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The Emotional Costs of Solidarity: How Refugees and Volunteers Manage Emotions in the Integration Process

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Abstract

While emerging right-wing populist voices are calling to prevent the arrival of refugees and their integration, volunteers perform solidarity by performing activities to support refugee integration. Most studies on these forms of solidarity in diversity focus on the quality and effectiveness of the activities. The emotional labor involved has received limited attention. To consider this emotional labor in more detail, we use Arlie Hochschild's concept of feeling and framing rules and relate these rules to prevailing citizenship regimes, distinguishing between the self-reliance regime and the community regime. Based on in-depth ethnographic research of volunteer solidarity work in a deprived urban neighborhood and a middle-class commuter town in the Netherlands, we show that volunteers are strongly aligned with the community regime, which involves navigating a multitude of feeling rules they struggle with. Refugees are more aligned with the self-reliance regime, which also gives way to emotional struggles. We argue that to promote solidarity in diversity, scholars and policymakers should pay more attention to these different forms of emotional labor and the painful and joyful emotions involved.

Keywords

citizenship regimes; emotions; feeling and framing rules; refugee integration; volunteers

1. Introduction

There has been a continuous political debate about refugee policy in Western welfare states over the last decades. Refugee policy and refugee integration are politically contested, sensitive topics; right-wing politicians have stirred up fear and anger about "waves" of refugees and (illegal) immigrants that would far

exceed what European countries would be able to absorb. Some far-right politicians have promised to put an end to immigration or to set a maximum on the number of migrants entitled to legal status. Shelters for asylum seekers have been the subject of local protest, hostility, and hatred (for an overview see Da Silva Rebelo et al., 2018). Meanwhile, local groups of citizens often organize welcoming events and perform volunteer work to support refugees in learning the language and, once granted the right to stay, find their way in their new surroundings. The present study was prompted by this political and societal debate on the arrival of refugees. It explores the emotions of "welcomers" and refugees who perform solidarity work in a diverse society, to enrich this side of the debate with empirical data. We will look at the "emotional labor" involved in solidarity work, thus contributing to the literature on the sociology of emotions (SoE). Our research question is: What emotional labor is involved in the solidarity work that occurs between refugees and the volunteers who help them?

The term "refugees" refers to people with a refugee background (as one of their identities) who have been given a residence permit and who recently arrived in the neighborhood or town studied in this article. The term "volunteers" relates to various groups: some volunteers were recruited by, and collaborate with, social services organizations, and others are active in citizens' initiatives focused on the integration of refugees. It must be noted that some of these volunteers are former refugees, who arrived in earlier years and are now active as volunteers. Occasionally, we refer to "established citizens," that is, other citizens living in the neighborhood who are neither refugees nor volunteers.

In this article we define integration as a dynamic and two-way process of change that involves the forming of relationships across people with multiple and overlapping identities (Strang & Ager, 2010), placing demands on both the host society and the individuals or communities affected (ECRE, 2002; Farrugia, 2009; Hollands, 2006). We focus on perspectives and experiences in the integration process of both volunteers and refugees while both try to give shape to an inclusive society and to live together in a pluralistic, diverse society.

In the next section, we explain our theoretical framework, followed by a section on methods and the research locations. Then we present our findings. In the conclusion, we answer our research question and discuss the implications of our findings for the literature and Dutch integration policy.

2. Theory

2.1. Sociology of Emotions

In all social phenomena emotions are present and play a fundamental role. From a sociological perspective, emotions are shaped by social processes, and conversely, emotions play a fundamental role in social dynamics (Bericat, 2016). SoE has evolved into a critical, reflexive, and interdisciplinary field from the late 1970s onward, entailing many theoretical traditions (Olson et al., 2017).

In SoE, emotions are usually defined as the bodily manifestation of the importance that an event in the natural or social world has for a subject. Emotions are relatively "brief, positive or negative evaluative states, which have physiological, neurological and cognitive elements" (Lawler, 1999, p. 219). SoE tends to focus on cognitive aspects and how they are influenced by social processes. Scholars agree that emotions are complex and emotional experiences depend on many factors, e.g., the subject's expectations in the situation,

how an act is evaluated (un)consciously, the relative power and dependency of other actors, and the type of exchange. Various theoretical reviews in this field conclude that more substantive theories on concrete phenomena and emotional processes in various social contexts are needed to push the field further ahead (Bericat, 2016; Olson et al., 2017). This article tries to do this concerning the emotions of volunteers and refugees during the process of integration into the receiving society. We build on the work of the American sociologist Arlie Hochschild, a pioneer in the field of SoE. People have to navigate their emotions and the emotions of others, a phenomenon for which Hochschild introduced the concept of emotional labor, defining it as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7). The concept can be used to understand emotions themselves as well as their effects on people's psychological well-being and attitudes (Wharton, 2009).

