Everyday Security: a need to belong

A qualitative study of well-educated Syrian refugees' resettlement process in Denmark

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Summary

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Det nærværende speciale beskæftiger sig med højtuddannede syriske flygtninge og deres familier, som er boligplaceret i Granbakkedal Kommune. Undersøgelsens problemfelt omhandler, hvordan mødet med den danske velfærdsstat opleves af syrerne, og hvordan de kan skabe en form for *everyday security* i den nye kontekst, som er præget af skiftende lovgivning, negativt ladede flygtningedebatter og den igangværende krig i Syrien.

I specialet introduceres begrebet *everyday security*, som præsenteres i en firstrenget model, som hver omhandler et aspekt, som er nødvendigt i etableringen af everyday security. De fire aspekter er: 1) det individuelle kropslige aspekt, 2) hjem og materialitet, 3) familieliv og 4) aktiv deltagelse i lokalsamfundet her forstået som at have job og være uafhængig af offentlig forsørgelse. Specialets omdrejningspunkt er denne model som systematisk undersøges empirisk. Med udgangspunkt i det empiriske materiale argumenterer jeg for, at disse fire aspekter er essentielle for, at syrerne kan reetablere et meningsfuldt hverdagsliv og et tilhørsforhold til Granbakkedal.

Kvalitative metoder herunder interviews og deltagerobservation, er benyttet til indsamlingen af de empiriske data. Dette har fundet sted på et feltarbejde i Granbakkedal i efteråret 2015, samt i forbindelse med periodevis opfølgende feltarbejde i 2016.

Specialets første kapitel præsenterer den politiske, geografiske og velfærdstatslige kontekst, hvori feltarbejdet har fundet sted, dette efterfølges af en teoretisk gennemgang af udviklingen inden for sikkerhedsstudier, hvori jeg argumenterer for, at der er brug for et nyt sikkerhedsbegreb, som er mere i øjenhøjde med de syriske flygtninge, hermed introducerer jeg begrebet everyday security.

De efterfølgende fire kapitler omhandler hver især ét af de fire aspekter af everyday security. Kapitel to omhandler det individuelle kropslige aspekt, som henviser til en generel individuelt funderet oplevelse af personlig og ontologisk sikkerhed.

Kapitel tre omhandler etableringen af hjem og det materielle aspekt af everyday security. Herunder de mandlige syreres forsøg på at klargøre deres lejligheder, så de står klar når deres familier ankommer. Dernæst inddrages David Parkins teori om transitionelle objekter, og jeg viser hvordan disse hjælper med at genartikulere syrernes identitet i deres nye omgivelser. Kapitlet afsluttes med en diskussion om, hvorfor størrelsen på køleskabe har stor betydning i etableringen af hjem og everyday security.

Kapitel fire beskæftiger sig med det familiemæssige aspekt. Med udgangspunkt i Mikkel Bille, Frida Hastrup og Tim F. Sørensens teori om *absence/presence* viser første del af kapitlet, hvordan den fraværende families tilstedeværelse påvirker syrerne i hverdagen. Den langvarige familiesammenføringsproces medfører en hverdag præget af midlertidighed, usikkerhed og ventetid, som forhindrer syrerne i at forestille sig en mulig fremtid i Granbakkedal. Derudover bliver krigen i Syrien tilstedeværende i Granbakkedal via kontakten med familie i Syrien. De usikre fremtidshorisonter og den konstante bekymring for familiens sikkerhed påvirker dagligdagen i så høj grad, at den gør dagligdagspraksisser meningsløse og forhindrer etableringen af tilhørsforhold.

Kapitel fem omhandler behovet for aktiv deltagelse i samfundet og dets betydning for etablering af everyday security. Den første del af kapitlet beskæftiger sig med det paradoks, der er mellem syrernes økonomiske vanskeligheder forsaget af den lave integrationsydelse på den ene side og på den anden side følelsen af, at det at modtage velfærdsydelser er uværdigt. Derefter inddrages Marianne H. Pedersens teori om *downward class journeys* i en undersøgelse af den klassemæssige nedadgående mobilitet syrerne har gennemgået. I mødet med velfærdsstaten placeres de i den institutionelt definerede kategori ”flygtninge”, som implicerer gæste-status, passivitet og hjælpeløse ofre. Den sidste del af kapitlet omhandler klientliggørelsen, der er en funktion af mødet med velfærdsstaten og de, ifølge syrerne, meningsløse aktiviteter de bliver pålagt.

Formålet med specialet og den præsenterede everyday seucirty model er at åbne op for en mere rummelig flygtningepolitik. Modellen kan bruges både teoretisk og i praksis; den fremstiller en mere holistisk rammesætning, som søger at omfatte flere aspekter af de involverede individer, med det sigte at de kan ses som ”hele” mennesker, frem for klienter i velfærdsstaten.

Specialet afsluttes med en konklusion, som underbygger everyday security modellen. Dette efterfølges af nogle konkrete anbefalinger til måder, hvorpå en mere holistisk flygtningepolitik kan implementeres.

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Last, but not least, I thank my family and friends for your support. A special thanks to Fatih Özkavaf for your love and encouragement throughout this process.

Reading instructions

- Granbakkedal is a pseudonym of the municipality in which I conducted research for this thesis. To protect the anonymity of my informants and municipality employees, I have anonymized the municipality. This thesis does not mean to criticize this particular municipality, but wishes to point out some of the issues that occur for well-educated Syrian refugees in the resettlement process.
- Pseudonyms are likewise used to anonymize my informants.
- When using the term refugee, I refer to people who have been granted asylum in Denmark and their family members. I am aware, however, that their legal statuses may differ.
- My informants consisted of Syrians who had arrived to Granbakkedal within the past five years prior to my research, and their family members. Most of them, however arrived between 2014 and 2016. They were all well-educated and/or had experience from high job positions in Syria or abroad.
- When using the term migrant, I refer to people who migrated to Europe and have not yet been officially classified as refugees, asylum seekers or immigrant etc.
- When quoting informants, I have only made correction necessary to ease the understanding. There are therefore grammatical errors in the quotes.
- This thesis is based on qualitative research which was conducted in the autumn of 2015 and followed up in the first half of 2016. The integration program in Granbakkedal has since been modified. In addition, there have since been several legislation changes concerning refugees. The content of this thesis reflects the reality of my informants during the research period.
- Unless stated otherwise, the used scholars in this thesis have an anthropological background.

