Living and dying with the state: The Netherlands according to Egyptians in Amsterdam

Ruijtenberg, W.D.

Epilogue
Bahaa, or the desire to live, and live on

In the fall of 2018, Bahaa felt a nagging pain in his stomach. His doctor initially told him to take some rest and to try not to smoke, or at least smoke a bit less for few a days. But, the pain did not subside, and when he returned to the doctor, he was prescribed antibiotics and painkillers. After a week of suffering, he was further examined by a specialist, who found that the pain in his stomach was caused by an abscess that would have to be surgically removed on short notice. Bahaa was transferred to a hospital, to be monitored until his surgery. In his usual fashion, Bahaa went live on Facebook from the ambulance, updating his many followers on the upcoming surgery (in Arabic), while also taking the opportunity to discuss the Dutch healthcare system with the nurse on duty (in Dutch), which they agreed was excellent but used to be better and should improve again.

In the days before his surgery, the hospital waiting room turned into a reunion of Egyptians in the Netherlands, some of whom had not seen or spoken to each other in years. Bahaa was in pain and bedridden for most of the time, but the fact that so many people showed up seemed to cheer him up. They remembered me, he told me gleefully during one of my visits, looking happier than I had seen him since his ex-wife and fourteen-year-old daughter Amal had moved to Egypt.

The hospital personnel were less happy about the many visitors. Many people, including me, visited outside visiting hours and the number of visitors inside Bahaa's room almost permanently exceeded the maximum of two that the hospital regulations allowed. Gamal, one of Bahaa's closest friends, took it upon himself to negotiate between the hospital personnel and the crowd of visitors, asking personnel for their understanding and urging the visitors to comply with the directions of personnel. He also made sure that there was at least one person in the waiting room at all times, to receive visitors and to be available for Bahaa and hospital personnel. Gamal's wife, Um Yassin, brought home-cooked meals for Bahaa and whoever else was around.

After a week of relative joy, Bahaa underwent surgery. According to his doctors, the surgery

was successful, but Bahaa did not feel well. A day later, he called me, speaking so softly that I struggled to hear him well. He had a favor to ask me, he said. When I entered Bahaa's room half an hour later, Gamal and half a dozen of men were gathered around his bed, talking quietly. Bahaa was hooked to machines, with one cable running up his nose, one into his arm, and one underneath his blanket. His face was grey, his eyes were closed. I stood in the door until Gamal told me to come forward. I kneeled beside the bed and took Bahaa's hand. He opened his eyes and attempted a smile. He pulled my arm a little, so I bent over to kiss him hello. He waved at Gamal, who took the hint, and ordered everyone to leave. One by one, the men kissed Bahaa goodbye.

After everyone had left, Bahaa quietly handed me a letter from the school attendance office. The letter was short and to the point. It stated that, according to the available information, Bahaa's daughter Amal was not enrolled in any school, asked her parents/caregivers to provide proof of enrollment, and reminded them that keeping her from school was a criminal offense. As I finished reading, Bahaa explained that Amal was still registered at his address in the Netherlands so that the Dutch state would continue to cover her healthcare costs, as it does for all citizens below the age of eighteen, provided that they reside in the Netherlands. The school attendance office had been inquiring about Amal for two years now, but so far, he had convinced them — and perhaps himself – that Amal was only temporarily attending school in Egypt. However, Bahaa knew that, per policy, after two years or more, a stay abroad is no longer temporary, and he worried that Amal would be deregistered as a resident if he would tell the school attendance officer that she was still abroad. This would mean that she would lose access to the Dutch healthcare system, and that she would be considered a 'newcomer' in the Dutch education system if she would return. This deeply worried Bahaa, who softly asked me to help him find a way out.

That afternoon, I called the school attendance office. I explained that Amal's father was hospitalized and suggested that Amal and her mother might travel to the Netherlands to visit him and make further plans. After hesitating a little, the lady on the other end of the phone kindly extended the deadline to provide further information to a few weeks later. I was excited for what I considered a small and unexpected win, but when I called Bahaa, he was in a bad way, and did not really understand me.

Two days later, at two in the morning, Gamal called to inform me that Bahaa had unexpectedly slipped into a coma. While his doctors were still running tests, they had indicated that he might not make it through the night, and Gamal wanted people to come over so that Bahaa would not be alone if he would indeed pass away. I quickly got dressed and hurried to the hos-

pital. In the morning, a scan revealed that one of the internal stitches had torn. After an emergency surgery that took a couple of hours, his doctors announced that Bahaa would not wake up and had only a few days to live. News about Bahaa's impending passing quickly spread, and throughout the day, more and more people came to pay their respects and pray for him, including many people who were no longer on speaking terms with him due to personal or political conflicts. Bahaa's estranged brother, Malek, who also lived in the Netherlands, came to spend the last days of his life with him. And even Fatma and Amal travelled to the Netherlands and sat beside his bed for several hours. When Bahaa passed away, over fifty people had gathered in the hospital, praying and mourning together.

Bahaa's sudden and unexpected death came as a shock, but there was too much to arrange to contemplate it at that moment. It went without question that Bahaa would have to be buried in accordance with Islamic law. However, Gamal and some other friends felt that he should be buried in the Netherlands, rather than Egypt, a country he could not visit during the last years of his life due to his political activities. His brother Malek instead felt that Bahaa should be buried in their family grave in Egypt. To complicate things, there were competing ideas about who was authorized to take decisions. According to Dutch law, Amal was Bahaa's only lawful heir, and if she had been above eighteen, she would have been in charge of the funeral, and inherit all his Dutch belongings. However, since she was not, she would be represented by her legal custodian, in this case her mother, with whom Bahaa was fighting until the very end, and who had refused to come to the Netherlands when he was still conscious. This was hard to accept for Malek, and especially for Gamal and his other close friends, who had stood by Bahaa throughout the divorce as well as the painful years of depression afterwards. Meanwhile, according to the Egyptian version of Islamic family law, Malek and his two remaining sisters were also lawful heirs, meaning they would inherit from Bahaa's Egyptian properties, and should have a say in the funeral. Amal, and her mother/legal custodian could not ignore this, but they did not completely trust Malek either. Finally, while respecting the role of Bahaa's direct family members, Gamal and some other close friends felt that they should take the lead on the funeral, since they had been like family to him for many years. Fatma and Malek generally agreed, but feared that Gamal and others would get involved in the inheritance too, and began to accuse them of stealing money.