2.2. Framing and Feeling Rules

To better understand emotional labor, Hochschild (2003) developed the concepts of framing and feeling rules. As a feminist Marxist in the 1970s, she wanted to understand why women who, from an outsider's perspective, could be argued to be oppressed, did not protest their oppression and did not even see themselves as oppressed. How could this be explained without taking refuge in the Marxist argument of false consciousness: that they did not properly understand their own situation? As a sociologist, she wanted to take them more seriously (Tonkens, 2012).

Building on the work of sociologist Goffman (1974), Hochschild developed the concepts of emotional labor, framing, and feeling rules to answer these questions. People do not understand themselves in relation to abstract concepts like gender inequality or human rights. Instead, they understand their situation comparatively: compared with, for example, their past or the situation of others close by (Tonkens, 2012). By using such comparisons, they frame their situation. People use culturally available argumentations for this framing, which Hochschild calls framing rules: rules concerning how to interpret the situation you are in. The concept of framing rules fits with the now well-developed field of framing theory in many academic subfields including social theory (Benford & Snow, 2000; Van Hulst & Yanow, 2014).

Hochschild adds that social situations include emotions and emotional labor from all involved. She connects framing to emotions through the concept of "feeling rules": socially shared, sometimes latent feeling conventions that define "what people think they should or should not feel, or what they would like to feel in specific circumstances" (Hochschild, 2003, p. 82). In our study, feeling rules concern feelings refugees and volunteers think they should or should not have about themselves and each other.

2.3. Citizenship Regimes

As to the sources of framing and feeling rules, Hochschild herself only pointed to macro-sociological processes such as globalization. Globalization is of course a driver of the influx of refugees but it does not shape how refugees and established citizens respond to this influx in particular settings. Following Tonkens (2012), we argue that this response is shaped by citizenship regimes: "the institutional arrangements, rules and understandings, and power relations that guide and shape current policy decisions, state expenditures, framing rules, feeling rules and claims-making by citizens" (Tonkens, 2012, p. 201).

Emotions and emotional labor are shaped by citizenship regimes. Concerning refugee integration, two citizenship regimes can be discerned in the Netherlands. The first, predominant regime emphasizes refugees' self-reliance: being able to support themselves in society. This implies refugees have the skills, capacity, and agency to stand on their own as independent individuals (Easton-Calabria & Omata, 2018; Omata, 2023) and that integration is largely their responsibility. In the Netherlands, the self-reliance regime has been adopted and internalized as a "normal" premise (Omlo, 2011). This is reflected in the Dutch integration policy that states that refugees should actively participate and find work as soon as possible (Coalition Agreement Schoof, 2024; Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 2018). This regime is also legally embedded in the Social Support Act (van der Ham et al., 2018).

Locally, however, there are also pockets of a second regime in place, which can be called a community regime (Tonkens, 2012). We define a community as people with social ties sharing an identity and a social system, interacting and supporting each other (Cobigo et al., 2016; Hardcastle et al., 2004). This involves social integration and the creation of social capital: "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" (Putnam, 2007, p. 137). The community regime is based on the idea that communities should care for their needy members. A predominant feeling rule in this regime is that people "should feel happy and proud to be active in the community and to provide informal care" (Tonkens, 2012, p. 202).

2.4. Volunteers and Emotions

Previous studies have found various emotions among volunteers supporting refugees such as pity, empathy, anger, and shame (e.g., Behnia, 2007; Hamann & Karakayali, 2016; Landmann et al., 2023; Sawtell et al., 2010; Simsa, 2017). Emotions can be a motivating factor for volunteers to take responsibility. Doidge and Sandri (2019) performed participatory observation in an informal refugee camp in Calais and found that empathy fosters connections with other volunteers and refugees, and helps them understand and make sense of the situation. Various other studies focus on emotions and the emotional commitment of volunteers (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007; O'Toole & Grey, 2016; Ward & Greene, 2018). A few studies elaborate on the emotional labor involved in volunteering. Eliasoph (1997) did fieldwork among volunteers, activists, and recreation groups. She shows how much emotional labor is needed to "muster unequivocally upbeat feelings" (p. 621). It seems difficult for volunteers to talk about their worries and emotions publicly. As a rule, they try to adopt a happy tone and look on the bright side to preserve an inner sense of well-being (Eliasoph, 1997; Eliasoph & Lichterman, 2003). Other research shows how volunteers desperately try to avoid emotional and moral dilemmas. Based on an analysis of 72 in-depth interviews with volunteers, Maestri and Monforte (2020) show how volunteers working with refugees developed coping mechanisms, such as focusing on practical tasks, to avoid making judgments in complex situations. This article aims to deepen our insights into the emotional labor of volunteers and connect these with the citizenship regimes in place.

