“IT WILL BE A JENSEN OR A HANSEN THAT GETS IT”

SENSES OF BELONGING AND PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION AMONG DANISH-SOMALIS IN AARHUS FROM c. 1990-2017

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“It will be a Jensen or a Hansen that gets it”: Senses of belonging and perceptions of discrimination among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus

A microhistory investigation into the experiences of Danish-Somalis who arrived in Denmark as refugees in the 1990s and their recollections of changes from c. 1990 to 2017.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates how senses of belonging and perceptions of discrimination and prejudice have changed among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus from c. 1990 to 2017. The study is primarily based on seven oral history interviews with Danish-Somalis, who arrived in Denmark between 1987 and 2001. The bottom-up perspective provides insights into an important minority group, while placing the microhistorical findings into the broader sociohistorical context of recent Danish history. Despite heuristic limitations, this opens avenues for generalisation.

The thesis concludes that Danish-Somalis in Aarhus believe they are associated with a set of prejudices, such as: economic prejudices related to unemployment, welfare benefits, being uneducated, or lazy; and cultural prejudices related to family life, or terrorism. Consequently, the thesis concludes that Danish-Somalis strongly believe they have been discriminated against. This discrimination was mainly associated with labor discrimination, although legislative and police discrimination was mentioned as well.

The thesis revealed that from c. 1990 to 2017 Danish-Somalis experienced a change in both prejudice and discrimination. This change was largely negative, with the exception of labor market inclusion, where the interviewees felt improvements had occurred. The majority of interviewees did not reflect on the exact timing of changes from c. 1990 to 2017, but rather pointed to some underlying causes and turning points. The interviewees who did pinpoint a specific time of change believed the changes occurred in the last ten to fifteen years. The underlying causes and turning points were believed to be: the September 11, 2001 terror attack, a rise in global conflicts or wars involving countries with a Muslim majority, a general harshening of the media's portrayal of Muslims, and changes in Danish politics, e.g. the popularity and legitimacy of *Dansk Folkeparti*.

The thesis further finds that almost all interviewees had senses of belonging tied to both Danish and Somali culture. Similarly, almost all believed that the rise in prejudice and discrimination negatively affected their sense of belonging in Denmark.

Lastly the thesis uses theories from sociology and psychology to analyze the empirical findings from historical archives and oral history interviews. Theories were used as a tool to investigate the changes found among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus, and in Danish politics from c. 1990 to 2017. It was concluded that Danish-Somalis' experiences of discrimination/ prejudice and their sense of belonging was not constant, but affected by changes in Denmark as a whole. In connection with the theoretical analysis, I propose a revised version of Berry's theory of acculturation strategies.

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CONTENT

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

> Danes write [integration] projects about better integration with a lot of good words and phrasings, and then they apply. If I apply […] [and even though] my project is better, then I don't get it. Instead it will be a Jensen or a Hansen that gets it.[1]

In the years from c. 1990 to 2017, Denmark experienced an economic neoliberal overhaul of welfare state politics, and a rise in right-wing nationalism – shifting political power away from social democratic policies, which had dominated Danish politics for most of the twentieth century up until 2001.[2] During this period, refugees from countries in Asia and Africa arrived in Denmark, having to navigate a new life and reconstruct their feeling of belonging vis-à-vis Danish people and their society.[3] The manner in which refugees were received depended on changes in welfare politics, employment rates, public debate, and opinions on immigrants, refugees, and integration.[4] This thesis explores the sense of belonging, and perceptions of discrimination and prejudice experienced by one group of refugees – the Somalis, who arrived in the 1990s. The thesis will try to answer the ques-

[1] Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017. Please see appendix 4.10.
[2] Statsministeriet, "Regeringer fra 1953 til i dag" (2017); Jønsson & Petersen (2010) pp. 164-200; Petersen et al (2014); Hervik (2011).
[3] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) pp. 9-17.
[4] Jønsson & Petersen (2010) pp. 173-178, pp. 186-187, and pp. 200-203; OECD, "Key Findings on the Labour Market Integration of Immigrants"(2007) p. 31.

tions of how Danish-Somalis' senses of belonging and perceptions of discrimination in Denmark changed from c. 1990 to 2017.

1.1. Historiography

Within the field of history, research tends to focus on broader changes in immigration and integration in Denmark, and is almost exclusively written within the subdiscipline of political history. Thus, various books with a good overview of Danish immigration and integration policies have been published, for instance the six volume monograph, *Dansk Velfærdshistorie,* edited by Jørn Henrik Petersen, Klaus Petersen, and Niels Finn Christiansen from 2014. Volume six includes a comprehensive chapter written by Heidi Vad Jønsson on Danish immigration and integration politics from c. 1993 to 2014. It outlines both the political changes occurring during that period, and decisions taken at that time, as well as factors influencing those changes, such as public media debate.[5] Another central book is Grete Brochmann and Anniken Hagelund's *Velferdens Grenser – Innvandringspolitikk og velferdsstat i Skandinavia 1945-2010,* from 2010. It summarizes the development from labor migration in the 1960s and 1970s, to the immigration restrictions in the 1990s and 2000s, as well as the connection between integration, politics and the welfare state.[6] Moreover, in the article "Refugee policy as 'negative nation branding': the case of Denmark and the Nordics" from 2017, Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen highlights the restrictive changes in Danish policies and argues politicians have persued deterrence policies in regards to refugees.[7]

Besides the mentioned publications outlining the political history of immigration and integration policies, other books on Danish immigration history tend to focus on the long-term history of immigration from prehistoric time onwards – and consequently Danish-Somalis are given very little attention. One example is Bent Østergaard's *Indvandrerne i Danmarks his-*

[5] Petersen et al. (2014) and Jønsson (2014) p 863-996.
[6] Brochmann & Hagelund (2010).
[7] Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017).

torie from 2007, in which he includes a historiographical chapter on immigrants in Danish historical writing. He emphasizes that social scientists have dominated immigration research from the 1970s onwards, and as a result of this most research is quantitative.[8]

Additionally, a couple of journalistic books on the history of refugees in Denmark have been published. For instance, Carsten Fenger-Grøn and Malene Grøndahl's *Flygtningenes Danmarkshistorie,* from 2004. This text provides a good overview of various refugee groups, and it includes interviews and first person accounts of experiences. However, the book is written with a journalistic approach and the quality of footnotes and critical sources limits its historiographical usability.[9]

As historical research tends to focus on broader changes in immigration and integration politics, one must branch out into the fields of political science, psychology, and sociology for two reasons. First, for research on particular refugee groups and how they adapt to and navigate through belonging, discrimination and stereotypes in a new country; and second, for theories of discrimination, belonging, and prejudice. In *The Craft of International History*, Marc Trachtenberg argues that political science, in particular theoretical models, is important for historical studies as it creates a strong conceptual core that can function as an analytical tool.[10] However, political science research and theoretical models differ from historical research in certain ways; for instance, they tend to bring to light short-term effects with added emphasis on combative discussions and normative suggestions.

The first type of social scientific research is specific to refugee and/or minority groups and how these adapt to and navigate through belonging, discrimination, and prejudice in Denmark. While most studies, both in Denmark and abroad, focus on health care of immigrants and refugees, one article by Gill Valentine, Deborah Sporton, and Katrine Bang Nielsen, "Identities and belonging: A study of Somali refugee and asylum seekers living in the UK and Denmark", conceptualizes experience of social place,

[8] Østergaard (2007) p. 521. Also see: Bejder & Holt (2003).
[9] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004).
[10] Trachtenberg (2006) p. vii.

identity, and belonging among Somali refugees in Aarhus.[11] The article concludes belonging is about emotions associated with a citizenship and a social place, not the citizenship or a place in itself; and that Danish-Somalis in Aarhus do not feel as if they belong in Denmark.[12] However, even when social scientists' studies are included, research on Danish-Somalis is limited, particularly on first-generation Danish-Somalis. This is pointed out by Nadia Kleist in *Når hjemme er mere end et sted,* where she notes that very little academic research actually exists on the Somali diaspora in Denmark, despite intense media and political focus.[13]

The second type of research, which entails branching out into the fields of social science, covers theories of discrimination, prejudice, and belonging. Trachtenberg argues that theories can help provide essential guidance for the historian and become an "engine of analysis". He emphasizes that theories cannot replace empirical research, as they do not provide any definite answers, but rather facilitate analysis by generating specific questions.[14] Two important theories for my thesis are psychologist John W. Berry's concept of acculturation and sociologist Milton Gordon's seven dimensions of assimilation. Berry argues that identity, and the relationship with the larger society are based on strategies of both minority groups and the majority society. In this case, Danish-Somalis represent the minority group, whereas the majority society's views are articulated through national and municipal policies. Gordon argues that seven dimensions – including acculturation, sense of belonging, and absence of discrimination and prejudice – influence the process of assimilation.[15] According to Trachtenberg theories can become an analytical tool by taking a theory and "bringing it down to earth by thinking about what it would mean in specific historical contexts, and then study those historical episodes with those basic conceptu-

[11] Valentine, et al. (2009) p. 235.
[12] Valentine, et al. (2009) p. 246.
[13] Kleist (2002) p. 32.
[14] Trachtenberg (2006) pp. 30-37.
[15] Gordon focuses on assimilation and argues that American society was moving towards assimilation, however, in "Sammensatte Samfunn" Knut Kjeldstadli argues that Gordon's seven dimensions of assimilation are still relevant for a discussion of integration. Berry (2008) p. 322; Gordon (1964) pp. 69-74; Kjeldstadli (2008) p. 108.

al issues in mind".[16] This is what I will do in chapter 5, where the theories of Berry and Gordon are explained in further detail.

The research gap in historical research detailing the experiences of refugee groups is surprising, seeing as the field of history experienced an increased focus on the lives of ordinary people in the 1960s and 1970s, with the social history movement contributing to the field with works on e.g. the working classes or minorities. However, the scope of research within social history is still limited by a lack of sources concerning everyday people.[17]

Similar to history conducted on the national or international level, microhistory before the 1960s and 1970s had a tendency to focus on local administrations or governing elites. Microhistory can be defined as history that focuses on a specific episode or area, such as Aarhus, to illustrate a wider historical development.[18] However, microhistory research is also limited by available sources, as is the case with social history presently.[19] Historians argue that oral history can help bridge this problematic lack of available sources within certain minority groups by providing a new historical depth.[20] One of the main arguments supporting oral history methodology is the conviction that history should not just be told by elites or majorities but also by minorities, the working class, and by underprivileged people. In "History and the Community" Paul Thompson argues this aspect of oral history provides a truthful reconstruction of history and can open up new areas of research, which would not be covered by traditional sources.[21]

1.2. Research questions

This thesis focuses on Danish-Somalis in Aarhus, and contributes to social history and microhistory by using oral history interviews to bridge the research gap the historiographical section has outlined. My thesis focuses on

[16] Trachtenberg (2006) p. 45.
[17] Thompson (1984) pp. 39-40.
[18] Godfrey (2016) p. 49.
[19] Donnelly & Norton (2011) p. 47; Thompson (1984) pp. 39-41.
[20] Donnelly & Norton (2011) p. 175.
[21] Thompson (1984) pp. 39-41.

Danish-Somalis' perceptions of discrimination and prejudice, as well as their understandings of belonging. The central question underlying this thesis is:

How have the senses of belonging and perceptions of discrimination and prejudices among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus changed from c. 1990 to 2017.

In pursuing this objective, a sub-set of questions will be tackled:

- Do Danish-Somalis believe they are associated with certain prejudices? Do they believe they are discriminated against or have been in the past?
- Have Danish-Somalis experienced a change over time in discrimination and prejudice?
- Do Danish-Somalis recognize certain underlying causes or turning points, for instance the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, or the publication of the Mohammed cartoons on September 30, 2005?
- How would Danish-Somalis define their respective sense of belonging in Denmark?
- Have Danish-Somalis experienced a change over time in their senses of belonging in Denmark?
- Do Danish-Somalis believe there is a connection between discrimination/prejudice and their senses of belonging?

1.3. Concepts

Throughout the thesis, I use some terms and concepts, which need to be clarified. I use the terminologies 'Danish-Somali' and 'ethnic Danes' because these were the terms used by the interviewees themselves during the interviews. This was contrary to archival sources where Danish-Somalis were often termed Somalis even though they had Danish citizenship. When I write about Danish-Somalis I refer to the Somali refugees who arrived in Denmark after 1987 as asylum seekers, and the spouses who arrived via family reunification with a recognised Somali refugee later on.

When I use the concept of 'prejudice' this refers to a negative attitude towards people in a particular ethnic group – in this case, the Somali ethnic group.[22] This type of prejudice can take the form of e.g. negative comments, slurs, or stereotypes associated with Danish-Somalis.

When employing the concept of 'discrimination', I refer to "the denial of rights and opportunities to certain groups based on prejudice and stereotypes".[23] This type of discrimination can be intentional or unintentional, as well as individual or institutional.[24] All four concepts can be applied to analyze many different types of discrimination, but during the interviews I focused on labor discrimination, i.e. discrimination (or lack thereof) the interviewees had experienced either during the hiring process or in relation to their work.

When I use the concept 'sense of belonging', I refer to individuals who feel that their identity, emotions and everyday life is tied to Denmark.[25]

1.4. Sources and method

To answer the question of changes over time in perceptions of discrimination and senses of belonging, I rely on the oral history method and have collected seven hourlong interviews with Danish-Somalis in Aarhus. Oral history interviews provided richer information than sources from governmental archives when it came to experiences, perceptions and opinions among Danish-Somalis – thereby making it possible to investigate my research question.

The interviewees arrived in Denmark between 1987 and 2001, and were aged between 35 and 56 when I interviewed them. Out of the seven interviewees, four were male and three were female. All interviewees have been given aliases in the thesis.[26]

[22] Magill & Delgado (1995) p. 1025.
[23] Magill & Delgado (1995) p. 373.
[24] Jensen et al (2012) pp. 19-24.
[25] Hanauer (2008) p. 201; Peters et al. (2016) p. 64; Valentine, et al. (2009) p. 235.
[26] This project is approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). The oral history interviews were collected in accordance with regulations outlined NSD. Please see appendix 1.1 for an overview of the interviewees, including aliases.

As is the case with all sources, limitations exist. I found the interviewees using a snowball method – contacting organizations, cultural groups, and housing communities in Aarhus, expectating that they could help me get in contact with potential interviewees. Initially, I started e-mailing the AarhuSomali organization, an umbrella organization that sent my request to their partners. I also posted and contacted some Somali cultural groups and some Muslim groups on Facebook and they helped me get in contact with housing communities where a significant number of Danish-Somalis reside. The advantage of this strategy is that it gave me access to interviewees I would not have been able to contact otherwise. The downside of the strategy is the risk that some interviewees' opinions and experiences can be homogenenized, and therefore, lack representativeness.[27] I tried to counterbalance this bias by contacting several organizations at the same time, in the hope that it would provide a more diverse and heterogeneous group of interviewees. However, during the interviews it became clear that uniformity was not a problem as the interviewees had very different experiences in Denmark and very different opinions regarding sense of belonging and perceptions of discrimination/prejudice.

Another challenge resulting from the snowball method was that, although many potential interviewees were reached, it is likely that only the ones really interested agreed to participate. All interviewees were active and resourceful community members, with a high level of Danish language proficiency, and an interest in improving the situation for Danish-Somalis. As a result, other – more marginalized – Danish-Somalis are underrepresented in the interviews.[28]

Even though the interviewees spoke Danish fluently, the fact that the interview was conducted in their second language might have affected their communication of perceptions and experiences. Although language did not

[27] Bøgh Andersen et al. (2010) p. 163.
[28] This was something the majority of interviewees reflected on themselves, as they often distinguished between their own experiences, and the experiences of Danish-Somali friends, community members, or acquaintances. Overall, they viewed the experiences of other Danish-Somalis as worse than their own. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.

appear to be a barrier during the interviews, there were a couple of times when I had to reformulate a question, or when the interviewees needed extra time to formulate their answer. When translating the quotes into English for the purpose of this thesis, I did not include grammatical errors.

In *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, Mary Kay Quinlan emphasizes how differences in age, gender, and ethnic background between the interviewer and interviewees can affect the dynamics of the interview situation.[29] It is particularly important to reflect on the fact the oral history sources were created from an interview situation where I, as the interviewer, was not viewed as part of the minority group. At first glance, this was not something that affected the majority of interviews, as all the interviewees were very open and straightforward. However it may have affected their answers indirectly.[30]

Quinlan also points out that the physical location where the interview takes place creates a setting, which may evoke important memories in the interviewees' mind.[31] I conducted the majority of interviews at community centres close to the interviewees' homes, in an environment where they felt comfortable. The only exception to this was Bashiir, who was interviewed in a room at a public library.

The interviews were semi-structured, and I prioritized flexibility as a mean to direct the conversation, and ensure the experiences and perceptions among Danish-Somalis steered the dialog. However, this poses a challenge for a historical study, as the aspect of time is not handled chronologically. Indeed, in *Minner og Kulturhistorie,* historian Dagfinn Slettan points out that the time narrative in oral history sources tends to be determined by content rather than chronology. This influences the attempt to answer my research questions, as changes from c. 1990 to 2017 first and foremost are

[29] Quinlan (2012) pp. 32-33.
[30] An example of the awareness of me as a non-minority group member is obvious a couple of times where the interviewees were giving examples of discrimination, e.g. by including me in a potential narrative. For instance, Cawil said that if he and I were co-workers and crossing the Danish boarder from Germany in two separate cars, he would be stopped but I would not. Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017.
[31] Quinlan (2012) pp. 28-29.

analyzed through perceptions of changes among the interviewees rather than specific years of change.[32]

Another methodological constraint is the limitation of human memory, hindsight understanding, and the personal choice of the interviewees on what to share (and not to share) when they gave their testimony about present and previous experiences in Denmark.[33] However, Quinlan argues that distance over time allows the interviewees to better reflect upon and improve their understanding of past events – thereby limiting dramatization.[34] Still, this reflection and comprehension can involve a process where memories are reconstructed in regards to the interviewee's present interpretation of the past.[35] I apply an approach by historian Edvard Bull who argued that the interviewees' "own perceptions in itself, is as important a historical fact as the actual event".[36] This is consistent with my research question, and my thesis therefore focuses on changes in senses of belonging, and perceptions of prejudice and discrimination, as perceived by the Danish-Somali minority group during the interviews in November 2017.

The last, and possibly severest, methodological constraint is the limited number of only seven interviewees. This significantly limits the representativeness of the thesis and supports criticism of oral history in general, including objections about the individuality of oral history sources.[37] Some methodological tools can be used to counterbalance the constraints of this limited number. The most central one to mention here is the consistency between the interviewee's depiction of events, and other primary source's, for instance reports, documents, and governmental publications.[38]

I have drawn on archival sources from both Aarhus Byrådsarkiv (ABA) and Aarhus Stadsarkiv (ASA). ABA is the archive of Aarhus City Council, where I systematically went through all city council minutes from

[32] Slettan (1994) p. 113.
[33] Thomson (2012) pp. 77-78.
[34] Quinlan (2012) pp. 28-29.
[35] Kjeldstadli (1992) p. 188.
[36] Edvard Bull was quoted in Slettan (1994) p. 79. The quote in Norwegian was: "Men arbeidernes egen oppfatning er i seg sjøl et like viktig historisk faktum som selve den virkelige begivenhet".
[37] Slettan (1994) p. 68.
[38] Hoffman (1984) p. 69; Lummis (2006) pp. 256-258.

1995 to 2017, and investigated proposals and inquiries related to integration, immigrants, refugees, and minorities in Aarhus. The minutes from 1995 to 2003 were read at the City Hall in Aarhus, whereas the minutes from 2004 onwards were available online. I also used various records from ASA, the city archive of Aarhus, including numerous publications by Aarhus Municipality on integration and minorities, reports on the Somali community in Aarhus in the 1990s, and articles from municipality-funded minority newspapers. Additionally, I used a number of available online sources such as legislation, governmental publications, or political party platforms.

1.5. Delimitation

The topic of this thesis was quite broad at the outset and I had to make some changes to ensure its feasibility. First, I had to focus on one minority group – Danish-Somalis – instead of several groups. The Danish-Somali minority has been viewed as the "worst-case scenario" of integration by media and politicians, making the group well suited for this study, as experiences of discrimination and prejudice are magnified.[39] Secondly, I had to narrow down the dimension of geographical space considerably, and during that process, I chose a microhistory approach with focus on Aarhus, Denmark. Third, I chose to focus on the period between c. 1990 and 2017, because (a) the number of Somali refugees arriving in Denmark significantly increased after 1990, and (b) because the interviews were conducted in 2017. It is important to note that most Danish-Somalis in Aarhus arrived in Denmark after 1995 and the primary focus is therefore on 1995 onwards.

1.6. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organized in six chapters. In this chapter, I outlined the research gap in my historiographical review of immigration and minority re-

[39] For examples of negative treatment in media and politics, e.g. that Danish-Somalis were described as "troublesome", see Fadel et al. (1999) p. 171; Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) pp. 292-325; and Kleist (2002) p. 32.

search, and from this, I formulated my research topic. I also provided an overview of relevant concepts, and a discussion of methodological considerations and constraints.

Chapter 2 summarizes the national changes and development in Denmark from c. 1990 to 2017 in regards to the welfare state, immigration and integration policies, and the arrival of Somali refugees. This second chapter is based on both primary and secondary sources; the primary sources mainly being drawn from ASA and governmental/political party publications.

Chapter 3 is a systematic review of minutes from Aarhus City Council outlining proposals and inquiries related to immigration, integration, ethnic minorities, and Danish-Somalis. The purpose of this third chapter is to investigate the changes undertaken by the municipal government, with an eye towards indicators of discrimination and prejdudice in policies in Aarhus. This chapter is based on primary sources from ABA.

Chapter 4 is an analysis of the seven oral history interviews of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus Denmark. The chapter outlines how the interviewees' senses of belonging, and perceptions of discrimination and prejudices changed from c. 1990 to 2017, thereby answering the main research question.

Chapter 5 is a theoretical analysis aimed at understanding the findings in chapter 2, 3, and 4. I use two theoretical models – Berry's acculturation strategies and Gordon's seven dimensions of assimilation. By combining my empirical finding and these models, we can come closer to understanding changes in Danish politics and the importance of those changes on perceptions of prejudice, discrimination, and senses of belonging among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus. In chapter 5, I also propose an updated model of Berry's acculturation strategies, as the empirical findings among Danish-Somalis called for a revisal of the model.

In chapter 6, I conclude my research question and contextualize the experiences of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus with that of Somali minorities in Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands.[40]

[40] Parts of this introduction were used in project seminar HIS4031.

THE DANISH WELFARE STATE, REFUGEE LEGISLATION, AND DANISH-SOMALIS IN AARHUS

CHAPTER 2

This chapter is divided into four sections; in the first section I outline the development of the modern Danish welfare state from 1945 to 2017. In the second section I give an overview of the history of immigration and refugees in Denmark highlighting immigration and integration policy changes in the country. Immigration policies refer to legislation regarding immigrants or asylum seekers' rights to move to Denmark, while integration policies refer to legislation and initiatives regarding immigrants and asylum seekers once they have arrived in the country. The account of immigration policy changes focuses on the years from 1983 to 2004, whereas immigration policy changes will be addressed for the period from c. 1990 to 2017, as those years are most relevant for Danish-Somalis and their experience in Denmark. In the third section I outline the history of the Somali Civil War and Somali refugees in the 1990s as well as the history of Somalis in Aarhus. Lastly, the chapter's findings will be briefly summarized.

2.1. History of the Danish welfare state 1945-2017

After World War II, Denmark experienced economic growth that resulted in a general improvement in living standards and greater affluence. This economic growth was relatively moderate until around 1958, when it suddenly rose significantly as a result of e.g. favorable prices of imported goods compared to exported goods and a high demand of industrial commodities in the 1960s.[41] In Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries this development paved the way for the growth of a welfare state, where the service sector was expanded significantly and financial state support increased. The welfare state as it developed in Denmark was not the goal of a clear political plan, but rather the result of numerous reforms that were adapted from 1945 to 1974, in connection with the enormous economic growth the country experienced. As a result of this, most characteristics of the modern welfare state were constructed following the end of the 1950s after Danish and European economic growth took off.[42]

While the welfare reforms during the 1960s and 1970s can be portrayed as a more or less upward progress in the expansion of services, the following decades underwent what has been described as a "crisis" in the welfare state and certain attempts were made to reform the system.[43]

[41] Friisberg (1977) pp. 9-11; Skaksen & Jensen (2016) p. 9. The economic upswing in Denmark was part of an international trend of economic growth in post-war Europe, and Danish growth in turn depended on European markets. See, Broadberry & O'Rourke (2010); Damsgaard Hansen (2001); Berend (2016).

[42] Characteristics of the modern welfare state came to include: a universal pension scheme with the Pension Reform of 1956, an inclusive public elementary school system with the School Reform of 1958, and an expansion of social assistance with the Rehabilitation Act of 1960 and the Public Assistance Act of 1961; both of which replaced the existing system of Poor Laws that was in place in the country at the time. Moreover, the welfare state reforms came to include an updated regulation of disabled people with the revised Disablement Pension Scheme of 1960 that included people born with disabilities, as well as a number of family reforms throughout the 1960s and 1970s, such as reforms for single mothers and reforms concerning public daycare. Christiansen & Petersen (2001) pp. 177-190.

[43] This "crisis" in the welfare state in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in new historical research. Before the 1980s, welfare state research had largely been studied by state bureaucrats but when the welfare state became a more debated topic in the late 1970s historians started to study the various explanations for the development of the welfare state, as well as the consequences it brought with it. For more information see Goul Andersen (1997) pp. 1-27; Kolstrup (1994); Christiansen & Petersen (2001) pp. 177-178 and 194. Other relevant

Whereas the late 1950s to early 1970s had been characterized by high economic growth rates and low unemployment, the oil price crisis of 1973-74 was the beginning of a period that witnessed lower growth rates, rising unemployment, and inflation. This affected the economic basis of the welfare state and resulted in some changes in the welfare state system in the last half of the 1970s and the 1980s.[44] However, data from *Danmarks Statisik* show that public expenses still grew from 42% of the GDP in 1971 to 58% of the GDP in 1983.[45] The economic foundation of the welfare state was heavily debated in the late 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, but it was not before the late 1990s that welfare state services were significantly conditionalized and reduced.[46]

While labor demand was consistently high in the 1960s, the oil price crisis in 1973-1974 launched a period of rising unemployment that lasted more than 20 years – only interrupted twice, in 1979 and during the mid-1980s. The rising unemployment in Denmark was part of a bigger trend among OECD-countries.[47] From the mid 1990s and onwards this trend changed, and the Danish labor market witnessed falling unemployment rates from c. 1990 until 2007.[48] Data from *Danmarks Statistik* further shows that non-western immigrants in Denmark experienced a significant increase in employment between 1993 and 2007. However, from 2007 to 2014, the same group experienced a rise in unemployment as they were disproportionally affected by the financial crisis.[49]

2.1.1. Political parties in Denmark

The history of the Danish welfare state from 1945 to 2017 is interwoven with the history of political parties in Denmark and their respective party politics. From 1947 to 1968, 1971 to 1973 and again from 1975 to 1982,

research on comparative welfare state development includes Stråth & Schulz-Forberg (2010); Kaelble (2013); Judt (2005).
[44] Christiansen & Petersen (2001), pp. 194-195.
[45] Petersen et al. (2014a) p. 26.
[46] Jønsson (2014) p. 863.
[47] Danmarks Statistik, "60 år i tal – Danmark siden 2. Verdenskrig", 2008 p. 12.
[48] Petersen (2014) et al. pp. 16-19.
[49] Danmarks Statistik, "Indvandrer i Danmark", 2016; Mikkelsen (2008) p. 50.

