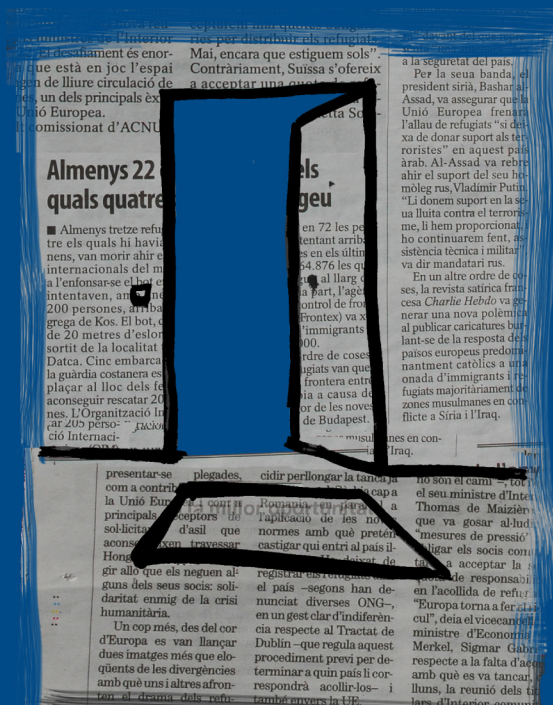


FROM HOSTILITY TO HOSPITALITY



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Miguel González Martín

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INTRODUCTION

In the face of migrants, people's reactions vary. There is hostility and there is hospitality. This booklet aims to reflect on both.

We start by considering the constant violations of human rights taking place on Spain's own Southern borders. These are the reality that prompts our concern immediately. They both symbolise and provoke hostility, a hostility that starts in specific locations, spreading outwards and inwards from there. We could of course have chosen other ways in which hostility towards migrants is symbolised, such as denying them health care, or establishing detention centres, but the notion of borders and frontiers includes those others, as we shall attempt to show in the following pages.

We shall concentrate our reflections on the Southern borders of Spain, with occasional reference to the wider, more or less incessant, drama unfolding elsewhere in the Mediterranean area. This is not because what is happening there is any less significant. A great deal of what we say about Spain applies equally to the wounds that frontiers everywhere inflict on the body of humanity. It will be useful, in fact, to begin by spending a few moments in silent contemplation of the maps that the Missing Migrants Project issues periodically, together with their macabre count of those who have died along the world's frontiers.¹ We shall discuss such things later, but we start from where we find ourselves specifically, which is in Spain.

The second part of our study concentrates on hospitality, hostility's polar opposite. In recent years, hospitality has become a useful word to use in connection with a range of initiatives on behalf of migrants, sharing people's daily lives (accompanying them); showing social concern for them (service and consciousness-raising); and working in a more public sphere (defending them).² In this second section of the booklet, we shall be considering how to meet some of the challenges posed by efforts to establish a 'hospitality culture'.

The Jesuit Refugee Service has assembled a wealth of reflection on the topic. Some of it is of a specialised kind, such as specific policy recommendations, based on expert knowledge of the law. Some, on the other hand, explores the subject more theoretically, critically examining clichés, prophetically denouncing abuses, making links with theology and spirituality, contributing to the building of a narrative quite different from the prevalent ones. The present text is plainly of this latter sort, joining others, authored individually or collectively, hospitably included in *Cristianisme i Justícia's* series of booklets. We are honoured to be among them, and most grateful.

1. FRONTIERS: SYMBOLIC HOSTILITY AND HOSTILITY IN ACTION

What drives this section about what is happening on Spain's Southern borders in Ceuta and Melilla is our conviction that things there simply don't add up. In any case, the violation of the human rights of those seeking to enter Europe by way of these enclaves has become so frequent that not to pay attention to it and protest against it is not an option open to us. Let us recall one or two instances.

1.1. Broadening the focus of our attention

How could one ignore the events in Tarajal? The tragedy that took place there is already a year old. A group of migrants were trying to swim to Ceuta, but their attempt was countered by the Civil Guard, deploying anti-riot equipment, including rubber bullets. Fifteen young people were drowned in the course of the skirmish. Not all the bodies have been identified. Their remains rest in numbered graves. No one has been held legally responsible for what happened. Judicial enquiries appear to have come to a dead end; Justice has been paralyzed.³ Official statements have been riddled with contradictions.⁴ The law has been bent by

attributing things to what gets called an 'operational interpretation' of a frontier.

How is one to remain silent in the face of the daily practice of 'immediate repatriation' and the whole string of rights infringements that that entails? Government has legalised this procedure by the back door, despite its having been questioned by European organisations, lawyers, judges, academics, churchmen, welfare providers, and so on.

How can one remain unmoved by the growing tide of violence employed by the Moroccan security forces doing Europe's dirty work for it as they fend off those who scale security fences or dismantle camps made by those who await an opportunity to cross?⁵ The

pain of this is too great not to register, to echo, to exhibit it.

One cannot, either, fail to ask if the intense attention directed—in graphic terms—towards the fences does not serve to reinforce the sense of emergency that government is no doubt keen to project for its own purposes, in a climate favouring the application of ‘extraordinary measures’, perhaps taking a cue in this from those unscrupulous NGOs that see it as a means of pressurising Brussels and increasing funding for themselves. Whilst the emergency registered by welfare organisations is obviously of a ‘humanitarian’ nature, since human rights are involved, the narrative of government, amply reflected and amplified by sections of the media, portrays, rather, an emergency caused by the ‘invasion’ of national territory, a projection ‘supported’ by implausible statistics that lump together those who seek to cross, those who have tried but then desisted, and even, those who have chosen to regularise their position.⁶ All this is suitably seasoned with other ways of generating fear: they ask if Ebola might cross the fence, whether terrorists or the mafia might not cross it too, and so forth. This is a fear that takes its hold on society in a context of directionlessness, insecurity, and hopelessness brought on by economic crisis and the measures that are supposed to get us out of it.

When faced by selective, decontextualized attention to the spectacle of people scaling fences or of boats crammed full, we ought to start from such specific conditions, and use them to broaden the horizons of citizens

concerned with human rights. By such means as this, it might be possible to avoid consolidating the narratives that interest the people in power, narratives with which we all are to a greater or lesser degree involved.

1.2. Frontiers external, internal, and internalised⁷

So, which aspects of reality are left out of account when we focus our attention only on what’s most readily recognised and photographed, as most suitable for fuelling a campaign? This is a question we should ask ourselves. The moment when someone ‘crosses’ and the response this generates are part of a larger reality, a single, highly visible, point in a network of frontiers, reaching beyond the particular (external frontiers), within it (internal frontiers), and deeper down (the internalised frontiers) in such a way as to become invisible. All this happens in a context of mounting inequality between countries and between social groups within them, breeding wars of a new sort, albeit by practices all too reminiscent of colonial exploitation.

If one looks carefully, it isn’t hard to see that things don’t always work as they are ‘supposed’ to. For a start, however much one reinforces and militarises frontier crossing-points, however high the walls and fences are raised, however many bales of razor wire are used to crown them, the flow of people hasn’t stopped. Things have doubtless become harder for them. They take greater risks. Favoured by the increased controls, the businesses

of those who know the routes and have the contacts have only flourished. The areas now subject to control have widened as the routes taken have diversified. In other words, the hardening of official positions stimulates and necessitates a greater hardening still in an endless spiral, burying state resources and human rights in a common grave. Second and simultaneously, to take a broader view of matters, the people who employ irregular means to cross frontiers are a tiny minority, a drop in the ocean of human movements in and out of places, as may be seen from our airports year in year out. It is because of this that we need to notice not just the fences, but, as we said before, other implications of frontiers, implications prone otherwise to remain invisible.

1.2.1. External frontiers

In point of fact, the Spanish frontier, and therefore the European one, is no longer in Ceuta and Melilla. It starts before people get as far as that. By a series of less formal arrangements and formal accords with North-African countries, Europe has handed over to them control of the flow of persons and responsibility for stopping migrants in transit.⁸ As it is expressed in the official European documents, this is the 'external dimension of migration policy' and involves countries that do not themselves share boundaries with the European Union. Co-operation in such activity is usually set as a precondition if those other countries are to access European funding based on co-operation, or favourable trade agreements. Many of these accords ('memoran-

da of shared understanding') are not available for public scrutiny. The work thus sub-contracted, though, includes checking the documentation of migrants in transit, building detention centres, and handling deportations. These others do our 'dirty work'. Often, readmission agreements are included in the terms, such that the sub-contracting countries have to take back people who have gained access to Europe through their territory. Paradoxically, as we shall see later also, some of these functions are part-funded by development monies, earmarked for example for training security forces in the fight against illegal immigration, purchasing surveillance equipment, or deploying mixed patrols.

