



Hospitality, a Private Matter?

Citizen Hosting Confronting
Kafkaesque Policies and
Administrative Practices

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Nadine Camp

Abstract

The concept of hospitality has gained new momentum since 2015, particularly at the local level. This is reflected in the development of citizen hosting groups and organisations which, faced with a lack of institutional housing solutions, receive migrants into their homes or into independent apartments during a transitional period.

These hospitality initiatives, while falling within the private sphere, cannot ignore the public policies within which they must operate.

In addition to the increasing number of immigration laws in France, imposing ever more complex requirements for foreign nationals to be granted a residence permit, administrative practices—notably the Digital Administration for Foreign Nationals in France platform (*Administration numérique pour les étrangers en France* – ANEF)—hinder migrants' access to their rights and autonomy. Because citizen hosting goes beyond simply providing shelter and places the human dimension at the centre of the relationship, the obstacles faced by hosted individuals throughout their administrative journeys also affect these hospitality initiatives and the people who work to sustain them.

The people interviewed for this study—those being hosted, volunteers, and NGOs staff—described Kafkaesque situations: in addition to procedures that are often extremely long and complex, there is a lack of transparency and an inability to access relevant contacts within the administration, leaving both those being hosted and those hosting them with a sense of meaninglessness and powerlessness. The administrative, social, and economic precarity of these individuals is thus compounded by significant psychological distress.

Faced with these situations, citizen hosting provides essential support to migrant persons. It offers respite to people who would otherwise risk sleeping outside. It provides a space for exchange, encounters, and often trust, which constitutes crucial psychological support, allowing people to maintain hope throughout uncertain and dehumanizing journeys.

The role played by citizen hosting organisations in completing administrative procedures varies, ranging from referring people to the appropriate services to providing direct individual support. Nevertheless, the gradual structuring of these organisations, particularly with the appointment of focal points for these issues, has led to a better distribution of roles and strengthened internal expertise. Many of the volunteers involved demonstrate an extremely strong commitment to helping people overcome the administrative obstacles they encounter.

HOSPITALITY, A PRIVATE MATTER?
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ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES
Nadine Camp

Despite the uncertainty of migrant persons' administrative processes, the burdensome nature of the procedures, and the energy they require, the determination of those involved in citizen hosting remains strong and resilient. In this difficult context, where the signals sent by increasingly restrictive migration policies at both the French and European levels as well as by media discourse, are increasingly hostile to migration, support for citizen hosting initiatives is essential.

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Introduction

The concept of hospitality has evolved over the centuries, between individual moral imperative and political approach, between unconditional hospitality rooted in ethics and conditional hospitality framed by law¹. The responsibility for this hospitality has shifted from the family circle, the home, the individual who opens their door to the stranger, to state responsibility, particularly within the framework of asylum law and refugee protection, before returning to the individual level due to increasingly restrictive national and European policies² towards foreigners³.

Contrary to the evolution of these public policies, the concept of hospitality has experienced a resurgence at the local level⁴, particularly since 2015. Numerous groups and non-profit organisations have formed in France and across Europe to offer both humanitarian aid to those affected and an alternative, more welcoming model of society. These local hospitality initiatives have taken various forms: food distribution, integration assistance, support for organizing squats⁵, the creation of collective reception houses⁶, citizen hosting, etc.

Alongside these citizen-led initiatives, many local authorities, directly confronted with the challenges of receiving and supporting migrant persons within their territory, have decided to address this issue through the adoption of local hospitality policies and the development or support of actions to welcome migrant persons (opening accommodation spaces, strengthening socio-linguistic workshops, supporting organisations working with migrant persons, etc.), particularly within the framework of Anvita, a national network of welcoming cities and territories⁷.

Among these local hospitality initiatives, which take many different forms, citizen hosting of migrant persons occupies a special place, the one that most closely resembles the original notion of hospitality: a domestic⁸ -or private⁹- hospitality, whereby a host opens their door to a stranger they do not know.

¹ Susanna Lindberg, « Jacques Derrida, l'hospitalité au-delà de la tolérance et l'intolérance au cœur de l'hospitalité », *Les études philosophiques*, 2023/1 n° 144, p. 95 à 109.

² Matthieu Tardis, « 2015-2025: dix ans de réformes des politiques d'asile et d'immigration en Europe ». *Les policy papers de Synergies migrations et de l'IC Migrations*, n° 3, December 2025, available at: synergies-migrations.org.

³ Michel Agier, *L'étranger qui vient. Repenser l'hospitalité*, Éditions du seuil, 2022.

⁴ Thomas Lacroix and Bénédicte Michalon, *Des localités pour accueillir*, Le bord de l'eau, 2025.

⁵ On this issue, see, for instance the collective publication *Un squat sur un plateau*, Ginkgo édition, 2022.

⁶ For instance, see the network of welcoming homes: www.toiles-rdma.fr.

⁷ Anvita, *Association nationale des villes et territoires accueillants*, <https://anvita.fr>.

⁸ Michel Agier, *L'étranger qui vient. Repenser l'hospitalité*, Éditions du seuil, 2022.

⁹ « L'état du mal logement en France ». *Rapport annuel n° 31*. Fondation pour le logement, 2026. Available at: fondationpourlelogement.fr.

The Development of Citizen-led Hosting Initiatives Since 2015: a Return to Private Hospitality for Foreign Nationals

While the so called “refugee crisis” received widespread media coverage, the citizen response to it was far less visible. However, after the dissemination of the photo of Aylan Kurdi, September 2015 marked a turning point in the development of citizen hosting in France, not only through existing initiatives such as JRS Welcome and Singa, but also with the spontaneous creation of numerous local groups of citizens eager to provide concrete support to homeless refugees, in a humanitarian spirit¹⁰.

For the purposes of this study, we include in citizen hosting informal groups and organisations that offer shelter to migrant persons in the homes of volunteer hosts, as well as providing independent housing through the mobilization of a support network. These two forms of citizen mobilization aim not only to address urgent housing needs but also to build bridges between the host society and these newcomers¹¹, within the framework of collective initiatives.

Many of the initiatives that began in 2015 are still ongoing today and continue to offer citizen hosting to people of all origins

The surge of solidarity that followed Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 and the arrival of refugees fleeing this conflict received more media attention. However, it is difficult to say whether it resulted in providing shelter to a greater number of people. Indeed, while the number of displaced persons from Ukraine who benefited from citizen hosting coordinated by organisations was estimated at around 15,000 in 2022¹², there are no national figures concerning citizens hosting other migrants in France¹³.

One observation is certain, however: many of the initiatives that began in 2015 are still ongoing and continue to offer citizen hosting to people of all origins. Data available for the Rhône region (Lyon area) shows that citizen hosting makes a significant contribution to the reception of migrant persons¹⁴. The surge of solidarity that made it possible to house displaced

¹⁰ Nadine Camp, « La mobilisation citoyenne et l’hébergement des personnes exilées. Vers un nouveau modèle d’accueil ? » *Études de l’Ifri*, Ifri, December 2022, available at: ifri.org.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Report by the National Audit Office « L’accueil et la prise en charge par l’État des réfugiés d’Ukraine en France en 2022 », February 2023, available at: ccomptes.fr.

¹³ « L’état du mal logement en France ». *Rapport annuel n° 31*. Fondation pour le logement, 2026. Available at: fondationpourlelogement.fr.

¹⁴ Nadine Camp, « Highlighting Hospitality: The Role of Citizen Hosting in the Reception of Migrants – An Overview of the Situation in Lyon and the Rhône Region in 2022 », Synergies migrations, November 2023, and « Citizen Hosting in the Lyon Metropolitan area and the Rhone department, A Lasting Mobilisation. Overview 2024 », Synergies migrations, April 2026. Available at: synergies-migrations.org.

persons from Ukraine developed primarily alongside these pre-existing initiatives, and this accommodation largely ended in 2024 with the cessation of coordination of citizen hosting for displaced persons from Ukraine by the French government.

The political and legal responses to these two pivotal moments—September 2015 and February 2022—differed, not only in terms of legal status of individuals, coordination of resources, and access to rights, but also regarding citizen hosting, mobilized and coordinated by the State for the reception of displaced persons from Ukraine.

The First Attempts to Build a Public Policy on Citizen hosting

In 2015, the French government chose not to encourage the spontaneous surge of solidarity that arose to welcome refugees, particularly Syrians, arriving in Europe. However, this did not prevent the emergence of numerous citizen hosting initiatives, which often became more structured over the years, taking the form of formal non-profit organisations, developing internal tools to regulate the organisation and duration of accommodation, defining the role of each participant, and, where applicable, the criteria for hosted individuals.

The Interministerial Delegation for Housing and Access to Accommodation (Dihal) launched a pilot project for citizen hosting in 2017 to support NGOs that organized home-based accommodation for people granted international protection. Following a positive evaluation of its results¹⁵, this project was made permanent and expanded to include solidarity-based cohabitation between refugees and French citizens. However, state support for these projects, which can only involve beneficiaries of international protection, remains very limited, with only a few hundred people accommodated per year.

In 2022, with the arrival in France of people fleeing the war in Ukraine, the French government's response was different: faced with the high number of arrivals and the numerous offers of accommodation from concerned citizens, a coordination system for citizen hosting was established, specifically dedicated to this population and managed at the departmental level. Each *préfecture* identified a local non-profit organisation (most often a service provider responsible for the reception and/or integration of refugees, already a partner of the *préfecture* but not necessarily experienced in citizen hosting), which was tasked with connecting citizen hosts with refugees from Ukraine, and ensuring the monitoring of cohabitation arrangements as well as providing social support to those being hosted.

¹⁵ « Hébergement citoyen : pourquoi et comment ça marche ? retour d'expérience et bonnes pratiques du programme 'hébergement citoyen' ». Dihal, 2018.

While discussions were initiated by institutions in the immediate aftermath of the arrival of displaced persons from Ukraine regarding the potential generalization of this refugee accommodation model, these discussions ultimately did not lead to any concrete results. It is also worth noting that many citizen hosting organisations believe they are filling a structural gap in housing but are not intended to replace the state in providing accommodation. In this sense, institutionalizing citizen hosting would not be appropriate.

