delay for the whole 132 614 asylum requests treated by the governmental agency in 2019, corresponding to “a national processing time of 161 days on average”. We can finally determine the number of appeals to CNDA, and calculate a global timeline average<sup>23</sup> (see [table](#) below).

| RD/nbr of achieved procedures | Min. time period (days) | Max. time period (days) | OFPRA decision Average (days) | Difference HCP / Nat. OFPRA average (161 d., 2019) | Appeals to CNDA (nbr) | Global average to obtain status (days, incl.CNDA) |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--|-----------------------|---|
| NA<br>21 proc.                | 76                      | 674                     | 178,5                         | + 17,5   | 6                     | 222,1   |

<sup>20</sup> Interview of Guilhem Mante (FEP), Paris, 22/1/20.

<sup>21</sup> Asylum-seekers can claim for a social benefit called ADA (see next part).

<sup>22</sup> The most pertinent criterium, here, seems to be the FU: indeed, OFPRA or CNDA always convene families – even when they are composed, for example, by an homosexual couple without children – the same day, and officials or judges take the same decision for each FU.

<sup>23</sup> If some data from FEP “*tableau de suivi*” are missing, we elaborated the following method. First, we estimated the daily difference between the introduction of the request to the GUDA office and the OFPRA or the CNDA decisions. If “GUDA” cell is empty (5 procedures), we calculated that the request has been introduced within a delay of 45 days, corresponding to the average between the arrival of beneficiaries on the French Ground and the maximum legal deadline to seek an asylum request (90 days). We are however conscious that this method has some limits, so the results will be presented with a certain prudence.

|                                     |     |     |       |       |   |       |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-------|-------|---|-------|
| RA<br>8 proc.                       | 100 | 247 | 183   | +21   | 2 | 203,6 |
| AM<br>6 proc.                       | 54  | 425 | 144,2 | -16,8 | 1 | 200,4 |
| GE<br>3 proc.                       | 135 | 205 | 170   | +9    | 0 | 170   |
| IF<br>3 proc.                       | 64  | 139 | 97    | -64   | 0 | 97    |
| HP<br>0 proc.                       | 0   | 0   | 0     | 0     | 0 | 0     |
| <b>Total<br/>France</b><br>42 proc. | 54  | 674 | 152,2 | -8,8  | 9 | 200,3 |

Nationwide, the minimum time period between the introduction of the asylum request and the obtention of a status was 54 days, the maximum delay was 674 days (including the appeal to the CNDA). Besides the limits of the computation underlined before<sup>24</sup>, national daily timeline average for HCP beneficiaries to get a card is around 152 days. This difference seems to be not so significant compared to the national processing time of 161 days on average claimed by OFPRA for all the asylum requests that officials examined in 2019. In other terms, to answer the interrogation expressed by Guilhem Mante from FEP, OFPRA seems to have only slightly reduced the timeline for the beneficiaries of the HCP. Moreover, some differences can be noticed between RD. For example, in IF, the average to obtain a status for the welcomed persons by HCP is 64 days faster than the national average, whereas in NA or RA divisions it seems to be longer (of around 18-21 days). If we include appeals to CNDA in our computation, however, we can estimate that HCP beneficiaries seem to obtain a decision in a relatively reasonable time of around 200 days (around six month and a half) on average.

If accepted, the asylum procedure at OFPRA (and CNDA) may result at two different status: welcomed persons can obtain a 10 years, renewable card (*“réfugié statutaire”*) if French officials or judges consider that they "fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the[ir] country [...] and [are] unable or, owing to such fear, [are] unwilling to avail [them]self of the protection of that country"<sup>25</sup>. Otherwise, they can obtain a 4 years, renewable card (*“protection subsidiaire”*) if judges or officials consider that they don't qualify for the *“réfugié statutaire”* status, but they encour some serious risks of death, torture, or threats if they are sent back to their origin country. Once again, FEP *“tableau de suivi”* allows to define with precision<sup>26</sup> how many beneficiaries of HCP have obtained a 10-years card and how many have obtained a 4-years card, as we can observe in the following [table](#) and [chart](#).

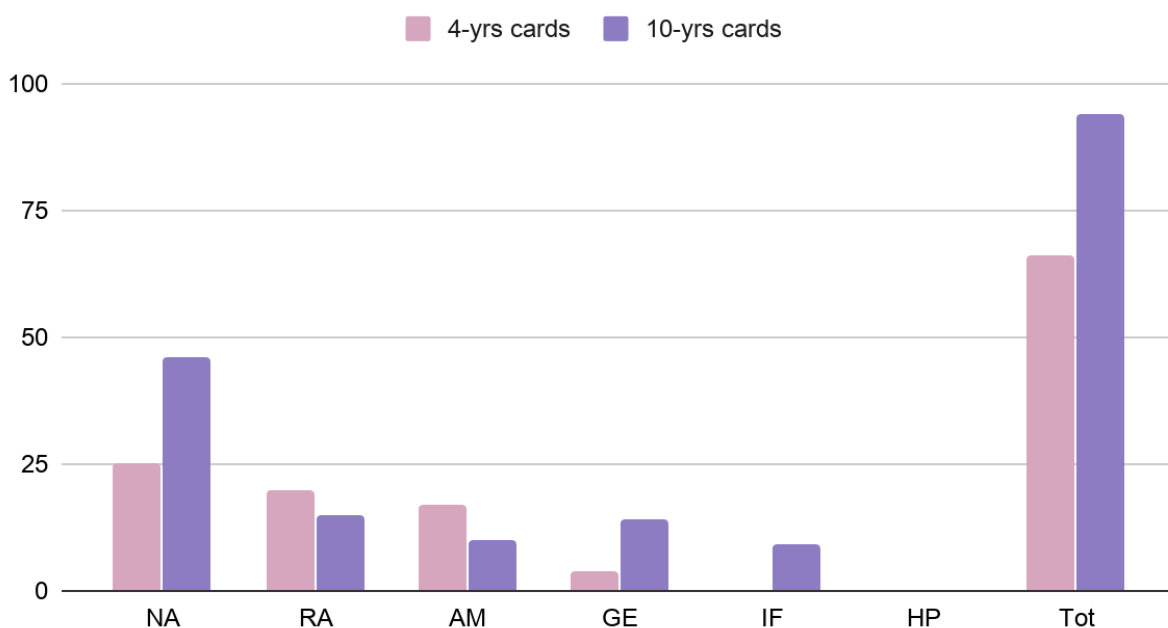
<sup>24</sup> See former footnote.

<sup>25</sup> Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951, art.1.

<sup>26</sup> No data are missing for these cells of the spreadsheet.

| RD                      | Nbr 4-yrs cards ( <i>protection subsidiaire</i> ), ben/FUs | Nbr 10-yrs cards ( <i>réfugié statutaire</i> ), ben/FUs | Total (ben/FUs) |
|-------------------------|--|---|-----------------|
| Nouvelle Aquitaine (NA) | 25 / 9   | 46 / 13   | 71 / 22         |
| Rhône-Alpes (RA)        | 20 / 5   | 15 / 3  | 35 / 8          |
| Arc-Médit. (AM)         | 17 / 3   | 10 / 3  | 27 / 6          |
| Grand Est (GE)          | 4 / 1  | 14 / 2  | 18 / 3          |
| Ile-de-France (IF)      | 0 / 0  | 9 / 3   | 9 / 3           |
| Hors-pôle (HP)          | 0 / 0  | 0 / 0   | 0 / 0           |
| <b>Total</b>            | <b>66 / 18</b>   | <b>94 / 24</b>  | <b>160 / 42</b> |

### 4-yrs cards and 10-yrs cards



Out of a total of 42 decisions, 24 have resulted in the delivery of a 10-years card and 18 of a 4-years card. In other terms, 94 beneficiaries of HCP are nowadays “*réfugiés statutaires*” and 66 of them have obtained a “*protection subsidiaire*” status. Some differences can be observed between RD, but, as the decision of judges or officials is based on particular

life stories, it seems that it doesn't matter for the analysis<sup>27</sup>. However, data would have been different if we considered only the initial decision by OFPRA officials. Indeed, FEP "*tableau de suivi*" allows us the possibility to examine the results of the 9 appeal procedures to CNDA. Data were obviously and completely anonymized for this task (see table below).

| FU number | Initial decision by OFPRA | Final decision by CNDA | >/= |
|-----------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----|
| 1 (5 ben) | 4-yrs card                | 10-yrs card            | >   |
| 2 (5 ben) | 4-yrs card                | 10-yrs card            | >   |
| 3 (2 ben) | Request rejected          | 10-yrs card            | > > |
| 4 (3 ben) | 4-yrs card                | 4-yrs card             | =   |
| 5 (4 ben) | 4-yrs card                | 4-yrs card             | =   |
| 6 (1 ben) | 4-yrs card                | 4-yrs card             | =   |
| 7 (4 ben) | 4-yrs card                | 4-yrs card             | =   |
| 8 (4 ben) | 4-yrs card                | 4-yrs card             | =   |
| 9 (3 ben) | 4 yrs card                | 10-yrs card            | >   |

CNDA confirmed the initial decision of OFPRA five times, but the court allowed a more favourable status to the rest of seekers, including a family (FU number 3, composed by 2 beneficiaires) whose initial request was rejected by OFPRA officials (they finally obtained a 10-years card).

Getting a refugee status – in a more general sense of term, including the two different types of cards – is also a way for the beneficiaries of HCP to claim social benefits or to seek a job. By this way, they can progressively become independent, from a financial standpoint, and envisioning to leave the HCP (or, at least, their accomodation by CC). These data, assessing the impact of the program three years after it has begun in France, can be gathered, again, by analyzing FEP spreadsheet.

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<sup>27</sup> We only left this aspect for information.



## Housing and financial resources of refugees

Although HCP, as noticed before, is a completely private-sponsored program regarding the hosting of its beneficiaries, they are invited to become independent as soon as possible from their host, and the first way they have is to claim to State a social benefit called ADA (“*Allocation pour Demandeur d’Asile*”) since their asylum seeking at GUDA. A guide (“*livret d’accueil*”) elaborated by FEP explains the different other social benefits they can access at each step of the program, as well as the possibilities to get a working position (see insert below).

### Financial resources of refugees (extracts from FEP “*livret d’accueil*”)

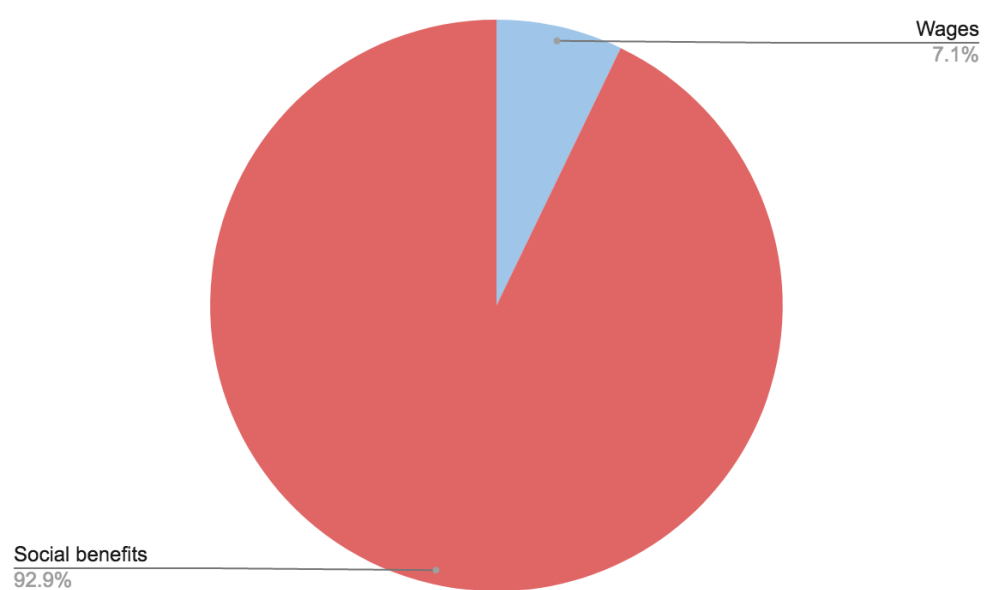
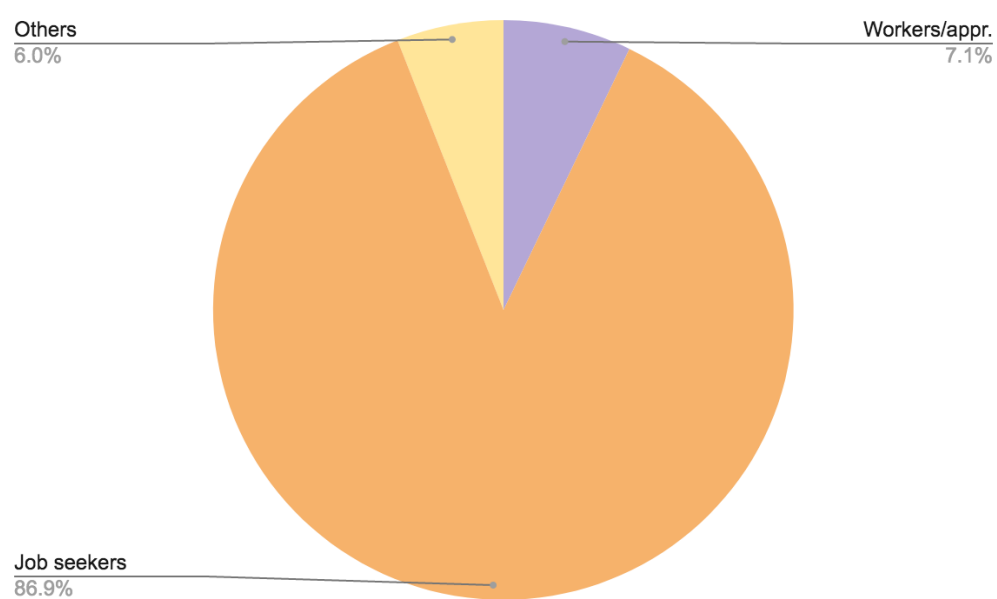
“During the first two months of the program (approximately), when the welcomed person can’t already be considered as beneficiaries of the ADA, the local CC finances food, transports, sim cards, etc. . As soon as they obtain the ADA, they become independent, from a financial standpoint, to get food. [...] Once they have got the status of refugee or the “*protection subsidiaire*”, they can claim [...] for [two] social benefits, [called] RSA (Inclusion Income support) and APL (Personalised Housing Allowance). They are considered financially independent. [...] They can also start to seek work. [...] Three months after the obtention of the status, France allows refugees to work. CC can take part in this process by accompanying welcomed persons to seek a position. Vocational training is organized by [french regional employment agencies called] “*Pôle Emploi*”. We remember that the knowledge of French is an essential condition to get a position.”