I continued to be involved, in part because Bahaa had involved me in the project of safeguarding his daughter's legal status, and in part because both Gamal and Malek continued to solicit my services. However, I felt more distance from the people with whom I was working with than I had at any other point in the year and a half that I had known them. At the time,

I told myself that I felt like I was not allowed to mourn in the way that they were mourning, but in hindsight, I realize that they did give me the space, but that I just could not connect to the way in which they were mourning, and did not have anyone else to mourn Bahaa with in a way that would have soothed me. I attended the *salaat al-janaazah*, the Islamic funeral prayer, but it did not resonate with me, and I felt out of place accepting condolences from the congregation along with his family members and other close friends. Afterwards, we all went to the burial site, and after that, we had a dinner in the neighborhood center where Ali usually hosted his neighborhood restaurant, but I could not relate to the conversation, and I left as soon as I could. At home I cried.

It is tempting for me to stay away from these emotions, and instead use Bahaa's untimely death to analyze dying as another instance of the mirror-dance between the effort to manage immigrants on the one hand, and people's efforts to manage their own life on the other. In fact, this epilogue started as the final chapter to this dissertation in which I would just do that. I brought it back down to this epilogue, not because I thought that my analysis was not going anywhere, but rather, because I felt it was necessary for me, and for this dissertation, to end with the eruption of emotion in the weeks and months after Bahaa left this earth.

The thing is, until today, I cry when I talk or write about Bahaa, not necessarily because I miss him, but rather because what happened to him makes me feel so utterly powerless. This world is organized to make life hard for people like Bahaa, and although his death cannot be attributed to the harm inflicted upon him, it certainly did not help. Either way, the way he died is symbolic for the way he lived: in good spirit, and always looking for ways to improve his, or else his daughter's, life. In other words, it represents that he would not be crushed by the world as it was. And my emotions show that, no matter all that is in place to keep people like Bahaa and myself disconnected, and no matter how deeply we disagreed on almost everything that mattered to us, we all have the ability to connect to one another on the basis of a shared humanity.

I wish Bahaa went to someplace better after all, as he believed he would. And I wish those of us who are still on this earth, and those of us who will come after us, will take it upon us to change the world for the better.

Bibliography

Abrams, Philip (1988). "Notes on the difficulty of studying the state." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1(1):58–89

Abrego, Leisy (2014). *Sacrificing Families: Navigating Laws, Labor, and Love across Borders*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Abu-Lughod, Janet (1961). "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: The Egyptian Case." *American Journal of Sociology* 67: 22–32.

Abu-Lughod, Lila (2002). "Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others." *American anthropologist* 104(3), 783-790.

Abu-Lughod Lila (2013). *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Accorinti, Marco (2015). "Unaccompanied foreign minors in Italy: procedures and practices." *Review of History and Political Science* 3(1), 60-72

Agamben Giorgio (1998) *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Alber, Jens (1988). "Continuities and Changes in the Idea of the Welfare State." *Politics & society* 16(4), 451-468.

Amnesty International (2013) *Proactief Politieoptreden Vormt Risico voor Mensenrechten. Etnisch profileren Onderkennen en Aanpakken.* Available at: `https://www.amnesty.nl/actueel/proactief-politieoptreden-leidt-tot-discriminatie-in-nederland` (accessed 2 December, 2022).

Anderson, Bridget. (2013). *Us and them?: The dangerous politics of immigration control.* OUP Oxford.

Anderson, Bridget (2019) "New Directions in Migration Studies: Towards Methodological De-nationalism." *Comparative Migration Studies* 7(1): 1-13.

Anderson, Bridget (2021). "Methodological De-nationalism: De-exceptionalizing Displacement, Re-exceptionalizing Citizenship." *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 12(3), 300-311.

Andersson, Ruben (2014). *Illegality, Inc: Clandestine migration and the business of bordering Europe.* Oakland: University of California Press.

Andriessen, Iris, Eline Nievers, Jaco Dagevos, and Laila Faulk. (2012). "Ethnic discrimination in the Dutch labor market: Its relationship with job characteristics and multiple group membership." *Work and Occupations* 39(3), 237-269.

Arendt, Hannah (1951) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Harcourt Brace, New York

Aretxaga, Begoña (2003). "Maddening states." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32(1) 393-410.

Babül, Elif (2017). *Bureaucratic intimacies: translating human rights in Turkey.* Stanford University Press.

Baehr, Peter (2001). "The "iron cage" and the "shell as hard as steel": Parsons, Weber, and the Stahlhartes Gehäuse metaphor in the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism." *History and Theory* 40(2), 153-169.

Bayat, Asef (2003). *"The "Street" and the Politics of Dissent in the Arab world."* Middle East Report, (226), 10-17.

Berlant, Lauren (2011). *Cruel Optimism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Besteman, Catherine (2020). *Militarized global apartheid*. Duke University Press.

Betts, Alexander, Antonia Delius, Cory Rodgers, Olivier Sterck, and Maria Stierna. (2019) *Doing business in Kakuma: Refugees, Entrepreneurship, and the Food Market.* Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford

Bhambra, Gurminder K., and John Holmwood (2018). "Colonialism, Postcolonialism and the Liberal Welfare State." *New Political Economy* 23(5):574–87.