In parallel, local government support for citizen hosting initiatives has developed in various forms since 2015: through the allocation of subsidies to organisations and/or the provision of unoccupied municipal housing, but also by raising public awareness and strengthening their credibility through institutional communication, as has been done by the city and metropolitan area of Lyon¹⁶. In 2025, the city of Tours partnered with 10 organisations to create the online platform “No One Left on the Street,” which connects housing needs with available spaces (apartments, spare rooms, or empty offices at night)¹⁷.

Citizen Hosting and Public Policy: An Inevitable Interplay

The relationship between public policy and citizen hosting, however, goes beyond simply providing public support for this type of initiative.

The challenges related to housing and accommodation policies

Citizen hosting, particularly in France, constitutes a form of solidarity towards homeless migrants.

Emergency shelters, which are in principle accessible to everyone regardless of their immigration status under the enforceable right to accommodation under French law¹⁸ (*droit à l'hébergement opposable* - DAHO), are full, and available places are reserved for the most vulnerable people. Accommodation places for asylum seekers, also allocated according to vulnerability criteria, are insufficient and may be withdrawn or refused to certain applicants based on criteria stipulated by law¹⁹.

The enforceable right to housing (*droit au logement opposable* - DALO) applies only to people with legal residency status, and the same is true for the Housing First policy. Furthermore, the housing crisis makes access to

¹⁶ A presentation of citizen hosting organisations is made on the website of Lyon Metropolis: grandlyon.com.

¹⁷ See tours.fr.

¹⁸ The enforceable rights to accommodation and to housing are guaranteed by the State, under the conditions laid down by the Law of March 5, 2007 introducing legal remedies.

¹⁹ Article 66 of the CIAI Law (Articles L. 551-15 and L. 551-16 of the CESEDA) provides for the circumstances in which OFII must automatically refuse or withdraw the reception conditions granted to an applicant, in compliance with Article 20 of Directive 2013/33/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013, which requires a prior assessment of the particular circumstances of the person concerned, in particular with regard to their vulnerability.

social housing extremely lengthy and difficult.

Citizen hospitality thus fills a gap in available shelters and housing, providing a solution for people who would often have no other option than to sleep on the streets (and many of whom have already experienced this hardship before arriving at citizen-run accommodation). This can impact the relationships between those being hosted and their hosts, within a framework that goes beyond simply offering someone a roof over their head but also aims to build bridges with the host community. While no one is forced to accept an offer of citizen hosting solution -and the conditions of this arrangement are explained to those being hosted- for the person being hosted, in most situations, there is no other choice. In this context, it is not always possible to view citizen hosting as a tool for integration through the encounter between hosts and those being hosted: due to their experiences of exile, the precariousness they have endured, and their potential psychological repercussions, this human connection can prove difficult. And citizen hosting organisations are generally aware of this.

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This form of hospitality is also often considered a transitional solution towards accessing independent housing, for which obtaining a residence permit is a prerequisite²⁰.

The administrative status of individuals with regard to their right to remain in France: a hosting selection criterion?

Migrant persons welcome by citizen hosting organisations, as defined in this study, may be at different stages of their administrative process.

Some organisations have defined a criterion for acceptance linked to the individual's legal status: asylum seekers or beneficiaries of international protection, or, in the specific case of those who fled the conflict in Ukraine, beneficiaries of temporary protection. Others have chosen to welcome individuals regardless of their legal status. This choice has many implications: depending on the person's legal status, their needs, rights, and possibilities for accommodation or access to housing differ. This can impact the rights of the person being hosted, their ability to create social connections with host families, access other types of accommodation or independent housing beyond the initial hosting period, or the duration of that

²⁰ On this point, citizen hosting for displaced persons from Ukraine constitutes an exception, insofar as, upon being granted temporary protection status, they were entitled to work and to social benefits from the outset. Although this status remains precarious, being renewable every six months until March 2027, access to a residence permit was not the main obstacle to leaving citizen-hosted accommodation.

hosting itself.

For organisations that assist asylum seekers and beneficiaries of international protection, the administrative process is, in principle, straightforward: a person's status during the asylum application process or once international protection has been granted is strictly defined. However, numerous obstacles arise in dealing with the administration and in obtaining their rights before their situation can finally stabilize.

For asylum seekers, the main concern is the outcome of their protection application. But this can be compounded by the refusal or withdrawal of material reception conditions by the French Office for Immigration and Integration (OFII)²¹. Between 2018 and 2024, the proportion of asylum seekers receiving the Asylum Seeker Allowance (*Allocation pour demandeur d'asile* - ADA) fell from 99.3% to 61.3%²². This total lack of resources can have repercussions on citizen hosting organisations which do not have the means to offer people food or transportation.

For beneficiaries of international protection, the abnormally long delays civil status documents issuance by the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons (OFPRA), combined with the delays in the granting of residence permits by the *préfecture*, further postpone the possibility to access independent housing. The issuing of a certificate of extended processing (*attestation de prolongation d'instruction* – API, which confirms that the application is still being processed by the *préfecture* and that its holder is authorised to stay in France), is also subject to very long delays due to the malfunctioning of the Digital Administration for Foreign Nationals in France platform (*Administration numérique pour les étrangers en France* – ANEF). This leaves refugees in situation where they can no longer prove their right to reside and work in France.

For organisations that have opted for unconditional reception with regard to the right to reside in the country, a significant portion of the problems encountered are related to obtaining a residence permit and the rights that stem from it. The complexity of the procedures to be completed, the processing time for applications, and the periods of lapse in rights due to excessively late API renewals are difficulties that severely impact the lives of these individuals.

The administrative journey for those being hosted: a crucial issue that cannot be ignored.

Whether it involves homestays or the provision of independent housing, citizen hosting includes a significant element of interaction and encounters between French nationals and newcomers experiencing precarious

²¹ See the cases in which the material conditions of reception can be refused as provided by articles 551-15 and 551-16 of the *Ceseda*.

²² Forum réfugiés, « L'asile en France et en Europe, État des lieux 2025 », June 2025.

situations. Not housed in institutional accommodation programs (such as asylum seeker reception centres or emergency shelters), most of those being hosted do not receive appropriate social support. Consequently, they often spontaneously turn to host families or volunteers for assistance with their administrative procedures.

Most of the people being hosted do not receive appropriate social support. They therefore often spontaneously turn to their hosts or volunteers for help with their administrative procedures

Experience has led organisations that provide citizen hosting to develop operating methods that relieve hosts of the administrative support of assisting those being hosted. This allows them to focus solely on providing accommodation and, if desired, a "friendly" or "fraternal" welcome - depending on the terminology used- thus avoiding placing an excessive burden on them. However, given the highly human dimension of citizen hosting, the question of the legal status of the person being hosted cannot simply be ignored. Since access to a residence permit is often the key to individuals being able to access their own housing, the stakes are also high for the organisations: the length of stay determines whether other people will be able to access these accommodations.

Citizen hosting, which falls within the private sphere, cannot therefore disregard the policies decided and implemented by public authorities, particularly concerning the right to residency

Roles of volunteer "referents," "mediators," "mentors," or "liaison persons" have thus gradually developed within organisations to ensure the monitoring of the administrative situations of the people they host. These volunteers may be responsible for either directing individuals to the appropriate people or organisations to help them with their paperwork, or for directly assisting them in completing these procedures, depending on the models adopted by the organisations and the available human resources.

Citizen hosting, which falls within the private sphere, cannot therefore disregard the policies decided and implemented by public authorities, particularly concerning the right to residency.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted within the framework of the Citizen Hosting Observatory in the Rhône²³ region, coordinated by Synergies Migrations. Its scope was defined in response to the challenges identified by the organisations participating in this observatory.

It explores how immigration policies and administrative practices impact the experiences of migrant persons hosted in citizen-led accommodation and analyses how citizens mobilized around this accommodation manage these complex bureaucratic processes. It also explores how these experiences, in turn, affect individuals involved in citizen hosting initiatives.

Furthermore, this study aims to shed light on the feelings of both those being hosted and those providing it in the face of the administrative obstacles they encounter. To this end, it is based on individual and group interviews conducted with 29 volunteers and two employees from 16 citizen hosting organisations²⁴, eight persons being hosted, and one institutional representative. These interviews took place between November 2024 and September 2025 within the Lyon metropolitan area.

The testimonies gathered concern practices implemented in the Rhône department. However, the study also draws on documentary research related to public migration policies and their implementation at the national level. It therefore reflects issues that extend well beyond the local level.

²³ See the presentation of the Citizen Hosting Observatory in the Rhône at: synergies-migrations.org.

²⁴ Among the organisations interviewed are Aclaam, Amilp, Arthur, Asseda, CUM, Famig, Fraternité Saint Irénée, J'accueille Rhône, JRS Welcome Lyon, L'Ouvre Porte, Terre d'Ancrages. See the appendix for a presentation of these organisations.

Citizen Hosting in a Context of Administrative Insecurity for Foreign Nationals

Increasingly Restrictive Migration Policies

The status of newcomers housed in citizen-led accommodation is subject to immigration policies and their implementation. The rights of these individuals depend on this legal status, and their ability to access employment, resources, and their own housing—and therefore to leave citizen-led accommodation—depends heavily on these rights.

Between 1980 and 2022, 29 immigration laws were adopted in France²⁵, resulting in the gradual creation of an extremely complex legal framework, multiplying the conditions for accessing legal residency as well as the existing types of residence permits.

The law of July 17, 1984, reversing the policy of closure initiated in 1974, established a resident card with a validity period of 10 years, aiming in particular to guarantee its holders a certain stability, and thereby facilitate their integration²⁶. From 1993 onwards, successive reforms multiplied the prerequisites for obtaining this residence permit, gradually transforming the resident card into the "crowning achievement" of successful integration²⁷ rather than a tool to promote integration. At the same time, the proportion of resident cards issued among all residence permits decreased^{28 29}.

The immigration law of January 2024 (law to control immigration and reinforce integration – *CIAI* law) further reinforced this trend by adding new conditions for obtaining a residence permit, including a mandatory civic examination and a language test³⁰, not only for obtaining a 10-year resident card but also for multi-year permits to remain³¹.

In addition to this accumulation of integration criteria required before a residence permit can be granted, there is also broad discretionary power for

²⁵ « Politique et immigration: 1980-2022 lois sur l'immigration, le mille-feuille législatif. » See the website of the Palais de la Porte dorée museum histoire-immigration.fr.