Data gathered from FEP “*tableau de suivi*” naturally exclude minors of 16 years-old – the French compulsory school age – and most of the persons under 25 years-old (because they are excluded from RSA social benefit); however, information include some specific situations that haven’t been mentioned by the “*livret d’accueil*”, like a social benefit which is allowed to adult persons which have disabilities called “*Allocation Adulte Handicapé*” (AAH). Additionally, in analyzing data, the choice was made to consider only adults that have already got their status from more than 3 months<sup>28</sup>. That way, 84 cases of HCP beneficiaries have been examined (out of a total of 160 welcomed persons that have obtained their status). Three different situations have been distinguished: they may either be workers/apprentices, job seekers, or match to another category (students at University, adults unable to work because of their disability, etc.). Two different financial resources have also been characterized: wages (for workers or apprentices) and social benefits (for the rest of cases), as we can observe in the table and the two charts below.

| RD                                | Workers/<br>apprentices | Job seekers | Others | Wages | Social benefits |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------------|
| Nouvelle Aquitaine (NA)<br>46 ben | 3                       | 40          | 3      | 3     | 43              |
| Rhône-Alpes (RA)<br>10 ben        | 0                       | 10          | 0      | 0     | 10              |

<sup>28</sup> See insert above.

|                             |          |           |          |          |           |
|-----------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Arc-Médit. (AM)<br>13 ben   | 1        | 10        | 2        | 1        | 12        |
| Grand Est (GE)<br>10 ben    | 0        | 10        | 0        | 0        | 10        |
| Ile-de-France (IF)<br>5 ben | 2        | 3         | 0        | 2        | 3         |
| Hors-pôle (HP)<br>0 ben     | 0        | 0         | 0        | 0        | 0         |
| <b>Total<br/>84 Ben</b>     | <b>6</b> | <b>73</b> | <b>5</b> | <b>6</b> | <b>78</b> |



The immense majority of beneficiaries – around 87% – are currently job seekers and their financial resources seem to be mostly dependent on various french social benefits (in around 93% of cases). Only approximately 7% of them are currently getting wages from their work or their vocational training. Therefore, we can estimate that the financial independence of refugees is almost always linked to the french welfare system, and only in a few cases to wages from their professional position or trainee.

Another important aspect to assess the impact of HCP, always connected to the resources of beneficiaries, is their accommodation. Indeed, as Sophie de Crouette explains: “once they can finance food and once that their host and the [local] CC estimate that they can recover the costs of a rent and its charges [by] RSA or wages, they can start to leave the program, [at least] in terms of accommodation. If they do this, they will benefit of APL [allowed by] CAF<sup>29</sup> [...]. CC are however still active, helping them with the administration, scholarization of children, French lessons, etc”<sup>30</sup>. In other words, families can start to output the program, becoming independent in their accommodation. Datas contained on FEP “*tableau de suivi*” allows us to estimate how many family units are still hosted by CC members and how many got an independent accommodation. If they left the program, additionally, the spreadsheet informs us about their housing period and about their current kind of accommodation. Four kinds of housing are distinguished, besides the hosting by a CC member: traditional leasing, adapted leasing, social leasing, free leasing (see [table](#) below).

| RD                                | Still hosted by CC | Outputted | For outputted FUs: housing time period (average, months) | For outputted FUs: current kind of accommodation  |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|--|---|
| Nouvelle Aquitaine (NA)<br>29 FUs | 16                 | 13        | 11,6   | 4 traditional housing (rent)<br>3 adapted housing<br>3 social housing<br>3 free housing |
| Rhône-Alpes (RA)<br>11 FUs        | 9                  | 2         | 8,5  | 1 adapted housing<br>1 social housing   |
| Arc-Médit. (AM)<br>8 FUs          | 5                  | 3         | 16   | 1 traditional housing (rent)<br>2 adapted housing                                       |
| Grand Est (GE)<br>6 FUs           | 5                  | 1         | 13   | 1 traditional housing (rent)  |
| Ile-de-France (IF)<br>7 FUs       | 7                  | 0         | 0  | 0   |
| Hors-pôle (HP)<br>1 FU            | 1                  | 0         | 0  | 0   |
| <b>Total 62 FUs</b>               | 43                 | 19        | 11,8   | /   |

<sup>29</sup> “Caisse d’Allocations Familiales”, a French agency allowing social benefits.

<sup>30</sup> Interview of Sophie de Crouette (FEP), Paris, 19/2/20.

A majority of FUs are still hosted by CC (42 out of a total of 62), even if around a third of them (n=19) can be considered independent from the housing standpoint. Monthly average of hosting, for families that already output the program, is close to 12, so we can assess that these FUs are independent after around one year of hosting by a CC member. Variations can be established however as well between RD and between the kind of accomodation they found once they leave their initial home.

The focus on resources of welcomed persons and their current housing, beside giving information about the impact of the HCP, also imply to consider beneficiaries' standpoint of the program. The 35 questionnaires we submitted them, as a sample of the whole amount of refugees welcomed to CC and FEP network, can help us in this task, even if the "*tableau de suivi*" can also be useful to gather some missing data.

## II. HCP from its beneficiaries' standpoint

The 35 respondents to the questionnaire, first, share most of the features that have been underlined before regarding the adult beneficiaries of HCP. All comes either from Syria (n=27) or Iraq (n=8). First of them arrived in France during the month of January 2018, latest in November 2019. Males are slightly over-represented compared to FEP "*tableau de suivi*" (n=18, corresponding to 51,4%), but this data doesn't seem to be very significant because the proportion of around 50%-50% is broadly respected. Their ages also respected the diversity of the whole welcomed population, ranging from 20 to 69 years-old, as well as their current familial situation (a large majority of respondents are couples with children) and their geographical breakdown (even if questionnaires were submitted in only 4 of 5 RD besides Hors-Pôle, a majority lives in NA, followed by RA, GE and IF). Two minor differences with FEP central platform spreadsheet can be noticed regarding the legal status of respondents (13 of them are asylum-seekers, 8 obtained a 4-years card, 14 a 10-years-card) and their current working situation (4 respondents declared to have a work – one of them is farm worker, the other construction worker – or follow nowadays a vocational training – both are apprentice cooks). However, the proportions are essentially respected compared to the "*tableau de suivi*": for legal status, around  $\frac{2}{3}$  of them have already obtained a card, the other third is still awaiting a decision by OFPRA or CNDA; the same goes for the employment, as 31 respondents (around 9 on 10) declared to be job seekers.

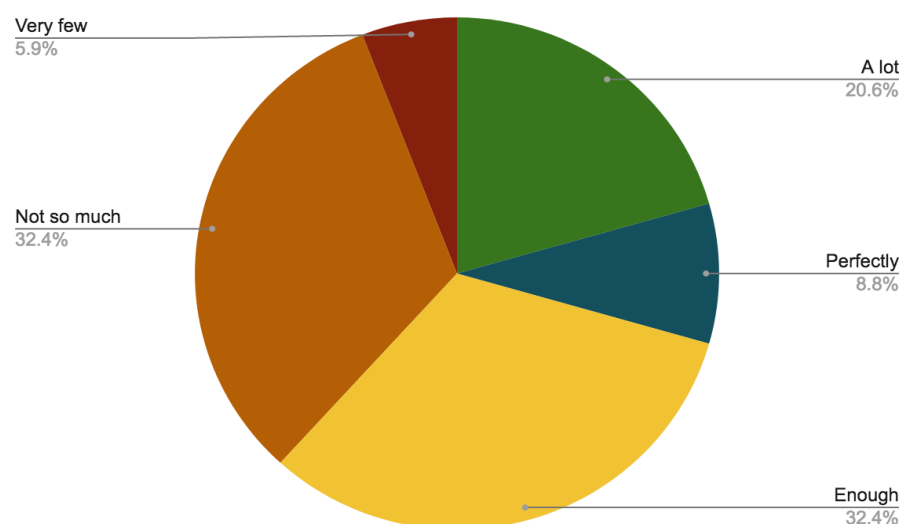
All of those – factual – elements seem to validate the idea that the answers to the 35 questionnaires we submitted could be interpreted as a – reduced – mirror of feelings, fears, opinions, perceptions of the HCP by the whole amount of its – adult – french beneficiaries. We would like in particular to question their pathway, since their contact with FEP workers in Lebanon to their hosting by a CC in France, the help they received at each stage from social workers or volunteer hosts, their expectations, hopes, fears and deceptions, both regarding the program itself and their own future. Answers to the questionnaires can also help us to understand if the main french specificity – the double system of CC and RD leaded by a social worker – really helps refugees to access more quickly to their rights and also to integrate french society, validating or invalidating the two hypotheses (legal and socio-cultural) that have been proposed on the introduction of the report.

### *The selection process in Lebanon*

Respondents seem to be very divided about the perception of the first step of the HCP they have taken, their selection process in Lebanon. The 32 answers to the question "how was the screening process to access HCP, before you were definitively selected?" show that 50% of beneficiaries of the program found this process either "difficult" (n=13, 40,6%) or "very difficult" (n=3, 9,4%) when just less than a third of them consider that it was "easy" (n=7, 21,9%) or "very easy" (n=2, 6,3%). The rest of the respondents declare this stage as "intermediate" (n=7, 21,9%).

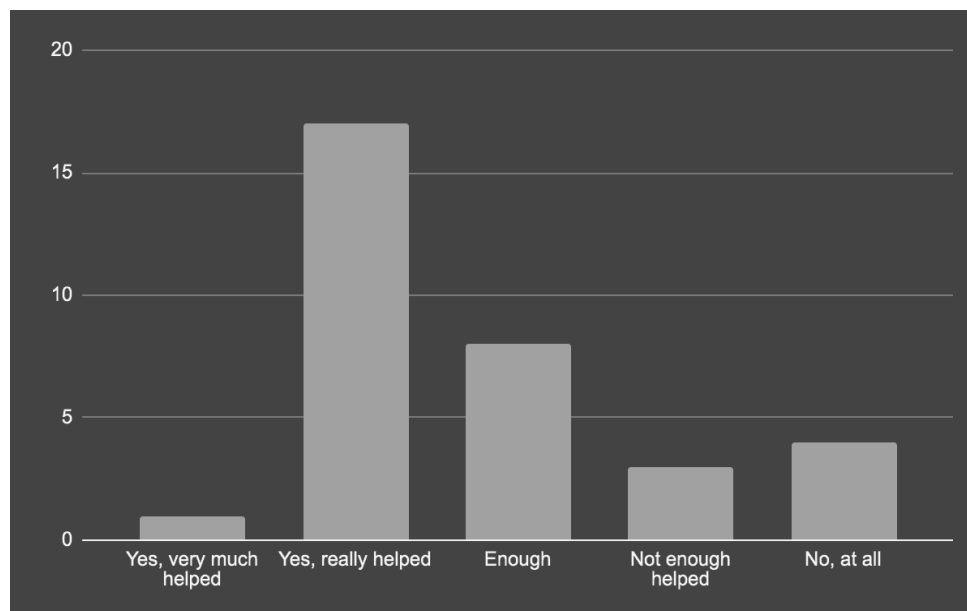


Analyzing the responses further, we can notice that these variations seem not to be particularly linked to gender, age, or social features. Indeed, compared to the FEP “*tableau de suivi*”, respondents to the questionnaires have been invited to give some information about their instruction level, their former work in their home country, and their former travels into a foreign country before the beginnings of the Syrian conflict in 2011. Taking a classical sociological hypothesis, these elements may allow us to give a first estimation of their “cultural capital”, a mechanism highlighted since the 1960s by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. According to him, a high level of cultural capital – including educational qualifications and other cultural skills (knowledge or foreigner languages, travels in another country, etc.) largely inherited within families – help to access to the best working positions and also improve the understanding of the major issues in a series of fields [Bourdieu, 1966]. Following this hypothesis, we could think that HCP beneficiaries who have considered that the process was “easy” or “very easy” would generally be those that had the highest educational titles as well as working positions in their origins’ country and that had already traveled before the war. However, this hypothesis appears not to be operational here: one of the two respondents that considered that the process was “very easy” was a journalist (university grade, 3 years of studies) that had already traveled in France, Sweden, US and Denmark for professional reasons, but a former Syrian professor of biology (university grade, 4 years of studies) who already visited Turkey estimated for example that this step was “difficult” and the same gone for another Syrian computer engineer (university grade, 5 years of studies). In other terms, at this stage, all the refugees’ perceptions variate without the possibility of identifying links with their social features, as we can also attest by observing responses to the question “do you think that information and advices given by social worker in Lebanon allowed you to acquire the main skills useful to prepare your departure project?” (see [chart](#) below).



Around a third of the 34 respondents to this question considered that they were “enough” informed about their departure project (n=11), when just less than another third estimated that they have received “perfect” (n=3) or “a lot” (n=7) of helpful advice. The other third, in contrast, deplored some lack of information (n=13, 11 “not so much” and 2 “very few”). However, beyond these – hard or moderate – difficulties, a large part of respondents to another question, regarding the commitment of HCP team following them in Lebanon,

estimated that workers were either “active” (n=18, 54,5%) or “very active” (n=8, 24,2%), whereas around only 20% considered the contrary. A similar trend can be observed for the following question, “Did you feel helped by social workers at each step before leaving Lebanon?” (see [chart](#) below).



A majority of responders estimated that the HCP team “really” helped them, when another significant part considered to have been “enough” supported. By contrast, a minority of respondents expressed their discontent. These elements seem to indicate that the selection process in Lebanon might be slightly improved, in particular in its informational aspects, but also that a large majority of HCP beneficiaries seems to appreciate the work of the program local team.

Selected refugees have also been interrogated about their knowledge of the hosting country, and their expectations. Most of them (n=25, 71,4%) declared to know “very few” or “few” things about France before leaving Lebanon, when others affirmed to know France “enough” (n=5, 14,3%) or “a lot” (n=5, 14,3%). A large majority of 34 respondents to the following question, moreover, indicated that they expected very good conditions of hosting in France (n=22, 64,7%). Have their expectatives been satisfied?

### **Once in France**

Welcomed persons’ pathway after their arrival in France obviously variates following a series of criteria. Some of them are linked to their former life, with their lot of traumas and hopes accorded to the HCP; some others depend on the material and affective conditions of the hosting by a local CC. In an article of 2013, Nader Vahabi mobilize the classical notion of the “career” as intended by the american interactionist sociology – a “sequential model of transitions from one position to another, considering individual stories as a series of

commitments to norms and institutions that entail changements in behaviors and opinions” [Vahabi, 2013:14] – to identify a “migrational career”. Integration to the hosting country is one of the 5 different “steps” of this “career”, coming after the preparation time, the exodus, the permanence on a “no man’s land” and just before the potential come-back to the country of origins or to a third country. Four different invariable factors take part in the construction of a “migrational career”: “life path, legal status, work (a great socializer), and [various] resources” [*ibid.*: 16]. Each single step of this career also includes a series of “adaptations”. This factor has been revealed by the authors of the book *Hospitality in France: political and personal mobilizations*, when they wrote, regarding the integration step: “private hosting [...] can generate a series of interrogations and fears by migrants, implying complex adaptations. However, it [can also represent] a means of providing [them] some unexpected ressources” [Agier et al., 2019: 93], whose most important are moral and legal support that they receive from their welcoming hosts. Private hosting is also a “springboard to socio-professional integration. The creation of “strong links” with hosting families allows hosted people to access “weak links”: [in other terms] it opens [to refugees] familial, friendly or professional networks” [*ibid.*: 110] that are supposed to help them to integrate the welcoming country economy and society.

Considering these different hypotheses and combining them with our previous suppositions, three different aspects may be interrogated by the responses given to the questionnaires by the 35 HCP beneficiaires: their legal integration, including larger representations of french institutions; their socio-cultural integration, both by their appreciations on the social environment (neighbors, social workers, friends, CC, etc.) and on language learning; their economic integration, including their current accomodation, and work.

### **Legal integration**

If we choose to focus on “legal” aspects in the narrow sense, only one question would help us to assess refugees’ integration, besides the number of procedures achieved or the kind of status they received. Indeed, as noticed before, all of the respondents have seeked an asylum request soon after their arrival in France and a majority of them already received a 10-years or a 4-years card. However, how many of them felt helped in this process by CC members and/or FEP social workers? The questionnaire reveals that the immense majority of the 34 respondents to this question found that they have been “sufficiently followed at this step of the procedure” (n=31, 91,2%) when only 3 of them express a contrary opinion (8,8%), without any other possibility to know the reasons of their satisfaction or of their discontent.