By means of such outsourcing mechanisms, Europe hands over its own hostility towards migrants to countries where illegal migrants have never featured as a problem. The assumption is that all migration across Africa has Europe as its goal, and so ignores intra-African migration routes as such. This raises what from our perspective is an especially tricky question, namely the extent to which Europe itself takes responsibility for the human rights abuses perpetrated by its sub-contractors. There is a considerable legal grey area involved in making such accords as these, ones that favour impunity in the face of suffering inflicted on migrants heading North.

1.2.2. Internal frontiers

By internal frontiers, we mean those situated within individual countries. Such is the case with detention centres

dotted across European and North-African territory in which foreign migrants without proper documentation are confined prior to being returned to their countries of origin.⁹ Spain has eight such *Centros de Internamento de Extranjeros*, CIEs (Immigration Detention Centers), within its borders.

These centres forcibly deprive of their freedom people guilty of no crime as such, only of administrative irregularity. A measure that should be one of last resort (*ultima ratio*), wholly exceptional and subject to tight judicial control, is often instead a first response enjoying formal judicial ratification.

We see from reports by specialist bodies that conditions in internment centres can be particularly harsh.¹⁰ With limited or no access to basic rights like health care or legal assistance, it is not surprising that internees should frequently complain about insanitary conditions. There are also well-documented reports of police brutality or of internees who have died for want of medical attention.

Those detained vary considerably in kind. They are often people with strong existing links within a given country, where they have lived comfortably for a period of years along with their families. Nonetheless they have been unable to regularise their position—usually for lack of ‘regular’ work—or their residence permits have expired and not been renewed because they have become unemployed. In other cases, the category of ‘illegal immigrant’ covers a range of situations from sexual exploitation to psychiatric illness, as well as people who might otherwise lay claim to some form

of international protection. Thus, a whole range of precarious existences which might otherwise have deserved a personalised response is ignored by impersonal mechanisms devoted to exclusion.

1.2.3. Internalised frontiers

Frontiers have a symbolic, performative value, which is to say that they configure how we perceive and describe reality. Those who cross these frontiers illegally (or legally but temporarily) are burdened with them, are unable to be rid of them. This takes the form of the social stigmatisation attaching to the clandestine, illegal migrant, the migrant whose papers are not in order.

People with an irregular administrative status are excluded from certain social entitlements. In the Spanish context, exclusion from health care from the beginning of April 2012 is a clear instance, although not at all unique. Obviously, people whose administrative status is irregular cannot legally take work, despite which, many men, and especially women, do work, but in the black economy. This has particularly been the case when the labour market has drawn in a large number of workers from outside. It looks as if the frontier networks we have been describing had been specifically designed in such a way as to produce insecurity before the law. The social vulnerability that this gives rise to subjects an entire workforce of impoverished men and women.

Fear of being caught in a police raid, interned in a detention centre,

then rapidly deported, is a powerful form of social discipline. Even if many deportation orders do not finally take effect, the threat of them is sufficient. Many people internalise this fear and protect themselves by making themselves socially invisible. So it is that the stigma of illegality not only leads people to accept ever worsening labour conditions, but makes it ever harder to forge social bonds and integrate people into society. The frontier has become internalised.

1.3. A rhetoric that twists logic and builds up hostility

As well as activating the scarecrows of fear and states of emergency, we often hear government spokesmen and international sources wielding a further three or four arguments about migration.

1.3.1. Legal migration does not exist

We find first of all an emphasis on fostering legal migration as opposed to the illegal sort that's said to cause the immense human suffering. Thus formulated in general terms, it's hard to disagree. It's an opinion that readily occurs to many well-meaning people when the subject of immigration arises. Its logic is unquestionable. The problems come, however, when we realise how in practice, a person's chance of obtaining a visa by legal means is virtually nil. For Africans who set out, cross many countries and the desert, camp for months in perilous conditions, then try to jump or sail or swim, there is no legal way for them to enter Europe.

Thus it is the case that a position that's susceptible in theory to meeting with almost universal acceptance collapses in the light of practical realities. 'Why don't you try to enter legally instead of risking your life?' That's what the authorities say in condescending tones. But there's an answer to that question, which is that such a possibility is, plainly and simply, unavailable.

Potential asylum-seekers require special mention when it comes to this rhetorical ploy, people fleeing persecution and armed conflict. One of the ways in which so-called 'instant repatriation' violates national and international law is that it makes it impossible for people to exercise their right to claim asylum. You can satisfy all the conditions that entitle you to international protection, but if I catch you climbing over the fences I've erected, I'll open the door to you alright: I'll show you the door, and send you back to where you came from. Some months ago the Spanish government responded to criticism of its practices by setting up two centres on the border where one could ask for asylum. The move was greeted positively by a number of organisations of which ours was one, although we pointed out that the existence of these places could in no way justify continuing recourse to 'instant repatriation', much less legalising such a practice. We feared that government would say to people, 'if you have good grounds for seeking asylum, all you need to do is to apply to one of the centres we have set up, without needing to scale the fences we've erected', and what has happened since has only served to confirm our fears. The fact

that after a number of months no one from Sub-Saharan Africa has managed to reach one of the centres in question (they are not allowed to do so by the Moroccan security forces, who grant permission to Syrians only) has not prevented the government for continuing with the rhetoric of legal as opposed to illegal opportunities, even if the former are not available in practice.

1.3.2. Mafias do not cause migration

The second narrative invoked to justify the actions that are taken at borders talks of fighting mafias. One's sense here is that the arrow linking cause and effect has missed the mark, and boomeranged back completely. Or think in terms of a needle repelled by magnetic force. The so-called mafias—it would be more accurate to speak of those who make money getting migrants across frontiers and passing them to another group one step further along the line—aren't the *reason* why certain people set out for Europe. These people set out freely, responding to all the conditioning factors, circumstances, incentives, disincentives and restrictions that are part and parcel of what we call liberty. In fact, and more plausibly, causation works in the opposite direction. Mafias do not cause migration; they respond to it. The greater the pressure and the greater the difficulties that intending migrants face, the more work there will be for those who know the routes and have the right contacts.

Drawing attention to the perverse logic of official accounts in no way prevents us from recognising and denouncing the abuses, inhumanity, and

violation of human dignity that traffickers are frequently responsible for. There can be no doubt that alongside those that wish to lend a helping hand to folk in transit there operate the many predators who bleed their victims dry, treating them as merchandise and as a source of profit. And in the case of female migrants the situation is still worse. For women, the risk of suffering sexual abuse at the hands of traffickers and other persons trafficked with them often pushes them to pair up with a temporary 'husband', a man who in return for exclusive sexual favours will protect them from abuse by others. Additionally, it is not only male and female migrants whose minimal rights are infringed by traffickers. There are also other needy or desperate people who form the final link in the traffickers' chain and often run the same risks as the migrants that they traffic. One thinks for example of the minors ever more frequently put in charge of boats that leave the African coast to cross the Mediterranean. Since they are minors in law, they are not subject to criminal proceedings in Europe if captured. Even so, we must insist that condemning and denouncing such things as these in no way leads us to consider them the main reason why migrants set out on their journeys.

A distinctive and intensely painful phenomenon requires separate treatment here, and that is the sexual exploitation of women. Here we may indeed speak of organised networks, of people kept against their will, subjected to physical and psychological violence, phenomena that sometimes have their roots in tribal beliefs. Sometimes

the exploitative trafficking of such people is hidden by the floods of other migrants, making their identification especially difficult. Those working on the ground are extremely aware of the difficulties involved in intervening in such cases. Far more decisive action is called for when faced by, this time, mafias in fact, and such action needs to recognise that this degrading practice has its roots in where demand comes from initially —our own society. It is this that has to be addressed, in such a way as to avoid further complicity in the frequently double victimisation of the women who are exploited. First, they are trafficked and sold like cattle, forced to work as prostitutes at piece rates in order to pay off their debts. And then, despite the legislative efforts that are being made, there have been occasions when police have raided brothels, and instead of treating the women as victims in need of the protection of the law, they turn them over to the immigration authorities and expel or send them to detention centres.