²⁶ « Heurs et malheurs de la carte de résident », Danièle Lochak, in Gisti, *Penser l'immigration autrement. Précarisation du séjour, détérioration des droits*, February 2016.

²⁷ « Les droits fondamentaux des étrangers en France », *Le Défenseur des droits*, May 2016.

²⁸ « La lente dégradation du statut des étrangers. La preuve par les chiffres », Antoine Math and Alexis Spire in Gisti *Penser l'immigration autrement. Précarisation du séjour, détérioration des droits*, February 2016.

²⁹ According to statistics from the Ministry of the Interior, at the end of 2025, 45% of people residing in France with a valid permit to remain or a provisional certificate held a resident card.

³⁰ The provisions of the *CIAI* Law on this matter came into force in January 2026.

³¹ On the increasing precariousness of foreign nationals, see « France: At the mercy of a piece of paper: When the French state creates precarious conditions for migrant workers », Amnesty international, October 2025.

préfets. The *CIAI* law provides, within the framework of a pilot program ending in late 2026, for the possibility for undocumented workers in in-demand professions to be issued a "temporary worker" or "employee" residence permit if they can prove they have worked at least 12 months (consecutive or not) during the last 24 months, have resided in France for three years, and demonstrate their "integration" (particularly their proficiency in French). However, following the lengthy parliamentary debates that preceded the adoption of this law, the issuance of these residence permits is not automatic and remains at the discretion of the prefect³².

The possibilities for regularization for people residing irregularly in France are generally very limited. The "Valls Circular" of November 28, 2012, named after the then Minister of the Interior, allowed for the exceptional admission to residency of approximately 30,000 to 35,000 people per year. The circular from the Minister of the Interior of January 23, 2025, outlining the general guidelines for exceptional admission to residency, restricted these regularization possibilities, notably imposing a seven-year residency requirement in France instead of five, and instructing *préfets* to prioritize ordinary legal procedures³³. The decline in the number of exceptional admissions to residency, which began in 2024, is confirmed, falling from 34,706 permits issued that year to 28,610 in 2025, according to estimates from the French Ministry of the Interior³⁴.

In addition to this increasingly restrictive legal and regulatory framework, significant administrative difficulties in processing applications impact foreign nationals' access to residency permits.

Administrative Practices that Inder Migrant Persons' Access to Rights and Autonomy.

Difficulties accessing préfectures have long been highlighted...

The difficulties in accessing *préfecture* services regarding residency permit applications are not new, even if their nature has evolved. A 2021 joint report³⁵ warned of "the recurring difficulties in accessing rights encountered [for several years] by foreign nationals, regardless of their administrative status." The lack of resources allocated to the services responsible for processing residence permit applications, as well as a high proportion of non-permanent staff in these positions, working on short-term contracts,

³² 1°655 permit to remain on the ground of in demand professions ("*métiers en tension*") has been issued in 2025. See at: franceinfo.fr, 15 April 2026.

³³ The circular of January 23dr, 2025, available at: [Légifrance](https://legifrance.gouv.fr).

³⁴ Yearly statistics on residence permits are available on the website of the Ministry of Interior: <https://www.immigration.interieur.gouv.fr>.

³⁵ « Accès aux droits des personnes étrangères : recensement inter-associatif des difficultés rencontrées par les personnes étrangères dans leur accès aux droits (droit au séjour, droits sociaux) ». Aurore, la Cimade, Coallia, FAS, Forum réfugiés-Cosi, France terre d'asile, groupe SOS solidarités, Samu social de Paris, Secours catholique Caritas-France, October 2021.

was identified as one of the causes of these difficulties in a 2022 parliamentary report³⁶.

... exacerbated by the widespread digitalization of services

The implementation of the ANEF platform has added a new layer of complexity and dysfunction. It is part of a shift towards the digitalization of administrative procedures in France, one of whose stated objectives was to improve access to services for foreigners at the prefecture after their complete shutdown during the Covid-19 health crisis, and to facilitate access to appointments for foreigners at the prefecture, where major shortcomings had been identified³⁷.

The problems observed since the implementation of the ANEF are numerous and have persisted for several years. Following an appeal filed by member organisations of the *Fédération des acteurs de la solidarité* (FAS, a federation gathering non-profit organisations), the Council of State³⁸, in its decision of June 3, 2022, while confirming the administration's right to make the ANEF mandatory, required it to take measures to guarantee users' effective access to their rights³⁹.

Despite these initial findings and the measures taken by the state to address the difficulties encountered by individuals using the ANEF, the same problems of processing delays, system blockages, and technical glitches remain. In a report on the ANEF⁴⁰ published in December 2024, the Defender of Rights (*Défenseur des droits*, a French independent authority that ensure the protection of fundamental rights) stated that *“The digitization process of dedicated prefectural counters - carried out at a rapid pace and with limited resources- particularly through the deployment of the Digital Administration for Foreign nationals in France (ANEF), which is plagued by numerous structural malfunctions, has largely contributed to driving foreign nationals away from this public service,” and described the associated rights violations as “massive.”*

These difficulties in accessing rights for foreign nationals are part of a broader context of access to public services in France. In its survey on access to rights published in October 2025⁴¹, the Defender of Rights indicated that 42% of users of public services had encountered difficulties

³⁶ See information report to the senate: Rapport d'information au Sénat n° 626 au nom de la commission des lois constitutionnelles, de législation, du suffrage universel, du Règlement et d'administration générale sur la question migratoire, M. François-Noël Buffet. 10 May 2022.

³⁷ Défenseur des droits, « Enquête sur l'accès aux droits, deuxième édition. Relations des usagers avec les services publics: quelles difficultés d'accès aux droits? », October 2025.

³⁸ *Op.cit.*

³⁹ Decision of the Conseil d'Etat, June 3, 2022. Available at: www.legifrance.gouv.fr.

⁴⁰ FAS, « Accès aux droits entravés, insertion empêchée », October 2024. Available at: federationsolidarite.org.

⁴¹ Défenseur des droits, « L'Administration numérique pour les étrangers en France (ANEF): une dématérialisation à l'origine d'atteintes massives aux droits des usagers », December 2024.

⁴² Défenseur des droits, « Enquête sur l'accès aux droits, deuxième édition. Relations des usagers avec les services publics: quelles difficultés d'accès aux droits? », October 2025.

with these services over the past five years. However, foreign nationals are the users most severely affected by the dematerialization of administrative procedures⁴², which exposes them to the risk of losing the benefit of their right to residency, leading to other breaches of rights.

The numerous malfunctions of the ANEF and the many resulting breaches of rights were highlighted by the FAS in a survey⁴³ conducted among its members. In March 2025, the FAS and nine other organisations filed a lawsuit with the Council of State to denounce the "*culpable failure of the State*" in the ANEF⁴⁴, "*hindering foreign nationals' access to their rights (housing, healthcare, social benefits, etc.) as well as to the labour market.*" These organisations emphasize that "*this platform has become a tool for creating precariousness.*"

Citizen Hosting Directly Impacted by Uncertainties Related to the Issuance of Permits to Remain and Breaches of Rights.

Difficulties in obtaining a permit to remain in France, whether stemming from migration policies or administrative practices, contribute to the precarious situation faced by migrant persons.

Difficulties in obtaining a permit to remain in France, whether stemming from migration policy or administrative practices, contribute to the precarious situation faced by migrants

The Elipa 2 survey, conducted by the Department of Statistics, Studies and Documentation of the Ministry of the Interior⁴⁵ indicates that in 2018, the average length of stay in France before obtaining a first permit to remain of at least one year was four years and six months, with significant differences between those granted international protection—who are automatically issued four-year permit to remain for beneficiaries of subsidiary protection and ten-year permits for recognized refugees under the 1951 convention, and those holding a right to residency on other grounds. 41% of people who obtained their first leave to remain that year did not possess any document authorizing them to reside in France before beginning the process that led to its issuance. This data illustrates the difficulties in obtaining a permit to remain in France, which leave those affected in very long periods of

⁴² Défenseur des droits, « L'administration numérique pour les étrangers en France (ANEF): une dématérialisation à l'origine d'atteintes massives aux droits des usagers. », December 2024.

⁴³ *Op.cit.*

⁴⁴ Legal action was brought by Fédération des acteurs de la solidarité (FAS), Aurore, Coallia, Emmaüs Solidarité, Forum Réfugiés, France terre d'asile, JRS France (Jesuit Refugee Service), Cimade, Groupe SOS, Secours Catholique – Caritas France. See the press release issued on April 8, 2025 available at: federationsolidarite.org.

⁴⁵ Département des statistiques des études et de la documentation, ministère de l'Intérieur et des Outre-mer. « Les premières années en France des immigrés. L'essentiel de l'enquête longitudinale sur l'intégration des primo-arrivants. Elipa 2 » - 2023-2024.

precariousness.

It is during these periods that citizen hosting comes into play, in a transition phase, and in a context of lack of accommodation places.

If there are no more recent statistics concerning access to a first permit to remain in France, it is more than likely, taking into account the findings indicated above, that these delays have further lengthened since 2018. This is also the feeling expressed by several volunteers from citizen hosting organisations who believe not only that the duration of reception of people, while awaiting an authorization to remain, is increasingly longer, but that the outcome of their application becomes more uncertain.

This can affect the commitment of volunteers, who sometimes burn out without seeing any solutions emerge. One of the organisations we met indicated that it had taken some time to reflect, with the support of a psychologist, before committing to welcoming a new family again, even though it had available accommodation.

The difficulties mentioned by the people hosted and the members of the citizen hosting organisations interviewed for this study are in part identical to those reported by social workers in the FAS survey⁴⁶ at the national level with regard to the ANEF. Note, however, that digitalization also has advantages in the eyes of certain people interviewed. Three of them indicated that the digitalization of procedures did not in itself constitute a problem. This saves them a trip to the prefecture and a very long queue, which can be very practical for people who work. These people were French-speaking and had either a high level of education or a very good ability to use digital tools. However, they indicated that they carried out the procedures for other people who would have had great difficulty doing them alone or expressed that these procedures constituted a difficulty for non-French-speaking people and/or not accustomed to digital tools. The problems encountered also often concern the renewal of APIs proving their application is still being processed by the *préfecture* while waiting for the issuance of the permit to remain, rather than the submission of the initial application.