Bierschenk, Thomas, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan (2014). *States at work: dynamics of African bureaucracies.* Brill.

Billings, Warren (1991). "The Law of Servants and Slaves in Seventeenth-Century Virginia." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 99(1), 45-62.

Bonjour, Saskia, and Betty De Hart (2013). "A proper wife, a proper marriage: Constructions of 'us' and 'them' in Dutch family migration policy." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 20(1), 61-76.

Bonjour, Saskia, and Marlou Schrover (2015). Public debate and policy-making on family migration in the Netherlands, 1960–1995. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41(9), 1475-1494.

Bovenkerk, Frank (1975). "Literatuur. Nederland als multi-raciale samenleving, een bibliografie." *Beleid en Maatschappij* 2(12), 360-364.

Bovenkerk, Frank and Cyrille Fijnaut (1996). "Georganiseerde criminaliteit in Nederland: Over allochtone en buitenlandse criminele groepen." *Inzake Opsporing. Enquetecommissie Opsporingsmethoden. Bijlage VIIL DeelL Onderzoeksgroep Fijnaut. Autochtone, Allochtone en Buitenlandse Criminele Groepen.* Enquete Opsporingsmethoden. TK 1995-1996, 24 072, nt. 17.. SDU-uitgevers

Bradley, Gracie Mae, and Luke de Noronha (2022). *Against Borders: The Case for Abolition*. Verso Books.

Brodkin, Evelyn (2012) Reflections on Street-Level Bureaucracy: Past, Present and Future. *Public Administration Review* 72:6 pp. 940–49

Brown, Wendy (2010). *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Princeton University Press.

Bruquetas-Callejo, María, Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas, Rinus Penninx, and Peter Scholten (2011) "The case of the Netherlands." In: Giovanna Zincone, Rinus Penninx, and Maren Borkert (eds), *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, pp. 129-163

Buckel, Sonja, and Jens Wissel (2010). "State project Europe: The transformation of the European border regime and the production of bare life." *International political sociology* 4(1): 33-49.

Byron, Reginald A., and Vincent J. Roscigno. (2019) "Bureaucracy, discrimination, and the racialized character of organizational life." In: Melissa Wooten (eds), *Race, organizations, and the organizing process*, pp. 151-169. Emerald Publishing Limited.

Çankaya, Sinan (2012). *De controle van marsmannetjes en ander schorriemorrie. Het besliss-ingsproces tijdens proactief politiewerk.* The Hague: Boom/Lemma.

Chakkour, Soukaina and Anouk de Koning (2023). "Legal precarity, migrant mothering and the space of hesitation in Paris." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46(2), 275-294.

Choenni, Auguste (1993). *De allochtone ondernemers van Amsterdam: Een sociaal-geografische inventarisatie*. Libertas, Utrecht.

Choenni, Auguste (1997). *Veelsoortig Assortiment. Allochtoon Ondernemerschap in Amsterdam als Incorporatietraject 1965-1995*. Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Cleton, Laura and Sébastien Chauvin (2020). "Performing freedom in the Dutch deportation regime: Bureaucratic persuasion and the enforcement of 'voluntary return'." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 46(1), 297-313.

Coe, Cati (2013). *The scattered family: Parenting, African migrants, and global inequality*. University of Chicago Press.

Cole, Jennifer, and Christian Groes (eds.) (2016). Affective Circuits: African migrations to Europe and the pursuit of social regeneration. University of Chicago Press.

Coutin, Susan Bibler (2005). "Being en route." *American Anthropologist* 107(2), 195-206.

Custers, Anna (2023). *Armoede in een rijk land*. Academische Uitgeverij Eburon.

Cvetkovich, Ann (2012). *Depression: A Public Feeling*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Davies, Thom, and Arshan Isakjee (2019). "Ruins of Empire: Refugees, race and the postcolonial geographies of European migrant camps." Geoforum, 102, 214-217.

Dagevos, Jaco (2001). *Perspectief op integratie; over de sociaal-culturele en structurele integratie van etnische minderheden in Nederland*. Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid.

Dahinden, Janine (2016). "A plea for the 'de-migranticization' of research on migration and integration." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(13), 2207-2225.

Dahinden, Janine (2023). "Deterritorialized and unfinished "integration nations"?." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46(8), 1609-1619.

Das, Veena, and Deborah Poole (eds.) (2004) *Anthropology at the Margins of the State.* Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

De Noronha, Luke (2020). *Deporting black Britons: Portraits of deportation to Jamaica*. Manchester University Press.

De Genova, Nicholas (2002). "Migrant "illegality" and deportability in everyday life." *Annual review of anthropology* 31(1), 419-447.

De Genova, Nicholas (2013). "We are of the connections': Migration, methodological nationalism, and 'militant research'." *Postcolonial Studies*, 16(3), 250-258.

De Koning, Anouk (2009). *Global Dreams: Class, Gender, and Public Space in Cosmopolitan*

Cairo. American University of Cairo Press, Cairo.

De Koning, Anouk (2016). "Tracing anxious politics in Amsterdam". *Patterns of Prejudice* 50(2), 109-128.

De Koning, Anouk, Milena Marchesi, Anick Vollebergh, Wiebe Ruijtenberg, Lucrezia Botton, and Soukaina Chakkour (2018). *Reproducing Europe: Migrant Families, Professionals and the Welfare State.* Available at `https://scholarlypublications.universiteitleiden.nl/handle/1887/3158665`, (accessed at 2 december, 2023)

De Koning, Anouk and Anick Vollebergh (2019). "Ordinary icons: Public discourses and everyday lives in an anxious Europe." *American Anthropologist* 121(2), 390-402.