1.3.3. Defence of people's rights does not encourage xenophobia

A third line of argument presents us with another misreading of causality. When citizens organise to protest against the unjust way in which their frontiers are policed, government tends to reply by accusing them of giving rise to xenophobia. 'Immigration + Bleeding Hearts = Xenophobia'¹¹ appears to be the stain-removing formula restoring politics to its original whiteness. If we draw attention to infringements of human rights, it is said that

we are forcing our neighbours to hate migrants even more than they do already. Such arguments include at least one worrying implicit element —the assumption that our society already harbours sadistic feelings towards the weak, such that if others are not to hate those weaker than themselves, it's necessary to hit them hard ourselves, to put them in their place. What this adds up to is saying, 'look, we're going to make life difficult for them so that you can see we're giving them a hard time and don't start being xenophobic. If you see us according them the guarantees the law provides, the spectacle will obviously be too hard for you to bear.' One might in passing note that a similar logic appeared to operate when government denied health care to illegal migrants, only, timidly and in part, to change its mind three years later.

We still need proof that the exclusion of migrants from the system has saved any money from the public purse, not that that in itself would constitute an argument in favour of excluding them. Even so, it is clear the media were employed to prepare public opinion for the destruction of universal health care implicit in the measure. We hadn't previously realised that we were citizens no longer, but rather, customers of an insurance scheme, since exclusion was the fate of immigrants without the proper paperwork —a by-word for the Other.

As opposed to this logic, what in our view feeds xenophobia in fact is precisely the authorities' undignified treatment of immigrants. By their policies of exclusion, their practices in violation of human rights and their lan-

guage of fear, they encourage a climate in which migrants will be despised.

Let us briefly consider the policies of Europe here. The Mediterranean has become one enormous graveyard. The number of victims in 2014 alone is horrifying. More than 3000 people died of cold, or thirst, or by drowning, as they tried to reach the coasts of Europe by sea. Nearly another 200,000 were rescued thanks to the *Mare Nostrum* operation, deployed by Italy with help from other European states. Those rescued had set out from Libya—another failed state—and came from Syria, Eritrea, and Somalia, all war-torn zones. It is likely that in 2015, the numbers of those dying will have risen further. And why? Because *Mare Nostrum* has been replaced by *Triton*, an operation far more limited in scope, and cheaper from the point of view of its range (30 nautical miles from the relevant coasts) and of the number and type of rescue ships available. The argument for such a change in strategy was double. Economic factors were involved, since apparently the nine million euros spent each month on *Mare Nostrum* were an intolerable burden. And second, it was claimed that the existence of a rescue operation encouraged people to undertake the crossing. It seems that in taking such decisions so lacking in humanity and morality (we're allowing these children to drown!) the majority of European governments were looking out of the corner of their eye at xenophobic populist forces, the growing support for which they perceived as a threat to themselves. The idea evidently was to appease the beast by feeding it, and not entire-

ly wrongly, since some people think that xenophobic popularism makes its gains not so much in terms of the seats it gains in elections but by winning over the hearts and minds of democratic groupings. Instead of educating their citizens, governments adopt the rhetoric and policies that strengthen monsters.¹²

This is why in our opinion, acting blind and deaf in the face of dramas played out on our borders, far from appeasing a public reckoned—as others would have us believe—to be xenophobic, it fans the flames of fear and egotism in our individual hearts and our collective souls. It builds hostility.

1.4. What are frontiers for?

A question arises almost spontaneously: what are frontiers for? What are they deployed for? Incapable as they are of delivering what they promise, they leave in their wake an unjustifiable trail of human suffering. Some answers are gradually taking shape that may be of use to us when it comes to broadening our perspectives.¹³

First, the importance of physical barriers appears to reside 'not so much in their doubtful effectiveness as in their ostentatious visibility'. They have a quasi theatrical function, symbolising state sovereignty in conditions of all-out crisis. 'The new walls mark the existing or desirable boundaries of the Nation State, although not to the point of functioning as fortresses against invading armies or even as signs of national sovereignty. Rather, they sacralise the corruption that they

seek to contain, and represent in a theatrical fashion a sovereignty embarked on irreversible crisis.¹⁴

What seems basically important is keeping up the appearance of being in control, rather than exercising that control itself, since this is beyond the power and resources of the State. We find this perception corroborated by the work of Hein de Hass. Policies seeking to control migration are of scant use in fact and don't do what they claim to do. They limit flow to a very limited extent, and in addition have collateral effects that not only make up for any reduction in numbers, but that are directly counter-productive, prompting as they do a search for alternative routes, the rise of mafias, an additional encouragement to people to migrate when they realise that more restrictions are round the corner, and the difficulties they pose to people who might be returning home.

And beyond the question of whether one can in fact control the flow of migrants, it seems to us crucial to consider the human consequences of such ways of doing politics, theatrical or not, since, in addition to the human rights trampled at the foot of the protecting walls, the fact that the function of these walls is symbolic should not lead us to believe they have no real effects: they help configure the way reality is perceived. As we have seen already, they have a performative effect, showing who's inside and who's outside the political community, who enjoys the rights of citizenship and who does not. In conjunction with the rest of the immigration apparatus, they help consolidate the category of 'ille-

gality', and exclude those who are not citizens.

1.5. Should everything be opened up?

What then should we do? Should we leave our frontiers wide open? This is often the question posed when current ways of policing borders are criticised, with the aim of closing down any conversation with those who draw attention to the limitations of the current models. It is a question that really does deserve to give us pause, to cause us to reflect, and share uncertainties and doubts. It's often put in all honesty and with good will, something that I don't believe can always be said of other interventions in the debate. The Spanish Minister of the Interior recently challenged those who questioned his handling of our frontiers to welcome a migrant into their own homes.¹⁵ Such remarks not only place discussion on the same level as 'I'm a celebrity, get me out of here', but ignore or overlook the hospitality and welcoming work already undertaken by thousands of organisations and individuals that the Ministry knows about perfectly well.

There is no question that from a legal point of view, sovereign States have a duty and the right to control their borders in the interests of security (despite the fact that as we've noticed already, the really important aspect of such interventions is that they should *look like* control, given a context in which traditional notions of sovereignty look distinctly wobbly.) But such exercises must also be

conducted in accordance with the law and respect for human rights. And it is here, as we have seen already, that the warning lights come on, given actual practice. Elsewhere we have advocated the ‘democratic control of borders’, meaning by this a control that respects human rights, including the need to demand the guarantee of those rights by other countries to which border controls have been ‘sub-contracted’ or outsourced by us.

Is this all there is to be done, then? Well, it certainly would be a start. Wanting our Southern frontiers to be subject to the Rule of Law (of all things!) could seem too minimal and lacking in ambition. But if even something as basic as this is to be implemented, we have we remain active and alert.

1.5.1. Legitimacy beyond the status quo

We certainly need to use our headlights on full beam here! Or widen the aperture on our cameras. We need to set our sights on a utopian horizon, one that goes beyond a necessary obedience to the law and takes account of social justice on an international scale. Insisting on compliance with the law does not mean merely endorsing the current international *status quo*, a crude and unjust distribution of wealth, the interests that, whether actively or passively, underlie specific conflicts. The fundamental question is whether existing borders have any legitimacy at all in a world in which being born on one side or the other of a line signifies at best being separated by an abyss when it comes to one’s chances of living the

kind of life that people deem worthwhile, and at worse, the possibility or otherwise of living at all. I honestly do not think they do, when one recalls the Christian tradition, among the most deeply rooted of principles of which is to view the world’s goods as common property and to assert the right of all human beings to life.

When we consider many social question and especially immigration we tend to take borders as an indisputable and undisputed starting-point. We like to think the social and historical constructs that are our territorial boundaries have always been present, and we have structured our entire reflection on what is just with reference to the tactical assumption of ‘methodological nationalism’. Even so, in our view a universalist perspective should lead us to question such assumptions, although as Kymlicka points out, no one seems inclined to do so, so unrealistic does it seem.¹⁶ Kymlicka roots his investigations in liberal egalitarianism, and asks if there is a moral justification for a setting national boundaries that has so many grave human repercussions. At the end of his enquiry, having identified reasons for permitting a limited use of boundaries for the protection of cultural goods, he confronts the most difficult issue of all: the distribution of wealth. How is one to justify restricting the exclusive enjoyment of the assets of one country to its own citizens alone, when the well-being of every human being is of equal value?¹⁷ The only way to achieve this is through a firm and genuine commitment to ensuring all human beings enjoy a decent standard of living in their own coun-

tries. If rich countries refuse such a distribution of wealth, 'by that very token they forfeit the right to complicate entry into their territory for others, since from an egalitarian perspective it is not permissible to restrict admission in order to monopolise resources' (p. 78).