List of informants:

Adnan, male in his early 30's. University graduate in the field of teaching. In Syria, a teacher and a bus driver. Married and has a son and a daughter. He was reunited with his family in Denmark in November 2015.

Hassan, male in his 40s. University graduate in the field of tourism. From Damascus. Has previously worked in the tourism sector in the US. In Syria, he had a shop and was a tour leader. During the research Waiting to be reunited with his family.

Amira female, 35 years old. In Syria, University graduate in the field of Arabic literature. After escaping to Iraq, she was reunified with her Danish-Iraqi (ex)husband. She has a son and a daughter.

Rasul, male in his late 20s. Studied journalism in Syria, but worked in Qatar. Due to the war his visa for Qatar could not be renewed. A UN mandate refugee, married. His wife remained in Syria throughout my research, due to complications with the legal recognition of their marriage.

Karam, male in his 40s. University graduate. Used to work with infrastructure in a large company in Damascus. Married to Maya, with whom he was reunified in Granbakkedal in 2016.

Yousef, male, 39 years old. PhD student and HR professional. 15 years of work experience in Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Algeria. Married, two children. Waiting for his family.

Sami, male in his mid-30s. University graduate within the field of Arabic language. Worked as a teacher in Syria. Married and has two children. The Family came to Granbakkedal 2015.

Maan, male 46 years old. University graduate in the field of tourism. Worked as a manager in Damascus airport. Married to Sara. Was reunited with Sara in Denmark in November 2015.

Sara, female, 42 years old. Married to Maan. In Syria, she was a housewife. She came to Granbakkedal through the family reunification scheme in November 2015.

Fatima female mid-30s. In Syria, she was an owner of an export-import company. She fled Syria when the war had just broken out with her family. She later divorced her husband. She lives alone with her two children and studies to become a translator.

Kazim male, 40s. Married to Hadiya and father of one son and three daughters (on of which is Aiesha). The family escaped the war together three years prior to my research. In Syria Kazim was working as a building constructor and owned his own company.

Aiesha, female, 14 years old. Fled to Denmark with her parents and younger siblings when she was 12. Attends a regular Danish School. Dreams of becoming a doctor.

Tariq male, 50 years old. Co-owner and director of a large family owned multinational company based in Syria. Father of five children. Waiting for his family.

Mina, female, late 30s. University graduate in the field of business. She was a manager in her family's company. Single mother of two children. Came to Granbakkedal around four years prior to my fieldwork. When she fled Syria, she was pregnant with her son.

Preface

On a Thursday in November 2015, Adnan's family is finally scheduled to come to Denmark. I am standing with Adnan and two of his friends in the local airport waiting impatiently for his wife and two children to arrive. Adnan, clearly nervous, stares at the glass window through which you can see the arriving passengers. He holds on tightly to the small bouquet of red, orange and white roses that he brought along for his wife. His friends are talking to him, but he barely responds. One of his friends gives him Danish flag that he can give to his wife. Time passes slowly. The 20 minutes we have been waiting for his family to show up behind the glass window seem like hours. Adnan's nervousness increases as he continues to glare at the glass window trying to get a glimpse of his wife somewhere between the many travelers. Tears are streaming down his face, his hands, which are still holding on to the roses and flag, are shaking. Next to us are two other Syrians waiting for their family members, also crying. A new group of passengers arrive behind the glass windows, and Adnan crane his neck to get a better overview of the passengers. When he sees her, he doesn't say anything, he just points, cries and smiles; takes a step back, and points again. Then he walks to the "arrivals" hall, waiting for his wife to appear through the sliding doors. The doors open, several passengers come, but there is no sign of Adnan's family, and Adnan looks increasingly worried. Minutes passes, passengers are leaving and now Adnan's friend is crying too. A little girl runs through the doors shouting "baba" and runs to her dad, who is waiting for her in the airport, seeing this, Adnan steps back and lets his eyes stays with the girl and her father, leaving the sliding door for a moment. The other Syrians waiting at the airport are reunified with their family members. We are still waiting. Then the door opens and Adnan's family steps out. Adnan reacts by taking a step back, looking away and freezing for a few seconds. He takes a few deep breaths and then goes forward to see his family after more than a year apart. His wife is smiling broadly. Next to her is their three-years-old son and in the trolley their one-and-a-half-year-old daughter. She was a baby when Adnan left Syria. When Adnan bends down to hug his son, the son looks frightened up at his mother, clearly not recognizing his father. However, a few seconds later the boy realizes who is hugging him and smiles broadly. Adnan then hugs and kisses his wife, and let the tears run. He kisses his daughter, who looks puzzled, clearly not understanding what is going on. He lifts up his son, kisses him while crying; at the same time his wife is greeting me and Adnan's friends. Adnan's tears are replaced by a smile. Together they leave the airport, while Adnan tightly holds onto his son's hand. His son looks up at his father, smiling. Adnan and his family are now ready to restart their lives in Granbakkedal.

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1.0 Introduction

In 2015, the number of displaced people worldwide reached an all-time high; as one in 122 people were either an internally displaced[1], a refugee[2] or an asylum seeker[3] (UNHCR 2015). This record was to a large extent caused by the war in Syria, which since 2011 has characterized the country. Consequently more than half of its population is either internally displaced or have fled to neighboring countries or beyond, making Syria the largest driver of displacement in the world (UNHCR 2015). Adnan and his family are just four of the individuals whose everyday- and family lives were disrupted by the war. This thesis examines the resettlement process of well-educated Syrian refugees[4] living in Granbakkedal municipality, Denmark.

The 1951 UN convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 protocol, are the primary legal documents in regards to the protection of refugees (UNHCR 2010: 2). The convention's article 1 defines a refugee as someone who "is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (UNHCR 2010: 4). States that have signed the convention and its protocol are obliged to offer protection for any individual which is covered by the refugee definition (UNHCR 2010: 4).

The research on which this thesis is based took placed in 2015-2016, amid a phenomenon popularly referred to as the refugee crisis, which alludes to the fact that an unusual large number of migrants arrived to Europe in this period, most of which were of Syrian origin (UNHCR 2016: 6-7).The refugee crisis sparked debates both politically and in the civil society of Denmark; the debates were often polarized and characterized by harsh language. The Danish government, moreover, carried out legislation changes aiming at decreasing the number of asylum applications; several of which worsened the condition for individuals with refugee status already in Denmark, including reduction

[1] Internally displaced refers to a person who is displaced within the country of origin
[2] A refugee refers to a person who has been granted legal refugee status.
[3] A person who has applied for refugee status and is awaiting the result.
[4] Refugees and family reunified family members of refugees.

of social benefits and tightening of the family reunification legislations. The legislations concerning immigration, asylum and refugees have been tightened more than 60 times since 2015 (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2017).

