

Understanding victimization and fear of crime in the face of increasing shelter opportunities for male irregular migrants in The Netherlands.

A case study analysis of the shelter ‘De Nieuwe Brug’ provided by The Salvation Army in the city of Rotterdam.

Master Thesis

Student: José Miguel de la Maza Díaz - 638925

Supervisor professor: Dr. Arjen Leerkes

Second reader: Dr. Lore van Praag

Word count: 10.705

25th of June 2023

MSc. Sociology

Track: Governance of Migration and Diversity

Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my partner Laurine for her unwavering support, love and understanding throughout this thesis. Her presence and encouragement have been invaluable.

I am deeply grateful to my family for their constant belief in my abilities and their constant support. Their love and sacrifices have been instrumental in my academic pursuits.

I would also like to thank my friends for their unconditional support. Their friendship and encouragement have made this journey more enjoyable.

I extend my appreciation to my thesis advisor, Arjen, for his guidance and expertise.

I want to express my recognition to all the individuals who participated in this study. Specifically, I would like to thank Rian, who provided invaluable orientation at the beginning of this journey. Additionally, I would like to express my gratitude to the staff and residents of the Shelter 'De Nieuwe Brug' for their participation and assistance in completing this study.

To everyone who has played a role in supporting me, whether big or small, I am truly grateful for your belief, love, and encouragement.

Abstract

Irregular migrants, particularly single adult males, face marginalization and vulnerability in liberal states like The Netherlands due to constraints on basic and social services and limited access to shelter. Consequently, this marginalized group experiences heightened risks, including victimization and fear of crime, which are often overlooked by scholars and governmental policies. This study examines the impact of shelter opportunities on male irregular migrants in The Netherlands, focusing on their experiences of victimization and fear of crime. The analysis centers on the case of the Salvation Army shelter 'De Nieuwe Brug' in Rotterdam. Through a qualitative approach and semi-structured interviews, the study reveals the vital role shelters play in enhancing safety. Shelters achieve this by providing trained staff, security cameras, and meeting basic needs, effectively de-marginalizing and reducing victimization and fear of crime among irregular migrants. However, the proximity to diverse migrant groups and limited privacy within the shelter environment present new challenges that re-marginalize residents and influence victimization rates and fear experiences. These findings underscore the significance of shelters in supporting irregular migrants and alleviating risks, highlighting the need to address existing challenges within the shelter system while recognizing their crucial role in ensuring the well-being and safety of residents.

Key words: *Irregular Migration – Fear of Crime – Marginalization – Shelter – Victimization*

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	iv
1. Introduction	1
2. Theoretical Framework	5
2.1 Victimology and Fear of Crime	5
2.2 Shelters as Agents of Multi-Level Governance in Local Migration Strategies.....	7
2.3 Preliminary expectations	8
3. Methodology	10
3.1 Type of data, design and methods.....	10
3.2 Validity and ethical considerations	13
4. Results	15
4.1 What are the forms of victimization and the associated levels of fear of crime experienced by irregular migrants outside of the shelter?.....	16
4.2 What are the forms of victimization and the associated levels of fear of crime experienced by irregular migrants while staying in the shelter?	19
4.3 How does the shelter influence victimization and fear of crime for male irregular migrants living in The Netherlands? What are the mechanisms through which the shelter can either enhance or reduce victimization and the anticipation of it?.....	21
4.3.1 <i>Attractiveness in the Shelter</i>	21
4.3.2 <i>Proximity in the shelter</i>	22
4.3.3 <i>Exposure – vulnerability in the shelter</i>	23
5. Synthesis	25
6. Discussion and conclusions	28
6.1 Future policy suggestions	28
6.2 Uncovering a hidden reality.....	29
6.3 Implications for theoretical development.....	30
6.4 Future research.....	31
References	33

1. Introduction

Irregular migration can be defined as individuals who lack legal status in a transit or host country due to unauthorized entry, breach of an entry condition, or the expiry or rejection of their visa (Douglas et al., 2019). In liberal states such as The Netherlands, political responses towards this group have been translated into strict constraints on basic daily services, excluding unauthorised migrants from their access, including the admittance to basic forms of shelter (Ataç, 2019). These governmental responses have triggered parallel forms of marginality and diverse forms of risks in this migrant population (Leerkes et al., 2007; Jiménez-Lasserrotte et al., 2020).

A key demographic aspect, is how these groups of undocumented migrants are highly represented by single adult males, who occupy the lowest forms of hierarchy when it comes to forms of relief support (Leerkes, 2016), placing them as more vulnerable to higher rates of victimization and the perception of risk (McDonald, 2018). As a consequence of the support deservedness criteria, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have indicated that they shelter women more often and faster than men, providing more support opportunities for these other demographic groups (Bouter, 2013; Leerkes, 2016). This has resulted in a particular highly marginalized group, experiencing very limited entitlement to basic services and security, resulting in a context of living characterized by strong poverty and general vulnerability (O'Donnell et al., 2016).

This is translated into the marginalization thesis, in which male irregular migrants are strongly linked to petty forms of crime such as cash stealing, (non)-verbal forms of violence, street level drug dealing, among others (van der Leun, 2015a). This context, however, is not only used to explain immigrant crimes (Leerkes et al., 2012), but also to address exposure to diverse forms of victimization and the fear of them being materialized (Smith & Jarjoura, 1988; White et al., 2022). These last two concepts, victimization and the fear of crime occurring, emerge as important factors, as they address both the direct physical or psychological harm and the emotive and behavioural unease or alarm that limits or debilitate the options of irregular migrants in an already constrained context (Bukowski & Sippola, 2001; Rader, 2004; Fox et al., 2009).

Previous findings regarding this context of marginality and its potential consequences have been provided by Fussell (2011), WHO (2016), and Zhong and others (2017), acknowledging how these marginalized groups have been struggling with diverse forms of

victimization. The previous authors also state how irregular migrants might have not only struggled with onerous previous travels, but also temporary or permanent shelter stays during which they may have been exposed to diverse hazards, fears and stress.

Since the multi-level governance of migration and its vulnerabilities are increasingly challenged and placed at the local level in cities, it is at this dimension where a better understanding of migrant's realities concerning victimization is provided (Caponio & Borkert, 2010; Spencer & Triandafyllidou, 2020). Placed at this local level, shelters as a form of poverty relief have been an increasing feature in The Netherlands, regardless of the government having made access to food, clothing and shelter conditional on migration status (Leerkes, 2016). Shelters to irregular migrants in The Netherlands are provided mostly by non-governmental entities, however, some of them have been cooperating with a governmental plan called Landelijke Vreemdelingen Voorzieningen (LVV; Dutch for National immigration facilities) since 2019, which has focused on finding solutions for irregular migrants (Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid, 2023). The more restricted or vulnerable the context for irregular migrants, the more relevant the role of shelters as part of civil society, which have received less scholarly attention in comparison with other types of spaces, such as refugee camps (Angulo-Pasel, 2022).

It is therefore in these shelter spaces where a big part of the irregular migrants' experiences and socialization are faced, and thus, where the understanding of potential victimization and perceived risks must be placed (Fussell, 2011; WHO, 2016; Zhong et al., 2017). Diverse studies mention the links between victimization and shelter opportunities among irregular migrants (Berk et al., 1986; Surtees, 2008; Donley & Wright, 2012; Bouter, 2013). However, studies suggest different perspectives on whether shelters reduce victimization or, conversely, maintain or even increase victimization and perceived risks. This comes from the fact that shelters can offer a chance to decrease proximity and exposure from higher risk forms of street-level routines, such as shoplifting, drug selling or burglary, as well as provide storage of belongings, and also facilitate access forms of orientation and crime reporting (Leerkes et al., 2012; Kos et al., 2015). However, from a critical standpoint, shelters can also trigger and/or maintain the gathering of specific groups with significant involvement in petty forms of crime, which could therefore increase the proximity and availability of risks (Meier & Miethe, 1993).

This presents an opportunity to uncover how and to which degree shelters, in the face of irregular stances of migration, are related with the mitigation, increased or continuity of victimization and fear of crime. This study therefore aims to understand this important, and often avoided aspect (O'Donnell et al., 2016), of the way male irregular immigrants, in a context where basic support is restricted and partially provided by shelters, might be linked to situations involving victimization and/or fear of crime. Hence, the main research question is posed as follows: *How do shelter opportunities for male irregular migrants in The Netherlands, impact victimization and fear of crime?*

Immigrants are considered a major focal point for the development and testing of theories of criminal victimization in wider contexts (McDonald, 2018). This is complemented by a significant need for research that reflects victimological phenomena in relevant societal, institutional and political contexts such shelters (Meško et al., 2020). Immigrant victimization and related experiences have traditionally not been the focus of the Dutch government and diverse scholars when it comes to irregular migrants. In general, there has been a tendency to criminalize the vulnerability that this group experiences (Zatz & Smith, 2012; Douglas & Sáenz, 2013; Kubrin & Desmond, 2014). Criminological research of migrants has largely been prioritized by scholars, institutions and media, focusing on the criminality of migrants rather than categorising them as victims of crimes (McDonald, 2018). This is also the case in The Netherlands, where the link between crime, security and migration have become more established (Van Der Woude et al., 2014). This emerges as relevant considering the current implementation of the LVV, since the Dutch governmental efforts are more focused towards dealing with the nuisance and criminal aspects that this marginality facilitates in irregular migrants, than the risks and infringements of rights experienced by them (Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid, 2023).