In addition to the delays in granting permits to remain, there are significant difficulties in issuing and renewing APIs, which are supposed to be given to individuals to prove the legality of their presence in France while they await the administration's decision or the issuance of their permit. These delays, often attributable to the digitization of the immigration services and ANEF malfunction, have major consequences for the access to social rights, healthcare, training, employment, and housing for those affected.

⁴⁶ *Op.cit.*

“We requested the renewal of a permit to remain for a family, on the ground of illness of their child. There was no response... All the care provided to this child was interrupted. It was a life-threatening risk for the child. [...] All the support, services, etc., stopped in August, since they no longer had the document proving their legal status in France. And so, our current struggle is [...] to get the institution giving them the allowance they should have received for the six months when they had nothing.”

Mr. W., volunteer

“N. has subsidiary protection, L. is a refugee: they received a six-month temporary certificate marked ‘refugee’ which must be renewed every three months, but it’s never done on time. Each time, everything stops: the CAF (family benefits), employment. Waiting for the return of the documents for subsidiary protection took more than two years. L. lost his job because he no longer had any documents. Employers know they are refugees [...]. L. was supposed to be a supervisor in a public middle school, and he was refused even though he is a refugee, because he didn’t have a temporary certificate... he lost his RSA (minimum income support), he had nothing left. [...] And when there are children, it means no more CAF: it takes two to three months for it to be reinstated.”

Mr. B., volunteer

The next steps can also prove complex for those wishing to apply for French citizenship or bring their families over through family reunification.

SITUATION OF MS. S., FORMER RESIDENT AND VOLUNTEER

Ms. S. arrived in France with her family 12 years ago, when she was a minor. She began the naturalization process in 2024. A year after starting this process, Ms. S. received a message indicating that a document was missing from her file. This document required her to apply for a document in her country of origin. Although she submitted this request as soon as possible, it took several weeks. After sending the missing document, she received a message from the prefecture stating that the deadline had passed and that her application had been closed. She must restart the process from the beginning. In the meantime, she cannot be given a permanent position in the public institution she is working in.

SITUATION OF MR. M., WHO WAS HOSTED

Mr. M. was hosted in a citizen accommodation during his asylum application. Granted international protection in May 2022 by the National Court of Asylum (CNDA), he was supported by a citizen hosting organisation and was able to obtain a studio apartment in an accommodation centre funded by the State in September. He received his civil status documents in August 2023, which he immediately forwarded to the *préfecture* to initiate family reunification proceedings. His wife and two children arrived in France in December 2023. Mr. M. managed to speak to a *préfecture* official by phone who explained the steps his wife needed to take to obtain a residence permit. A few days later, Mrs. M. was issued a "certificate of application for a residence permit," without further details. Mrs. M.'s application process was stalled due to her husband's lack of a residence permit, and the family was unable to apply for social housing. Mr. M. finally received his residence permit on September 17, 2024, two and a half years after his status was recognized. The following day, the *préfecture* asked him to provide all the necessary documents again to process his wife's application, which received a "favourable certificate" on October 4.

Kafkaesque Situations, Sources of Confusion and Psychological Distress

For both the people being hosted and the members of the organisations, the administrative processes are incomprehensible on many levels, whether it concerns the applicable procedures, the rights of those concerned, the processing times for applications, or even the responses provided by the administration.

Difficult Access to Information on Constantly Evolving Procedures

The complexity of immigration law only increases over the years, and it can be difficult to grasp all its intricacies. This goes beyond the legal framework: it also involves understanding the workings of the prefectures, which themselves are constantly evolving. While the NGOs partnering with the State are generally well-informed about these changes in practices, this is not always the case for the volunteers in citizen hosting programs and the migrants themselves.

"The difficulty is that things change very quickly. The laws, the procedures, even at the préfecture, are constantly evolving. So it's difficult to adapt."

Ms. N, volunteer

Several people hosted by citizens, interviewed for this study, shared their difficulties in accessing accurate information and indicated that they had contacted everyone they could find to be certain of the necessary steps. This concerns not only permits to remain but also administrative procedures once the documents are obtained. Often, for these individuals who are not housed in public accommodation programs where they would have received support from a social worker, the citizen hosting organisation is the first, or even the only, point of contact for these matters.

"Regarding administrative procedures [...] we have a lot of information, but we don't know who to contact or how to proceed. In fact, there's a lack of follow-up in this area [...]. Sometimes, we may not speak the language. If there's no non-profit organisation, if you don't meet kind people willing to help you [...] you don't know what to do. Maybe if I hadn't known about [the citizen hosting organisation], I wouldn't have known how to download my receipt. I didn't know that to register with Pôle emploi (the French employment agency), you had to make an appointment..."

Ms. I., hosted

However, not every hosted person has the same support needs: three individuals explained that they had completed most of their paperwork independently, searching online or contacting various interlocutors. The digitization of the initial application process seems to make things easier for those with a certain level of education and fluency in French. But even for them, problems arise later, with renewal delays, extended processing times, a lack of information and contact person, and, for those awaiting a response to their regularization application, uncertainty about the outcome.

The volunteers' level of knowledge regarding the legal framework applicable to the people they host and the practices of the *préfecture* varies considerably from one citizen hosting organisation to another, and often even from one individual to another within these organisations, depending on their experience. Furthermore, not all of them have the same internal resources.

For example, the local branches of JRS France's Welcome program benefit from the support of a national staff team. At Aclaam, based in Lyon, a salaried legal expert provides expertise to members of the organisation's network. The importance of this type of support was repeatedly emphasized by the volunteers interviewed for this study. L'Ouvre Porte, in Lyon, has developed a different approach: it only accepts people who are already being supported by another organisation, which commits to providing ongoing follow-up. However, as referrals from citizen led groups have increased—many of which are not themselves in a position to provide this continued support—L'Ouvre Porte has begun developing new partnerships with organisations capable of taking over case management and assisting people through their administrative procedures. Other citizen hosting organisations are establishing partnerships with professional organisations so that a social worker can provide case management services. The local branch of J'accueille in the Rhône region had developed a partnership with the NGO Forum réfugiés, which provided support to the refugees they hosted, but this collaboration ended with the launch of a national insertion program for refugees (AGIR program⁴⁷). The organisation then decided to hire an independent social worker to continue this support.

Some volunteers have also developed remarkable expertise, either through training offered by organisations (internally or externally), or by learning from other civil society organisations and lawyers, demonstrating a genuine capacity for self-directed learning. Several Lyon-based organisations - citizen hosting organisations, but more broadly, organisations working with foreign nationals- have initiated steps to share their understanding of prefectural practices in order to avoid roadblocks: working groups,

⁴⁷ The *Accompagnement global et individualisé des réfugiés* (AGIR) programme is an interministerial programme led by the Ministry of the Interior. Launched in 2022, it provides support to the most vulnerable refugees from the moment their status is recognised, and assists them throughout their integration process towards greater autonomy, particularly in accessing rights, professional training, employment and housing.

compilation of problems encountered and solutions that have worked. However, this only involves a small number of citizen hosting stakeholders: only those with sufficient human resources can participate in this type of networking, which is very time-consuming.

"We try to be aware of what's changing. But a lot of things are constantly changing. It's complicated. That's what we also tell host families who want to help: 'You know, it's complicated.' [...] Even if we're not specifically active in any particular area, we stay informed. In any case, that's my position, to try and understand what's happening to this or that person. There are other volunteers who say, no, no, I don't even want to know how it works. [...] It's a job, and it's not mine."

Ms. I., volunteer

However, it is not necessary that each of the people involved in citizen hosting have perfect knowledge of the applicable rules. The progressive structuring of the organisations mentioned above, by defining the roles of each volunteer, and by entrusting the monitoring or guidance of people in their administrative procedures to specialized referents, has also facilitated the development of internal skills.

"I find that the good thing about the functioning of the association [...] is that in fact, at the beginning, we didn't really know where we were going to go. We quickly began to set up 'skill groups', that is to say people who had administrative skills. In the beginning, that really helped us, actually."

M. J., volunteer

"The message to hosts and coordinators is not to delve into administrative matters. It is the role of the focal point to try to help and report problems to the support branch."

M. S., volunteer

Changes in practice are nevertheless difficult to follow for citizen hosting organisations which do not have a relay with the prefecture and are not in the traditional circuits of stakeholders involved in supporting foreigners. Changes to filing procedures they are not aware of and which, according to several interlocutors including a representative of the Defender of Rights delegate, are not displayed on the *préfecture's* website, result in additional delays which can lead to breaches of rights.

"[...] I spent a lot, a lot of time on websites. Now I think they work better too, because there were times when I thought it was me who wasn't functioning well [...]. When you spend hours on it and no, once again, it doesn't work, you believe, well..., I thought that I was the problem."

Ms. C., volunteer

“This family, they quite quickly received permits to remain in France on the ground of the severe health condition of their child, [...] in August 2023 [...]. The authorization was automatically renewed without any problem [...] at the end of January 2024. This type of temporary authorization [is] renewable every six months. So, we did strictly what we had to do in July. [...]. And then no response. [...] You can imagine the stress. And we fought. We sent files with registered letters. We just received an acknowledgment of receipt... Until we learned through the civil society organisations’ network (fortunately it exists!) that all the files which had been made on paper since the beginning of the year were null and void. And that we had to redo the files online [...].”

M. M., volunteer

The Coexistence of Different Procedures, Depending on the Purpose of the Application and the Prefecture Concerned

At the beginning of 2026, the ANEF platform had not yet been extended to all residence permit applications. Thus, while residence permit applications falling under the ANEF are specified by decrees, other procedures under immigration law can be carried out, depending on the *préfecture*, either online at www.demarche.numérique.gouv.fr, by mail, or by appointment, with appointment requests often made online. Practices are therefore not standardized across the country, and each *préfecture* communicates its own procedures. For migrants trying to understand how to proceed with everyone they encounter, this can be a source of confusion.

“People need to understand that different regions are not managed in the same way. [...] I often say: there’s the law and then there’s the application of the law. The application of the law is different [...]. I can tell you this honestly because, even though we’re close by, we don’t have the same procedure. [...] For example, for beneficiaries of international protection, all files were processed in three months. [...] Unlike in the Rhône department, where there is [...] a note that clearly states that, for the production or finalization of a residence permit for a beneficiary of international protection, it is [necessary] to have the birth certificate from the OFPRA⁴⁸ (French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons).”