For this reason, beneficiaries’ “legal” integration could also be assessed by the opinions that they express about several welcoming country administrations and private organizations. All these structures are supposed to actively play a role in their integration pathway, allowing them to access to a series of different rights (asylum, security of persons, freedom of religion, health, work, education). How did refugees feel with them? Have they been sufficiently supported? In one question, in particular, the questionnaire invited the beneficiaries of HCP to assign a grade between 1 and 5 to the backing they have received from 10 different structures since their arrival in France, ranging from parishes and associations to schools and OFPRA. Responses to this question have been combined with a

series of other interrogations about their current feelings regarding safety, religious freedom, and relationships to french healthcare (see insert below).

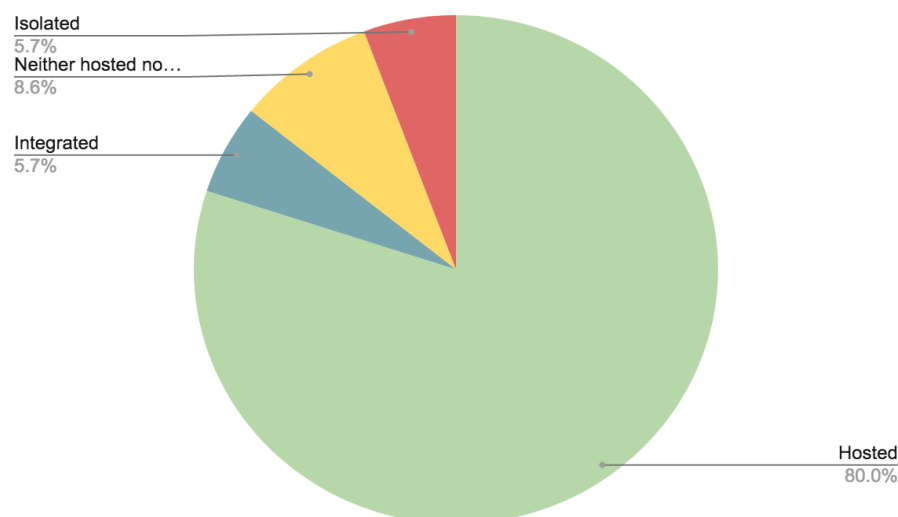
### HCP beneficiaries' rights vs feelings

- The right to asylum: a majority of 29 respondents rated the support they received by OFPRA by a grade of 5 (n=14) or 4 (n=4), but a strong minority assigned to this administration a grade of 3 (n=7). 4 respondents expressed more negative judgments (n=1, 2; n=3, 1).
- The right to security: an immense majority of the 35 respondents to the question "do you feel safe in France?" answered "a lot" (n=24, 68,6%) or "heavily" (n=5, 14,3%), when only 6 of them (17,1%) estimated to be "sufficiently" safe over there.
- The right to freely practice a religion: a majority of the 29 respondents to the question "here, in France, do you feel that you can take part in a religious community and practice your faith as you want?" answered either "completely" (n=4, 13,8%) or "a lot" (n=10, 34,5%). 13 of them, however, answered only "enough" (n=13, 44,8%), when 2 gave negative judgments (n=1, 3,4% "few"; n=1, 3,4% "very few").
- The right to health: 26 of the 32 respondents to the question "how did you feel with french healthcare?" considered either that they felt "very good" (n=16, 50%) or "good" (n=10, 31,3%), when only four of them estimated that they had either "difficulties" (n=3, 9,4%) or "hard difficulties" (n=1, 3,1%) with this system. The two other respondents described an intermediary situation (n=2, 6,3%). The same goes for the question who asked them to rate the help they received from medical centers: out of a total of 26 respondents, 18 of them assigned the grade of 5, 7 of them of 4 and only one of them of 3 to healthcare.
- The right to work: only 3 respondents rated the help received by trade unions, showing a general lack of knowledge about these structures (and, maybe, a misunderstanding of this question), so results seem not to be so significant. More judgments were expressed about their backing from the french employment agency, *Pôle Emploi*. Even if only 11 respondents answered this question, the grades they assigned show a very divided situation: 5 of them rated it by 3, 2 of them rated it either by 1 or 4 and 2 of them rated it either by 2 or 5. In other terms, work seems to represent one of mains pitfalls encountered by welcomed persons, as the analysis of FEP "*tableau de suivi*" has already been suggested and as the assessment about the economic integration will confirm furtherly.
- The right to education: a strong majority of 27 respondents rated help from schools by a grade of 5 (n=21), 4 of them by a 4 and 3 of them by a 2.

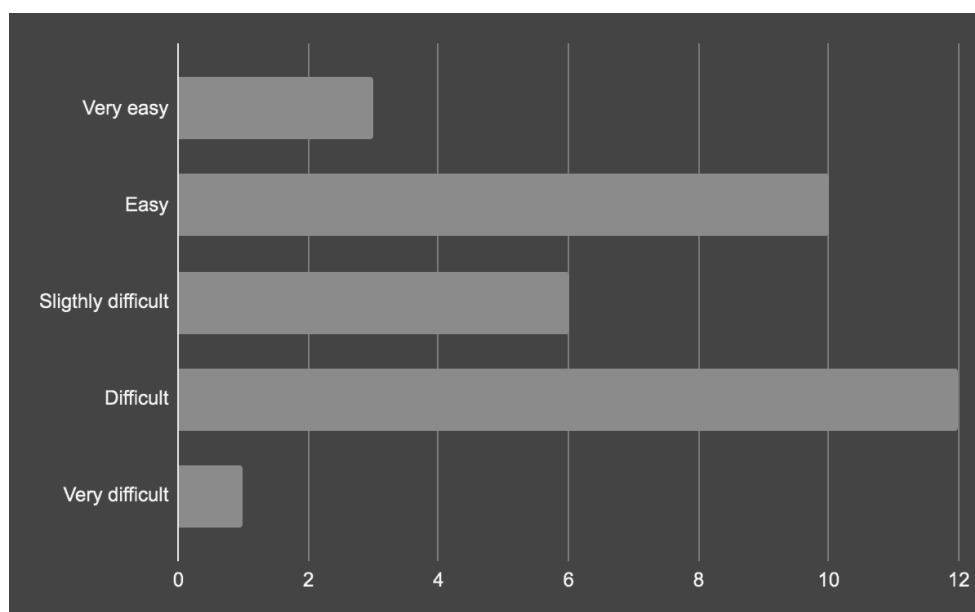
The general positive judgment on schools – the second most appreciated structure by the respondents behind associations (intended both as faith-based structures and CC: 22 respondents out of a total of 31 rated their help by a 5, 8 of them by a 4) – and the majoritarian good opinions expressed, in particular, about healthcare, religious freedom, and security, invite us to target some more socio-cultural aspects of the HCP.

## **Socio-cultural integration**

First, refugees were questioned about their feelings after the first contact with French society: did they feel hosted, integrated, isolated, rejected over there? (see [chart](#) below).



80% of the 35 respondents (n=28) described themselves as “hosted”, 5,7% as “integrated” (n=2), 8,6% as “neither hosted or isolated” (n=3) and 5,7% as “isolated”. It is important to notice that nobody answered “rejected”. However, focusing on the social environment, the situation described by a majority of respondents doesn’t look so rosy, in particular regarding neighbourly relationships (see [chart](#) below).



A majority of the 32 respondents to this question described their neighbourly relations as “slightly difficult” (n=6), “difficult” (n=12) or “very difficult” (n=1), when 10 of them characterized relationships as “easy” (n=10) or “very easy” (n=3). A similar split can be observed when we asked them if they have French friends that they can call if necessary, beyond social workers: out of a total of 35 respondents, 20 of them answered “yes” and 15 of them “no”<sup>31</sup>. By comparison, 30 of them affirm to have other family members or friends coming from their country of origin living nowadays in another region of France, and 32 in another EU state.

Analyzing the results further, we tried to relate the former answers – in particular those about the first contact with the french society, the neighbourly relations, and french friends – with the following factors: the kind of housing (rural/urban), the date of arrival in France (from more to less recent), the composition of FU. Our original idea was to try to identify a possible link between time and social proximity<sup>32</sup>. Unfortunately, due to small sample size, data do not allow us to conclude in this direction without any doubt; they only open an avenue for future research. So far, we can only assess that a majority of HCP beneficiaries are currently in a transitory situation, asking to consolidate their social integration beyond FEP and CC networks.

Another way to achieve refugees’ socio-cultural integration is language learning<sup>33</sup>. Indeed, since their arrival in France, the “*livret d’accueil*” edited by FEP warn them on this point (see insert below).

#### Language (extracts from FEP “*livret d’accueil*”)

“How is your life in France organized during the first year?”

French Lessons: the learning of French must be a priority, because it is the grant to a better integration to french society. It is important to start lessons as soon as possible, for all family members, without any distinction of gender or age. [...] [An agency called] OFII will offer you 400 hours of language training. However, [...] CC volunteers can also organize lessons in order to allow you to integrate french society as fast as possible. Your personal commitment is essential, because French is a very complex language. We invite you to work hard on it. French learning is also the primary way to find a job position once you have obtained a status.

[...]

Interculturality, laicity, and everyday life.

Language: The official language is French. Please note that several people master English over there, and that there exist a lot of Arabic-speaking communities, especially in the big cities. However, it is asked to you to try to not refuge behind your native language, because you have to speak French everyday in your new life. We remember that the knowledge of French is an essential condition to get a position.”

<sup>31</sup> The phrasing of this question is criticable, as we will notice on the conclusion of this report.

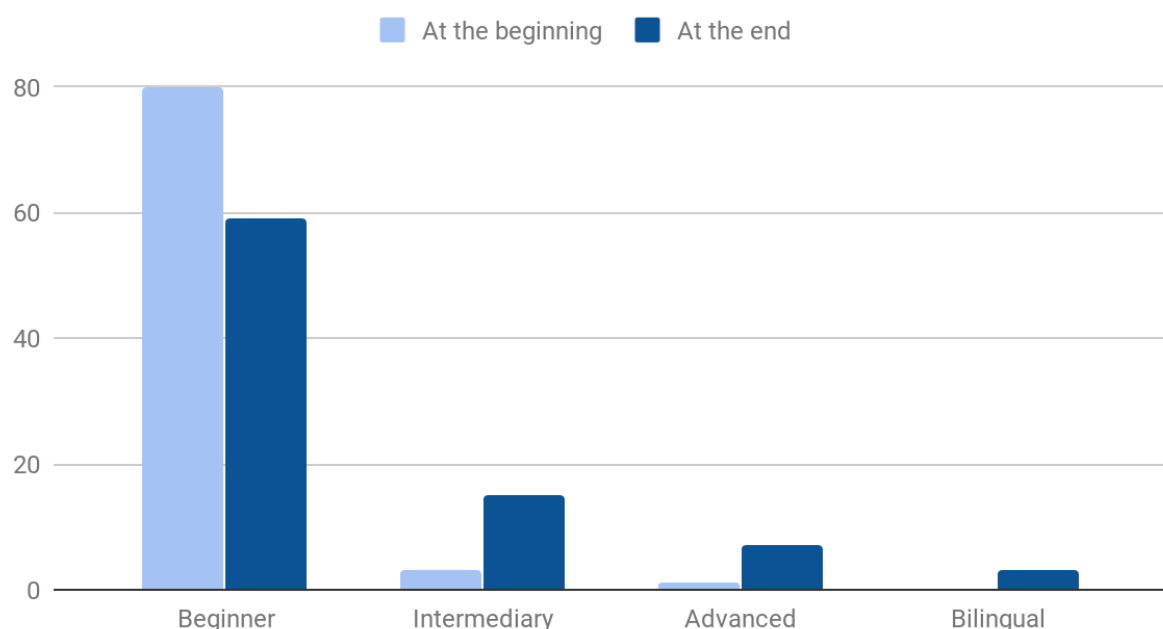
<sup>32</sup> Intended, here, both as kinds of less impersonal relations that is possible to build in small-sized, rural towns where a CC is active and an integration by the scholarization of the kids.

<sup>33</sup> According to sociologists Simona Tersigni and Lorenzo Navone, the question of the language training can also be envisioned as a constraint imposed by EU policies to assimilate migrants, a sort of “soft management of bodies” within other techniques following philosopher Foucault’s analysis [Tersigni and Navone, 2018: 124-125]. However, the choice was made here to follow the recommendations of HCP promoters, analyzing language training as a means to integrate French society.



Questionnaires aren't really useful for this task, because the 35 responders were only questioned about their "consider[ation of] French training [as] a priority [for them]", and all of them had obviously answered "yes" to this question. However, we can estimate French progress of – at least – the 84 adult beneficiaries that have already got a status by OFPRA or CNDA<sup>34</sup> by analyzing FEP "*tableau de suivi*". Indeed, the central platform team consecrated two columns of their spreadsheet to the "initial level" and to the "final level" of language of the HCP beneficiaries. Hence, it is possible to estimate the impact of french training by OFII agency and volunteers from local CC on the whole hosted adult "*refugié*" or "*protection subsidiaire*" persons. General results show a more or less important improvement for at least a quarter of them, as we can see in the chart below.

## French level / Cultural integration



At the very beginnings of the process, following information gathered by FEP central platform team, only 3 refugees had an intermediary knowledge of French, when one of them was already "advanced". After several months – or years – of language training, a majority of refugees continue to be "beginners" (59 out of a total of 84), but 15 of them improved to "intermediary" level, 7 of them to an "advanced" level and 3 of them can be considered "bilinguals" nowadays. By this way we can affirm the achievement, even if in variable proportions, of language training effort toward a better cultural integration to France<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> See above, part I.

<sup>35</sup> Whereas, for further surveys, it would be interesting to combine data gathered by FEP with questions submitted to the whole hosted population, in order to assess relationships between their integration feelings and their French level.

As set out in the “*livret d’accueil*”, language learning could also represent a springboard to find a job (one of the main avenues, with social benefits, to reach an economic independence), despite the difficulties in this field noted earlier by the analysis of data gathered from FEP “*tableau de suivi*”.

### **Economic integration**

Focusing on the 35 questionnaires, two main priorities have been brought to the fore by a large majority of respondents: finding a job and an independent accommodation. Indeed, only 5 of the 32 respondents to the question “do you consider that finding a work is a priority for you?” gave a negative answer (18,8%), and this proportion even decreased – falling to one single respondent (representing 3% out of a total of 33 answering refugees) – for a similar question regarding private housing. However, as mentioned before, questionnaires’ results also reflect an awkward situation on both fronts: only 4 of the 35 respondents are currently working or following vocational training<sup>36</sup>; moreover, a majority of welcomed persons which have been questioned are still hosted, under various forms, by CC volunteers.

Looking for an independent accommodation is maybe the most problematic point emerging by the analysis of the answers to the questionnaire: indeed, respondents are very divided on their current housing situation. From a general standpoint, more than 40% of the 35 welcomed persons declared to be quite unhappy (n=6, 17,1%) or very dissatisfied (n=9, 25,7%) about their ongoing habitat, when 5 of them affirmed to be “sufficiently satisfied” (14,3%), 12 of them to be “very satisfied” (34,3%) and 3 of them to be “totally satisfied” (8,6%). Analyzing more the results, we can see that almost all of those who are either unhappy or totally dissatisfied are still hosted by CC members<sup>37</sup>, even when they live in an individual room. In other terms, satisfaction about housing seems to be more related to a feeling of dependence on hosts, the CC members, than to the fact to share spaces with other family members. Indeed, refugees have also been interrogated about their room-sharing: a majority of those declaring to share their room with 2 or more family members (10 out of a total of 13 respondents) are either “very” or “sufficiently” satisfied of their current accommodation. Free responses at the end of the questionnaire can however qualify this conclusion: for example, a young woman, answering the last question, “do you want to say something else?” pleaded us: “please, can you find a little house for us, because I’m pregnant and I’m living now in a tiny room with my husband and my daughter?”.

Job-seeking and looking for independent accommodations are also two of the recurrent “hopes”, amongst others, that have been expressed answering the open question “can you say, in a few words and possibly in French, what is your main hope for the future?”.