2.5. Migrants and Emotions

Previous studies also looked at the emotions of refugees. An extensive literature review on the emotions of forced migrants by Mahmud (2021) found that studies tend to focus on the impact of the context of migration, on emotions during a specific stage of the journey, on emotions, values, and traditions that forced migrants bring with them to the destination country. Scholars also focus on issues during the integration process such as safety, discrimination, and health, that can be related to emotions (Akar & Erdoğdu, 2019;

Farrugia, 2009; Gürer, 2019) and migrants' struggle for connectedness, nostalgia for the homeland, or frustration in securing employment (Paudyal et al., 2021; Walther et al., 2021). These studies acknowledge that emotions come into play, but hardly discuss how migrants cope with them. In this article, we try to dive deeper into how both refugees and volunteers cope with their emotions by analyzing their framing and feeling rules and emotional labor.

3. Research Setting and Methods

3.1. Broader Research Aim and Context

The data for this article are part of a broader study on how volunteers foster the integration of refugees in two different sociologically composed areas in the Netherlands. The research took place in two urban areas in the Netherlands, which we have anonymized as Riverfield and Greentown. Riverfield is an ethnically diverse disadvantaged neighborhood, hosting 34.560 inhabitants of 170 nationalities, mostly with a low socio-economic status. Greentown is a middle-income commuter town near that same city counting 50.301 inhabitants, mostly white and with middle or high socio-economic status. This is based on statistics showing how municipalities and neighborhoods score in relation to each other, based on data on welfare, education level, and labor market participation (Statistics Netherlands, 2024).

Relatively many refugees were placed in both areas between 2016 and 2018, compared to the two decades before. In 2021, 920 refugees lived in Greentown and 2,450 refugees lived in Riverfield, respectively 1.8% and 7.2% of the total population (KIS Wijkmonitor, 2021). There are more citizen initiatives per resident active in Riverfield than in Greentown and also more than the national average, based on an estimation by local social workers. In Greentown, churches play a central role in community life. The selection of the two areas draws on the debate in the scientific literature (Kindler et al., 2015) on how the composition of a neighborhood affects the integration process. The focus on community is particularly present in the integration policy of Riverfield, reflected in the frequently formulated motto "We Do It Together," which aims to highlight the importance of an inclusive city, with opportunities to socialize. In Greentown, the importance of volunteer commitment and the necessity of cooperation with (in)formal stakeholders is stressed. A brief overview of the main characteristics of both neighborhoods is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Refugees, active citizens, and socioeconomic status per area.

	Inhabitants (2021)	Refugees (2021)	Initiatives dealing with refugees (estimation by social worker)	Socio-economic status (2021)
Riverfield	34.560	2450	*60*	–0,43
Greentown	50.301	920	*20*	0,30
The surrounding urban region	710.531	9260	*250*	0,04

3.2. Interviews, Observations, and Focus Groups

In each area, we conducted in-depth interviews with fifteen refugees and five volunteers. In the interviews with refugees, we focused on their daily practices and experiences. What does your day look like, what do

you run into, how do you engage with organizations? We asked volunteers to talk in detail about their activities: Why they carried them out, how their relationships with refugees were shaped, what difficulties they encountered, what successes and failures they experienced, and how they felt about these. In addition, we conducted participant observations of meetings and social gatherings to identify emotions, interactions, and (seemingly) trivial behaviors. Finally, we conducted two focus group interviews, one with six refugees and the other with three volunteers and five social workers being consulted as experts, to validate results and further explore mutual relationships and perceptions.