For the present research a case study of irregular migrants residing at the Leger des Heils (the Salvation Army) shelter (as a contributor of the LVV program) 'De Nieuwe Brug' in Rotterdam, is proposed. This scenario offers a strategic case in order to understand victimization and fear of crime in Dutch shelters. This research is driven by the remaining unclarities explaining all the factors involved in the low occupancy and results obtained by the city, specifically regarding potential distress from foreign nationals during the process (Mack et al., 2022). This case also offers a clear example of scenarios where irregular migrants, while receiving counselling to search for durable solutions, are themselves interacting with a broader

population with different admission reasons, such as European homeless migrants and people with diverse addictions and mental health issues (Leger des Heils, n.d). These elements offer not only an asset to understand victimization and fear of crime based on marginalization, proximity and exposure (van Dijk & Steinmetz,1983; van der Leun, 2015a), but also a chance to extrapolate findings to other services in the country.

When we consider the difficulties that a marginalized context represents for irregular migrants, key actors involved such shelters, victimization and its associated factors, appear relevant (Rader et al., 2007; Noble & Jardin, 2019). This idea not only makes sense from the still poorly defined theoretical bridge between immigration and victimology (McDonald, 2018), but is also in line with the fact that there are only few studies inquiring how shelter clients themselves experience the places and services they receive (Asmoredjo et al., 2016). Equally, crime related experiences and perception of threat and fear of crime might have strong health and agency implications for these already marginalized groups (Rader et al., 2007). Therefore, additional research into the links between irregular migration and victimization can provide a valuable contribution for local actors already supporting this population. A victim-centred approach in the assistance of irregular migrants, prioritizing listening, avoiding re-traumatization, and giving back a portion of control over their life in general (UNHCR, 2020), would be beneficial to ultimately contribute to finding durable solutions for their irregular migration status (Cassarino, 2004).

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Victimology and Fear of Crime

Victimization among irregular migrants can be understood as individual or collective direct forms of harm or aggression against themselves or their property, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, or economic loss (OHCHR, 1985; Rader, 2004). Moreover, the fear of crime is described as a feeling of alarm or unease related by the perceived risk of being victim of physical or mental harm (Rader, 2004). Fear of becoming exposed or being victimized are normal responses, and can frequently be accompanied by high levels of stress and anxiety, potentially leading to debilitating and constrained behaviour (Warr, 2000; Fox et al., 2009). This fear of crime is not limited to individual experiences but also encompasses wider personal and social concerns. It can be intensified by aspects associated with criminality, even in cases involving less severe or non-existent forms of crime (Zarafonitou, 2009).

Based on this rationale, this perceived fear could be strongly associated with earlier forms of victimization experiences such as street-life violence and onerous migration journeys (Marchiori, 2006), but also could be triggered by certain contexts or places that could be somehow perceived as threatening such as shelters, shared informal housing or neighbourhoods (Engbersen et al., 2006; Donley & Wright, 2012). This leads to a vicarious model to understand fear of crime and its relationship with victimization, where irregular migrants who might have not been directly victimized may still be conscious of potential victimization risks (Fox et al., 2009). As Rader, (2004) noted, fear of crime is the emotive component, the perceived risk is the cognitive indicator, and constrained behaviours are considered the behavioural aspect. The mere possibility of victimization causes alterations to how a migrant might act, feel, move or with whom they associate (Bukowski & Sippola, 2001).

Previous studies have related migration, especially migrants moving under irregular status, as disproportionately exposed to victimization and perceived risks (Delvino & Beilfuss, 2021; Smith & Jarjoura, 1989; White et al., 2022). These authors link vulnerability as a characteristic of the context that irregular migrants are inserted into, such as the disadvantage of spending much of their time on the street, home-making strategies, along with frequently being racial minorities, as these are associated with significant increases in the likelihood of victimization. This is in line with the fear of being victimised seen as strongly linked not only to crime itself, but to social and economic exclusion (Pain, 2000). Becoming an (irregular)

migrant can be related to vulnerabilities, limitations and concerns that interact with the context that people might face in a foreign country (McDonald & Erez, 2007).

The risk model provided by van Dijk and Steinmetz (1983) offers a useful framework to understand irregular migration victimization and perceived fear from petty crimes. The first risk factor provided is *attractiveness*, which defines the extent to which irregular migrants make an attractive target. This can be interpreted for instance, by the display of goods and cash, since it is impossible to access to formal bank accounts and difficulty to find safe or private places to store their belongings. The second risk factor provided is *proximity*, which can refer to the extent in which the irregular migrant gets in contact with potential offenders. Here routines and lifestyle theories are important, as the authors argue that victimization chances are not randomly distributed, instead they are linked to lifestyles, routines and specific demographic aspects that lead increased contact chances with potential offenders (Cohen & Felson, 1979; Hindelang et al., 1978 cited in Maxfield, 1987; Pratt & Turanovic, 2015). Under this logic, routines and activities such as home-making strategies, street or shelter networks, and irregular forms of work will potentially increase the risk of criminal victimization (McDonald, 2018). The third risk factor is the *exposure or vulnerability*, which can be applied to the degree to which protection forms or guards are present in the migrant's social environment (Steinmetz, 1982; van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1983). This can be related to the unwillingness to report crimes to police, or other authorities, out of fear of getting deported or to the lack of strong social networks in the life of irregular migrants, which can ultimately increase both the chances of being (re)-victimized and the fear of crimes occurring (Timmerman et al., 2020).

These risk factors are also integrated in the structural-choice model of victimization developed by Meier and Miethe (1993). In this model, the proximity and exposure to motivated offenders and potential high-risk contexts such as streets or shelters (e.g. contacts with non-migrant homeless and individuals with addictions or mental disorders) create the 'structural' features, enhancing the victim and the criminal in specific social interactions. Attractiveness (e.g. showing cash and other valuables due to the lack of private spaces to keep them) and absence of guardianship (i.e. unwillingness to report to police due to fears of being deported) represent the aspects related with being chosen as appealing target in a particular space (Meier & Miethe, 1993). This agrees with the fact that victimization can obey to micro-level factors, such as race, age, gender and prior victimization (e.g. males and forced migration), as well as

macro-level factors, where context characteristics and community play an important role (e.g. shelter collectives) (Smith & Jarjoura, 1989; Shechory-Bitton & Soen, 2016).

2.2 Shelters as Agents of Multi-Level Governance in Local Migration Strategies

As a key context where irregular migrant social dynamics are inserted, Ambrozini (2011) and Kos and others (2015) identify shelters as one of the resources that allow this group to cope with the adversity of their situation. In The Netherlands, several types of shelter services are available to irregular migrants, which are largely provided by non-governmental institutions, municipalities and governmental-restricted basic support (Leerkes, 2016). They can be placed on a spectrum starting from short-term doorstep crisis shelter to long-term residential shelters (Asmoredjo et al., 2016). The Dutch law ‘Vreemdelingenwet 2000’ (‘The Aliens Act 2000’) concerning the allocation of residence status to irregular migrants, excludes them as beneficiaries from governmental assistance such as food, clothing and shelter, as they are not considered priorities concerning basic health rights or education (EDAL, 2000). This has resulted in the increased involvement of churches, civil initiatives, migrant organizations and political activist groups providing basic forms of poverty-relief and temporary home-making, which are often still partially funded by municipalities (Van Der Leun, 2015b; Leerkes, 2016).

Despite a strong exclusionary rhetoric, governmental attempts to stop local actors in supporting irregular immigrants have not fully succeeded, as national sovereignty and constraints of social rights are difficult to reconcile with international and European human rights requirements (Boswell, 2007; Van Der Leun, 2015b). These dynamics have created multi-level forcing conditions for the government to allow shelters to provide ‘bed, bath and bread’ (BBB) arrangements in 2015 to former asylum seekers who are evicted from refugee centres after having exhausted all legal remedies (Van Der Leun, 2015b). However, as an effect of the support deservedness criteria, NGOs under these BBB arrangements have provided more and faster opportunities for women and families than to single men, providing less support opportunities to this last demographic group (Bouter, 2013; Leerkes, 2016).

Governmental efforts arose again in 2019, where the Dutch government revamped this form of BBB to the LVV (Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid, 2023). This pilot program was initially implemented as a complement to the existing BBB arrangements and lasted until the end of 2021. Its objectives were to create a national network of shelters and counselling facilities, facilitating durable solutions for irregular migrants. This has been operationalized by

guiding them to assisted voluntary return, onward migration or, if appropriate, legalisation of residence, while care and safety problems are still addressed (Mack et al., 2022).

For the city of Rotterdam this means that several non-governmental institutions such as Pauluskerk, The Salvation Army, the Nico Adriaans Foundation and Organisation to support undocumented migrants (ROS), currently provide shelter and guidance to irregular migrants under the LVV program (Goezinnen, 2020). A key aspect of these shelters, as mentioned previously, is that while providing legal assessment to irregular migrants under the LVV program, they provide refuge to a broader group of people under different circumstances, such as (non)-migrant homeless with or without psychological issues and/or addictions (Leger des Heils, n.d; Goezinnen, 2020). Based on the marginalization thesis (van der Leun, 2015a) and an assessment of risk (van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1983), this can potentially have implications on the degree on attractiveness, proximity and exposure that male irregular migrants face, and therefore potentially increase their risk of victimization and fear of crime.

2.3 Preliminary expectations

The previous paragraphs have established the crucial role of shelters in the marginalization of male irregular migrants in The Netherlands, together with key concepts regarding victimization and fear of crime. Following this logic, it can then be questioned, how and in what degree, shelters in The Netherlands work as modifiers of risk factors, related to residents' *attractiveness*, *proximity* and the *exposure – vulnerability* (van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1983), making them more or less likely to experience victimization.