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<sup>36</sup> They have been questioned about the ways they found their job: even if the sample (n=4) is tiny as-possible, 2 of them indicated they got it by their – former or current – host network, another one by HCP team (FEP network association or RD) and the last one by a charitable association (independent from FEP network). That seems to confirm Agier’s previous hypothesis about “weak links” as a way to get a position (see above, part II - B) but the negligible size of the sample doesn’t allow any definitive conclusion.

<sup>37</sup> Only 1 of them, a single without children, has already exited the program, but he is currently living with a family who lodges him for free.

Eight different categories of hopes have been distinguished regarding the responses, and then classified from the most to the less recurrent, as we can see in the [table](#) below.

| Hopes for future                                | Mentions (total) | Example (fragments of sentences)                                   |
|---|------------------|--|
| To find a job                                   | 12               | "To find work"   |
| Children social mobility/health/school results  | 9                | "That children will become doctors or engineers"                   |
| To find an independent accommodation            | 7                | "Finding a house"  |
| To join/see again/bring in France/ their family | 6                | "That my nephews, who are still in Syria, will join us in France " |
| To acquire french nationality/refugee status    | 4                | "To have status at OFPRA"  |
| To learn/improve French                         | 4                | "Learning French"  |
| End of war in Syria                             | 4                | "That war in Syria will end soon"                                  |
| To have a car                                   | 3                | "To get driver licence and to have a car"                          |
| Others  | 3                | "Ending my book of poems"  |

The most mentioned hopes<sup>38</sup> for the future by the 33 responders to this question were job-finding (12 mentions, rank 1), children social mobility, health, or school success (9 mentions, rank 2) and getting an independent home (7 mentions, rank 3), even if Syrian political or personal drama were often quoted as well. These considerations bring us to aim our attention at the ongoing positive points and difficulties about the HCP, and so to complete their standpoint.

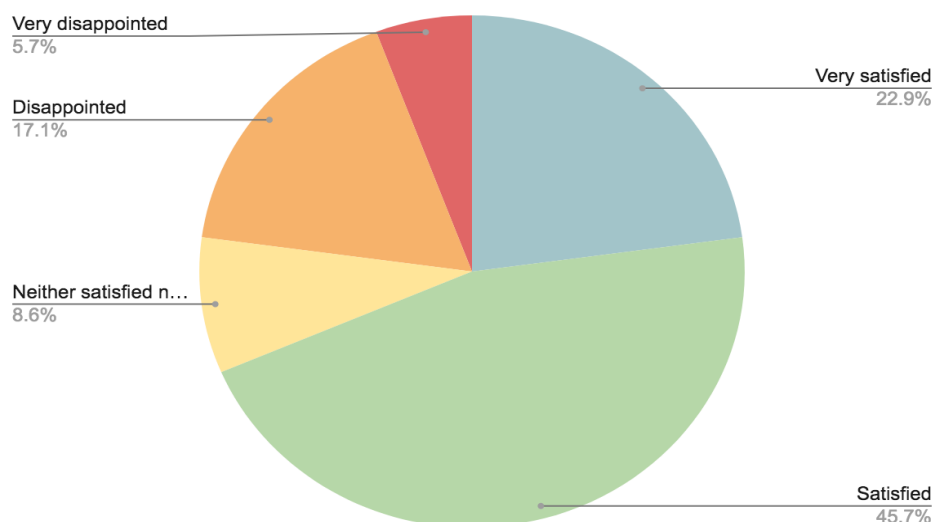
### **Positive points and difficulties**

In their report of 2018, *Secours Catholique* highlighted "overall satisfaction and appreciation of the project by Welcomed persons; [...] the majority of respondents felt timely and well informed about their roles and responsibilities. Welcomed persons further noted that the most positive experience was a warm welcome at the airport and the extensive support provided by Host groups" (see [annex 1](#)). The faith-based association pointed however some difficulties, recommending more particularly to give refugees "access to job market and French courses from the moment of the registration of asylum claim", in order to "foster [their] integration", and to "ensure access to ADA allowance for housing", because "host groups

<sup>38</sup> Please note that If responders mentioned more than a single hope in their answer, every single wish has been classified into a distinct category, so the total is not exactly corresponding to 33 answers.

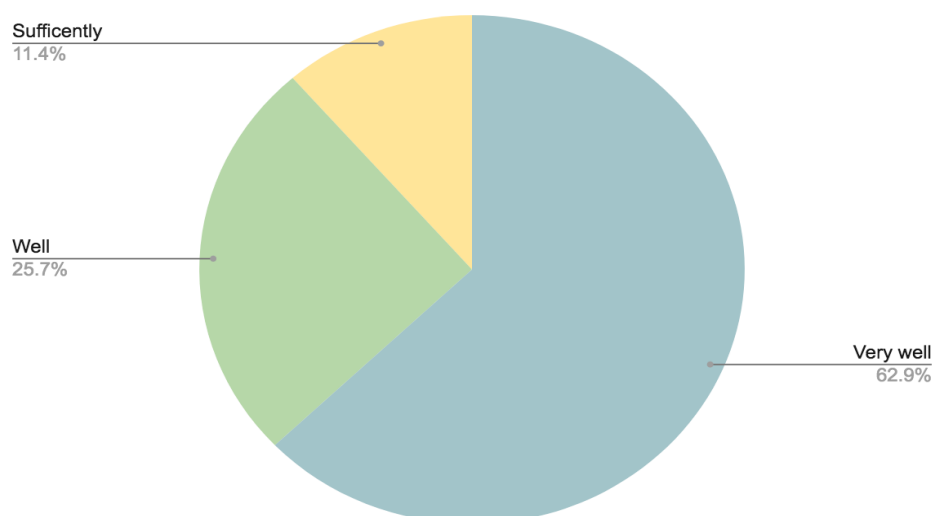
commit themselves in the project with large financial amounts in order to support Welcomed persons. In some cases the amount for the first three months of hosting exceeds 3000 EUR” (*idem*). In other words, french learning, job-seeking and accommodations were already three of the main problems that emerged from that survey in 2018.

In 2020, around two years later, the responses to our questionnaires show that a large majority of welcomed persons continue to appreciate the project, confirming their overall satisfaction of beneficiaries already observed in 2018 by *Secours Catholique*. Indeed, more than the two thirds of the 35 respondents to the question “compared to expectations you had before leav[ing Lebanon], you are nowadays [very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied nor disappointed, disappointed, very disappointed] by HCP?” estimated the program either positively (n=16, 45,7%) or very positively (n=8, 22,9%), when only a minority expressed negative judgments (6 “disappointed”, 17,1% and 2 “very disappointed”, 5,7%), as we can see in the chart below.



Despite this, when they were interrogated, in another question, about the effectiveness of the French “HCP system (voluntary committees and regional divisions) to provide [them] all that [they] need[ed] to face [their] new life in France (healthcare, schoolarization of children, etc.)”, all of the 35 responders expressed positive judgments<sup>39</sup>, ranging from “sufficiently” (n=4, 11,4%) to “well” (n=9, 25,7%) and “very well” (n=22, 62,9%), as we can observe in the chart below.

<sup>39</sup> Although the questionnaire gave them five different possibilities for this response, including “few” and “very few”.



A final means to assess the overall satisfaction about the program by its beneficiaries is represented by the free responses that a majority of them gave to the last query of the questionnaire, “do you want to say something else?”. A large majority of welcomed persons would like to thank “France, the association and everyone for the hosting” (a 30 years-old Iraqi woman), “Sant’Egidio and FEP” (a 30 years-old man from Syria) or the local “volunteers of Orthez” (a 67 years-old Syrian woman). More surprisingly, one respondent recommended “new welcomed families to take care of the accommodations loaned” by CC members (a 38 year-old man from Iraq), when another declared to be “volunteer to help new families” (a 30 years-old Iraqi man). All of these elements allow us to conclude in the same direction of the previous survey of 2018.

Some of the final responses are however more critical: for example, a 22 years-old man from Syria asks if it is possible “to accelerate the procedure at OFPRA?”, when another 38 years-old syrian man would like to “have more language training”. Those responses bring out the difficulties that seem still to remain after three years of the HCP implementation.

As remembered earlier, the 2018 report by *Secours Catholique* identified some particular pitfalls concerning the asylum-seeking procedure, language learning, access to the job market, and housing<sup>40</sup>. We already pointed out most of these difficulties in the previous paragraphs of our own survey, despite a slight improvement about the French training, and brought to light a couple of additional issues regarding, in particular, friendly and neighbourly relations. Some of these difficulties have also been expressed by HCP beneficiaires answering the open question “can you say, in a few words and possibly in French, what is your main fear for the future?”. As we did for the “hopes” table, we distinguished and ranked seven different categories of fears according to responses (see [table](#) below).

<sup>40</sup> Including a feeling of dependence to CC members by most refugees in the detailed version of the report, which has been published in French.

| Fears for future  | Mentions (total) | Example (fragments of sentences)  |
|---|------------------|---|
| Reject of the asylum seeking/ status-related            | 6                | "To return in Syria at the end of the 4 years of <i>"protection subsidiaire"</i> status " |
| Not to find a job/home                                  | 5                | "Not to find a job and a home"  |
| No fear/no more fears                                   | 4                | "I have no more fear over here because France is a rule of law country"                   |
| Political/cultural situation in France                  | 3                | "Racism and problem of Islamic handcraft"   |
| Fear for family members which remained in Syria or Iraq | 2                | "I have fear that my nephews, that are still in Syria, would die over there"              |
| Political situation in Syria                            | 2                | "That Bachar El-Assad continue to be president"   |

The most mentioned fears for future by the 26 responders to this questions are the reject of their asylum request or end of their *"protection subsidiaire"* card (6 mentions, rank 1), the unemployment and/or the dependence to CC members (5 mentions, rank 2), and problems related to the cultural and political situation in the hosting country like racism or the rising of the far right (3 mentions, rank 4), when 4 of them seems to be particularly confident and affirm to have currently "no fear" or "no more fears" (rank 2). In other terms, welcoming, integration to the hosting country, housing and work look like to constitute particular matters of concern for welcomed persons, confirming some of the analysis of the report that has been published in 2018 by *Secours Catholique*. If the dual system imagined three years ago by the FEP is generally satisfying, hence, some improvements, in particular in the areas of language training, cultural integration, access to the work market and to independent housing appears, from refugees' standpoints, indispensable. Do social workers and CC members share this point of view about the program implementation?



### III. HCP from FEP regional divisions' and citizen committees' standpoint

Interviews with CC members and RD social workers may help to answer this question and, at the same time, to test some other hypotheses. By investigating more particularly 3 of 5 RD, indeed, we would like to verify if French HCP dual system really facilitates tasks, like cultural mediation, and increases chances of refugees' legal, social and cultural integration, our main supposition<sup>41</sup>. However, we would also try to assess if it is possible to incorporate HCP in a larger, innovative category of hosting identified by the authors of the recent book *Hospitality in France: political and personal mobilizations* as “à la carte” and “without constraint” [Agier et al., 2019: 40]. By these terms, they describe a kind of “easy, feasible and soft hosting” which aims to be “an opportunity of meeting the Other”, avoiding as much as possible to “affect the ordinary life of hosting families” [*ibid.*]. They based their categorization on the observation of 7 private-sponsored programs apparently similar to HCP, sharing some common characteristics. The kind of hosting they promote is “easy”, which means “without any risks for the hosts, because the program secures a trusting relationship”. It is also “feasible”, intended as “affordable from a financial standpoint”. Finally, this kind of welcoming is “soft”: “hosts don't have to follow hosted families, because associations or institutional partners ensure the social and administrative monitoring” [*ibid.*: 41-43]. Do these features correspond to the action of French CC and RD? What are the specificities of HCP, and what are the characteristics it shares with other private-sponsored programs?

For our survey, as noticed earlier, we had the great chance to question two RD social workers and no less than 5 CC members, because the two officials we interviewed can also be considered part of them<sup>42</sup>. We will provide a short description of their life paths furtherly. We chose to anonymize them as well as the welcomed persons they mentioned during interviews. In contrast, RD social workers haven't been anonymized, because their contact can easily be found by everyone<sup>43</sup>.

In this part, we will first focus on the hosting groundwork, from the creation of a CC to the material preparation of arrivals by RD. We will describe then their support to welcomed persons, once in France, and their efforts to give them the necessary independence to exit the program. Finally, we will expose some positive points about the program implementation but also some difficulties that CC members and social workers are currently expecting.

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<sup>41</sup> See above, introduction: emerging research questions.

<sup>42</sup> Idem: methodology.

<sup>43</sup> For example, on the FEP website, at the end of the monthly newsletter “*lettre aux hébergeurs*” (see [annex 2](#)) or in the first chart of this report (see above, introduction).

## Hosting groundwork

Following the French version of the 2018 report by *Secours Catholique*, we can observe that a majority of local CC they questioned (16 out of a total of 27) have been specifically created for the needs of HCP, although some of them already existed: authors mentioned, for example, the case of a CC founded near Paris soon after Pope Francis' appeal for refugees in 2015. They also note that 3 of those CC weren't originally created to accommodate persons (they had other aims, like socio-cultural accompaniment), but that they reconverted in this task: HCP is their first experience as hosting groups. Finally 85% of the CC they interrogated declared to have been informed of the existence of the HCP by a partner organization or a parish network, when 15% of them affirmed that they discovered the existence of the program by the press. During our own survey, we interrogated members about the creation of the CC they belong to. The genealogy of local committees seems to vary as well as the profiles of hosts do (see insert below).

### Profile of CC members/hosts

The authors of *Hospitality in France: political and personal mobilizations* distinguished some common features regarding hosts: in general, they hold an important diploma (4 years of university studies or more); they have high working positions (lawyers, doctors, university professors...) or they are artists; around 50% of them are householder; they generally committed to the program after a "moral choc" like the 2015 "mediatization of deaths in Mediterranean Sea" or the "presence of migrant camps behind their windows" [Agier et al., 2019: 70-71]. However the rest of their life path – as well as their familial, political, religious socializations – seems to differ quite significantly, except maybe for the fact that, for a large part of them, "hosting a refugee is the first experience of commitment they had in their life" [*ibid.*: 72-73]. With such a reduced number of interviews like ours, our purpose is not to confirm or deny these conclusions, but simply to observe that the 5 members we interrogated seem to share some of the common features highlighted by the authors of the 2019 book. Indeed, they generally have high positions (prefecture official, retired professor, entrepreneur, arty-crafty potter, professional of the "third sector") and school titles (most of them followed 5 or more years of studies). They also generally own their house. However, a majority of members we have questioned were previously committed towards refugees under various forms. For example, Grand Brassac CC founder remembered that their "parents helped refugees from Serbian civil war when she was a child", when Bordeaux prefecture delegate quoted her "experience at the cabinet for humanitarian action of minister Bernard Kouchner" during the 1990s. Orthez former mayor had a "strong engagement" with CIMADE (a protestant association following asylum-seekers) and the Orthez CC founder a "50 years long commitment to FEP" (she is currently a member of the executive board of FEP for the South-West of France). Except this, their life paths significantly differ, ranging from a long career into the public administration to the creation of an associative shop, from a long religious commitment to fight inequalities to a sudden "choc" to realize migrant problems, etc., representing a variety of profiles reflected into the composition and the *modus operandi* of each local CC.