The Danish welfare state has a higher role in the so called integration of refugees in comparison with other non-Scandinavian countries (Jöhncke 2007: 42). The welfare state provides social benefits, health care and the right to education, but also present refugees with certain responsibilities and requirements, which they must comply with, to avoid economic sanctions.

Within the context of the refugee crisis, frequent legislations changes, and harsh debates on refugees, the Syrians in Granbakkedal were trying to resettle and establish everyday lives, while simultaneously living up to the responsibilities and requirements they were presented with from the welfare state. This led to the following problem statement:

In a context of ever shifting legislations, negative public debates on refugees, and the ongoing war in Syria. How do well-educated Syrians with refugee status experience the meeting with the Danish welfare system, and how can they establish a form of everyday security?

Through the empirical findings, I have identified four main aspects which I argue are essential for the Syrians to establish a form of belonging to Granbakkedal and meaningful everyday lives; or as I call it, *everyday security.* These are 1) The individual bodily aspect 2) family life, 3) home and materiality, and 4) active participation in society. The focal point of this thesis is the four aspects, which based on empirical data will be examined systematically.

1.1 Ethnographic context

In this section, I present three levels of the ethnographic context in which the research for this thesis was conducted; an international/European level, a national level and a local level. First I give an overview of the so-called refugee crisis; an important context for my research as the phenomenon affected policies, media and public debates. Hereafter, I introduce the Danish welfare state system and its integration policies, followed by an introduction to Granbakkedal municipality and the local integration program.

1.1.1 The refugee crisis

The fieldwork on which this thesis is based took place during the period widely known as the refugee crisis. It is a term mostly used in political contexts and it refers to the rapid increasing number of

migrants who came to Europe in 2015 and 2016. This was to a high extent caused by the war in Syria and the forced displacement it triggered. In 2015 approximately 34,000 migrants crossed the Turkish-European land borders and over a million crossed the Mediterranean Sea to Europe, of which about half were of Syrian origin (UNHCR 2016: 7; Clayton, Holland, and Gaynor 2015). In comparison, 219,000 migrants crossed the Sea in 2014 (Fleming 2015). In the beginning of 2016 the tendency continued, but the number of arrivals slowly decreased (IOM 2017b: 5). When migrants cross the Mediterranean Sea, it is often done in rubber dinghies or other unsafe boats. Consequently 3,371 and 5,079 migrants were reported missing or dead in 2015 and 2016 respectively (IOM 2016, 2017a).

In September 2015, the first groups of migrants were seen walking on the Danish highway; migrants who had crossed the Danish-German borders via ferry to the small town of Gedser and the land border between Germany and Jutland. The proximity of the refugee crisis and image of a larger number of migrants walking on Danish highways made the refugee crisis a "hot topic" in the Danish Media, among politicians and the Danish population. The refugee crisis entailed increasingly polarized and harsh debates concerning migration, in media and on social media. Moreover, the Danish government tightened the legislations concerning asylum seekers and refugees (this is elaborated in subsection 1.3.2). However, also welcoming initiatives toward migrants and refugees emerged. The most significant was Venligboerne. This is an informal organization of which the purpose is to be friendly, curios, and respectful to people around you (Venligboerne 2017). With the escalating number of asylum applicants and the ongoing negative and harsh debates, the Venligboerne group aimed at creating an alternative and to show "friendliness" towards asylum applicant and refugees. Venligboerne grew rapidly during the refugee crisis, and became known for an alternative to the harsh debate on refugees and asylum seekers. (Villadsen 2017: 240; Venligboerne 2017; Dupont 2016). Thus, the political climate and context in which I conducted research was characterized by great polarization and harsh debates regarding refugees and asylum seekers in media, social media, among politicians and the in Danish population.

1.1.2 The Danish welfare state, immigration and social security

The welfare state aims at providing citizens[5] with equal rights to social security, education and healthcare (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017b). And it is considered a framework

[5] Including some foreign citizens residing in Denmark e.g. refugees.

within which the Danish everyday lives take place (Bruun, Krøijer, and Rytter 2015: 11). In Denmark and other Scandinavian countries, the welfare state is based on equality. Equality, in the sense of the welfare state, does not only concern economic aspects, but is also closely related to the idea of homogeneity and sameness (Gullestad 2002). Marianne Gullestad points out that the idea of equality and thereby (imagined) sameness is considered the norm in Scandinavia. Thus newcomers with different cultural backgrounds can be considered individuals with flaws and even a threat to the established society (Gullestad 2002: 68, 83-84). The welfare system recognizes that we are not all equal, but the redistribution of benefits also underlines that inequality is negative and something the state should try to decrease. Inspired by Karen Fog Olwig and Karsten Pærregaard (2007), Birgitte Romme Larsen underlines that it is a fundamental cultural process in all societies that exchange is based on categorical differentiation. However, when this exchange becomes institutionalized in a way that the welfare-state aims at creating equality with the understanding of equality meaning sameness, there is a risk that individuals who are different will be considered lacking sameness (Larsen 2011a: 336; Olwig and Pærregaard 2007: 23).

Steffen Jöhncke emphasizes that the understanding of sameness is a powerful cultural assumption which is a central aspect of the mutual reinforcing relation between our conception of Denmark and the concrete structure of society. He argues that the conception of equality and sameness are fundamental aspects of the development and characteristics of the Danish welfare state. He refers to the welfare state as a part of the Danes' ethnic self-image (Jöhncke 2007: 37). Jöhncke argues, that the Danish welfare state model has set up a prerequisite of national homogeneity. This idea of a national homogeneity is the political and economic legitimizer for the welfare state's integration project (Jöhncke 2007: 49). He underlines, however, that both the idea of homogeneity and the welfare state model are social constructions, which are results of social processes - of which some are an expression of deliberate political decisions - and are thereby neither fiction nor facts. Cultural constructions are not fiction, but ways to understand complex situations by enhancing certain attributes and downplaying others (Jöhncke 2007: 50). Jöhncke further says that the integration of ethnic minorities is a genuine challenge both in practice, attitudinally, structurally, and politically (Jöhncke 2007: 37-38).