Firstly, based on the marginalization theory (Van Der Leun, 2015a), shelters can be understood as spaces of *de-marginalization* of irregular migrants' lives (Ambrozini, 2011), where victimization and fear of crime experiences decrease. Shelters in this respect, could be seen as playing a vital role in addressing the marginalization of unauthorized immigrants, lowering the risks associated with proximity, attractiveness, and exposure – vulnerability (van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1983). By providing alternative forms of accommodation, storage, and basic socio-economic support, shelters could reduce general vulnerabilities and the need to engage in petty crimes and associate with potentially harmful groups (Leerkes, 2016; Bretherton & Pleave, 2018), while also offering more instances of counseling and assistance in finding sustainable solutions to migrants' irregular status, improving access to legal protection, and

decreasing the likelihood of becoming targets for offenders under the LVV program (Mack et al., 2022).

Secondly, as an alternative to this expectation, a critical evaluation of the marginalization thesis (Van Der Leun, 2015a) suggests that shelters may not alleviate marginalization and vulnerability but instead create new forms of risks, leading to *re-marginalization* in the lives of irregular migrants. Consequently, these shelters could be environments where victimization and fear of crime are more prevalent. Shelters accommodating various groups, including irregular migrants, homeless individuals, and other migrant groups can expose individuals to increased risks and victimization experiences. Homeless individuals often face challenges such as substance abuse, economic debts, and mental health issues (Tuynman & Planije, 2013, as cited in Asmoredjo et al., 2016). Additionally, Asmoredjo et al., (2016) highlight that other adult males experiencing homelessness may have a history of incarceration or psychiatric residency. Marginalized male adults are more likely to engage in petty crime, such as shoplifting and street-level drug dealing (Leerkes et al., 2012). Additionally, irregular migrants in shelters keep experiencing fear of deportation and are reluctant to report crimes to the police (Timmerman et al., 2020). This suggests that shelters, characterized by close coexistence with other residents and limited access to guardianship, may contribute to heightened levels of victimization and fears among irregular migrants.

Finally, considering that the proximity to motivated offenders, limited storage spaces and low degrees of guardianship can also be present in other scenarios, such as informal shared sleeping housing or street form of sleeping (Engbersen et al., 2006; Delvino & Beilfuss, 2021), leads to our third preliminary expectation, where shelters do not significantly change conditions that trigger victimization or perceived threats, but instead maintain similar levels of marginalization and therefore victimization and fear of crime in the life's of irregular migrants.

3. Methodology

3.1 Type of data, design and methods

In order to address the research question; *How do shelter opportunities for male irregular migrants in The Netherlands, impact victimization and fear of crime?* a qualitative research design was adopted. This form of enquiry has been chosen since the current investigation intends to understand and describe perceptions, descriptions and characteristics of a group (i.e.: irregular migrants) in a particular context (i.e.: shelters). This approach allowed for open discussion, reconsideration, and other forms of change, especially given the marginalized context of this group (Lune & Berg, 2017).

A qualitative perspective provided the tools to focus on the experiences and perceptions regarding victimization and fear of crime in shelters, providing the opportunity to address participants views from a broader and more personal perspective (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). As mentioned in the introduction, a single case study design was chosen for this study, this design allowed for an in-depth and context dependent exploration, providing rich and detailed data that was used to inform victimization theory and irregular migrants daily practices (Flyvbjerg, 2006). A case study offered the means to explore a broader set of themes and subjects related with the degree of safety irregular migrants experience, focused on their perceptions within the specific context they are inserted (i.e.: shelters) (Gray, 2014). The objective here was to identify themes and patterns that played important roles, a description of how shelters and victimization and/or fear of crime are related, and the circumstances in which this occurred.

In this study, data was collected through semi-structured interviews in accordance with a predetermined topic list, thereby facilitating the present research to address the subjective perceptions and rationalizations of the study group in a responsible manner. This approach allowed for a systematic and consistent logic while affording participants sufficient freedom to express their perspectives (Lune & Berg, 2017) Additionally, to emulate a natural conversation rather than an overwhelming survey, the topic list included important aspects of the study group's experiences, with a partially fixed structure (Table 3.1; Merkus, 2021).

Table 3.1 Topic and related semi-structured question(s)

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Semi-structured question(s)</i>
Building rapport.	Inquirer introduction - Study explanation - confidentiality and consent aspects - Interviewee general background information.
Perception of shelter and safety.	How do you feel staying here (shelter), (do you feel safe here?)
Safety conditions outside - shelter comparison.	Where do you stay when you're not in the shelter and how do you feel when you are not staying here (shelter)?
Confirm comparison and perception of both shelter and street safety.	Have you always felt like this (before this shelter) or has something changed?
Broader understanding of potential forms of victimization and fear of crime in the shelter and possible contrast with other forms of home-making.	Do you think shelters have improved your safety? Do you have suggestions about this place?
Interview closure.	Questions from the interview. Information about future actions and opportunity to modify responses in case of dissatisfaction.

The storage format of the data was through audio recordings and field notes from research observations, as well as from interviews where participants preferred not to be recorded. The audio recordings were taken during the interviews with the participants, which were conducted using an interview protocol that included clear information about the study and informed consent procedures. The interviews were transcribed by the researcher, and the transcriptions were used as the primary source of data for analysis. The field notes were later integrated with the audio recordings and transcriptions to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the data. The integration of these different forms of data allowed for a richer analysis and interpretation of the findings, and ensured that the data was triangulated and validated across multiple sources (Tracy, 2010).

This study focused on victimization and the fear of crime of irregular migrants in shelters in The Netherlands. The participants were selected based on their enrollment in the LVV program, as it is a preliminary condition for irregular migrants in The Netherlands to access shelters. The study encompassed a diverse group of participants from different

nationalities and cultural backgrounds, each with their own unique migration histories. Many participants had faced significant trauma, including persecution, violence, and displacement, either in their home countries or during their journey to The Netherlands. The participants' length of stay in The Netherlands varied, ranging from long-term irregular residents to more recent arrivals. The sample included 13 participants, this example was constituted by both irregular migrants (9) and staff members (4) of the shelter 'De Nieuwe Brug' in Rotterdam. This shelter, operated by the NGO Leger des Heils, not only provides daily care activities to a broader population, but also offers services to the LVV program. It offers night shelter to irregular migrants who have legally committed to seeking durable solutions for their irregular migration status.

The resident participants were chosen with the assistance of the staff, considering for this purpose not only gender (male adults) and reason of admission (irregular migration status), but also factors such as language barriers (ability to communicate in English), personalities (cooperative), length of stay, and history (openness and willingness to tell their experiences) were taken into account to ensure that the selected sample accurately reflected the realities of the studied phenomenon.

The data analysis in this study employed both inductive and deductive coding schemes. The inductive coding scheme allowed for the identification and inclusion of new themes that emerged from the data, including all segments that were relevant and salient to the studied phenomenon (Boeije, 2009; Chandra & Shang, 2019). Later in the process, a deductive coding scheme aimed to integrate and refine salient themes and categories based on the provided theory and expectations (Scheunemann et al., 2015).

By employing both deductive and inductive approaches, this study was able to thoroughly assess the extent to which the collected data supported the provided theory, while also being open to discovering new themes and categories that emerged from the data itself. In this study, Atlas.ti software was utilized as the primary tool for coding and analyzing the collected data. The use of Atlas.ti allowed for a systematic and organized approach to data analysis, and facilitated the identification and integration of patterns, themes, and categories from the data.

3.2 Validity and ethical considerations

In this study, the exploration of victimization and fear of crime among male adult irregular migrants involved addressing various challenges related to validity and ethical considerations. One of the validity challenges was associated with social desirability bias (Zerbe & Paulhus, 1987). It was possible that participants modified their responses and avoided discussing controversial topics, considering the socially desirable nature of certain characteristics or behaviors, given their irregular migration status. Some participants hesitated to share their experiences due to fear of deportation or reprisals they might face.

From a demographic and gender socialization perspective, males might have been more inclined to socialize based on principles of aggression and toughness, making vulnerability related to victimization or fear of crime a potentially sensitive topic to discuss (Dalton & Ortegren, 2011). This tendency could have been reinforced by a second challenge, namely the difficulty of addressing personal subjects related with the marginalization and traumas, such as fears or grief, particularly when these experiences were related to victimization (Rosenblatt, 1995). Additionally, language and cultural barriers may have affected their comprehension of the questions asked and their ability to provide accurate responses.

To address these challenges, various stages of fieldwork were crucial. Prior to the study, the researcher's introduction was shared on the communication board of the shelter to establish familiarity along the study. Additionally, emphasis was placed on maintaining confidentiality and utilizing indirect questioning techniques to encourage participants to express themselves openly, safely, and without judgment (Mohd Arifin, 2018; Bergen & Labonté, 2020).

Before data collection, the researcher dedicated and continues to dedicate time volunteering at the shelter 'De Nieuwe Brug', engaging in daily tasks and interacting with both the participants and staff. This approach was important for triangulating data from various sources through participant observation and building a crucial level of trust, affiliation, and rapport between the interviewer and study participants (Prior, 2017). Furthermore, the interview protocol was designed and explained before the interviews in a simple and clear manner, aiming to provide an accurate description of the study. The results were later presented and explained to the staff and residents, as a form of 'after care', highlighting the crucial role they had as study participants. Additionally, a list of contacts was provided for participants during and after the interviews to reach out to in case they experienced any psychological discomfort after the interviews. The researcher, being a psychologist with experience working

with victims and having personal experience as a migrant in The Netherlands, possessed the necessary skills to effectively handle stress during the interviews. The topics discussed during the interviews were flexible, allowing the researcher to revisit and address any points of tension or discomfort to ensure a comfortable environment for the participants.

4. Results

To gain a comprehensive understanding of how shelters affect the victimization and fear of crime among male irregular migrants in The Netherlands, it is crucial to explore the different forms of victimization and fear of crime they encountered both outside and inside the shelter.

