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EXCLUSION AND MARGINALISATION AS A BARRIER TO THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN EUROPEAN CULTURALLY AND ETHNICALLY DIVERSE SOCIETIES

Abstract

The integration of immigrants and refugees (especially since the migration crisis) has become the axis of socio-political discourse around the world. As the acceptance of new arrivals by host societies has come to question, the countries of the European Union (especially the so-called old Union) have found themselves at a crossroads. On the one hand, they want to adhere to their traditions and values such as tolerance and openness to "strangers," while on the other hand, more and more often – as shown by statistics – a disturbingly large percentage of Europeans do not accept the growing number of foreigners (especially of Muslim origin) within their countries. This article points to the disturbing, growing phenomena of racial discrimination, unequal treatment, and exclusion which prevent immigrants and refugees from finding their way in a new reality, largely hampering their integration into new societies. The above statement also constitutes the research hypothesis presented in this text.

Keywords: immigrants, integration, discrimination, multiculturalism, Western Europe, the Netherlands

The integration of immigrants and refugees into European countries has not produced the expected results. The full participation of foreigners in a host society is hindered not only by the failure of the newcomers to give up part of their own culture for the benefit of a foreign culture but also by the lack of a platform created by the host state that would facilitate

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such integration. Not infrequently on the way to membership in the European community, immigrants and refugees encounter various forms of discrimination, manifestations of racism, unequal treatment, or exclusion. These phenomena decisively cancel out, or at least hinder their integration to a great extent.

Using a preliminary outline of the conceptual and research issues related to the notion of "integration," this article presents major problems faced by immigrants and refugees in terms of discrimination and unequal treatment from the host society. The author has made use of, inter alia, English and Dutch-language sources (reports, statistics, official documents and materials of non-governmental organisations of the Kingdom of the Netherlands), as well as her own publication record constituting the academic achievements of the writer.[2]

INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS – DEFINITIONAL ISSUES AND RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

The size and composition of the population of a multicultural state, influenced by the immigrants settling within it, make it necessary for newcomers to adapt to the existing norms and values of the society that hosts them. From a different perspective, the host society should – by the rules governing mature democracies – provide the arrivals with a sense of security and, if possible, the best conditions for their development. The process of accepting immigrants and refugees and integrating them into social structures has been studied in the social sciences using various terms (e.g. absorption, adaptation, assimilation, acculturation, inclusion, integration) from cultural studies, sociology, political science, and many other scientific disciplines. This article focuses on integration, which is important from the point of view of relations with the society hosting both immigrants and refugees.

The term integration, as a theoretically analysed concept used by the social sciences, is characterised by ambiguity. There are separate difficulties

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related to its use in the public and political sphere, in discussions and disputes, often not without arousing emotion (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Łodziński, 2008a, 12–13). It seems justified to state that integration as a political slogan is something different from a purely theoretical concept, although it can be presumed that the general, basic content of both concepts is similar. Integration policy should be distinguished from other policies related to immigration – such as entry control, border crossing, and refugee policies (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Łodziński, 2008a, 13). As Grzymała-Kazłowska and Łodziński write, the term "integration policy" owes its popularity in Europe to the avoidance of the use of the word "assimilation" (associated negatively with, for example, the Second World War, genocide and forced assimilation). At the same time, however, the concept is considered "open" because it involves conflicting expectations. On the one hand, it facilitates the admission of immigrants while, on the other hand, leaving opportunities for the development of the national culture. It also gives rise to some hope that the policy of the country receiving immigrants may be effective (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Łodziński, 2008a, 13–14). However, it should be born in mind that some politicians, when using the word "integration," may in fact mean assimilation, but not use this term due to the above-mentioned negative connotations (Stefańska, 2008, 124).