The founder of Othez CC explained us for example that they created the group in 2015, two years before the official start of the HCP, but its origins

"Go back in November 2014, when FEP president François Clavairolly called for support Christians in the Middle-Orient. [...] We thought: we can't ignore that. What can we do? [...] So we decided to create a questionnaire and to pass it out to each [protestant] parish member, directly in Church, in order to assess how they could contribute. For example, financial support, language learning, transport [...]. One member answered she had chickens, so she could provide eggs. Another said that he had a bed he didn't use anymore. [...] And the mayor of Orthez, [which is] the brother of [the other founder of the local

CC] told me: I have two empty apartments belonging to the municipality, near the school. We were ready to host refugees!” (CC member, Orthez, NA division<sup>44</sup>)

Another CC member in RA division said:

“I am a potter. I owned a place for professional training. When I stopped this training activity, the place remained empty. I listened to the radio about all of those people in the streets, all those camps [of migrants] in the towns... So, after a two-years period of reflection, [which] is a lot of time, I decided to visit a close friend. [...] We wrote a letter to all of our friends and, in the next few days, I exposed my project to the mayor. [...] We sent around 30 emails. 15 days later, almost all of the people we contacted came for a first meeting. Then, we contacted FEP and other associations. We organized another meeting, this time in a room loaned by the municipality. We were 80-90! [...] At the very beginnings, our collective was very informal, but we improved little by little. [...] We had urgences, like to restore the place, to find a stove, to put tiling, etc. We have done that in only one month ” (CC member, Lhuis, RA division)

As we can observe from these first extracts, a “citizen hosting” doesn’t necessarily mean an accommodation of refugees “at home”, giving them one (or more) room(s) of a private apartment or house “with the permission of the whole family members, especially of children” [Agier et al., 2019: 50], as described by the authors of the book *Hospitality in France: political and personal mobilizations*. This is only one of the possibilities offered by HCP, as the case of Bordeaux prefecture delegate shows:

“My son moved to Canada last year, so he left his room and his [private] bathroom. [...] I found at Prefecture a paper by “*Diaconat de Bordeaux*” explaining that they were looking for voluntary hosts owning, at least, a room and a bathroom. [...] I called my son in Canada, he agreed, so I called the phone number I found on the paper. [...] Tarik [NA social worker] came home to see how [the young refugee] would be hosted. [...] And at the end of February, [he] arrived!” (Bordeaux prefecture delegate and host, NA division)

The diversity of accommodations offered by CC<sup>45</sup>, after the variety of their origins and of the profile of their members, also attest of their independence in their way of functioning, from different points of views. Some are more formal than others; some concern an elevated number of active members, others are based on the action of only a few people; some are financing their activities almost exclusively by membership fees, others by a series of activities, etc. For example, in Grand Brassac:

“Our blog is followed by more than 200 subscribers, but we are around 60 “real” CC members I think, I mean people paying fees. But we organized a lunch lastly and we were around 150, we also organized a concert and there were even more people. [...] Finally, we are 5 young members very committed to follow families from an administrative standpoint. We let other activities to retired people. I know other CC, and I’m conscious that they are functioning by the action of retired people. Here, it’s the contrary...” (CC member, Grand Brassac, NA division)

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<sup>44</sup> Names of interviewed people, henceforth, will be resigned directly after their quote.

<sup>45</sup> Some members are explicitly opposed to any hosting granted by french families: Orthez CC founder affirms that “she always opposed to a welcoming by families” because, in her opinion, “granting a quality hosting imply a certain distance between hosting and hosted people”.

Lhuis CC is slightly different:

"We send regular information to around 150 persons. All aren't members of the association. But we have the chance to gather people with competences in different fields (papers, finances, communication...), so we divide tasks. For example, 3 members are committed to healthcare, 2 help with the school. [...] We are an association, but we are not pyramidal: we regularly organize assemblies, then we split work between different groups. We have no president of the association. All the groups are opened to everyone. [...] We have a group called "animation", and they organize events. Recently, they organized a concert. 140 people came, for a benefit of 2000€. [...] Syrian women prepared dishes that were sold there for 5€ each. They also organized 3 film projections" (CC member, Lhuis, RA division)

In Orthez, one of the first CC created in France:

"There is a minimum fee of 10€ per year. We also have regular donations: someone gives 100€ per month, others 50€. [...] [We have to consider that] rent of an apartment, with extra costs [water, electricity, etc.], is around 600€ per month, so when first families arrived we called for donations to the church, and we gathered 3000€ in a single week! [...] But soon after, we realized that we need to divide tasks. So we appointed a responsible for healthcare [...], a treasurer, a vice-president. [...] We also have volunteers for language training. Tarik [NA social worker] follow the whole process at the OFPRA" (CC member, Orthez, NA division)

Besides these differences, all CC members highlighted a privileged relationship they built with their RD responsible – the social worker – and the FEP national platform team since the groundwork of a hosting project. Céline Clement (GE division) and Aurélie Fillod (RA division), the two professionals of the social intervention we interviewed, explain indeed that their roles, at this stage, are:

- Firstly, to recruit potential hosts, taking contact with existing CC or helping to form new ones. They can in particular provide a formation, called "hosting and understanding each other" (Aurélie Fillod, RA division).
- Secondly, to "present HCP and divide tasks between CC members. Because [RD social workers] face an increasing number of requests about Middle-Orient and about concrete aspects of hosting, [they] can project documentaries or organize talks with volunteers coming from the same RD" (Céline Clément, GE division).
- Thirdly, to visit the place where refugees will potentially be hosted, in order to verify the conformity of the house or the apartment to the project standards ("provide a decent accomodation", Aurélie Fillod, RA division).
- Fourthly, to prepare hosts and CC networks for the arrival, by "introduc[ing] the welcomed persons and their life path (names, children, where they come from...)" (Céline Clément, GE division). They also sign a tripartite convention between FEP, CC and local socio-cultural center for language training, and "provide to CC members a series of other documents (FEP chart, "livret d'accueil"...) (Aurélie Fillod, RA division).

Once these tasks accomplished – following the analysis of authors of *Hospitality in France: political and personal mobilizations* appearing particularly appropriates here – social workers' "mission [become the] support of hosts: on the one hand, by connecting them with hosted persons and supporting first meetings; on the other hand, by being the mediators of the hosting relationship" [Agier et al., 2019: 51].

## **Early post-arrival support**

The first task accomplished by either RD/central platform team or CC members is the welcoming of beneficiaries at the airport, near Paris. In general, as Sophie de Croutte explains, “we stop then in Paris at Eiffel Tower, because they all want to take a picture in front of the Eiffel Tower [...], and after we come with them to a train station, where they take a train towards their final destination” (Sophie de Croutte, FEP). RD social workers “are not always there when families arrive at the airport. But, in that case, [they] meet them in the next few days” (Aurélié Fillod, RA division). Each single CC member told us their own stories about this particular moment: a strenuous luggage transport from the hall of airport to the parking, a difficult meeting in an overcrowded train station, etc. One of the most significant of these stories is maybe the arrival of the first refugee family in Orthez, two years before the official starting of HCP:

“The first family we hosted in 2015 has been very mediatized. That year, [...] [a lot of] politicians advocated hosting, [...] we were exactly in the right context: a committee, not yet an association, formed by citizens and supported by municipality. A lot of media came [...]. At the arrival of the first family, there were cameras interviewing the mayor, and also the police. [Indeed,] we received a lot of critics on social networks, I also received anonymous messages and threats on my personal phone. So the police were informed. I personally introduced the family to the local police and I asked them to have a look at their apartment, just in case...” (CC member, Orthez, NA division)

The former mayor of Orthez qualify, however:

“We met a few [real] antagonisms. Since the start, as a municipality, we have claimed our strong intention to host refugees. [...] If we had shown signs of hesitation, oppositions would have been stronger. [...] But the welcoming was so joyful that we never had backfires from opponents” (former mayor, Orthez, NA division)

Even if these stories went back before the beginnings of HCP, things haven't really changed since the program implementation, especially in middle-size or rural towns: local CC are, in a number of cases, confronted with local misgivings that need to be dispelled. In Grand Brassac, for example:

“We faced a lot of reluctances, especially from members of municipal council: [...] “who will pay?”, “and if the association can't pay anymore?” [...] We tried to say “we are responsible for them, we are an association with 3 co-presidents”, “it's our responsibility, but if you can support us, it would be better!” And then we hosted our first family. We introduced them to the whole municipal board. Members were just... Ecstatic! Because when you put a human behind a project, and when a project takes a human face, with people who breathe, like us, who don't come from Mars, and in addition with children... It's very reassuring!” (CC member, Grand Brassac, NA division)

The first months of hosting include as well material and administrative support. Both of these aspects create some complex dynamics between CC members and FEP RD or central platforms teams. They can also variate from one reality to another, following the task division of each local CC and RD. For the needs of this survey, we separated these aspects.

## **Legal Support**

In the 2018 report by *Secours Catholique*, a CC from RA division regretted: “administrative procedures are very time consuming. We would welcome an agreement between the French authorities and partners of the project that could guarantee assistance of a social worker during different administrative procedures from the moment Welcomed persons arrive in France” (see [annex 1](#)). Around two years later, CC members and RD social workers continue to expect difficulties in this field, more particularly regarding the asylum process (GUDA, OFPRA/CNDA). For example, Orthez CC founder deplore an increasing delay of procedures – “for first families, it went very fast: they came with a D Visa, OFPRA convened them, they told their life story, and they had a 10-years card, within 6 months” (CC member, Orthez, NA division) – when GE social worker regret “the lack of a specific legal service, so [she] manage[s] with national platform, CIMADE or other associations” (Céline Clément, GE division). According to a Lhuis CC member, “it would be a great idea if RD could follow the whole administrative process: [...] for each new family we host, we need to find someone to train them to tell their life stories at OFPRA, and this task would be better accomplished by a professional” (CC member, Lhuis, RA division). Beyond these difficulties and variations from a RD to another, the – dual – presence of – either – one or more voluntary host(s) and/or social workers undertaking the asylum request seems to constitute a precious resource for the beneficiaries of the program.

Indeed, French sociologist Smaïn Laacher, during his survey at CNDA published in 2018 under the title *Believing the unbelievable. A sociologist at CNDA*, highlighted a double difficulty, a “reciprocal lack of transparency” touching both requesters and judges of the Court: “on the one hand, asylum-seekers have no idea of how their dossier is managed (by the prefecture, by OFPRA officials or by CNDA judges). On the other hand, judges and lawyers don’t know the past and the origins of seekers” [Alunni, 2019: 650]. The presence of HCP volunteers and/or social workers following asylum-seekers at each step of the procedure certainly helps refugees to know how their dossier is managed since the GUDA request, giving them valuable legal advice and preparing them for the appointments with officials or judges. Moreover, at least a person from RD or FEP central platform comes with them when they are convened at OFPRA or at CNDA. The moral support they receive over there seems to be fundamental, because this moment is very violent – from a psychological standpoint – for them, as Bordeaux prefecture delegate explains:

“I was a little “motherly” with [the young refugee I hosted], for example I came with him to OFPRA, In Fontenay [near Paris]. I met Sophie de Crouette there. OFPRA has been a very violent moment for him. [...] The procedure took a lot of time, I discussed with Sophie during that time, and... Then he went out. The return trip [to the hosting place] was a terrible moment: he spent all the travelling time in the train crying on my shoulder... [Because at OFPRA] he remembered all his past. [...] Fortunately, he got a 10 years-card” (Bordeaux prefecture delegate and host, NA division)

Other administrative procedures during those first months include inscriptions – to ADA allowance, healthcare, language training and, for families with children, to school – with their lot of appointments. Each RD and CC is again independent in organizing this work, midway between legal and material support.

## **Material Support**

HCP “*Livret d’accueil*”, as noticed in the first part of this report, explains indeed that the first months of the program are those asking the greatest material investment by CC members. In particular, during (approximately) the first two months, beneficiaries are entirely dependent on them, including for food, because they can’t already access ADA allowance. Once they obtain this social benefit, they are supposed to become independent to get food, but local committees still finance other charges. According to Orthez CC founder, amounts can represent up to “5000 euros per year and per person, including rentings” (CC member, Orthez, NA division). Fortunately, other associations can help to cover some of these charges under various forms. It’s for example the case of *Secours Catholique*, providing clothes and other articles (notebooks, pencils, furniture....) for free. It’s also the case of “*Restos du Coeur*”, a laic association providing food. Institutions can also take part, in some cases, to this financial effort: for example, Lhuis municipal board has decided to cover school canteen costs for refugees’ children (approx. 600 euros per child and per year).

However, a series of other material needs can’t be directly financed by money or in-kind donations. They call for the solidarity of volunteers belonging to committees. For example, transport to the different appointments mentioned previously, following the analysis of a RA CC member:

“Is the most difficult task we have to accomplish... [We provide] a lot of trips: to the doctor, to the pediatrician, to administrations, to the bank... All these trips represent a huge cost [for us], especially in terms of time. A round trip to Bourg-en-Bresse is an hour of car. By happy chance, many of us take part to this task” (CC member, Lhuis, RA division)

Rural areas seem to be the most confronted to mobility difficulties, and new rules edited by French State departments of Homeland Security in 2019, stating that Syrian and Iraqi driver licenses aren’t exchanged anymore with a French permit (see [annex 2](#)), certainly represent an additional hurdle. But, besides this specific problem, this example highlights – first and foremost – the importance to constitute a large CC, with a diversity of involvements: the more members they are, the more they can divide tasks, so the effort is apportioned between each single member and “constraints”, if not disappearing, are eventually strongly reduced<sup>46</sup>. Despite this, some interviews can also reveal an opposite situation that is likely to occur: a sort of helping contest between the different CC members. This can create tensions, as Bordeaux prefecture delegate explains:

“I think the most problematic aspect, for me and for [the refugee I was hosting], came from volunteers themselves! They were in a sort of competition about who was doing more for him, hence they weren’t listening to him... They are beautiful people beside it, but they weren’t really helping each other, they constantly called me to know if one of them had already accomplished this or that other task... [...] And [the refugee] didn’t appreciate that they took care of him like a baby, so a lot of tensions spreaded” (Bordeaux prefecture delegate and host, NA division)

In other cases, however, conflicts are more connected to relationships between welcoming and welcomed families, or to refugees’ attitudes themselves. In any case, “teams in charge of the program – according to the authors of *Hospitality in France: political and*

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<sup>46</sup> For a reading of HCP in terms of a kind of hosting “without constraints”, see above and the conclusion of this part below.



*personal mobilizations* – can intervene on the request of either welcoming or welcomed persons as mediators, to ease tensions or solve everyday life problems” [Agier et al., 2019: 55]. Indeed, according to the RA social worker, “mediation is one of our missions.” (Aurélien Fillod, RA division). Céline Clément, from GE division, details:

“When malfunctions appear, for example families who are disrespectful of hosting conditions, refugees who are abandoning French lessons, quarrels, etc., I can intervene as a mediator. It also happens that I play this role to solve problems between CC members themselves” (Céline Clément, GE division)

In order to reduce this kind of conflicts, and because one of the main goals of HCP is to give its beneficiaries as much independence as possible in a short period of time, CC members and social workers generally try to fast forward legal, socio-cultural, and economic integration of refugees, with a varying degrees of success.

## ***Towards integration***

Interviews reveal, first, a wide array of efforts deployed by CC members and social workers to accelerate legal and administrative integration of welcomed persons, upstream and downstream asylum requests. Indeed, if GUDA, OFPRA and/or CNDA have their own temporalities<sup>47</sup>, with limited possibilities of action by volunteers and teams in charge of the program, institutions at the local stage<sup>48</sup> are more open to arrangements, made in particular by means of networks’ activation. Orthez CC founder disclosed, for example, that she has her:

“Own networks, and the fact to be in a small town certainly helps... E.g., a local official from the Education State department asked me [a refugee’s family] incomes. My word was enough, no need to prove it by any paper...” (CC member, Orthez, NA division).