Since the 1990s the welfare state has been transforming and is increasingly characterized by more neoliberal thinking, welfare cuts, privatization of health care and educational reforms (Bruun et al. 2015: 11). Political economist Ove Kaj Pedersen argues, that the Danish state has shifted from being

a welfare state to a competitive state[6] (Pedersen 2011: 11). He identifies four main characteristics of the "competitive state" including: 1) mobilization of citizens and companies for international market competition in contrast to the traditional welfare state, which sought to protect companies and citizens against changes in the states of the international markets. 2) The promotion of the idea that the individual is responsible for its own life. The individual is seen as rational, independent and opportunistic 3) The competitive state strives for, and is driven by dynamics and changes, while the welfare state aimed for stability. 4) The competitive state is internationally inclined, whereas the welfare state closed itself around its citizen (Bruun et al. 2015: 12; Pedersen 2011: 12). Sofie Nielsen argues, that the competitive tendencies of the Danish state which O. K. Pedersen pointed out are also reflected in the integration programs, where refugees are expected to take responsibility for their own integration process (Nielsen, 2017: 45-48).

In Scandinavia, the governmental institutions have a higher role in the so called integration of refugees than in most other countries (Jöhncke 2007: 42) Integration is a term often used to describe a political project with the goal of admitting or accepting a certain group of people into society; namely foreigners (Olwig and Pærregaard 2007: 10). Integration involves both a process where individuals *integrate* and a stage where *integratetness* is accomplished (Jöhncke 2007: 38-39), but how do we understand when such an integratedness is reached or how far along an individual is in the process? Sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad points out that the connotations of the word "integration" both encourages us to idealize the "integrations" which have already been accomplished in the past, but it also suggests that the sociological integration is a matter of political will; meaning it can be the result of state mechanisms (Sayad 2004: 216-17).

The State legislations set out the main framework of which rights and responsibilities the Syrians have. The Danish Alien's Act and other legislations concerning refugees and immigration are changed more frequently than any other Danish jurisdiction; in average, every three months since 2002 (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2017; Mortensen 2016). Refugees in Denmark are therefore faced with an unstable legal framework, where changes often directly affect their lives.

An example of such is the Integration Law, which was first constituted in June 1998, concerned the integration of refugees and other migrants in Denmark who arrived after the 1st of January 1999. The

[6] My translation

goal of the integration law was to "make refugees and immigrants productive members of the Danish society on equal terms with Danish citizens"[7] and to disperse refugees and immigrants geographically more evenly. The law introduced the dispersal policies of which the goal is to allocate refugees to countryside communities and to areas in which most of the inhabitants are ethnic Danes. In addition, the responsibility of the integration process was moved from the state to the municipalities. The municipalities thereby became responsible for accommodation, preparation and design of integration programs and for disbursement of social benefits. With the law, refugees became obligated to attend a three-year integration program[8] (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration 1998). Today refugees are still obligated to live in the assigned municipalities for the duration of the integration program, unless they find a job somewhere else, which requires them to move (Udlændinge-, Integrations- og Boligministeriet 2016a: § 16).

In Denmark the welfare-state system allows state and municipality employees to intervene deeply into the domestic sphere of its citizens (Jenkins 2011: 167-68). Jenkins refers to the Danish welfare state as the neighbor next door, mostly referred to as a good neighbor that Danes are happy to invite inside, hence in Denmark there is an understanding of and a trust in the welfare state and its monitoring of its citizens (Jenkins 2011: 169). These interventions in the domestic sphere are also evident in the dispersal policies and integration policies (Larsen 2011b), which closely monitors the refugees and obligates them to participate in various municipality planned activities.

The Danish population's trust in and welcoming attitude toward the welfare state stands in deep contrast to the experience my informants had of the state in Syria, from which intervention in daily lives where unwanted and feared.

1.1.3 Granbakkedal Municipality and immigration[9]

Granbakkedal municipality is a medium sized Danish municipality with approximately 100,000 inhabitants. From 2011 until 2016 the number of people with Syrian origin residing in Granbakkedal municipality increased from approximately 150 to 850 most of which arrived between 2014 and 2016.

[7] My translation
[8] In 2016, the length of the integration programme was reduced to 1 year with a possibility of extension to five years (Udlændinge-, Integrations- og Boligministeriet 2016a: § 14)
[9] To avoid identification of the municipality, only approximate numbers are given and citations are left out or anonymized.

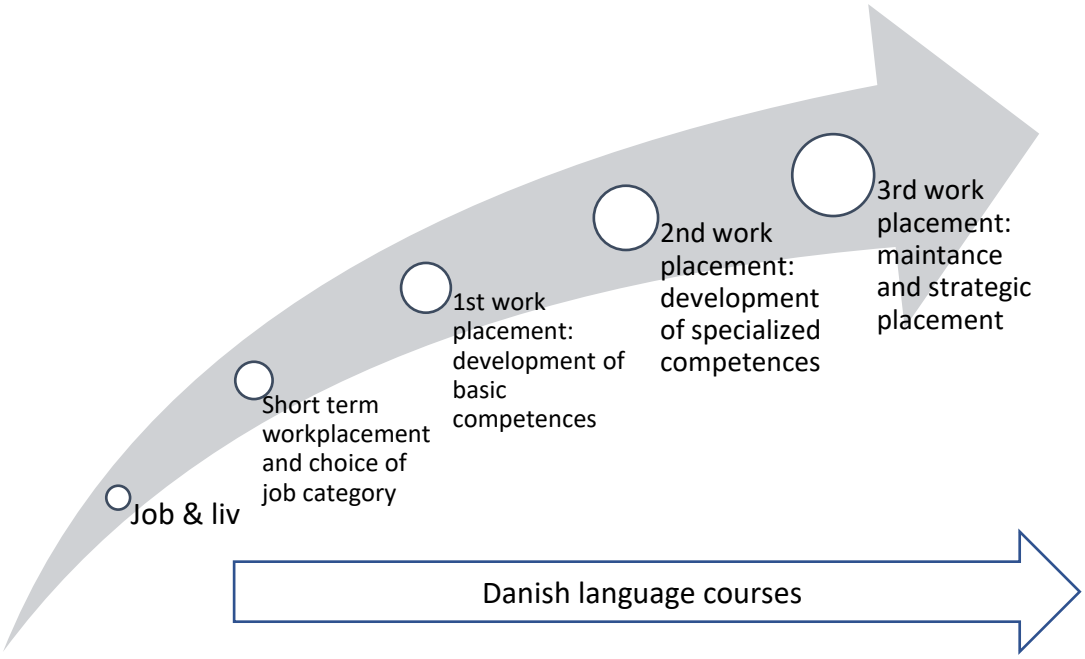
Around 60 % of these are men. Most of the Syrians have refugee status[10] or are family members of Syrian refugees and came to Granbakkedal through the family reunification scheme. When the Syrians arrived, they were appointed a caseworker from the municipality with whom they could discuss challenges regarding the resettlement process and integration program activities.