This section is divided into three sub-questions that collectively address the main research question; *How do shelter opportunities for male irregular migrants in The Netherlands, impact victimization and fear of crime?* The first sub-question focuses on examining the specific dangers and vulnerabilities the migrants experienced beyond the confines of the shelter. The second sub-question focusses on describing salient patterns of victimization and fear of crime experienced by participants inside the shelter. Once a comprehensive overview is established, the third sub-question aims to address the preliminary expectations by describing the mechanisms by which the shelter positively or negatively influenced the participants' experiences of victimization and fear of crime. The following conceptual map (figure 4.1) presents a comprehensive synthesis of this section, highlighting key findings and their interconnections.

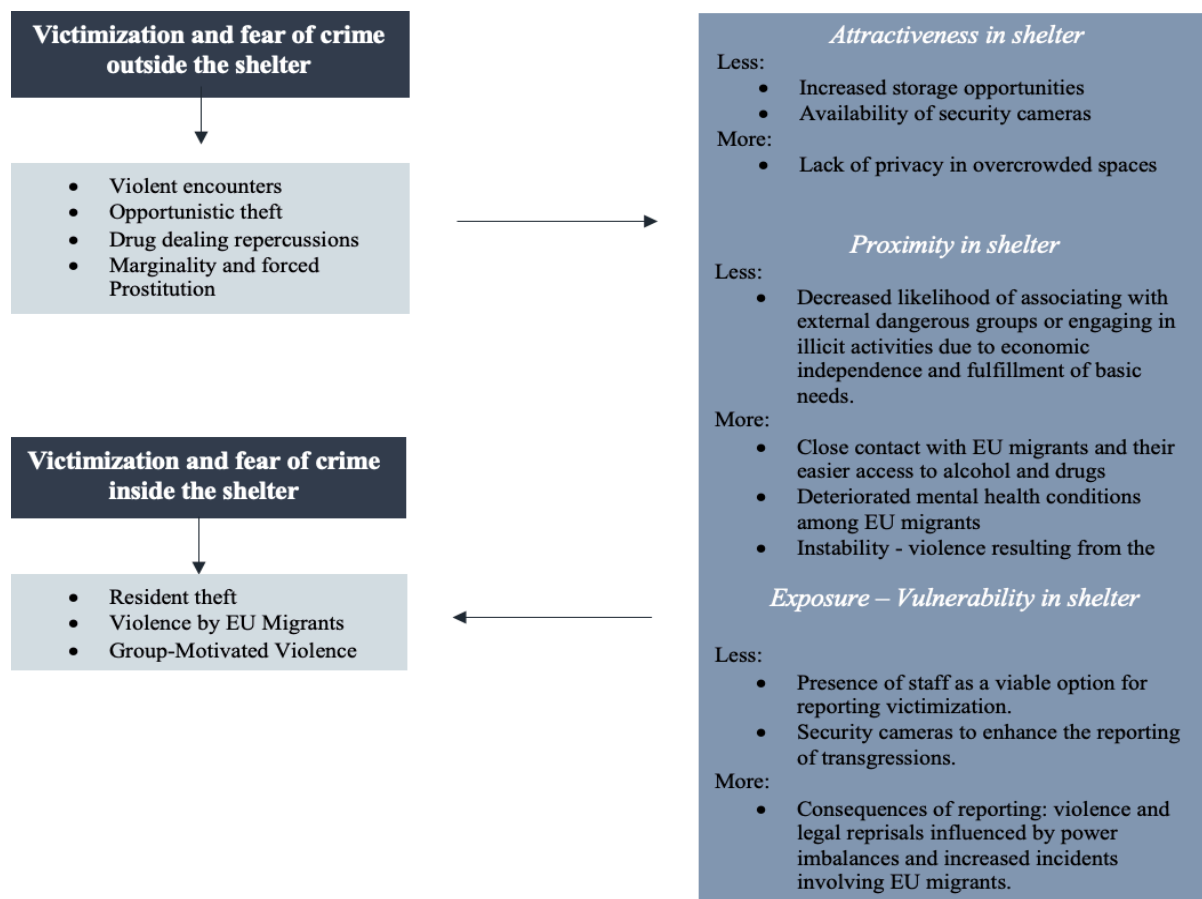


Figure 4.1 Results: Victimization and fear of crime among male adult irregular migrants outside and inside the shelter, related to the shelter's influence on their experiences, based on van Dijk and Steinmetz's risk model (1983).

4.1 What are the forms of victimization and the associated levels of fear of crime experienced by irregular migrants outside of the shelter?

When discussing the challenges faced by irregular migrants regarding victimization and fear of crime outside the shelter, one common theme emerged, highlighting the state of stress and vigilance that accompanied living on the streets: *“It was dangerous before coming here, sleeping outside, I stopped doing this”* (Second interview – resident, 20 April). Occasional and unpredictable encounters with other irregular migrants, as well as homeless Dutch citizens, often led to physical and verbal violence, resulting in tough realities: *“The street is very harsh (...) this happens usually by other homeless people. The street is really bad”* (Fifth interview – staff, 22 April). These encounters were not only distressing but also compelled the participants to defend themselves and engage in violence as a response: *“You have to fight, sometimes you get in trouble, in the street you have to fight... If someone picks your pocket... you have to defend yourself. You see the wrong people in the street, especially at night”* (Thirteenth interview – resident, 28 April). These participant’s quotes shed light on incidents where they

also fell victim to opportunistic theft, particularly at the hands of other homeless individuals: *“As they have to spend the night outside, they come here, and they have been robbed assaulted you know. This happens usually by other homeless people”* (Fifth interview – staff 22 April). The incidents described contributed to a pervasive sense of insecurity, aligning with the theory that direct or indirect involvement in street-level violence heightens one's anticipation of danger (McDonald, 2018). Furthermore, these incidents and the anxieties expressed outside the shelter were further exacerbated by a context in which physical violence occasionally stemmed from the consumption of alcohol and drugs. The participants recounted incidents with individuals who were under their influence, leading to an increased risk of physical assault or theft: *“I go there and also a lot of fighting because there are a little bit of bad people, bad people that make problems, they drink and they smoke weed, they steal”* (Third interview – resident, 21 April). In addition, participants highlighted that these encounters often involved homeless individuals with deteriorated mental health conditions. This not only contributed to the above-mentioned incidents of victimization, but also constrained their own behaviors due to the perceived risk involved: *“Dangerous is everywhere. When you deal with mental people, you can't do anything”* (Thirteenth interview – staff 28 April).

For the participants these forms of victimization and anticipation of theft, violence and self-defense were at times inevitable as they noted not having recurrent or safe places to leave their belongings, which was described by the participants as difficult when having to live outside: *“I have to go out in the morning that is the problem and its difficult for me to take my stuff with me (...) people still fight for that”* (Eighth Interview – resident, 24 April). This goes in line with theory aspects previously mentioned, as living in the street makes difficult finding secure or confidential locations to store their possessions, making them more attractive to thieves by the exhibition of goods (van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1983).

Furthermore, concerning the challenges faced outside, the presented theory illustrated how irregular migrants living on the streets in The Netherlands are compelled to adopt marginal means of subsistence due to limited access to employment and essential necessities like food, health care and shelter (O'Donnell et al., 2016). This was corroborated by the participants, who acknowledged the impoverished living conditions they endured while residing outside the established system: *“I sleep under the trains, not the passenger trains, the other ones. It was cold, I used plastic to cover my legs”* (Second interview – resident, 20 April). The participants highlighted how the lack of independence due to the absence of income generation opportunities to meet their basic needs, compelled some of them to engage in forms of forced

prostitution as a means of acquiring money: *“They might face people offering money in exchange for sexual favours, they often say their money is lost” (Eleventh Interview – staff, 28 April).*

Moreover, this absence of access to essential income and basic necessities, also compelled certain participants to interact with drug dealers as a means of earning income: *“Drug dealers, sometimes they say to them you have to sell this so you get money, and they can put pressure on them. A lot of things can happen outside, someone they owe money, they can search for them” (Eleventh Interview – staff, 28 April).* This involvement often resulted in potential violent repercussions and heightened stress as due to the lack of social network and language skills, migrants most of the time fail to sell the required drug amounts as demanded by the dealers: *“After people from Morocco help me to escape these men. They were asking before, so when I was sleeping it happened, it was heroine. After this I do not sleep” (Second interview – resident, 20 April).*

4.2 What are the forms of victimization and the associated levels of fear of crime experienced by irregular migrants while staying in the shelter?

When it comes to the challenges of victimization and fear of crime faced by irregular migrants within the shelter, certain similarities to their experiences outside were noted, albeit with intriguing contextual differences. Specifically, residents in the shelter commonly expressed how the scarcity of privacy, stemming from the necessity of sharing confined spaces with a large number of people, resulted in heightened stress due to the anticipation of victimization. This was consistent with earlier theoretical statements that described shelters as spaces where various groups coexisted (Goezinnen, 2020). It also highlighted how such coexistence could potentially lead to victimization and create an atmosphere of expected victimization (Meier & Miethe, 1993). This lack of privacy not only made them susceptible to the loss of their belongings, but also compelled them to remain constantly vigilant: *“They just open the doors, you don't hear the noise because the door is already open, not locked, so even you have no idea that someone is going into your room”* (Seventh interview – resident, 24 April).

The experiences of theft victimization and the resulting stress were consistently conveyed by both residents and staff members. The continuous influx of people in shared spaces, coupled with the varying routines and absence periods of residents, led to the loss of personal belongings: *“When you are here at 4 o'clock and you are the first one in the room, you can look for the other beds or be the last to leave in the morning”* (Twelfth Interview – resident, 28 April).