Integration, both from a formal and general point of view, can be defined as: a) the stability of relations between individual parts (defined as the state of integration or an integrated system) within a certain "whole" resembling the system, with boundaries designated for it, separating it from its surroundings; b) referencing individual elements and creating a new structure from these elements; c) adding units or partial structures to an existing whole and connecting them; and d) strengthening or "improving" relations within the already existing system or structure (Heckmann, 2005, 8). Systemic integration is a form of a full or complete integration appearing as a coherent whole. It works in a relatively independent way without being directed to the motives, goals, and relationships of individual actors, or even against them (their motivations or interests). Integration in societies takes place through institutions, organisations operating within the state, as well as in legal and economic systems. Moreover, integration as a general concept of the sociological and political sciences refers to stable, cooperative relations within a social system that has clearly defined boundaries separating it from its surroundings. In this sense, it can be said that society is integrated (internally coherent). The functional

theory of society also sees integration as one of the necessary conditions for the survival of a social system. The concept of integration treated as a process indicates, on the one hand, a further strengthening of relations within society, and on the other hand, a constant effort to include new and additional entities or groups in an existing social system and its basic institutions. The integration of immigrants is therefore primarily associated with the process of inclusion in the structures of society. If this process is successful, one can speak of society or social system as "integrated" (consolidated) (Heckmann, 2005, 8–9).

According to Grzymała-Kazłowska, there are four meanings of the term "integration." These are: 1) a descriptive and research meaning – integration is a research problem focused on the analysis of the functioning of people and groups in a society different from it culturally and ethnically (examples of issues examined empirically are, among others, the mechanisms of inclusion, and the degree of connection with the host society), while the integration of immigrants into the host society does not exclude their distinct cultural identity; 2) a normative and ideological meaning – integration is perceived here as the desired state of a social system (usually understood in national terms), and immigrants as a threat to this system which should be eliminated (by integration or, on the contrary – by excluding immigrants from society or restricting immigration); 3) a legal and institutional meaning – integration is understood here as the desired state of affairs and a social policy issue, focusing on detailed activities shaping the relationship of immigrants with the host society, minimizing problems and conflicts, with the role of the state in shaping integration policy being emphasised here (as part of social policy); 4) a political meaning – in this case, the term "integration" is used in a political sense as part of the power struggle treating immigrants instrumentally and portraying them as a problem and a threat which, in turn, is expected to shape public opinion and give support to politicians defending the current order (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Łodziński, 2008b, 29–32).

As far as the theoretical and research perspective is concerned, integration can be considered from the point of view of the situation of immigrants (mainly the psychological and anthropological perspective, focus on the relationship of the individual with the environment), from the perspective of the relationship between them and the host society (mainly the sociological aspect, intergroup relations, social structure, and its dynamics) or from the point of view of opportunities and difficulties (primarily

institutional and legal) encountered by immigrants (a social policy perspective) (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Łodziński, 2008b, 34). Grzymała-Kazłowska rightly proposes to use the term "integration" to cover as many aspects of this phenomenon as possible. Indeed, she states that it should be used "[…] to describe a state where different individuals or groups establish relatively permanent relationships with the host society and participate in various areas of its life, at the same time maintaining their cultural distinctiveness" (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Łodziński, 2008b, 35). In the model presented by Ager and Strang, there are nine key areas of integration, including the above-mentioned three levels of relations between immigrants and the indigenous society. These areas include: participation in the labour market, housing, education, health, contacts with the institutions of the host country, relations with members of the dominant group, intra-group ties, linguistic and cultural knowledge, stability, and security. This model emphasises the issue of employment – in that the functioning of immigrants in the labour market is related to building relations with the host country, including the acquisition of competencies and cultural values. The possibility of employing immigrants in the mainstream of the labour market and performing work following the gaining of qualifications is especially important (Ager, Strang, 2008, 169–171). From the institutional and legal perspective, holding the citizenship of one's country of residence by immigrants is often considered the best indicator of a high degree of integration. This is then regarded as civic and political integration.

According to the above-mentioned John Berry, the process of immigrant integration depends on four important types of factors. These are factors related to the following issues: 1) the country of origin (e.g. cultural distance to the host society); 2) the host society (e.g. state policy towards immigrants, characteristics of the indigenous people); 3) the group of immigrants involved (e.g. characteristics of the immigrant community, ethnic aid agencies); 4) individual immigrants (demographic characteristics, immigration experience) (Berry, 1980, 9–25). As Grzymała-Kazłowska rightly points out, particular importance among these factors mentioned should be placed on the characteristics of the culture of origin of immigrants (such as the level of social capital and willingness to cooperate), the type of migration orientation (settlement or temporary), the legal status of immigrants (legal or illegal migration), and the situation of immigrants (concerning, for example, economic and refugee immigration, etc.) (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Łodziński, 2008b, 39).