1.5.2. Deploying aid to stop them coming

I think it is indeed interesting to link the legitimacy of borders with a commitment to the redistribution of wealth. If we analyse how things stand in Spain, in recent years the collapse of official international development aid has been striking, now standing at a meagre 0.17% of GNP, having suffered a 62% reduction in the course of the last five years. Other countries facing economic difficulties, such as Portugal, have nowhere near approached the Spanish government's deep cuts.¹⁸ Add to this that a by no means negligible proportion of co-operation funding provided in West Africa is earmarked for... strengthening borders!¹⁹ This to one side, commitment to the redistribution of a country's wealth is not only to be measured in terms of its co-operation policies. Many other factors need to be built in as well—commercial and financial policy, transnational controls, arms sales, reaction to climate change, as well as policy on migration, all powerful weapons in the fight against poverty.

It must be pointed out that such a way of looking at the distribution of resources is not exactly popular or widely shared—the line that has it that if we want to 'stop them coming', we

need to 'help them stay in their own countries'. It's a line we often have recourse to when faced with a sense of powerlessness and so much complexity and suffering. Still, there is a genuine truth underlying it, which is that everyone in every country does have the right to development, to live a life of dignity, not to be obliged to flee in order to enjoy what they consider to be a better life.

Notice, however, that this appears at the same time to suggest that an obligation to redistribute wealth on an international scale might principally and solely be instrumental in its aim.

Furthermore, a right to self-development in the country of one's birth has to be squared with a common human right to migrate freely, whether there are actual opportunities to exercise this or not. Also, we must take into account empirical evidence that shows pretty consistently that as countries' levels of development increase, this, far from slowing down migration elsewhere, encourages it.²⁰ And as has often been observed, education is the lightest luggage to take with one when one comes to travel, together with personal contacts (social capital saved up as means of support on arrival at one's destination), and the money that one has to spend on travelling at all. Resources such as these are not readily commanded by the poorest of the poor.

1.5.3. What shall we do in the meantime?

With our sights and steps fixed duly on the utopian horizon of international justice, our task is set in the pres-

ent and with a host of people, working alongside them, serving and defending them on one and the other side of the various visible and invisible frontiers that we have been discussing. A fundamental demand, as we have been arguing, is respect for legality where immigration and asylum law is concerned, something by no means guaranteed on a daily basis. Another course of action is working to extend the legal framework itself.²¹ As well as the relevant technical development issues, the words of the archbishop of Tangier, Santiago Agrelo,²² seem to us to encapsulate a lot that is important. Asked if it was possible to persuade those who seek a better life to stay in their own countries, he concisely and perceptively summed up the routes reforms might usefully take.

«It can't be done. There's nothing more dangerous than a dream, nothing more powerful than hope. Talking of 'impermeable barriers' will never adequately describe the physical reality of such barriers, but rather, the ever-increasing risks

that dreamers will have to take to make their dreams come true. The only possible way to dissuade them is by knowledge of the truth, a knowledge that might reasonably and practically take effect if instead of herding emigrants along the road to death, one gave them the possibility of entering other countries normally, the chance to see, the chance to stay if they find something that is better than what they have already, or if one gave them the means to return home without humiliation if they see things they did not expect to see. But against all that's rational, we oblige them to spend all the money they have, to put at risk their health, their dignity, their physical well-being, and their lives, to take on so much suffering that they cannot turn back without sacrificing everything they value.»

The third way is to put forward the axiological, ethical, political alternative to hostility, that is hospitality, the subject with which the second part of the present text is concerned.

2. BUILDING HOSPITALITY

As we wrote in the introduction to this booklet, the concept, practice and policies of hospitality reverse the policies and practice of hostility to migrants.

2.1. Hospitality appeals to our imagination

There's something about the concept of hospitality that appeals to our imagination. Without a doubt, it is loaded with meanings and associations; it summons and inspires us; it finds an echo in our hearts, and leads to action. This is maybe due to its inherent attractiveness: the apparent simplicity of the welcoming gestures that embody it, releasing powerful political and inter-personal forces of a lasting nature.

I want to draw attention here to three ways of focussing what hospi-

tility means, why it resonates so powerfully at a personal and community level, how it can direct our social and political action.

First, hospitality means making others welcome.²³ It is a matter of opening ourselves to strangers and making them a part of our own world. This is especially the case when that stranger is vulnerable. Hospitality expands what we mean by 'we'. It extends a welcome to those different from ourselves, and not just a perfunctory welcome. It is a warm welcome. We all know, and particularly, feel from personal experience, whether we

ourselves are really welcome or otherwise. In the case of a warm welcome, a visitor is celebrated, not merely tolerated; looked after and fêted, not merely attended to. The visitor finds empathy and a listening ear, not just bed and board. There's no asymmetry in the encounter, but rather, reciprocity. When the visitor leaves, things don't all just return to normal, since something has changed on both sides, host and guest. A question echoes in the depths of our consciousness: who has welcomed whom?

Second, I think that something deeply human stirs with talk of hospitality. It's something that connects with the deepest levels of our experience as individuals and as members of a species. Leonardo Boff says 'extending a welcome brings to light the basic structure of human existence [...] we exist because we have been made welcome.'²⁴ We have been welcomed by the Earth, by Life's vital currents, by the world of Nature, by our parents, by society. Being welcomed makes us what and who we are. Hospitality connects with our condition of being dependent, in need of care, and vulnerable. Maybe *this* is what we are, before all else. The Basque philosopher Daniel Innerarity comments that 'against the ideal of a life lived free of risk [...] the idea of hospitality reminds us of something peculiar to our condition —our frail, fragile, needy life that hangs on things we don't entirely command, exposed to fortune's arrows. It's because of this that we suffer hardship, have need of other people, seek other's recognition, friendship and approval.'²⁵

Third, hospitality isn't just a private matter. It happens and is experienced in the public sphere. Historically, as we shall see, hospitality has not simply had a practical and moral value; it has been a duty, sometimes legally enforceable. Although things have changed, there's no doubt that we may speak of hospitality as a 'political' matter, making our own something we have learned from feminism, namely that 'the private is political'. As Jean-Marie Carrière, currently European Director of the Jesuit Refugee Service, has pointed out, 'at the present time, a private initiative, undertaken by a family or community, turns out to be political', one effect of which can be to change the way a host may vote. Another may be the renewal of a national (he's speaking of France) tradition lost in the course of formulating migration policy.²⁶ This leads us on to how personal values extend to the communal and civic spheres, and from there, influence specific policy decisions about migration, or to put things another way, influence how specific policies find fertile soil and take root in societies that hold to certain values. Some values make certain policies and legislation viable, and certain kinds of legislation promote particular values and discourage others.

This is a complex two-way business, as we suggested earlier, one that leads us to address the political dimension of hospitality. In the work already cited, Leonardo Boff refers to 'conditional' and 'unconditional' hospitality. The latter is the ideal form of it, encountered in the personal and community sphere, and one that ought to 'help the formulation of good laws

and inspire generous public policies facilitating the welcoming of foreigners, immigrants, refugees and people different from ourselves'. The former, 'conditional hospitality', is hospitality as mediated by laws and institutions—it belongs, that it is to say, to the sphere of public policy—and it 'has need of unconditional hospitality if it is not to be reduced to bureaucratic measures, thereby losing the spirit of openness that is essential for a welcome to be real' (p. 90ff).

In short, hospitality is expansive and inclusive. It gradually opens itself up to different areas of life, maturing in the social and community dimension, becoming fullest when it influences public policy for the good. García Roca expresses this beautifully clearly when he writes, 'if we are to be citizens, we must practise neighbourliness, and if we are to be neighbours, we have to practise hospitality' (p. 71).²⁷ The political, the personal, and the community dimensions are inter-related.