De Koning, Anouk and Wiebe Ruijtenberg (2022). "Welfare, social citizenship, and the spectre of inequality in Amsterdam." *Ethnography* 23(3), 335-357.

De Koning, Anouk, Wiebe Ruijtenberg, Soukaina Chakkour, Lucrezia Botton, Anick Vollebergh, and Milena Marchesi (2023). "Migrants, welfare and social citizenship in postcolonial Europe." J*ournal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 1-19.

De Koning, Martijn (2016). "You need to present a counter-message": The racialisation of Dutch Muslims and anti-Islamophobia initiatives." *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 5(2), 170-189.

De Jong, Jan Dirk (2007). *Kapot moeilijk: een etnografisch onderzoek naar opvallend delinquent groepsgedrag van 'Marokkaanse' jongens.* Amsterdam University Press

De Regt, Alida (1984). *Arbeidersgezinnen en beschavingsarbeid: ontwikkelingen in Nederland, 1870-1940: een historisch-sociologische studie.* Boom: Amsterdam

De Valk, Helga, Aart C. Liefbroer, Ingrid Esveldt, and Kène Henkens (2004) "Family formation and cultural integration among migrants in the Netherlands." *Genus* 60(3): 9-35.

De Vries, Karin, and Thomas Spijkerboer (2021). "Race and the regulation of international migration. The ongoing impact of colonialism in the case law of The European Court

of Human Rights." *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights* 39(4), 291-307.

De Wit, Puck (2002). "*Egypte is te klein voor mijn gedachten. De migratiemotieven van kopten.*" Sharqiyyat 14(1), 47-59.

De Wit, Puck (2004) "Coptic Asylum seekers in the Netherlands. Current policy and counter arguments." In: Matt Immerzeeel and Jacques van der Vliet (eds), *Coptic Studies on the threshold of a new millennium II Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies* Leuven: Peeters, pp. 1001-1007

Dietze, Gabriele (2010): "Occidentalism, European Identity, and Sexual Politics." In: Hauke Brunkhorst and Gerd Groezinger (eds), *The Study of Europe*. Baden Baden: Nomos, pp. 87-116

Dijstelbloem, Huub (2021). *Borders as infrastructure: The technopolitics of border control*. MIT Press.

Doty, Roxanne Lynn (2011) "Bare life: Border-crossing deaths and spaces of moral alibi." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29(4): 599-612.

Duyvendak, Jan Willem, and Evelien Tonkens (2018) "Inleiding: de beloften van nabijheid en de verhuiselijking van de zorg." In: Femmianne Bredewold, Jan Willem Duyvendak, Thomas Kampen, Evelien Tonkens, and Loes Verplanke (eds), *De verhuizing van de verzorgingsstaat: hoe de overheid nabij komt.* Amsterdam: Van Gennep, pp. 7–26.

Duyvendak, Jan-Willem, Peter Geschiere, and Evelien Tonkens (eds) (2016) *The Culturalization of Citizenship: Belonging and Polarization in a Globalizing World.* New York: Springer

Dzenovska, Dace (2018). "'Latvians Do Not Understand the Greek People': Europeanness and Complicit Becoming in the Midst of Financial Crisis." In: Kristín Loftsdóttir„ Andrea Smith, and Brigitte Hipfl (eds), *Messy Europe: Crisis, Race, and Nation-State in a Postcolonial World* Oxford: Berghahn, 53–76.

Entzinger, Han (1975). "Nederland immigratieland? Enkele overwegingen bij het overheids-

beleid inzake allochtone minderheden." *Beleid en Maatschappij* 2(12), 326-336.

Entzinger, Han (2006). "Changing the rules while the game is on: From multiculturalism to assimilation in the Netherlands." In: Han Entzinger, Michael Bodemann, and Gükcel Yurdakul *Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos: Incorporation Regimes in Germany, Western Europe and North America.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 121-144.

Erel, Umut (2018). Saving and reproducing the nation: Struggles around right-wing politics of social reproduction, gender and race in austerity Europe. *Women's Studies International Forum* 68, 173-182.

Essed, Philomena and Isabel Hoving (eds.) (2014). *Dutch racism*. Rodopi.

Essed, Philomena, and Kwame Nimako (2006). "Designs and (co) incidents: Cultures of scholarship and public policy on immigrants/minorities in the Netherlands." *International journal of comparative sociology* 47(3-4), 281-312.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1989). "The three political economies of the welfare state." *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 26(1), 10-36.

Ex, Jacques (1966). *Adjustment after Migration*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Feldman-Savelsberg, Pamela (2016). *Mothers on the move: reproducing belonging between Africa and Europe.* University of Chicago Press.

Ferguson, Kathy (1984). *The feminist case against bureaucracy*. Temple University Press.

Fernando, Mayanthi (2014a). "Ethnography and the politics of silence." *Cultural dynamics* 26(2), 235-244.

Fernando, Mayanthi (2014b). *The republic unsettled: Muslim French and the contradictions of secularism.* Duke University Press.

Frederik, Jesse (2021) *Zo hadden we het niet bedoeld: de tragedie achter de toeslagenaffaire*. De Correspondent

Gallo, Ester (2006). "Italy is not a good place for men: narratives of places, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants." *Global networks* 6(4), 357-372.

Getachew, Adom (2019). *Worldmaking after empire: The rise and fall of self-determination*. Princeton University Press.

Gill, Nick (2016). *Carceral spaces: Mobility and agency in imprisonment and migrant detention*. Routledge.

Gilmartin, Mary, and Bettina Migge (2016). "Migrant mothers and the geographies of belonging." *Gender, Place & Culture* 23(2), 147-161.