INTEGRATION AND RELATED PHENOMENA

The concept of integration is semantically similar to other concepts. One of these is "acculturation," with the term tending to be understood in different ways. Acculturation may, for example, refer to changes occurring as a result of the impact of a different culture on individuals and groups, and as a result of direct and continuous contact between members of different cultures. In this approach, the two-sidedness of the acculturation process is emphasised. However, acculturation is sometimes understood as a process of one-sided influence – as a process analogous to socialisation, but relating to the assimilation of a culture other than the native culture of an individual or group. In this case, the concept of acculturation can be applied to immigrants adapting to the host society. The concept of cultural adaptation is similar to acculturation, but understood as a comprehensive or partial adaptation of an individual or a group to function in a different cultural environment or as adapting to a new environment and the resulting problems. From this point of view, the integration of immigrants can be seen as one of the forms of adaptation. Although usually adaptation is related to culture, it may refer to aspects that are not necessarily directly cultural, for example, to those which are economic or social (Paleczny, 2017, 71).

The concepts of incorporation, inclusion, and participation are usually related to the relationship of immigrants with the host society, and not to cultural issues. Incorporation and inclusion are understood as processes of integrating newcomers into society, while participation is related to their activity and voluntary involvement, especially in the social and political life of the new society, while enjoying civil rights. The term assimilation, on the other hand, is usually used to denote the process of blurring the diversity of immigrants and their resemblance to the host society and its culture. This process takes place mainly through assimilating the culture and behaviour of the inhabitants of the country of residence. It is a kind of merging with its own society. Assimilation understood in this way may be opposed to integration as assimilation presupposes the departure of immigrants from their previous, separate identity. It is worth mentioning that the chronologically earlier and simplifying theories of assimilation (Trevena, 2008, 96–97) have been replaced with more complex theories (e.g. Gans's theory of bumpy assimilation path or Portes and Zhou's theory of multidimensional assimilation). The assumption that acquiring the culture of the society of

the country of settlement entails immigrants losing their previous identity and severing ties with their community was largely abandoned. As a result, in terms of meaning, the concept of assimilation was close to the concept of integration and was sometimes understood as immigrants becoming similar to the host society only in some respects (Paleczny, 2017, 64–65, 80). The assimilationist approach is basically opposed to the pluralistic and multicultural approach (Łodziński, 2008, 73) which emphasised the adoption of the culture of the country of settlement while maintaining immigrants' own cultural identity respectively. There was also the question of what the immigrants would have to adapt to as part of assimilation. The shape of host societies has changed dynamically in that as they adopted a pluralistic approach to culture, the importance of traditional values and institutions binding society diminished and the role of the state started to weaken. Therefore, some researchers replaced studies on integration with studies of social cohesion, understood primarily as the sharing of the most important values by members of society and acceptance of basic institutions, a sense of group identity, mutual trust, and loyalty to other members of the community, the presence of interactions, the lack of social exclusion (Paleczny, 2017, 70–76). As Paleczny notes, the process of assimilation "regardless of the genesis, course, number, size, and diversity of groups and people going through it, consists of three phases and dimensions: structural, cultural (acculturation) and personality assimilation" (Paleczny, 2017, 65–66). Thus, structural assimilation covers the processes of civic and professional integration; cultural assimilation is associated with the phenomenon of amalgamation (i.e. mixing ethnic, racial, and religious groups by entering into intergroup marriages); while personal assimilation takes place in the sphere of the identity of individuals (Paleczny, 2017). Yet another vision of integration is related to the transnational perception of migration. This was born in the 1990s (cf. Kearney, Rouse, Basch, Glick-Schiller), and concerned the diversity of migration flows between countries resulting from the ties created by immigrants both in the host society and in the country of origin. By doing so, migrants create transnational social spaces and they themselves can be called trans-migrants (Glick-Schiller et al., 1995, 48–63), in that they participate in the social, political, and cultural life of more than one country (Kindler, 2008, 51–53). Several factors contribute to the development of transnational ties, including new forms of communication technology (Vertovec, 2012, 3), or the liberal immigration policy of the host country (not emphasising assimilation factor). On

the other hand, there are also negative phenomena such as the exclusion of immigrants and the disapproval of cultural diversity in the host society. An additional factor may be the policy of the immigrants' country of origin, such as encouraging them to invest in their home country. According to some researchers, transnational ties can inhibit the integration of immigrants into an indigenous society (Kindler, 2008, 51–53).