Mr. F., Hosted

⁴⁸ In a response to a written question submitted to the National Assembly concerning the issuance of civil status documents by OFPRA, the Government stated on June 3, 2025 that the average processing time in 2024 was 10.4 months, down from 2023. It also indicated that the Ministry of Interior had decided to authorise *préfectures* to issue residence permits in France without waiting for OFPRA to reconstitute the applicant’s civil status records. The response is available at: assemblee-nationale.fr. It should be noted that this measure was not yet in force at the Rhône *préfecture* at the time the interviews for this study were conducted. However, several interviewees mentioned that it had been implemented in other regions.

For the collection of a residence permit in the Rhône region, people must make an appointment at the *préfecture*. The process is done online. Those interviewed for this study indicated that the Rhône *préfecture* posts on its website the dates and times when new appointment slots will be published: people must log on to the *préfecture*'s website at that time to make an appointment. Since slots are rare and few in number, people often have to wait for the *préfecture* to publish new slots before they can finally make an appointment, which further delays the moment of collection of their residence permit.

"I was told I had to go pick up my permit to remain [...] Appointments opened at 10:00 AM. At 10:01 AM, there are no more appointments available. You click, you start typing... Then you're told that time slot is no longer available. [...] And I managed to get an appointment maybe two months later. It's hard to find appointments on the préfecture website. You have the times listed and everything is available. But when you click, it's a nightmare! I set up alerts to make appointments at the prefecture, reminders, because here, if I miss one, I miss one. But for someone who isn't tech-savvy... And when it's closed, they give the next available date a week or two later." [...]"

Ms. I., Hosted

Unclear and Poorly Understood Rights Attached to Temporary Authorisations to Remain in France

For beneficiaries of international protection, these difficulties are compounded by abnormally long delays in the establishment of their civil status by the OFPRA (French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons), a necessary prerequisite for the issuance of their residence permit⁴⁹, which they will nevertheless obtain as a matter of right. Taking this situation into account, the Ministry of the Interior extended the validity of the temporary certificate -the API- for beneficiaries of international protection by an additional three months⁵⁰. However, as this is not indicated on APIs issued, the information is not widely known among those concerned, and the measure seems to have little practical effect. Several people interviewed indicated that they had to repeatedly request a document from the *préfecture* certifying that they had the right to remain and work in France, even beyond the validity period indicated on their API and that a residence permit would be issued to them as a matter of right.

Although the API issued while awaiting a residence permit allows beneficiaries of international protection to work, this document is not very reassuring for employers. Several people mentioned the difficulty of finding permanent employment when they only had a temporary document.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ *Op.cit*.

Similarly, regarding applications for social housing, while a certificate confirming that an international protection has been granted to the person and that the residence permit is being processed is in principle sufficient for the allocation of social housing for refugees and their spouses⁵¹, several people indicated that their application could not be presented to the housing allocation committee until their residence permit had been issued.

"Without the resident status [...] it's very difficult to find work. I had a fight with an employer regarding the API. I showed her the legal texts [...]. She told me: 'My legal department, etc.' She was a hotel manager offering jobs for housekeeping or night watch duties." It was impossible to get the job even though he had... We had all the necessary explanations. The right to work is granted as soon as you obtain refugee status... In this case, it's truly staggering obstacle. [...] Everyone who has obtained refugee status goes through the same thing."

Ms. B., volunteer

Lack of Communication Regarding Pending Applications

In addition to the challenges of navigating the required administrative procedures and understanding the rights associated with each immigration status, the lack of information regarding the progress of applications under review constitutes a significant source of stress, first and foremost for individuals being housed, but also for those hosting.

Indeed, after submitting an application, no information is provided about the processing time. For those concerned, this complete lack of information, which often lasts for several months, is a significant source of anxiety. They question the validity of the process they have undertaken, wonder if their file has been lost... They try to get an idea from the experiences of others who have gone through the same process or from other non-profit organisations. When the volunteers who host and support them, their partners, or their lawyer if applicable, tell them there's nothing to do but wait, with no further prospects, it's completely incomprehensible to them. Whether the application is successful or not, there's no transparency regarding the progress of the case.

"They should give this information to all these people, [explain] that cases aren't handled [...] in the same way as elsewhere. [...] There are delays, processing times that are different from a place to another one. Just because X or Y got their answer in two months or two days doesn't mean you'll get yours in two or three days too. [...] Even within non-profit organisations, there's information they don't receive... [...] As long as there isn't the right information, a smooth flow of information, it's very

⁵¹ Order of April 20, 2022 establishing the list of permits to remain referred to in Article R. 441-1(1) of the Code de la construction et de l'habitation (French Construction and Housing Code).

difficult, very difficult. It's perfectly normal for people to have their own ideas...

Mr. F., Hosted

SITUATION OF MR. R., HOSTED

Mr. R. benefits from international protection. After receiving his receipt acknowledging he formally applied for a residence permit (which he is entitled to), he is issued a six-month certificate (API) which he must renew approximately one month before they expire. He is being hosted by a citizen hosting organisation, in a family setting. In September 2023, he submits his API renewal application within the required timeframe. However, he does not receive the expected API. The social worker who assists him attempted to obtain information about his case from the prefecture, during appointments for other cases, but received no response. Mr. R. manages to secure an appointment at the prefecture counter where the clerk informed him that his permit would be issued within approximately three weeks, but do not provide him with any formal documents. The deadline passes without him receiving his residency permit. As a self-employed worker, he wants to find a permanent job to increase his chances of obtaining social housing. But without the proper documentation, no employer would hire him. And despite his income, he cannot get housing. The situation finally changes in July 2024 when the organisation began working with a lawyer. When he finally collects his residency permit from the *préfecture*, he discovers that the issue date is September 2023. No explanation was given. During this time, the organisation continued to provide him with accommodation.

Situations Exacerbated by the Lack of a Point of Contact

With the shift to digital processes, access to the prefecture's counter has become virtually impossible, except for collecting an issued permit to remain in France.

The creation of the Citizen Contact Centre (*Centre de contact citoyen*, CCC) and the Digital Access Point (*Point d'accès numérique*, PAN), whose objective is to guarantee effective access to the public service for foreign nationals and to direct people to an alternative solution—including physical access to the prefecture's counter—is insufficient to address the difficulties encountered by individuals in their residence permit application process. These systems are unfamiliar to social workers, and even more so to the migrant persons and volunteers⁵². Furthermore, they are not designed to

⁵² The FAS survey cited above indicates that 70% of the social workers surveyed were unaware of these mechanisms.

inform individuals about the progress of their application.

In the absence of information on processing times and due to the resulting interruptions in rights, the individuals concerned and the organisations that host and support them can legitimately worry about when their situation will be resolved. However, it is impossible for them to get an appointment at the *préfecture* or to speak to an agent on the phone to ask questions about the progress of their application. As long as the application is being processed, even if a new element arises in the person's situation, no one can be reached.

However, it is impossible for them to get an appointment at the préfecture or to speak to an agent on the phone to ask questions about the progress of their application

This amplifies the effect of the lack of communication on the processing of applications and the extremely long delays. The procedures are dehumanized, and there is no consideration for the realities faced by people waiting for their permit to remain.

"We run into things, into unanswered questions [...]. It has become increasingly difficult to deal with the prefecture. There used to be a queue where you could wait, speak to a staff member, and get an answer—or at least something resembling an answer [...]. But that stopped."

Mr. P., volunteer

"What was particularly difficult was that [...] the préfecture had suspended online appointment bookings, and there was no counter service or telephone line where [we] could simply call and say: 'This person urgently needs their residence permit because they are about to appear before the [social housing allocation] committee.' This means that the person you need to talk to at the prefecture isn't there. [...] That was incredibly complicated. We were thinking [...]: we'd at least like to contact the prefecture so they can issue a document saying: 'Mr. [Name] is in an abnormal situation, [...] this person is in a legal situation, give them their housing' [...]."

Mr. H., employee

"They don't explain things to you, because you're facing a computer. You're dealing with a digital platform and unfortunately you can't have direct exchanges to get answers to your questions [...]."

Mr. F., Hosted

"This family, we never understood why [their permit to remain] wasn't renewed. The father had a permanent contract, the mother had cancer.

[...] We never understood... Someone from the association thought it best to request intervention from a senator with the préfet [...]. And, I don't know, a week or two after sending this letter, she received a letter [...] from the prefect and the family received deportation orders. [...] If there hadn't been any intervention, would they have had their renewals without any problem?... The problem is, it had been waiting for such a long time."

Mr. M., volunteer

Even when permits to remain in France are finally issued, the lack of understanding is complete. Some documents are issued by the *préfecture* after months of silence, without any interaction with the applicant, the group of citizens supporting them, or even with the network of representatives of the Defender of Rights when they intervene to support urgent requests.

The need to be able to speak with someone in dealings with the administration was highlighted in the White Paper on In-Person Reception in Public Services published by the Interministerial Directorate for Public Transformation (*Direction interministérielle de la transformation publique*). This document emphasizes that, with "more than 82% of administrative procedures carried out online, digital technology has become the primary channel for accessing public services. However, the need to speak with an agent remains essential, whether for people who have difficulty using the internet or completing procedures independently, or for anyone facing complex situations or life events requiring the expertise of an agent"⁵³. As the Defender of Rights⁵⁴ pointed out, foreigners are particularly affected by this issue.

Some *préfectures* have taken steps to allow for in-person appointments regarding residence permit applications. While this solution does not address processing delays or situations of lapse in rights, it can at least allow individuals to get answers to their questions, be reassured that their application is being processed, or, if necessary, identify a blockage, misdirection of the application, or a missing document.

Court Decisions that are Not Complied

Faced with the *préfecture*'s lack of response, or where permit to remain has been refused, citizen hosting organisations regularly refer individuals to a lawyer. But legal action is not always enough to resolve cases: two of the people we met indicated that administrative court rulings ordering the *préfecture* to re-examine their situation or provide a response had not been acted upon, several months later and beyond the deadline set by the court. A representative from the Defender of Rights confirmed that administrative court rulings were not being implemented by the *préfecture*. What appears

⁵³ See Livre blanc de l'accueil physique dans les services publics, Direction interministérielle de la transformation publique. November 2025. Available at: modernisation.gouv.fr.