In Granbakkedal all refugees[11] must take a Danish language education. The content of the rest of the integration program depends on the age of the refugee: youngsters between 14 and 24 join an educational institution that aims to provide the students with a Danish primary school exam, which is the foundation for continuing their studies afterwards. The goal is to "establish the foundation for a bicultural identity and to develop cultural competences"(xx 2016).

For refugees over the age of 24 the integration program focuses on preparation for the Danish work market and on making refugees financially independent from social benefits. The refugees who belong to this group will attend an eight-week course called "Job & Liv" (Job and life) which is later followed up by a series of work placements; the intention is to find paid work eventually (see figure 1).

[10] Individuals with Convention status Section 7 (1) of the Aliens Act, Protected status Section, Section 7 (2) of the Aliens Act or Temporary protected status Section 7 (3) of the Aliens Act (The Danish Immigration Service and The Danish Agency for International Recruitment and Integration 2016)
[11] Refugees and family members.

Figure 1 Overview of the integration program for refugees older than 24.[12]



Source: (xx 2015: 4)

The Job & Liv course aims at clarifying resources developing the competences of the refugees "personally and professionally"[13] (xx 2015: 4). Moreover, the course "is based on the on previous experience that refugees and migrants only have a limited knowledge of the work market"[14] (xx 2015: 2). At Job & Liv the refugees are further presented with six job categories. Each category is introduced and eventually the refugee must choose a work placement within one of the job categories[15]. These job categories were identified in cooperation with a consultancy company who chose them on the basis that there are jobs available in those sectors and that the sectors already employ a significant number of immigrants (xx 2015: 2). The categories are: nursing home personal, canteen personal, abattoir employee, cleaning assistant, shop assistant and warehouse worker (xx 2015: 4). The following four stages of the integration program includes both language courses and work placements, which aim at developing competences related to the chosen job category. The refugees' development during

[12] Reconstructed and translated, based on the consultancy company's and Granbakkedal Municipality's report.
[13] My translation
[14] My translation
[15] Sometimes exceptions are made and the refugee finds a work placement outside the categories.

the integration program is monitored by the municipality, and the refugee cannot move to the next stage of the program until he/she has fulfilled all the requirements for the given stage (xx 2015: 16ff); unless the refugee finds paid employment. The work placements are unpaid[16], but as they are a part of the integration program, nonattendance results in cuts in social benefits.

How the Syrians in Granbakkedal experienced the integration program, the municipality staff and the Job & Liv course will be discussed in chapter five.

1.2 Towards an everyday security

In this section I focus on the development of security theory, which in the post-cold war period extended from a focal point of national security and military strategies to a security with the individual as the referent object (Rothschild 1995: 54-46). Then I move on to look at security in the perspective of the Danish welfare-state and the governmental securitization strategies during refugee crisis. Finally, I introduce a new concept, *everyday security,* which I argue is a form of security that is essential for the reestablishment of meaningful everyday lives and a sense of belonging for the Syrians in Granbakkedal.

1.2.1 Development of security theory in short

Traditional security studies, focused on the security of the state and its national borders. The citizens of the state would trade their loyalty to the state with protection from external threats – the possibility of the state being a threat to its own citizens was not taken into consideration[17] (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 72). During the Cold War, security as well as international policies were dominated by realist security theory and practice, which meant that security of nation states were in focus, and military measures were the means to sustain it. This tense period did not leave much room for new security theories, especially in the US. Nevertheless, in Europe some steps were taken in rethinking security beyond military strategies (Wæver and Buzan 2013: 403-404). For instance, the concept of human development slowly gained ground in the 1980s and the discussion of the relationship between poverty and international insecurity arose (Vietti and Scribner 2013: 19-20).

[16] However, in the final stage of the integration program there is a possibility of wage subsidies (xx 2015: 15).
[17] Preceding the beginning of the new world order in 1815, security was less state centric and focused on the individual. The individual as an object of security, has re-emerged as a result of the end of the Cold War (Rothschild 1995: 54-55)

With the end of the Cold War the long-lasting conflict between the East and West Bloc, characterized by deterrence, ended. A new world order emerged and with that interstate migration increased (Castles 2002: 1143-1144). In addition, a new type of conflicts arose: conflicts within states rather than between states; they are known as "new wars" (Drake 2007: 638).

The new world order, increased interstate population flows, and the new wars, which came with the end of the Cold War, sparked discussions of rethinking security. Security of individuals became an object of security in international policy, in the forms of common security or human security (Rothschild 1995: 54; Buzan 1997: 8-9). The concept of human security slowly gained ground in the early 1990's, but it was not until 1994 that the concept was widely adopted by the UN, followed by several states (Rothschild 1995: 55-56; Glasius 2008: 32). In 1994, the concept was elaborated upon in the UNDP Human development report. The report emphasizes a broad understanding of the concept, in which the two main components of human security are *freedom from want* and *freedom from fear*. In addition, the seven dimensions of human security were explicitly introduced, these include: *personal security, community security, political security, economic security, food security, environmental security* and *health security* (UNDP 1994: 24-25). There is however, not one agreed upon definition of human security. Some policy makers and scholars focus on freedom from fear (Canada etc.) and others focus on freedom from want (Japan etc.) and the concept has been widely criticized for its vagueness and the broadness of epistemology of threats (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 29-31, 51, 57). Despite of its various definitions and its broadness, there are some common aspects; first, human security constitutes a normative break with realism, as its goals are humanitarian and the positivists methods, which characterized realists theory are abandoned to open for the cooperation between scholars and theories from different scientific fields (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 73). Second, human security focuses on the security of the individual and human rights, rather than the security of the state; the sovereign states must serve its citizens, while traditionally the citizens served the states. Ideally, in the human security perspective, states should focus on the security of all human beings, not just its own citizens (Glasius 2008: 36). The human security framework does, however, not neglect the importance of the security of the state, as an attack on the state also causes a threat to the individuals within it. Security of the individual is not derived from an idea that when individuals experience insecurity, they can be a threat to the state. The idea is rather that human insecurities are a threat to the individual's dignity (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 9). Third, Within the human security framework, the individual becomes and agent who can help mitigate and define security threats (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 18).