The efforts to fast forward socio-cultural integration, by contrast, seem to face a series of barriers already highlighted analyzing refugees’ responses to the questionnaires. On the one hand, an immense majority of responders described themselves as “hosted” or “integrated” by the French society; on the other hand, problems persisted for part of them to build neighbourly or friendly relationships with french persons<sup>49</sup>. From a statistical standpoint, we concluded to the impossibility to exactly identify the reasons of these difficulties, suggesting however several ideas: they could be linked to the time period spent into the hosting country, to the location of the accommodation (supposing that there is less social proximity in big towns than in small-sized/rural towns), to the FU composition – suggesting that scholarization of children foster a more quick integration – and, more generally, to the language training. Interviews consolidate some of these ideas, even if their reduced number doesn’t allow us, again, to conclude in this direction without any doubt. A RA CC member explains for example that:

“All refugees go through a difficult time after the first three or four months of hosting. They feel very isolated, because they have another way of life than ours: they don’t understand our vision of “everyone

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<sup>47</sup> See above.

<sup>48</sup> Including town, county, regional agencies and local branches of national institutions.

<sup>49</sup> See above, part II.

in their own homes”. Their families and friends really miss them. And they speak a very few words of French [...] so the language is a difficult point. [...] Little by little, they better understand our culture. Many members invite them for meals, so they build friendly relationships. [One of the children] is also very integrated into his high school.” (CC member, Lhuis, RA division)

Being hosted in a small-sized town, scholarizing children and improving French level seems to constitute three very helpful factors for socio-cultural integration. The most important of them, following the analysis of all of the CC members we interviewed, is probably the school: indeed, children or teenagers learn over there French generally faster than parents. Some of them, after four or five months of lessons, also start to speak the hosting country language with their brothers and/or sisters at home. Moreover, their scholarization creates friendly networks with others – local – children or teenagers. By extension, these networks can concern parents. A final role played by school is the opportunity given to adult refugees to come talking their story in front of a public during an hour or an afternoon. This moment, aiming to promote awareness of values of peace, tolerance and anti-racism, can be lived either as a dramatic experience – in one interview a CC member told us that a refugee exited classroom after a few minutes, crying – or as a supplementary means for integration. For example, Othez CC founder explains that:

“Last year, many of our high school students decided to do personal work about refugees. They called and visited me. I provided them several documents. [One of the young refugees we are hosting] came three times to local high school to talk about his experience. It was wonderful, because he came with a F.C. Barcelona t-shirt, and some students had a PSG football club t-shirt, so they asked him “what’s your favorite football club?”, he proudly showed his t-shirt and said “Barça”... He showed a very strong willingness to integrate [French society].” (CC member, Orthez, NA division)

The last field focusing the efforts of CC members and social workers to fast forward refugees’ integration is economy, at the double meaning previously highlighted of work (or social benefits) and autonomous housing. As a reminder, HCP “*livret d’accueil*” stated that once beneficiaries have got their status (4 year or 10 year card), they can start to seek a work and an apartment. They can also claim for two allowances, RSA (income support) and APL (help for leasing), so that they can be considered financially independent and begin to output the program, at least regarding their accomodation. However, a series of material difficulties in these areas have been underscored both by analyzing FEP “*tableau de suivi*” and the responses at the 35 questionnaires. From CC members’ and social workers’ standpoints, it is important to strictly cooperate in this field, but also to respect time and wishes of hosted families, following the analysis of a NA CC member:

“Once they obtain status, they have choice. They can stay here or they go away. Obviously if they want to live in the same flat, we will help them, asking the Town Council if they can establish a renting contract. [...] For my part, I foster the maximum of independence. But we will accompany them for the necessary time, both administratively and humanely.” (CC member, Grand Brassac, NA division)

In all cases, especially if refugees quit the program, CC members and social workers seem generally to preserve solid and friendly relationships with their – former – hosts, as explains for example Bordeaux prefecture delegate:

“At the very beginning of the program, we signed an agreement for unlimited time hosting. [...] But, after some months, I said [to the refugee she hosted]: “You have been there for almost 9 months, now you

are born!". He told me "OK", found a place and left. But I meet him regularly when I go out, and I plan to invite him home soon, for dinner." (Bordeaux prefecture delegate and host, NA division)

Interviews nevertheless point up a number of difficulties (unemployment, problems with attribution of social housing, etc.) coming mainly from administrations – e.g. "there are always problems with *"Pôle Emploi"*<sup>50</sup> or with *"CAF"*<sup>51</sup>, a missing paper, an interruption of allowances without any reasons... Always!" (CC member, Lhuis, RA division) – but also, less frequently, from hosted persons themselves. For example, Orthez CC founder says that one of the first families they hosted:

"Occupied the same flat for almost 5 years. That's not normal! They blocked a place for other families... So now we ask them to sign a contract, between 9 months and 1 year. Obviously we can renew this leasing agreement." (CC member, Orthez, NA division)

This sort of problem, but also the achievements exposed in the previous paragraphs (e.g. the successful output of HCP by the refugee hosted by Bordeaux Prefecture delegate), invites us to consider CC members' and social workers' general feelings about the inner workings of the program.

### ***Positive points and difficulties***

By analyzing the 7 interviews we made, we identified three positive points generally disclosed by RD teams and local welcoming volunteers. The first, already mentioned, concerns the efficiency of the French HCP dual system – CC and FEP – since the groundwork of hosting projects. CC members recognized indeed that they established good relationships at all stages of the program, both with the central platform and with RD workers. They also noticed that they made good connections with other local committees. For example, a RA CC member told us:

"We have built very good relationships with other CC in the region, as well as with the national [FEP] platform. Their work, especially at OFPRA, is amazing. And Sophie [de Crouette] is an incredible person. [...] We are also very happy to have Aurélie [Fillod] supporting us. She's very reactive... We are all impressed by her reactivity. This is very important for us." (CC member, Lhuis, RA division)

Social workers share the same feelings. According to Aurélie Fillod:

"Relationships with CC, except for a few cases, are generally very positive. We support their members with administration, we visit them... And we can communicate too with hosted families, by text messages [...]. We also dialogue a lot with the national platform, almost each and every day. We try to think together how to help CC and families more" (Aurélie Fillod, RA division)

The second positive point revealed by the persons we interviewed is the creation, though the HCP, of new local dynamics. In Grand Brassac, for example:

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<sup>50</sup> See above.

<sup>51</sup> Idem.

“The fact that we hosted 5 more children in the municipality, is a very positive point, even for old people that in early days thought that “they made noise”. Now they perceive the importance of having activities, swings belonging to the municipality are used...It changes all!” (CC member, Grand Brassac, NA division)

According to a RA CC member:

“One of the main achievements of HCP here [in Lhuis] is represented by the fact that, at the beginning [of the program], local people weren’t enthusiastic at all, there were also oppositions... Now, reluctances have disappeared. It’s magic! [Hosted people] always said “hello!”, even when they were ignored in return. And local people perceived this kindness...They appreciate them a lot now.” (CC member, Lhuis, RA division)

The dissipation of the initial misgivings by locals go hand in hand with the consolidation of CC neighbourly networks. This aspect is very important because, as we have pointed it up before, it helps to establish a large committee with a diversity of roles and involvements. A NA CC member explains, indeed, that:

“We can count now on three different “supporting circles” within the committee. First group: the 8 founders of CC. They are the most committed to the program. Second group: very enthusiastic people that really want to help. If no one coming from these two first groups is available to do a task, a third group takes over... [...] For example, for transport, we have a lot of retired people who offered their “free taxi” services for [refugees] parents and children... In the worst case, we can always ask the Major “can you lend us the van owned by the municipality?” (CC member, Grand Brassac, NA division)

In other terms, CC, especially in rural areas, seem to promote a new social cohesion, both by trying to integrate beneficiaries to the local population<sup>52</sup> and by connecting locals themselves through material tasks and solidarity with welcomed persons<sup>53</sup>. In Lhuis, for example, a CC member “would like to thank FEP, because they make it possible for us to live this beautiful human adventure, and also to build strong links within CC. It allowed us to create a very solid network” (CC member, Lhuis, RA division). A Grand Brassac CC member analyze:

“Our school is not jeopardized by closure, but still, it’s clear that 5 more children... It shows that we need schools in rural zones, we cannot all send our children to school by bus in towns where there are already 400 schoolboys... But it is also important to focus on the creation [by the program] of social links between neighbours. People started to ask us if they could help in any way: “I have a garden and vegetables, do you think that if I give some to refugees, it could help them”? “Indeed!” Because we need social connections over there, rural zones are missing them nowadays because most of us work far away, 20 kilometers or more, and when we return here in the evening, it’s difficult to meet our neighbours” (CC member, Grand Brassac, NA division)

A third and final positive point, emphasized especially by the CC members we interviewed, is their feeling that most of HCP beneficiaries, even if they are confronted with multiple hurdles, express a genuine desire to integrate French society and economy, in order to become independent and output the program swiftly. In other terms, even if the achievement of the integration pathway is still more a goal than a reality for a majority of welcomed persons, CC members share a common persuasion: outcomes will be more and more reliable over the

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<sup>52</sup> Beyond the problems mentioned previously, and beyond our uncertain conclusions due to the reduced number of interviews we made.

<sup>53</sup> Indeed, according to an official, those “dynamics can take part to maintain social links. But it’s more the case of some small rural municipalities, and less over there” (former mayor, Orthez, NA division).

next few years, as long as a – variable – adaptation time is respected. Indeed, this transition can “take time, but, afterwards, integration becomes a reality!”, according to the former mayor of Orthez (NA division). The only interview we made with a beneficiary of the program also seems to comfort the willingness to reach an effective integration:

“I feel that things set up, little by little. The fears [I developed at] the beginnings have gone, we had our own routines, our own traditions, now we are learning to deal with practices of our new country. [...] [In the next few years], I see myself getting a working position with young children, doing vocational training at kindergarten. I feel that there is a future in France for me and for all of my family.” (Syrian woman, IF division)

This set of elements allows us to formulate a first response to the two main hypotheses mentioned at the beginning of this part. Do citizen committees and associations really help refugees to integrate more easily French culture, language, system of law, and society? Despite the reduced number of interviews we made, results seem to move in this direction, even if some problems still persist. Can we describe HCP as a program “à la carte” and “without constraint”, following the analysis of the authors of *Hospitality in France: political and personal mobilizations*? Only for part. Everything depends on the degree of engagement of each single CC fellow within the group (e.g. the different “supporting circles” described by the Grand Brassac CC member), the kind of hosting they offer to the refugees (a more or less independent accommodation), and the autonomous organization of each RD (providing more or less assistance by social worker in administrative tasks, especially at OFPRA/CNDA). The same goes for a complementary supposition made by the anthropologists who edited the 2019 book: an hosting “à la carte” and “without constraint” involves a commitment described as “post-it” and “rewarding” from a moral standpoint [Agier et al., 2019: 76-78]. Through the first expression, borrowed from French sociologist Jacques Ion, they identify an engagement “limited in time, replicable in different places and situations – distinguishing refugees’ hosting “post-it” commitment from trade unions “stamp” involvement, meaning that “sociability networks overcomes often the collective action” – and including a reduced degree of conviviality” [*ibid.*: 76]. Most of these features seems not to match with the action of local citizen committees<sup>54</sup>. By the term “rewarding”, they identify a series of “moral rewards” provided by commitment, as well as new knowledge and skills. These characteristics seem more to apply to HCP. Again, it is important to underline that a more consequent number of interviews would be welcomed for the next surveys, allowing us to assess more precisely these aspects.

CC members and social workers also informed us about a series of difficulties they still are expecting three years after the program implementation. Besides problems to get a status, a working position and an independent accommodation for refugees (even by activating their own networks), they generally underscore a “culture gap” between beneficiaries’ former traditions and new hosting country practices. For example, a CC member told us that:

“it would be great to inform welcoming persons that, in France, gynaecologists and doctors are often men. [One of the women we are hosting] agrees now to be examined by male doctors, but it was not

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<sup>54</sup> Or maybe just for the persons belonging to the “extended network” created by CC (the “third circle” described by Grand Brassac member), even if conviviality seems to characterize the action of committees especially in rural areas (see above).

self-evident at the beginning. [Another one] refused to go to the swimming pool, because they don't accept short covering the knees" (CC member, Lhuis, RA division)

This "culture gap", partially linked with difficulties in language training and more generally to the integration hurdles, leads CC members and social workers we interviewed to express two main improvement requests for the HCP. The first is to hire more social workers and interpreters, in order to overcome the barrier of the language and to support more efficiently the beneficiaries of the program since their arrival on the french ground. According to Céline Clément, indeed

"The missing of interpreters and the lack of financial means to pay them is harmful both for my work and for that of local volunteers. I also have to highlight that neither one of the refugees we are currently hosting [in our division] is english-speaker anymore, so things are getting more and more complicated. Moreover, I think that my role in the program might be significantly improved by the hiring of a second social worker. [...] I have the feeling to manage everything alone: if some day for some reasons I'm not available to do one task, who will replace me?" (Céline Clément, GE division)

A second suggestion is to create training courses for CC members, provided either by RD social workers or by other professionals (psychologists, scholars, etc.). Orthez CC founder explains, for example, that they:

"need a training course about the culture and the practices of refugees we are hosting. For example, when [one of them] passed away, we had no idea how to organize funerals... And I think we are very, very ignorant about their culture! So we need this kind of training course." (CC member, Orthez, NA division)

Another CC member submitted us the request to access "a training course about autonomy: all of us haven't the same conception about refugees' independence" (CC member, Lhuis, RA division). All of these elements suggest a tension between a necessary adaptation time and desires of fast forward the integration process, between religious cultures and republican practices, and, finally, they open avenues of reflection for further surveys: aren't they the primary sign that the French HCP double-staged organization – laics CC supported by faith-based structure – is the reflect of an integration national model which is "based on the assimilation to the majoritarian culture [...] and on the acceptance of values of French Republic, including laicity" [Badea, 2012: 576-577]?

## Conclusion

This report aimed to assess the impact of French HCP taking the example of the 236 refugees welcomed by CC supported by the FEP network (RD and associations), with 3 years of hindsight since the program started. It has been conducted within a short timespan of two months. A main hypothesis has been tested, both from refugees' and CC members'/social workers' standpoint: do the French dual system – CC and RD/central platform – offer to the beneficiaries of the program a quicker integration in the French society? A series of secondary interrogations (about refugees' expectations, difficulties, etc.) have also been answered. Both quantitative (data gathered from "*tableau de suivi*" by FEP and 35 questionnaires submitted to adult beneficiaries of the program) and qualitative (8 semi-directive and 2 exploratory interviews) methods have been used.

### Key findings

Given the analysis of the available data ("*tableau de suivi*", questionnaires, and interviews), one can reasonably conclude that:

1. French HCP appears not only as a symbolical, but also as a concrete proof that "another hosting is possible". For sure, refugees have encountered difficulties about language, housing, work, and in relation to the asylum-seeking process (GUDA, OFPRA/CNDA). Yet, more than the two thirds of the 35 respondents to our question "compared to expectations you had before leav[ing Lebanon], you are nowadays [very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied nor disappointed, disappointed, very disappointed] by HCP?" estimated the program either positively (n=16, 45,7%) or very positively (n=8, 22,9%), when only a minority expressed negative judgments (6 "disappointed", 17,1% and 2 "very disappointed", 5,7%). Similarly, from the point of view of the CC members and social workers, three positive aspects have been individuated. Firstly, the efficiency of the French HCP dual system. CC members recognized indeed that they established good relationships at all stages of the program, both with the central platform and with RD workers. They also noticed that they made good connections with other local committees. Secondly, the emergence of new local dynamics of cohesion, especially in rural areas. Thirdly, CC members felt that a majority of HCP beneficiaries express a genuine desire to integrate French society and economy.
2. FEP "*tableau de suivi*" is a powerful instrument for better understanding the long-term outcomes of this process and its organization, especially if integrated with more qualitative data such as those collected for this report. FEP central platform gathers information about each single welcomed person (n=236) and FU (n=62) which is hosted by a CC they support, either directly or by one of their five RD. Indeed, the "*tableau de suivi*" allows us to understand the general framework of the HCP: the



arrival of the beneficiaries since July 2017, their gender distribution, origins, age-range, distribution on the French territory, families' composition, and so on. Moreover, the "*tableau de suivi*" contains several information about each step of the asylum procedure. It also includes other precious data (beneficiaires' ressources, accomodation, language level, etc.). If opportunely treated – and, of course, anonymized – these data can represent the first tool for any future report and research about the FEP's initiative.