Glick-Schiller, Nina, Ayşe Çaglar, and Thaddeus C. Guldbrandsen (2006) "Beyond the ethnic lens: Locality, globality, and born-again incorporation." *American Ethnologist* 33(4): 612-633.

Glick Schiller, Nina, and Noel Salazar (2013). "Regimes of mobility across the globe." *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 39(2), 183-200.

Goldberg, David Theo (2006). "Racial Europeanization." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29(2): 331–364.

Goldman, Paul and Donald R. van Houten (1977). "Managerial strategies and the worker: A Marxist analysis of bureaucracy." *Sociological Quarterly* 18(1), 108-125.

Gowayed, Heba (2022) *Refuge: How the state shapes human potential*. Princeton University Press.

Griffiths, Melanie (2015). ""Here, man is nothing!" Gender and Policy in an Asylum Context." *Men and Masculinities* 18(4), 468-488.

Grill, Jan (2012). "'Going up to England': Exploring Mobilities among Roma from Eastern Slovakia." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(8), 1269-1287

Hage, Ghassan (2005). "A not so multi-sited ethnography of a not so imagined community."

Anthropological Theory 5(4): 463-475.

Hage, Ghassan (2009). "Waiting out the crisis: On stuckedness and governmentality." *Anthropological Theory* 5(1), 463-75.

Hall, Richard (1968). "Professionalization and bureaucratization." *American Sociological Review* 33: 92-104.

Heijs, Eric (1995). *Van vreemdeling tot Nederlander: de verlening van het Nederlanderschap aan vreemdelingen (1813-1992)*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Hemmings, Philip and Christopher Prinz (2020). "Sickness and disability systems: comparing outcomes and policies in Norway with those in Sweden, the Netherlands and Switzerland." In: *OECD Economics Department Working Papers* OECD Publishing: Paris, 1601.

Hendriks, Frank (2008) *Arabische Diaspora: Een eerste verkenning van de Libanese, Syrische, Tunesische, Palestijnse en Egyptische gemeenschappen in Nederland en hun inzet voor democratie in de Arabische wereld*. Alternative View

Hilhorst, Sacha, and Joke Hermes. (2016) "'We have given up so much': Passion and denial in the Dutch Zwarte Piet (Black Pete) controversy." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 19(3): 218-233.

Hoekman, Remco, Jan-Willen van der Roest, and Hugo van der Poel, H. (2019). "From welfare state to participation society? Austerity measures and local sport policy in the Netherlands." *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 10(1) 127-142.

Honwana, Alcinda Manuel (2012). *The time of youth: Work, social change, and politics in Africa*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.

Hopper, Joseph (1993). "The rhetoric of motives in divorce." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 55: 801-813.

Huntington, Samuel (1993). "The clash of civilizations." *Foreign affairs* 72(3), 22-49.

Jansen, Stef (2015). *Yearnings in the Meantime: 'normal lives' and the state in a Sarajevo apartment complex*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Jackson, John (2008). *Racial paranoia: The unintended consequences of political correctness: The new reality of race in America*. New York: Basic Books.

Johansen, Mette-Louise, and Lone Grøn (2022). "Special Issue Introduction: Intimate Belongings-Kinship and State Relatedness in Migrant Families in Denmark." *Genealogy* 6(3), 70.

Jones, Guno (2016). "What is new about Dutch populism? Dutch colonialism, hierarchical citizenship and contemporary populist debates and policies in the Netherlands." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37(6), 605-620.

Jonkman, Arend and Leonie Janssen-Jansen (2018). "Identifying distributive injustice through housing (mis) match analysis: The case of social housing in Amsterdam." *Housing, Theory and Society* 35(3), 353-377.

Jordan, Ana (2016). "Conceptualizing backlash: (UK) men's rights groups, anti-feminism, and postfeminism." *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 28(1), 18-44.

Joppke, Christian (2007). "Transformation of immigrant integration: Civic integration and antidiscrimination in the Netherlands, France, and Germany." *World politics*, 59(2), 243-273.

Kalir, Barak (2019a). "Repressive compassion: deportation caseworkers furnishing an emotional comfort zone in encounters with illegalized migrants." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 42(1), 68-84.

Kalir, Barak (2019b). "Departheid: The draconian governance of illegalized migrants in western states." *Conflict and Society* 5(1), 19-40.

Karkabi, Nadeem (2011). "Couples in the Global Margins: Sexuality and Marriage between Egyptian Men and Western Women." *Anthropology of the Middle East* 6(1), 79-97.

Keith, Michael (2005). *After the Cosmopolitan?: Multicultural cities and the future of racism*.

Routledge.

Khosravi, S. (2010). *'Illegal' traveller: an auto-ethnography of borders.* New York City: Springer.

Knijn, Trudie (2008). "Private responsibility and some support. Family policies in the Netherlands" In: Ilona Ostner and Christoph Schmitt (eds), *Family Policies in the context of Family Change*, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 155-173).

Koch, Insa. (2015). ""The state has replaced the man": Women, family homes, and the benefit system on a council estate in England." *Focaal* (73), 84-96.

Koch, Insa (2018). *Personalizing the state: an anthropology of law, politics, and welfare in austerity Britain*. Oxford University Press.

Koopmans, Ruud (2010). "Trade-offs between equality and difference: Immigrant integration, multiculturalism and the welfare state in cross-national perspective." *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 36(1), 1-26.

Lea, Tess (2020). *Wild policy: Indigeneity and the unruly logics of intervention.* Stanford University Press.

Lentin, Alana (2008). "Europe and the Silence about Race." *European journal of social theory* 11(4), 487-503.

Lester, Rebecca (2013). "Back from the edge of existence: A critical anthropology of trauma." *Transcultural psychiatry* 50(5), 753-762.

Lewis, Gail (1998). "Welfare and the Social Construction of 'Race'.", in Esther Saraga (eds) *Embodying the Social Construction of Difference*, London: Routledge, pp. 92–138.