Thus, human security is one of the post-Cold-War security theories which gained ground and is used in practice by both governments and the UN. The most important development is the focus on the security of individuals rather than of states.

Migration is a phenomenon, which has become increasingly present since the end of the Cold War. Traditional state focused security measures would try to deal with the issues by increasing its border security. Instead of focusing on protecting state borders from illegal immigration, the human security framework would try to deal with the security issues which caused migration in the first place (Vietti and Scribner 2013: 24). The human security framework would further encourage states or international organizations to ensure the safety of the people already in transit (Vietti and Scribner 2013: 26).

Thus, states are responsible for ensuring the human security of refugees or asylum applicants within its territory (and within other state's territories, if states fail to do so). In relation to the war in Syria, appalling living conditions for refugees and asylum applicants have been seen, and both direct, sexual and structural violence have occurred throughout both neighboring countries of Syria and in some European states (Robbers, Lazdane, and Sethi 2016; McHugh 2016; Kivilcim 2016; Human Rights Watch 2014). However, the research on which this thesis is based, has taken place in Denmark, a welfare state, which has a high level of social security and economic redistribution, both for its own citizens but also for refugees, and it is therefore other security issues that are at stake. In the next section I briefly examine the welfare state system in relation to security, and consider the securitizations strategies used by the Danish government during the refugee crisis.

1.2.2 The Danish welfare-state and securitization

The Danish welfare-state strives to ensure that all citizens have equal rights to social security, healthcare, and education (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017b). Denmark is further known for its flexicurity model, which guarantees flexibility for firing and hiring employees for the employers, and simultaneously guarantees unemployed individuals financial compensation from the state (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017a). These welfare rights are funded by the high tax levels which characterize the country (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark 2017b). These rights also come with responsibilities; through the active labor market policies, an unemployed can be met with requirements for participating in activation measures and to actively seek employment (Hendeliowitz 2008: 7). Political Scientist Per Mouritsen says that the development of the welfare state to a "competitive state" means that citizens are "factors of production" rather than

individuals with rights. The new type of competitive welfare state thus, aims at educating and socializing its citizens to create value for society (Mouritsen 2015: 201). These rights and responsibilities, also apply to people with refugee status in Denmark, however in a modified form, where the refugees must live up to the responsibilities connected to the integration program they are attending to receive social benefits (Beskæftigelsesministeriet 2017: § 13; Nielsen 2017: 19-20).

While the Danish government ensures that refugees are offered social security, healthcare and housing, they have in the recent refugee crisis also taken more traditionalists security measures in use, such as increased border control. In this regard it is relevant to look at the *Copenhagen school's securitization* theories, which concern the discursive construction of security threats. (McDonald 2008: 564). Political scientist Ole Wæver and Professor of International Relations Barry Buzan, the founders of the Copenhagen School, define *securitization* as speech acts:

> through which an intersubjective understanding is constructed within a political community to treat something as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and to enable a call for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat (Buzan and Wæver 2003: 491)

During the refugee crisis, the Danish government used measures which through *the securitization framework*, can be understood to securitize the issue and make the topic a national security concern. The extraordinary number of migrants who arrived in Europe and Denmark, quickly became the top concern of politicians. In the political discourse, the refugee crisis was characterized as "a threat to the Danish welfare system", and a tendency and development that must be stopped (Blem Larsen 2016). This meant that legislation changes were passed and initiatives carried out, which at other times would have been considered controversial and unthinkable. These include border control at the Danish-German border (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet 2017)**,** printing articles in Middle Eastern newspapers published by the government which explained the tightening of immigration

legislations and welfare benefits[18] (Gormsen 2015), and legislation changes which allows the Danish authorities to confiscate cash or personal items valued more than DKK 10,000 from asylum applicants (Udlændinge-, Integrations- og Boligministeriet, 2016b: §40 stk. 9). The Danish government created a webpage where they explained how their tightening of legislations has worked, in the sense that less asylum applicants have arrived in 2016 and 2017, compared to 2015 (Statsministeriet 2017).

The fact that less asylum applicants arrive is thereby, to the government, considered a success criterion. The Danish government thus *securitized* the increasing amount of asylum applicants to protect the welfare state, and possibly to gain popularity in the Danish population, in which a tendency of increasing right wing political views is present. Similar examples of securitization could be seen in 2001 in the post 9/11 period, where the government tightened the legislations in relation to immigration, as a response to the threat of terror (Rytter & Pedersen, 2014: 2307).

To sum up, Denmark is a country with a high level of human security as the Danish government provides security in the form of housing, economic benefits and health care to the refugees, in exchange the refugees are presented with responsibilities that they must live up to. At the same time, the Danish government securitized the refugee crisis, and used traditionalist security measures, such as border control, while in addition reducing welfare benefits for refugees and tightening the legislations affecting refugees and asylum applicants. The frequent tightening of legislations, negative media coverage and the clear message from the government, that refugees are unwanted in Denmark

[18] Integration benefits are given to unemployed people (18 years or older) who have not lived in Denmark for at least seven out of the last eight years. The amount stated below is gross pay:
1)11,888 DKK. (2015-level) for persons, who provide for own child in the home and who have obtained the right to receive additional child subsidy (§ 22)
2) 8,319 DKK. (2015-level) for persons, who provide for own child in the home and who did not obtain the right for additional child subsidy (§ 22)
3) 5,945 DKK (2015-level) for persons, who have turned 30 years old, and people under 30 years, who do not live with one of, or both parents. (§ 22)
4) 2.562 DKK (2015-level) for persons under 30 years of age who live with one or both parents. (§ 22)
Persons who have passed Danish language education 2 or 3 is eligible for a language supplement (Beskæftigelsesministeriet, 2017§ 22 stk. 4.)

constitute the context in which the Syrians in Granbakkedal strive to gain foothold and restart their everyday life practices.

Human Security as a concept is a relevant tool to identify threats and to address issues before they expand. However, one of the main critiques of the human security framework is that it is analytically weak due to its broadness (Newman 2010: 82; Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 29-31). It is also the broadness of the concept which makes it insufficient to analyze and encompass the specific struggles the Syrians in Granbakkedal are going through in their resettlement process. Therefore, I introduce a new term, everyday security, which is empirically founded and consist of four aspects that, I argue, are necessary for the Syrians to establish meaningful everyday lives and a sense of belonging to Granbakkedal. I will elaborate upon the term in the following subsection.

1.2.3 Everyday security:

Throughout my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to follow the everyday practices of the Syrians for several months. This presented a unique opportunity to understand, which aspects have important impacts on the resettlement process – aspects which, I argue, when absent, represent a form of existential insecurity for the Syrians.