3. The selection stage in Lebanon seems to represent the hardest phase of the program, at least following beneficiaire's standpoint. First, workers from FEP or FCEI make 2, 3 or 4 interviews with each single person to collect their life stories, a means to be sure that French or Italian Consulate will accept their visa request – the choice between France and Italy is met on the basis of specific criteria. If they understand that a file can be rejected, they can preventively stop the procedure and explain motivations to the potential beneficiaries of HCP; rather, if interviews are successful, FEP/FCEI workers will follow the entire visa procedure at the Consulate, except the official interview with the authorities. In the meanwhile, HCP beneficiaries and their families are invited to integrate a particular psycho-social program provided by a Lebanese association called *Metanoia* to prepare their new life in Europe. Refugees are also invited – at least for the French side – to connect to a language learning online platform. During this time, French citizen committees begin to look for accommodation. Interviewees are divided about the perception of this selection process. Half of those who replied to the question "how was the screening process to access HCP, before you were definitively selected?" (n=32) considered it "difficult" (n=13, 40,6%) or "very difficult" (n=3, 9,4%) when just less than a third of them consider that it was "easy" (n=7, 21,9%) or "very easy" (n=2, 6,3%). Moreover, to the question "do you think that the information and advice given by social workers in Lebanon allowed you to acquire the main skills useful to prepare your departure project?" around a third of the 34 respondents considered that they were "enough" informed about their departure project (n=11), when just less than another third estimated that they have received "perfect" (n=3) or "a lot" (n=7) of helpful advice. The other third, in contrast, deplored some lack of information (n=13, 11 "not so much" and 2 "very few").
  
4. The arrival in France and the first months of hosting represent a transitory moment needing mutual adaptation. Refugees were questioned about their feelings after the first contact with French society: did they feel hosted, integrated, isolated, rejected over there? 80% of the 35 respondents (n=28) described themselves as "hosted", 5,7% as "integrated" (n=2), 8,6% as "neither hosted or isolated" (n=3) and 5,7% as "isolated". It is important to notice that nobody answered "rejected". However, focusing on the social environment, the situation described by a majority of respondents doesn't look so rosy, in particular regarding neighbourly relationships. A majority of the 32 respondents to this question described their neighbourly relations as "slightly difficult" (n=6), "difficult" (n=12) or "very difficult" (n=1), when 10 of them characterized relationships as "easy" (n=10) or "very easy" (n=3). Some problems seem to come from volunteers, who sometimes are implicated in sorts of competitions for helping. In other cases, conflicts are more connected to relationships between welcoming and

welcomed families, or to refugees' attitudes themselves. In order to reduce this kind of conflicts, CC members and social workers generally try to fast forward legal, socio-cultural, and economic integration of refugees, with varying degrees of success.

5. The legal and moral support offered at OFPRA or at CNDA has a fundamental impact in the integration process. A "reciprocal lack of transparency" often touches both requesters and officials/judges of the agency/Court. On the one hand, asylum-seekers have no idea of how their dossier is managed. On the other, judges and lawyers don't know the past and the origins of seekers. The presence of HCP volunteers and/or social workers following asylum-seekers at each step of the procedure helps refugees to know how their dossier is managed since the GUDA request, giving them valuable legal advice and preparing them for the appointments with officials or judges. Moreover, at least a person from RD or FEP central platform comes with them when they are convened at OFPRA or at CNDA. Yet, CC members and RD social workers experience several difficulties, especially regarding the asylum process (increasing delay of procedures, lack of a specific legal service, etc.). All the beneficiaries of HCP have sought an asylum request soon after their arrival in France and a majority of them already received a 10-years or a 4-years card – see in particular pp.19-23 for the details. The great majority of the 34 respondents to the question if they felt supported in the legal process by CC members and/or FEP social workers found that they have been "sufficiently followed at this step of the procedure" (n=31, 91,2%) when only 3 of them express a contrary opinion (8,8%) – see the box pp.32-33 for a better understanding of the relation between HCP beneficiaries legal rights and feelings.
  
6. Once refugees have got their status, their integration pathway is still strewn with obstacles. After having been hosted for several months by CC members (their main material task amongst others, like transport), already independent to get food, they are supposed to seek a job and an autonomous accommodation. Both the analysis of "*tableau de suivi*" and responses to the questionnaires show difficulties on these fields: the immense majority of beneficiaries whose legal procedure is already achieved – around 87% – are for example currently job seekers and their financial resources seem to be mostly dependent on various French social benefits (in around 93% of cases). Moreover, a majority of FUs are still hosted by CC (42 out of a total of 62), even if around a third of them (n=19) can be considered independent from the housing standpoint. Some of these problems seem to come from a more or less hard learning of French language – see in particular pp. 35-36 for the details. Job-seeking and looking for independent accommodations are also two of the recurrent "hopes", amongst others, that have been expressed answering the open question "can you say, in a few words and possibly in French, what is your main hope for the future?" CC members and social workers also informed us about a series of difficulties they still are expecting to get working positions and an independent accommodation for refugees (even by activating their own networks). They underscored as well a "culture gap" between beneficiaries' former traditions and new hosting country practices, and suggested some solutions, such as creating training courses for CC members, recruiting interpreters, etc., to fill it.

7. Another kind of gap has emerged during our survey: a gap between integration in the rural and urban areas. A majority of CC are located in middle-sized (like Agen, in NA division) or small-sized, rural towns – while, for instance, IF division is the less hosting RD of the program besides Hors-Pôle. Rural places only host families or singles with children. Although more qualitative data should be collected on this point, the analysis conducted for this report suggests that refugees have experienced an easier integration in the rural area rather than in the big, urban French areas. CC in the countryside seem to promote a new social cohesion, both by trying to integrate beneficiaries to the local population, and by connecting locals themselves through material tasks and solidarity with welcomed persons. The problem is that, as suggested by interviews with the FEP central platform members and social workers, refugees' common representation of France is Paris. Once they arrive in France, they are often disappointed by the rural location of their accomodation. Moreover, other factors could contribute to this gap, such as the distribution of religious beliefs around the country, the type of work available for each region, and even the sizes and kinds of buildings in which beneficiaries are hosted. As the research stands now, a clear and definitive answer on the gap between rural and urban areas is not available.

### ***Critics and improvements suggestions***

In order to improve further investigations, a first obvious suggestion is to allow researchers to invest more time in doing interviews and submitting questionnaires. This would increase their number, so that more complex quantitative and qualitative analysis could be made, in particular in articulation with the precious information offered by FEP “*tableau de suivi*”. 10 interviews and 35 surveys are certainly not enough to reach any certain conclusion: thus, this report must be rather seen in terms of an exploratory kind of work. In addition, more attention should be given to the translation of the questions, and to their adaptation to the specific environment. For example, a question translated from Italian asked French HCP beneficiaries “do you have friends beyond social workers?”, avoiding to add “and CC members?”. Out of 35 respondents, 20 of them answered “yes” and 15 of them “no”, but we don't know exactly how many of the 20 refugees claiming that they currently have french friends would have answered differently if “CC members” had been added to the phrasing of the question. Rasing data collection and dissipating mistranslations are just two examples of a series of methodological improvements which may be needed for further investigations of the program. Three more points could be developed:

1. In further research, it would be necessary to better explore the relation between the “capital” (cultural, social, economic, and ultimately symbolic) of both the refugees and the social workers/volunteers, and the outcomes of the entire process. While some preliminary findings suggest that a higher capital from both sides can make integration smoother, a much deeper analysis on this point is certainly needed.
2. One more note could deal with the personal biographical datas of the refugees, and particularly with gender-related issues. It could be helpful to deepen the study of the challenges, difficulties and advantages in hosting and empowering men and women,

and to ask how and if the gender belonging is linked to the whole of the welcoming experience. For example: is the experience of a young single mother welcoming “easier” in a rural or in an urban context? Does the welcoming context change priorities, starting from a gender perspective?

3. This report should represent the basis for a confrontation of similar practices in different countries (in particular, between France and Italy). Another important aspect that could be investigated is the specific relation between the program and the religious dimension – of the refugees, the volunteers and social workers, but also of the institutions involved in the process, as well as the deeply different approach to the idea of the laicity of public institutions. Finally, it could be interesting to propose a comparative reflection (France-Italy) on how the different subjects consider the welcoming process “achieved”, according to what priorities, timings and results.

The advisory board and the author of this report also suggest three kinds of improvements regarding the HCP itself:

1. During the selection stage in Lebanon, information – especially regarding the difficulties that beneficiaries of HCP will face once in France – could be (even more) increased, by multiplying for example videos made by FEP (see [annex 2](#)). This suggestion aims not to daunt, but to (even) better prepare selected persons for their new life in Europe: the more they develop realistic expectations about their hosting, the less they are disappointed if they encounter hurdles in France.
2. After the arrival in the hosting country, all of the barriers mentioned both by refugees and by CC members/social workers (asylum-seeking, language, work, accommodation, culture) should be considered in order to, possibly:
  - a. Standardize some practices, without questioning the independence of each RD and local CC. According to Guilhem Mante from FEP, a first project steering committee was planned in February 2020 and tried to edit some common recommendations for the 5 different RD. We foster the development of this kind of initiative in the future.
  - b. Access the requests from Social Workers to hire interpreters, helping refugees during their first months, and from CC members to organize training courses at least about the origin country’s culture of the beneficiaries of the program, so that the “culture gap” would be more easily filled. Moreover, one of the respondents to the questionnaire offered to help newcomers: why don’t try to generalize this suggestion? Welcomed persons, under the condition to have already made good progress in their integration pathway, could become “voluntary welcomers” in this way and help either RD social workers or CC members to better integrate new arriving families.

3. More generally, we suggest an improvement of the HCP network, simultaneously at European level (Italy, France, Belgium etc.), at each single country stage, and finally locally (RD and CC). Given the current context of Covid-19 Pandemic, the next months and years will see the emergence of new challenges: a main social and economic crisis will probably spread, and the risk is that it will weaken (even more) most vulnerable persons – including HCP beneficiaries – drawing attention away of their drama (e.g. slums at the doors of EU or camps in Lebanon) and increasing their difficulties (e.g. unemployment). Confronting practices and improving cooperations between and within States could be a solution to face these new dares imposed by the changing global context, preserving in the meanwhile the independent organization of each single HCP.
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# Annexes

- 1. Digest - When Citizens Host Refugees (Secours Catholique, October 2018)**
- 2. Lettre aux hébergeurs (FEP, December 2019)**



# WHEN CITIZENS HOST REFUGEES

KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS  
FROM THE SURVEY OF THE HUMANITARIAN CORRIDORS  
PROJECT

## The first year of the project implementation: July 2017 - August 2018

The project Humanitarian Corridors aims to provide reception of particularly vulnerable persons among refugees temporarily hosted in Lebanon. These Welcomed persons are provided with humanitarian visa that allows them safe and legal access to France under the private sponsorship scheme (Welcomed persons are privately sponsored and supported by voluntary Host groups/individuals). This project is being implemented within the framework of the Agreement signed in March 2017 between the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France and five faith-based organizations (namely: Community of Sant'Egidio, the Protestant Federation of France, the Federation of Protestant Mutual Aid, the Bishops' Conference of France and Secours Catholique - Caritas France). As a result, the first families were welcomed in France in July 2017 and by the end of September 2018, 160 Welcomed persons that is 38 families and 3 individuals arrived to France.

In order to better assess and evaluate the project and its impact on Welcomed persons and Host groups as well as to address the gaps and propose improvements, the project partners agreed to conduct a survey. This survey was shared with respondents at least 3 months after the arrival of the respective Welcomed person. The retention rate of the survey was relatively high and managed to reach respondents who were in a relevant position to answer the survey questions. Out of 25 addressed families and 3 individuals (105 persons in total), 21 questionnaires representing 79 Welcomed persons were answered. Out of 28 Host groups addressed, 27 baseline questionnaires were answered.

## HUMANITARIAN CORRIDORS

# KEY FINDINGS



### PROFILE OF WELCOMED PERSONS

**Majority of respondents and their families** (14 families) remained in protracted displacement situation outside their country for three years or more before arriving to France. Before applying for the participation in the project Humanitarian Corridors a half of all respondents (11 families) tried to reach secure place outside Lebanon through other channels mainly through safe migration programmes for refugees and people in need.



### PROFILE OF HOST GROUPS

**The majority of Welcoming** groups (16 groups) has more than 15 members from which 9 groups indicated that their group has more than 26 members. In addition, the majority of the Host groups (16 groups) indicated that their group was specifically and exclusively created for the Humanitarian Corridors project.



### ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES AND ACCESS TO RIGHTS IN FRANCE AND SUPPORT PROVIDED BY HOST GROUPS

**In order to initiate administrative procedures in France**, most respondents and their families (15 respondents) succeeded to register their asylum application within 15 days upon arrival as specified in the Agreement. On the contrary and not in accordance with the Agreement, nearly a half of respondents and their families did not have an interview with the Office for the Protection of Refugees (OFPRA) during first three months upon the arrival to France. Welcomed persons receive support with settlement from Host groups. In particular, Host groups provide accommodation, material support, language training, socio-cultural activities, social support and assistance during the asylum claim and administrative procedures. At least 18 Host groups responded that they cooperate with civil society organizations and 13 Host groups indicated that they collaborate with social support structures dedicated to state-funded asylum-seekers.



### HOUSING

**Half of all respondents** (11 Welcomed families) expressed their satisfaction with the accommodation in France organized by Host groups. Some of the responding Welcomed families consider their current accommodation or the place of residence as too small while few respondents pointed out a lack of good connection with public transportation to schools and medical facilities. In terms of the type of accommodation arranged for Welcomed persons, 15 Host groups indicated that they found accommodation free of charge while 11 Host groups indicated that the Welcomed persons are hosted in rented housing



### EMPLOYMENT OF WELCOMED PERSONS

**The data from** the survey shows that none of the respondents or their family members were engaged in a remunerable activity. This is mainly due to work restriction for the asylum seekers, but also due to limited French language skills and limited availability of jobs in the area of residence. On the other hand, one half of respondents (10) indicated that they or their family members work as volunteers in charitable or sports associations.



### LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

**The average level of French language** of the majority of Welcomed persons upon arrival to France was basic or non-existing. By contrast, after few months of stay in France the French language skills of Welcomed persons and their families increased to basic or intermediate level. While 36 per cent of responding Welcomed persons indicated that their children in schooling age could not or had a limited access to education in Lebanon, the survey revealed that 67 per cent of the children in schooling age were enrolled in the French educational system immediately upon arrival and the remaining children within few months



## HUMANITARIAN CORRIDORS



## HEALTHCARE

**The majority of respondents and their families (13)** did not have an access to free health-care in Lebanon, Iraq or Syria. In contrast, almost all respondents indicated that currently they have free access to healthcare for all family members. In addition 17 respondents and their family members already used the medical services in France.



## SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

**Friends and family can provide additional support** with settlement in France. The survey showed that only 5 respondents and their families live close to another family member and only one respondent with the family declared to live near to someone they knew from home. Only four respondents indicated that they presently live near to their country nationals they met in France and nearly a half of the respondents (10) indicated that they live near to friends they made once in France. When asked how the involvement of the Host group in the project changed their perception of persons with migration experience, 11 Host groups responded that the change was positive. In addition, 15 Host groups responded that the involvement of their group in the current project also changed positively the community perception of foreigners in general. Nearly all Host groups participating in the survey responded that they would encourage other Host groups to get involved in the project Humanitarian Corridors.