Socialdemokratiet was in power with either a single party government or with assistance from supporting parties.[50] *Socialdemokratiet* was the driving force behind the welfare state development although many of the reforms from 1958 to 1973 had been based on broad political compromises.[51]

It was not until the period from 1982 to 1993 that a right-wing coalition was able to stay in power for a longer period of time.[52] The decade from 1982 to 1993 was influenced by the international trend towards neoliberal economics and symbolic leaders such as Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, but the Danish welfare state saw only minor changes in the social security system at the time.[53] However, this changed during the 2001 election when a *Venstre*-led coalition took power, thereby replacing *Socialdemokratiet*'s coalition government that had been in power from 1993 to 2001. The 2001 election initiated a period of welfare alterations based on the belief that individuals should have more freedom and responsibilities. Significant changes happened within policy areas like school systems, the integration and immigration system, the legal system and the administrative organization of the state. The period also saw a shift towards policies and initiatives concerning activation and employment (see appendices 2.1 and 2.2 for an overview of Danish political parties and coalition governments).[54]

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[50] Statsministeriet, "Regeringer fra 1901 - 1953"; Statsministeriet, "Regeringer fra 1953 – i dag".

[51] The welfare state reforms were established on the underlying principle of universalism that existed within *Socialdemokratiet.* The party had favored the principle of universalism historically, with their belief in universal social institutions, such as hospitals and schools. However, with the rise in economic growth in the 1950s, *Socialdemokratiet* expanded their goals of universalism to a universal social security system as well. Brochmann & Hagelund (2012) p. 7; Christiansen & Petersen (2001) pp. 178 and 186.

[52] Statsministeriet, "Regeringer fra 1953 – i dag".

[53] Viborg Andersen et al. argue that there were four reasons the right-wing coalitions from 1982 to 1993 were not successful in altering the welfare system significantly. First, the two right-wing government parties (*Venstre* and *Konservative*) did not agree on a strategy. Second, the *Venstre*-led coalition government was a minority government and therefore had to collaborate with center parties, who were interested in negotiating with *Socialdemokratiet*. Third, some interest groups such as labor unions and bureaucrats from the public sector, argued against change. Fourth, some universalistic structures in the welfare system made it difficult to cut back. Christiansen & Petersen argue that while the *Venstre*-led coalitions questioned socialism and a controlling welfare state, they did not actually reject social policies, and that a consensus among most political parties regarding the welfare system had been in place since the 1960s; Viborg Andersen et al. (1996) pp. 161-181; Christiansen & Petersen (2001) pp. 188 and 195.

[54] Christiansen & Petersen (2001) pp. 17-18.

2.1.2. General tendencies in Denmark from c. 1990 to 2017

In the last couple of decades politicians and academics alike have argued over what direction the Danish welfare state is moving towards, most often using the term "competitive state" (*konkurrencestat)* to describe the new welfare state, but no clear consensus has been reached.[55] However, some general characteristics of the period from c. 1990 to 2017 exist.

First, the period was characterized by a neoliberal trend in economic policy making. GDP fell from 1994 to 2003, and the international economy went into a recession. With financially shrinking room for maneuver, policies underwent a sea change in the period from the 1990s onwards, with cuts and conditionalization of welfare services.[56] The neoliberal focus also helped bring about a shift in integration initiatives towards self-sufficiency, and more attention was given to refugees and immigrants' effect on the welfare state economy.[57]

Second, the period from c. 1990 to 2017 was characterized by a rise in right-wing nationalism.[58] The popularity of *Dansk Folkeparti* led to a shift in political power towards the right, which resulted in changes in political collaborations. On a national level, the *Venstre*-led coalition government increasingly collaborated with *Dansk Folkeparti,* which had been successful in establishing themselves as a powerful supporting party and thus pushing restrictive legislation. The rise in right-wing nationalism also affected political parties that did not necessarily collaborate with *Dansk Folkeparti*; for instance, *Socialdemokratiet* adapted a stricter approach to integration partly as a result of losing voters.[59]

Third, the period from c. 1990 to 2017 saw a growth in debates about immigration and refugees, and an increased focus on what effect ethnic mi-

[55] For instance, Goul Andersen (1997) pp. 1-27; Bundesen (2008) pp. 121-131; Nannestad (2004) pp. 755-767.
[56] Petersen et al. (2014) pp. 16-21.
[57] Skaksen & Schultz-Nielsen (2016) pp. 101-113; Revsgaard (2002) pp. 37-34.
In a speech from the annual opening of the Danish parliament then Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen outlined the new direction; "Statsminister Anders Fogh Rasmussens tale ved Folketingets åbning tirsdag den 7. oktober 2003", 7. October 2003.
[58] Mudde (2013) pp. 1-5; Jungar & Jupskås (2014) pp. 215-220; Hervik (2011).
[59] Mudde (2013) p. 16; Mikkelsen (2008) pp. 201-213; Jønsson & Petersen (2010) p. 195; Jungar & Jupskås (2014) pp. 215-220.

norities had on Danish society.[60] This development could be seen in both politics and the media. Questions of integration, immigration, and refugees were politicized along bloc lines in the 1990s. It occupied a growing importance in political elections – particularly since the 2001 election where it became a decisive factor.[61] Within *Socialdemokratiet,* the issue of immigration caused tensions, especially from c. 2010s onwards when the party moved towards the right on the political spectrum.[62] In the media the issue also grew in importance from 1990 to 2017, and a re-politicization and polarization occurred. Refugees and immigrants themselves rarely appeared in media coverage; and the period saw a gradual move towards more negative media coverage of refugees and immigrants.[63] Danish-Somalis had a special place in the growing debates about immigration and integration, often being depicted in a negative light in newspapers and considered a "worst-case scenario" of integration.[64]

Neoliberal economic thinking, right-wing nationalism, and debates about immigration and refugees merged together – and from c. 1990 and 2017 would all come to impact on who had access to welfare services.

2.2. History of Danish immigration and refugees 1983-2017

Alongside the changing political composition and the development of the welfare state, as we know it, Denmark witnessed population growth. Data from *Danmarks Statistik* shows the population in Denmark rose from just over four million in 1945, to just over five million in 1975, to around

[60] The research on immigration and integration significantly increased with the growing emphasis on refugees and immigrants. For a concise overview see Mikkelsen (2008) pp. 19-21.
[61] Jønsson (2014) p. 863; Olwig & Paerregaard (2011).
[62] Petersen & Petersen (2014) pp. 1105-1107; Petersen et al (2014) pp. 164-165; Socialdemokratiet, "Danmark herfra til år 2032 - Prioriteringer på Velfærdsområdet", 2011.
[63] Mikkelsen (2008) pp. 167-169; Hervik (2011) p. 7-8; Olwig & Paerregaard (2011).
[64] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) pp. 292-319; Jønsson (2014) pp. 863-895; Jønsson & Petersen (2010) pp. 180-209; Sven Ove Gade "Godhedens pris: Stands misbruget", in *Ekstra Bladet*, 19. March 1995.

5,700,000 in 2017.[65] This population growth was partly the result of the arrival of immigrants and refugees.[66]

Until the 1960s Denmark was a relatively homogenous country.[67] From 1600 to World War II Danish immigration had been based on practical labor demand rather than principles of universal human rights.[68] As a result of labor shortages from 1958 to 1973, the government permitted Danish employers to invite 'guest workers' (*gæstearbejdere*) from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan in the period from 1967 to 1973 – the first significant influx of non-western immigrants to Denmark.[69]

The prevalence of labor migrants slowly changed as a result of the 1951 Refugee Convention, ratified in April 1954.[70] In the 1970s the first non-western refugees, from Chile and Vietnam, arrived in Denmark. Chileans were fleeing from a military dictatorship that prosecuted left-wing supporters, whereas the Vietnamese were fleeing from a communist government that came to power when South Vietnam reunified with North Vietnam.[71] Moreover, in the 1980s and 1990s, following the Act on Aliens of 1983, non-western immigrants and refugees from Iran, Iraq, Tamil, Palestine, Bosnia, Somalia, and Kosovo arrived. This was mainly caused by: persecution of left-wing supporters following the 1979 revolution in Iran and

[65] Danmarks Statistik, FT.
[66] Petersen & Petersen (2014) p. 1103.
[67] Bejder (2016). Also, Castles et al. mention that most European countries experienced an increase in immigration after World War II, particularly since the 1980s, so the development in Denmark can be seen as consistent with a general European trend. See Castles et al. (2014) pp. 123-125.
[68] In the 18th and 19th century, immigration was dominated by aristocratic immigration, in relation to the German-influenced Danish royal court and aristocracy, as well as labor workers from Germany and Poland who received the nicknames Potato-Germans (*Kartoffeltyskere*) and Beet-Poles (*Roepolakker*) respectively. One example of the emphasis on practical labor demand was the city of Christiansfeld, where the Danish King Christian IV introduced freedom of religion in 1682 because of the need for a stronger workforce in the city. This brought Jews, Huguenots, and members of the Moravian Church to the area. There were a couple of examples of 'immigrants' being granted permission to stay independent of the labor demand, such as about 3,000 Jews fleeing from pogroms in Russia around year 1900, as well as exceptions during World War I and World War II. However, the idea of separating immigration in 'immigrants' and 'refugees' did not exist in Danish law until 1951. See Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) pp. 9-12; Bejder & Holt (2003); Østergaard (2007); Mavroudi & Nagel (2016).
[69] Olsen et al. (2017); Bejder (2016); Jønsson (2014) p. 864; Castles et al. (2014) pp. 104-108; Mikkelsen (2008) p. 47; Skaksen & Jensen (2016) p. 9.
[70] UNHCR, "Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees", 1951.
[71] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) p. 85.

the war between Iran and Iraq from 1980 to 1988, the Sri Lankan Civil War that started in 1983, the Lebanese Civil War and its effect on the Palestinian refugee camps in the country, the Bosnian War from 1992 to 1995, the Somali Civil War, and ethnic cleansing conducted by soldiers and civilians in Kosovo, respectively.[72] In the early 21st Century, Afghan refugees arrived in Denmark as a result of human rights violations and years of war and conflict, and later Syrian refugees arrived as a result of the Syrian Civil War.[73] Data from *Danmarks Statistik* shows that immigrants made up 9.9% of the Danish population at the beginning of 2017, and of these 5.8% were registered as non-western immigrants.[74]

2.2.1. Immigration policies in Denmark from 1983 to c. 2004

Until the 1951 Refugee Convention was implemented in 1954, immigrants and refugees entering Denmark were regulated by the Act concerning Inspection of Foreigners and Travellers (*Lov om Tilsyn med Fremmede og Reisende*), which dated back to 1875.[75] The Act of 1875 did not differentiate between different types of migrants, such as immigrants or refugees, and the term 'refugee' was not introduced into Danish law before the 1951 Refugee Convention.[76]

In 1983, the Danish parliament passed a new Act on Aliens (*Udlændingeloven af 1983*),[77] which replaced the previous legislation from 1875 and 1951.[78] Behind the formulation of the Act of 1983 was a commission (*Udlændingelovudvalg*) created in 1977 to examine the existing law. While the majority of the commission had been concerned with formulating

[72] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) pp. 155, 193, 225, 261, 295, and 331.
[73] Rodgers et al. (2016); Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) p. 367. The non-western immigration to Denmark from the 1970s onwards reflects a larger European trend, see Skaksen & Jensen (2016) p. 9; Cesari (2010) p. 11.
[74] Danmarks Statistik, FOLK1A. On January 1, 2017, the population of Denmark was 5,748,769 and of these 570,581 (9.9%). were registered as immigrants. The number of registered non-western immigrants was 332,874 (5.8%).
[75] Justitsministeriet, "Lov om Tilsynet med Fremmede og Reisende m. m.", 15. May 1875; Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) p. 11; Pinholt (1997) p. 21.
[76] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) p. 11.
[77] Henceforth called Act of 1983.
[78] Mielche Hansen (2016).

the new law in a way that would leave little flexibility and more control of immigration, the minority – supported by influential organizations like the Danish Refugee Council and the Danish Bar and Law Society – argued against it and won.[79] This coincided with a political emphasis on individual legal rights of immigrants/asylum seekers in the years leading up to 1983.[80]

The Act of 1983 was approved by a broad coalition of political parties, 155 members of parliament against 12, and came into effect on April 8, 1983. Overall, the Act of 1983 introduced improved rights for asylum seekers; and foreigners were eligible to apply for asylum according to the rights specified in the 1951 Refugee Convention, or if they were in a situation where it would be considered unwise for them to return to their home country (referred to as "de facto" refugees). Moreover, asylum seekers were granted the right to family reunification with e.g. children, partners, parents over 60 and in some cases other family members.[81] At the time, the Act of 1983 was described internationally as one of the most liberal laws on immigration and refugees in Europe.[82] However, in the following years, it became apparent that few politicians predicted the number of refugees and family reunifications that would ensue, and a new political debate quickly arose on restricting access.[83]

The Act of 1983 was amended an astonishing 118 times from 1986 to 2017. In "Refugee Policy as 'Negative Nation Branding': The Case of Denmark and the Nordics" from 2017, Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen explains that these amendments did not appear at the same pace:

> The pace of amendments is remarkable and bears witness to the growing politicization of this issue, especially in the last fifteen years. From 2002 to 2016 the Act [of 1983] was amended 93 times, a rate of just over one amendment every two months. In comparison, the Act [of 1983] was

[79] Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017) p. 101; Selsing & Elbjørn (2013) p. 93.
[80] Uhrskov Jensen (2008) pp. 541-545; Bejder (2016).
[81] Folketinget, "Udlændingeloven af 8. juni 1983", §7 and §9.
[82] Folketinget, "Udlændingeloven af 8. juni 1983"; Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) pp. 10-11; Mielche Hansen (2016).
[83] Uhrskov Jensen (2008) pp. 544-545.

> amended 25 times from 1986 to 2000, an average of one or two amendments a year.[84]

Some of these amendments were technical in nature, as Gammeltoft-Hansen also points out, e.g. as a result of changing international and European Union law. Overall, however, there has been a general trend towards restricting asylum and immigration law in Denmark in the period between 1986 and 2017, particularly after 2000.[85]

After 1995, the issue of immigration was brought to the forefront of Danish politics.[86] This was partly due to the fact the *Konservative*-led government had to resign in 1993 as a result of the Tamil case, and in their new role as opposition they started to argue for restrictions of the Act of 1983.[87] This was significant as up until that point, *Fremskridtspartiet* had been the only political party arguing for restricting amendments to the Act of 1983. Moreover, four former members of *Fremskridtspartiet* founded *Dansk Folkeparti* in 1995. While *Fremskridtspartiet* indeed had argued for stricter immigration policies, *Dansk Folkeparti* was the first political party in Denmark to center its party platform on the issue.[88]

Following 1995, it became apparent that two responses to the immigration question had emerged in Danish politics. On one hand, *Venstre* and *Konservative* emphasized stricter immigration policies and argued for limited immigration quotas. On the other hand, *Socialdemokratiet*, *Radikale Venstre* and *Socialistisk Folkeparti* emphasized better integration within the country and argued for increases in integration initiatives.[89]

In 1998, a coalition led by *Socialdemokratiet* managed to get a new Integration Act (*Udlændingepakken*) approved, with 89 votes for, versus 24

[84] Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017) p. 102
[85] Bade et al. (2011) pp. 11-12; Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017) pp. 102-103.
[86] Uhrskov Jensen (2008) pp. 548-552.
[87] The Tamil case started in 1987 when Minister of Justice, Erik Ninn-Hansen, stalled family reunification applications from Tamil refugees in Denmark, which was in conflict with the rights of refugees ensured in the Act of 1983. When this became official public knowledge in 1993, the *Venstre*-led coalition resigned and a coalition government led by *Socialdemokratiet* began again. Uhrskov Jensen (2008) pp. 546-552; Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) pp. 191-192.
[88] Uhrskov Jensen (2008) pp. 548-552.
[89] Jønsson (2014) pp. 863 and 878-880.

votes against. These amendments to the Act of 1983 included: restrictions in family reunification rules, enhanced possibilities for expelling foreigners waiting for Danish citizenship in certain cases of crime, and the introduction of new rules requiring participation in an introduction program to receive asylum.[90]

The 2001 election brought a coalition of *Venstre* and *Konservative* to power. The 1990s had been characterized by a focus on integration, led by *Socialdemokratiet* coalitions; but the 2001 election shifted the focus to restrictions on immigration policies. While the coalitions led by *Socialdemokratiet* in the 1990s had a hard time obtaining a political majority, the 2001 election gave the *Venstre*-led coalition a more stable majority – accelerating political decision-making.[91] However, the *Venstre*-led coalition governments of the 2000s were still minority governments, and in many ways characterized by their collaboration with *Dansk Folkeparti*. This resulted in a situation where, despite their platform, the government had to consent to restrictions on both immigration and integration policies relating to refugees and immigrants, if they wanted support on others issues.[92]

Less than a year after the 2001 election, fundamental changes in immigration policy materialized when the Act of 1983 was significantly amended. These amendments included: a removal of the concept of "de facto" refugees, a requirement of at least a seven years stay in Denmark before granting permanent residency, an option to send temporary residents back to their home country if conditions improved, and restrictions on family reunifications (e.g. the minimum age for spousal reunification for both partners was raised from 18 to 24).[93] The government policies in the 2000s concerning refugees and immigrants have been described as a "dualization", as poli-

[90] Folketinget, "Lov om ændring af udlændingeloven og straffeloven (Tidsubegrænset opholdstilladelse, asyl, familiesammenføring og udvisning m.v.)" 1998; Jønsson (2014) pp. 919-920 and 905.
[91] See Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Statsminiteriet "Statsminister Anders Fogh Rasmussens tale ved Folketingets åbning tirsdag den 7. oktober 2003", 7. October 2003; Jønsson (2014) pp. 940-942.
[92] Jønsson (2014) p. 945; Jensen et al. (2017) pp. 51-68.
[93] Folketinget, "Lov om ændring af udlændingeloven og ægteskabsloven med flere love" 2002; Jønsson (2014) pp. 950-952.

cies favored highly educated work immigrants, and restricted refugees/immigrants with less labor market attraction.[94]

These changes in the 2000s meant that the number of asylum seekers and family reunifications fell, while the number of immigrants arriving to work or study rose.[95] Data from *Danmarks Statistik* shows that the number of asylum applications fell from 11,942 in 2001, to below 6,000 per year from 2002 to 2011.[96] Likewise, data from the Danish Refugee Council re

vealed that in 2003 53% of asylum applications had been approved, compared to only 9% in 2004.[97]

2.2.2. Integration policies in Denmark from c. 1990 to 2017

Of the two approaches to the question of immigration the 1990s was characterized by a focus on integration initiatives, led by *Socialdemokratiet*.[98] The focus on integration in the 1990s was partly based on *Socialdemokratiet*'s party platform from 1988, where integration of foreigners was seen as the solution to the question of refugees and immigrants.[99] However, before the Integration Act of 1998 no actual law on integration existed.

The lack of legislation before 1998 meant that integration policies were decided and handled by cooperating institutions. For instance, some refugees and immigrants received financial support from the Danish Refugee Council while others received it from the local municipalities.[100] Likewise, the Danish Refugee Council was responsible for most state-funded integration programs in the early 1990s, but some municipalities and counties offered additional initiatives and programs e.g. labor market integration initiatives. There was no consistency or uniformity between the various municipalities.[101]

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[94] For more about dualization see Emmenegger et al. (2012) and Jønsson (2014) p. 943.
[95] Olsen et al. (2017).
[96] Danmarks Statistik, VAN5.
[97] Marfleet (2006) p. 277.
[98] Jønsson (2014) p. 863.
[99] Socialdemokratiet, "På Menneskets Vilkår" (1988) pp. 16-17.
[100] Jønsson & Petersen (2010) p. 186.
[101] Jønsson (2014) p. 868.

The 1993 party platform from the coalition government led by *Socialdemokratiet* included a push towards municipalization (*kommunalisering*), a process where the local municipalities were given more immigration responsibilities.[102]. In practice, the first step towards municipalization came in 1994 when the Danish parliament approved a bill regarding Bosnian refugees. The bill gave the responsibility of Danish language education, as well as housing, to the Danish Refugee Council and certain municipalities, e.g. Aarhus. This was also the starting point of several discussions in parliament regarding the establishment of an explicit universal integration law for all newcomers.[103]

The 1993 coalition government led by *Socialdemokratiet* reorganized the political and institutional framework for refugees and immigrants.[104] By creating various committees and councils they shed light on issues regarding immigration in Denmark, i.e. an Integration Committee consisting of members from relevant institutions such as: the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (*LO*), the Confederation of Danish Employers (*DA*), the Local Government in Denmark (*Kommunernes Landsforening*) as well as the Danish Refugee Council (*Dansk Flygtningehjælp*), the Danish Red Cross (*Dansk Røde Kors*) and the Council for Ethnic Minorities (*Rådet for Etniske Minoriteter*).

[102] Government platform, "En ny start", January 1993 p. 20.
[103] Jønsson (2014) p. 877.
[104] The political institutions responsible for integration policies changed during the period from 1990 to 2017. In the early 1990s the Ministry of Justice (*Justitsminiteriet*) handled policies regarding the Act of 1983 and access to Denmark, while several ministries handled integration policies in collaboration with each other, e.g. the Ministry of Social Affairs (Socialminiteriet), the Ministry of Interior (Indenrigsminiteriet), and the Ministry of Labor (*Arbejdsminiteriet*). However, in 1993 when a coalition led by *Socialdemokratiet* came to power all issues regarding immigration and integration policies concerning immigrants and refugees were compiled at the Ministry of Interior. When a *Venstre*-led coalition came to power in 2001 they reorganized the system and established a new ministry: the Ministry of Refugees, Foreigners and Integration (*Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Udlændinge og Integration*). In 2011, the coalition government led by *Socialdemokratiet* reorganized again, inspired by the early structure of immigration policies handled by the Ministry of Justice and integration policies handled by the Ministry of Social Affairs, as well as other ministries to a smaller extent. In 2015, this changed again, when the *Venstre*-led government came into power, and a Ministry of Foreigners, Integration and Housing (*Udlændinge-, Integrations- og Boligministerium*) was established. In 2016, this ministry was restructured as Minstry of Foreigners and Integration (*Udlændinge- og integrationsministeriet*). Jønsson (2014) pp. 866, 945 and 992; Statsministeriet, Kongelig Resolution af 28. juni 2015.

The Integration Act of 1998 was the first actual law on integration policies related to refugees and immigrants in Denmark, introducing a new comprehensive system of integration. The municipalization processes that had started in the early 1990s were extended further, and local municipalities were given full responsibility of the resettlement of refugees, planning and organizing introduction programs, running Danish language programs for adult refugees and immigrants, as well as financing social security benefits.[105] The geographical settlement of refugees had been discussed significantly in relation to the tendency of ghetto-formation. The solution was a maximum refugee quota in the municipalities and counties, as well as a system of flexibility allowing the municipalities to make independent decisions that accommodated regional differences.[106]

Moreover, the Integration Act of 1998 specified a three-year introduction program for all refugees and immigrants. This introduction program had to include a course on understanding Danish society, a Danish language course and activation initiatives, all of which had to be based on an individual plan of action that would be made in collaboration between the municipality and the refugee/immigrant.[107] Additionally, the act introduced an integration benefit (*integrationsydelse*) lower than the general social security benefit.[108]

In contrast to the ad hoc system that existed earlier, the Integration Act of 1998 moved integration policies regarding refugees and immigrants towards a centralistic welfare state solution. It is worth noting the Integration Act encompassed both refugees and immigrants, whereas earlier programs by the Danish Refugee Council had focused on refugees. This is relevant for the group of Danish-Somalis that arrived via family reunification,

[105] Folketinget, "Integrationsloven", 1998; Jønsson & Petersen (2010) p. 188; Jønsson (2014) pp. 870-871.
[106] Jønsson & Petersen (2010) p. 189.
[107] Folketinget, "Integrationsloven", 1998.
[108] Some parties in parliament, and the international community, criticized the integration benefit, for instance, international human rights organizations considered the benefit discriminatory. However, after reviewing the law the integration benefit was raised to the same amount as the general social security benefit in 2000. Folketinget, "Integrationsloven", 1998; Folketinget, "Lov om ændring af lov om integration af udlændinge i Danmark (integrationsloven) med flere love" 2000.

as they were considered immigrants under Danish law, and therefore were not eligible to participate in introduction programs before 1999. The Integration Act of 1998 became effective in January 1999, but it was not retroactive, which meant that the Danish-Somalis who had arrived in Denmark before 1999 were not included in integration programs.[109]

In 2000, the *Socialdemokratiet*-led coalition government released a plan of action in continuation of the Integration Act of 1998, where they specified their goals of integration and formulated a series of tangible initiatives.[110] These initiatives were based on studies from the 1990s, showing how some groups of refugees and immigrants were disproportionally located in relation to education, employment, settlement and criminality.[111] The initiatives included: increased financial support to bilingual children in elementary school, increased support to high school students that did not speak Danish as their first language, a right and obligation to participate in Danish language education for unemployed refugees and immigrants, and implementation of initiatives that would help introduce employees to refugees and immigrants, such as mentorship programs.[112]

As mentioned above, the 2001 election resulted in significant changes in immigration policies relating to refugees and immigrants. While integration policies were not pivotal to those changes, the *Venstre*-led governments did reform certain aspects of the existing integration policies. The idea of refocusing policies on self-sufficiency and work-related initiatives was the

[109] Jønsson & Petersen (2010) p. 189.
[110] Indenrigsministeriet, "Bedre integration - en samlet handlingsplan", 2000.
[111] These findings included studies from the Rockwool Foundation's Research Unit and Danish Institute for Local and Regional Government Research (*Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut*), which concluded that young Turks, Lebanese, Yugoslavs, Somalis and Pakistanis had a lower level of education than the average Dane. Likewise, data from *Danmarks Statistik* showed that foreigners were overrepresented when it came to unemployment as a result of their short time in Denmark, lack of education and Danish qualifications, as well as other factors e.g. war trauma. However, when it came to settlement patterns, a government committee found that the number of refugees and immigrants did not explain the social problems in certain residential area, but rather those areas saw a significant number of Danes living on welfare benefits, which created social ghettoes. Jønsson (2014) pp. 924-927; OECD, "The Labour Market Integration of Immigrants in Denmark" (2007) pp. 144-162.
[112] Jønsson (2014) pp. 926-927.

cornerstone of these changes, as seen in their government platform from 2001.[113]