In the previous sections I presented the context in which the everyday lives of the Syrians in Granbakkedal take place. The context is important to understand the empirical findings, as both the political discourses on refugees, the securitization of the refugee crisis, the interventionist welfare state, the changing legislations and the right and responsibilities the Syrians were presented with, affected their ability to establish everyday lives and a sense of belonging to Granbakkedal. A sense of belonging is an essential need for human beings to create meaning in their lives; and it can create stability or a reference point, from where goals and dreams can be pursued (Vandemark 2007: 242; Lambert, Stillman, Hicks, Kamble, Baumeister, and Fincham 2013: 1419-1420). From the empirical data on which this thesis is based, I identified four aspects that I argue are essential for the Syrians to be able to develop a sense of belonging and to establish meaningful everyday lives in Granbakkedal. I call these aspects *everyday security,* they include:

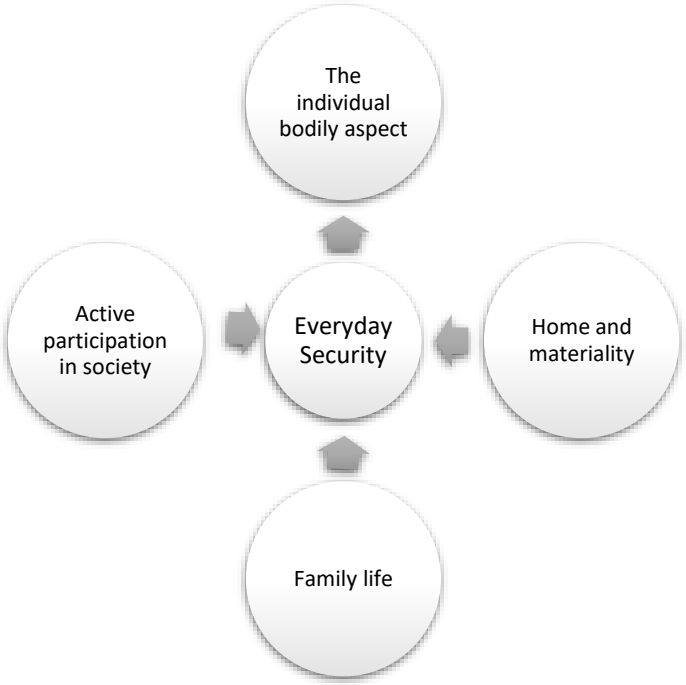
1) The individual bodily aspect

2) Home and materiality

3) Family life

4) Active participations in society

Figure 2) The everyday security model



Inspired by the human security framework, the individuals (the Syrians) are the referent objects of everyday security, and similarly, my informants have helped define the security issues they are facing during the resettlement process in Granbakkedal.

In this section, I gave a simplified overview of some of the tendencies and developments seen within security studies and theory since the end of the Cold War. I moved on to discuss the welfare state system in relation to security, and concluded that within this model, that the welfare state provides a high level of human security. The human security framework is, however, analytically too vague to encompass and understand the everyday struggles the Syrians in Granbakkedal are facing. Therefore, I introduced the concept of everyday security, which I developed when analyzing my empirical findings. This thesis' focal point is the resettlement process for Syrians in Granbakkedal Municipality and their longing and striving for a form of everyday security.

1.3 Methods[19]

The present master's thesis is based on fieldwork conducted in Granbakkedal municipality from September 2015 to January 2016, additional follow up interviews and part time participant observation were conducted in the first half of 2016. The first four months of the fieldwork consisted of a work placement which was an integrated part of the course curriculum of Human Security at Aarhus University. The work placement I took was at a local museum, for which I conducted qualitative research on refugees, and the routes they had taken from their countries of origin to Granbakkedal. The research was therefore two-fold, as I collected data for both the museum project and my thesis.

Qualitative research method is the primary method used during the fieldwork. Qualitative data is socially constructed in the sense that knowledge is produced socially and realities created as a function of the interaction between the researcher and the field or informants (Boolsen 2005: 159).

In the following subsections, I reflect upon some of the methods used during the research for this thesis.

1.3.1 Access to the field

When I first arrived in Granbakkedal I didn't have Syrian contacts or any other direct access to informants. Therefore, I joined the local Venligboer group on Facebook to establish contacts with local Syrians. Shortly after I arrived in Granbakkedal, the first local Venligboer event, a picnic, took place. Around 20 people showed up, of which half were Syrians. Prior to the picnic, I had contacted the organizer, Adnan, who also made sure I could introduce my project at the picnic. He ended up functioning as a gatekeeper, as he introduced me to several other informants who I arranged to meet for interviews later.

These informants introduced me to other Syrians in Granbakkedal; this way I slowly gained a local network. A 15-year-old girl, who I met at the event furthermore introduced me to her school. After

[19] Some of the methods utilized during my fieldwork, have also been described in the confidential fieldwork / work placement exam, which finalized my work-placement. This report was submitted to Aarhus University, January 15 2016. Similarities between this chapter and the report may therefore occur, paragraphs with many similarities will be follow by a citation ((Milton 2016))

gaining permission from the school staff, I joined the class activities for a few days; which both proved to be a good way to meet other informants, and to get insight in some of the everyday activities my youngest informants attended. I also contacted the municipality integration office, and asked if I could join some of the activities planned for the refugees. They agreed to let me attend the Job & Liv course, which turned out to be an important aspect of my research. I joined the course for two weeks in 2015 and 2016.

Moreover, through my network of Syrians, I got to participate in daily activities, social gatherings and important occurrences in the lives of my informants.

1.3.2 Gender

Most the Syrians I met in Granbakkedal were male, and the fact that I am female could have proposed a hindrance in getting access to the everyday lives of the Syrians. However, the fact that I am married was an advantage, and even more so because my husband is from a Muslim country. When I told my informants about my husband, they usually seemed more relaxed in my presence and did not mind inviting me to their houses to conduct interviews. Therefore, I deliberately mentioned my husband when meeting new informants. However, my marriage also meant that the Syrians would sometimes take my knowledge of aspects of their everyday lives or religion for granted, and I therefore had to be aware of this, and enquire about aspects of their everyday lives, which they thought I would already know in detail.

1.3.3 Participant observation and roles

Participant observation is a classical ethnographic method through which the researcher aims at understanding the informant's practical knowledge, by observing and participating in the activities in which the informant is engaged (Zahle 2012: 55). It is essential to study the informants in their own surroundings. Whilst participating, the researcher tries to intervene as little as possible in the situation, while still knowing, that the presence of the researcher will impact the informants and thereby also the empirical findings (Zahle 2012: 54).