⁵⁴ *Op.cit.*

to be a last resort and legally compels the *préfecture* to act therefore does not always work, or at least not within the allotted time. This exacerbates the people's insecurity, their confusion, and their loss of trust in the host society.

“The court ordered the prefect to respond within three months [...] but that was seven months ago. So, to date, there has been no response. Consequently, [the lawyer] sent a registered letter with return receipt indicating whether or not they had seen the file. Then he told me we would have to wait a month. So [...] we are going back to the court again to tell them, really, the prefect isn't responding.”

Mr. Y., Hosted

“The court overturned the deportation order [in November] [...]. They asked the prefecture to re-examine my case within two months. [...] And they didn't. [The lawyer] sent a letter to the administrative court in early December 2024. As of today, April, we still haven't received anything. [...] I don't know. Because I think everything the law says... unless maybe it's not being respected, but I work and I have pay slips, I have a contract [...].”

Ms. L., Hosted

Administrative Precarity Exacerbating the Psychological Distress of Those Being Hosted

For migrant persons, all the administrative obstacles described above are added to the difficult journeys of exile and the social and economic precarity they have faced since arriving in France, sources of significant stress and even trauma⁵⁵. The uncertainty regarding the outcome of their application, which plunges them into long periods of insecurity, accentuates their psychological suffering.

Several hosted persons reported the extreme difficulty of coping with the complexity of the procedures to be followed, as well as these long periods of waiting for a response from the administration.

“Being a refugee here, [...] I became depressed, I am seeing a psychiatrist and a psychologist. But my biggest problem is that this is the first time I've found myself without housing [following a refusal by the OFII]. [...] I applied for asylum [...] in December 2023. It was the wait for the response that was so long. [...] Mentally, I wasn't very stable. [...] In February [2025], they sent me the response. That's when I saw [...] that the decision had been made since August 2024. [...] Instead of being happy, [...] I sank back into despair like at the very beginning, with tears, loss of appetite, locking myself in my room for days at the host family's house where I'm

⁵⁵ On this issue, see France terre d'asile « Répondre aux besoins en santé mentale des demandeurs d'asile : une étude qualitative », *cahier du social*, n° 42 July 2023. Available at: france-terre-asile.org.

staying. [...] [The association] asked me if I had applied for RSA (income support). I said no, [...] I didn't know. They told me: 'But you're entitled to it, why haven't you done it?' And I said: 'well, I don't know, because that wasn't really my problem. My problem is getting better'."

Ms. A. Hosted

For people awaiting regularisation, the hardships of exile are compounded by the opaque and dehumanising procedures. Faced with these procedures, they are powerless to make their circumstances heard and are often prevented from even speaking to a representative of the administration. The situation of social and legal exclusion in which they find themselves, which denies them recognition as human beings ⁵⁶, exacerbates their psychological vulnerability.

The situation of social and legal exclusion in which they find themselves [...] exacerbates their psychological vulnerability

The testimonies gathered for this study echo Aude Nguyen's analysis of patients at Comede⁵⁷: *"The lack of social recognition has a devastating psychological effect on asylum seekers and those whose asylum applications have been rejected, or those undocumented. The feeling of precariousness inherent in the human condition can be exacerbated by the lack of legitimacy and administrative existence, potentially leading to a loss of trust in others, in oneself, and in the future."*

"At the préfecture, someone told her: 'It's all good, you'll receive your permit in three to five weeks [...]'. Five weeks later, it wasn't resolved at all [...] There's a very harsh feeling of disappointment, and there's also a feeling of betrayal. Or to feel abandoned, to think: 'Wait, what's the point of this?'... I really identified a risk for people [...] of losing faith in their ability to integrate in a system that doesn't want them [...]."

M.H., employee

"This family, if they hadn't already been in Iran, then they've certainly been traumatised by what they're experiencing in France. [...] The mother has had a lot of stress-related health problems; she has flashbacks, nightmares, things like that. From things she experienced in Iran, but it's [...] multiplied by what she's experiencing in France. All the periods when she's undocumented, and it happens regularly. [...] So now she doesn't dare leave her house; she's afraid. [Where] they live, she hears the police constantly; each time it reawakens the fear. [...] The father is completely traumatised. [...] He received a rejection [of his asylum application] and he

⁵⁶ Aude Nguyen, « L'agonie administrative des exilés, une clinique de l'asile », *Revue L'autre* 2014/2 Volume 15.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

HOSPITALITY, A PRIVATE MATTER?
CITIZEN HOSTING CONFRONTING KAFKAESQUE POLICIES AND
ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES
Nadine Camp

sank [...] into depression. [The son] has serious trauma issues, really, living in fear, seeing his parents living in fear, unable to provide for themselves because they are prevented from working [due to the lack of a permit to remain]. They are truly traumatised by what they are experiencing in France.”

Ms. C., volunteer

Citizen Hosting: a Multifaceted Support Throughout the Administrative Journey of People Being Hosted

The level of involvement of volunteers in monitoring the administrative process of migrant persons they are hosting varies, but it can never be completely disregarded. Faced with numerous dysfunctions and accumulating obstacles to obtaining permits to remain, the support of citizen hosting organisations is essential for most of the people they host, and for several reasons.

A Moment of Respite

The first form of support comes from the fact that people are housed during this transitional period, which can last several months or even several years.

This is far from insignificant: people are hosted by private citizens because no alternative accommodation has been provided by public institutions. Without this solution, they would likely be homeless or could be exposed to situations of abuse. One of the participants reported having been the victim of sexual assault while being accommodated by a third party, before entering a citizen-hosting arrangement. Citizen hosting removes, at least temporarily, the risk of homelessness. It allows hosted persons to focus on their administrative procedures without being overwhelmed by the immediate struggle for survival.

“As long as you don’t have a roof over your head and you’re in limbo, well, for me, it wasn’t working. [...] the treatments weren’t responding.”

Ms. A., Hosted

It should be noted, however, that as this arrangement is only temporary, the issue of housing cannot be entirely set aside, and housing insecurity persists. This is particularly true for individuals hosted in private homes, who may have to move regularly from one host household to another.

“As far as moral support was concerned, my hosting experience was positive because I had someone to talk to. But I still wished I could be in a place of my own. When you’re in your own home, you’re free to live as you please, without having to worry about whether it will bother anyone... That makes a big difference, you know?”

Mr. F., Hosted

The Human Dimension of Citizen Hosting as a Source of Psychological Support

In the face of the Kafkaesque situations encountered by migrants, compounded by all the difficulties they face in their journey into exile and upon arrival in France, citizen hosting can also provide significant psychological support through the opportunities it offers for social interaction, meaningful encounters, and conviviality.

For some people, being able to discuss their administrative difficulties with the families hosting them—to simply talk about these incomprehensible bureaucratic dysfunctions and share their concerns—provides an important source of emotional support.

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For others, citizen hosting provides a vital anchor. The members of these organisations—whether host households, coordinators, volunteer mentors, or other volunteers—are the people they trust. Knowing that they are following their case and often doing everything they can to move it forward helps them maintain hope.

Beyond providing someone with whom to discuss or follow up on administrative procedures, this form of hosting also offers important psychological support by fostering social relationships. As noted at the beginning of this study, for most organisations, a central purpose of citizen hosting is to facilitate encounters with members of the host society, particularly through the organisation of convivial social gatherings. This dimension is essential in enabling those being hosted, when they are in a position to do so, to temporarily step away from the concerns arising from the precariousness of their situation and to regain a sense of dignity through their relationships with others.

Citizen hosting can thus constitute a means of “*resisting the processes of dehumanisation and invisibility, in order to allow genuine expression, and for the individual to regain their dignity through the recognition of their humanity*”⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p.26.

The volunteers interviewed described [...] situations of extreme psychological fragility

The volunteers interviewed, however, describes situations of extreme psychological distress, with individuals perceived as being *"on the verge of collapse"* in the face of which their ability to provide support remains limited. The uncertainty surrounding the granting of a permit to remain, and the time it may take to obtain one, weighs heavily on the mental health of those hosted, preventing them from rebuilding a dignified life, accessing employment, and securing housing of their own.

"At the first appointment at the CNDA (National Court of Asylum), 10 days prior, we were told that a judge was ill and that the hearing was postponed [...]. So the second time, I went there with him for the interview at the CNDA, for an appointment at 10:00 a.m. [...]. At almost 1:00 p.m., we entered the room and were greeted, and then we were told: 'Well, your appointment is postponed to a later date because we won't have time to process the case.' Well, he was at rock bottom [...]. And we had to wait almost eight months for that appointment. Finally, he received a positive response. It took a year to get his residency permit, but now he has it. [...] I think the consequence for him is that he still has stomach pains. He has health problems, excruciating pain, he can't sleep, he's always worried. Even though he has a residency permit now, he's working..."

Mr. P., volunteer

"It's the torture of time! [...] Our actions alleviate the pressure; by accompanying them, it can ease the strain a little. Ms. X would have been gone a long time ago... this prevents violent acts and threats to their lives...[...] She said several times that without her daughter, she would have thrown herself into the river."

Ms. C., Volunteer

While fostering encounters between migrant persons and members of the host society is a core principle of many citizen-hosting organisations, their experience has generally led them to encourage hosts not to view such encounters as something they are entitled to expect from the hosting relationship. Depending on where they are in their journey and their personal history, the people being hosted may, upon entering citizen housing, not be ready to connect with those involved in hosting and supporting them. These challenges are not solely related to the individuals' administrative processes, although the latter often adds to an already complex set of factors. Consequently, this informal form of psychological support cannot always be provided. Furthermore, some organisations prefer not to host individuals experiencing severe psychological distress, so as not to create difficulties for the hosts.

The Efforts Made by Citizen Hosting Organisations to Try to Resolve Administrative Situations

Faced with the complexity of the administrative procedures and the numerous obstacles already mentioned, the people being hosted and the organisations that support them often find themselves in a long and arduous process. This concerns obtaining permits to remain, but also the rights that stem from them. Often, this support extends beyond the duration of the accommodation, and the groups continue to help people with their permit renewal applications even after they have secured their own housing. As access to the *préfecture* has become virtually impossible, volunteers try to find ways of obtaining information about a case or moving it forward. Several interviewees described these efforts as a form of “*bricolage*”.