Lipsky, Michael (1980). *Street Level Bureaucracy*. New York: Russell Sage

Lovejoy, Paul E. (2011). *Transformations in slavery: a history of slavery in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Luibhéid, Eithne (2013). *Pregnant on arrival: Making the illegal immigrant.* University of Minnesota Press.

Olwig, Karen Fog (2007). *Caribbean journeys*. Duke University Press.

Mannoury, Jan (1954) *Het Nederlandse nationaliteitsrecht*. Samsom, Alphen aan den Rijn.

Marcus, Anthony (2008). "Interrogating the neo-pluralist orthodoxy in American anthropology." *Dialectical Anthropology* 32(1), 59-86.

Marchesi, Milena (2022). "The intimate public of relational welfare in Milan." *Ethnography* 23(3), 358-381.

Marshall, Thomas H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class*. New York, NY: Cambridge.

M'charek, Amade (2020). "Harraga: Burning borders, navigating colonialism." *The Sociological Review* 68(2), 418-434.

Mellaard, Arne (2022). *Reassembling violence against women in intimate relationships in the Netherlands: An ethnographic analysis of domestic violence policy assemblages in practice.* Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University

Mitchell, Timothy (1991). "The limits of the state: Beyond statist approaches and their critics." *American political science review* 85(1), 77-96.

Mitchell, Timothy (2002). *Rule of experts: Egypt, techno-politics, modernity*. University of California Press.

Miyazaki, Hirokazu (2004). *The Method of Hope.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Modest, Wayne, and Anouk de Koning (2016). "Anxious politics in the European city: An introduction." *Patterns of Prejudice* 50(2), 97-108.

Mongia, Radhika Viyas (2003). "Race, nationality, mobility: A history of the passport." In:"Antoinette Burton (eds), *After the imperial turn*, Duke University Press, pp. 196-214.

Mongia, Radhika Viyas (2018). *Indian migration and empire: A colonial genealogy of the modern state.* Duke University Press.

Monsutti, Allessandro (2007). "Migration as a rite of passage: Young Afghans building masculinity and adulthood in Iran." *Iranian Studies* 40(2), 167-185.

Mol, Charlotte and Thalia Kruger (2018). "International child abduction and the best interests of the child: an analysis of judicial reasoning in two jurisdictions." *Journal of Private International Law* 14(3), 421-454.

Nagengast, Carole (1994). "Violence, Terror, and the Crisis of the State." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 109-136.

Norman, Kelsey (2016). Migrants, refugees and the Egyptian security state. *International Journal of Migration and Border Studies* 2(4), 345–364.

Orloff, Ann Shola (1996). "Gender in the welfare state." *Annual review of sociology* 22(1) 51-78.

Pallister-Wilkins, Polly (2022). *Humanitarian borders: Unequal mobility and saving lives.* Verso Books.

Pateman, Carole (1988) "The Patriarchal Welfare State." In: Amuy. Gutman (ed.) *Democracy and the Welfare State*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 134-150

Pelkmans, Matthijs (2013). "Outline for an ethnography of doubt." In: Matthijs Pelkmans (eds) *Ethnographies of doubt: faith and uncertainty in contemporary societies* London: I.B. Tauris, pp 1-42.

Pels, Trees, and Cécile Nijsten (2017) "Myths and realities of diversity in parenting and parent-child relations: A comparison of indigenous and non-indigenous families in the Netherlands." In: Wilma Vollebergh, Justus Veenman, and Louk Hagendoorn *Integrating immigrants in the Netherlands: Cultural versus socio-economic integration* Routledge, pp. 79-106.

Pedersen, Morten Axel (2012) "A day in the Cadillac: The work of hope in Urban Mongolia."

Social Analysis: Journal of Cultural and Social Practice 56(2): 136–151

Penninx, Rinus (1979). *Towards an overal ethnic minorities policy*. Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid

Pettit, Harry (2018). "Hopeful city: Meritocracy and affect in global Cairo." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 42(6), 1048-1063.

Pettit, Harry, and Wiebe Ruijtenberg (2019). "Migration as hope and depression: Existential im/mobilities in and beyond Egypt." *Mobilities* 14(5): 1–15.

Pettit, Harry (2023). *The Labor of Hope: Meritocracy and Precarity in Egypt.* Stanford University Press.

Ponzoni, Elena (2015). "Reframing cooperation: Challenges in overcoming tensions between professional services and volunteer organizations providing parenting support in immigrant communities." *Social Service Review* 89(1), 40-76.

Pratt-Ewing, Katherine (2008). *Stolen Honor*. Stanford University Press.

Prins, Willem Frederik (1938). "Nederlander of inheemsch onderdaan niet-Nederlander." *Indisch Tijdschrift van het Recht* 147: 741-753

Qureshi, K.averi (2016). *Marital breakdown among British Asians: Conjugality, legal pluralism and new kinship*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Radcliff-Brown (1955 [1940]). "Preface". In. Meyer Fortes and Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard (eds), *African political systems*. London: Oxford University Press

Rath, Jan (1991). *Minorisering: de sociale constructie van 'etnische minderheden.'* Amsterdam: Sua.

Rath, Jan. (2001) "Research on immigrant ethnic minorities in the Netherlands." In: Peter Ratcliffe (eds), *The Politics of Social Science Research: 'Race', Ethnicity and Social Change*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 137-159.

Rath, Jan (2002). "A quintessential immigrant niche? The non-case of immigrants in the Dutch construction industry." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 14(4), 355-372.

Reeskens, Tim, and Tom van der Meer (2019). "The inevitable deservingness gap: A study into the insurmountable immigrant penalty in perceived welfare deservingness." *Journal of European Social Policy* 29(2), 166-181.