For migrants, emigration does not only mean a loss of a sense of security, an identity crisis, or cutting themselves off from existing relationships. It also entails the need to shift one's awareness to a new environment, to adapt to the requirements of the host society, that is, the reorientation of known and assimilated value systems or the hierarchy of norms, which is a great challenge for immigrants. Integration and related phenomena are complex, heterogeneous, and multi-variant processes. As Paleczny points out, their complexity is evidenced by numerous theoretical and political controversies, the multiplicity of models and concepts that are used to describe and explain them (Paleczny, 2017, 80), as well as the practical dimension of the necessity to adapt to a new, foreign culture by immigrants.

INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS AND THE PHENOMENON OF DISCRIMINATION AND UNEQUAL TREATMENT

The terminology used by the European Commission assumes that integration is a "bilateral process involving adaptation by both the immigrant and the host society" (COM, 2000, 757, item 3.5). A later – more detailed – definition indicates that this is "a bilateral process based on mutual rights and the corresponding obligations of legally residing foreigners and the host society, which leads to the full participation of immigrants" (COM, 2003, 336, item 3.1.). As Heckman and Schnapper point out, both direct and indirect measures used by the state play an important role in the integration process. The former are strictly aimed at the integration of foreigners, while the latter are related to the phenomenon of their exclusion and discrimination, that is, aimed at combating racism, xenophobia, and other elements of minority marginalisation (Hunger et al., 2014, 225). This article focuses in particular on the latter problem, that is, discrimination and unequal treatment as one of the main barriers preventing immigrants (refugees) from integrating.

The 2001 Durban Declaration (UN, 2009) stated that xenophobia towards foreigners, especially migrants, is one of the main sources of modern racism. The provisions included in the post-conference document in the form of an Action Program contained references to initiatives already undertaken by the United Nations, including by the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights or the World Conferences Against Racism and Racial Discrimination. The above-mentioned declaration also referred to documents such as Resolution 1997/74 of the Human Rights Commission of April 18, 1997, or Resolution 52/111 of the United Nations General Assembly of December 12, 1997. The signatories of the Durban document then stated that, despite many efforts, the main goals of three decades of action to combat racism and racial discrimination and to support those fighting for racial equality had not been achieved. People all over the world are still victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related forms of intolerance (UN, 2009). Thus, the current data indicate that the problem of discrimination has not been resolved yet – on the contrary – it has intensified. Countries that until recently were perceived as bastions of tolerance (e.g. the Netherlands), now occupy the notorious top places in the rankings of societies that have problems accepting "strangers" (NOS, 2017). Statistically, 49% of North African Muslims living in the Netherlands feel discriminated against in this country. For comparison, in Italy, 33% of Muslims have experienced hostility from Italians, while in France this was 31%, and in Spain 20%. For example, Muslims in the Netherlands most often feel excluded based on ethnicity (42%), religion (30%), and skin colour (9%) (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, FRA, 2017).

Despite clear signs of unconstitutional behaviour towards Islamic minorities in European countries, Michael O'Flaherty, an Irish human rights specialist (director of the FRA), claims that it would be wrong to believe that Muslims are poorly integrated into European society. On the contrary, he thinks that representatives of the Muslim minority "trust democratic institutions more than most of the native population." However, as he notes, "each case of discrimination and hate crimes complicates their integration and makes it difficult to find a job" (NOS, 2017). The research, comprising fifteen selected European Union countries, showed that despite discrimination, 76% of respondents feel strong ties with the country in which they live. At the same time, however, 31% of Muslims seeking employment say they have experienced persecution in the last five years, 16% indicate that they have been unlawfully detained by the police, while half of the

respondents associate this fact with the colour of their skin or clothing that is "inconsistent" with European standards. It is worth adding that Muslims from North and South Africa suffer more from discrimination than the followers of the religion of Islam from Turkey, the Middle East, or Asia (NOS, 2017).