The government introduced a system of lower social security benefits based on policies of self-sufficiency and employment. First, it re-introduced an integration benefit (*introduktionsydelse* / *startshjælp*) significantly lower than the lowest social security benefit (*kontakthjælp*) which refugees, immigrants, and Danes who had lived abroad for more than seven years were eligible to receive for the first seven years in the country. A new lower benefit (*forklædecirkulære*) was also introduced for people able to work but technically not at the disposal of the Danish labor market, e.g. homemakers.[114] The new social security benefits were aimed at helping refugees and immigrants into the Danish job market, as this would benefit both them and Danish society.[115] On top of that, the government used the lower security benefit as a deterrence policy, to indirectly discourage immigration to Denmark.[116]

Besides changes in social security benefits and work encouragement, the early 2000s also witnessed cuts of committees and research institutions dealing with ethnic minorities, e.g. the Council for Ethnic Minorities (*Rådet for Etniske Minoriteter*) closed down and the Danish Institute for Human Rights (*Det Danske Institut for Menneskerettigheder*) barely survived.[117] Additionally, the 2000s and 2010s brought about significant changes in rhetoric, particularly when it came to gender and culture, which in turn af-

[113] Government platform, "Vækst, velfærd - fornyelse", 2001. Also, see Government publication, "På vej mod en ny integrationspolitik", March 2002; Jønsson (2014) p. 962.
[114] The integration benefit came to be known as *startshjælp* for newcomers who arrived before July 1, 2002 and *introduktionsydelse* for newcomers who arrived after. While it did apply to Danes who had lived abroad for more than seven years, the vast majority of those affected were immigrants and children of immigrants. Jønsson & Petersen (2010) pp. 200-202; Jønsson (2014) pp. 942-943 and 952; OECD, "The Labour Market Integration of Immigrants in Denmark" (2007) p. 136.
[115] Jønsson (2014) pp. 948.
[116] Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017) p. 103.
[117] *Dansk Folkeparti* wanted significant cuts within the group of committees and research institutions dealing with ethnic minorities, however, no consensus existed within *Venstre* and *Konservative*. One example of this, was the Danish Institute for Human Rights discussions among members of *Venstre* and *Konservative* that meant it got through the cuts – via collaboration between the Institute for Human Rights and the Institute for International Studies. Jønsson (2014) p. 947; Jønsson & Petersen (2010) p. 196; Mikkensen (2008) p. 153.

fected the debate on integration. Although these topics had been discussed in earlier decades, it was not until the 2000s that culture, values, and norms were included in the government's understanding of a successful integration process.[118]

The *Socialdemokratiet*-led coalition government that held power from 2011 to 2015 retained some of the initiatives that the *Venstre*-led government implemented, for instance the strong emphasis on employment. However, they dismantled the lower social security benefit (*Introduktionsydelse/Startshjælp*) so all refugees and immigrants were eligible to receive the lowest benefit (*kontanthjælp*) in line with the rights of the rest of the Danish population.[119] From 2015 onwards, *Venstre*-led coalition governments that came to power continued restrictive immigration and self-sufficient integration policies, and their government platform from 2016 demanded ability and will to integrate.[120]

2.2.3. Integration policies in Aarhus from c. 1990 to 2017

From 1996 to 2017, integration policies in Aarhus Municipality were based on two municipal integration agreements – the Aarhus Integration Agreement of 1996 and the Aarhus Integration Agreement of 2007. Before 1996, Aarhus Municipality did not have an integration strategy and, as was the case nationally, integration initiatives became a mix of programs designed by the Danish Refugee Council and ad hoc municipal initiatives.[121]

The Aarhus Integration Agreement of 1996 had three official focus areas. First, an emphasis was placed on cooperation between the municipality and NGOs' working with refugees and immigrants. Second, initiatives called for early integration and participation in courses on Danish society and language. The third focus area was termed 'general integration' and

[118] Jønsson (2014) p. 959. An example of gender, culture and norms as included in integration, is a proposal by the *Venstre*-led coalition government from 2003, see Government publication, "Regeringens visioner og strategier for bedre integration", 2003.
[119] Jønsson (2014) p. 992-993.
[120] Government platform, "For et friere, rigere og mere trygt Danmark", 2016.
[121] For more about the municipal initiatives before 1996 see: ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Rapport om forslag til Århus Kommunes Flygtninge- og Indvandrerpolitik", 1996, pp. 10-16.

concentrated on language, work and cultural initiatives. Language was particularly emphasized, with initiatives for pre-school children, school children and adults. [122] The three focus areas of the Aarhus Integration Agreement of 1996 were rather broad, and from 2000 onwards, greater emphasis was placed on work related initiatives. This can be seen in reports from 2001 and 2003 following-up on the act. The 2001 report introduced new employment initiatives, but still stated that successful integration was grounded in coherence between language, employment, settlement, and culture.[123] In the 2003 report, only language and employment were mentioned as the central components of good integration policy.[124]

The Aarhus Integration Agreement of 2007 had four official focus areas, and was based on the goal of shifting focus from initiatives and projects, to a holistic and broader integration approach.[125] First, emphasis was placed on antidiscrimination and co-citizenship (*medborgerskab*) with the goal of including ethnic minorities as active citizens in the municipality. Second, education policies with extra attention towards language learning among bilingual children was implemented. Third, the act focused on the goal of ensuring self-sufficiency for all citizens through employment. Fourth, a varied settlement pattern preventing residential areas with high percentages of minorities was stressed.[126] Integration policies were also discussed during a follow-up project in Aarhus Municipality in 2009. Participants from the local municipality, Aarhus Integration Council, and minority representatives, placed special focus on co-citizenship and employment going forward.[127]

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[122] ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Rapport om gennemførelsen af Århus Kommunes flygtninge- og indvandrerpolitik", 1998, pp. 2-4.
[123] ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Gennemførsel af Århus Kommunes flygtninge- og indvandrerpolitik", 2001, p. 3
[124] ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Gennemførsel af Århus Kommunes flygtninge- og indvandrerpolitik", 2003, p. 2.
[125] ABA, Aarhus Kommune, "Forslag til ny integrationspolitik", May, 2007.
[126] ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Integrationspolitik – Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft" (2007); Aarhus Kommune Bibliotek, "Udkast til ny Integrationspolitik – Århus Kommune", January, 2007.
[127] ABA, Aarhus Kommune, "Status på Aarhus Kommunes Integrationspolitik", August 13, 2009.

2.3. History of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus 1990-2017

2.3.1. Somali Civil War

In 1969, military general Siad Barre overthrew the newly established Somali Republic, after only nine years of independence and democracy; following nine decades of British and Italian colonization.[128] During Barre's rule, constitutional and parliamentary activities halted and a state-controlled economy with nationalized hospitals, banks and public infrastructure was established. Somalia's economy suffered as this resulted in: the devaluation of the Somali currency in the early 1980s, increased prices of both food and fuel, a dependency on imported grain as opposed to national grain production, and a decline in the livestock sector that affected production negatively. The financial challenges culminated in 1984 when Saudi Arabia, the central source of foreign currency in Somalia, chose to shift towards Western imports instead of Somalian. Furthermore, when the Cold War ended in the early 1990s, Somalia lost bargaining power, as the geographic location of the country was no longer of interest to foreign powers. The loss of bargaining power resulted in access to fewer arms and reduced financial/development aid.[129]

On top of its economic problems, Somalia fought Ethiopia in the Ogaden War from 1977 to 1979 and lost – causing significant destruction and waves of refugees. The country's stability increasingly worsened throughout the 1980s, with clan tensions and a major drought that subsequently brought famine and refugees with it. Opposition to Barre's regime steadily rose throughout this period. From 1989 onwards, the country was in a state of civil war and in 1991 Barre was eventually overthrown.[130] When opposition groups failed to agree on a leader, the Somali Civil War officially broke out, and Somalia was divided into regions controlled by militarized clans. Many

[128] Open Society Foundation (2014a) p. 21.
[129] Marfleet (2006) pp. 48-49.
[130] Mikkelsen & Morgenstierne (1999) p. 69; Black (2015) p. 162.

Somalis suffered in this environment as the increasingly unstable clan associations triggered persecution and mass repression.[131]

Simultaneous droughts in 1991 and 1992 further deteriorated stability, e.g. estimates say between 300,000 and 500,000 died from hunger or hunger-related illnesses in 1992 alone.[132] In 1992, an American task force intervened in collaboration with a UN humanitarian intervention, with the goal of disarming the militarized clans – most noticeably the clan led by Mohamed Farah Aidid, who controlled the capital. However, this operation failed and the American task force and the UN withdrew from Somalia, which in turn destabilized the situation in the country even further.[133]

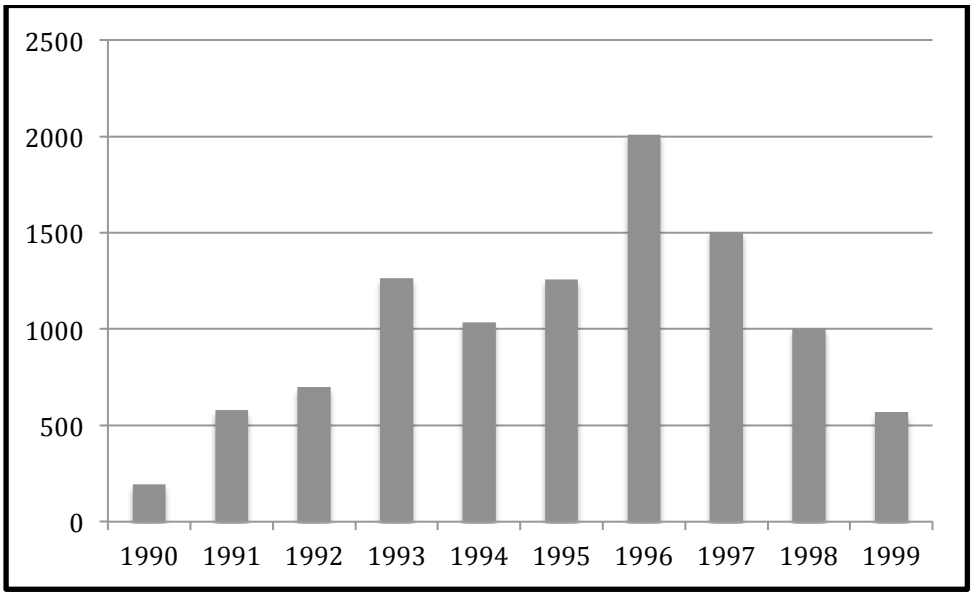
2.3.2. Danish-Somalis in Aarhus

It is estimated that more than one million Somalis (almost 25% of the population) have left the country since 1988 – the majority to neighboring states such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Yemen, but a small number of around 100,000 to Western countries like Denmark.[134] Although the Somali Civil War is ongoing, the majority of these western refugees arrived between 1991 and 1996 when the situation was at its most critical.[135] This was the case in Denmark as well, where Somalis refugees started to arrive after 1990.[136] Statisics show that the highest number of Somalis arrived in Denmark from 1993 to 1998, cf. Table 1. Denmark started repatriating and declining certain groups of Somali refugees after 1996 when the Somali Civil War decreased, for instance, refugees from the region of Somaliland which

[131] Daniel & Cukier (2015) p. 2; Black (2015) p. 162.
[132] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndal (2004) p. 295; Mikkelsen & Morgenstierne (1999) p. 69.
[133] The fact that American forces withdrew from Somalia as a result of the failed operation was later used by Osama bin Laden as an argument that American forces could be driven out of Saudi Arabia. Also, the failure contributed to later decisions of non-intervention e.g. in the Rwandan genocide. Black (2015) p. 162; Lewis (2002); Lewis (2008).
[134] Marfleet (2006) p 50; Open Society Foundation (2014a) p. 21. For information about refugee movements see Skran (1992) p. 10-11. Also, note that on top of those refugees who reached neighboring or Western countries were the Somalis internally displaced in Somalia.
[135] Black (2015) pp. 199-202; Mavroudi & Nagel (2016) p. 109; Fenger-Grøn & Grøndal (2004) p. 295.
[136] Open Society Foundation (2014a) p. 22.

had declared independence in 1991 and was viewed by the Danish government as safe and more stable.[137]

Table 1: Somalis arriving in Denmark



Danmarks Statistik, INDVAN. This table shows the number of people with Somali citizenship who moved to Denmark between 1990-1999. The vast majority arrived as either Somali refugees or through family reunification with a Somali refugee.

In the beginning of 2017, 21,050 people out of a population of 5,748,769 people living in Denmark had a Somali background; meaning 0.37% of the population was of Somali origin. Of these, 11,920 Somalis arrived as refugees, through family unification or as immigrants, while 9,130 Somalis were descendants of this group.[138] In Denmark the majority of Somalis settled in five cites: Copenhagen, Aarhus, Odense, Aalborg, and Kolding. Copenhagen and Aarhus were especially popular, and in 2017 Aarhus was home to 4,474 Somalis, accounting for 21.3% of the total Somali population in Denmark.[139] Aarhus is Denmark's second biggest city with a population of 335,684, of which 39,550 were registered as immigrants and 15,272 were registered as decedents of immigrants in January 2017. This means that Danish-Somalis in Aarhus live in a city where 16% of the population are refugees, immigrants, or decedents of those, compared to 12.9% on the na-

[137] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndal (2004) pp. 295 and 306.
[138] Danmarks Statistik, FOLK1C.
[139] Open Society Foundation (2014a) p. 22; Danmarks Statistik, FOLK1C.

tional scale.[140] Furthermore, the majority of Danish-Somalis who arrived in Aarhus settled in areas in Aarhus Nord or Aarhus Vest where a high percentage of refugees and immigrants already resided. The people I interviewed in connection with this master thesis resided in Fuglebakken, Reginehøj, and Braband, where Denmark's largest public housing project (*Gellerupparken*) is located.[141]

An employment report by Aarhus County from 2001 revealed that immigrants in Aarhus were over-represented in production services, hotel and restaurants businesses, and stores.[142] The Somali community in Aarhus is relatively organized and many Somali interest organizations exist with AarhuSomali functioning as an umbrella organization. The Danish-Somali population have been active politically, and had high election turnouts for e.g. elections to the Integration Council.[143]

2.4. Summary

Somali refugees arriving in Aarhus were affected by national policies of immigration as well as national/municipal policies of integration. The policies of immigration determined when and which Somalis arrived in Denmark; and upon being granted asylum it determined some of their individual rights, for instance the right to family reunification. The changes in integration policies coincided nationally and locally, and the period from c. 1990 to 2017 saw increased emphasis on self-sufficiency and work-related employ-

[140] Danmarks Statistik, FOLK1C.
[141] In 2004 the *Venstre*-led coalition government published a report on ghettoization, where they outlined Denmark's first strategy on 'ghetto prevention'. In 2010 the *Venstre*-led coalition government introduced a 'ghetto list' outlining all the housing areas in Denmark they classified as ghettos, including Gellerupparken. This classification was based on: the percentage of residents with non-western background, the percentage of residents without education and job, and the percentage of residents convicted of a crime. For more information on Gellerupparken, see Johansen & Jensen (2017) pp. 302-305; ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Fakta om integration i Århus" (2004) p. 13; Government publication, "Regeringens strategi mod ghettoisering", May 2004; Government publication, "Ghettoen tilbage til samfundet", October 2010.
[142] ASA, Aarhus Amt, "Analyse af indvandrer og efterkommere i Aarhus Amt" (2001).
[143] ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Undersøgelse af valgdeltagelsen ved integrationsrådsvalget den 4. april 2000 i Aarhus Kommune", (2000) p. 7; Danstrøm et al. (2015). For more information about Somali culture, please see Abbink (2004) pp. 1125-1127 and Christensen & Rasmussen (2008).

ment initiatives. Overall, Danish-Somalis arrived in Denmark in a period where economic liberalism, right-wing nationalism and debates about refugees and immigrants were on the rise. All of these factors fused and ended up having implications for Danish-Somalis in the period from c. 1990 to 2017.

INQUIRIES AND PROPOSALS IN AARHUS CITY COUNCIL FROM 1995 TO 2017

CHAPTER 3

When Somali refugees arrived in Denmark in the 1990s, their situation was not only determined by integration policies on a national level, but also by existing institutions, routines and policies of Aarhus Municipality, as well as new proposals and decisions made by the Aarhus City Council. The City Council consists of 31 mandates elected every four years by the municipality's population.[144] Traditionally, *Socialdemokratiet* and social democratic policies have dominated politics in Aarhus. As a result of this, a social democrat held the position as mayor of Aarhus from 1919 to 2017 with only one exception, i.e. the 2001 election where *Venstre*'s Louise Gade secured the position.[145] In the period from 1990 to 2017 as Danish-Somalis were arriving and adapting to Danish society, *Socialdemokratiet* held between eleven and fifteen of the 31 city council seats.[146] At the same time, the second largest party, *Venstre*, had between three and eleven seats, the 2001 and 2005

[144] Please see appendix 3.1 for an overview of mandates and political parties in Aarhus City Council from 1990 to 2017. Also, please be aware that even though the word City Council (Byråd) is used they represent the entire Municipality.
[145] Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Byens råd 1970 – i dag" (2011); Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Jacob Bundsgaard" (2017).
[146] *Socialdemokratiet* got 12 mandates in the 1989 election, 15 in the 1993 election, 13 in the 1997 election, 11 in the 2001 election, 13 in the 2005 election, 14 in the 2009 election, 13 in the 2013 election, and 13 in the 2017 election. Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Byens råd 1970 – i dag" (2011); Borgmesterens Afdeling, "De er valgt til Aarhus Byråd 2017" (2017); KMD, "Kommunevalg 2013", 2013.

elections being particularly strong.[147] The distribution of mandates was central to the policies carried out, since the parties only needed 16 mandates for a majority, which was simple to get for *Socialdemokratiet* prior to the 2001 election.

This chapter outlines proposals and inquiries regarding refugees, immigration, ethnic minorities, and integration in Aarhus City Council from 1995 to 2017, studied through a systematic analysis of council minutes.[148]

3.1. Inquiries and proposals from 1995 to 1999

Five tendencies characterize the immigration policies and decisions in Aarhus Municipality from 1995 to 1999. First, the source material from Aarhus City Council during this period rarely included inquiries and proposals concerning refugees, immigrants, ethnic minorities, or integration. Thus, in 1995 only one decision relating to refugees was made – to formulate a new refugee- and immigration policy for Aarhus Municipality.[149] Similarly, in 1996 only two decisions concerned refugees and immigrants: a motion to transfer an additional sum of money to the refugee and immigration field, and the new refugee and immigrant municipal policy; Aarhus Integration Agreement of 1996 (cf. chapter 2).[150]

In 1997, three proposals concerning refugees and immigrants were accepted, a motion to transfer an additional sum of money to the refugee- and

[147] *Venstre* got 3 mandates in the 1989 election, 6 in the 1993 election, 7 in the 1997 election, 11 in the 2001 election, 11 in the 2005 election, 5 in the 2009 election, 6 in the 2013 election, and 6 in the 2017 election. Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Byens råd 1970 – i dag" (2011); Borgmesterens Afdeling, "De er valgt til Aarhus Byråd 2017" (2017); KMD, "Kommunevalg 2013", 2013.

[148] Aarhus City Council Archive is abbreviated as ABA. During my archival research I concentrated on proposals and inquiries that dealt with refugees, immigrants, ethnic minorities or asylum directly. As a result of this other proposals and inquiries that might indirectly influence Danish-Somalis are not included, for instance, housing regulations in areas where immigrant children are overrepresented. Also, I have not included inquiries and proposals concerning Danish language courses and mother-tongue-teaching. If nothing else is mentioned, then the motion or proposal was approved by the City Council. When referencing minutes from ABA, I use a case number, which refers to the number given by Aarhus Municipality in the processing, as well as a date.

[149] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 19, City Council meeting on February 22, 1995.

[150] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 4, City Council meeting on May 8, 1996; ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 15, City Council meeting on December 4, 1996.

immigration field and a proposal concerning initiatives to help implement the new refugee- and immigration policies.[151] The third proposal from *Dansk Folkeparti* suggested that Aarhus Municipality should take the necessary initiatives to stop an influx of Somali refugees. The city council decided to let the national parliament know that the municipality wanted a stop to the arrival of any Somali refugees as a result of "the great influx that has taken place in the city and the consequences it has had in residential, educational, and social areas."[152]

In 1998, two proposals were put forward; one of which was similar to the financial proposals of 1996 and 1997 that supported refugee- and immigration initiatives and policies.[153] The other motion, proposed by *Dansk Folkeparti*, *Venstre*, *Konservative*, and *Fremskridtspartiet,* regarded launching an analysis of what effects refugees and immigrants had on the economy in Aarhus Municipality. Although this motion was rejected by the city council at first, it was later referred to further processing.[154]

In 1999, four relevant inquiries and proposals were put forward. *Enhedslisten* requested an account of the municipality's treatment of Somali refugees.[155] Uffe Clausen proposed that the city council appoint a group of integration coordinators to make sure integration policies in Aarhus Municipality made refugees and immigrants self-supporting, created settlement regulations where immigrants and refugees were spread out, and introduced the group to Danish culture and society. However, this proposal was not approved and the suggestion was annulled.[156] Moreover, a proposal to ex-

[151] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 3, City Council meeting on February 5, 1997; ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 4, City Council meeting on February 5, 1997.
[152] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 31, City Council meeting on May 14, 1997. Translated from: "Århus Byråd besluttede at tilkendegive overfor regeringen, at kommunen ønsker et stop for somaliske flygtninge på baggrund af den store tilstrømning, der er sket til byen, og de konsekvenser det har fået både på bolig-, skole- og socialområdet."
[153] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 6, City Council meeting on December 1998.
[154] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 12, City Council meeting on November 18, 1998.
[155] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 26, City Council meeting on February 24, 1999. During some periods *Enhedslisten* was named *Enhedslisten De Rød-Grønne* in the Aarhus City Archives (ABA), but in my text I have shortened it to *Enhedslisten*.
[156] Uffe Clausen was a member of the City Council in Aarhus from 1998 to 2001, representing three different political parties. He was elected as a member of *Venstre* but left the party on May 11, 1999. He later joined *Liberale Borgere* from June 26, 1999 until September 27, 1999 when he switched to *Frie Borgerliste*. This meant that this proposal from May

amine what consequences the Integration Act of 1998 had on the refugee and immigration policies already in place in Aarhus Municipality was approved.[157] Lastly, *Dansk Folkeparti* proposed a ban on all meat that had been slaughtered ritually, citing Jewish and Islamic methods of slaughter as examples. The city council did not approve or reject this proposal, instead opting for further processing with amendments.[158]

Second, the period from 1995 to 1999 can be characterized by an extensive amount of integration initiatives and financial support. As noted in chapter 2, the coalition governments led by *Socialdemokratiet* placed emphasis on integration in the 1990s, and the Integration Act of 1998 introduced and supported initiatives facilitating cultural integration. These initiatives were also implemented in the municipality of Aarhus.

The Integration Act of 1998 required municipalities to establish an Integration Council if at least 50 people called for it. The council would consist of refugees and immigrants responsible for communicating the wishes and needs of ethnic minorities to the policy makers in the municipality.[159] Aarhus Municipality received a couple of complete applications in 1999, with all required signatures. People of foreign descent elected the fifteen members of the council, and two of these seats were reserved for Danish-Somalis.[160]

Furthermore, a group of Somalis and municipality employees received financial support for a three-year consulting center for Somalis (*Somalisk Rådgivningscenter*) that ran from January 1998 to December 2000. The center aimed to help three groups: Somali children and youths, isolated and lonely Somali women, and Somalis who needed general guidance to integration opportunities in Aarhus.[161]

26, 1999 was presented when he was not representing a political party. ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 10, City Council meeting on May 26, 1999; Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Uffe Clausen" (2011).

[157] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 25, City Council meeting on June 16, 1999.

[158] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 30, City Council meeting on September 22, 1999.

[159] ASA, "Århus Kommunes Integrationsråd", brochure, undated. Fenger-Grøn & Grøndal (2004) p. 319.

[160] ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "NYT fra Århus Kommune til flygtninge- og indvandrerforeninger", no. 2 from April 1999, no. 3 from September 1999, and no. 1 from April 2000.

[161] ASA, Somalisk Rådgivningscenter, "Status 1999-2000".

Some social tension and 'ghettoization' did occur as many refugees and immigrants settled in the same areas of Aarhus – so from 1994 to 1997 the state supported several initiatives aiming to improve the sense of community and social activities in certain housing areas.[162] The last example of political support for initiatives concerning refugees and immigrants was financial support in 1996, 1997, and 1998. A municipal report from 1999 concluded that the focus on integration initiatives in the previous years paid off, as the municipality experienced increased support of the refugee- and immigration area and a positive change in attitude.[163]

Support for immigration initiatives characterized politics in Aarhus Municipality from 1995 to 1999, but overall improvment was also connected to a more general move towards municipalization within the refugee field. As a result of the immigration history of Aarhus, the city administration had experience in dealing with refugees and immigrants and Aarhus municipality chose to take on the responsibility of integration before the Integration Act of 1998 passed full responsibility to local municipalities. This was feasible due to increased possibility for municipalization throughout the 1990s. This implied that Somalis, who were refugees according to the 1951 Refugee Convention, or "de facto" refugees in Danish legislation, participated in introduction and language programs organized by either the Danish Refugee Council or Aarhus Municipality in this period. According to Carsten Fenger-Grøn & Malene Grøndal, Somalis in Aarhus preferred integration initiatives organized by the Danish Refugee Council.[164]

Third, the relationship between Somali organizations in Aarhus and Aarhus Municipality was tense in the late 1990s, partly as a result of the report "Survey of Somali children and youth's situation in life", published by Aarhus Municipality in November 1999. Among other things, the report concluded that young Somalis had drawn increasing negative attention to

[162] Jønsson (2014) p. 870. For more about ghettoization see chapter 2.
[163] ABA, Aarhus Kommune, "Opfølgning på gennemførelsen af Århus Kommunes flygtninge- og indvandrerpolitik", Recommendation for decision, January 6, 1999.
[164] Fenger-Grøn & Grøndal (2004) pp. 318-319.

themselves and that they were often behind in terms of formal education.[165] Representatives from Somali organizations in Aarhus later published a counter report, "Report on Somalis in Århus", which concluded that Somalis were not unemployed because they were unwilling to work, but rather as a result of systematic marginalization.[166] The tense relationship can also be seen in the proposals and inquiries from the city council, who specifically requested that the national government stop sending Somali refugees to Aarhus. Somali refugees were the only ethnic group mentioned specifically in the city council minutes from 1995 to 1999.[167]

Fourth, the period from 1995 to 1999 is characterized by visible strains within *Socialdemokratiet*. Although there was a general consensus regarding the integration initiatives that existed in Aarhus municipality in the 1990s, there were tensions within *Socialdemokratiet* when it came to broader immigration policies and local social democratic politicians did not always agree with *Socialdemokratiet*'s national administration. This was most apparent with Thorkild Simonsen, who was mayor of Aarhus from 1982 to 1997 and who publicly argued for greater restrictions on immigration policies.[168]

Fifth, during this period *Dansk Folkeparti* and Uffe Clausen were the primary proposers of policies restricting immigration and integration. In the city council minutes from above, *Dansk Folkeparti* were the ones who sug-

[165] The report was rather vague in regards to the so-called "negative attention", and no examples, references or specifications were mentioned. ASA, "Undersøgelse af somaliske børn og unges livssituation", 1999, pp. 2 and 9. The title has been translated into English in the text. Following this report Aarhus Municipality published an action plan with recommendations on Somali children and youth, see ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Handleplan for fremtidige initiativer – Undersøgelse af Somaliske børn og unges livssituation", 2000. Also, see Fenger-Grøn & Grøndal (2004) p. 318.
[166] ASA, "Rapport om somalierne i Århus" (2001). The title has been translated into English in the text.
[167] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, City Council meetings every other week from January 1995 to December 1999.
[168] Simonsen was later made national Minister of Interior in 1997, tasked with reforming the immigration policy to appease the local branches of *Socialdemokratiet* who argued for stricter immigration policy. Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Thorkild Simonsen" (2011); Jønsson (2014) pp. 886-887 and 897-899.

gested a refugee stop of Somalis and regulations regarding ritual slaughtering methods.[169]

3.2. Inquiries and proposals from 2000 to 2005

After 2000, the number of inquiries and policy proposals regarding refugees, immigrants, ethnic minorities and integration significantly increased. Four tendencies characterize the inquiries and proposals in Aarhus City Council from 2000 to 2005.