**“What are the positive aspects of the project: “...to bring together people from various political and religious backgrounds who work together for the common goal. This diversity is enriching and it does miracles. The regular events such as picnics for refugees/asylum seekers and neighbouring hosting groups are very rewarding”**

Host group from the Occitanie region

**To conclude with**, the survey results highlighted overall satisfaction and appreciation of the project by Welcomed persons and Host groups. In fact, both surveyed groups indicated satisfaction with guidance and tools provided by the project partners. The majority of respondents felt timely and well informed about their roles and responsibilities. Welcomed persons further noted that the most positive experience was a warm welcome at the airport and the extensive support provided by Host groups, while Host groups were motivated and inspired with the trust Welcomed persons have towards them as well as the patience Welcomed persons have with lengthy procedures and learning French language.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations provide a list of concrete measures aiming to improve the project design and fine-tune its implementation.

## PROVIDE COMPREHENSIVE PRE-DEPARTURE INFORMATION AND POST-ARRIVAL ASSISTANCE

Welcomed persons and Host groups would further welcome additional pre-departure information. The Welcomed persons, would value more detailed information on: labour market and education in France, information about housing, general information about French culture, information about the place of their residence, detailed description of administrative procedures in France and more information about the travel to France. The Host groups would appreciate more information about their role and responsibilities towards Welcomed persons.

**“Administrative procedures in France are lengthy; sometimes there is a lack of clarification. I think that others joining the project should be informed and advised to be more patient with administrative procedures and do not hesitate to ask questions and seek clarification.”**

Young Iraqi woman

## INCORPORATE IN THE PROJECT SPACE FOR INTERCULTURAL DIALOG AND EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE

Given the differences in culture, language and faith, the intercultural encounters bringing together Welcomed person and Host groups as well as exchanges of experience should be considered by the project partners in the second year of the project»

## HUMANITARIAN CORRIDORS

### ENSURE ACCESS TO QUALIFIED SERVICES PROVIDED BY ADMINISTRATORS AND SOCIAL WORKERS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

» Although majority of Welcomed persons arriving to France through the project Humanitarian Corridors succeeded to access the entitlement for asylum seekers and follow up on their asylum claim, these administrative procedures represent a time consuming, complex and stressful task, especially for the Host groups. It is therefore necessary to ensure availability of dedicated services/social actors who could counsel and support the Welcomed persons and Host groups through procedures.

“Administrative procedures are very time consuming. We would welcome an agreement between the French authorities and partners of the project Humanitarian Corridors that could guarantee assistance of a social worker during different administrative procedures from the moment Welcomed persons arrive to France.”

Host group from the Bourgogne Franche Comté region

### RESPECT THE LENGTH OF ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE AS STATED IN THE AGREEMENT

Timely procedures are critical element in the Humanitarian Corridors project as any significant delay hinders Welcomed person access to entitlements, including housing, unemployment or family benefits (as guaranteed by the Republican Integration Contract). The duration of procedures as stated in the Agreement should be therefore respected to facilitate planning for the Host groups and project partners. In cases where the deadlines can not be respected, the State authorities should provide alternative solution and ensure commitment towards hosting the Welcomed persons.

### ENSURE ACCESS TO ADA ALLOWANCE FOR HOUSING

Host groups commit themselves in the project with large financial amounts in order to support Welcomed persons. In some cases the amount for first three months of hosting exceeds 3000 EUR. The recent decree decreasing the additional amount of ADA (Financial allowance for asylum seekers) for persons residing outside the state housing facility has a strong implication for the independence and autonomy of the Welcomed persons as well as for the Host groups. This decree restricts autonomy of these individuals

and impedes solidarity actions of civil society and it is therefore important to cancel this decree.

### ENSURE TIMELY ACCESS TO PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT AND SPECIAL CARE SERVICES

Given the fact that majority of Welcomed persons under this project are persons with significant vulnerabilities, it is a priority to guarantee quick access to free psychosocial support. Moreover, in some cases, arriving persons have strong disabilities that require specific type of accommodation (for example persons in a wheelchair). For these particular cases, the State should guarantee a priority access to adapted public facilities while Host group can provide the socio-cultural and emotional support.

### IMPROVED ACCESS TO FRENCH COURSES, VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES, TRAINING AND JOB MARKET

Similar to situation of other asylum seekers, access to job market and French courses from the moment of the registration of asylum claim would foster integration of Welcomed persons. It is therefore recommended to guarantee for all asylum seekers access to job market and French courses from the moment of the asylum claim registration and not only once the protection is granted. All project partners fully support this recommendation.

### PROVIDE INFORMATION AND SUPPORT ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION PROCEDURE

Several Welcomed persons express deep worries about their closest relatives and family members who stayed behind in Syria, Lebanon or Iraq. It is of main importance both for the relatives still in conflict zones, as well as for the integration of Welcomed persons to facilitate family reunification by providing detailed information about the procedure, timeframe and assistance during the application procedure.

“We are exhausted and suffer so much as we left our family (parents and my brother) behind in Lebanon. They should come to France, I hope you will be able to find a solution. I am sick and frequently hospitalized and the presence of my parents here in France would help me, my wife and our little daughter a lot.”

Iraqi man



Fédération protestante de France



Fédération Entraide Protestante



SANT'EGIDIO



CONFÉRENCE des évêques de France



Caritas France  
Secours Catholique





FÉDÉRATION DE L'ENTRAIDE PROTESTANTE

# LETTRE AUX HÉBERGEURS

#12

Décembre 2019

## Chers amis engagés dans l'accueil et l'accompagnement des réfugiés,

**En cette fin d'année 2019, nous souhaitons revenir avec vous sur les évolutions du contexte pour les personnes réfugiées, que ce soit au Liban ou en France.**

Avec une population de quatre millions d'habitants, le pays du cèdre accueille entre 1,5 million et deux millions de réfugiés, syriens et irakiens.

Comme nous l'explique dans cette lettre Soledad André, notre envoyée de la FEP au Liban, la situation de ces familles réfugiées se détériore. D'autre part, les événements survenus au Liban ces dernières semaines ont accru la pression subie par les réfugiés alors que la situation en Syrie ne permet pas d'envisager un retour en toute sécurité pour ces familles. Enfin, au niveau mondial, selon l'Agence des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés, 70 millions de personnes sont victimes de déplacements forcés.

Evidemment l'engagement citoyen seul ne peut suffire à offrir des solutions durables à l'ensemble des personnes en besoin de protection internationale. Il est cependant porteur d'un sens profond, il témoigne de la volonté d'une partie de la population française de promouvoir et d'exiger un accueil digne de ceux qui fuient les conflits et les persécutions.

Il encourage les États à prendre leurs responsabilités et à s'engager dans l'accueil des réfugiés, il encourage les réseaux territoriaux, les

collectivités locales à travailler de concert dans le développement de réseaux d'accueil et à considérer l'accueil des réfugiés comme un ciment de cohésion sociale. Enfin, il donne à la FEP des arguments, des exemples et des preuves pour appuyer ses revendications, et porter la parole des sans-voix.

Les collectifs citoyens, appuyés par la FEP ont accueilli à ce jour 58 familles dans le cadre des couloirs humanitaires. Cela peut paraître peu au vu des besoins mondiaux, mais c'est un exemple fort d'engagement fraternel qui rayonne et envoie un message fort, démontrant que l'hospitalité peut présenter une alternative aux durcissements des politiques migratoires. Ce message, nous le portons devant les différents acteurs et décideurs français, comme européens.

**Dans une période marquée par un durcissement des conditions d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile en France, nous avons plus que jamais besoin de faire entendre ces voix d'espérance. Merci à tous ceux qui les portent ainsi, avec nous, au quotidien.**

**Guilhem Mante**  
Coordinateur de programme  
«Accueil de l'Étranger»

*Nous vous souhaitons de belles  
fêtes de fin d'année  
et une excellente année 2020,  
placée sous le signe  
de la solidarité.*



## Un mot de Soledad...

...qui accompagne et prépare depuis le Liban les familles avant leur départ.

### EN VIDÉO

Des pastilles vidéos de sensibilisation ont été réalisées par la FEP et projetées à ces occasions ; si vous souhaitez les visionner, cliquez sur les vignettes ci-dessous.



**> L'aide financière pour les demandeurs d'asile**

<http://bit.ly/FEPlaide>



**> La demande de logement pour les demandeurs d'asile**

<http://bit.ly/FEPl logement>

Depuis le début du projet, les conditions de vie des réfugiés au Liban ont considérablement empiré. Soumis à de nombreux décrets émis par les autorités libanaises rendant très difficile le renouvellement de leurs papiers, leurs déplacements, leurs possibilités d'emplois ou de trouver un logement, les réfugiés, majoritairement syriens, sont poussés à quitter le pays. Malheureusement, la situation actuelle en Syrie ne permet pas d'envisager un retour en toute sécurité pour ces familles. D'autre part, les événements survenus au Liban ces dernières semaines ont accru la pression subie par les réfugiés.

L'équipe de la FEP au Liban continue donc son travail d'identification des bénéficiaires des Couloirs Humanitaires et d'accompagnement dans leurs démarches, depuis la constitution de la demande de visa humanitaire auprès du Consulat de France à Beyrouth jusqu'au départ en France. Outre l'assistance légale fournie aux bénéficiaires, cet accompagnement passe également par une préparation au départ qui inclue des groupes de discussions avec des psychologues, un atelier d'explication du projet et très récemment une introduction à l'apprentissage du français. Durant cette préparation sont abordés les thèmes de l'interculturalité, la gestion du stress, la procédure de demande d'asile en France... Ce temps de préparation est l'opportunité pour les bénéficiaires d'exprimer leurs questions, leurs doutes et leurs peurs. C'est donc l'occasion pour l'équipe de la FEP de les rassurer, mais également de déconstruire toutes idées reçues sur la perspective d'une vie idéale en Europe.



SI VOUS SOUHAITEZ ACCÉDER AU PROGRAMME D'APPRENTISSAGE DU FRANÇAIS EN LIGNE, RENDEZ-VOUS ICI :

<https://bit.ly/34zMnwN>



## Évolution du contexte pour les demandeurs d'asile en France

**En France, les politiques d'accueil pour les demandeurs d'asile ont évolué ces derniers mois.** La question migratoire fut au centre de l'actualité avec le débat organisé à l'Assemblée Nationale sur l'immigration. Il a mis en lumière les clivages au sein de la société française concernant les questions migratoires et a débouché sur quelques annonces dont certaines vont durcir les conditions d'accueil des demandeurs d'asile en France. Les députés ont ainsi entériné l'instauration d'un délai de carence de trois mois avant que les demandeurs d'asile n'aient accès à la protection universelle maladie (PUMA).

### Les mesures antérieures entrées en application :

- **Depuis le 5 novembre, la carte ADA ne permet plus de retrait d'argent liquide** (sauf dans les magasins équipés du dispositif de cash back). De nombreux collectifs font déjà remonté les difficultés rencontrées par les demandeurs d'asile en zone rurale et semi-rurale pour effectuer leurs achats, alors que ces zones sont faiblement équipées en terminaux de paiement par carte bancaire.
- **Le permis de conduire syrien n'est plus échangé, tout comme le permis irakien.** Les personnes doivent donc repasser leur permis, ce qui engendre des délais important dans l'obtention du permis. Encore une fois, les personnes accueillies en dehors des grands centres urbains, où le permis de conduire est essentiel pour pouvoir se déplacer, sont pénalisés.



### PLUS D'INFOS SUR...

#### LA CARTE DE PAIEMENT

- > [www.ofii.fr/carte-de-paiement-ada](http://www.ofii.fr/carte-de-paiement-ada)
- > [www.infomigrants.net/fr/post/18756/carte-ada-qu-est-ce-que-le-cashback](http://www.infomigrants.net/fr/post/18756/carte-ada-qu-est-ce-que-le-cashback)
- > [www.lacimade.org/carte-ada-pourquoi-faire-simple-quand-on-peut-faire-complique/](http://www.lacimade.org/carte-ada-pourquoi-faire-simple-quand-on-peut-faire-complique/)

#### L'ÉCHANGE DE PERMIS DE CONDUIRE

- > [www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F1460](http://www.service-public.fr/particuliers/vosdroits/F1460)

La FEP a fait remonter ces difficultés au ministère de l'intérieur lors d'une réunion de suivi du dispositif des couloirs humanitaires, en pointant ces contradictions : alors que ces politiques ont pour objectif de favoriser l'intégration des réfugiés, notamment en privilégiant leur installation dans les zones rurales et semi-rurales. Ces alertes figureront également dans le rapport de bilan intermédiaire des couloirs humanitaires, envoyé par la FEP au ministère de l'intérieur et au ministère des affaires étrangères.

**Nous voulions tout de même finir sur une bonne nouvelle.** Dans le cadre du projet des Couloirs Humanitaires, la FEP a signé un accord pour permettre aux demandeurs d'asile de bénéficier de cours de français langue étrangère sans attendre l'obtention de la protection internationale et la signature du contrat d'intégration républicaine. C'était un plaidoyer fort pour permettre dès leur arrivée sur le territoire l'apprentissage du français qui est le prérequis essentiel pour une intégration réussie.

**Plus de 200 structures réparties sur tout le territoire peuvent dispenser ces cours, vous pouvez vous rapprocher du responsable de pôle régional pour avoir davantage d'information sur ce dispositif.**





## Retour sur la rencontre de Sommière entre collectifs d'accueil

**Le 8 octobre, les collectifs et les personnes accueillies dans le quart sud-est de la France ainsi que l'équipe de la FEP se sont réunis à Sommières dans le Gard.**

Ce fut l'occasion d'entendre de belles histoires de rencontres, ainsi au sein d'un même collectif dans une même ville, se découvrent des amitiés et les a priori se transforment en surprise de l'accueil... Des rires face aux enfants, de l'admiration face aux progrès des jeunes en classe, des découvertes culinaires savoureuses, des champions d'échec en herbe... autant de petites joies qui consolident l'engagement de chacun.

C'est aussi pour les personnes accueillies comme pour les collectifs d'accueil de partager certaines difficultés, notamment concernant les démarches administratives, parcours chaotique qui a souvent tout du parcours du combattant. Cette rencontre est donc aussi l'occasion d'échanger des conseils et des bonnes pratiques.

Nous tenons à remercier toutes les personnes qui ont participé à cette rencontre et plus particulièrement Saïf Al-Tekreeti, journaliste, qui a pris des photos et réalisé un film de la rencontre et Micheline Helaleh-Ackl, avocate, a traduit l'ensemble des débats et des discussions durant cette journée.

© Photos : Saïf Al-Tekreeti





**PLUS D'INFOS  
SUR VISA AD**

[www.visa-ad.org](http://www.visa-ad.org)

**PLUS D'INFOS SUR LE  
PROGRAMME VOLONT'R**

<https://accueil-integration-refugies.fr/volont-r-programme-de-service-civique-accueil-integration-refugies>

#### VISA AD

Volontariat International au Service des Autres, l'Année Diaconale (VISA-AD), est une association membre de la FEP, reconnue « d'Éducation et de Jeunesse Populaire », engagée depuis 1959 dans le volontariat sous toutes ses formes.

Elle propose un dispositif permettant d'engager les jeunes réfugiés de 18 à 25 ans comme volontaires de Service Civique, rémunérés, sur la base d'un contrat de 10 mois. C'est une opportunité intéressante pour les jeunes de moins de 25 ans ayant obtenu la protection internationale, connaissant des difficultés pour trouver un premier emploi et ne pouvant pas encore bénéficier du RSA. Pour les personnes reconnues en situation de handicap, il est même possible d'effectuer un service civique jusqu'à l'âge de 30 ans révolus.



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Fédération  
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**F**édération  
**E**ntraide **P**rotestante



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