Another prevalent experience in the shelter was the frequent occurrence of not only theft, but also repeated physical and verbal violence, often stemming from the consumption of alcohol and drugs. These last types of incidents were more frequent in common areas such as the dining area and lounge, as they in contrast to theft, were emotional reactions and the existence of security cameras in shelter could not prevent them completely. The primary perpetrators behind these incidents were identified as migrants from the European Union (EU) residing in the shelter together with the LVV residents: *“Those people are difficult to handle. Sometimes they have a tendency to steal your things, and sometimes they will be so drunk they will do something stupid in the room”* (Seventh Interview – resident, 24 April). Participants expressed that both the arrival of new admissions and the departure dates of individuals, particularly EU migrants, caused heightened anxiety among LVV residents. They learned to anticipate theft targeting the non-securely stored belongings during these periods: *“Migrants staying here for seven days, everyday something was missing, when someone new comes, admission are stressful for them, its normal thinking, you would think the same”* (Twelfth

Interview – staff, 28 April). As emphasized in the following quotes, the residents' fear of crime was further intensified by the close presence of unfamiliar individuals in the shelter, hindering the development of trust among them. This was particularly notable with the EU migrants, who typically stayed for shorter durations: *“The more EU people here, the more stress. The unknown is what triggers it” (Twelfth Interview – staff, 28 April)*. This emphasized the lack of trust with the people participants had to live with, saying: *“Some people are good, some of them not. Not everyone is good. You don't know anyone, you don't trust” (Thirteenth Interview – resident, 28 April)*.

Additionally, the high levels of alcohol consumption and problematic behavior exhibited by this EU group were cited by participants as highly challenging. Not only did it lead to direct victimization, but it also caused stress due to the fear of unpredictable reactions when reporting issues to them or the staff: *“They are aggressive they get more because sometimes the staff, I feel they are also scared to say something to them, because he would be very aggressive” (Seventh Interview – resident, 24 April)*.

These instances of physical and verbal violence perpetrated by EU migrants and other LVV residents was enabled greatly by their often-compromised mental health conditions, which was perceived as a trigger to engaging in violent behaviors towards other residents and staff members: *“The problem with the other people is bad, people are not good mentally, a lot of fights, when I come here” (Eighth Interview – resident, 24 April)*. In general, participants commonly observed that new EU admissions often exhibited compromised mental health conditions upon arrival. However, residents at the LVV were not the exception, and also reported occasional violent reactions towards each other, which was highly attributed by the participants to the overall stress arising from the time challenges and uncertainties associated with the LVV process: *“In term of security, (...) most of them have some sort of psychological problem or other issues (...)In the whole, everyone because of this, is easily triggered. You know the stress is high and the conflicts are present” (Fifth Interview – staff, 22 April)*.

Lastly, participants frequently highlighted another characteristic type of victimization prevalent in the shelter, namely verbal violence with a specific focus on racist acts, targeting differences in skin color, religion, country of origin, and language: *“They have here a lot of languages, Afrikaans, Asians they discriminate to each other because of that, also because of color or religions a lot” (Twelfth interview – staff, 28 April)*. Most of the time, this form of verbal violence was instigated by European migrants who resided in the same facility, usually

targeting migrants from non-western countries. However, it is important to note that, on less frequent occasions, the LVV group itself also contributed to this specific type of verbal violence. In both cases, this was due to differences in food diets and religious practices, such as praying at specific hours in common places. These practices often disrupt other residents and provoked undesirable reactions towards each other.

4.3 How does the shelter influence victimization and fear of crime for male irregular migrants living in The Netherlands? What are the mechanisms through which the shelter can either enhance or reduce victimization and the anticipation of it?

4.3.1 Attractiveness in the Shelter

Various elements played a significant role in shaping the attractiveness (van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1983) of the residents while living in the shelter. Firstly, and even though participants consistently expressed dissatisfaction and reported theft incidents due to the inadequate size and organization of the storage provided in the shelter, residents still chose to leave their belongings behind when going outside. This was due to the complexities of carrying their belongings, and therefore the higher perceived risks on the streets regarding this type of victimization by opportunistic theft. Overall, participants recognized the limitations of shelter storage, but still valued it as a safer and more comfortable alternative compared to the non-options they faced outside. Some participants appreciated the staff's efforts to improve safety and satisfaction in this regard by trying to organize the storage room. While some privileged residents relied on external storage options, the majority valued the opportunity to store part of their belongings in the shelter as a safer option.

Secondly, the presence of security cameras in certain areas did impose some restrictions and enhanced the overall safety and less stress in those locations. This was done by restricting the opportunities for potential offenders. Participants in general appreciated this measure, as they had experienced similar behaviors and risks outside the shelter. This appreciation from the residents was noted even though safety ensured by these cameras was perceived only partially, as their placement was limited to specific areas, for instance, excluding the bedrooms for privacy reasons. The absence of cameras in the bedrooms was specifically highlighted as a major concern, as it facilitated theft and misconduct in these places.

Thirdly, and as the only overall aspect perceived by participants as enhancing attractiveness in the shelter, residents expressed dissatisfaction and general anxiety, related with the lack of privacy in the shelter due to shared, overcrowded, and constantly changing

living spaces. This was in contrast to their experiences outside, where basic conditions may have been worse, but offered more room, only encounters by chance and therefore less stress in comparison. The confined spaces and lack of privacy heightened the chances of being targeted and therefore increased victimization and fear of crime.

4.3.2 Proximity in the shelter

The shelter's attributes associated with proximity (van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1983) were influenced by several factors. Firstly, as the singular aspect reducing proximity by the LVV program's shelter, it provided not only security by the presence of staff, but also essential relief such as daily meals, beds, health access, and restroom facilities. Additionally, residents were granted a daily allowance for expenses and free transportation within the city of Rotterdam. This benefit was given through a personalized card which they had to present upon returning to the shelter, and it would be reloaded again the next morning. This arrangement not only fulfilled their basic needs, but also granted them a certain degree of financial independence in comparison with their situation living outside, which was constantly highly valued by the residents. As a result, participants, especially staff, noted that previously affected residents were less compelled to resort to extreme survival methods, such as affiliating with hazardous groups or engaging in illicit activities like forced prostitution and drug dealing to acquire money. The staff also played a crucial role in preventing residents from being contacted by these groups. This proactive intervention significantly reduced residents' anxiety levels and minimized instances of victimization

Secondly, one notable aspect of the spatial and social dynamics experienced by irregular migrants was their close coexistence with migrants from European Union countries, contrasting with external conditions. This coexistence posed a significant source of stress and victimization incidents for the participants, as they expressed concerns about how living alongside them directly impacted their safety within the shelter. The differences between the two groups could explain this. On one hand, EU migrants had access to occasional jobs and receive extra money from the shelter. This gave them significantly greater opportunities to obtain alcohol and drugs. Coupled with their often-poor mental health and shorter stays, resulted in a diminished sense of familiarity within the group, thus they posed a greater threat of victimization to other residents and staff. Compared to the participants' external circumstances, where victimization was mainly noted as coming from alcohol and drug use among Dutch homeless, the risk of living next to the EU migrants and other migrants was perceived as significantly more

pronounced. This is because the daily interaction with them was considerably higher and harder to avoid than with the homeless people outside in general.

Thirdly, in addition to high-risk contacts among different groups in the shelter, mental health also emerged independently as a prominent concern. The daily dynamics within the shelter unavoidably exposed participants to residents experiencing deteriorated mental health conditions, even though a deteriorated mental health state was not solely confined to shelters but also prevalent among irregular migrants living outside. However, the challenging environment faced by these individuals was not only attributed to pre-existing mental health disorders. It was also further compounded by the difficult conditions endured by irregular migrants and the bureaucratic complexities they face in their migration process while in the shelter. Of particular significance is the unpredictability and length of the LVV process, which generated chronic stress for the majority of residents. These factors resulted in heightened levels of anxiety and insecurity, which, coupled with limited social spaces, significantly contributed to verbal and psychological reactive aggressions among the shelter residents.

4.3.3 Exposure – vulnerability in the shelter

Regarding the shelter's features related to exposure and vulnerability (van Dijk & Steinmetz, 1983), several factors were at play. The relationship between participants and staff played a significant role in addressing safety concerns while living in the shelter. While some participants felt that the staff had limitations in addressing all safety challenges, the presence of workers was generally seen as a reliable option for reporting incidents of victimization, offering a better alternative than external conditions.

However, there were still compromises within the shelter, specifically due to incidents involving EU migrants who often engaged in alcohol or drug consumption. The differential treatment of EU migrants, who had greater social rights, created a distinction between them and the LVV residents. This power imbalance significantly influenced the victim-offender relationship, leaving LVV residents in a more vulnerable position when trying to defend themselves or reporting offenses, with much more at stake for them, such as not having rights for alternative places where to stay or countries to move within Europe.

The key distinction in terms of exposure was the close proximity to EU migrants while living in the shelter, unlike incidents involving Dutch homeless individuals outside. As a result, participants were more hesitant to report incidents involving EU migrants or engage in self-defense, primarily due to concerns about potential (violent) retaliations. The act of reporting incidents was also perceived as more threatening due to the higher perceived risk of police

encounters within the shelter, given the proximity between the groups and therefore the frequency of incidents. Despite the fear of encountering the police, applying to both inside and outside the shelter, this was translated into LVV residents facing a higher level of vulnerability compared to their EU counterparts in these encounters.

Finally, the implementation of security cameras was regarded as a beneficial measure in addressing the exposure experienced by participants. While concerns persisted regarding the physical limitations imposed by the cameras, they did provide additional support for participants' intentions to report transgressions. This stood in contrast to the outside environment where they had no other recourse but their own testimony.

In conclusion, the analysis findings revealed that shelters played a crucial role in improving safety for residents by de-marginalizing the lives of irregular migrants. This was achieved through the inclusion of trained staff, security cameras, and provisions for economic independence and basic needs. These factors effectively reduced complex forms of victimization and the associated stress, including instances of drug-dealing related violence and forced prostitution that occurred outside the shelter. However, the presence of certain new elements within the shelter environment, such as overcrowding and proximity to European Union migrants, introduced challenges and re-marginalized residents' routines, increasing victimization incidents. Nevertheless, shelters were recognized as essential in enhancing overall safety and well-being.