First, the period was characterized by a high number of integration initiatives centered on employment and job activation. In 2000, a proposal supporting initiatives that would improve the employment situation of refugees and immigrants was approved with 23 votes against 3.[170] In 2001, a plan supporting private sector employment for refugees and immigrants was also ratified.[171] In 2003, *Radikale Venstre* proposed that the city council appoint a working group that would formulate a strategy of entrepreneurship for refugees and immigrants in Aarhus, however it was decided that an existing working group should undertake the initiative.[172] Furthermore, in 2003 an initiative ensuring professional development and mentoring for refugees and immigrants in the private sector was accepted.[173] In 2004 the city council authorized a transfer of money to the absorption of ethnic minorities in the work place.[174] In 2005, *Venstre* and *Radikale Venstre* requested an account of employment initiatives concerning refugees and immigrants from the social democratic councilor, Flemming Knudsen.[175]

This increase in integration initiatives concerning employment and job activation should also be understood in light of the national political landscape. As mentioned in chapter 2, a coalition government led by *Venstre*

[169] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 31, City Council meeting on May 14, 1997; ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 30, City Council meeting on September 22, 1999.
[170] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 3, City Council meeting on December 6, 2000.
[171] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 21, City Council meeting on June 20, 2001.
[172] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 5, City Council meeting on March 5, 2003.
[173] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 16, City Council meeting on August 13, 2003.
[174] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 7, City Council meeting on September 8, 2004.
[175] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 10, City Council meeting on August 10, 2005.

came to power nationally in 2001, whose emphasis on labor market participation in immigration and integration polices affected Aarhus Municipality.[176]

Second, the period was characterized by a duality in policymaking. Aarhus had had a majority single party or coalition government led by *Socialdemokratiet* since 1919, however in the municipal election in late 2001 both *Venstre* and *Socialdemokratiet* got eleven mandates. The change in majority occured as a result of *Radikale Venstre* shifting their support from *Socialdemokratiet* to a *Venstre*-led administration in the 2001 election, which was then in place in Aarhus from early 2002 to late 2005.[177] The dualism in this new coalition government resulted in: (a) employment initiatives in line with *Venstre*'s liberal approach towards the refugee and immigration challenge, and (b) a continuation of integration initiatives in line with *Socialdemokratiet*'s approach. The rise in employment and activation initiatives is outlined above.

In 2003 an integration prize was established by the administration as a part of the integration initiatives.[178] Following this, *Socialdemokratiet* proposed a new model for civic participation, which was also approved.[179] During my interviews, one interviewee brought this up and described the co-citizenship model positively in relation to integration in Aarhus.[180]

In 2005, a supplementary sum of money was approved for transfer to integration initiatives and an additional sum of money was given to a mentor network for ethnic minority women.[181] Lastly, the *Venstre*-led city council decided to maintain the Integration Council in Aarhus Municipality even though the national coalition government led by *Venstre* made this non-

[176] ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Integrationshåndbog 2003 – Tema: Beskæftigelse" pp. 6-7 and 22-23.
[177] Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Louise Gade" (2015); Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Byens råd 1970 – i dag" (2011).
[178] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 7, City Council meeting on January 22, 2003.
[179] This model of civic participation would later influence the formulation of the Integration Act of Aarhus from 2007 where co-citizenship was central, see chapter 2. ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 1, City Council meeting on October 22, 2003.
[180] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.
[181] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 5, City Council meeting on January 19, 2005; ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 15, City Council meeting on June 22, 2005.

compulsory when they came to power.[182] A survey from 2000 showed Danish-Somalis were the ethnic group with the highest election turnout for the council, with 49.4% turnout, compared to Danish-Lebanese with 26.2% and other ethnic groups such as Danish-Turkish with 18.1%, Danish-Iranian with 11.1% and Danish-Vietnamese with a 4.8% turnout.[183]

While Aarhus Municipality did not approve legislation restricting the lives of refugees and immigrants in the same way as the national coalition government led by *Venstre*, national policies still trickled down to local politics. For instance, the emphasis on learning Danish resulted in legislation making it voluntary for municipalities from 2003 and onwards to provide mother-tongue language classes, which in turn made it harder for Somali parents in Aarhus to organize Somali classes of sufficient quality for their children.[184]

Third, during the period from 2000 to 2005 *Dansk Folkeparti* proposed even more policies restricting integration and different cultures than they had in the earlier period from 1995 to 1999. In 2000, the party reproposed a ban on meat in public institutions if it had been slaughtered using ritual methods. Yet the city council did not approve the proposal, with 28 votes against 1, thus allowing Muslim minorities freedom to preserve their cultural food preferences.[185] *Dansk Folkeparti* also inquired about: existing initiatives ensuring that foreign citizens living outside Denmark did not receive Danish welfare benefits, existing instructions to circumcisize Somali girls, and whether or not ethnic minorities had priority claim in public housing.[186] While *Dansk Folkeparti* was the main initiator, in 2003 *Venstre* did

[182] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 24, City Council meeting on September 7, 2005; Folketinget, "Forslag til lov om ændring af integrationsloven", December 16, 2013.
[183] ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Undersøgelse af valgdeltagelsen ved integrationsrådsvalget den 4. april 2000 i Århus Kommune", Juli 2000, p. 7.
[184] Folketinget, "Lov om ændring af lov om folkeskolen og lov om friskoler og private grundskoler m.v.", 2002; Fenger-Grøn & Grøndal (2004) p. 313.
[185] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 20, City Council meeting on March 1, 2000.
[186] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 2, City Council meeting on February 2, 2000; ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 18, City Council meeting on January 22, 2003; ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 28, City Council meeting on September 24, 2003.

examine existing guidelines for young women who sought help to avoid forced marriages.[187]

Fourth, from 2000 to 2005 there was an increased focus on deterring discrimination and racism. In 2003, *Enhedslisten* investigated initiatives to prevent Nazism and racism.[188] In 2004, *Socialdemoktratiet*, *Radikale Venstre*, *Socialistisk Folkeparti*, and *Enhedslisten* proposed a policy allowing zero tolerance for right-wing extremist violence and harassment. The initiative was approved; however, *Dansk Folkeparti* added a statement emphasizing it should include all forms of extremism.[189] In 2005, *Venstre* explored opportunities Aarhus City Council had to ensure young immigrants were not discriminated against in bars and clubs in Aarhus.[190]

3.3. Inquiries and proposals from 2006 to 2014

From 2006 onwards the number of yearly inquiries and proposals regarding refugees, immigrants, ethnic minorities and integration fell slightly. However, the period was still characterized by four trends.

First, a new integration policy, the Aarhus Integration Agreement of 2007, was passed in 2007 with 31 votes to zero, replacing the 1996 version.[191] It had the objective of a city where "everybody regardless of ethnic or cultural background participated as active citizens with respect for democratic ideals and where ethnic minorities in reality had the same opportunities, rights and obligations as other citizens".[192] The integration policy fo-

[187] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 16, City Council meeting on January 22, 2003.
[188] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 6, City Council meeting on August 20, 2003.
[189] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 5, City Council meeting on March 31, 2004. Also, see the recommendation for decision, "Sag 5: Forslag fra A, F, B og Ø til byrådsbeslutning om, at der indføres "nul tolerance og konsekvens" som princip over for den højreekstremistiske vold og chikanerier" for an outline of right-wing-extremism episodes that inspired the proposal.
[190] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 25, City Council meeting on March 16, 2005.
[191] This integration agreement has been called Aarhus Integration Agreement of 2007 in this thesis. ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 4, City Council meeting on October 25, 2006; ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 10, City Council meeting on June 13, 2007.
[192] ASA, "Integrationspolitik – Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft" (2007) p. 5. Translated from: "(…) alle uanset etnisk eller kulturel baggrund indgår som aktive medborgere med respekt for de grundlæggende demokratiske værdier. Etniske minoriteter skal have reelt samme muligheder, rettigheder og pligter som byens andre borgere".

cused on implementing integration initiatives in four areas: co-citizenship (*medborgerskab*) and anti-discrimination, education, employment, and settlement.[193]

Second, the period from 2006 to 2014 was characterized by financial cuts and inquiries in regards to religious and ethnic organizations and buildings. In 2006, a proposal regarding a public hearing concerning a Mosque and Islamic cultural center was approved.[194] In 2007, *Venstre* proposed financial recourses from the Danish General Adult Education Act (*Folkeoplysningsloven*) should not be given to religious organizations, which the city council approved.[195] In 2008, it was decided these financial resources should not be given to the Somali Family Association.[196]

Third, increased support for employment initiatives, and initiatives aimed at preventing discrimination and racism continued. In 2008, a proposal for improving integration and trainee positions for immigrants and their decedents was approved.[197] In the same year, a proposal from *Socialistisk Folkeparti* was approved, regarding increased efforts ensuring refugees and immigrants were employed in the public sector in Aarhus Municipality.[198] When it came to anti-discrimination and anti-racism initiatives, the city council approved a proposal for initiatives that set out to improve respect and tolerance, espeically among young people in Aarhus.[199] In 2013, a proposal from *Socialdemokratiet*, *Socialistisk Folkeparti*, and *Radikale Venstre* was approved, introducing an annual diversity day in Aarhus Municipality when ethnic minorities' lives and contributions would be spotlighted.[200]

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[193] ASA, "Integrationspolitik – Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft", June (2007) pp. 3-4; Aarhus Kommune Bibliotek, "Udkast til ny Integrationspolitik – Århus Kommune", January (2007).
[194] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 9, City Council meeting on October 11, 2006. This hearing was later discussed in 2008; see ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 3, City Council meeting on November 5, 2008.
[195] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 16, City Council meeting on January 24, 2007.
[196] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 4, City Council meeting on February 6, 2008. The name of the association has been translated from *Den Somaliske Familieforening*.
[197] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 4, City Council meeting on January 9, 2008.
[198] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 19, City Council meeting on October 8, 2008.
[199] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 7 & 8, City Council meeting on May 17, 2006.
[200] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 1, City Council meeting on October 9, 2013.

Fourth, while *Dansk Folkeparti* had been the main initiator in restricting integration initiatives and limiting different cultures in earlier periods, *Venstre* and *Konservative* now proposed these initiatives. In 2012, *Konservative* proposed Danish Christian traditions be maintained during festive seasons. The proposal as formulated by *Konservative* was not approved.[201] In 2014, *Venstre* and *Konservative* proposed Aarhus City Council made a principled decision regarding a large mosque in the Gellerup suburb of Aarhus. The two parties emphasized they would not be able to support such a mosque, as they felt it was in conflict with the policy of anti-ghettoization.[202]

3.4. Inquiries and proposals from 2015 to 2017

During 2015 to 2017 the number of proposals regarding refugees, immigrants, ethnic minorities or integration started to rise again. Three tendencies characterized inquiries and proposals in Aarhus City Council from 2015 to 2017.

First, *Socialdemokratiet* took on a stricter approach towards integration. While the coalition government led by *Venstre* won national power, *Socialdemokratiet* and their supporting parties maintained a majority in Aarhus City Council. In 2015 some immigrant-friendly proposals were passed in spite of city council opposition from *Venstre*, *Konservative*, *Dansk Folkeparti* and *Liberal Alliance*. These proposals included a charter of diversity passed with some amendments; which required companies in Aarhus Municipality to support diversity among its employers.[203] Also, a proposal introducing a welcoming event for refugees in Aarhus Municipality was approved.[204]

[201] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 3, City Council meeting on February 29, 2012.
[202] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 2, City Council meeting on August 13, 2014. For more about the policy of anti-ghettoization, see: Andersen (2007) pp. 84-95; Christensen & Rasmussen (2008); ASA, Aarhus Kommune, "Integration og bosætning – en rapport om bosætning som en del af Århus Kommunes integrationspolitik", December (2003).
[203] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 12, City Council meeting on April 15, 2015.
[204] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 10, City Council meeting on May 20, 2015.

Following 2015, *Socialdemokratiet* gradually started to adapt a harder approach. In 2016 a proposal dealing with the 'parallel society' of the ghettos was approved, although *Venstre*, *Dansk Folkeparti*, *Enhedslisten*, *Konservative* and *Liberal Alliance* did not support this proposal.[205] The proposal introduced initiatives such as: Imam-certification ensuring that Imams preach in line with Danish law and values, support for women and their freedom and rights, activities for children of ethnic minorities outside their community, and increased efforts of crime reporting.[206] The same year, a broad majority of the city council voted for cutting municipal funding for the "diversity day" that had been introduced in 2013.[207]

Socialdemokratiet's stricter approach towards integration and diversity continued in 2017, when they supported *Venstre*'s proposal to stop gender segregation in swimming. In the proposal, *Venstre* highlighted Gellerupparken, as an area where gender segregation existed at the public swimming pool and argued this was in part because minority women needed permission from their partners. The proposal was approved with 26 votes against four, with *Socialdemokratiet*, *Venstre*, *Dansk Folkeparti*, *Socialistisk Folkeparti*, *Konservative*, and *Nye Borgerelige* all supporting the initiative.[208]

Second, in 2015 *Dansk Folkeparti*, *Konservative*, and *Liberal Alliance* collaborated on a proposal regarding refugees. They proposed Aarhus Municipality be exempt from receiving refugees, however, the motion was discarded as it conflicted with existing rules and regulations from the Danish Immigration Services (*Udlændingestyrelsen*).[209] This is significant, as *Dansk Folkeparti* up until this point, had acted independently in their initiatives regarding refugees, immigrants, ethnic minorities or integration. The only exception was a 1998 proposal regarding an analysis of refugee and immigrant's effect on the economy in Aarhus. This development should be seen in light of the national political landsape, where *Dansk Folkeparti* had

[205] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 4, City Council meeting on August 31, 2016.
[206] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 1, City Council meeting on March 30, 2016.
[207] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 16, City Council meeting on March 9, 2016.
[208] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 9, City Council meeting on February 1, 2017.
[209] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 5, City Council meeting on August 26, 2015.

been supporting the coalition governments led by *Venstre* from 2001-2011, and again from 2015 onwards. This supporting role nationally improved the legitimization of *Dansk Folkeparti* and it became acceptable to cooperate with the political party throughout the 2000s.[210]

Finally, the focus on diversity and prevention of discrimination and racism ended. There were no new initiatives concerning prevention of discrimination and racism from 2015 to 2017. As previously mentioned, the city council voted to cut funding for the annual diversity day, however, they did pass a proposal creating a charter for diversity in employment.[211] Also, in the 2017 Municipality Plan the word 'diversity' was used multiples times, mostly in regards to parks and housing. *Dansk Folkeparti* did not vote for the new Municipal Plan and requested a statement attached, which described 'diversity' as a buzzword.[212]

3.5. General tendencies from c. 1990 to 2017

Danish-Somalis sense of belonging and experience of discrimination was not only affected by integration policies at a national level, but also by the changes in municipal policies in Aarhus. Six general tendencies can be drawn from analyzing city council minutes from 1995 to 2017.

First, some periods had a greater focus on refugees, immigrants, ethnic minorities and integration than others. From 1995 to 1999 only a relatively low number of city council proposals and inquiries were centered on these topics. This changed significantly in the period from 2000 to 2005, and again from 2015 to 2017.

Second, city council minutes show the nature of integration initiatives changed from 1995 to 2017. Earlier in the period, Aarhus City Council approved a high number of initiatives focusing on integration via culture, in-

[210] Bille & Rüdiger (2017); Rodin (2017) p. 12; Jønsson (2014) pp. 944-945.
[211] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 12, City Council meeting on April 15, 2015; ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 16, City Council meeting on March 9, 2016.
[212] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 3, City Council meeting on June 7, 2017; ABA, Aarhus Kommune, "Udkast til Forslag til Kommuneplan 2017 - Hovedinstruksen", March 21, 2017.

clusion, and consulting, such as the Integration Council and a consulting center for Somalis. Following 2000, the city council minutes indicate that the high number of integration initiatives continued, but that the content of the initiatives changed. From 2000, integration initiatives focused on employment and workplace opportunities for refugees and immigrants. Since 2006 many integration initiatives have been loosing funding.

Third, political parties who proposed or supported restrictions on topics concerning refugees- and immigrants changed from 1995 to 2017. From 1995 to 2005, *Dansk Folkeparti* had been the main proposer and supporter of these types of initiatives. After 2006 *Venstre* and *Konservative* became more active in regards to foreigners in Aarhus, and following 2015 *Dansk Folkeparti* began collaborating with other city council parties on proposals regarding refugees. This was accompanied by *Socialdemokratiet*'s turn towards a stricter approach to integration, and all of these changes further restricted newcomers to Aarhus.

Fourth, the local branch of *Socialdemokratiet* was dealing with internal tensions from 1995 to 2017, much like its national umbrella organization. While a consensus existed regarding integration policies, there was tension surrounding immigration policies, including the number of refugees Aarhus Municipality should accept. Throughout the period inner-party conflicts regarding integration policies worsened.

Fifth, the period from 2000 to 2015 was subject to a rise in initiatives focusing on tolerance, anti-discrimination and anti-racism. In the city council minutes these initiatives were often a result of actual occurrences that had been described in the news.[213] When looking at the development of discrimination, this indicates a rise in discrimination and racism after 2000.

Sixth, and perhaps most noteworthy, in the entire period from 1995 to 2017 Danish-Somalis were the only minority group targeted specifically in city council minutes. The only other ethnic group mentioned was Israelis, in

[213] See proposals mentioned above in regards to racism and discrimination, as well as ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 5, City Council meeting on October 10, 2007.

regards to a rejected proposal from 2017 suggesting a ban on products from Israel.[214]

The general tendencies found in Aarhus, are consistent with national changes from c. 1990 to 2017, i.e. rise in economic neoliberalism, growth of right-wing nationalism, and augmented focus on immigrants and refugees (cf. chapter 2). However, while the policy changes in Aarhus indeed moved towards increased pressure from above, they diversified from national policies to some extend, partially as a result of the left-wing municipal coalitions led by *Socialdemokratiet*. Whereas national policies steadily moved towards a stricter approach, policies in Aarhus occasionally differed from the national trend; with some inconsistent decisions and contradicting policies regarding refugees and immigrants.

Overall, the city council minutes suggest discrimination (and underlying prejudice) increased in the period from c. 1990 to 2017. Indicators point towards discrimination of Danish-Somalis specifically, as they were singled out and targeted in proposals and inquiries; and it is highly unusual for a state institution, such as Aarhus City Council, to vote on and discuss one particular group. In the next chapter, I will use oral history interviews to examine how the Danish-Somali community in Aarhus, notably the interviewees, perceived these changes.

[214] ABA, Byrådsmødereferater, Case 5, City Council meeting on August 16, 2017.

SENSES OF BELONGING AND PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION AMONG DANISH-SOMALIS IN AARHUS FROM C. 1990 TO 2017

CHAPTER 4

In chapter 3, I concluded that some indicators point towards experiences of discrimination among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus. These included the rise in initiatives and discussions on racism and discrimination, and Danish-Somalis being the only ethnic minority group targeted directly in the Aarhus City Council inquiries. In this chapter I will confront the archival findings with information gained during the oral history interviews of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus. The chapter is structured in three parts: first, a section on the perceptions of discrimination and prejudices among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus, second, a section on the perceived causes and turning points behind the development, and third, a section on the varying senses of belonging among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus.

4.1. Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination

When asked whether or not the Danish-Somalis felt ethnic Danes held prejudices against them, all interviewees responded affirmatively. Three be-

lieved many ethnic Danes were prejudiced, while four thought some were prejudiced.[215] When asked to elaborate, the most common examples of prejudices included: someone who is (a) lazy and does not want to work, (b) lives off welfare benefits such social security (*kontanthjælp*) or unemployment benefits (*bistandshjælp*), (c) has many wives and even more children, (d) oppresses women, (e) is uneducated or illiterate, (f) steals the jobs of ethnic Danes, and (g) is a terrorist or sympathizes with terrorism or terror organizations.[216]

While all interviewees shared similar perceptions of the type of prejudices that existed, their experiences differed when it came to extent and frequency. The four interviewees believing some ethnic Danes were prejudiced against them stressed that generally the majority of the ethnic Danish population was friendly and polite and the group of ethnic Danes prejudiced against Somalis was small. Hani, a woman in her 50s, arrived in Denmark as a refugee in 1992 together with her children and settled in Tilst, a predominantly ethnic Danish suburb of Aarhus. She worked in home care (*hjemmeplejen*) and health care (*sundhedsplejen*) before a shoulder injury forced her to retire.[217] During the interview she said that:

> 1-2% [of people] will have prejudices. They exist over the entire world […]. It is important to read the news but you have to discard the stories that are untrue. This is what the old Danes do not do. It is important to talk about differences and get to know the individual human being. You live life together.[218]

[215] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[216] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[217] Hani did not feel comfortable with the interview being audiotaped. Instead I chose to take very detailed notes that could function as a written source.
[218] Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017. Please see appendix 4.1.

The three female interviewees and Bashiir shared the perception that few ethnic Danes had prejudices against Danish-Somalis.[219] Bashiir was in his 50s and had arrived in Denmark in 1989, thereafter getting his education in social pedagogy and therapy. Following this, he had worked in various positions in the public sector and for the Danish Red Cross.[220] However, not all interviewees shared the perception that only few ethnic Danes had reservations towards Danish-Somalis. This was particularly clear with Cawil who was a man in his 40s that arrived in Denmark in 1987. He now worked as a counselor for ethnic minorities in Brabrand, and felt the Somali population in Denmark was in a vulnerable position. During the interview he said:

> It is not fun to be Somali in Denmark right now. You feel like… well, children are bullied in school and the parents feel looked down upon.[221]

Xabiib, a man in his early 40s that studied pedagogy after having worked as a mailman, interpreter and within the restaurant and cleaning industry, agreed that more than a few ethnic Danes had prejudices. However, he explained that if somebody said something racially offensive to him he did not generalize it to the entire population of ethnic Danes but rather, saw it as an isolated incident since he also had many good experiences with ethnic Danes.[222] The most common examples of offensive comments heard were different variations of "Go home to where you came from".[223]

Besides differences in perceptions of extent and frequency of prejudice, interviewees pointed out additional reflections. Aaden was a man in his late 50s who arrived in Denmark as a refugee in 1994. Since arriving, he earned his teaching degree and now works as an elementary school teacher, while actively participating in the local community. He explained that his

[219] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[220] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.
[221] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017. Please see appendix 4.2.
[222] Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017.
[223] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.

experience of prejudice was determined by social space, and made a distinction between the local community and Aarhus as a whole:

> [Experiences of prejudice] depend on where I am. If I am here in my safe environment of Frydenlund, then I never experience prejudice. But if I go anywhere else, then … [makes wow sound][224]

Other interviewees did not mention experiences of prejudice being determined by social space, however some interviewees distinguished between different groups of ethnic Danish people. Sagal was a woman in her mid 30s with a degree in social education who had arrived in Denmark through family reunification with her husband in 1997, and now worked in an activity center. She explained:

> I think it depends on what generation you belong to. The old generation […] is lonelier. They maintain the long established ways and the unfamiliar is something that they are afraid of, and distance themselves from, because they want to maintain what used to be. But the new generation has some other values and a new way of observing the world. The young people today, who I know through work, they are more open and want to understand one's background, culture, and religion […].[225]

Hani also shared this opinion; that older generations of ethnic Danes had more prejudices against Danish-Somali people while younger generations were more tolerant. She said the younger generation got to know one another in elementary school, high school, and university.[226] Many of the interviewees talked about the bus stop and public transportation being an involuntary meeting place between older ethnic Danes and themselves. Jamilah was a woman in her late 30s who arrived in Denmark through family reunification in 2001, and worked as a cleaning lady while studying to become a

[224] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017. Please see appendix 4.3.
[225] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.4.
[226] Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.

social and health care assistant.[227] She mentioned an experience on a bus in Aarhus:

> [An old man on the bus said] "Go home, go home". Maybe he saw the many people who died [in a terror attack] on the television, and then saw my scarf and thought that I agreed with [the terrorists]. But he does not know me, how my heart hurts on behalf of the people who died. […]. But I did not say anything because I understand. But our ears and eyes are open […]. We listen because we are Muslims, too.[228]

Besides illustrating that public transportation and bus stops were perceived as a crossroads between different groups in society, the quote also illustrates the religious prejudice that Danish-Somalis face. Other interviewees also felt prejudices were particularly related to terrorism.[229] Bashiir believed ethnic Danes were very sensitive towards religion because it was viewed as private in Denmark, and that perhaps Muslims experienced more prejudice, as they were more visible in the public sphere.[230]

Furthermore, all three female interviewees shared a notion that both ethnic Danes and Danish-Somalis held prejudices against each other.[231] Jamilah lived in an area of Aarhus where both ethnic Danes and Danish-Somalis resided, and mentioned a residents' meeting where prejudices were discussed:

> We arranged a residents' meeting in the area one time […]. [We] thought Danes where closed off and they thought we were a people that did not like Danish. So there were prejudices. But when we met and talked they were very open. They also changed their opinion and said "I did not realize you were such polite people". We had not met each other and therefore we had prejudices.[232]

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[227] I have not focused on employment in regards to gender in this thesis, but see McDowell (2013) for a discussion on the structures behind migration and females in caregiving jobs.
[228] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.5.
[229] For instance, Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[230] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.
[231] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[232] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.6.