The dynamic of these inter-related levels is the subject of the pages that come next. First, if as Habermas says, 'our social framework of political and legal institutions is constructed on ethical foundations and these pre-political foundations have a powerful normative element', we should examine them as such. In the present context, the structures are raised on an amalgam of Greco-Roman and Indo-European mythology with Biblical tradition and philosophical thought from Plato and Kant to Levinas and Derrida. Our attention here will concentrate particularly on the Christian tradition, and we

shall seek to characterise hospitality by reference to the founding myths and stories of our own inheritance.

Second, we shall analyse how hospitality practised in the community builds neighbourliness, and what the implications of this process are. We shall seek to identify some of the things that loosen community bonds (inequality, disinformation) and explore to what extent the 'contact hypothesis' (that view that it is contact that makes the heart grow fonder) is practically borne out.

Third, we shall tackle the more strictly political dimension of hospitality, asking what the implications are if hospitality is to pass from the domestic hearth to embrace the *demos*. This is because, as various thinkers have observed, to exist is 'to exist politically'.

2.2. Hospitality in the Bible as a source of inspiration

It would fall beyond the scope of this booklet and beyond the powers of the present writer to offer more than an outline of the overwhelming presence of hospitality and the migrant in the Biblical texts, theological reflection, official church and Christian social teaching.²⁸ The aim of this section is more modest. We shall try to consider a handful of stories from the Old and New Testaments to show both the theological centrality of hospitality and various features that it presents, things that still make demands on our attention, urgently requiring that we make of them realities. I shall concentrate here on four characteristics of hospital-

ity as it is portrayed in the Bible from which it is possible to learn today.

2.2.1. Welcoming strangers connects us with the transcendent: to make room for other people is to make room for the 'Other'

An important part of what we learn about hospitality from the Bible is not an exclusively Judaeo-Christian, but something widely present in ancient societies of many kinds. Travelling peoples like the Greeks share with the semi-nomadic Jew a sacralising of the outsider. We see this for instance in Homer's *Odyssey* or in the myth of Baucis and Philemon. There is something of an *air de famille* between the idea that the gods appearing in the form of needy strangers reward hospitable humans, and the reward of salvation meted out at the Last Judgement to those who have welcomed strangers (as we read in Matthew 25).

The scene set beneath the oaks of Mamre related in Genesis 18 is perhaps the first Biblical narrative in which hospitality appears as a central motif. Abraham, our father in faith, is sitting by the entrance to his tent during the hottest part of the day, when he sees three men standing near him. Instead of hiding away or treating them with suspicion, he runs to meet them, bowing to the ground at their feet. Both he and Sarah his wife begin to wait on them.

He gives them water to wash their feet, cream and milk for food. Abraham has recognised Yahweh in these men. God, though, has not come alone. He is accompanied (according to the

usual interpretation) by two angels, in which one might see a foreshadowing of the Triune God, diverse yet one. Extending welcome leads to an encounter with the Divine. The dullness of our blinded sight gives way to the experience of transcendence. Ourselves no longer at the centre of the picture, we are able to enter into the mystery.

A further surprise awaits us in the second part of the story, one that reveals how crucial the act of welcome is: it is this hospitable gesture that allows Israel to have a future, since God does not depart without promising that the aged Abraham and Sarah will have a son. It is no exaggeration to say that hospitality lies at the root of the believing community.

If we leap from the beginning (Genesis) to the End (the Last Judgment as evoked in St Matthew's gospel) we find the same point being made, concerning the theological importance of hospitality. But here, the evidence is conclusive, providing a definitive criterion for salvation: *'I was a stranger and you made me welcome ... When did we see you a stranger and make you welcome? ... as you did this to one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did it to me.'* For this reason, welcoming those that are in need is to welcome Jesus; not welcoming the needy is to reject him. And so for Christians, the gesture of welcome does not just imply repeating a praxis characteristic of the Jesus of history; this text shows us how Jesus identifies himself with the migrant to the utmost. Seen with the eyes of faith, hospitality shown to the stranger is hospitality shown to *Jesus himself*.

2.2.2. Being open to strangers changes our self-understanding and how we view the world

There are stories in the gospels that show us clearly how no one opening his doors and heart to strangers remains untouched, but rather, is transformed. The account of the Road to Emmaus (Luke 24. 13ff) provides a moving example. The disciples are running away dejected and ashamed after Jesus' death. As they walk, another traveller joins them and asks them what has happened to them. They might easily have remained silent, and carried on, downcast and in silence. But they choose instead to open themselves up to the stranger, allowing him to see into their grieving hearts. They tell him their story, their version of events. They make themselves vulnerable to the stranger. And he breaks the vicious circle of despair by reinterpreting events. He offers them a different way of seeing what they have experienced. This unknown person gives them a new perspective, and sets their hearts aflame. Hospitality, therefore, lets us tell a different story. The stranger obviously is the Lord, whom they invite to stay with them. They recognise him when he takes the bread and breaks it, just before he vanishes from their sight.

There are a number of other stories in the gospels in which an itinerant Jesus both receives hospitality from others and practises it with his hosts, whose hearts are comforted thereby. To a house that welcomes him, Jesus brings friendship, health and consolation. He talks with his hosts about the meaning of life. He enlarges the circle that refers to 'us', recognising as part of it people others consider to be 'oth-

ers'. He goes in for 'inter-cultural dialogue', as in the story of Zacchaeus, in the links forged in the house of Martha, Mary and Lazarus, in his engaging with the Syro-Phoenician woman in the district of Tyre, or with the Samaritan woman at the well of Sychar. These episodes read as exchanges between equals; reciprocity is the air they breathe. They speak of a dynamic of giving and receiving between a host and guest, in which clear boundaries between the one and the other are blurred.

2.2.3. Hospitable gestures²⁹

As José Carlos Bermejo points out, hospitality and being welcomed affect people through their senses. There is a welcome connected with the *language* we use to new arrivals. There is a welcome that takes place *somewhere*. And there is a welcome that is heart-felt.³⁰ Biblical tales of hospitality harbour a great wealth of details, gestures, and symbols that convey consideration for the person being received. These are gestures that speak of love, concern and gentleness, symbolising a welcome that is all-embracing, when seen in a three-fold perspective.

First, there is a non-verbal language that any new arrival finds easy to comprehend: this is the language of *reverence*. In certain Biblical passages, the guest is received with great marks of gratitude and reverence; he is received by one who kneels before him, his forehead touching the ground, kissing his feet or his clothing (as in Genesis 18. 2-3, Matthew 18. 26, or Acts 10. 25). A kiss is another symbol of person-

al greeting. When Jesus is invited to a pharisee's house, one of the slights the latter permits himself is not to kiss his guest, in contrast to the behaviour of a sinful woman (Luke 7. 44-45).

Second, in terms of space, removing one's shoes may be seen as a sign of being at home, or even in a holy place. This is accompanied by washing the guest's feet, an action that will acquire a deep theological significance. Anointing a guest with oil is another custom signifying welcome, serving not only to soften the guest's skin but also to fill the room with a pleasing smell.

Third, a heartfelt welcome involves listening to what a guest says, empathising with him. The guest thus feels emotionally safe, subject to neither prejudice nor judgmentalism. And a heartfelt welcome is mutual, placing people on the same level. We have already mentioned episodes where Jesus brings consolation to houses that receive him as a guest. The places where a welcome happens promote a sense of gratitude; they are places where real dialogue is possible. The person who is made welcome brings with him different topics of conversation, a change of air, and different ways of looking at the world.

2.2.4. Hospitality and welcome as normative stances

We see from Biblical and other ancient traditions that hospitality has a normative value. This can be observed in the many precepts that Yahweh dictates to the people of Israel and their leaders from one end of the Pentateuch to the other. One uncompromising formula-

tion may be found in Leviticus 19. 34: 'If the stranger lives with you in your land ... you must count him as one of your own countrymen and love him as yourself, for you were once strangers in the land of Egypt.' In Numbers 35. 15, Yahweh orders Moses to found six Cities of Refuge 'for the sons of Israel as well as for the stranger and the settler among you'. It is interesting to notice how the explanation for such normative pronouncements is related to the Israelites' own experience. They themselves began as settlers in an alien land. This shows us what may come from remembering one's personal and collective past as a source of behavioural norms for how to treat others experiencing things that we have once experienced ourselves.