5. Synthesis

“Not heaven, but no longer hell?”

Through the investigation and analysis, we have gained valuable insights into the various dynamics that contribute or diminish the victimization and sense of fear of irregular migrants during their shelter stays. This research sheds light on the complex nature of these experiences and their implications for the migrants' daily lives.

Initially, we provided an overview of the general context in which irregular migrants find themselves in The Netherlands, emphasizing the strict limitations imposed by the government on essential services, including shelter access. As a result, this group, particularly single adult males, has faced significant marginalization and has been predominantly associated with criminal activity, not just in theoretical discussions but also in the perception by government authorities. Furthermore, we explored the concept of shelters as an initial local humanitarian response to address the vulnerabilities of this population, which later became incorporated into the governmental LVV program's benefits as part of the process of seeking durable solutions. This led to the main research question: *How do shelter opportunities for male irregular migrants in The Netherlands, impact victimization and fear of crime?* To address this question, the findings were organized into three sub-questions, aimed at comparing the experiences of single male irregular migrants in The Netherlands in terms of victimization and fear of crime, as well as the perspectives of staff working at the shelter. These examined the conditions they endured while living outside the shelter and compared them with their experiences within the shelter to then finally describe the mechanism by which the shelter affected their (potential) experiences of victimization and fear.

The results showed several key points, which presented how victimization and fear of crime outside of the shelter were exacerbated. Firstly, opportunistic theft emerged as a significant issue faced by this population, highlighting the vulnerability and target of their possessions. Secondly, violent encounters were experienced, exposing irregular migrants to physical harm and aggression not only directly, but also as a consequence of self-defense. Furthermore, the experience of living on the margins outside the shelter exposed individuals to dangerous consequences, such as involvement with drug dealing groups. This highlights the victimization associated with engaging in such activities, which can be seen as a repercussion of association with criminals. Lastly, the study revealed how the distressing realities of outside

marginality led to forced prostitution as one survival method experienced by some irregular migrants, underscoring the extent of their vulnerability and exploitation.

In addition, when examining the experiences of victimization within the shelter, several noteworthy findings emerged. Firstly, the issue of theft was also concern, particularly instances where residents targeted items that were not securely stored in the shelter. Secondly, the research identified instances of both verbal and physical violence, primarily perpetrated by EU migrants. This underscored the presence of interpersonal conflicts and tensions among different migrant groups with different migration status and therefore capacities to obtain alcohol and other substances in the shelter. Lastly, the study revealed instances of group-motivated violence, shedding light on incidents of racism stemming from differences in beliefs, origins, and languages between residents, among other issues.

After providing an overview of these two situations, the study then shifted its focus to examining the mechanisms within shelters that altered experiences of victimization and fear of crime among residents. The incidence of victimization and fear of crime within the shelter was reduced through the following mechanisms. Firstly, in terms of *attractiveness*, improvements were made through increased storage opportunities, installation of security cameras, and enhanced safety measures, as compared to the conditions outside. Secondly, in relation to *proximity*, safety was further enhanced by the presence of staff, basic economic independence and basic needs fulfilled within the shelter, which reduced the likelihood of involvement with drug dealing groups and forced prostitution. Lastly, in terms of *exposure-vulnerability*, the presence of staff and security cameras within the shelter played a crucial role as they provided avenues for reporting incidents.

On the other hand, the occurrence of victimization and fear of crime within the shelter was amplified through the following mechanisms. In terms of *attractiveness*, the absence of privacy in overcrowded spaces escalated the likelihood of individuals becoming victims. Subsequently, with regards to *proximity* to EU migrants, their relatively easier access to alcohol and drugs, along with the psychological instability associated with the LVV process and deteriorating mental health general conditions, heightened the risk of victimization. Lastly, the fear of violence or legal consequences arising from economic and political imbalances, as well as the increased incidents involving EU migrants, discouraged residents from availing themselves of reporting options.

Considering all these factors, the current analysis revealed that participants perceived shelters as contributing to an overall improvement in the safety of the residents. This improvement can be attributed first to the inclusion of trained staff and security cameras. Additionally, a significant role played by shelters was providing economic independence and fulfilling basic needs. These factors were found to be crucial in reducing two prominent sources of stress and victimization which occur outside of the shelter, namely drug dealing violent repercussions and forced prostitution.

This was found despite the presence of specific elements within the shelter environment that triggered victimization, primarily stemming from factors associated with proximity to different groups of migrants, particularly those from the European Union countries. This specific proximity not only influenced the reporting of incidents, but also impacted the attractiveness in the shelter due to the lack of privacy caused by limited room availability. It is noteworthy that the relatively privileged socio-economic and political position held by this European group played an important role in shaping these dynamics.

These findings offer valuable insights into the significance of shelters, not only in terms of the safety of migrants but also in shaping their future. Shelters were perceived as crucial for *de-marginalization* of the participants lives, ensuring safety by addressing fundamental basic needs and providing daily services. This not only reduced theft but also mitigated extreme survival methods and complex victimization from criminal groups. Moreover, the findings shed light on specific aspects within the shelter that re-marginalized the residents' routines, thus contributed to victimization and fear of crime among them. These aspects included the close coexistence of different groups, particularly European migrants, and the associated challenges of power dynamics, mental health issues, and higher substance consumption. This presents a depiction where shelters, in the context of marginalization, victimization, and fear of crime among irregular migrants, can be viewed as a significant improvement over alternative forms of living, although not without significative flaws.

Ultimately, these findings present an opportunity to maintain the adaptive aspects provided by shelters while also highlighting the need to address the unique needs of each group separately, particularly in terms of intergroup coexistence.

6. Discussion and conclusions

6.1 Future policy suggestions

In line with the previous section, the LVV assumes a central role in the current study. This research acts as a reminder of the importance for the program to move beyond addressing irregular migration solely by reducing its criminal aspects. It highlights how shelters play a critical role in reducing the marginality of irregular migrants and mitigating their victimization and fear of crime. Recognizing the integral relationship between shelters and the LVV program's pursuit of sustainable solutions is crucial. To enhance the effectiveness of the program, it is imperative for relevant stakeholders involved in its implementation to have a comprehensive understanding of the pivotal role that shelters play in addressing marginalization, victimization, and the associated fears

This entails considering how shelters both contribute to and mitigate the perceived or actual risks of experiencing victimization. It is essential to prioritize the maintenance and improvement of protective aspects provided by shelters, such as secure storage, availability of security cameras, increased opportunities (qualified staff) for reporting and attending issues and addressing basic needs to promote certain levels of economic independence. This approach should also address and aim for the modification of the risks intentionally or unintentionally triggered by shelter dynamics. For instance, it is necessary to consider and mitigate the close coexistence of different groups, specifically European migrants, and the associated issues of power dynamics, mental health challenges and higher substance abuse. Additionally, improving the instances and frequency of communication channels between LVV representatives and shelter clients, involving them more in the decision-making process, could empower individuals and reduce stress and reactivity towards the staff or other residents. By implementing these measures and acknowledging the so-far ineffectiveness of forced marginality for both government and irregular migrants, LVV stakeholders could alternatively create a more supportive and safer environment that enhances the well-being of irregular migrants and empowers them to have more control over their circumstances. This could foster greater cooperation and collaboration opportunities between the system and irregular migrants, leading to more productive and sustainable outcomes for all parties involved.

Ensuring the maintenance and improvement of LVV shelter conditions, directly benefits the lives and well-being of residents. Consequently, individuals experience a better and safer quality of life as they face this bureaucratic process to resolve their migration status. Simultaneously, from a governmental perspective, recognizing and addressing safety and stress factors could increase the likelihood of collaboration with the LVV process, while promoting potential higher chances of successful return migration.

Additionally, this research highlights victimization experiences and perceived threats faced by vulnerable male adult irregular migrants, emphasizing the negative consequences of their marginalization on their health and agency. Recognizing this profound impact is crucial in guiding humanitarian actions at international, national (governmental) and local levels. In that regard, this study reinforces the importance of the constraints and guidelines outlined by the European Commission to counteract the prevalent exclusionary rhetoric employed by governments in addressing irregular migration. Likewise, it highlights the significance of shelters in providing essential support as these migrants navigate their irregular situations and strive to find a durable solution.

6.2 Uncovering a hidden reality

The policy guidelines mentioned above are rooted in the social landscape that this research aimed to depict. Male, single adult irregular migrants often face the stigma of being labeled as criminals, leading to their social exclusion. NGOs tend to prioritize and offer greater support opportunities for women and families, which consequently leaves highly marginalized men with limited access to basic services and security. Consequently, these individuals occupy the lowest rungs in the hierarchy of relief support, making them more susceptible to higher rates of victimization, perceived risk and overall vulnerability.

With this type of research, it is crucial to recognize that solely focusing on the criminal characterization of irregular migrants overlooks the broader perspective that public sociology aims to address. This thesis sheds light on a broader societal issue by directing attention to the private troubles encountered by irregular migrants, particularly their lack of safety. By challenging the historical tendency to stigmatize this population and solely focus on their criminal aspects, this research takes a step forward. It provided participants with a voice to illuminate their diverse experiences of victimization, providing an opportunity to express their viewpoints and describe the conditions in which these transgressions occur, they became the central figures in conveying these occurrences. Emphasizing the importance of recognizing their victimhood and overall vulnerabilities as critical aspects of their lives.