Sagal, who had both Somali and ethnic Danish friends, emphasized the same point. She explained that her ethnic Danish friends had prejudices against Danish-Somalis and vice versa. She described herself as 'having a foot in both camps'; since she had Danish coworkers who she was very close with but also had a close group of Somali friends. Hani also mentioned that Danes even had prejudices against other ethnic Danes who where associated with some of the same stereotypes as Danish-Somalis. For instance, ethnic Danes who received welfare benefits were believed to sponge off the state and exploit welfare services because they were lazy, and did not want to work.[233] Sagal also stressed the notion that everyone has prejudices. However, she noted that:

> If you have strong relations together with people that are from the same place as you, and you only spend time with those people, then you have another way of looking at things […]. When people say something [prejudiced] to them, then one of my friends might be angry […] but I would not be angry in the same way since I have experienced it from the other side too.[234]

The last aspect of Danish-Somalis' perceptions of prejudice was the belief in a certain amount of randomness or bad luck, as both Bashiir and Sagal emphasized they had been lucky in their experiences but they knew close friends and acquaintances who had been more unfortunate.[235]

Similarly, when asked whether or not the Danish-Somalis had been discriminated against during their time in Denmark, two interviewees felt they had been discriminated against often, four interviewees felt they had been discriminated against occasionally, while Sagal did not feel she had been discriminated against at all.[236] The most common form of discrimina-

[233] Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[234] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.7.
[235] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[236] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017. In some cases the interviewees were rather fluctuating when it came to experiences of discrimination. For instance, Hani said she had not experienced discrimination but went on to provide examples of direct racial discrimination.

tion mentioned was labor discrimination, both in terms of the hiring process and at the place of employment. Jamilah provided an example of labor discrimination when her best friend called a potential employee while standing next to her:

> She calls a firm where you can apply for a job […] [A lady picks up the phone and her friend introduces herself]. When my friend is done talking the lady says "We do not want anybody who wears a head scarf, and you have to learn our language properly". Then [my friend] says, "Yes I wear a scarf. I will wear whatever you want, t-shirt, jeans, but I'm not taking my scarf off". Then [the lady] says she needs to learn our language. And she hangs up. My friend was so sad.[237]

Bashiir and Xabiib also mentioned the difficulty of finding work. Even Sagal, the only one who did not feel she had been discriminated against, mentioned she had friends who had experienced labor discrimination and she was worried her children might one day experience it too.[238] Xabiib also pointed out:

> You can see some engineers driving a taxi; someone highly educated driving a bus. They are not educated from their home country, but from Denmark. That means they have the qualifications […]. If you find someone with high marks and potential […] and a grade point average of 10 or 12, and then someone with a Danish background and a grade point average of 7, then they will of course take [the ethnic Dane].[239]

Sagal added she knew many friends and acquaintances with a Danish education who were unable to communicate their qualifications properly, and therefore missed out on the job.[240] The notion that ethnic Danes were able to communicate their qualifications better than Danish-Somalis was also mentioned by Xabiib, who believed ethnic Danes made up the majority of employees in the integration initiatives. He said:

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[237] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.8.
[238] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[239] He refers to the Danish grading scale where a 7 equals C, a 10 equals B, and a 12 equals A. Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017. Please see appendix 4.9.
[240] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.

> It is just because they have a theory or they read something, but they don't know… the theory is not always correct and the theory and practice might not be the same. If I was working somewhere with integration of a group of people where I'm from, then I can understand and target [integration projects] better […]. Danes write projects about better integration with a lot of good words and phrasings, and then they apply. If I apply […] [and even though] my project is better, then I don't get it. Instead it will be a Jensen or a Hansen that gets it.[241]

Similarly, Bashiir explained when his employer had to hire a new Arabic translator they hired an ethnic Dane with some oral understanding of Arabic, rather than someone from an ethnic minority who spoke both Danish and Arabic fluently.[242] While the interviewees all perceived discrimination in the hiring process as common, they had distinct perceptions of discrimination in the work place. Hani explained that her colleagues and bosses had never discriminated against her, but she had experienced it with patients in the home care system. She gave an example of how one old patient refused to have her as her caregiver, however her boss stuck by her.[243] Sagal also argued that her bosses had never discriminated against her and one even let her use his office for praying during the day. However, she did mention that coworkers at some of her previous workplaces were not as accepting of her five-minute prayer break as her current coworkers at the activity center.[244]

The Danish-Somali population were very conscious of labor discrimination, and when I spoke to Bashiir he mentioned an article in *Politiken* named "Danish employers choose 'Mads' over 'Muhammad'", where it was concluded that applicants with non-western sounding names were less likely to be called in for a job interview.[245]

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[241] Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017. Please see appendix 4.10.
[242] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.
[243] Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[244] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[245] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.The original Danish title of the article was: "Danske arbejdsgivere vælger 'Mads' frem for 'Muhammed'", see Kenneth Lund & Paul Aarøe Pedersen, *Politiken*, December 9, 2016. The interviewees were also very conscious of prejudices towards Danish-Somalis, and all except one emphasized that it was important for them to be good representatives of their minority group. Cawil did not feel that it was important for him, since he believed Danish society would not be amenable anyway. There is

Although to a large extent Danish-Somali's perceptions of discrimination were tied to labor discrimination, other forms of discrimination were also mentioned. Cawil emphasized that legislative discrimination was his biggest concern in Denmark, as the government recently started to revoke Somalis' residence permits.[246] Similarly, Sagal mentioned Danish-Somalis faced legislative discrimination and pressure to adapt, for instance when it came to wearing a niqab or children eating pork in kindergarten. Although she did not know anybody who wore a niqab, she thought recent Danish debates on potential niqab legislation would pressure women to change.[247] Likewise, she did not understand how the debate surrounding whether or not to serve halal meat or pork in kindergarten was relevant for ethnic Danes.[248] Besides labor discrimination and legislative discrimination, some interviewees also mentioned police discrimination. Bashiir said:

> There is a big risk [of discrimination] with the police. They are more inclined to stop you if you have dark hair and dark eyebrows, than if you were a white Dane. We have seen that at the border, too.[249]

This was supported by Cawil's similar perception of police discrimination when crossing the Danish border. Sagal assumed she talked more with her children about how to act in a public space than an ethnic Danish mother would, as people were more likely to call the police if they were hanging around with their ethnic minority friends than with their ethnic Danish friends.[250]

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active Danish-Somali involvement in changing negative prejudices and stereotypes in Aarhus, e.g. Den Gamle By, Et Somalisk Hjem; or AarhuSomali, Meeting report, vol. 5 (2015).

[246] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017. For more information on the debate concerning revoked residence permits see Morten Skærbæk & Hans Davidsen-Nielsen, *Politiken*, February 1, 2017.

[247] For instance see, Folketinget, "Forslag til folketingsbeslutning om forbud for alle offentlige ansatte mod at bære religiøs hovedbeklædning på arbejde", May 24, 2017; Folketinget, "Forslag til folketingsbeslutning om forbud mod maskering og heldækkende beklædning i det offentlige rum", October 4, 2017.

[248] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017. The debate on religious food has often been centered on food in kindergarten, since the institution serves food. This is a contrast to elementary school and high school where children bring their own food. For more about the debate, e.g. see Britta Søndergård, *Kristeligt Dagblad*, August 13, 2013.

[249] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017. Please see appendix 4.11.

[250] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.

When asked whether or not prejudice and discrimination had changed since they arrived in Denmark, most interviewees agreed it had changed for the worse, mentioning the financial and legislative restrictions.[251] While most interviewees talked about these changes without mentioning specific years, Bashiir and Cawil felt these changes happened in the last ten to fifteen years.[252] Bashiir pointed out:

> Well it has changed in regards to stricter rules for asylum […], citizenship, […], [and] family reunification […]. There have been restrictions economically, so people get poorer and poorer […]. It is to scare people from going to Denmark. They should not expect a good situation if they go to Denmark […].[253]

This is in line with the Danish government's deterrence policies limiting the number of refugees as an indirect preventive measure. Moreover, Aaden also felt changes in prejudice and discrimination could be seen when dealing with public employees. Previously public authorities, municipality employees and doctors would have informed him of his rights if he did not understand the system, but he felt this was no longer the case.[254] However, even though Hani agreed prejudice and discrimination had changed for the worse, she felt the economic restrictions were part of general welfare cutbacks affecting the entire public sector, not just Danish-Somalis.[255]

All interviewees agreed their perception of the negative rise in prejudice and discrimination was particularly evident when it came to media and politics.[256] Sagal explained:

> The talk has been harsher the last couple of years. And when you watch the media and the news… of course you get affected. And when you want to

[251] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[252] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017.
[253] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017. Please see appendix 4.12.
[254] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.
[255] Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[256] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.

> be part of the society and contribute you sometimes get a little outraged and mad when the talk only centers on the scarf you wear and stuff like that. Because when you do your best you want somebody to stop and acknowledge you.[257]

Besides illustrating the perception of an increase in prejudice and discrimination in the public debate, it also helps illustrate growing difficulties on being acknowledged or accepted in society. Aaden also felt religion was emphasized over skills and qualifications in the media. He clarified:

> [Language and working] is most important for Danish people, then you get respect. If you speak the language and have a job, then everything else is secondary. But no longer. It was always like that before. Now, even if you know the language and have a stable job or education then the first thing they ask is "Are you a Muslim?" It's the very first question.[258]

This was also something that Cawil agreed with. He stated that he did not feel wanted by Danish society anymore, while ten years ago Danish-Somalis had the opportunity to adapt and be accepted. Both interviewees emphasized that this was no longer possible, as adaption had not worked for other Danish-Somalis.[259]

However, three of the male interviewees emphasized some positive changes had occurred simultaneously with the negative, including increased access to education and job opportunities, particularly for girls.[260] Xabiib explained:

> Many refugees and immigrants have entered the job market… before [the terror attacks of] 9/11 it was harder to enter the job market. In a way you can say that the country has opened up in some ways […] but when you look at other things, that being media and politicians in general… you can say that politicians were very kind and accommodating, but no longer.[261]

[257] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.13.
[258] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017. Please see appendix 4.14.
[259] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.
[260] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017;
[261] Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017. Please see appendix 4.15.

Aaden connected these positive changes in the labor market with the country and municipalities having learned from their mistakes when it came to handling the arrival of refugees, for instance, by implementing initiatives connected to integration in the labor market, such as job and education mentors.[262]

4.2. Causes and turning points

When asked whether or not changes in prejudice and discrimination were caused by certain turning points, the Danish-Somalis did not agree on which ones. Aaden, Xabiib, and Sagal all perceived the terror attack of September 11, 2001, as a catalyst for a negative focus on religion. However, they experienced the changes that occurred differently. Aaden emphasized conversation had shifted to a religious focus, and the first question he was asked by ethnic Danes was always related to whether or not he was a Muslim. He felt that friends and co-workers were less prying before, but this changed after September 11, 2001.[263] Xabiib emphasized the negative shift in media, which will be discussed below.[264] Sagal emphasized the human side of prejudice and religion, and said:

> There are those who often use prejudice and religion and who want people to distance themselves from one another. If the world is going to change then I think people need to talk to each other and understand [each other]. Because we are all human beings and what I believe is not going to hurt you […]. That is where I think a lot has changed, with the distance between people [since the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001].[265]

However, Cawil and Jamilah did not think the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 was a major turning point.[266] Also, none of the interviewees mentioned the Mohammed cartoons from September 30, 2005, as a potential

[262] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.
[263] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.
[264] Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017.
[265] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.16.
[266] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.

factor. Instead Jamilah thought the rise in prejudice and discrimination was connected with heightening global tensions, wars in the Muslim world, and terror attacks. She explained that since the Muslim countries became unstable, religious prejudice increased.[267] This was similar to Bashiir, who felt the cause behind rising prejudice and discrimination was the changing global situation.[268] Bashiir and Jamilah did not agree when it came to migration caused by global changes. Jamilah thought that refugees were associated with challenges because of the global changes:

> The people changed because they can see that the world changed. […] It is not just Denmark. They don't want foreigners who 'ruin' their country. I think the same way, that if our country was peaceful, and people who have experienced bad things in their country came, then I would think the same way.[269]

While Jamilah felt the arrival of refugees and immigrants was an explanatory factor because of ethnic Danes' perception that it would affect the country, Bashiir disagreed. He felt that the number of refugees and immigrants who arrived in Denmark was so low, that it would not affect prejudice and discrimination, since it was only a small percentage of the population.[270]

Another common perception of the underlying causes behind increased prejudice and discrimination, were changes in media coverage of refugees and immigrants. This was mentioned particularly in association with the rise in terror attacks and the media's perception of a connection between Islam and terror. Throughout the interviews, most interviewees mentioned they felt their religion was mistakenly associated with terrorism. Bashiir, Xabiib, and Jamilah all felt the media coverage of Muslims and Danish-Somalis was a central underlying factor behind a rise in prejudice

[267] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.
[268] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.
[269] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.17.
[270] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.

and discrimination.[271] Bashiir gave an example of how he felt Muslim's were treated differently in the media:

> There are a lot of people who get their sources from the media, and then they perceive it that way. Then they think that every problem is a result of religion […]. 2-3 days ago, there was a tragic episode where a man killed a lot of people in Texas. The first thing I thought was, Salaam, please do not have the name Muhammed or Ali. But it was a white American with the name of Patrick or something like that, and then they concluded that it was because he was mentally unstable. But it might as well have been an Ali who was mentally unstable […]. He could also be named Ali and not be a Muslim.[272]

It became evident in the other interviews that different reactions arose when terror occurred, depending on whether the perpetrator was a Muslim or not. For instance, both Xabiib and Jamilah mentioned how the perpetrators were described as 'terrorists' if they had a Muslim background, but as 'offenders' if they had an ethnic Western background. The most common example mentioned was Anders Breivik and the terror attack of July 22, 2011 in Norway, and the fact that it was described as a mass shooting instead of terror in the Danish media.[273] Xabiib was very concerned with the development in media during the interview, and he emphasized that media was not necessarily objective due to financial interests:

> You can see that [the ethnic Danish population] believes what the media writes and says. Well the media is a business that wants to make money. It's their means of subsistence. They are interested in stories that are interesting, but not necessarily truthful. That means that they have a specific angle they want to play so that they reach as many readers as possible. […] So the media increases the distance between Danes and [refugees and immigrants].[274]

[271] The interviewees did not distinguish between media coverage of Danish-Somalis and media coverage of Muslims, but rather viewed both types as contributing to the rise in prejudice and discrimination. Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.
[272] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017. Please see appendix 4.18. He is referring to the terror shooting at a church in Texas on November 5, 2017. In the media it was described as a shooting and not as a terror attack. For instance: David Montgomery, Christopher Mele & Manny Fernadez, *New York Times*, November 5, 2017; or Troels Karlskov & Morten Bjerregaard, *Danmarks Radio Nyheder*, November 5, 2017.
[273] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017.
[274] Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017. Please see appendix 4.19.

The last perception of a potential cause behind the negative development in prejudice and discrimination was the changing political landscape in Denmark.[275] The first change mentioned in regard to this was usually the increased influence of *Dansk Folkeparti*, while the second change was the right-wing turn within *Socialdemokratiet*. Aaden explained:

> Now they are afraid of saying something [positive relating to immigration]. Especially *Socialdemokratiet*. We simply don't understand. There are around 16,000 Somalis and 100,000 foreigners. All of them have always voted for *Socialdemokratiet*. But today, voting for *Socialdemokratiet* is like voting for the *Dansk Folkeparti*.[276]

4.3. Senses of belonging

When asked how the Danish-Somalis would define their respective sense of belonging in Danish or Somali culture, all but one of the interviewees said they felt they had a place in both cultures.[277] The exception was Cawil, who explained even though he had felt a sense of belonging with Denmark previously it was no longer the case. All of the remaining six interviewees felt it was important for them to have both Danish and Somali culture. Aaden's statement can illustrate this:

> Every culture has some pros and cons. That is how it is. So if I can chose the good and the positive from my culture and from the Danish culture, then I'm invincible. Then I have combined two double positives.[278]

[275] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[276] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017. Please see appendix 4.20. Also, see interview with Danish-Somali man in Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) p. 323.
[277] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[278] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017. Please see appendix 4.21.

This was also emphasized by Bashiir and Sagal, who felt they could gain a lot from Danish work culture and collaborative environment, while also participating in Somali organizations or enjoying Somali family ties.[279]

Although six of the interviewees agreed their sense of belonging was part Somali and part Danish, they did not define their sense of belonging based on the same values. Aaden and Sagal both felt the main component of their sense of belonging in Denmark was based on knowing and understanding the Danish language. The former argued language was essential for participating in the community and the latter said it was essential if people want to understand and create relations with one another.[280] Aaden felt his sense of belonging was associated with the civic rights he had in Denmark, as he was sure that there was no differential treatment in the court system based on e.g. clan relationships.[281] Bashiir, Xabiib and Sagal also defined their sense of belonging in Denmark as depending on the time spent in the country. They stressed feeling as though they were returning *home* to Denmark after having been abroad.[282] Sagal explained:

> And I found out I belong here the last time I was travelling to Somalia. Because you have some dreams when you haven't travelled in many years. You think you still have a sense of community. But I missed the street. I missed Aarhus. I missed Netto. I missed Danish rye bread and coffee.[283]

Both Aaden and Sagal mentioned they sometimes felt distanced from the Somali culture that had developed in Somalia since they left. Aaden emphasized that he sometimes found it difficult to interact socially in Somalia, and Sagal felt the Somalia she knew had changed, and she did not share the values of the newer generation(s).[284] Jamilah and Hani's senses of belonging were based on experienced support in society or among people. For instance, Hani said when she arrived in Denmark she immediately felt at

[279] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[280] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[281] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.
[282] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017.
[283] Netto is a Danish grocery store. Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.22.
[284] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.

home because the municipality, doctors, teachers and neighbors helped her out a lot, which is different than Bashiir, Xabiib, and Sagal whom stressed the importance of time.[285] Likewise, Jamilah felt her sense of belonging depended on living in a society where people collaborated and helped each other. She told a story about an old man that lived in the apartment above her and her husband:

> When I came [to Denmark] I was worried because an old man lived above me, and I kept thinking he is all alone. […] Sometimes his lights did not work and he needed help. I sometimes thought in my country you are not alone like that. He would have family, and family of family would come and visit and help him.[286]

She emphasized that Danish culture could learn something from Somali culture in that sense, as family relations and neighbor relations were generally closer, but she felt at home in Denmark when those relations were present.[287]

The six interviewees who said they felt both Danish and Somali also had different perceptions of the balance between the two cultures and their sense of belonging. This was particularly apparent with Jamilah, who said sometimes she felt her sense of belonging was mostly Somali, while sometimes she felt it was mainly Danish-Somali.[288] Sagal felt her sense of belonging was first and foremost as a Muslim, and then second as a Danish-Somali woman.

When asked if their sense of belonging had changed during the time they had been in Denmark, all of the interviewees felt it had. Aaden and Jamilah both recalled when they first arrived in Denmark they held on to their Somali culture, and their sense of belonging was not tied to Denmark. Aaden said:

[285] Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[286] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017. Please see appendix 4.23.
[287] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.
[288] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.

> The first couple of years in Denmark I kept my Somali culture – absolutely. And I was afraid whether I could be with people who had another culture […]. We had nothing in common [with Danes], only that we are human beings […] The language is different, the culture is different, the way we dress is different, the way we eat is different.[289]

This was similar to Jamilah who arrived at a time when e.g. language courses and introduction programs were not offered if you arrived via family reunification. She explained it was not until her kids started kindergarten that she really interacted with ethnic Danes and started speaking the language.[290] This was different than Hani, who also kept her Somali culture close but was determined to interact and get to know Danish society – for instance, by exploring Aarhus. This may be explained by her living situation, as Hani did not arrive through family reunification and was settled in a suburb of Aarhus where few ethnic minorities resided.[291] However, following the early years most Danish-Somalis' sense of belonging started to change, depending on the values mentioned above such as language, civil rights, time and support.

While six interviewees felt both Danish and Somali, there was one exception.[292] Cawil's sense of belonging was only tied to Somalia and not Denmark. His sense of belonging started developing at the rate of the other interviewees; however, it had changed greatly during the last decade. He emphasized how his sense of belonging had been Danish fifteen years ago, but now he felt more Somali.[293] He elaborated:

> The more you feel pressured in the society you live in, the more you return to your roots to feel a sense of safety. You have to find a fine balance of where you belong. And I think right now… if you ask now, then I have re-

[289] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017. Please see appendix 4.24.
[290] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.
[291] Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[292] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[293] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017. Also, see interview with Danish-Somali man in Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) p. 323.

> turned more to the country and my old definition of Somali, than I would have been fifteen years ago.[294]

The notion that feeling unwanted and pressured in society pushes you to return to your roots, can help answer the question of whether or not Danish-Somalis believe there is a connection between the discrimination and prejudice they face and their sense of belonging in Denmark. With the exception of Jamilah and Hani, all interviewees believed there was a negative connection between the rise in discrimination and prejudice and their sense of belonging in Denmark. Aaden gave an example of this connection from a previous work incident of his:

> It affects me. Sometimes I don't say aloud with pride that I am a Dane [because of a previous job] […]. My job consisted of guiding young people and their parents regarding education and jobs […] [and I found a job for some Danish-Somali boys]. On the third day [of the job the Boss said] "Come with me, we need to fill out some paper work and I need your residence permit". [The boys said] "No, we don't have a residence permit, we are Danish". The man was furious. He had some papers he tore up and then he yelled "For fuck sake don't say you are Danish, don't say it" and "Can you see him [pointing at while male] he is Danish".[295]

Bashiir felt his sense of belonging could be affected, and he started to feel more nationalistic towards Somali culture when ethnic Danes treated him with prejudice or discrimination.[296] However, not all of the interviewees agreed that perceptions of prejudice and discrimination affected their sense of belonging. Particularly the three women, Jamilah, Sagal, and Hani, felt prejudices and discrimination could not be viewed as representative of Danish society and therefore tended to see it as one-off incidents. Jamilah stressed if somebody did something unpleasant or uncomfortable then it was because human beings were imperfect.[297]

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[294] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017. Please see appendix 4.25.
[295] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017. Please see appendix 4.26.
[296] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.
[297] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.

While they did not agree on how prejudice and discrimination affected their personal sense of belonging, six of them did agree it affected their children's sense of belonging. Even Hani, who did not necessarily think prejudice and discrimination affected the sense of belonging in her children, felt belonging was a bigger challenge for them than it was for her. She argued one's sense of belonging and balancing two cultures had to be handled the right way, for instance by raising children with good values and talking to them about any insecurities or problems they might encounter.[298] The six interviewees who were very worried about the younger Danish-Somali generation felt, that while they grew up in Denmark, in many ways they lacked a sense of belonging with either Somali or Danish society. Aaden explained:

> But what hurts us is that we try to be part of the Danish society. For us it is not a problem that we are not Danish, as we were not born here. We accept it. But the children who grow up and have their education from here, when people say they are not Danes… that is frightening. It is not so good. You wound their identity[299]

This is similar to other interviewees who emphasized when they arrived in Denmark as adults they already had an identity and place where they felt they belonged, and therefore it was less of a challenge for them than for their children, as membership in Danish society was just an added bonus.[300] Bashiir described a conversation he sometimes had with his children:

> You can feel that [the children] become more nationalistic. [They say] "I am a Somali"… but you are… well, your parents… well I come from Somalia, but you are born here. You have a Danish passport and citizenship. You are a Dane. But it is a fight. [When they are left out] it makes him more of an outsider who needs to find his own [sense of] belonging. It is exclusion.[301]

[298] Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[299] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017. Please see appendix 4.27.
[300] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[301] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017. Please see appendix 4.28.

This was similar to Sagal who told her children they were Danish, while Danish society told them they were Somalis, and they ended up confused about their identity.[302] Many of the interviewees felt younger generations of Danish-Somalis had major identity crises, and Aaden mentioned the local community center had arranged a presentation and discussion with a psychologist for children and adolescent, to talk about their uncertainty and confusion in regards to identity and belonging.

The perception that prejudice and discrimination could contribute to exclusion and marginalization, as seen in the quote, was also apparent when talking to some of the other interviewees.[303] For instance, Aaden explained:

> Many parents with Somali background or Arabic background are faced with racism. Some of them are not so strong. When they come home, they call their family members and tell them what they have experienced. The children hear that the dad has been exposed to racism, that the mom has been exposed to racism, that they are sad and crying. […] How do you think the children will grow up and what sense will they make of the word society. They will say that there is somebody who does not mean well by their parents.[304]

The perception that prejudice and discrimination could force marginalization was notable when talking about integration in Denmark.[305] Sagal stressed that a negative atmosphere fostered other negative atmospheres, and if you did not know who you were, or felt a sense of belonging, then marginalization and exclusion could happen.[306]

[302] This is consistent with Valentine et al. (2009) that concluded Danish-Somali children in Aarhus between the age of eleven and 18 were uncertain about what it meant to be Somali, and their attempts of participating in a Danish identity were not possible because the ethnic Danish population had a narrower definition of nationhood.
[303] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[304] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017. Please see appendix 4.29.
[305] Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[306] Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF CHANGES IN PERCEPTIONS OF DISCRIMINATION AND SENSES OF BELONGING

CHAPTER 5

The three previous chapters have looked at historical context and individual, as well as collective, senses of belonging and perceptions of discrimination among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus from different angles. First, I examined changes in immigration and integration policies in national politics in Denmark from c. 1990 to 2017; second, changes in refugee, immigration and minority policy were illustrated by the records of Aarhus City Archives from 1995 to 2017; and third, personal accounts of Danish-Somalis, who arrived as refugees in Denmark, detailed the changes they experienced. In this chapter I have attempted to analyze the specific historical context in Denmark and Aarhus, as well as the information gathered from the interviewees, by feeding my empirical findings into theoretical concepts by Milton Gordon and John. W. Berry. Based on the empirical findings, this chapter further suggests a revised model of explanation.

The chapter is organized in five subsections: first, an outline of Gordon's seven dimensions of assimilation and Berry's acculturation strategies,[307] then three sections analyzing the perceptions of discrimination, prej-

[307] Berry (2008) p. 322 and Gordon (1964) pp. 70-71.

udice, and sense of belonging – structured around Gordon's dimensions, and lastly an attmept to tie the different theories together.

5.1. Theories

In Gordon's 1964 book, *Assimilation in American Life,* the sociologist presented seven dimensions of assimilation. These dimensions are relevant for a theoretical discussion of the changes experienced by Danish-Somalis in Aarhus.[308] The respective meanings of the terms 'assimilation' and 'integration' have evolved over time. In the present thesis, the term integration has been broadly used in connection with all national policies affecting Danish-Somalis living in Denmark, e.g. integration initiatives. However, here, I will employ narrower definitions of both terms, based on Berry's model where 'integration' is one of four strategies. In this chapter integration is defined as 'a process in which minorities and majorities gradually adapt patterns of each other's cultures', while assimilation is defined as 'a one-sided process in which minorities gradually adapt to the dominant culture'. [309]

In "Sammensatte Samfunn" Knut Kjeldstadli argues that in spite of Gordon's focus on assimilation, and his much disputed stance that societies in general are moving towards assimilation, his seven dimensions of assimilation continue to be relevant in any discussion on integration.[310] In Gordon's argument, the seven dimensions of assimilation illustrate the main variables involved in the process of assimilation, and are explained as follows:

1. The minority changes their cultural patterns to that of the majority society (***acculturation***).[311]

[308] Gordon (1964) pp. 70-71.
[309] These definitions are based on Macionis (2008) and Castles et al. (2014). They are consistent with Berry's definitions.
[310] Kjeldstadli (2008) p. 108.
[311] Gordon argues that acculturation is the same as cultural assimilation. In contrast, Berry suggests that assimilation is one of four possible components of acculturation. In this thesis I use Berry's definition of acculturation.