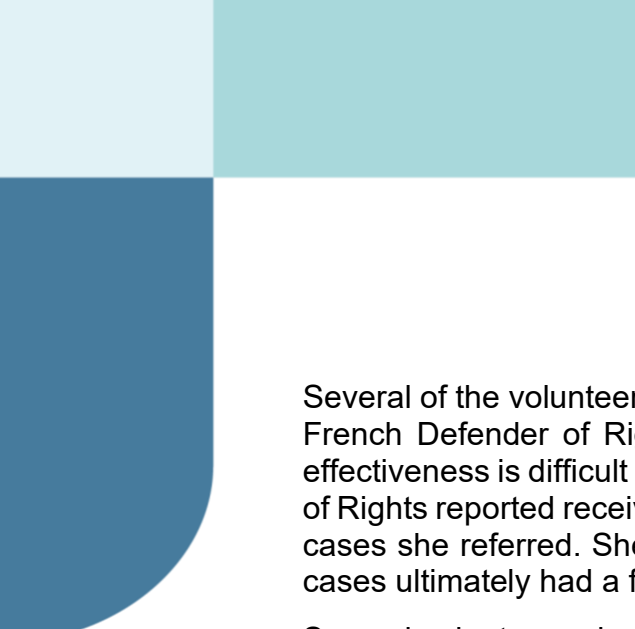
The presence of a member of the organisation during appointments can help unblock certain situations with public authorities, for example in relation to access to social benefits or registration with *France Travail* (the French employment agency). Some volunteers reported that preparing the case file with the individuals in advance and attending appointments alongside them—especially when they have a limited command of French—helps the administrative officer better understand their circumstances and move more quickly through the case, given the limited time available for each person. As a result, administrative procedures may proceed more smoothly. It may also help clarify the source of an administrative blockage and, in some cases, overcome it.

The presence of a member of the organisation during appointments can help unlock certain situations with public authorities

Several volunteers described finding ways around the barriers created by the digitalisation of administrative procedures by using a prefecture appointment for one individual's case as an opportunity to ask the official about other cases they are supporting. However, these strategies are not always enough.

“People sometimes ask me, ‘Why do you even go there?’ I go to the prefecture, and I come prepared with questions about other people's cases. The official sitting across from me is the one who answers them. For example, [...] we had been waiting for someone's residence permit, and the official said to me, ‘But the card is here—it's here!’ We had never received any notification, and they simply told me, ‘It's an IT problem.’ That was the explanation: ‘It's an IT problem.’”

Mr. P., volunteer



Several of the volunteers interviewed also mentioned referring cases to the French Defender of Rights as a way of seeking a solution, although its effectiveness is difficult to assess. In mid-2025, a delegate of the Defenders of Rights reported receiving no responses from the *préfecture* regarding the cases she referred. She nevertheless observed that around 50% of those cases ultimately had a favourable outcome.

Several volunteers also reported drawing on their personal networks in an attempt to resolve individual cases, while expressing concern that such informal channels might come to be seen as a solution.

“We rely on our networks, on our personal contacts, but that’s not normal. It’s networking that gets things done, when it should simply be a matter of ordinary legal procedures. This is institutional mistreatment.”

Ms. S., volunteer

Yet despite the considerable effort invested by members of these citizen-hosting organisations, and the many channels they mobilise, numerous cases remain unresolved. When no interaction with the administration is possible, both volunteers and the individuals they support find themselves facing a dead end. Such administrative impasses can persist for years.

Faced with these impasses, the desire to help the individuals they host may sometimes lead volunteers to take initiatives that ultimately prove counterproductive, particularly when they are insufficiently familiar with administrative procedures, individuals’ administrative trajectories, or prefectural practices. As discussed above, the progressive structuring of citizen-hosting organisations over the years, together with the support of legal professionals in some organisations, has helped limit the risk of such mistakes.

A Fragile Yet Resilient Citizen Hospitality

Citizen hosting faces numerous challenges, including a shortage of shelter spaces and housing provided by public institutions which exacerbates the need for hosting, and the difficulty in recruiting new volunteers and hosts⁵⁹. The increasing difficulties in accessing residence permits and the associated rights, which have intensified over the years, place an additional burden on this citizen hospitality network.

All the issues described in this study demonstrate that citizen hosting organisations cannot ignore the administrative processes of the people they host. While the level of involvement of those providing accommodation varies in terms of support, it remains a major concern.

A Discouraging Context

Many of those involved in citizen hosting do not come from activist backgrounds; rather, their engagement is rooted in humanitarian and solidarity-based values. When they first become involved in hosting, they are not always fully aware of the challenges that migrant persons face in France. It is often through experience that they come to understand the many obstacles migrants encounter, particularly in their interactions with public authorities. For some volunteers, this growing awareness gives rise to feelings of indignation and anger.

Many people involved in citizen hosting do not come from activist backgrounds rather, their engagement is rooted in humanitarian and solidarity-based values

“When you start out [as a volunteer] knowing nothing about the system, you never imagine it will turn into such an obstacle course—so long, with applications rejected outright because a single document is missing. You don't imagine that when you host an asylum seeker, the support will last a year. I thought it would take three to six months [...]. Once you start hosting, you see how poorly people are received. [...] You simply don't realise the extent to which these situations remain unresolved [...]. Trying to offer people a dignified welcome also means speaking out against

⁵⁹ Nadine Camp « La mobilisation citoyenne et l'hébergement des personnes exilées. Vers un nouveau modèle d'accueil ? ». *Études de l'Ifri*, Ifri, December 2022. Available at: ifri.org.

undignified practices. As French citizens, we know that the administration can be cumbersome, but never to this extent—it reaches an extreme when it comes to foreigners.”

Ms. C., volunteer

“Now, when I saw how the préfecture operates... it’s disgraceful, that’s all. I’m angry to see how migrants are received. It’s shameful.”

Ms. C., former volunteer

Welcoming and supporting these individuals, who have experienced difficult, even traumatic, life paths before arriving in France, compounded by institutional mistreatment, can be an extremely heavy burden.

The volunteers interviewed, particularly those who host individuals regardless of their administrative status, expressed concern about the increasing time required to obtain a first permit to remain in France and the uncertainty surrounding the outcome of the procedures they have submitted. Most of them are retired and often began hosting and supporting people about ten years ago. These movements are losing momentum, and some are hesitant to take on another undocumented family, fearing that no solution will be possible in terms of their administrative situation. Many attest that this concern has taken on a new significance today. Perhaps because they weren't aware of this difficulty when they started, but also in light of the new restrictions imposed by law—even if some hadn't yet come into effect at the time of the interviews—administrative practices that lead to breaches of rights, and instructions given to prefects to reduce the number of exceptional permit to remain granted. These signs are worrying for the future.

“How long can we keep this up? We don’t see the situation [of the people we’re helping] improving. The support lasts eight years, ten years... And sometimes it takes a turn for the worse. There’s a real sense of exhaustion among the volunteers and among the undocumented migrants. A depressive state where they see no future.”

Mr. S., volunteer

“I would say it’s very trying to see that we’re making an effort and supporting someone with whom we have a friendship, especially because of the time we’ve had together... And then to see that it doesn’t lead anywhere, it’s a bit draining and psychologically, a little... well, a little unsettling.”

Mr. B., volunteer

In addition to this lack of positive prospects, there is the burden of the procedures involved in supporting people, and the energy required to overcome obstacles by activating every possible avenue. Several volunteers interviewed expressed frustration at not having enough time to properly complete all the necessary procedures on behalf of the people they host.

“They tell us the appointment at the préfecture will be scheduled within three months, or that the CNDA (National Court of Asylum) will respond within three months... but in fact, it’s never respected. Eight months later, still no news. It creates a sense of weariness; we even start to think that the person must have missed a letter, that there’s been a mistake [...]. It’s destabilising: as a volunteer [...] we feel like we can’t do anything.”

Mr. S., volunteer

“There’s a mental exhaustion. We’re contacted by public agencies (social workers from the city or from accommodation centres...). [...] It’s a heavy burden to bear. We try to ensure that each family we support is independent. Except that when they go to appointments on their own, they come back empty-handed.”

Ms. D., volunteer

Among the volunteers interviewed, one person had decided to stop hosting “for [their] mental health.” One of the organisations interviewed questioned its ability to host another person, given the complexity of the life trajectories of those hosted, the sometimes difficult relationships with hosted individuals, and the challenges of obtaining legal status in the current context.

A Strong Will Not to Give Up

Yet, overall, despite a bleak view of the situation, the vast majority of people interviewed expressed a firm commitment to continuing their involvement.

The collective dimension of citizen hosting provides strong support for those who participate

The collective dimension of citizen hosting provides strong support for those who participate. The structuring of these organisations, including the internal allocation of roles and responsibilities, the development of guidelines or charters, and collective reflection on the limits of their interventions, often helps alleviate the burden placed on individual members.

"Working in pairs on the cases is more effective and more reassuring, especially for volunteers. And particularly when dealing with complex cases. [...] Currently, I'm working in tandem with a colleague. Frankly, the case is very, very serious, with a severely disabled child, a life-threatening situation, and everything else you can imagine. But I don't think she could manage on her own, no matter how capable she is."

M.W., volunteer

More broadly, the collective dynamic within the organisations helps maintain the motivation and commitment of those involved.

"I think that if everyone talked about it, everyone would say it's a heavy burden, that it's frustrating to always have to say 'no', or 'it takes a long time', or 'there's no room', or say 'we regret that it even exists'. But we happen to have a team that allows us to compensate for this through the atmosphere of what we experience together, through the trust we have in each other, through the trust we have in [the association], and through the trust in the families as well. I think this is compensated for at this level. [...] We're lucky to have a team that works really well. I think that's it, because we know how to laugh when we're a team, while still being truly focused on the relationship and providing support, really centred on the individual, each one of those we're supporting. We know we can count on each other. That is the compensation."

Ms. D., volunteer

The development of exchanges and relationships between citizen hosting groups and organisations, or more broadly with other stakeholders working alongside migrants, which has grown over the years, also allows for the sharing of information, the multiplication of levers for action, and the encouragement of continued engagement.