6.3 Implications for theoretical development

By exploring and describing the daily vulnerabilities experienced by irregular migrants, this research enhances our understanding of victimization theories in direct relation with the occurring immigration phenomenon. It strengthens the theoretical link between immigration and victimology, offering a relevant complement to the dominant criminal theories in migration studies. This was achieved by examining the perceptions concerning safety of individuals residing in shelters regarding their physical and psychological surroundings, as well as the services provided, in comparison to their experiences outside.

First, this research emphasizes the importance of recognizing that the triple factors of attractiveness, proximity, and exposure-vulnerability, while valuable in understanding victimization, can exhibit overlap and lack clear boundaries. For example, the presence of security cameras in shelters can simultaneously reduce attractiveness and vulnerability, just as overcrowded spaces with limited privacy can both increase attractiveness and proximity. Therefore, it is crucial to approach the examination of these factors in relation to victimization by considering their broader impact and implications.

Secondly, it is important to recognize that victimization was found as intimately tied to the marginalization that irregular migrants experience due to government control policies. In this regard, the legal status of a migrant directly influenced their proximity to victimization, as well as their vulnerability and attractiveness as potential targets. Therefore, to fully understand victimization in the context of migration, the legal status of individuals must be considered, along with how these legal realities are acknowledged and addressed, such as through strategies like the LVV and the provision of shelters. Shelters in this regard played a crucial role in changing the context of irregular migration, thereby altering the significance of legal status, the marginalization and victimization stemming from it. By mitigating vulnerability and implementing measures related with *Target hardening*, characterized by partially reducing criminal opportunities (Hsu & McDowall, 2017), shelters contributed to redefining the legal realities experienced by irregular migrants and impacted their victimization and fear of crime experiences.

Thirdly, it is essential to include other European migrants within this framework. Considering the relevance that inter-group proximity had in the victimization experiences in shelter, this showed how victimization experienced by irregular migrants could not solely be inflicted by receiving societies, but also by other migrant groups with different hierarchies. Within the shelter context, the phenomenon of *residential instability* (Boggess & Hipp, 2010),

characterized by constant movement and population changes within a living space, further exacerbated victimization. Thus, it is crucial to consider the effects of shelters on victimization experiences within this broader framework, acknowledging the complex dynamics between different migrant groups.

This research, therefore, contributes to a more complex view, moving beyond the previous mentioned notions that state shelters as solely seen as either triggers or reducers of safety for irregular migrants. Instead offers an overall picture of the role shelters play in the life of irregular migrants, examining and dividing the resident's victimization experiences under factors related to attractiveness, proximity, and exposure-vulnerability.

6.4 Future research

To enhance possible future research, it is recommended to utilize translators in order to access a wider range of participants' experiences and perspectives. While English was overall sufficiently spoken by the participants and allowed for access to a significant portion of migrants' victimization experiences, it is important to acknowledge that native languages inherently provide a more nuanced space for the expression of feelings and perspectives. Particularly in relation to complex experiences like victimization and the associated fears, native languages could offer a deeper understanding and insight.

In addition, incorporating a control group would provide valuable insights when conducting a comparative analysis of the experiences of irregular migrants both inside and outside of shelters. It would be beneficial to identify a group located in a city or a smaller town where the LVV program is not implemented. This would contribute a supporting feature of the presented picture of victimization between irregular migrants with and without access to shelter. Furthermore, it is crucial to include EU migrants in future analysis, as they may face unique challenges associated with legal status-related issues and subsequent marginalization. These challenges can also manifest as criminality or victimization experiences.

Finally, extending the duration of the fieldwork could facilitate an investigation into potential incidents of sexual harassment within the shelter. Although these incidents were primarily observed outside the shelter, it is plausible that they might still occur to a lesser extent within the shelter environment. This aspect gains particular significance when considering the women population residing in the shelter, as they possess their own unique set of risks and vulnerabilities. Further research in this area would provide valuable insights, especially

considering the proximity to male migrants and the potential implications for the well-being and safety of women irregular migrants within the shelters in The Netherlands.

References

- Ambrosini, M. (2011). Surviving underground: Irregular migrants, Italian families, invisible welfare. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 21(4), 361–371. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2397.2011.00837.x>
- Angulo-Pasel, C. (2022). Rethinking the space of the migrant shelter in Mexico: humanitarian and security implications in the practices of bordering. *Identities*, 29(6), 730–747. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289x.2022.2029068>
- Asmoredjo, J., Beijersbergen, M. D., & Wolf, J. R. L. M. (2016). Client Experiences With Shelter and Community Care Services in The Netherlands. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 27(7), 779–788. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049731516637426>
- Ataç, I. (2019). Deserving Shelter: Conditional Access to Accommodation for Rejected Asylum Seekers in Austria, The Netherlands, and Sweden. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 17(1), 44–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2018.1530401>
- Berk, R. A., Newton, P. J., & Berk, S. F. (1986). What a Difference a Day Makes: An Empirical Study of the Impact of Shelters for Battered Women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 48(3), 481. <https://doi.org/10.2307/352034>
- Bergen, N., & Labonté, R. (2020). “Everything Is Perfect, and We Have No Problems”: Detecting and Limiting Social Desirability Bias in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 30(5), 783–792. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732319889354>
- Bretherton, J & Pleace, N. (2018) *Women and Rough Sleeping : A Critical Review of Current Research and Methodology*. Research Report. University of York , York.
- Boeije, H. R. (2009). *Analysis in Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publications Limited.
- Bogges, L. N., & Hipp, J. R. (2010). Violent Crime, Residential Instability and Mobility: Does the Relationship Differ in Minority Neighborhoods? *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 26(3), 351–370. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-010-9093-7>
- Boswell, C. (2007). Theorizing Migration Policy: Is There a Third Way? *International Migration Review*, 41(1), 75–100. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2007.00057.x>
- Bouter, H. (2013). *Giving shelter: The logics and likelihood of irregular migrants receiving shelter from nongovernmental organizations in The Netherlands* [MA Thesis].

- Radboud University. <https://theses.ubn.ru.nl/items/07a96b76-18d2-495e-9090-069a114ddb4>
- Bukowski, W. M., & Sippola, L. K. (2001). Groups, individuals, and victimization. *Peer harassment in school*, 355-377.
- Cassarino, J.-P. (2004). Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)*, 253-279.
- Caponio, T., & Borkert, M. (2010). *The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking*. Amsterdam University Press. <https://doi.org/10.5117/9789089642325>
- Chandra, Y., & Shang, L. (2019). Inductive Coding. *Springer EBooks*, 91–106. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-3170-1_8
- Creswell, W., & Creswell, J. (2017). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Fifth edition). SAGE Publications, Inc. <https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/research-design/book255675#preview>
- Cohen, L. E., & Felson, M. (1979). Social Change and Crime Rate Trends: A Routine Activity Approach. *American Sociological Review*, 44(4), 588. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2094589>
- Delvino, N., & González Beilfuss, M. (2021). Latino migrant victims of crime: safe reporting for victims with irregular status in the United States and Spain. *American behavioral scientist*, 65(9), 1193-1205.
- Dalton, D. W., & Ortegren, M. (2011). Gender Differences in Ethics Research: The Importance of Controlling for the Social Desirability Response Bias. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 103(1), 73–93. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-011-0843-8>
- Donley, A. M., & Wright, J. D. (2012). Safer Outside: A Qualitative Exploration of Homeless People's Resistance to Homeless Shelters. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*, 12(4), 288–306. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15228932.2012.695645>
- Douglas A. Smith & G. Roger Jarjoura. (1989). Household Characteristics, Neighborhood Composition and Victimization Risk, *Social Forces*, Volume 68, Issue 2, December 1989, Pages 621–640, <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/68.2.621>
- Douglas, P., Cetron, M., & Spiegel, P. (2019). Definitions matter: migrants, immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. *Journal of Travel Medicine*, 26(2). <https://doi.org/10.1093/jtm/taz005>

- Douglas, K. M., & Sáenz, R. (2013). The Criminalization of Immigrants & the Immigration-Industrial Complex. *Daedalus*, 142(3), 199–227. https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_00228
- Engbersen, G., Van San, M., & Leerkes, A. (2006). A room with a view. *Ethnography*, 7(2), 209–242. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138106067057>
- EDAL. (2000, November 23). *Aliens Act The Netherlands 2000 (Vreemdelingenwet 2000) European Database of Asylum Law*. European Database of Asylum Law. Retrieved March 1, 2023, from <https://www.asylumlawdatabase.eu/en/content/en-aliens-act-netherlands-2000-vreemdelingenwet-2000>
- Fox, K. A., Nobles, M. R., & Piquero, A. R. (2009). Gender, crime victimization and fear of crime. *Security Journal*, 22(1), 24–39. <https://doi.org/10.1057/sj.2008.13>
- Fussell, E. (2011). The Deportation Threat Dynamic and Victimization of Latino Migrants: Wage Theft and Robbery. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 52(4), 593–615. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2011.01221.x>
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219–245. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363>
- Gray, E. (2014). Designing Case Studies. In *Doing Research in the Real World* (3rd ed.). UK:Sage. <https://www.sfu.ca/~palys/Gray-2014-DoingResearchInTheRealWorld-CaseStudyDesign.pdf>
- Goezinnen, M. (2020, October 16). *ROS en de LVV*. Stichting ROS. Retrieved March 4, 2023, from <https://stichtingros.nl/nieuws-1/lvv>
- Hsu, H. Y., & McDowall, D. (2017). Does Target-hardening Result in Deadlier Terrorist Attacks against Protected Targets? An Examination of Unintended Harmful Consequences. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 54(6), 930–957. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427817719309>
- Jiménez-Lasserrotte, M. D. M., López-Domene, E., Hernández-Padilla, J. M., Fernández-Sola, C., Fernández-Medina, I. M., Faqyr, K. E. M. E., Dobarrio-Sanz, I., & Granero-Molina, J. (2020). Understanding Violence against Women Irregular Migrants Who Arrive in Spain in Small Boats. *Healthcare*, 8(3), 299. <https://doi.org/10.3390/healthcare8030299>
- Kos, S., Maussen, M., & Doomernik, J. (2015). Policies of Exclusion and Practices of Inclusion: How Municipal Governments Negotiate Asylum Policies in The Netherlands. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 4(3), 354–374. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2015.1024719>