3.3. Respondents

To select respondents, the first author approached grassroots organizations and attended community centers, activities by and for refugees, and citizenship classes. She recruited respondents while talking to people directly and through word-of-mouth. In selecting refugee respondents, we strove for an equal representation of the population in gender, age, education level, and ethnicity. Of the 29 selected refugees, 20 are from Syria, six from Eritrea, two from Iraq, and one from Afghanistan. Sixteen of them are women and 13 are men. Eight are 29 years old or younger, 13 are between 30 and 49 years old, and eight are 50 years old or older. Nine have no education beyond elementary school, 14 have mid-level education, and six are highly educated. These data are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Demographics refugees.

Refugees from		Male	Female	Young	Middle	Old	Low education	Middle	High
Syria	20	9	11	4	8	8	4	10	6
Eritrea	6	2	4	3	3	–	4	2	–
Iraq	2	2	–	–	2	–	1	1	–
Afghanistan	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	–
Total	**29**	**13**	**16**	**8**	**13**	**8**	**9**	**14**	**6**

Regarding the volunteers, nine are female and three are male. Eight of them are aged over 50. Eight of them come from the Netherlands, while three are from Syria and one from Eritrea.

3.4. Data Analysis

We edited and subsequently coded our data with ATLAS.ti, identifying a variety of emotions among respondents. We categorized these emotions into feeling rules and framing rules, distinguishing between the community or self-reliance citizenship regime. For example, an expression such as "you feel better as a human being if you are significant to someone else" underlies the feeling rule "enjoy helping others," which fits into the community regime. We built our analysis by moving between theory and data, a process referred to as abduction. Abduction involves creatively formulating a hypothesis or theory based on data, that can explain the data (Bosch & Boeije, 2010), as illustrated in Figure 1.

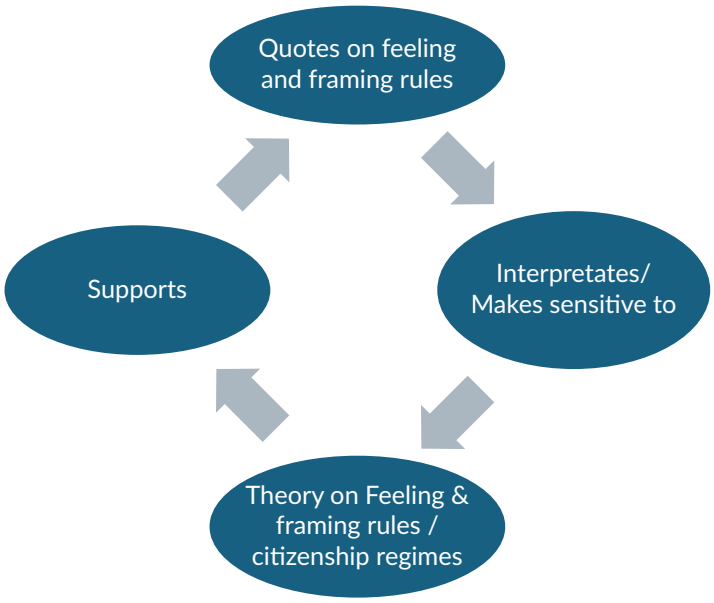

Figure 1. Abduction.

Because of the lack of fluency in Dutch of some respondents, some quotes have been linguistically modified, while staying as close as possible to the content. Table 3 shows the total of data analyzed for this article.

Table 3. Data analyzed.

Area	Interviews refugees (R)	Interviews volunteers (V)	Observations	Focus groups
Greentown	11 (12 respondents)	8 (9 respondents)	8	2
Riverfield	8	5	6	—

4. Findings

4.1. Framing Rules of Volunteers and Refugees

In describing the framing and feeling rules volunteers and refugees cope with, we demonstrate what emotional labor demands from "ordinary flesh-and-blood" people. How is the arrival and integration of refugees framed by both refugees and volunteers? And how are these frames related to the different regimes? Many refugees underline the importance of self-reliance, stressing the framing rule that it is important to "be an independent citizen who can take care of themselves." As Ida (Syria, 36, former teacher) notes:

> I have to do that [build a life], no one can do it for me. Then yes, I have to think positively….For the future of my children. Me and my husband are responsible for them. For a good life, for a good education. (R2 Riverfield)

Volunteers also emphasize the importance of self-reliance, but they rarely put it into practice. They bring in different arguments: They feel that life in the Netherlands is (too) complicated for refugees to do it themselves, so volunteers need to take over. Also, steering toward self-reliance for them conflicts with providing care. Volunteer Dora (63), the mentor of multiple refugees, briefly summarizes:

> We are these half-mothers, we like to take care of them. Although actually, you should make them independent. (V3 Riverfield)

Most framing rules expressed by volunteers refer to the community regime. They stress the importance of building and maintaining a community so that refugees feel welcome and at home. Therefore, it is important to "establish contact with refugees," ideally immediately after their arrival. Kim (60), who volunteers for the church, recalls their arrival by bus at the emergency shelter:

> The first thing when the door of the bus opens should be that you feel that it is okay that you are there. And not people booing and saying "Go to your own country."…I think there were easily twenty, twenty-five people or so standing there [welcoming them]. (V4 Greentown)

According to volunteers, this also demands activity from the refugees, as "contacts should be reciprocal." Malad (46), who herself fled from Eritrea and has been in the Netherlands for about 10 years, organizes meetings for the Eritrean community:

> I am good at cleaning and babysitting….If needed, I look after the children. And if I need it one day, then I leave my child with my friends. I live with my neighbors, with my church people. It is not like I depend on those who give, but we give and take. (V6 Greentown)

For some interviewees, establishing contact is a practical translation of their social criticism. In our society, people live too much apart and hospitality is underdeveloped, they argue. This results in the framing rule that "helping each other is crucial and transcends boundaries." Margriet (68), who is active in a church initiative that refurbishes refugees' homes with secondhand furniture:

> From our neighborhood and from all over the city people come there to meet and to ask [refugees] what they need. And we come there to help newcomers. People who…are very old, for example, or alone. People who have no other family members here….As an organization this gives us very positive energy. Many people come there. They say here it's like grandma's house. (V1 Greentown)

Establishing contact requires intricate communication skills. Volunteers argue that they should avoid both friendship and therapy. Refugees face significant challenges, but attempting to fully grasp their experience should be avoided. Instead, "contact should remain light," without rooting for traumas. This can be realized through everyday activities, as Marleen (53), who set up a garden project, argues:

> Someone…tells that story. And it gets heavier and heavier. And the person is actually just heartily depressed. And then at the right moment, you say "Come, let's go water the plants again."…Show your compassion and then pick up the thread of gardening, because that's our tool. The garden, doing things, being active, using your body, clearing your head. (V2 Riverfield)

Her behavior and feelings show the same focus on practical tasks that Maestri and Monforte (2020) found in their study.

Solidarity can also require confrontation, for example when someone stands near the refugee bus with a banner proclaiming that the refugees must "go home" (to their country of origin). Kim, the woman welcoming

refugees, sees it as her duty to stand up for refugees and confront the banner carrier. This shows the framing rule that you should "not act on the basis of prejudice or previous experience." She tried to educate one of the non-welcoming citizens on the framing rules:

> I had a situation with a man on a moped who shouted something ugly, and I said: "Why do you say something so ugly?" And, well, he said: "Yes, they come here to rape and…we are no longer safe." And then I explained to him: "I was…sexually abused by a white, balding man. And you are white and balding. So you are a perpetrator….So for me…you would rather fit into a perpetrator profile than those men who are about to arrive." Then he said: "Yes, you're actually right about that too." And he started his moped and left. (V4 Greentown)

Thus, volunteers and refugees apply multiple and quite demanding framing rules: one should not have prejudices, one should respond lightly to stories of sorrow, and one should make contacts reciprocal. They demand a lot from a person's cognitive, emotional, and social skills. Some of these findings concur with the findings of Eliasoph (1997), though there also seem to be differences. It is interesting, for example, that Kim does not try to avoid politics. She differs in this respect from the volunteers that Eliasoph encountered.

4.2. Feeling Rules

Framing rules form the basis for feeling rules. In changing or complex social circumstances, it is often not clear what emotions are expected and appropriate. Therefore, people look for rules that they can or should set for themselves: Am I allowed to get angry in this situation? Should I be grateful for the help of others, even if I don't always appreciate it? We will discuss the feeling rules of both volunteers and refugees in relation to the self-reliance regime and the community regime in turn.