"[...] It's true that since 2015, a great many organisations have developed that allow us to make progress in terms of hosting and support. And thankfully so, because we would very quickly be alone and ineffective. It's true that we now operate largely as a network. And we rely on each other [...]"

Mr. B., volunteer

"What I feel is an increasing desire to say: 'this is unbearable and we want to mobilise around it'. It's not the will that's lacking. [...] Discouragement, no [...]. And you see this association, which is struggling because they lack active volunteers, etc. And finally, at the general assembly [...], they are rallying to continue, etc. No, people aren't giving up. Yes, there's an association I just learned about; they're going to shut down. But, in my opinion, it's not a problem of the political context. It's a problem of age."

M. M., volunteer

Conclusion

Laws and administrative practices regarding foreign nationals make it very difficult for migrant persons to obtain a lawful permission to stay, or to be issued with a residence permit to which they are legally entitled in the case of beneficiaries of international protection. Failures within the immigration administration result in interruptions in the exercise of their rights, adding to the experience of exile and the precarious circumstances they face upon arrival in France, which are a source of considerable psychological distress.

The legal status of foreign nationals with regard to their right to remain in France also affects those involved in providing them with citizen hosting arrangements, and at many levels: hosting periods become longer, while the time and energy required to help resolve the difficulties they encounter increase significantly. Administrative obstacles also place a heavy emotional burden on hosts, both because of the psychological distress they cause among the people concerned and because, when following or supporting them with their administrative procedures, volunteers themselves are confronted with Kafkaesque situations

Nevertheless, the wave of solidarity that emerged in 2015 has endured over time. The interviews conducted as part of this study show that the willingness to act remains strong and that the vast majority of those involved remain determined to continue citizen hosting and supporting migrants. The collective dimension of hosting and the work carried out through networks constitute a powerful safeguard against the risk of discouragement.

However, faced with dysfunctions which, in the absence of appropriate measures by the State and of recognition of the consequences they have on people's lives, become a form of institutional mistreatment, a growing sense of injustice, powerlessness, and sometimes anger is emerging. The interviews conducted for this study also reveal a profound degree of psychological suffering among those mobilised.

The testimonies collected throughout the interviews highlight the paradox of a form of hospitality sustained by committed citizens, in a context of growing hostility toward migrants and those who support them, in the media and political spheres, at national, European, and international levels. Yet citizen hosting, alongside the many movements and organisations supporting migrants, plays a key role in fostering social cohesion and living together. It makes it possible to open the door—both literally and figuratively—to “*the stranger who comes*”⁶⁰: offering them shelter, but also creating a space of meaningful encounter through which everyone may emerge from the experience somewhat transformed, with prejudices challenged and

⁶⁰ Michel Agier, *L'étranger qui vient. Repenser l'hospitalité*, Éditions Points, August 2022.

diminished.

This form of citizen hospitality toward migrants cannot be entirely unconditional; it is necessarily limited by the legal framework within which it operates⁶¹. The State has sovereignty over determining whom it chooses to admit to its territory. However, dehumanising practices that place migrants in situations of legal limbo and extreme precarity directly undermine the efforts of hospitality carried out by citizens and risk, in the medium or long term, discouraging this mobilisation, which helps restore those hosted to a space of dignity and humanity.

At a time when hospitality is increasingly disappearing from European public policies, to the point of organising the filtering of asylum seekers at its borders⁶² and the transfer of undocumented foreigners to countries with which they have no ties and where they have never even set foot⁶³, it is essential to preserve, support, and encourage citizens' hospitality initiatives, which transform into concrete actions the principle of Fraternity recognised as a constitutional principle in France since 2018⁶⁴.

⁶¹ Benjamin Boudou, « Hospitalité », *Passions sociales*, Éditions PUF, 2019.

⁶² Regulation (EU) 2024/1356 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 14 May 2024 introducing the screening of third-country nationals at the external borders, available at eur-lex.europa.eu.

⁶³ Return Regulation proposal approved by the European Parliament on 26 March 2026 with a view to continuing negotiations with the Council of the European Union. Available at: europarl.europa.eu.

⁶⁴ In its June 6, 2018 ruling on a priority question of constitutionality (*question prioritaire de constitutionnalité - QPC*), the French Constitutional Council (*Conseil constitutionnel*, the French supreme court) held that, pursuant to the principle of fraternity enshrined in the French Constitution, any individual or legal entity is entitled to provide humanitarian assistance to a foreign national, irrespective of their immigration status or entitlement to reside in France, as long as such assistance is not provided in return for any direct or indirect benefit. See Decision 2018-717/718 QP, available at: conseil-constitutionnel.fr.

Appendix: Presentation of the Organisations Interviewed

For this study, interviews were conducted with people being hosted, hosts, volunteers and staff members of 16 organisations based in the Lyon metropolitan area or the Rhône region. They include local branches of national organisations, organisations whose activities cover the city or metropolitan area of Lyon, and organisations working at the level of smaller municipalities in the vicinity of the Lyon metropolitan area. The organisations that wished to be named in this publication are presented below.

Aclaam

Aclaam was established in September 2015 at the initiative of the Diocese of Lyon. Working within an ecumenical framework, Aclaam serves as a resource hub for a network of parishes and autonomous local organisations working to promote the welcome, integration and empowerment of migrants, and to give them a voice in order to help change society's perception of migration. It brings together 57 member organisations.

Website: <https://aclaam.org/>

Amilp, Association messimoise pour l'insertion et la lutte contre les précarités

Amilp aims to support people experiencing precarious circumstances, by providing assistance with access to employment and housing, and by helping them exercise their fundamental rights.

Arthur, Accueil de réfugiés, Thurins

Arthur aims to support people experiencing precarious circumstances, particularly refugees and other migrants, by providing assistance with access to employment and housing and helping them exercise their social and fundamental rights.

Website: <http://accueilrefugiesthu.wixsite.com/lesite>

Asseda, Association pour le soutien et les échanges avec les demandeurs d'asile

Asseda is an organisation supporting migrants in the city of Oullins. It provides assistance to families, many of whom have had their asylum applications rejected and are seeking to obtain a permit to remain. These families come from Algeria, Albania, Russia, the Republic of the Congo, Angola, Cameroon, and other countries. They have no financial resources and are not legally permitted to work.

Website: <http://www.asseda.fr>

CUM, Coordination Urgence Migrants

CUM is a forum for consultation and coordination between individuals and organisations working with migrants, primarily in emergency situations. Its objectives are to promote and defend the rights of foreign nationals in France and ensure that these rights are upheld, regardless of their situation; to undertake initiatives addressing identified needs in this area, including initiating or supporting actions aimed at raising public awareness of the realities experienced by migrants; to support initiatives that improve migrants' circumstances; and to encourage the establishment of local teams working towards these objectives alongside migrants, and to support them in their activities.

Website: <https://www.coordination-urgence-migrants.org/>

Famig, Francheville accueil migrants

In response to the realities experienced by migrants, a group of residents of the city of Francheville established Famig at the end of 2017, in cooperation with existing organisations such as Aclaam and Alynea. Its aim is to welcome and support migrants experiencing difficulties, particularly with access to accommodation, education, language learning, administrative procedures, financial matters and employment. It seeks to contribute to people's dignity and to their integration into the local community, with the aim of fostering their autonomy.

Fraternité Saint Irénée

Fraternité Saint Irénée is an organisation whose purpose is to welcome people or families experiencing vulnerability. Its activities include housing and accommodation, education, language learning, administrative support, access to healthcare and employment.

Website: <https://fraternitesaintirenee.wordpress.com/>

JRS France, Lyon branch

JRS France works alongside asylum seekers and refugees to welcome them with dignity, support them and defend their rights. JRS Welcome hospitality programme provides free, temporary accommodation to single adults, both men and women. Hosted by families, individuals or religious communities, for periods of up to nine months, the programme offers an opportunity for people to meet and connect, with the person hosted moving to a different host every four to six weeks.

Website: <https://www.jrsfrance.org/jrs-welcome/>

J'accueille, Lyon branch

J'accueille enables people with a spare bedroom or unused room to make it available, free of charge, to a refugee for a minimum of three months. The programme creates shared living arrangements in which hosts and hosted people benefit from the experience and enrich one another's lives. It also provides support until those hosted are able to secure a long-term housing solution.

Website: <https://www.jaccueille.fr/>

L'Ouvre Porte

Founded in Lyon in 2017, L'Ouvre Porte emerged from a simple observation: on the one hand, people are sleeping on the streets; on the other, citizens want to help them. Citizen hosting is organised through a system of rotating hosts, with several households taking turns to host the same person for one week each month. An emergency accommodation scheme, *Nuits suspendues*, has also been established, as well as a temporary accommodation scheme for single mothers, *Maisons suspendues*. The organisation works in a network with numerous local partners to provide the best possible support to the people it hosts.

Website: <https://louvreporte.org/>

Terre d'Ancrages

Terre d'Ancrages aims to promote dignified and welcoming reception conditions for people in exile who are socially isolated and experiencing precarious circumstances. It is founded on the belief that it is possible to help people in exile who are isolated and deprived of resources to meet their most basic needs, while also fostering their integration into the communities that welcome them. The organisation combines practical initiatives addressing people's basic needs (citizen hosting, legal support, support for squats, collections, etc.), the organisation of social and festive activities (workshops, outings, celebrations, gatherings, etc.), and advocacy based on reflection on reception, solidarity and hospitality.

Website: <https://terredancrages.wordpress.com/>



AUTHOR

Nadine Camp is a co-founder and co-director of Synergies Migrations. A lawyer by training, she was a 2017 Fulbright NGO Leaders Program Fellow. Her work with a human rights NGO and subsequently with an organisation supporting refugees led her to undertake numerous field missions in Africa and Eastern Europe. A specialist in migration and asylum issues, she has worked as an independent expert with organisations, local authorities and international organisations, supporting project leaders and conducting studies on policies and practices relating to the reception of migrants. In particular, she has carried out several studies on citizen hosting for migrants.

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AVERTISSEMENT

The views expressed in this document are solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of all the organisations involved in the work of the Observatory for Citizen Hosting for Migrants in the Rhône, nor those of the individuals, organisations and institutions that contributed to this study.