- Kubrin, C. E., & Desmond, S. A. (2014). The Power of Place Revisited. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 13(4), 345–366. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204014547590>
- Leger des Heils. (n.d.). *Nachtopvang - Leger des Heils*. www.legerdesheils.nl. Retrieved March 6, 2023, from <https://www.legerdesheils.nl/zorg/nachtopvang>
- Leerkes, A. (2016). Back to the poorhouse: Social protection and social control of unauthorised immigrants in the shadow of the welfare state. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 140-154.
- Leerkes, A., Engbersen, G., & Van Der Leun, J. (2012). Crime among irregular immigrants and the influence of internal border control. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 58(1), 15–38. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10611-012-9367-0>
- Leerkes, A., Engbersen, G., & Van San, M. (2007). Shadow Places: Patterns of Spatial Concentration and Incorporation of Irregular Immigrants in The Netherlands. *Urban Studies*, 44(8), 1491–1516. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980701373479>
- Lune, H., & Berg, B. L. (2017). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences, Global Edition*. Pearson Education Limited.
- Marchiori, H. (2006). Los procesos de victimización. Avances en la asistencia a víctimas. In *Ponencia presentada en el: Congreso Internacional de Derecho Penal y VII Jornada sobre Justicia Penal, Junio* (Vol. 19).
- Mack, A., Buimer, L., Rog, J., & Witvliet, M. (2022). Final evaluation National Immigration Facilities. In *Regio Plan Be Laidsonderzoek*. Dutch Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the Ministry of Security and Justice. Retrieved March 2, 2023, from <https://repository.wodc.nl/bitstream/handle/20.500.12832/3223/3287-eindevaluatie-landelijke-vreemdelingenvoorziening-summary.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y>
- Maxfield, M. G. (1987). Lifestyle and Routine Activity Theories of Crime: Empirical Studies of Victimization, Delinquency, and Offender Decision-Making. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 3(4), 275–282. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23365565>
- Merkus, J. (2021, September 27). *What is an interview topic list (with example)?* Scribbr. <https://www.scribbr.nl/research-methods/example-topic-list-interview/>
- McDonald, W. F. (2018). The Immigrant as Victim: The Minimal Research. *The Criminal Victimization of Immigrants*, 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-69062-9_1

- McDonald, F., & Erez, E. (2007). Immigrants as victims: A framework. *International Review of Victimology*, 14, 1–10.
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/026975800701400101>
- Meško, G., Sárík, E., & Getoš Kalac, A. M. (Eds.). (2020). Mapping the Victimological Landscape of the Balkans : A Regional Study on Victimology and Victim Protection with a Critical Analysis of Current Victim Policies. *Max Planck Partner Group for Balkan Criminology*. <https://doi.org/10.30709/978-3-86113-279-0>
- Meier, R. F., & Miethe, T. D. (1993). *Understanding Theories of Criminal Victimization*. *Crime and Justice*, 17, 459–499. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1147556>
- Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid. (2023, February 3). Home - Dienst Terugkeer en Vertrek. www.dienstterugkeerenvertrek.nl. Retrieved February 27, 2023, from <https://www.dienstterugkeerenvertrek.nl/>
- Mohd Arifin, S. R. (2018). Ethical Considerations in Qualitative Study. *International journal of care scholars*, 1(2), 30–33. <https://doi.org/10.31436/ijcs.v1i2.82>
- Noble, J., & Jardin, A. (2019). From Victimization to Fear: Fear of Crime and its Variations Among Victims. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 60(2), Pages 468-489. <https://academic.oup.com/bjc/article/60/2/468/5571201?login=true>
- O'Donnell, C. A., Burns, N., Mair, F. S., Dowrick, C., Clissmann, C., Van Den Muijsenbergh, M., Van Weel-Baumgarten, E., Lionis, C., Papadakaki, M., Saridaki, A., De Brun, T., & MacFarlane, A. (2016). Reducing the health care burden for marginalised migrants: The potential role for primary care in Europe. *Health Policy*, 120(5), 495–508. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthpol.2016.03.012>
- Offenders, Victims, and Situations*. SUNY Series in Deviance and Social Control.
- OHCHR. (1985, November 29). *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*. Retrieved February 27, 2023, from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/declaration-basic-principles-justice-victims-crime-and-abuse>
- Pain, R. (2000). Place, social relations and the fear of crime: a review. *Progress in human geography*, 24(3), 365-387.
- Pratt, T. C., & Turanovic, J. J. (2015). Lifestyle and Routine Activity Theories Revisited: The Importance of “Risk” to the Study of Victimization. *Victims & Offenders*, 11(3), 335–354. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2015.1057351>

- Prior, M. T. (2017). Accomplishing “rapport” in qualitative research interviews: Empathic moments in interaction. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 9(4), 487–511. <https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2017-0029>
- Rader, N. E. (2004). the threat of victimization: a theoretical reconceptualization of fear of crime. *Sociological Spectrum*, 24(6), 689–704. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02732170490467936>
- Rader, N. E., May, D. C., & Goodrum, S. (2007). An empirical assessment of the “threat of victimization:” considering fear of crime, perceived risk, avoidance, and defensive behaviors. *Sociological Spectrum*, 27(5), 475–505. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02732170701434591>
- Rosenblatt, P. C. (1995). Ethics of qualitative interviewing with grieving families. *Death Studies*, 19(2), 139–155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07481189508252721>
- Scheunemann, L. P., Cunningham, T. J., Arnold, R. M., Buddadhumaruk, P., & White, D. B. (2015). How Clinicians Discuss Critically Ill Patients’ Preferences and Values With Surrogates. *Critical Care Medicine*, 43(4), 757–764. <https://doi.org/10.1097/ccm.0000000000000772>
- Shechory-Bitton, M., & Soen, D. (2016). Community cohesion, sense of threat, and fear of crime: The refugee problem as perceived by Israeli residents. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 14(4), 290–306. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2016.1187237>
- Spencer, S., & Triandafyllidou, A. (Eds.). (2020). Migrants with Irregular Status in Europe. *IMISCOE Research Series*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-34324-8>
- Surtees, R. (2008). Why shelters? Considering residential approaches to assistance. *NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking, Vienna*.
- Smith, D.A., & Jarjoura, G.R. (1988). Social Structure and Criminal Victimization. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 25, 27 - 52.
- Steinmetz, C. (1982). A First Step towards Victimological Risk Analysis. A conceptual model for the prevention of “petty” crime. *The National Swedish Council for Crime Prevention*, pp.55-87. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321225183_A_First_Step_towards_Victimological_Risk_Analysis_A_conceptual_model_for_the_prevention_of_petty_crime
- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative Quality: Eight “Big-Tent” Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(10), 837–851. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410383121>

- Timmerman, R. I., Leerkes, A., Staring, R., & Delvino, N. (2020). 'Free In, Free Out': Exploring Dutch Firewall Protections for Irregular Migrant Victims of Crime. *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 22(3), 427–455. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15718166-12340082>
- UNHCR. (2020, December). *UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency*. Retrieved February 22, 2023, from <https://www.unhcr.org/victim-care.html>
- Van Der Leun, J. (2015a, May 20). Not Making it in The Netherlands: Excluding Irregular Immigrants to the Max. *Leiden Law Blog*. Retrieved February 27, 2023, from <https://www.leidenlawblog.nl/articles/not-making-it-in-the-netherlands-excluding-irregular-immigrants-to-the-max>
- Van Dijk, J. J., & Steinmetz, C. H. (1983). Victimization surveys: Beyond measuring the volume of crime. *Victimology*, 8(1-2), 291-309.
- Van Der Leun, J. (2015b, March 4). Bed, bath, bread and security. *Leiden Law Blog*. Retrieved February 27, 2023, from <https://www.leidenlawblog.nl/articles/bed-bath-bread-and-security>
- Van Der Woude, M. a. H., Van Der Leun, J. P., & Nijland, J. A. (2014). Crimmigration in The Netherlands. *Law & Social Inquiry*, 39(03), 560–579. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lsi.12078>
- Warr, M. (2000). Fear of crime in the United States: Avenues for research and policy. *Criminal justice*, 4(4), 451-489.
- White, C., Weisburd, D., Wire, S., Dong, B., & Ready, J. (2022). Communities, Streets, and People: A Multi-level Study of the Correlates of Victimization. *Victims & Offenders*, 17(8), 1116–1146. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564886.2021.2018079>
- WHO. (2016). Strategy and action plan for refugee and migrant health in the WHO European Region. In <https://www.euro.who.int>. WHO Regional Office for Europe. Retrieved February 20, 2023, from https://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/314725/66wd08e_MigrantHealthStrategyActionPlan_160424.pdf
- Zatz, M. S., & Smith, H. (2012). Immigration, Crime, and Victimization: Rhetoric and Reality. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 8(1), 141–159. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-102811-173923>

- Zarafonitou, C. (2009). Criminal Victimization in Greece and the Fear of Crime: A 'Paradox' for Interpretation. *International Review of Victimology*, 16(3), 277–300. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026975800901600303>
- Zhong, H., Xu, J., & Piquero, A. R. (2017). Internal Migration, Social Exclusion, and Victimization. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 54(4), 479–514. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427816676861>
- Zerbe, W. J., & Paulhus, D. L. (1987). Socially Desirable Responding in Organizational Behavior: A Reconception. *The Academy of Management Review*, 12(2), 250–264. <https://doi.org/10.2307/258533>