Of more importance is the fact that anti-immigration behaviour, which results in the exclusion and marginalisation of the Muslim minority while at the same time hindering their integration, is today increasingly the subject of the attention of politicians, researchers, newspaper columnists, and ordinary citizens. If we assume, counter to the above-mentioned Michael O'Flaherty, that the integration of ethnic minorities, especially of Islamic origin, has failed, and that this is to some extent related to the attitudes of intolerance to the Muslim community in European societies, then the question of how this has happened arises. Is this a new phenomenon, or is it an old one, hidden behind the rhetoric of political correctness? A report by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights for 2019 states that many people across the European Union are at risk of exclusion due to increasing intolerance and attacks (indirectly) on fundamental human rights (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020). These behaviours significantly weaken the progress towards integration already made by immigrants. The reports of the above-mentioned agency reveal some disturbing data on discrimination against ethnic minorities. They mainly concern issues related to the daily manifestations of racism towards foreigners and negligence of legal regulations related to racist behaviour. The documents also show that only 15 out of 28 (data including the United Kingdom) of the European Union Member States have special action plans and strategies to combat racism and ethnic discrimination. As can be read in the report, there are gaps in the applicable national laws regarding the classification of racist crimes, and European bodies dealing with equality issues do not provide those being the targets of racist behaviour with sufficient information on anti-discrimination legislation. According to the report of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, everyday situations related to intolerance (manifestations of racism) towards foreigners are limited to the following issues: racial harassment – 1/3 of black people experience this phenomenon; helplessness in the face of unequal treatment – 4 out of 10 black people do not see the point (due to the lack of appropriate responses) of reporting racist incidents; racial profiling – 4 out of 10 black people report this problem when stopped by police officers; security

reasons – 4 out of 10 Jews consider emigrating for reasons of health and life concerns. Moreover, the agency draws attention to the problems that are common to all European Union countries (which are, in a way, mainstream), that is, political incitement to hatred and right-wing extremism directed against Muslims and refugees. Ethnic persecution and violence are equally widespread in Europe and, significantly, remain invisible in official statistics (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2020). All this means that a big question mark still hangs over the integration of newcomers. It is worth pointing out that in recent years, in response to the increasing scope of Islamophobia and racial discrimination, social campaigns and civic initiatives have been launched (UNESCO, 2020). The issues of racism and ethnic exclusion are adequately addressed in scientific research (e.g. Weichselbaumer, 2019; Ellermann, 2020; Owen, 2020), the activities of European institutions (EC, 2019), and projects run by non-governmental organisations (VluchtelingenWerk Nederland 2018). Examples of discrimination and unequal treatment are discussed in public debates, social media, and other communication channels, all of which should increase public awareness of the phenomenon and the ability to distinguish between what the problem is and what is not.

RACISM IN THE EUROPEAN UNION COUNTRIES AS A KEY PROBLEM AFFECTING IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

According to the 2017 report of the European Network Against Racism comprising 26 EU countries, anti-migrant political debates and immigration policies leading to exclusion have a disproportionately large impact on immigrants. They are increasingly becoming the target of racist violence and expression; they also face discriminatory policies and attitudes that hinder their access to the labour market. Government responses to the rise in the number of migrants and refugees arriving in Europe have become substitutes for debates on exclusion and security. Some EU Member States have clearly stated that illegal and Muslim migrants are not welcome in Europe, while African migrants, many of whom are in need of humanitarian protection in Europe, have been declared by politicians and other commentators to be "economic" or "illegal" migrants" (ENARa, 2017). In addition to discrimination, it is worth emphasising that such rhetoric only reinforces the

criminalisation of immigrants on the path to their integration. Moreover, the increase in the number of extreme right-wing parties and movements across Europe, as well as the level of their support, shows how effective they are in setting an anti-immigration tone in political debates (e.g. Partij voor de Vrijheid, PVV; Alternative für Deutschland, AfD; Front National, FN et al.). Increasingly, anti-immigration discourses and policies are becoming acceptable and included in the political mainstream.