Welcome as a 'default' stance refers us to an early form of international relations and peace-keeping, prior to the making of international agreements. Sonia Adames points out that in the desert and with uncertain means of transport, hospitality can make the difference between life and death.³¹ Hospitality is burnt into us as a social value and as a norm of conduct. It is not difficult to see parallels between this and the situation of refugees currently fleeing from Syria or Eritrea, only to drown in the Mediterranean. For these men and women hospitality is a matter of life and death also. Hospitality to refugees is first and foremost required by international law, even if its observance is mediated by the often infirm will of nation states. Even so, in this case an appeal to history should intensify our sense of shame and outrage at what is now taking place.

2.3. Hospitality becomes neighbourliness: moving on from 'welcoming refugees' to talking to one's neighbour

If hospitality towards refugees is now covered by the law, why does it not work? Doubtless several factors are involved in this, but here I want to take another look at the social attitudes and conditions that underlie that legislation, and that risk making it a dead letter. The substratum in question needs to operate on people's immediate relationships, in the community, how people live together day by day, in the places where we experience ourselves as one another's neighbours. When hospitality extends beyond individual homes, it becomes neighbourliness, something that grows as social links are forged, links of mutual trust and mutual help, fed by involvement in shared decision-making. Do we find this where people live already? It is hard to give a generalised affirmative answer to this, but many experiments are taking place, aware as people are of the crucial importance of strengthening community and social bonds.³² We are talking about a genuine small-scale 'politics of mutual contact'.³³

In an important study published a few years ago, when the human face of neighbourhoods was changing due to immigration, Carmen González and Berta Álvarez documented problems encountered by groups from different origins as they sought to forge new social links. Whilst long-standing residents were nostalgic about how things were done before, migrants felt nostalgia for the ways of the countries they

had come from. 'The evidence on both sides showed that contacts with neighbours were reduced to formal greetings' (p. 166). Immigrants make up for a lack of sociability by intensifying connections with others from the countries they have left behind, something that in turn gives rise to suspicion on the part of those who have been around for longer. Despite a paucity of intercultural connections, one none the less sees some awareness of the importance of bonds with those who live nearby one. There is an obvious contrast between abstract (negative, stereotypical) opinions about larger social groups and the far more positive, 'normal', views that people form of those they actually have contact with.

2.3.1. Does contact make the heart grow fonder?

It seems, in fact, as if increased diversity in the population where people live might well lead to, or coincide with, a weakening of social interaction and of community networks, at least in the early days of rapid change. Social scientists have produced a wealth of studies done in various contexts of the impact social diversity can be seen to have on social capital, in the form of the 'thickness' of mutual trust.³⁴

There are three ways of looking at this, three possible outcomes. First, there is the 'contact hypothesis' that emphasises how diversity reinforces social solidarity. As we have more to do with people from groups different from our own, an initial ignorance and suspicion of one another are gradually overcome, and replaced by mutual

trust. Second, there are those favour a 'theory of conflict', according to which diversity encourages mistrust between those who fall outside a subject's social group and strengthens ties within it. Third, others speak of the 'tortoise effect', whereby an increase in diversity does not cause intra and extra-group divisions, but rather weakens social bonds, loosening community ties across the board, and giving rise to social isolation and disaffection.

So, does contact with new people make the heart grow fonder, does it bring us closer to 'our own sort' and distance us from 'others', or isolate everyone from everybody else? The social scientists' conclusion here supports the view that in the case of Spain at least, it is the contact hypothesis that holds true, and greater proximity *does* in the end bring people closer to each other. But for this to happen, the climate must be favourable, and one aspect of such a climate is that socio-economic equality is present to at least a minimum degree. Inequality eats away at social ties faster than cultural differences. We are sometimes prone to overestimate the latter, whereas the real divides are those caused by structural inequality. Where universalist social policies are in operation, it is harder for social ties to be obscured, but where neo-liberalism reigns and meets with scant resistance, civic virtues and community spirit suffer accordingly.

Another of the conditions favouring a 'thickening' of relationships among people from diverse cultural backgrounds is the existence of shared initiatives, schemes and projects at a community level. The *joy of working*

together in a common programme cements social relationships. Each and every scheme that we can launch involving inclusiveness, participation, shared decision-making, shared celebration, and shared protest will help build up the kind of neighbourliness we seek.

It is no less important that urban landscapes provide spaces where different residents can meet each another. Just as earlier we spoke of 'hospitable spaces' (regardless of whether a whole area makes us feel welcome, or otherwise), we need to ask if communal spaces have been built to favour isolation or encounter, we need to see which spaces we should seek to reclaim for social use, and how.

It should be evident from all of this that there are links between the social sphere and public policy. We have already underscored that the implementation of values at a social level can make certain policies viable, and now we want to emphasise another factor. Community initiatives in pursuit of mutual encounter and living together, born of community awareness and the pursuit of friendship at a civic level, must be matched and framed by concrete policies to make them happen. Or at the very least, such initiatives should not be smothered by policies designed to poison fraternity at the roots.

2.3.2. Neighbourliness and speaking well of others

A sense of neighbourliness begins when we identify people different from ourselves as a part of ourselves, with a potential for building something

different from our present state. Such recognition is the polar opposite to the contempt that makes social ties impossible to sustain. Hostile laws feed social hostility, and reinforce it. If we are to break the vicious circle, we have in the first place to set up firewalls, to prevent malicious rumours about our neighbours from spreading.³⁵

This writer's own experience in recent years supports what many opinion polls reveal as well, namely that attitudes towards migrants have hardened, and a sense of their being different from ourselves has grown. 'They abuse our benefits system', 'they lower the standards in our schools', 'you simply cannot get along with religions or cultures like those', and so forth. Stereotyped images, prejudice and slander concerning immigrants find ample endorsement in many sectors of society.

As we have pointed out already, drawing on actual experience of living together in specific neighbourhoods, personal contacts help to weaken abstract opinions about abstract groups of people. None the less I reckon that diffusing and accepting negative images of immigrants only increases the distance between our well-off selves and others. It hinders the discovery of the shared humanity and common values on which a new society of hospitality and inclusion might be built.

This is in itself sufficient reason to work determinedly to put a stop to pernicious rumours. They have to be outlawed if we are to progress from mere co-existence to living life together. Diffuse or mild racism don't necessarily have to produce specific forms of discriminatory behaviour. But still,

stereotyping (at a cognitive level) can morph into prejudice (on an emotional level) and then translate in terms of behaviour.

The slippery slope of contempt can lead to discriminatory behaviour when the climate is propitious, that is to say, when people feel entitled to act in a certain way by political, social, or historic factors. Among these, one of particular relevance is when the authorities, or other opinion-forming bodies, give actual or implicit backing to negative views of immigrants. It is in such a rarefied climate and when people are on edge that specific racist incidents occur, in the form of aggression or public humiliation.³⁶ Some writers call such grey areas 'zones of acquiescence', places where discriminatory speech and behaviour is legitimated and extended.

To practise neighbourliness means building barriers against such 'zones of acquiescence', starting with our immediate family and community networks where unfounded rumours breed and spread. When everything encourages us to keep quiet, behaving in a neighbourly way means being prepared to ask questions, appealing to an opponent's curiosity, relating positive experiences where people have succeeded in living together, using humour as a means of challenging what's being said, with, always, due respect for and attention to other people's underlying feelings of anxiety, fear, insecurity, and so on.

Attempts are sometimes made to depict the fight against 'zones of acquiescence' as the tyranny of 'political correctness'. Some political leaders are even proud of putting into words

what people ‘really think but do not dare to say out loud’. Playing at being naughty and out of order is a pose that maybe is capable of attracting votes or others’ favourable opinions, re-bur-nishing positions that have lost their lustre for other reasons in the past. Faced with this, it may be helpful to recover Todorov’s term, the ‘politically abject’.³⁷ Political correctness may be an error, but it can never authorise the things deemed incorrect or, actually, politically abject.

2.4. From neighbourliness to citizenship: hospitality in the *demos*

When things of the sort we’ve just been describing happen —when institutions encourage the bad-mouthing of a particular group of residents— it is usual to point out that those attacked have no power to defend themselves. This takes us directly to the question of immigrants becoming full voting members of the political community, with equal rights, including political rights. How do we move on from personal and social bonds to political ones, from feeling one belongs in a given neighbourhood to feeling one is a member of the *polis*?