2. The minority enters into the societal structure of groups and institutions in the majority society (***structural assimilation***).
3. Members of the minority intermarry with members of the majority society (***marital assimilation***).
4. The minority develops a 'sense of peoplehood' with the majority society instead of a 'sense of peoplehood' with the minority group (***sense of belonging***).[312]
5. The minority reaches a point where they encounter no discriminatory behavior (***absence of discrimination***).
6. The minority reaches a point where they encounter no prejudiced attitudes (***absence of prejudice***).
7. The minority has no value or power conflict with the majority society in public or civic life (***civic assimilation***).[313]

As a result of my topic, I will focus on four of Gordon's seven subprocesses: acculturation, sense of belonging, absence of discrimination, and absence of prejudice.[314] Gordon argues that the seven dimensions of assimilation can be used to analyze both the goals of the majority society, as well as the goals of the minority group.[315]

Berry has significantly expanded on this idea through his theory of acculturation strategies. In this thesis acculturation is defined as 'a process though which groups of individuals from different cultures come into contact with each other with subsequent changes to either or both original cultures'.[316] Therefore, using an acculturation perspective can be a helpful tool when analyzing the historical changes as experienced by Danish-Somalis in Aarhus.[317]

[312] Gordon used the term 'sense of peoplehood', which I understand as identical to 'sense of belonging'.
[313] Gordon (1964) pp. 69-71. Gordon uses the fictive terms Mundovians and Sylvanians, while Berry uses the terms ethnocultural groups and larger society. I use the terms minority (in this case Danish-Somalis) and majority (in this case larger Danish society). Also see, Kjeldstadli (2008) pp. 107-109, for a discussion of Gordon's seven dimensions of 'assimilation'. Among other things, he mentions that while Gordon focuses on opinions and actions, other researchers have stressed a more cognitive and emotional integration.
[314] Please see appendix 5.1 for a comment on structural, marital, and civic assimilation, since they are not included below.
[315] Gordon (1964) p. 74.
[316] Berry (1997) pp. 7. This definition is based on Herskovits et al. (1936).
[317] Allen et al. (2006) p. 203.

In the article "Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation" from 1997, Berry writes when cultural transitions take place the majority society and the minority group can adopt various acculturation strategies. See Figure 5a and 5b.[318]

Fig. 5a: Acculturation strategies of minorities.

ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES OF MINORITY GROUPS		Issue I: Maintenance of minority culture	
		High	Low
Issue 2: Contact and participation between groups	High	**Integration**	**Assimilation**
	Low	**Separation**	**Marginalization**

This is based on Barry's model, see appendix 5.2.[319]

Fig. 5b: Acculturation strategies of majorities.

ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES OF MAJORITY SOCIETY		Issue I: Maintenance of minority culture	
		High	Low
Issue 2: Contact and participation between groups	High	**Multiculturalism**	**Melting Pot**
	Low	**Segregation**	**Exclusion**

This is based on Barry's model, see appendix 5.2.[320]

In Figure 5a, Berry suggests four acculturation strategies that can be used by the minority group, those being integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization, respectively. In Figure 5b, Berry suggests four acculturation strategies, which can be used by the majority group, i.e. multiculturalism, melting pot, segregation, and exclusion. I will define the acculturation strategies relevant for the subject of this thesis throughout the discussion below.

Berry emphasizes that the acculturation strategies are based on the assumption that the majority and the minority are free to acculturate how they see fit, but that this is not always the case. In reality acculturation often produces greater change in the minority group, which in turn constrains the

[318] Berry (1997) pp. 6-10.
[319] Berry (2008) p. 322.
[320] Berry (2008) p. 322.

choices in acculturation strategies exercised among minority group members.[321]

It is important to point out that in Berry's model assimilation is merely one of four possible strategies the minority group can resort to. This contrasts Gordon's argument that acculturation only happens one way – when the minority group adapts to the majority group. It should also be noted, that in Berry's model strategies of marginalization (minority strategy) and exclusion (majority strategy) are included as potential acculturation strategies, although intuitively they both appear to be preventing rather than furthering acculturation.

Berry argues acculturation strategies are developed through daily encounters between groups and individuals and are based on two main "issues" –cultural maintenance (Issue 1) and contact/participation (Issue 2). Below I have made use of Berry's terminology, and will use the term "issue" to describe the different factors that influence acculturation strategies and the term "maintenance" to describe whether or not the minority culture is upheld and preserved.

5.2. Acculturation

5.2.1. Acculturation strategies of the majority society

According to Berry, one way to analyze acculturation strategies of the majority society is by studying national policies and programs.[322] These are particularly relevant in regard to the interviewees, who all emphasized the negative changes in media and politics. Chapter 2 and 3 outlined the development in policies affecting Somali refugees who arrived in Aarhus. The changing political coalition governments adapted and supported various policies that show conflicting approaches to what politicians deemed 'integration' between 1995 and 2017. While changes happened gradually, this

[321] Berry (1997) pp. 6-10.
[322] Berry (1997) p. 11.

section uses a classification of the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s, even though the development was overlapping.

Support for integration policies and the Integration Act of 1998 characterized the 1990s, which included a three-year introduction program administered by the municipality. Based on Berry's definition of acculturation strategies, the multicultural strategy was exercised on both the municipal and national level. The multicultural strategy is defined by high maintenance of minority culture and identity, and a great deal of contact and participation among the minority and majority culture.[323] While the multicultural strategy is sometimes associated with an official policy of multiculturalism, it does not necessarily have to be formally specified.[324] A multicultural strategy in a society can exist as long as diversity is a widely accepted feature in the majority society.[325] It is suitable to label Danish politics in the 1990s as multicultural, since refugees and immigrants could maintain a high level of their minority culture, for example through state-run minority-language classes. At the same time, the country sought active participation and contact between the majority and minority group. This could be seen in policy-making, like the Integration Act of 1998, which established municipal integration councils and the national Council of Ethnic Minorities.[326]

The 2000s were characterized by a shift in integration policies towards employment initiatives. Based on Berry's definition of acculturation, the melting pot strategy was exercised by the majority society on the national level. The melting pot strategy is defined as 'a low maintenance of minority culture and identity but high contact and participation among the minority and majority culture'.[327] On a national level, the coalition government led by *Venstre* cut funding for many integration initiatives that could be considered supportive of ethnic cultures and minorities in the 2000s, such as com-

[323] Berry (2003) p. 23.
[324] This is based on a definition of multiculturalism that focuses on diversity and cultural rights, such as a right to maintain a mother-tongue language through classes, and a right to maintain habits and lifestyles. See Macionis (2008); Korsgaard (2012); Castles et al. (2014); Grage & Hasager (2011).
[325] Berry (2012) p. 15-17.
[326] Folketinget, "Integrationsloven", 1998, Chapter 8, §42 and §43.
[327] Berry (2003) p. 23.

mittees and research institutions connected to ethnic minorities.[328] Support for existing initiatives administering contact and participation between the majority and the minority changed as well, for instance in regards to the municipal Integration Councils. In the article "'There is no racism here': public discourses on racism, immigrants and integration in Denmark", Tina Gudrun Jensen, Kristina Weibel, and Kathrine Vitus look at public policies of integration in Denmark in the 2000s and 2010s. They found the assimilationist policies in Denmark did not recognize minorities and their rights and cultural claims.[329] Similarly, in "Acculturation Strategies in Nordic Countries", Charles Westin writes that the tough immigration policies in Denmark send a discouraging signal to minorities living in the country.[330] However, the strategy in the 2000s can still be classified as having a high level of contact and participation between groups, as the 1990s initiatives were replaced by other, mainly work-related, initiatives.

The 2010s were characterized by further restrictions on integration policies and increased debate concerning refugees and immigrants. Based on Berry's definition of acculturation strategies in the majority society, an exclusion strategy was exercised on the national level. The exclusion strategy is defined as 'a low maintenance of minority culture and identity and a low level of contact and participation among the minority and majority culture'.[331]Augmented restrictions and deterrence policies, as well as an increasingly negative political debate, particularly by the *Venstre*-led coalition governments, serve as evidence that this strategy was implemented.[332]

This national development from c. 1990 to 2017 in the majority society's acculturation strategies is consistent with the emphasis placed on the negative changes in national policies during the interviews with Danish-

[328] For an overview of Danish political parties and coalitions on a national level, please see appendix 2.1. and appendix 2.2.
[329] Jensen et al. (2017) p. 62.
[330] Westin (2006) p. 382.
[331] Berry (2003) p. 23.
[332] Jensen et al. argues after 2003 the debate on immigration and integration in Danish politics increasingly drew lines between "us" and "them". For more detail see Jensen et al. (2017); Gammeltoft-Hansen (2017) p. 103.

Somalis in Aarhus. It furthermore shows the approach to handling ethnic minorities and integration was fluid over time.

While national and municipal policies/actors often affect each other, the empirical findings from chapter 3 showed an increase in initiatives preventing racism, discrimination, and intolerance on a municipal level in Aarhus from 2000 to 2015.[333] These initiatives show the city council was aware of rising discrimination and racism, and that they wished to improve the situation. When analyzing the historical changes through the theoretical perspective, this indicated that while national policies were characterized by an overall exclusion strategy from 2010 onwards, this was not the case in Aarhus City Council. This is consistent with the findings above, where it was concluded that Aarhus occasionally differed from the national trend, due to contradicting policies regarding refugees and immigrants (cf. chapter 3).

5.2.2. Acculturation strategies of Danish-Somalis

While national policies and programs show a relatively coherent picture of acculturation strategies exercised by the Danish majority society, the interviews with Danish-Somalis in Aarhus provide a more nuanced depiction of acculturation strategies. The nuances found among Danish-Somalis show that acculturation strategies were not only determined by the strategy of the majority society but also by individual interpretations found amongst Danish-Somalis.[334]

Not all interviewees were asked the question of what strategy was best when moving and adapting to a new culture and one declined to answer. Those who did talk about acculturation supported what Berry called the integration strategy – defined as 'a high maintenance of minority culture and identity and a high degree of participation in society and contact among the

[333] Examples of this include the Integration Act of 1998, which gave local municipalities the main responsibility for introduction programs while still moving towards more centralistic integration regulations, or the internal disputes in *Socialdemokratiet* influenced by Thorkild Simonsen. Please see chapter 2 and chapter 3.
[334] Berry (2003) p. 25.

minority and majority culture'.[335] Berry describes this strategy as individuals having an interest in maintaining their original culture, while also interacting with other groups in society.[336] Aaden, Bashiir, Jamilah, Sagal, and Hani all emphasized maintaining Somali culture while participating actively in Danish society. To Bashiir, Jamilah, and Sagal the main focus of participating in society was on learning the Danish language and entering the workforce. Aaden focused on being part of a community (*fællesskab*) where everybody was accepted as co-citizens.[337] This was similar to Cawil, who emphasized tolerance between groups should be the main factor in acculturation processes.[338]

Aaden and Cawil emphasized that the assimilation strategy did not work, and Danish-Somalis who had tried to assimilate were still discriminated against. Berry describes individuals with a high degree of participation in the majority society and little maintenance of their ethnic cultural identity as employing this strategy.[339] Aaden said he knew people with a Somali background who had assimilated completely into Danish society, but they were still met with the same prejudices and experienced continued discrimination.[340] Both interviewees pointed to the experiences of adopted children with a darker skin color who were assimilated into Danish society since birth, but still were not accepted by ethnic Danes.[341] Aaden added that Danish-Somalis might use the assimilation strategy if it worked, or if they would be accepted into Danish society because of it, but that it was not realistic.[342] This is consistent with Berry's research, in which he found that if physical features separated minorities from the majority society they could

[335] Berry (2003) p. 23.
[336] Berry (2012) p. 15-17.
[337] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.
[338] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017.
[339] Berry (2012) p. 15-17.
[340] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.
[341] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017. The two interviewees did not elaborate on whether they knew about experiences of adopted children from e.g. media or personal relationships.
[342] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.

experience prejudice and discrimination, and as a result of that be more reluctant to pursue assimilation to avoid rejection.[343]

Some Danish-Somalis interviewed expressed a sense of separation from Danish society in their first years in Denmark. As a result of isolation their acculturation strategy had been separation. The separation strategy is defined as 'a high maintenance of minority culture and identity but a low contact and participation among the minority and majority culture'.[344] This non-deliberate strategy was employed as a result of sub par circumstances; such as lack of language programs for spouses who arrived via family reunification, or extended home-stay because of maternity leave.[345]

While the interviewees used an integration strategy in the 1990s and 2000s, with the exception of their first years in Denmark, they used a multitude of strategies after c. 2010. Although not all interviewees commented on the immediate reason behind this change, those who did pointed to the strategy of the larger Danish society – particularly the lack of a multicultural strategy. Xabiib for instance, stressed that Danish people (and in turn politicians) were not proponents of a multicultural strategy, and were afraid of a diverse and multicultural society.[346] As a result of imbalance in acculturation strategies, where the majority society often prevents the minority in "freely" choosing their preferred acculturation strategy, the integration strategy used previously was no longer possible as support for diversity decreased.[347] The changes in the majority society's acculturation strategy – from multiculturalism, to melting pot, to exclusion – forced some of the interviewees away from their preferred integration strategy.

An acculturation strategy of the minority that can be seen in the last decade is separation. Cawil, said the more pressure he felt from Danish society the more he withdrew to his own roots, using this strategy.[348] This was similar to Bashiir who felt he became more nationalistic towards his Somali

[343] Berry (2003) p. 25. Also see Guöjónsdóttir (2014), Leinonen & Toivanen (2014); Garner (2012) and Kleist (2002).
[344] Berry (2003) p. 23.
[345] See for instance, Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.
[346] Interview no. 5. Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.
[347] Berry (1997) p. 10.
[348] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017.

culture when he experienced exclusion in Danish society.[349] Jamilah also felt many refugees and immigrants were isolated at home with their own minority culture.[350]

Another acculturation strategy seen in the last decade was marginalization. Marginalization is defined as 'an acculturation strategy where there is little possibility of maintaining the original culture and little interest in having relations with other cultures'. Berry pointed out this strategy was often the result of experienced exclusion or discrimination, not a voluntary choice.[351] While none of the interviewees felt marginalized themselves, they stressed that some other Danish-Somalis used the marginalization strategy.[352] Bashiir pointed out that when newly arrived refugees and immigrants tried to integrate, these efforts were not regarded as adequate, and they ended up marginalized. He mentioned the norm of describing descendants using terms such as "fourth generation immigrant" for those whose great-grandparents had arrived in Denmark as immigrants.[353] The marginalization strategy was even most apparent when interviewees discussed their worries for the younger generation of Danish-Somalis. As mentioned in chapter 4, the interviewees felt the younger generation lacked a sense of belonging to either Somali or Danish society, which sometimes resulted in feelings of exclusion. As a result of this, some of the interviewees felt their children's generation was particularly vulnerable and marginalized.[354]

In spite of the majority society's exclusion strategy some Danish-Somali interviewees did feel they were able to maintain an integration strategy – especially Aaden, Sagal, and Hani.[355] Aaden explained this by focusing on policies in Aarhus, in contrast to the national development – particularly the Aarhus Integration Agreement of 2007, where co-citizenship was

[349] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.
[350] Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.
[351] Berry (2012) p. 15-17.
[352] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[353] Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.
[354] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.
[355] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.

the focus.[356] He felt very positive towards the policy in Aarhus Municipality since it acknowledged his rights and contributions as a citizen. For instance, he felt the focus had been shifted from assimilating into Danish society by drinking or not wearing a scarf, towards a focus on the community (*fællesskab*) in Aarhus.[357] Similarly, Sagal explained how she was able to uphold the integration strategy by focusing on her participation in the labor market. Hani highlighted her lack of interest in national politics, which she thought allowed her to be less influenced by the increase in prejudice and discrimination – thereby making it easier to ignore the changing strategies of the majority society. However, all three interviewees stressed that other Danish-Somalis in Aarhus were not able to uphold an integration strategy. Also, all three felt a sense of belonging with Denmark, in contrast to Cawil.

Based on Berry's definition of acculturation strategies among minorities, integration seems to be exercised more or less consistently among Danish-Somalis in the 1990s and 2000s – with the exception being some use of the separation strategy in early years after arrival. This is in contrast to the 2010s, where three different strategies were used, i.e. separation, marginalization, and integration. The analysis is consequently dependent on how the individual interprets the strategy of the majority. In this case, some of the interviewees did not view the strategy of the majority society as exclusory, and therefore were able to retain an integration strategy.[358] This might be explained by variations in acculturation strategies in the majority society in regards to differences found between national policies and municipal policies – since municipal policies did not seem to be characterized by an exclusion strategy from 2010 onwards.

[356] ASA, "Integrationspolitik – Medborgerskab skaber sammenhængskraft" (2007).
[357] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.
[358] This model is relevant because some Danish-Somalis were not able to choose 'freely' what acculturation strategy they wanted to use, and ended up being forced away from their original integration strategy. This causes what Berry termed 'acculturation stress', where the process of acculturation is linked with negative psychological outcomes. According to Berry the integration strategy causes the lowest level of 'acculturation stress' while marginalization causes the highest levels for any minority. Berry & Hou (2017) p. 37.

5.3. Senses of belonging

As chapter 4 has illustrated, all interviewees felt a sense of belonging with both Somalia and Denmark, or had done so previously, during their time in Denmark. Karin Peters, Monika Stodalska and Anna Horolets argue senses of belonging are formed through three foundations: social relationships with others, physical and mental interactions with places, and building a history of memories tied to those social relationships and places.[359] This explains why some of the Danish-Somalis in Aarhus did not feel a sense of belonging with Denmark in the early years, since they had not yet created a history tied with social relations and interactions with places and the natural environment. However, it does not explain why all interviewees, except Hani, believed there was a negative connection between the rise in prejudice and discrimination and the Danish-Somali's senses of belonging. The answer to this might be found in physical and mental interactions with places; Sarah Neal and Julian Agyeman argue that experiences of discrimination in these interactions can foster a lack of belonging that in time can lead to exclusion.[360] That would mean when Danish-Somalis experienced increased prejudice and discrimination in Aarhus, their sense of belonging with Denmark suffered. On top of this, during the interviews the challenge of forming close friendships with ethnic Danish people was mentioned, which could further decrease sense of belonging in Denmark.[361]

A theory that can help analyze the negative connection between the rise in prejudice, discrimination and senses of belonging is the rejection-identification model developed by N. R. Branscombe, M. T. Schmitt, and R. D. Harvey. The model points to how negative experiences with the majority society can result in feelings of rejection, which in turn can result in amplified identification with the minority group. Branscombe, et al., argue that this heightened identification with the minority group can counteract the

[359] Peters et al. (2016) p. 64.
[360] Peters et al. (2016) p. 63. Also see Neal and Agyeman (2006).
[361] Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.

negative effects of discrimination and rejection.[362] This might explain the negative connection expressed by all but one Danish-Somali, and also Bashiir and Cawil's emphasis on returning to their Somali roots when they felt pressured and discriminated in Danish society. Likewise, the model would explain why the Danish-Somalis felt their children's generations were more vulnerable to exclusion and marginalization than them – as they did not have the same possibility of minority group identification.

5.4. Absence of discrimination and absence of prejudice

The social identity theory can be used to analyze the prejudice and discrimination experienced by Danish-Somalis in Aarhus. The theory argues that individuals share membership with other members of particular groups. That results in a positive bias towards members of one's own group (in-group members) and a negative bias towards members or other groups (out-group members). Examples of such bias can be preferential treatment of in-group members in the hiring process as expressed by Xabiib.[363]

The social identity theory and the increase in discrimination and prejudice can also be linked to Gordon's seven dimensions of assimilation, since he argued that discrimination and prejudice would increase if structural assimilation did not occur. This was based on an argument that prejudice and discrimination would increase without intimate relations and friendships between groups.[364] This was not the case of the Danish-Somalis in Aarhus, who experienced structural assimilation in education and employment, but still described an increase in prejudice and discrimination.

[362] Tabbah et al. (2016) p. 320. See also Branscombe et al. (1999), Skey (2014); Visser (2017); Fink & Hauge (1991).
[363] Al Ramiah et al. (2010) pp. 86-87. See also: Turner (1978), Tajfel & Turner (1986) and Kunst (2015) pp. 12-23.
[364] Gordon (1964) pp. 235-238.

5.5. Theoretical discussion

This chapter has analyzed the changes in experiences among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus by using theories from psychology and sociology to study the empirical findings from chapter 2, 3 and 4. It was concluded that Danish-Somalis did not 'assimilate' in terms of their senses of belonging, absence of discrimination, or absence of prejudice. Thus Gordon's notion that assimilation would inevitably occur is not supported by the case study of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus. This finding is indeed consistent with Berry's point that the long-term outcome is integration or separation rather than assimilation.[365]

5.5.1. A revised model

While Berry argues that acculturation strategies were developed through two main "issues", the empirical findings in this thesis have shown that belonging and prejudice/discrimination also influenced daily encounters between groups and individuals in Denmark.

Fig. 5c: Acculturation strategies of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES OF MINORITY GROUPS</td><td colspan="2">Issue I: Maintenance of minority culture</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>High</td><td>Low</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Issue 2: Contact and participation between groups</td><td>High</td><td>Integration</td><td>Assimilation</td><td>High</td><td rowspan="2">Issue 3: Sense of belonging and absence of discrimination and prejudice</td></tr>
<tr><td>Low</td><td>Separation</td><td>Marginalization</td><td>Low</td></tr>
</table>

I have created a model, Figure 5c, where the theoretical perspectives of this chapter are combined with Berry's model of acculturation. The figure is based on three "issues" instead of two, that being Berry's "issues" of cultural maintenance (Issue 1) and contact/participation (Issue 2), as well as an additional "issue" of sense of belonging and absence of prejudice/ discrimi-

[365] Berry (2008) p. 328.

nation (Issue 3). The model suggests Danish-Somalis in Aarhus chose an acculturation strategy based on: maintenance of Somali culture, contact and participation in Danish society, and experiences of discrimination/prejudice and sense of belonging. In the case of Danish-Somalis, this model contends that a weak sense of belonging with the majority society would result in an acculturation strategy of either separation or marginalization. Similarly, a more pronounced sense of belonging with the majority society would result in either a strategy of integration or assimilation. This can help understand Bashiir and Cawil's sense of belonging within Somali culture when their sense of belonging within Danish culture decreased (separation strategy). It might also help explain the situation of younger Danish-Somalis (marginalization strategy), and why some Danish-Somalis who maintained their minority culture and a high level of contact/participation in Danish society also felt a deeper sense of belonging within Danish society (integration strategy).

The theories mentioned above, as well as the interviewees, claim there is a connection between both feeling rejected and identifying with the minority group (rejection-identification model), and between experiences of discrimination and a lack of belonging. This also fits the updated model, and further supports the fact that minority groups are not always 'free' to choose what acculturation strategy they prefer.[366]

It is central to point out, that my portrayal of acculturation strategies among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus is based on a very limited sample size of seven interviewees. Although some research showing comparable experiences of discrimination/prejudice and sense of belonging can be found portraying: other Danish-Somalis in Aarhus, Danish-Somalis in Copenhagen, and other ethnic minority groups in Denmark; the model, Figure 5c, is based

[366] Since the updated model now includes an extra dimension of acculturation, it could be criticized for having contradictory factors that influence acculturation strategies. An example of such contradiction would be if a minority group experienced a low level of contact and participation among groups but at the same time a high level of minority culture and a high level of sense of belonging. However, that would be unlikely according to Peters, et al., who found a connection between increased sense of belonging when intimate relationships and friendships were developed with the members of the majority society. A further argument for this is the intergroup contact theory. The theory states that prejudices and stereotypes are more likely to develop if groups have little contact with each other. Berry (1997) p. 12; Peters et al. (2016) p. 64; Hansen Thorndal (2011) pp. 83-90; Mau (2010) p. 103.

on a very narrow foundation, which has clear limitations.[367] Nevertheless, as emphasized by Trachtenberg, the theoretical model should be viewed as an analytical tool rather than an answer in and of itself. Therefore, this updated model can help generate specific questions – in this case, questions of discrimination, prejudice and sense of belonging – even though it is only based on seven oral history interviews.[368]

A similar model can be created for the majority society in Denmark, cf. Figure 5d. The model shows high levels of prejudice and discrimination in the majority society towards a minority group will result in either a segregation or exclusion strategy. Likewise, low levels of prejudice and discrimination in the majority society will result in a strategy of either multiculturalism or melting pot.

This updated model may explain the change over time, which was particularly clear when analyzing the acculturation strategies used by the majority from c. 1990 to 2017. The updated model illustrates how increased prejudice and discrimination are connected with a strategy of exclusion in the majority. This is not in conflict with Berry's research – for instance, John W. Berry and Feng Hou have found the benefits of a society using a

[367] See Valentine et al. (2009) for a study of sense of belonging among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus. The experiences of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus can be compared to Danish-Somalis in the rest of Denmark. All experienced the general changes, such as a rise in economic neoliberalism, a rise in right-wing nationalism, and a growth and politicization of migration and integration in media and politics. Likewise, most Danish-Somalis settled in the five largest cities in Denmark, particularly Copenhagen and Aarhus, meaning they lived in areas with a higher percentage of immigrants; and in the case of Copenhagen and Aarhus areas dominated by social democratic policies. That the experiences of Danish-Somalis in Copenhagen are similar to those in Aarhus is further supported by a report from the Open Society Foundation, which found that Danish-Somalis in Copenhagen experienced a high level of discrimination and stereotyping. However, I did not find any research specifically on sense of belonging among Danish-Somalis in Copenhagen. One report *Oplevet Discrimination* by Lise Togeby and Birgit Møller from 1999 concluded that Danish-Somalis in Denmark were the minority group who experienced the most discrimination. The report furthermore concluded that among the researched minorities – from Bosnia, Turkey, Lebanon and Somalia – ethnic Somalis were the group with the smallest attachment to Denmark, with only 33% reporting a rather strong or very strong sense of belonging. For more about experiences of discrimination/prejudice and sense of belonging among other ethnic minority groups in Aarhus, see appendix 5.3. Togeby & Møller (1999) p. 96; Danmarks Statistik, FOLK1A; Københavns Biblioteker, Københavns Borgerrepræsentation, "Mandatfordelingen 1909-2013"; Open Society Foundation (2014a) pp. 14-15.

[368] Trachtenberg (2006) pp. 30-37.

multicultural strategy were undermined if discrimination occurred.[369] Jensen, et al., have also found a connection between the development in national Danish policies, discrimination and racism. They illustrate how issues of discrimination and racism are de-legitimized in the Danish integration discourse, thereby sidelining anti-racism policymaking and excluding minorities.[370]

Fig. 5d: Acculturation strategies of the majority society in Denmark

ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES OF MAJORITY SOCIETY		Issue I: Maintenance of minority culture			
		High	Low		
Issue 2: Contact and participation between groups	High	**Multiculturalism**	**Melting Pot**	High	Issue 3: Absence of discrimination and prejudice
	Low	**Segregation**	**Exclusion**	Low	

5.5.2. Historical meaning

The theoretical models do not provide an answer in their own right but facilitate an analysis by generating specific questions.[371] By feeding the empirical findings from chapter 2 into Berry's model of acculturation strategies, it was concluded that the majority's acculturation strategy changed from c. 1990 to 2017 – from a multicultural strategy in the 1990s and a melting pot strategy in the 2000s, to an exclusion strategy in the 2010s.