4.2.1. Refugees and Volunteers About Self-Reliance

Refugees express several feeling rules in relation to the self-reliance regime. One way to relate to the self-reliance regime is to adjust your wishes. If you "limit your desires," you can fulfill the obligation to be self-reliant. This is palpable when Nour, a Syrian woman aged 38, explains:

> I'm not a person who always asks for more. I just want a few things, I arrange everything myself. Then I don't have problems with them [the authorities]. (R2 Greentown)

Refugees also struggle with another feeling rule: having to "enjoy chances," also when these don't meet their standards. To accept the chances they get, negative feelings must be suppressed. Syrian Mo (45) says:

> You have to start from the bottom up. No more big dreams. Accept that there is a lot of stress and you have no job, and no house, while in Syria you had all that for a long time. (R1 Riverfield)

Khaled (32) from Syria sighs:

> I have done everything to get a job, learn Dutch, and pursue an education, but still…no work. I do not think about that, that is for later. I already have a car, education, contacts with other people. (R3 Riverfield)

Achieving independence affects the mental well-being of refugees, as previous research has shown (Paudyal et al., 2021; Walther et al., 2021). Our findings show how refugees try to manage feelings and frustrations. Failing or struggling to achieve independence, especially in a clearly present (national) self-reliance regime, can be particularly frustrating.

Among volunteers, we found few feeling rules concerning self-reliance. Some do "feel responsible for making refugees independent" and express feeling rules towards refugees about feeling hopeful and optimistic. Pete, a 66-year-old man actively involved with a family, sternly says:

> I say, gee, you have now passed language level A2, so you can do it [go to the dentist or doctor]. Go and do it yourself. (V5 Greentown)

Besides, volunteers can struggle with feeling rules about guilt: Should they or should they not feel guilty about being too caring? This was expressed earlier by Dora, the volunteer mentoring refugees, who considers herself to be "half a mother." She knows the policy goal is independence and wants to comply, but at the same time, it does not feel natural to her.

4.2.2. Refugees' Feeling Rules About Community

Refugees express various feeling rules about making and sustaining a community in their new living environment. Many repeatedly express that they "have to feel gratitude, sympathy, and respect for the host society." They praise the Netherlands, a country full of friendly people, for receiving them and enabling them to be safe.

Many refugees desire informality, conviviality, and substantial new contacts, and struggle with "feelings of disappointment" because they experience that neighbors are busy and already have their own lives. As Raheb (30) from Syria states: "Many people. No time" (R11 Greentown). And Eden (46), a woman from Eritrea, struggles with her disappointment about people being in a hurry:

> It is really good to live here. I have nice neighbors. Downstairs is an old neighbor. Once I lost a key, then she was really nice, she helped me. All the neighbors are really nice, they say: "Hi, hi, how are you?" Maybe people are in a hurry, but people help really well. (R6 Greentown)

At the same time, they try hard to give something back to society, based on a sense of reciprocity, like Sara (33) from Eritrea: "I get help and also like to help other people" (R5 Riverfield). The feeling rule to "feel generous to the host society" is at play here.

4.2.3. Volunteers' Feeling Rules About Community

In both Greentown and Riverfield, many volunteers give refugees a warm welcome and help them to make contacts and become part of the community. A feeling rule volunteers express is that they have to develop "feelings of tolerance and curiosity" in order to be open and welcoming. Assur, a 45-year-old man who fled from Syria and is active in a cultural center, explains:

> Being open is done by listening carefully. You shouldn't reject those people, because those people have a story and experiences. Then you have to say: "Do you understand this? And do you understand that?" That's the way to build bridges. (V3 Greentown)

Much emotional labor is involved to comply with that feeling rule. Some volunteers talk about undesirable emotions being evoked, like feeling annoyed by people who don't conform to their standards. This can affect their self-image, according to Marie (35), who started a living group that welcomes refugees:

> By dealing with people who are really very different from me, I learned that I am not at all as sweet as I thought. Less social and less tolerant, because I find a lot of things very irritating. So I've been very angry a lot too. They made loud noises every night and, yes, I found that very difficult. (V3 Riverfield).

To feel tolerant, you have to overcome your aversion and instead develop empathy. As Mina (60), another volunteer at the cultural center, states: "You need to look each other in the heart, so you need to open your heart" (V2 Greentown)

Another feeling rule of volunteers is that they should "feel equal towards refugees" and interact with refugees on an equal footing. They must replace possible feelings of superiority with curiosity and a willingness to learn. A social worker training volunteers to mentor refugees encourages these feeling rules as she states:

> Do you see these people [refugees] as "I'm the caregiver and I'm going to help you?" Or do you see these people as…equals, who also have their own background in a culture from which we can learn a lot? And if you can just start giving them that feeling, that "you are important to our culture, because you have a lot to offer," I think that's really a lesson for Dutch people. That they have to start learning how much these people can bring and give to us. (social worker focus group 2 Greentown)