As we noted at the outset, the values, practices, and laws of hospitality apply principally to travellers, to people in transit, although we have seen as well that there have since ancient times been precepts covering strangers who come to live among us. Today, the global reality of migration makes things look very different. There is a

range of migratory practices: the willing and the unwilling, briefer or more protracted, displacement of groups of people; moving from A to B and back to A; re-emigration; and transnationalism by which one simultaneously belongs in more than just one place. These practices gradually evolve as well, and change as people’s life patterns change as well. Here we shall be referring to those who choose to set up home in a given place long-term, independently of whether things eventually turn out differently, for whatever reason.

In relation to immigration there are usually two different kinds of policy involved. There are on the one hand those regulating migratory flow and the entry conditions that apply for a given country, and on the other, those covering the integration or incorporation of migrants in a host country. Both kinds can appear to have little to do with another, or to be independent of each other. They may emanate from different government departments, but in fact they have more to do with one another than may first appear.

Depending on specific conditions of access to a given country, integration policy will have different emphases or purposes. In the case of Spain, an instrumentalist view has been taken of immigration, such that historically, the regulation of numbers has been linked to labour market needs. The root idea is that a migrant is a worker who has been invited in as such, and once his contribution to Spanish market needs is over, he will either return freely to his home country, or be deported. In consequence, integration policy has

mainly been concerned with labour market integration and access to social rights, rather than political inclusion. As Javier de Lucas has pointed out, odds being contracted as a foreigner is at odds with being contracted as a citizen.³⁸

It follows from this that setting limits to or extending hospitality has to be about creating a sense of belonging to the political community, something that comes from establishing means of influencing and having a say in matters of common concern. In short, what is at stake here is taking the possibility of immigrants' political involvement seriously. At the present time, broadening definitions of citizenship comes up against a major obstacle where immigrants are concerned. In practice, these people find themselves excluded at the time of electing those who represent the places where they live and work, where they contribute to and build society. In our opinion, we have here a fundamental democratic anomaly. Obviously, participation can not be restricted to the right to vote. There are a wide range of ways in which people can become involved in local issues, in encouraging social contacts in the world of work, in schools, in churches, and so forth. And it is plain as well that

a concern for access to work, services and welfare are key, since there are certain basic material needs that must be met if people are to be treated as citizens.

Even so, political and electoral participation are not usually associated with moves towards integration. In the case of Spain, important legal limitations are unquestionably at work, most notably Article 13. 2 of the Constitution which requires international treaties to function reciprocally. But this is an inadequate legal framework to apply in circumstances like those we are discussing here, and it should be modified to permit resident foreign nationals to take full part in the electoral process. Such modifications should start from the principle that citizenship has to be uncoupled from nationality and tied instead to residence. Meanwhile, one must work within existing legal margins, however little scope this gives, but in such a way we might begin to reverse the tendency to under-represent politically people who reside in Spain but who, on account of having been born elsewhere, find it hard to make their very different interests and opinions count for something in the public sphere.

While working on a booklet like this an author may well find himself overtaken by events, but fortunately, he also has more time to think. When I started, I was overwhelmed by the denial of human rights on Spain's Southern border, and as I close, I find myself indignant, astonished, and almost incredulous as in Summer 2015 we face a European refugee crisis of unprecedented dimensions.

Nothing I have written up to this point is fundamentally altered by changes of this kind, however. My view is that the present crisis with its origins in the passive-aggressive stance of the authorities and the greater or lesser indifference of European public opinion, help us dot some I's and cross some T's, and so I want in closing to offer some reflections, with a view to, in part, synthesising and in part, leaving open ways of going deeper into the matters we've been discussing.

Borders have become the sites of suffering and death. The policies that states have put in place in order to protect themselves have all too often led to the violation of human rights.

In consequence we must start by demanding that any measures regulating the flow of people be compatible with human rights and subject to effective legal, judicial, and political control. Second, there is no getting round the fact that borders currently serve to uphold an unjust global order.

Challenging the latter implies questioning the former, not accepting them as an immutable fact (something they have never been!), and daring to ask what their legitimacy is based upon. What are frontiers raised to protect? Is there any connection between what they protect, and the reason for their doing so? (If that seems to go too far because it sounds unrealistic or im-

practical, we can get plenty of mileage from considering the matter from a utilitarian angle.)

Together with a hardening of attitudes towards border controls, we are faced with a hostility towards migrants generated by mutually reinforcing public speeches and practices that stigmatize people. There is no need to multiply examples, since in the last few months we have been submitted to a whole string of nonsense from the authorities that has had me running a whole gamut of emotions from deep embarrassment to utmost indignation. We have fortunately also witnessed a social reaction favourable to solidarity and welcome, which may in part contribute to change in certain areas of policy. In the course of time we shall be able to assess how far certain hostile narratives have succeeded in poisoning things, and how far the antidotes have made viable alternatives possible.

Maybe in addition to its intrinsic seriousness and the need for decisive action that it calls for, the current refugee crisis will help us realise that a flow of persons, for reasons not only to do with war, will continue marking out old Europe's future. And it is overwhelmingly urgent to return to a discussion of the values, principles and policies that affect these facts. In such a context, we need to employ all the moral and axiological resources at our disposal, since the challenge is immense, and the recent defensive reactions of governments and people has not been negligible.

It is here that traditions of hospitality once more come into their own.

Hospitality is a human and social value that may have been abandoned in a dark corner of the attic where we lay up things that are of use no longer, but it has none the less has, in its invariably modest, serene, and small-scale fashion, shone out in numerous instances when individuals and whole communities have opened up their homes and hearts to strangers. Some people have been inspired by their religious faith and the wisdom of their different sacred texts; others, by their civic convictions and the best aspects of the humanist tradition; many more by both. And all of these have come together in defence of those who are most vulnerable. In such dramatic times as those we have lived through recently, this shining example becomes a blaze, when countless individuals, groups and institutions chose not to look away and to act responsibly.

I want now to underscore some points that we have noted in the course of writing this booklet, with a view to refreshing the tradition of hospitality and helping it to make a significant contribution at the present time.

First, I believe that it is necessary to make contact with our own vulnerability, as people needing care ourselves —obviously as individuals in flight from the hubris that prevents us from realising the extent to which we need each other if we are to live at all, and also collectively, as societies and nations. This requires us among other things to take stock of our history. If there has been anywhere where people have found themselves in need of fleeing famine, religious intolerance, war, reprisals, and the lack of opportunity, it

has been in Europe. 'My father was a wandering Aramaean, who went down into Egypt' and 'my mother an impoverished peasant who came to the city in search of work', and 'my grandfather was a political exile'...

Second, it is important to understand hospitality as a social value or virtue that finds its public expression in laws and institutions. Individual and community practices are the foundations on which public policy is built. We need to ask ourselves how to move from one to the other, to bridge the gap that separates individual and social initiatives from public responsibilities. We have already pointed to expansive

models of hospitality, in the home, the neighbourhood and the political community. We have to nurture them. Understood in such a way, hospitality dissolves frontiers.

I have in recent days repeatedly recalled a well-known native-American legend. A grandmother explains to her grandson that two wolves permanently fight inside each individual. One of these is the wolf of selfishness, lack of solidarity, hatred, aggression... and hostility. The other stands for compassion, solidarity, joy, concern for others... for hospitality. 'Which one wins, grandma?' the little boy asks. And she replies, 'The one you feed, my dear.'