In other words, Danish policies on integration moved away from diversity, inclusion and preservation of minority culture in the 1990s, towards a period with active inclusion of minorities in work-related initiatives but limited possibility of cultural sustainability in the 2000s, and finally towards a restrictive approach in the 2010s where minorities in Danish society had decreasing possibility of preserving their minority culture and actively participating in Danish society. However, when analyzing the empirical findings from chapter 3, it was shown that Aarhus City Council continued to

[369] Berry & Hou (2017) p. 37.
[370] Jensen et al. (2017) pp. 51 and 67. Also see Valentine, et al., (2009) who argue that an individual's sense of belonging is dependent on being accepted by the majority society.
[371] Trachtenberg (2006) pp. 30-37.

support initiatives relating to anti-discriminaiton and anti-racism until 2015, thereby not employing a strategy of exclusion.

The analysis also illustrated that while the interviewees used the same strategy in the 1990s and 2000s, the 2010s saw individual responses to the changes in Danish policies. It can be concluded that perceptions of discrimination and prejudice, as well as sense of belonging, were not constant or stable but changed over time, influenced by the historical context in Denmark.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 6

This chapter summarizes the thesis' main findings and provides answers to the question of how senses of belonging and perceptions of discrimination and prejudices among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus changed from c. 1990 to 2017. In addition, it places the perceptions and experiences of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus in the larger context of Somali minorities in Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands.

6.1. Summary

For the most part, Danish-Somalis believe they are associated with a common set of prejudices. The Danish-Somali interviewees first mentioned economic and work-related prejudices, such as that they exploit the Danish state and welfare system, that they are lazy, uneducated, or illiterate, and that they 'steal' the jobs of ethnic Danes. Second came cultural prejudices, including assumptions that Somali men have many wives and numerous children, that they oppress women, or that they are connected to terrorism. The interviewees did not agree on the extent and frequency of these prejudices, with four of the interviewees stating it was a very small section of the ethnic Danish population who espoused these views, and three believing

them to be widespread. Moreover, the analysis has shown additional considerations of prejudices among the interviewees. First, experiences of prejudice were associated with a social space, separating the local community and Aarhus as a whole. Second, perceptions of prejudices were associated with different groups of ethnic Danish people; mainly, the impression was that the older generation was more prejudiced than younger people. Third, perceptions of prejudice were associated with religion, particularly Islam, which in turn was associated with terrorism. Fourth, all female interviewees believed everybody entertains prejudices against others, both Danish-Somalis and ethnic Danes. Fifth, experiences of prejudice were associated with bad luck and a notion that encounters of prejudice could happen to all Danish-Somalis randomly.

The thesis has indicated that Danish-Somalis believed they were discriminated against, with four interviewees perceiving it as an occasional, yet continuous phenomenon, and two interviewees considering it a frequent experience. Only one person did not believe she had been discriminated against, but she was still very aware of its existence. Danish-Somalis' perceptions of discrimination were largely associated with labor discrimination both in the hiring process and in the actual workplace. This was partly explained by a belief that ethnic Danes were better able to communicate their qualifications and project ideas. While the male interviewees did not mention their relationship with their bosses, all female interviewees said their bosses had never discriminated against them. Besides employment-related discrimination, Danish-Somalis also tied their experiences to legislative and police bias.

The analysis provides evidence that Danish-Somalis experienced a change over time in prejudice and discrimination. This change was mostly negative, particularly when it came to the economic and legislative restrictions that occurred in the period from the late 1990s to 2017. The Danish-Somalis' perceptions of changes in prejudice and discrimination were also tied to a negative development in media and politics. Some interviewees felt this development negatively affected their possibility of being ac-

cepted into Danish society. Although perceptions of prejudice and discrimination changed for the worse between c. 1990 and 2017, the interviewees also pointed out a positive change happened when it came to education and job opportunities for Danish-Somalis.

As mentioned in my introduction, a historical study based on oral history interviews tends to be determined by content rather than chronology. As a result of the focus on content, the majority of interviewees pointed towards certain underlying causes and turning points when explaining the experienced changes – rather than actual years of change. The two interviewees who did pinpoint a time of change emphasized that the negative development in prejudice and discrimination had occurred in the last ten to fifteen years.

Aaden, Xabiib, and Sagal all refered to the September 11, 2001 terror attack as an explanatory factor and turning point for the negative focus on religion, e.g. when it came to day-to-day conversations, media, and the distance between people. Aaden and Bashiir believed the rising popularity of *Dansk Folkeparti* and political changes in Denmark could explain the rise in prejudice and discrimination. Bashiir and Jamilah felt that global changes such as wars involving countries with a Muslim majority were to blame as the underlying cause behind increase in prejudice and discrimination. All interviewees said the description of Muslims in the media had become harsher, and Bashiir, Xabiib and Jamilah felt this helped explain the changes in prejudice and discrimination. The most common example of how media depiction of Muslims had changed was the description of a mass shooting by a Muslim as an act of terror, but a mass shooting by a non-Muslim man as an individual act conducted by a mentally unstable person. Counterintuitively, nobody mentioned the Mohammed cartoons from 2005 as a turning point.

All except one of the Danish-Somalis felt their sense of belonging was part Somali, part Danish; however, their senses of belonging were based on different values. Some of the interviewees based their sense of belonging on their knowledge and understanding of the Danish language, one felt a sense

of belonging with regard to his civic rights, others based it on the time they had spent in Denmark, and some felt the willingness of the local community to help reminded them of Somali culture. The interviewees' respective senses of belonging were not constant but fluid, as Jamilah pointed out when she said she sometimes felt a greater sense of belonging with Denmark than other times. Time played a conspicuous role in such changes, with most interviewees stating they felt mostly Somali upon arrival and then slowly started to feel a sense of belonging in Denmark. The only interviewee who did not feel any sense of belonging in Denmark was Cawil; who said he had felt part Somali, part Danish ten to fifteen years ago like the other interviewees, but as a result of feeling unwanted and pressured in society he no longer felt at home in Denmark.

All interviewees, except Hani, believed there was a negative connection between the rise in prejudice and discrimination and the Danish-Somali population's sense of belonging. Some of the interviewees felt personally affected by this; for instance, Bashiir and Cawil both returned to their Somali roots when they were excluded from society. Although not all felt this was an issue for them personally, it was particularly clear this was something they worried about in regard to the younger generation of Danish-Somalis. In interviews this issue was described as an 'identity crises' because the children were told they were not Somali by their parents and the Somali community, while being simultaneously told they were not Danish either by the majority society.

The thesis included an analysis of archival sources from Aarhus City Council, where it was concluded that some indicators pointed towards discrimination against Danish-Somalis – particularly since the Somalis were the only ethnic group targeted in the proposals and inquiries, and since the city council increasingly passed initiatives preventing racism and discrimination. However, when the oral history interviews were used to test the information from the city council it was clear that discrimination and prejudice were much more widespread than indicated by archival sources.

In chapter 5, I have used theories from social science to analyze and interpret the empirical findings from chapter 2, 3, and 4. The chapter has made use of concepts of acculturation strategies to analyze the changes in Danish society – from the multicultural strategy in the 1990s, melting pot strategy in the 2000s, and an exclusion strategy in the 2010s. My analysis indicates that changes in Danish society affected the strategic choices of the minority. The minority's preferred strategy was integration, but when the majority society moved towards exclusion in the 2010s, Danish-Somalis' reactions in Aarhus were divided, seen through their various strategies of integration, separation or marginalization.

When feeding the empirical findings from chapter 2, 3, and 4 into Berry's theory of acculturation, the model did not adequately explain either changes in perceptions of prejudice and discrimination or senses of belonging. Therefore, I have proposed a slightly revised model of explanation. The model incorporates elements from both John W. Berry's acculturation strategies and Milton Gordon's dimensions of assimilation. The empirical findings show three "issues" affected the process of acculturation for Danish-Somalis. The "issues" that influenced the Danish-Somalis' life in Aarhus from c. 1990 to 2017 were: cultural minority maintenance, contact/participation with the majority society, and sense of belonging to the majority society/ existence of prejudices and discrimination. The reason I chose to include prejudice/discrimination and sense of belonging is threefold: first, the Danish-Somalis in Aarhus saw a negative connection between their senses of belonging and their experiences of prejudice and discrimination; second, the rejection-identification theory claims feelings of rejection can amplify a sense of belonging with the minority group; and third, research by Sarah Neal and Julian Agyeman has found experiences of discrimination to foster a lack of belonging, a finding supported by the present study.

6.2. Comparative perspectives

This thesis has focused on a relatively small, but important minority group in Aarhus, where 11,920 Somali refugees arrived from c. 1990 to 2017.[372] However, other Nordic cities also experienced an influx of Somali refugees and a few, provisional comparative observations might help contextualize the Aarhus case study.

The largest Somali-born populations in Europe can be found in Finland, the United Kingdom, Italy, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark. A 2015 report on "Somalis in Europe" concluded people of Somali origin have experienced racism and discrimination in all of those countries, and this has resulted in difficulties with their integration process – similarly to the experiences of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus.[373]

Norway and Sweden are home to Somali minority populations and share historical as well as sociocultural characteristics with Denmark. Brochmann summarizes these similarities in "Innvandring til Scandinavia" when she writes all three countries simultaneously developed a universalistic welfare state, and that these three welfare states have comparable features: (a) all are small and have relatively homogeneous populations in terms of cultural features, such as language and religion, (b) they were dominated by social democratic party politics after World War II, (c) all have a high level of trust, and (d) until 2004 shared a similar pattern of immigration– although the immigration happened at different periods in time, with Sweden experiencing it far earlier than Denmark or Norway.[374]

Norway had a Somali-born population of around 13,000 in 2006. As is the case in Denmark, most of the Norwegian-Somalis have settled in cities – particularly Oslo where around 46% of Norwegian-Somalis live – followed

[372] This number included refugees, family reunified and a small number of immigrants. Danmarks Statistik, FOLK1C.
[373] Fagioli-Ndlovu (2015) pp. 7-19.
[374] Brochmann (2016) p. 130; Brochmann & Hagelund (2010) pp. 309-320; Westin (2006) p. 368-370.

by Stavanger and Skien.[375] Katrine Fangen, who has studied Norwegian-Somalis from a sociological perspective, concluded in a study from 2006 that many had faced discrimination in the labor and housing market. The study also found Somalis had been exposed to stigmatization by both media and public officials, and were frequently stigmatized as the "worst case" scenario – rather similar to Denmark.[376]

Research concerning senses of belonging among Norwegian-Somalis tends to focus on the younger generation born in Norway.[377] However, a report on "Somalis in Oslo", complied by the Open Society Foundation, found both older and younger Norwegian-Somalis in Oslo experienced feelings of exclusion and stereotyping on a daily basis, and particularly younger Norwegian-Somalis reported feeling renounced as Norwegians.[378] Another study by Katrine Fangen found Somali migrants reacted to Norwegian society's refusal to accept them as Norwegians by returning to their Somali sense of belonging – even though they articulated a wish to belong in Norway. Similar to the worries expressed by Danish-Somalis in Aarhus, the study showed that experiences of non-acceptance or exclusion in Norwegian society could lead to separation or marginalization among younger generations.[379]

Sweden is one of the countries in Europe with the highest percentages of Somali-born population with around 0.4% in 2012.[380] In contrast to Denmark, the majority of Somalis arrived in Sweden in the late 2000s or

[375] Siyad et al. (2006) p. 14.
[376] Fangen (2006) pp. 69-93.
[377] A study from 2008 found that some young Norwegian-Somalis defined their sense of belonging as both Somali and Norwegian, while some felt a sense of belonging with Somali culture over Norwegian, see Fangen (2008) pp. 138-142. Another study from 2009 found that young Norwegian-Somalis had a hard time being accepted as Norwegians, which resulted in some of them associating more with Somali culture, see Engebrigtsen & Fuglerud (2009) pp. 111-113.
[378] Open Society Foundation (2013) p. 15. This report is part of the project *At Home in Europe* which conducted research on living conditions and social status of people of Somali backgrounds in European cities such as Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Malmo, Leicester, London, and Oslo.
[379] Fangen (2005) pp. 142, and 156-163. The study concluded that Norwegian-Somalis sense of belonging was determined by either their negative experiences of exclusion, marginalization, stigmatization, or discrimination in Norway, or their identification with their ethnic group. See also Fangen (2006) pp. 69-93. For a short note on religion and its influence on acceptance as a Norwegian see Naguib (2002) pp. 172-173.
[380] Fagioli-Ndlovu (2015) pp. 17-18.

early 2010s.[381] A report "Somalis in Malmö", from the Open Society Foundation, found Swedish-Somalis were reluctant to discuss discrimination as a challenge, but did believe stereotyping and discrimination was a barrier for the younger generation. The report also found Swedish-Somalis in Malmö, irrespective of age, preferred to socialize with each other, and thus used an acculturation strategy of separation.[382] A sociological dissertation by Jonathan Ngeh from 2011 studied Somali and Cameroonian migrants in Malmö, and concluded that both institutional practices and individual actions contributed to discrimination and marginalization of the two groups. It further found this discrimination and marginalization could occur in meetings with both ethnic minorities and ethnic Swedes; however, actions of ethnic Swedes impacted the groups more negatively.[383]

The European countries also share some characteristics despite differences in national and local governments. These characteristics include: a rise in migration following World War II caused by decolonization, economic growth, expansion of the European Union, labor market demands, a middle class not physically separated from other classes (e.g. in suburbs), and stronger welfare states with elements of social protection in the form of healthcare, housing, and financial benefits.[384] In "Citizenship, Political Engagement, and Belonging" Nancy Foner argues immigrants in Western Europe are more likely to be stigmatized based on their culture, particularly religious creed, than based on their skin color. She further explains that societal institutions and mainstream senses of belonging in Europe do not contain Islam, and many immigrants therefore feel marginalized or excluded as Christianity is deeply rooted in institutions and public support.[385] This could mean the theoretical model of acculturation strategies among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus could also be applied to other ethnic minority groups.

[381] Open Society Foundation (2014b) p. 22.
[382] Open Society Foundation (2014b) pp. 15-16.
[383] Ngeh (2011) p. 1. For more literature on Swedish-Somalis see Levling & Nikolaidis (2015); Carlson & Mohamed (2013).
[384] Castles et al. (2014) p. 123; Body-Gendrot & Martiniello (2000) and pp. 3-4; Foner (2008) p. 250.
[385] Foner (2008) pp. 248-249.

An interesting European example is the Netherlands, since they share many of the Nordic countries' characteristics but have taken a fairly unique multicultural approach towards immigration.[386] In 2011, the Netherlands was estimated to have around 35,000 to 40,000 Somali-born residents, which amounted to around 0.16% of the Dutch population. In the 1980s, the Netherlands adopted a multicultural approach, focusing on how immigration enriched the cultural diversity of the country, supported equality before the law, and promoted equal opportunities. Experts and politicians criticized this approach from the 1990s onward, and policies then shifted towards assimilation with an emphasis on employment and Dutch culture and language acquisition.[387] In a report by the Open Society Foundation, it was concluded that Dutch-Somalis living in Amsterdam identified strongly with Muslim and/or Somali culture rather than with Dutch majority culture.[388]

In a study on the connection between media and belonging Aida Kassaye, Ibtisaam Ashur, and Anja van Heelsum found that negative coverage and experiences of discrimination led Dutch-Somalis to react in three ways. Some felt a sense of belonging with the Netherlands and either ignored negative depictions of Muslims or believed them to be irrelevant, some felt a fluctuating sense of belonging with the Netherlands, which was negatively affected by bad experiences, and some felt the negative media debate indicated Dutch society did not want them, therefore expressing a low sense of belonging.[389] The Netherlands would be ideal for an analysis of acculturation strategies among Dutch-Somalis over time, as the strategies of the majority society have transformed significantly.

The comparative perspectives of Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands, show that Somali minorities, in countries with similar features as Denmark, also experienced discrimination and questioned their senses of belonging; indicating that the changes in Danish society from c. 1990 to

[386] The Netherlands has (in contrast to Denmark, Norway and Sweden) a major and fairly recent colonial history, with immigration from former colonies influencing the ethnic demography in the country. Amersfoort & Niekerk (2006).
[387] Entzinger (2003) pp. 64-71 and 81-82; Leeuw & Wichelen (2008) pp. 261-276; Rath (2000) p. 26-40; Open Society Foundation (2014c) p. 15.
[388] Open Society Foundation (2014c) p. 15.
[389] Kassaye, et al. (2016) pp. 783-788.

2017, were reflected in other Nordic and European countries as well. Indeed, the changes occurring in Denmark during this period mirrored a larger European trend, e.g. where economic neoliberalism gained influence. On top of that, European countries were all affected by economic recession, if in varying degrees. Moreover, the rise of right-wing nationalism occurred in other European countries as well. These parties shared an emphasis on the connection between ethnicity and national identity, and consequently considered refugees and immigrants as a cultural and economic threat. Across Europe right-wing nationalistic parties gained significant voter support and influenced mainstream political parties. Ralph Grillo argues that the Danish experience is part of a general European pattern where nationalistic feelings are used as a response to globalization and transnationalism. The intensified debate on migration and integration in media and politics also occurred across Europe and North America. This debate was often connected to the upsurge in negative imagery about Muslims and Islam.[390] The experiences found in this microhistory study of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus are therefore comparable with other Somali minorities across Europe, and exemplify a wider historical development in Nordic and European countries.

6.3. Reflections on method and research

The testimonies by Danish-Somalis has enriched knowledge on an important minority group in Denmark, and their experiences of change since the 1990s – a research area that has otherwise been overlooked in historical works. In this case, oral history interviews have proved an invaluable source of information, since they allow for a focus on an underrepresented group and a depth of analysis not otherwise achieved.

[390] Castles et al. (2014) p. 123; Ther (2016); Hatton (2016) p. 205-208; Fligstein et al. (2012) p. 114; Open Society Foundation (2014b) pp. 35-40; Fligstein et al. (2012) pp. 115; Frønes & Kjølsrød (2016); Grillo (2011) p. 266-273; Kassaye et al. (2016) p. 789; Engebrigtsen & Fuglerud (2009) pp. 79-87; Fagioli-Ndlovu (2015) pp. 7-8; Aitchison et al. (2007); Cesari (2010) pp. 12-13; Nacos & Torres-Reyna (2007) p. 101.

Evidently, however, the project's scope is limited. The study is based on seven oral history interviews, and these were conducted with relatively resourceful and well-integrated Danish-Somalis. In 1999, the Committee on Ethnic Equality (*Nævnet for Etnisk Ligestilling*) published a report by Lise Togeby and Birgit Møller, which concluded humans with limited social capital and high mistrust had increased perceptions of discrimination.[391] As a result, the interview bias most likely means that other Danish-Somalis in Aarhus experience higher levels of discrimination and prejudice, which could mean their sense of belonging with Denmark was, and is, less pronounced. The seven interviewees also reflected on this bias, as they often viewed friends and community members as less integrated than them – and in turn, more likely to feel separated or marginalized. Nevertheless, while I can draw some broader conclusions from the interviews, it is hard to generalize and more research is needed regarding less resourceful Danish-Somalis, e.g. Danish-Somalis with less-developed proficiency of the Danish language.

While the general characteristics found in Denmark from c. 1990 to 2017 are mirrored internationally, little research includes a perspective focusing on change over time. More research will be needed to investigate these years, which is essential when trying to understand the connection between past events and the present situation, and it would be particularly interesting concerning Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands.[392] I have not placed a strong focus on the role of Islam and religion in determining senses of belonging; yet studies from Nordic and European countries have shown this is significant in other countries, and it would be interesting to explore this among Danish-Somalis in Aarhus as well.

Academic research only takes us so far when it comes to lived lives and individual experiences, which is why it is important to let the sources

[391] Togeby & Møller (1999) p. 79.
[392] Brochmann (2016) p. 131. In regards to Sweden and Norway, Westin analyses the acculturation strategies leading up to 2006 by using the Nordic ICSEY (International Comparative Studies of Ethnocultural Youth) data. Westin (2006) pp. 368-382.

speak for themselves. Nothing illustrates the changes better than Cawil's poignant summary of his own biography:

> The more you feel pressured in the society you live in, the more you return to your roots to feel a sense of safety. You have to find a fine balance of where you belong. And I think right now… if you ask now, then I have returned more to the country and my old definition of Somali, than I would have been fifteen years ago.[393]

[393] Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017. Please see appendix 4.25.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.

Appendix 1.1. Overview of oral history interviewees.

Alias	Source reference	Gender	Arrival	Type
Aaden	Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017.	Male	1994	Refugee
Bashiir	Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017.	Male	1989	Refugee
Cawil	Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017.	Male	1987	Refugee
Xabiib	Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017.	Male	1995	Refugee
Jamilah	Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017.	Female	2001	Family Reunification
Sagal	Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017.	Female	1997	Family Reunification
Hani	Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.	Female	1992	Refugee

Appendix 2.

Appendix 2.1. Danish political parties on a right-left spectrum.

The spectrum is based on support for a public sector and equality/inequality. Source: Boserup Skov & Bundsgaard (2012).

Appendix 2.2. Political coalitions in Danish politics from 1990 to 2017.

Abbreviation	Beginning	Political Parties	Coalition led by
SR-administration	December 30, 1996	Venstre Konservative	**Socialdemokratiet**
VK-administration	November 27, 2001	Venstre Konservative	**Venstre**
SRSF-administration	October 3, 2011	Socialdemokratiet Det Radikale Venstre Socialistisk Folkeparti	**Socialdemokratiet**
SR-administration	February 3, 2014	Socialdemokratiet Det Radikale Venstre	**Socialdemokratiet**
V-administration	June 28, 2015	Venstre	**Venstre**
VLAK-administration	November 28, 2016	Venstre Liberal Alliance Konservative	**Venstre**

Appendix 3.

Appendix 3.1. Political parties in Aarhus City Council from 1990 to 2017.

Election year / Parties	1989	1993	1997	2001	2005	2009	2013	2017
Socialdemokratiet	12	15	13	11	13	14	13	13
Det Radikale Venstre	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2
Konservative	5	3	3	2	1	3	2	1
Centrum-Demokraterne	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Socialistisk Folkeparti	6	4	4	3	2	5	2	3
Dansk Folkeparti	-	-	2	1	1	2	2	2
Venstre	3	6	7	11	11	5	6	6
Fremskridtspartiet	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Enhedslisten	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	2
Liberal Alliance	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Alternativet	-	-	-	-	-	-		1
I alt	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31

Source: Borgmesterens Afdeling, "Byens råd 1970 – i dag". August 4, 2011; Borgmesterens Afdeling, "De er valgt til Aarhus Byråd 2017". December 7, 2017; Borgmesterens Afdeling, "De er valgt til Aarhus Byråd 2013". December 7, 2017.

Appendix 4.

This appendix contains the original Danish quotes that have been translated into English in chapter 4. I have translated the quotes into English myself.

Appendix 4.1. Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017, no recording minute.[395]

English translation: "1-2% [of people] will have prejudices. They exist over the entire world […]. It is important to read the news but you have to discard the stories that are untrue. This is what the old Danes do not do. It is important to talk about differences and get to know the individual human being. You live life together."

Original Danish quote: "1-2% vil have fordomme. De findes i hele verden […]. Det er vigtigt at læse nyheder, men du skal sortere det fra som ikke er sandt. Det er det gamle danskere ikke gør. Det er vigtigt at snakke sammen om forskelligheder og lære det enkelte menneske at kende. Livet leves sammen."

Appendix 4.2. Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017, recording minute 0.00, vol. 2.[396]

English translation: "It is not fun to be Somali in Denmark right now. You feel like… well, children are bullied in school and the parents feel looked down upon."

Original Danish quote: "Det er ikke sjovt lige nu at være Somalier i Danmark. Man føler sig… altså, børn bliver mobbet i skolen og forældre føler sig kigget ned."

[395] Hani requested an interview without audio recording.
[396] Interview no. 4 was divided in two. The first recording is marked as vol. 1 and the second recording is marked as vol. 2.

Appendix 4.3. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017, recording minute 28.00.

English translation: "[Experiences of prejudice] depend on where I am. If I am here in my safe environment of Frydenlund, then I never experience prejudice. But if I go anywhere else, then … [makes wow sound]."

Original Danish quote: "[Oplevelser af fordomme] kommer an på hvor jeg bevæger mig. Hvis jeg er her i mit trygge sted i Frydenlund, så møder jeg aldrig fordomme. Men lige så snart jeg kommer ud, så …[laver wow lyd]."

Appendix 4.4. Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017, recording minute 3.00.

English translation: "I think it depends on what generation you belong to. The old generation […] is lonelier. They maintain the long established ways and the unfamiliar is something that they are afraid of and distance themselves from, because they want to maintain what used to be. But the new generation has some other values and a new way of observing the world. The young people today, who I know through work, they are more open and want to understand one's background, culture, and religion […]."

Original Danish quote: "Jeg tror det kommer an på hvilken generation man tilhører i dag. Altså, den gamle generation […] de er lidt mere ensomme. De fastholder det gamle, og det fremmede er noget som man er bange for og tager afstand fra, fordi man gerne vil bevare det, som det har været en gang. Men den nye generation har nogle andre værdier, og nogle andre måder at kigge på verden. De unge mennesker i dag, som jeg også kender ift. mit arbejde, de er mere åbne, og vil gerne forstå ens baggrund, kultur og tro […]."

Appendix 4.5. Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017, recording minute 32.00.

English translation: "[An old man on the bus said] 'Go home, go home'. Maybe he saw the many people who died [in a terror attack] on the television, and then saw my scarf and thought that I agreed with [the terrorists]. But he does not know me, how my heart hurts on behalf of the people who died. […]. But I did not say anything because I understand. But our ears and eyes are open […]. We listen because we are Muslims, too."

Original Danish quote: "[En gammel mand på bussen sagde] 'Gå hjem, gå hjem'. Han så måske i fjernsynet mange mand som døde, og han så mig, og at jeg har tørklæde på og han troede jeg var enig med dem. Men han kender ikke mig, hvordan min hjerte også bliver ked af det for de folk som døde. […] Men jeg siger ikke noget som helst, fordi jeg forstår det godt. Men vores øjne og ører er åbne […]. Vi hører fordi vi selv er muslimer."

Appendix 4.6. Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017, recording minute 23.30.

English translation: "We arranged a residents' meeting in the area one time […]. [We] thought Danes where closed off and they thought we were a people that did not like Danish. So there were prejudices. But when we met and talked they were very open. They also changed their opinion and said 'I did not realize you were such polite people'. We had not met each other and therefore we had prejudices."

Original Danish quote: "Vi har engang lavet et beboermøde her i området […]. [Vi] troede at danskerne er lukkede, og danskerne de troede vi er et folk som ikke kan lide dansk. Det er et eller anden fordomme. Men når vi møder hinanden og snakker er de helt åbne. De skrifter også deres tanker, og de siger 'jeg vidste ikke i var sådan slags høflige folk'. Men vi har ikke mødet hinanden, det er derfor vi har fordomme til dem."

Appendix 4.7. Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017, recording minute 22.00.

English translation: "If you have strong relations together with people that are from the same place as you, and you only spend time with those people, then you have another way of looking at things […] When people say something [prejudiced] to them, then one of my friends might be angry […] but I would not be angry in the same way since I have experienced it from the other side too."

Original Danish quote: "Men hvis man har stærke relationer sammen der hvor man kommer fra, og man hele tiden er sammen med samme mennesker, så har man en anden måde at kigge på tingene […]. Når folk siger noget til dem, så kan det godt være at en af mine veninder bliver sur […] men jeg ville ikke blive sur på samme måde for jeg har oplevet det andet også."