Interaction should be experienced as instructive rather than difficult because you learn from it and it enables personal growth. You must struggle with negative feelings about others and stop being judgmental. Volunteer Marie says:

> Other cultures hold up a mirror to me and ask me what kind of judgments I have about many cultures. I find that really complicated. Because I still have them. So I think it is also a real awareness of your own prejudices and your own limits at the same time. (V3 Riverfield)

Volunteer Marleen who tries to feel equal ("it is nice to have a completely egalitarian point of view") argues that feeling equal is only possible with refugees who have been around for a while and have become volunteers themselves:

> I think it's very nice to have a completely egalitarian point of view. Then I can ask them [refugees] for advice, like: "What should I do with this?...I'm going to do it like this and like that, what do you think?" Well, that's great fun because then you think along with each other. (V2 Riverfield)

Many volunteers also reason that to manage emotions as a volunteer, you need to lower your expectations of your relationships with refugees. You should not expect too much from the relationship and instead, prepare

for disappointment so you do "not feel aversion or frustration." While supporting the other person, you should not get attached and avoid the emotional expectations of close friendship. However, neither should it feel like just duty. This is difficult but you must keep trying. A social worker who trains volunteers points out that this is a delicate balance:

> Every refugee was given a mentor, a volunteer who helped them at home, with appointments, and so on. So we looked, who are really friends-friends? And who are [proper social worker volunteers]? A lot of people who volunteered said, well, "I am the mentor." But while we did have a working method for mentoring refugees, many volunteers didn't follow it, they were like friends [with their charges]. (S4 Greentown)

Lowering expectations can also include practicing civic indifference: trying to let things slide. The first author observed, for example, how just before the start of a meeting, a man shrugged his shoulders when a female refugee refused to shake his hand (observation 3 Greentown).

As also mentioned by other scholars, volunteers are highly committed, and this commitment involves many emotions (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007; O'Toole & Grey, 2016; Ward & Greene, 2018). It is not surprising that particularly volunteering involves a lot of emotional labor, as our results demonstrate.

4.3. Volunteers With a Refugee Background

The volunteers with a refugee background, mainly originating from Syria or Eritrea, often relate well to the refugees they support. They speak the same language, can understand the customs in the country of origin, and they also had to (and often still have to) build a life in the new country. They may have to perform less emotional labor than volunteers who are originally Dutch. Feeling equal towards refugees, feeling empathy, and helping others often came relatively easily to them. This manifests itself not so much in a different use of the language—they have the same feeling and framing rules—but is rather revealed by their natural way of acting. We observed a certain ease, such as in the Iranian eating group organized by Javed, a man from Iran. He sits calmly drinking with other men almost all the time, occasionally initiating some actions, but all the time the group looks like a second home to him (observation V1 Riverfield).

The same goes for Assur, who feels tolerant and curious in shaping his cultural center, and Malad, who stresses the importance of reciprocal contacts. That is not to say they do not have frustrations, or cannot get exhausted. Malad, who runs an Eritrean meeting group and helps many individuals, feels that she should make refugees self-reliant—for their sake but also for her own well-being:

> Some refugees take advantage of your good heart. People can cycle themselves to do their shopping. You can show them the way, but you don't always have to do everything for them. I do a lot and I have to guard the boundary for myself, protect myself. (V6 Greentown)

Altogether, it is a complex relationship between refugees and volunteers: closeness but no friendship; come close but also keep some distance. You are not colleagues, neighbors, or close friends. What kind of relationship is it and what can you expect from it? How do you manage the relationship emotionally? Apparently, there is a great deal of emotional labor involved, that touches on core emotions such as anger,

shame, and fear as categorized by Flam (2005). Examples of types of feeling rules we found are summarized below in Table 4.

Table 4. Feeling rules.

	Self-reliance regime	Community regime
Refugees	Limit your desires Enjoy chances	Feel grateful, sympathy and respect for the host society Feel disappointed about the lack of community Feel generous to the host society
Volunteers	Feel responsible for making refugees independent Feel guilty about being too caring	Feel curious and tolerant, enjoy receiving guests Feel empathy, love, and caring Feel equal toward refugees Do not feel aversion and irritation Feel civic indifference

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Like every other study, ours has some limitations: It concerns a small-scale qualitative study with a limited number of respondents. Furthermore, emotions can also be related to factors such as family patterns, character, and education, which have not been studied in depth. Additionally, we did not deliberately ask about feeling and framing rules because their prominent role came to the surface during the process of coding and analyzing. Nevertheless, our findings are relevant as an addition to the field of SoE, empirically displaying how emotional labor is practiced in the context of integration. Through this research, we place emotions in their social context and incorporate the impact of social structures (in the form of citizenship regimes).