Racist attacks on immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and their accommodation have recently been reported by non-profit organisations operating across the EU. In Germany, for example, a total of 3,729 attacks against refugees and asylum seekers were reported in 2016 – more than 10 hate crimes per day. In Greece, 75 racist incidents against immigrants and refugees were reported in 2015, an increase of 60% compared to 2014 (ENARb, 2018). Several barriers – for example, in the labour market – related to racial discrimination, restrictions on immigration status, the lack of recognition of professional qualifications, and accusations concerning insufficient knowledge of the local language – cause a widening employment gap between immigrants and native inhabitants of the European Union. Immigrants are also often victims of exploitation by their employers. In the absence of effective national plans for the integration of immigrants that adequately address issues of racial and status discrimination in the labour market, employment integration and development, the situation of immigrants and refugees remains unresolved. In Belgium, the report found that of the 176 cleaning and household services agencies, a sector employing a significant number of racial and migrant minorities, more than 60% responded in the affirmative to discriminatory customer demands (ENAR a, 2017). In the Netherlands, immigrants and refugees – compared with Dutch natives – remain largely unemployed. If they are employed, their income is lower than that of the indigenous inhabitants. As for the refugees themselves, their income is much lower than the average wage in the Netherlands; 26% of them live in poverty while 46% work less than twelve hours a week. To a large extent, they are also beneficiaries of social institutions (SER, 2018).

Viewing migration as a threat to the security of the European Union and the introduction of new border and anti-terrorism measures in some member states has led to the creation of ethnic profiles and discrimination against migrants by the police. In Finland, in several cities in April 2016, it was observed that the police and border guard carried out checks

specifically targeting non-Finnish citizens. In Italy, some African nationalities – Nigerians, for example – are regularly prevented from applying for asylum at contact points, and are instead issued a formal "refusal" order. In Austria, Belgium, France, Spain, and the United Kingdom (data before Brexit) foreigners and Muslim immigrants are increasingly being reported by residents to the police, resulting in regular checks for alleged "suspicious behavior" (ENARc, 2017). It seems that the message from Amel Yacef (President of the European Network Against Racism, ENAR) concerning European Union countries and their political leaders reflects the tragedy of the whole situation:

> The European Union and political leaders must stop the vicious circle of exclusion and hate and focus on long-term solutions to address hate crime and discrimination targeting migrants. At a deeper level, we need to question the racial biases underpinning European and national migration policies in order to ensure the real inclusion and participation of migrants in European society (ENARa, 2018).

FINAL COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Integration problems concern almost all immigrants and refugees. Both those representing first, second or third-generation immigrants who came to Europe, and those who, due to the ongoing refugee crisis, have had to leave their homelands and seek refuge in another continent; adults and children, men and women, members of various religions and atheists, educated people and those without education. The ongoing process of discrimination and, consequently, the exclusion of people who deserve help certainly does not contribute to increasing the possibility of their integration into the native societies of Europe. More and more restrictive immigration policies and the anti-immigration tone of the discourse have a destructive effect on the lives of the newcomers. Brutal racist attacks, discrimination, and exploitation in the labour market hinder or prevent the integration of newcomers and their adjustment to the applicable norms and rules.

The refugee crisis has further deepened the already-existing divisions in European societies, while creating supporters and opponents of accepting immigrants and refugees. Some people in Europe strongly believe that the values of immigrants are contrary to those of Europeans. Some also

say they are tired of being multicultural (for more details, see: Gul-Rechlewicz, 2017, 119-126), and that immigrants and refugees should assimilate into the society of the country where they settled or intend to settle. However, the experience of the newcomers related to rejection and the ever-diminishing acceptance by the native Europeans heightens their sense of injustice and thus clearly distances immigrants from integration.

It is worth quoting here the message of the first United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Gerrit Jan van Heuven Goedhart as it has become extremely significant and relevant in this context. He said: "Only when the refugee has friends around him, when he feels that he is a member of his new community, will he consider his house as a real home" (from Dutch: „Alleen als een vluchteling vrienden om zich heen heeft, als hij zich lid van zijn nieuwe gemeenschap voelt, zal hij zijn huis beschouwen als een echt thuis") (WVN, 2018).

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