Appendix 4.8. Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017, recording minute 55.00.

English translation: "She calls a firm where you can apply for a job […] [A lady picks up the phone and her friend introduces herself]. When my friend is done talking the lady says, 'We do not want anybody who wears a head scarf, and you have to learn our language properly. Then [my friend] says, 'Yes I wear a scarf. I will wear whatever you want, t-shirt, jeans, but I'm not taking my scarf off". Then [the lady] says she needs to learn our language. And she hangs up. My friend was so sad."

Original Danish quote: "Så ringer hun til et firma hvor hun kan søge arbejde. […] [En dame tager telefonen og hendes veninde introducerer sig selv]. Når min veninde er færdig med at snakke, så siger damen "Vi vil ikke have nogle som har tørklæder på, og for det andet skal du lære vores sprog". Så siger [hendes veninde] "Ja jeg har tørklæde. Jeg tager alt hvad du vil have af T-shirt, bukser, men jeg tager ikke mit tørklæde af". Så siger [damen] du skal lære vores sprog. Så ligger hun på. Min veninde er så ked af det."

Appendix 4.9. Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017, recording minute 19.00.

English translation: "You can see some engineers driving a taxi, someone highly educated driving a bus. They are not educated from their home country, but from Denmark. That means they have the qualifications […]. If you find someone with high marks and potential […] and a grade point average of 10 or 12, and then someone with a Danish background and a grade point average of 7, then they will of course take [the ethnic Dane]."

Original Danish quote: "Man kan se at der er nogle ingeniører som kører taxa, nogle højtuddannede som kører bus. Altså de er ikke uddannet fra deres hjemland, men de har taget deres uddannelse i Danmark. Det vil sige, de har den kvalitet som de

har […]. Hvis man finder en som har høje karakterer og muligheder […] og et karaktergennemsnit på 10 eller 12, og så kommer der en med 7 og dansk baggrund, selvfølgelig de tager da ham."

Appendix 4.10. Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017, recording minute 48.30.

English translation: "It is just because they have a theory or they read something, but they don't know… the theory is not always correct and the theory and practice might not be the same. If I was working somewhere with integration of a group of people where I'm from, then I can understand and target [integration projects] better […]. Danes write projects about better integration with a lot of good words and phrasings, and then they apply. If I apply […] [and even though] my project is better, then I don't get it. Instead it will be a Jensen or a Hansen that gets it."

Original Danish quote: "De har bare en teori eller de har læst eller et eller andet som udgangspunkt, men de kender ikke.. altså teorien er ikke altid den rigtige, og teorien og praksis er ikke det samme. Hvis jeg er ansat et sted, hvor det handler om integration og det er den gruppe jeg kommer fra, så kan jeg forstå bedre og målrette [integrations projekter] […]. Danskere skriver projekter om bedre integration, med rigtig mange gode ord og formuleringer, og så de søger. Og hvis jeg søger sammen med dem […] [og selvom] mit projekt er meget bedre så får jeg ikke tildelt. I stedet bliver Jensen eller Hansen tildelt."

Appendix 4.11. Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017, recording minute 48.00.

English translation: "There is a big risk [of discrimination] with the police. They are more inclined to stop you if you have dark hair and dark eyebrows, than if you were a white Dane. We have seen that at the border, too."

Original Danish quote: "Der er en stor risiko [for diskrimination] ved politiet. De er mere tilbøjelige til at stoppe dig, hvis du har mørk hår og mørke øjenbryn, end hvis du var hvid dansker. Det har vi også set ved grænsen."

Appendix 4.12. Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017, recording minute 50.00.

English translation: "Well it has changed in regards to stricter rules for asylum […], citizenship, […], [and] family reunification […]. There have been restrictions economically, so people get poorer and poorer […]. It is to scare people from going to Denmark. They should not expect a good situation if they go to Denmark […]."

Original Danish quote: "Altså det har jo ændret sig ift. at der er strammere regler ift. at få asyl, […] statsborgerskab, [og] familiesammenføring […]. Der er blevet strammet op økonomisk, så folk bliver fattigere og fattigere […]. Det er noget for at skræmme folk fra at komme til Danmark. De skal ikke regne med at de får det godt hvis de kommer til Danmark […]."

Appendix 4.13. Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017, recording minute 38.30.

English translation: "The talk has been harsher the last couple of years. And when you watch the media and the news… of course you get affected. And when you want to be part of the society and contribute you sometimes get a little outraged

and mad when the talk only centers on the scarf you wear and stuff like that. Because when you do your best you want somebody to stop and acknowledge you."

Original Danish quote: "Snakken har været hårdere de sidste par år. Og når man ser med medierne og nyheder... bliver man selvfølgelig påvirket. Og når man gerne vil ind i samfundet og bidrage, så bliver man nogle gange lidt forargede og sur, over at snakken hele tiden handler om det tørklæde man har og sådan nogle ting. For når man gør det bedste, vil man gerne have nogle som stopper og anerkender en."

Appendix 4.14. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017, recording minute 5.30.

English translation: "[Language and working] is most important for Danish people, then you get respect. If you speak the language and have a job, then everything else is secondary. But no longer. It was always like that before. Now, even if you know the language and have a stable job or education then the first thing they ask is 'Are you a Muslim?' It's the very first question."

Original Danish quote: "[Sprog og arbejde] er meget vigtigere for danskere, så får man respekt. Hvis du taler sproget og har et arbejde, så kommer alt andet derefter. Men ikke nu. Før var det altid sådan. Nu, uanset om du kan sproget, har fast arbejde eller uddannelse så er det første de spørg om "Er du muslim?". Det er det allerførste spørgsmål."

Appendix 4.15. Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017, recording minute 4.30.

English translation: "Many refugees and immigrants have entered the job market… before [the terror attacks of] 9/11 it was harder to enter the job market. In a way you can say that the country has opened up in some ways […] but when you look at other things, that being media and politicians in general… you can say that politicians were very kind and accommodating, but no longer."

Original Danish quote: "Der er kommet mange flygtninge og indvandrer på arbejdsmarkedet… før [terrorangrebene d.] 11. september der var lidt sværere at komme på arbejdsmarkedet. På en måde man kan sige at landet har åbnet sig på nogle punkter, […] men nu når man kigger på andre ting, altså medier og politikere generelt… politikere var meget venlige og imødekommende kan man sige, men ikke længere."

Appendix 4.16. Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017, recording minute 28.40.

English translation: "There are those who often use prejudice and religion and who want people to distance themselves from one another. If the world is going to change then I think people need to talk to each other and understand [each other]. Because we are all human beings and what I believe is not going to hurt you […]. That is where I think a lot has changed, with the distance between people [since the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001]."

Original Danish quote: "Der er dem der tit bruger det med fordomme og religion, som gerne vil have at folk skal være i afstand til hinanden. Hvis verden skal ændre sig, så skal folk også snakke med hinanden synes jeg, og forstå [hinanden]. På grund af, at vi alle er mennesker, og det jeg tror kommer ikke til at skade dig. […] Der synes jeg at der skete rigtig meget, med afstanden til mennesker [siden 9.11]."

Appendix 4.17. Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017, recording minute 60.00

English translation: "The people changed because they can see that the world changed. […] It is not just Denmark. They don't want foreigners who 'ruin' their country. I think the same way, that if our country was peaceful, and people who have experienced bad things in their country came, then I would think the same way."

Original Danish quote: "Folkene de skiftede, fordi de kan se verden er skiftede. […]. Det er ikke kun Danmark. De gider ikke have nogle fremmede folk som ødelægger deres land. Det tænker jeg også, at hvis vores land var i ro, og der kommer forskellige folk som har oplevet dårlige ting i deres land, så vil jeg tænke det samme."

Appendix 4.18. Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017, recording minute 26.30.

English translation: "There are a lot of people who get their sources from the media, and then they perceive it that way. Then they think that every problem is a result of religion […]. 2-3 days ago, there was a tragic episode where a man killed a lot of people in Texas. The first thing I thought was, Salaam, please do not have the name Muhammed or Ali. But it was a white American with the name of Patrick or something like that, and then they concluded that it was because he was mentally unstable. But it might as well have been an Ali who was mentally unstable […] He could also be named Ali and not be a Muslim."

Original Danish quote: "Der er mange som får deres kilder fra medierne, og så opfatter de det sådan. Så tænker man hver problematik det er på grund af religion […]. For 2-3 dage siden, der var en tragisk episode hvor der var en mand i Texas som har skudt mange mennesker ihjel. Først så tænker jeg, Salaam, han må ikke hedde Muhammed eller Ali. Men det var en hvid amerikaner som hed Patrik eller noget, og så blev konklusionen at han var psykisk ustabil. Men han kunne lige så godt være Ali som var psykisk ustabil. […] Han kunne lige så godt hedde Ali og ikke være muslim."

Appendix 4.19. Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017, recording minute 6.00.

English translation: "You can see that [the ethnic Danish population] believes what the media write and says. Well the media is a business that wants to make money. It's their means of subsistence. They are interested in stories that are interesting, but not necessarily truthful. That means that they have a specific angle they want to play so that they reach as many readers as possible. […] So the media increases the distance between Danes and [refugees and immigrants]."

Original Danish quote: "Man kan se det, at de tror mere på medierne, hvad de skriver eller hvad de siger. Altså medierne er en virksomhed, de vil tjene penge. Det er deres levebrød. De er interesseret i historier som er interessante, men ikke nødvendigvis rigtige. Det vil sige at de har en vinkel de vil ramme, for at få så mange så mulige læsere. […] Så medierne gør afstanden mellem ganske almindelige danskere og udlændinge større."

Appendix 4.20. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017, recording minute 48.00.

English translation: "Now they are afraid of saying something [positive relating to immigration]. Especially *Socialdemokratiet*. We simply don't understand. There are around 16,000 Somalis and 100,000 foreigners. All of them have always voted for *Socialdemokratiet*. But today*, voting for Socialdemokratiet* is like voting for the *Dansk Folkeparti*."

Original Danish quote: "Nu er de selv bange for at sige noget. *Socialdemokratiet* specielt. Vi forstår simpelthen ikke. Der er 16.000 somalierne, og 100000 udlændinge. Alle har altid stemt for *Socialdemokratiet*. Men i dag, er det at give en stemme til *Socialdemokratiet*, at give en stemme til *Dansk Folkeparti*."

Appendix 4.21. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017, recording minute 12.00.

English translation: "Every culture has some pros and cons. That is how it is. So if I can chose the good and the positive from my culture and from the Danish culture, then I'm invincible. Then I have combined two double positives."

Original Danish quote: "Enhver kultur har nogle fordele og nogle ulemper. Sådan er det. Så hvis jeg kunne vælge de gode og positive ting fra min kultur, og fra den danske kultur, så er jeg uopnåelig. Så har jeg kombineret to dobbelt positive."

Appendix 4.22. Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017, recording minute 10.00.

English translation: "And I found out I belong here the last time I was travelling to Somalia. Because you have some dreams when you haven't travelled in many years. You think you still have a sense of community. But I missed the street. I missed Aarhus. I missed Netto. I missed Danish rye bread and coffee."

Original Danish quote: "Og jeg har fundet ud af, at jeg tilhører her, sidste gang jeg var ude og rejse til Somalia. Fordi man har jo har nogle drømme når man ikke har været ude og rejse i mange år. Man tror at man stadig har samhørighed. Men altså jeg savnede gaden. Jeg savnede Aarhus. Jeg savnede Netto. Jeg savnede rygbrød og kaffe."

Appendix 4.23. Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017, recording minute 10.00.

English translation: "When I came [to Denmark] I was worried because an old man lived above me, and I kept thinking he is all alone. […] Sometimes his lights did not work and he needed help. I sometimes thought in my country you are not alone like that. He would have family, and family of family would come and visit and help him."

Original Danish quote: "Da jeg kom [til Denmark] var jeg er bekymret, for en gammel mand som boede oven på mig, og jeg tænker hele tiden han er alene. […] Nogle gange virker hans lys ikke, og han har brug for hjælp. Jeg tænkte nogle gange, i vores land er man ikke sådan alene. Han har familie. Og familie til familie kommer op til ham og besøger og hjælper."

Appendix 4.24. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017, recording minute 16.00.

English translation: “The first couple of years in Denmark I kept my Somali culture – absolutely. And I was afraid whether I could be with people who had another culture […]. We had nothing in common [with Danes], only that we are human beings […]. The language is different, the culture is different, the way we dress is different, the way we eat is different.”

Original Danish quote: ”De første år i Danmark beholdt jeg kun somalisk kultur - simpelthen. Og jeg var bange for om jeg kunne være sammen med andre, som ikke har samme kultur […]. Vi har intet til fælles [da vi ankom i Danmark], kun at vi er mennesker […]. Sproget er anderledes, kulturen er anderledes, måden vi tager tøj på er anderledes, maden vi spiser er anderledes.”

Appendix 4.25. Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017, recording minute 2.00, vol. 1.

English translation: “The more you feel pressured in the society you live in, the more you return to your roots to feel a sense of safety. You have to find a fine balance of where you belong. And I think right now… if you ask now, then I have returned more to the country and my old definition of Somali, than I would have been fifteen years ago.”

Original Danish quote: ”Jo mere man bliver presset i det samfund man er i, jo mere går man tilbage til sine rødder for at føle sig mere tryk. Fordi man skal finde en balancegang hvor man hører til. Og jeg tror, lige nu, hvis du spørger mig nu, så er jeg nok mere tilbage til landet og min egen gammeldages definition der hedder somalier, end jeg har været for femten år siden.”

Appendix 4.26. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017, recording minute 24.30.

English translation: “It affects me. Sometimes I don’t say aloud with pride that I am a Dane [because of a previous job] […]. My job consisted of guiding young people and their parents regarding education and jobs […] [and I found a job for some Danish-Somali boys]. On the third day [of the job the Boss said] ‘Come with me, we need to fill out some paper work and I need your residence permit’. [The boys said] ‘No, we don’t have a residence permit, we are Danish’. The man was furious. He had some papers he tore up and then he yelled ‘For fuck sake don’t say you are Danish, don’t say it’ and ‘Can you see him [pointing at while male] he is Danish’.”

Original Danish quote: “Det påvirker mig. At jeg nogle gange ikke tør sige frem, med stolthed, at jeg er dansker [pga. et tidligere arbejde] […]. Min opgave gik ud på at jeg skulle vejlede unge og deres forældre, om uddannelse og arbejde […] [og jeg fandt et job for nogle Dansk-Somaliske drenge]. På tredje dagen sagde [chefen] ’kom nu, vi skal lige have udfyldt nogle papirer, og jeg skal lige have jeres opholdstilladelse’. [Drengene sagde] ‘Nej vi har ikke opholdstilladelse, vi er danskere’. Manden var rasende. Han havde nogle papirer som han rev i stykker, og så råbte han ”I skal kraftedeme ikke sige at i er danskere, ikke sig det”, og ”Kan i se ham [peger på hvid mand] han er dansker’.”

Appendix 4.27. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017, recording minute 19.00.

English translation: “But what hurts us is that we try to be part of the Danish society. For us it is not a problem that we are not Danish, as we were not born here. We accept it. But the children who grow up and have their education from here, when people say they are not Danes… that is frightening. It is not so good. You wound their identity.”

Original Danish quote: “Men det som gør ondt for os, er at vi forsøger at være en del af det danske samfund. For os er der ikke noget problem i, at vi ikke er danskere fordi vi ikke er født her. Vi accepterer det. Men de børn som vokser op og har fået uddannelse her, når man siger de ikke er danskere… det er skræmmende. Det er ikke så godt. Så har man såret deres identitet.”

Appendix 4.28. Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017, recording minute 46.00.

English translation: “You can feel that [the children] become more nationalistic. [They say] ‘I am a Somali’… but you are… well, your parents… well I come from Somalia, but you are born here. You have a Danish passport and citizenship. You are a Dane. But it is a fight. [When they are left out] it makes him more of an outsider who needs to find his own [sense of] belonging. It is exclusion.”

Original Danish quote: ”Man kan godt mærke at de bliver endnu mere nationalister. [De siger] ‘Jeg er somalier’… men du er jo… altså, dine forældre… altså jeg kommer fra Somalia, men du er jo født her. Du har dansk pas og indfødsret. Du er jo dansker. Men det er jo en kamp. [Når de er holdt ude] til sidst, det går ham endnu mere udenfor gruppen som finder sin egen tilhør[sforhold]. Det er ekskludering.”

Appendix 4.29. Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017, recording minute 51.00.

English translation: “Many parents with Somali background or Arabic background are faced with racism. Some of them are not so strong. When they come home, they call their family members and tell them what they have experienced. The children hear that the dad has been exposed to racism, that the mom has been exposed to racism, that they are sad and crying. […] How do you think the children will grow up and what sense will they make of the word society. They will say that there is somebody who does not mean well by their parents.”

Original Danish quote: ”Rigtig mange forældre med somalisk baggrund eller arabisk baggrund, møder tit racisme. Nogle af dem er ikke så stærke. Når de kommer hjem, så ringer de til familiemedlemmer og fortæller hvad de har oplevet. Børnene hører at faren bliver udsat for racisme, at moren bliver udsat for racisme, at de er kede af det og græder. […] Hvordan tror du at børnene vil vokse op, hvilket syn vil de få på ordet samfund. De vil sige at, der er nogen som ikke vil vores mor og far det bedste.”

Appendix 5.

Appendix 5.1. A comment on structural, marital, and civic assimilation.

In historian Knut Kjeldstadli's *Sammensatte Samfunn* from 2008, he comments that Gordon argued structural assimilation in everyday life was the central subprocess of assimilation. Kjeldstadli further argues that when it comes to structural assimilation, work is the most important aspect of the process. This is consistent with the interviews of Danish-Somalis in Aarhus and the emphasis they placed on employment in regards to handling discrimination and prejudice, and in connection with their sense of belonging.

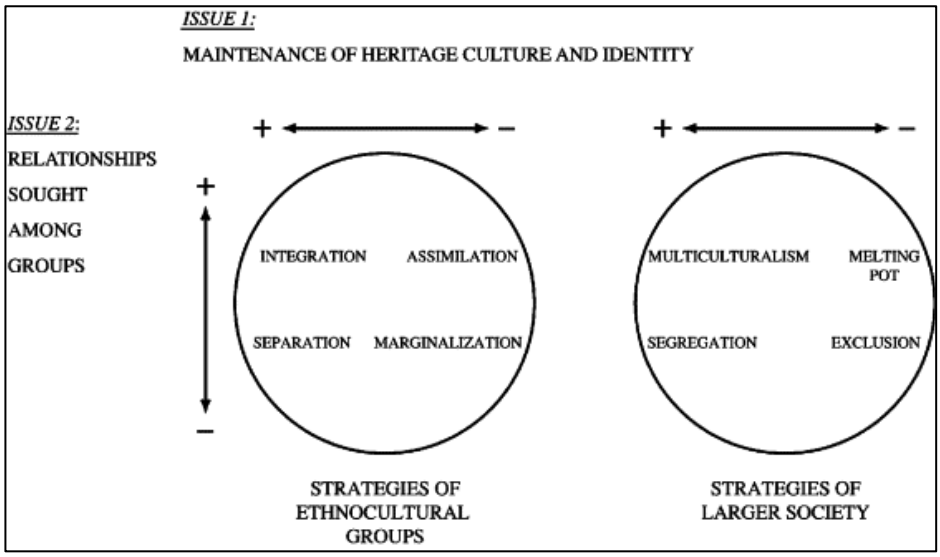
Chapter 2 showed a positive development in structural assimilation from c. 1990 to 2017, particularly in the 2000s when the *Venstre*-led coalition government started focusing on work and employment related initiatives. This was also reflected in chapter 3, with an importance placed on employment by Aarhus City Council. This positive development in labor attachment among ethnic minorities could also be seen during the interviews with Danish-Somalis. Throughout the interviews it became clear Danish-Somalis themselves viewed employment as a significant step towards integrating and participating in Danish society, and they all shared a wish to work. Even one interviewee, who was not able to work as a result of an injury, was looking forward to working after her upcoming operation. This is consistent with the notion, among the interviewees, that the increase in structural assimilation was one of the few positive changes experienced from c. 1990 to 2017.

While all interviewees' placed great emphasis on structural assimilation, they did mention that when they arrived in Denmark, one thing they reflected on was the perceived connection between identity and work. Bashiir explained while Somali identity was often based on family relations, such as clan, political or geographical relations, Danish identity was often based on employment and workplace. Aaden reflected on this, and said that one of the first questions ethnic Danes ask, when meeting someone new, was where they worked. He pointed out that in Somali culture you would be viewed as someone who boasted about his or her accomplishments, if you told people where you worked right away. Although the scope of this thesis does not cover this, it would be interesting to examine whether or not structural assimilation is only related to successfully adapting in countries where a great emphasis is placed on employment.

While none of the interviewees mentioned marital assimilation, some did mention civil assimilation as an important factor for their sense of belonging. The reflections on structural assimilation and civil assimilation show that the subprocesses were overlapping.[397]

[397] Kjeldstadli (2008) p. 108; Interview no. 2, November 6, 2017; Interview no. 3, November 7, 2017; Interview no. 4, November 8, 2017; Interview no. 5, November 9, 2017; Interview no. 6, November 17, 2017; Interview no. 7, November 17, 2017; and Interview no. 8, November 24, 2017.

Appendix 5.2. Barry's model of acculturation strategies.



Source: Berry (2008) p. 322.

Appendix 5.3. A comment on perceptions of discrimination/prejudice and sense of belonging among ethnic minorities in Aarhus.

Source material on minority groups in Denmark is limited, at least when looking at prejudice and discrimination from the point of view of the minority. The information in this appendix is mainly based on information from 1999 and 2001. This further illustrates the importance of oral history interviews among groups where written historical sources are scarce or not yet accessible.

Danish-Somalis in Aarhus believed they were associated with certain prejudices and discriminatory practices. These prejudices are similar to stereotypes faced by non-western Muslim minorities in Denmark as a whole.[398] A 2001 report by Birgit Møller provides significant information on prejudices that existed around the turn of the millennium in Aarhus.[399] It found that 61% of citizens in Aarhus thought immigrants travelled to Denmark to exploit the welfare system, and 62% thought the refugees came to benefit from the high standard of living. Likewise, 24% of the polled citizens thought some groups of people were less intelligent than others. However, while these numbers are high and illustrate prejudices in Aarhus, they were still lower than the respective national percentages.[400]

The report also showed how certain quarters of Aarhus, such as Frederiksbjerg, Vesterbro, Trøjborg, Hasle, and Christiansbjerg had significantly lower percentages of citizens who had negative opinions of refugees and immigrants generally. Moreover, the perception among Danish-Somalis that these prejudices were associated with different groups of ethnic Danes holds true for other ethnic minority groups as well; in fact, the report showed a correlation between (a) negative opinions among ethnic Danes towards of refugees and immigrants, and (b) the respondent's age if the respondent was over 50 years old. This was particularly

[398] Hansen Thorndal (2011) p. 88; Kuschel & Zand (2007) p. 88-95; and Anderson & Antalikova (2014) p. 593.
[399] ASA, Møller (2001).
[400] ASA, Møller (2001) p. 7. The percentages mentioned are controlled for age and education.

clear with the generation between 60 and 69 years old; 65% of these entertained a negative opinion of refugees and immigrants.[401]

A report by the Committee on Ethnic Equality from 1999 can help shed further light on variations and similarities among ethnic groups in Aarhus. It was written based on phone interviews with over a thousand interviewees of Bosnian, Lebanese/Palestinian, Turkish and Somali origin, and is one of the only existing sources based on the experiences and perceptions among ethnic minorities in Denmark.[402] It showed 66% of the polled Somalis in Denmark, said an ethnic Dane had yelled at them on the street, while 18% said they had been spit at. Both rates were significantly higher than other ethnic minorities, since only 11% of Bosnian minorities, 30% of Lebanese minorities, and 34% of Turkish minorities had been yelled at on the street, while only 2% of Bosnian minorities, 13% of Lebanese minorities, and 10% of Turkish minorities had been spit at.[403] This is also consistent with the findings in chapter 3, which concluded Danish-Somalis were the only ethnic group in Aarhus targeted specifically in the minutes from Aarhus City Council from 1995 to 2017.

While Danish-Somalis experienced more discrimination than other ethnic groups in Denmark on most parameters, the picture was more varied when it came to labor discrimination. 34% of respondents of Somali origin said they did not get a job they were qualified for as a result of their ethnicity. That number was higher than the 17% of Bosnian origin but lower than the 36% of Turkish origin, and 48% of Lebanese origin that answered the same question. Likewise, 17% of Somali origin said they were not promoted because of their ethnicity and 25% said they had experienced bullying. That number can be compared to 12% of Bosnian origin, 25% of Lebanese origin, and 16% of Turkish origin that felt that they were not promoted because of their ethnicity, and to 13% of Bosnian origin, 22% of Lebanese origin, and 29% of Turkish origin who had been bullied because they belonged to an ethnic minority.[404]

Despite their analytically difficult nature, the senses of belonging in this thesis' sample's can also be compared to other ethnic groups in Denmark. Amongst refugees and immigrants in Denmark in 2017, around 28% identified themselves as being mostly Danish, which was different from the interviewees where no one identified as mostly Danish.[405] The interviews are consistent with the report by the Committee on Ethnic Equality which showed that only 33% of Somalis felt a 'strong', or 'very strong' sense of belonging with Denmark, the lowest among the ethnic minorities studied.[406] Among the other ethnic minorities included in the study, 55% of those of Bosnian origin, 75% of Lebanese origin and 60% of Turkish origin reported that they felt a strong or very strong sense of belonging with Denmark.

The worries expressed for the younger generation of Danish-Somalis during the oral history interviews, are backed by demoscopic data. Among the majority of descendants of refugees and immigrants in Denmark, only around 25% identified

[401] ASA, Møller (2001) p. 18. The 60 to 69 year cohort was the oldest age group participating in the study.
[402] Lebanese/Palestinian are henceforth called Lebanese.
[403] Togeby & Møller (1999) p. 51.
[404] Togeby & Møller (1999) pp. 48-49.
[405] Udlændinge- og Integrationsminiteriet, "Medborgerskab 2017", August, 2017.
[406] Togeby & Møller (1999) p. 95. See also Fenger-Grøn & Grøndahl (2004) p. 311 where they mention a interview with a Somali refugee in Aarhus, in which he emphasized he did not find results illustrating Danish-Somalis experienced more discrimination than other ethnic minorities surprising.

as being mostly Danish in 2017. That means more first-generation immigrants felt a sense of belonging with Danish society than their children or grandchildren.[407] It also illustrates how the experiences of Danish-Somalis and their children are parallel to experiences of other ethnic minority groups in Denmark.

All these statistics from the report written by the Committee on Ethnic Equality, and the additional data, indicate two things: first, experiences of Danish-Somalis are rather distinctive and in most cases more negative than other ethnic groups in Denmark, and second, that the experiences of the different ethnic minority groups in Denmark differs from group to group and from topic to topic. For instance, the Danish-Somalis' experiences of verbal or physical attacks on the street were significantly more frequent than those noted by other ethnic minority groups, whereas their perception of work discrimination was similar to or slightly lower than that of Lebanese and Turkish minorities in Denmark.

[407] Udlændinge- og Integrationsminiteriet, "Medborgerskab 2017", August, 2017.