Rose, Nicholas (1996). "The death of the social? Re-figuring the territory of government." *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 25(3), 327-356.

Sayad, Abdelmalek (2004). *The Suffering of the Immigrant*. Cambridge: Polity [1st French edition, 1999]

Schapendonk, Joris and Griet Steel (2014) "Following migrant trajectories: the im/mobility of sub-Saharan Africans en route to the European Union" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 194(2), 262-270.

Scheel, Stephan and Martina Tazzioli (2022). "Who is a Migrant? Abandoning the Nation-state Point of View in the Study of Migration." *Migration Politics* 1(1), 002.

Scheibelhofer, Paul (2012). "From health check to Muslim test: The shifting politics of governing migrant masculinity." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 33(3), 319-332.

Schielke, Samuli (2020). *Migrant Dreams: Egyptian Workers in the Gulf States.* American University in Cairo Press.

Schinkel, Willem, and Friso van Houdt (2010) "The double helix of cultural assimilationism and neoliberalism: Citizenship in contemporary governmentality." *The British Journal of Sociology* 61(4): 696–715.

Schinkel, Willem (2018). "Against 'immigrant integration': For an end to neocolonial knowledge production." *Comparative migration studies* 6(1), 1-17.

Schinkel, Willem (2017). *Imagined societies: A critique of immigrant integration in Western*

Europe. Cambridge University Press.

Schnabl, Nathalie (2022). "*Artikel 18: Recht op juridische bijstand.*" In: Afshan Elian and Bastiaan Rijpkema (eds), *Een nieuw commentaar op de Grondwet*, Boom, pp. 225-237.

Shafik, Viola (2007). *Popular Egyptian cinema: Gender, class, and nation*. Oxford University Press.

Sharma, Nandita (2020). *Home Rule: national sovereignty and the separation of natives and migrants.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Sharma, Aradhana and Akhil Gupta (eds.). (2009). *The anthropology of the state: a reader*. John Wiley & Sons.

Smits, Fenna (2022). "Intimate standardisation: how the activating welfare state localises citizens and standardises welfare." *Citizenship Studies* 26(2), 184-202.

Silverstein, Paul (2005). "Immigrant racialization and the new savage slot: race, migration, and immigration in the new Europe." *Annual review of Anthropology* 34, 363-384.

Simonse, Olaf, Gabry Vanderveen, Lotte F. van Dillen, Wilco W. van Dijk, and Eric van Dijk (2023). "Social security or insecurity? The experience of welfare participation by financially vulnerable households in the Netherlands." *Social Policy & Administration* 57(3): 255-271.

Simpson, Bob (1998) *Changing Families: An Ethnographic Approach to Divorce and Separation.* Berg: Oxford

Singerman, Diane (2007) *The economic imperatives of marriage: Emerging practices and identities among youth in the Middle East.* Working Paper 6, Washington, DC: Wolfensohn Centre for Development and Dubai School of Government.

Slootman, Marieke, and Jan-Willem Duyvendak (2016). "Politics of belonging, from national to personal: the political framing of "Dutch" identity and ethnic minority citizens." In: Nicole Stokes-DuPass and Ramona Fruja (eds), *Citizenship, belonging, and nation-*

states in the twenty-first century Palgrave Macmillan: New York, pp. 55-83).

Steijlen, Fridus (2015). "Molukkers in Nederland, een sociale geschiedenis van uitersten." *Groniek: Historisch Tijdschrift* 208/209:219–36..

Strathern, Marilyn (eds). (2000). *Audit cultures: Anthropological studies in accountability, ethics, and the academy*. Psychology Press.

Street, Alice (2012). "Seen by the state: Bureaucracy, visibility and governmentality in a Papua New Guinean hospital." *The Australian journal of anthropology* 23(1), 1-21.

Spijkerboer, Thomas (2018). "The global mobility infrastructure: Reconceptualising the externalisation of migration control." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 20(4), 452-469.

Sportel, Iris (2016). *Divorce in Transnational Families: Marriage, Migration and Family Law.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stoler, Ann Laura (2002) "*5. A Sentimental Education.*" In: Ann Laura Stoler *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, University of California Press, pp. 112-139.

Stoler, Ann Laura (2008). *Along the archival grain: Epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense.* Princeton University Press.

Thelen, Tatjana, and Erdmute Alber (eds) (2018). *Reconnecting state and kinship*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Thelen, Tatjana, Andre Thiemann, and Duška Roth (2014) "State kinning and kinning the state in Serbian elder care programs." *Social Analysis* 58(3): 107-123.

Ticktin, Miriam I. (2011). *Casualties of care: Immigration and the politics of humanitarianism in France.* University of California Press.

Tonkens, Evelien, and Thomas Kampen (2018) "De negen beloften van nabijheid: een interpretatieve beleidsanalyse." In: Femmianne Bredewold, Jan Willem Duyvendak, Thomas

Kampen, Evelien Tonkens, and Loes Verplanke (eds) *De verhuizing van de verzorgingsstaat: hoe de overheid nabij komt.* Amsterdam: Van Gennep, pp. 27–48.

Torpey, J. C. (2018). *The invention of the passport: Surveillance, citizenship and the state*. Cambridge University Press.

Trouillot, Michel Rolph. (2001). "The anthropology of the state in the age of globalization: Close encounters of the deceptive kind." *Current anthropology* 42(1), 125-138.

Turner, Simon (2016). "What is a refugee camp? Explorations of the limits and effects of the camp." J*ournal of Refugee Studies* 29(2), 139-148.

Ungruhe, Christian, and James Esson (2017). "A social negotiation of hope: male West African youth, 'waithood' and the pursuit of social becoming through football." *Boyhood Studies* 10(1), pp. 22-43.