We can now answer our research question: What kind of emotional labor is involved in the solidarity work that occurs between refugees and the volunteers who help them?

Hochschild's theory on feeling and framing rules enabled us to give more structure and depth to experienced emotions. We found that refugees and volunteers are subject to two demanding citizenship regimes, the self-reliance regime and the community regime, each with their own framing and feeling rules. Volunteers express more feeling rules related to the community regime than refugees. This may have something to do with the fact that refugees, once they have decided to flee and build a new life in another country, have no choice but to adjust. Volunteers, on the other hand, are entirely free to help or refrain from helping. Hence their emotional labor is more intense. They struggle with feelings in a situation of their choosing; feelings that they could also avoid or get rid of. So, the situation and the emotions it arouses are felt as their responsibility. One way to limit the burden of this responsibility is to focus on practical tasks, as is also shown by Maestri and Monforte (2020).

This struggle with moral emotions usually takes place in silence: What can and should I feel in this relationship? How far can or should I go with my tolerance? This is echoed by studies elaborating on the emotional labor

involved in volunteering, which can lead to emotion avoidance, evasion, or even burnout (e.g., Allen & Augustin, 2021; Eliasoph, 1997).

Refugees share this community ideal in their longing for a place in society. However, they are faced with the limits of community life as they experience Dutch people can be highly busy with their own lives. To find a place in their new surroundings, they strive to achieve self-reliance and independence. The way refugees cope with feelings concerning community life complements previous research, which adopted an individual therapeutic or pathological perspective on the emotions of migrants (Mahmud, 2021).

Our findings elaborate on how refugees cope with their emotions and show how volunteers perform emotional labor, struggling with demanding framing rules and concomitant feeling rules. Volunteers with a refugee background, however, seem to do less emotional labor than volunteers who are originally Dutch. Sharing similar experiences and speaking the same language can make it easier to relate to and support refugees. This is in line with multiple scholars who endorse the importance of practical and emotional support of like-ethnic peers to integrate with new communities (i.e., Anleu Hernandez & García-Moreno, 2014; Martone et al., 2014; Nash et al., 2006).

We studied two different neighborhoods, but we did not find differences concerning emotional labor and feeling and framing rules, even though local policy in Riverfield is more focused on community than local policy in Greentown. Apparently, this does not make a difference in the framing rules that refugees and volunteers experience.

Our research shows that a great deal of emotional labor is involved in creating a solidary society. Both volunteers and refugees struggle with demanding feeling rules that relate to the community regime and self-reliance regime. Can we build a society on expectations of such emotional labor? What is needed to promote and sustain such behavior? Extreme right-wing voices that want to keep refugees out and argue that they should at most be accommodated in their own region offer liberation from the complicated feeling rules that come with community regimes' integration of refugees. On the other hand, progressive politicians who advocate a more generous refugee policy rarely pay attention to the emotional labor this involves. They speak in terms of human rights and humane policies but often keep silent on what this means for everyday interaction. A few decades ago, progressives still had an optimistic story about multicultural society as an enrichment for all. Today, they no longer tell that story, but instead stick to the more abstract notion of human rights. We argue that progressives must pay more attention to the emotional labor involved in hosting refugees. Solidarity comes with emotional costs. As Prainsack and Buyx (2011) argue, solidarity consists of "shared practices reflecting a collective commitment to carry 'costs' (financial, social, emotional or otherwise) to assist others" (p. 14). It is important to acknowledge these costs and make them part of the political conversation on solidarity. These costs are no reason to abandon solidarity; the point is that recognizing them can support people to perform solidarity over time and help them cope with emotional hurdles.

Additionally, we argue that it is important that policymakers and politicians realize that the community regime looms large in neighborhoods, even when the self-reliance regime is dominant at the national policy level. Acknowledging the hidden dominance of the community regime helps to better understand where feeling and framing rules come from. Understanding the origins and impact of emotional labor facilitates an

open discussion. The emotional labor in solidarity work makes a multicultural society livable. It is important to understand the emotional foundations if we want to sustain them.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Data Availability

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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