1. Missing Migrants Project, accessible online at <http://mmp.iom.int/>
2. I refer here to the founding document of the Migration Group of the 'Redes Globales Ignacianas de Incidencia' (GIAN), entitled 'Por una cultura de la hospitalidad y la inclusión', accessible online at <http://issuu.com/prensa jesuitas>; to the campaigns led in Latin America and the Caribbean by various groups linked to the Society of Jesus, information about which is accessible online at <http://campaãaporla hospitalidad.com/>; and to reflection on communities of hospitality conducted by the JRS in Europe generally and Spain in particular.
3. We learnt subsequently, a year after the events in question, that a court in Ceuta has proceeded against a number of members of the Civil Guard involved in deploying these anti-riot measures.
4. See the special issue of *El Diario*, produced to commemorate these deaths, accessible online at <http://lasmuertesdeceuta.eldiario.es>
5. After the completion of this text, we have been distressed and angered to learn that these camps have been dismantled, and that in the region around Mount Gurugú and Nador, hundreds of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa have been detained and forcibly expelled. Information about this is still confused and incomplete, but it looks as if we are witnessing the violent hunting down of Sub-Saharan migrants, without the slightest concern for their human dignity. Europe and Spain operate with impunity in this, by sub-contracting the work to Morocco, which in turn tightens or relaxes its controls as a bargaining counter in its relations with its 'sponsors'.
6. The official figures for 2014 speak of 775 people entering Spain by breaking through the perimeter fences at Ceuta and Melilla.
7. In writing this section, I have been grateful for conversations with Sabina Barone, who is in charge of the Hospitality Campaign led by the JRS in Latin America and the Caribbean.
8. A similar dynamic of outsourcing operates on the border between Mexico and the USA, with ramifications in other Central American countries.
9. See the *Global Detention Project* website at www.globaldetentionproject.org
10. Invaluable reports on the CIEs are provided by the JRS's Pueblos Unidos and Migra Studium Units, accessible online at www.sjme.org
11. See *Huffington Post*, 20/01/2015, accessible online at <http://www.huffingtonpost.es>
12. Negotiations about the quotas governing the number of refugees entering Europe, and proposals involving the use of the armed forces as a response (sinking the boats in which migrants cross the Mediterranean) are a further manifestation of this.
13. See for instance the work of Hein de Haas on the (in)effectiveness of border controls, accessible at www.heindehaas.com, or more recently, Wendy BROWN's essay in *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, Zone Books, 2010.
14. Wendy BROWN, *op. cit.*, Prologue and Introduction.
15. The words he used, as reported in the media, were 'if you tell me where we can send these poor people with a guarantee that they will be looked after and provided with work, I assure you we will send them there'.
16. Will KYMLICKA, *Fronteras Territoriales*, Trotta 2006.
17. This question becomes still trickier when we ask how these resources are now obtained, and have been in the past –but this is not a question that the author examines.
18. Information in the Oxfam International report *La realidad de la ayuda*, accessible online at www.realidadayuda.org
19. See the report by ALBOAN & Entreculturas, *Políticas de control migratorio y cooperación al desarrollo entre España y África Occidental durante la ejecución del primer Plan África*, accessible online at <http://centrodere cursos.alboan.org>
20. See studies of migration and development by Michael Clemens for the Center for Global Development, accessible online at www.cgdev.org

21. We have tackled the question of reform in our article '¿Merece la pena plantear una reforma de la política migratoria?', *Razón y Fe*, December 2014, accessible online at www.sjme.org
22. Interview published in *Noticias Obreras*, no. 1558, April 2014.
23. In the course of writing the present piece, I learn there is a branch of the Social Sciences called Hospitality Studies, involving the academic training of those planning to work in hotels. It is regrettable that 'the market' has colonised yet another area of life, one of profound human value.
24. L. BOFF, *Virtudes para otro mundo posible. (I) Hospitalidad: derecho y deber de todos*, Sal Terrae 2006, p. 82.
25. D. INNERARITY, *Ética de la hospitalidad*. Península 2001, p. 38.
26. J. M. CARRIÈRE, *L'Hospitalité: vertu privée, vertu politique?* Lecture delivered in Paris to old members of the École Sainte Geneviève at the Centre Sèvres in 2013. Carrière was Director of the JRS in France, and behind its 'Welcome' Project. See <http://es.jrs.net>
27. J. GARCÍA ROCA, *Reinvención de la exclusión en tiempos de crisis*, Cáritas Española/Fundación FOESSA 2012.
28. See also F. TORRALBA, 'No olvidéis la hospitalidad' (*Heb 13,2*). *Una exploración teológica*. PPC 2004; J. L. PINILLA, (ed.), *Lo que dice la Biblia sobre el extranjero*, Edice 2012; G. CAMPESE, *Hacia una teología de la realidad de las migraciones. Método y desafío*, Cátedra Eusebio Francisco Kino SJ 2008; D. IZUZQUIZA, *Breaking bread. Notes for a political theology of migration*. Booklets CJ, n° 140, 2011.
29. I am grateful to Alberto Ares for his help with writing this section.
30. José Carlos BERMEJO, 'Hospitalidad para el corazón', *Humanizar* (March-April 2011).
31. Paper for the RJM-LAC Hospitality Campaign, entitled 'La hospitalidad en el Antiguo Testamento y en el proyecto de Jesús' accessible at <http://www.campañaporlahospitalidad.com>
32. We specially recommend the study co-ordinated by Josep BUADES & Carlos GIMÉNEZ, *Hagamos de nuestro barrio un lugar habitable. Manual de intervención comunitaria en Barrios*, CeiMigra/IMEDES 2013.
33. C. GONZÁLEZ ENRÍQUEZ, C. & B. ÁLVAREZ MIRANDA, *Inmigrantes en el barrio. Un estudio cualitativo de opinión pública*. Documentos del Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración 6. Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales 2006.
34. I follow here I. ZUBERO, *Confianza ciudadana y capital social en sociedades multiculturales*, Cuadernos Ikuspegi 1, Observatorio Vasco de la Inmigración 2010.
35. In recent years a number of European cities, backed by local authorities and regional governments, have launched 'anti-rumour' campaigns.
36. What happened in Vitoria-Gasteiz when Maroto was Mayor answers this description pretty closely.
37. See the article by Agustín Unzuñunzaga in <http://www.mugak.eu>
38. J. DE LUCAS, *Sobre los fundamentos de la igualdad y del reconocimiento. Un análisis crítico de las condiciones de las políticas europeas de integración ante la inmigración*, Eurobask, Vitoria 2012.

SOME QUESTIONS TO REFLECTION

1. In this booklet, we have spoken of external, internal and interiorised frontiers. Had you realised before that frontiers are of this nature? Where in your own experience are the 'invisible barriers' to be found?
2. Of the positions that this booklet identifies as causes of hostility towards migrants, which seem most common in your own surroundings? Which of them seem to you most questionable, or in need of refinement?
3. This booklet notes that territorial frontiers defend an unjust global order. Can you imagine a world without frontiers? Do you think it would be viable, or that it is desirable? If so, on what terms and conditions?
4. Try to call to mind an experience you have had of giving or receiving hospitality. What do you remember about it? What was it like? Did any of its features resemble things we have described here? Did you feel changed by it in any way?
5. How can we make our own neighbourhood, place of study, community or association a place where hospitality holds pride of place?
6. Do you believe that hospitality is capable of influencing legislative arrangements and/or institutions?

Cristianisme i Justícia (Lluís Espinal Foundation) is a Study Centre under the initiative of the Society of Jesus in Catalonia. It consists of a team of university professors and experts in theology and different social and human sciences, who are concerned with the increasingly important cultural interrelations between faith and justice.

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143. J. LAGUNA. Taking Stock of Reality, Taking Responsibility for Reality, and Taking Charge of Reality; 144. J. I. GONZÁLEZ FAUS. «I'm coming, Lord» Contemplatives in Relation; 145. L. RAMÓN. Women of Care. Justice, Care and Transformation; 146. F. J. VITORIA. Winds of Change; 147. J. I. GONZÁLEZ FAUS. Unicity of God, Multiplicity of Mysticism; 148. J. LAGUNA. Evangelical Dystopias; 149. J. F. MÀRIA, E. DEVUYST. King Leopold's Mines; 150. V. CODINA. Fifty years ago there was a council...; 151. A. BLANCH. Leo Tolstoy, Political Prophet and Evangelical Anarchist; 152. J. I. GONZÁLEZ FAUS. A New Church for a New World; 153. A. CALDERÓN, L. SOLS. Europe at the Crossroads; 154. S. HERRERA. Trapped in Limbo, Women, migration and sexual violence; 155. J. CARRERA. The revolution of every day. Christianity, Capitalism, and Post-modernity; 156. O. MATEOS. From «tragedy» to «miracle»? Africa in the new multipolar context; 157. J. I. GONZÁLEZ FAUS. God?; 158. X. ALEGRE SANTAMARIA, J. I. GONZÁLEZ FAUS, J. MARTÍNEZ GORDO, A. TORRES QUEIRUGA. Rebuilding Lives, Divorce, Welcome, and Communion; 159. J. FLAQUER. Islam: The crescent moon... waxing; 160. M. GONZÁLEZ MARTÍN. From Hostility to Hospitality

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