Unnever, James (2019). "Ethnicity and crime in the Netherlands." *International Criminal Justice Review* 29(2), 187-204.

Uitermark, Justus (2012). *Dynamics of power in Dutch integration politics: From accommodation to confrontation*. Amsterdam University Press.

Uitermark, Justus, and Jan-Willen Duyvendak (2008). "Citizen participation in a mediated age: neighbourhood governance in the Netherlands." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32(1), 114-134.

Van Amersfoort, Hans, and Mies van Niekerk. (2006). "Immigration as a colonial inheritance: Post-colonial immigrants in the Netherlands, 1945–2002." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32(3), 323-346.

Van Amersfoort, Hans, and Rinus Penninx (1994). "Regulating migration in Europe: the Dutch experience, 1960-92." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 534(1), 133-146.

Van den Berg, Chantal, Catrien Bijleveld, Lieselotte Blommaert, and Stijn Ruiter (2017). "Vero-

ordeeld tot (g)een baan: Hoe delict- en persoonskenmerken arbeidsmarktkansen beïnvloeden." *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie* 59(1-2), 113-135.

Van den Berg, Marguerite (2016). "'Activating' those that 'lag behind': space-time politics in Dutch parenting training for migrants." *Patterns of Prejudice* 50(1), 21-37.

Van der Leun, Joanne (2002). "Dilemma's binnen de poorten. De Koppelingswet en uitsluiting van illegale migranten van publieke voorzieningen." *Sociologische Gids* 49(1): 45-58.

Van der Leun, Joanne (2003). *Looking for loopholes: Processes of incorporation of illegal immigrants in the Netherlands.* Amsterdam University Press.

Van Meeteren, Masja, Sanne Van de Pol, Rianne Dekker, Godfried Engbersen, and Erik Snel (2013) "Destination Netherlands. History of immigration and immigration policy in the Netherlands." In: Judy Ho (eds), *Immigrants: Acculturation, socio-economic challenges and cultural psychology*, Nova Publishers, 113-170.

Van Nispen, Frank and Peter Scholten (2014). "Policy analysis in the Netherlands: An introduction." In: Frank van Nispen, Peter Scholten, Iris Geva-May, Michael Howlett (eds), *Policy analysis in the Netherlands* Policy Press, pp. 1-14

Van Houtum, Henk (2010). "Human blacklisting: the global apartheid of the EU's external border regime". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28(6), 957-976.

Van Huis, Iris (2018). *Engaging men in gender equality. How social interventions for disadvantaged men in the Netherlands impact on gender+ equality* Doctoral dissertation, Radboud University

Van Oorschot, Wim (2006). "The Dutch welfare state: Recent trends and challenges in historical perspective." *European journal of social security* 8(1), 57-76.

Vellinga, Menno and Willem Wolters (1966). *De Chinezen van Amsterdam.* Amsterdam: Afdeling Zuid en Zuid Oost Azië van het Antropologisch Sociologisch Centrum van de Universiteit van Amsterdam

Verwey-Jonker, Hilda (1959). *Ambonezen in Nederland.* Staatsdrukkerij.

Völkel, Jan Claudius (2022). "Fanning fears, winning praise: Egypt's smart play on Europe's apprehension of more undocumented immigration." *Mediterranean Politics* 27(2), 170-191.

Vollebergh, Anick, Anouk de Koning, and Milena Marchesi (2021). "Intimate states: Techniques and entanglements of governing through community in Europe." *Current Anthropology* 62(6), 741-770.

Waterbury, John (1983). *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: The Political Economy of Two Regimes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Weber, M. (1922). *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* [Economy and society]. Tübingen: Mohr.

Wekker, Gloria (2016). *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race.* Durham: Duke University Press

Wentholt, Rob (1967). *Buitenlandse gastarbeiders in Nederland.* Leiden: Spruyt.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller (2002). "Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation–state building, migration and the social sciences." *Global networks* 2(4), 301-334.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller (2003). "Methodological nationalism, the social sciences, and the study of migration: An essay in historical epistemology." *International migration review* 37(3), 576-610.

Williams, Fiona. (2001) "Race/ethnicity, gender, and class in welfare states: A framework for comparative analysis." In: Janet Fink, Gail Lewis, and John Clarke (eds), *Rethinking European Welfare: Transformations of European Social Policy* Sage, 131-160.

Wissink, Lieke (2020). *Making deportable people: Bureaucratic knowledge practices in European deportation sites.* Doctoral dissertation University of Amsterdam

Wissink, Lieke (2021). "Making Populations for Deportation: Bureaucratic Knowledge Practices Inside a European Deportation Unit." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 44(2), 256-270.

Woltering, Robert (2011) *Occidentalisms in the Arab world: ideology and images of the West in the Egyptian media.* London: I.B. Tauris.

Wolff, Ricky Peter, and Rinus Penninx (1993) D*e ontwikkeling van de positie van minderheden op de Nederlandse arbeidsmarkt 1979-1992.* Leiderdorp: Graficon.

Wyss, Anna, and Dahinden, Janine (2022). "Disentangling entangled mobilities: Reflections on forms of knowledge production within migration studies." *Comparative Migration Studies*, 10(1), 33.

Yanow, Dvora, and Marleen Van der Haar. (2013) "People out of place: allochthony and autochthony in the Netherlands' identity discourse—metaphors and categories in action." *Journal of International Relations and Development* 16: 227-261.

Yoo, Grace (2008). "Immigrants and welfare: Policy constructions of deservingness." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 6(4), 490-507.

Zohry, Ayman (2002). *Rural-to-Urban Labor Migration: A Study of Upper Egyptian Laborers in Cairo.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Sussex.

Zohry, Ayman (2007). "Egyptian Irregular Migration to Europe." *Migration Letters* 4 (1): 53.