Participant observation was one of my primary methods, which I used in different settings of my informants' lives. Each of the settings also came with a different set of roles, which I deliberately took on, or was given as a function of the context. I have included some examples of participant observation settings and the roles I had below:

At the museum: Some Syrians joined guided tours at the museum, and to them, I was considered a museum employee; however, in the end of each guided tour I was offered the opportunity to introduce my research project, and could therefore step out of this role. The museum arranged events for local refugees and let Venligboerne use their facilities for events. The Syrians, therefore, had a positive impression of the museum. The fact that I worked at the museum might have strengthened some of my informants' trust in me and openness towards participating in interviews. Therefore, I had to emphasize, that my research project was twofold, and to explain what data would be used for the museum project and my thesis respectively.

At the Job & liv and youth course: I tried to blend in with the other students and participate in the task given by the teacher. However, many Syrians saw me as an extra teacher and asked me questions on how to solve the tasks they were given. Especially at Job & Liv I wanted to avoid that the Syrians saw me as a municipality employee, but as the teachers asked me to join them in their office in the breaks and gave me free coffee, it was challenging at times. However, when introducing my research, I made sure to underline that I am a university student not associated with the municipality, and as I met with my informants outside the municipality setting, I believe I succeeded in not being viewed as a member of the municipality staff.

At interview situations: The Syrians were very eager to talk to me, and it seemed, that they felt relieved to finally being listened to and being able to voice their frustration without being criticized. Therefore, to some informants I might have been regarded a kind of therapist to whom they could share and unload some of their frustrations and worries. The "therapist" role was often expressed in the sense that my informants would at times start speaking, as soon as the voice recorder was on, even before starting the interview. Sami, for example, talked for almost forty minutes, before I had a chance to ask questions. The "therapist" role necessitates ethical consideration, which I elaborate upon in the ethics section.

1.3.4 Interviews

Most interviews I conducted were semi-structured, which means a prewritten interview guide was used to ensure that certain topics are discussed in a given order, however, other questions are formulated during the interview in reaction to the responses of the informant (Boolsen 2005: 169). The fact that interview guides are not followed strictly and new questions emerge in the interview situation underlines one of the ways in which qualitative data is created in the encounter between the researcher and informant (Kvale and Brinkman 2009: 143-44).

I planned my interview guide carefully, and noted the purpose of each question in a matrix to focus my research and reflect upon each question and the given order they were written in. Naturally, I edited the interview guide throughout my fieldwork, when discovering new aspects of my informants' everyday lives. When conducting the interview, I generally used a voice recorder, however, during certain topics some informants asked me to turn off the recorder – this was mostly concerning topics where personal information, which could be used to identify them, was given. I did not take notes during interviews, except when my informants did not want me to use the voice recorder. I chose this procedure not to resemble the interviews with the police that the Syrians went through upon their arrival to Denmark.

I also conducted a few group interviews. Group interviews give access to a larger body of knowledge than individual interviews (Boolsen 2005: 172), and give an opportunity to observe discussion between different informants on certain topics. At times, I was aware that family members or friends would be present in the interview situation and I could prepare the interview accordingly to include more discussion-friendly topics. However, on two occasions family members and friends joined in, without my prior knowledge. As the interviews were conducted in my informants' houses, this was not within my control. At those occasions, I had to adjust my interview guide along the way.

Finally, I conducted some unstructured interviews. These are interviews, where a topic is decided upon by the researcher, but where the informant define what the discussion will contain and which information is important (Russell 1994: 211-212; Milton 2016: 11). I mostly used this technique when I had a conversation with an informant in which I found a topic I wanted elaborated.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with 38 Syrians, many of which I interviewed several times. In addition, I conducted five group interviews and some unstructured interviews. The length of the interviews varied between 30 minutes and two hours.

1.3.5 Interview settings

Before my fieldwork, I considered the most appropriate way to set up the interview situation, and decided it would be at my informants' houses. This was done, to find a safe space, where I was the guest, and they were the hosts to avoid that the interviews would take resemblance to the interrogations my informants had experienced with the Danish, and foreign authorities during their flight and asylum process (Milton 2016: 3). The fact that my informants were used to being interviewed was evident during my interview with Adnan, who at the beginning of the interview exclaimed: "I guess you want to know, why I chose Denmark – like everyone else". A question Adnan

was annoyed to be asked, as he had tried to reach Sweden, but was arrested by Danish authorities during his flight.

The house setting furthermore opened for small talk and tea-drinking both prior to and after the interviews, which created a relaxed and non-interrogatory atmosphere. The house-setting and the relaxed atmosphere also meant that I was invited for dinner and several more visits by most of my informants, which gave me opportunities to experience more parts of my informants' everyday lives.

Houses are a valuable setting for conducting fieldwork, sociologist Paolo Boccagni points out that the house as a setting for ethnography is a privilege, especially houses inhabited by migrants, because the ethnographer then "retraces the sequence of migrants' domestic spaces and the changes in their ways of inhabiting, representing and remembering them" (Boccagni 2014: 281). Visiting my informants in their houses gave me a unique opportunity to study the reestablishment of home, the absent family, the relation between the Syrians and certain material objects. In addition, I realized how the ongoing war in Syria, became present in the Syrians houses through TV news and mobile phones. In opposition, I also saw that some homes had a deliberate absence of both news media and pictures from Syria, because the memories were too painful. This made me adjust my interview guide, to include more questions about the ongoing war.

1.3.6 Video recording

At my work placement, I had to record three videos for the museum. In addition, I recorded a few extra video interviews with some of my key informants. Moreover, two of my informants invited me to the airport to pick up their families, when they arrived to Denmark, after more than a year of separation. I filmed this situation, both to record a small film for my informants to have a memory of the day they were reunited with their families, and to use the video material as data for my thesis.

I used video recording during interviews with the intention that it would give me a chance to study their body language more carefully during interviews, however as they were aware of the presence of the camera, their answers were less detailed and their body language less expressive than when using the voice recorder. Therefore, I only used very little data from the video interviews in this thesis. In the airport, however, both the informants I filmed were so preoccupied that they barely realized the presence of the camera.

1.3.7 Language and interpretation

Language was sometimes a challenge, though many informants were capable at speaking enough English or Danish to carry out interviews. A few others knew Turkish, and as I speak intermediate Turkish, this was also helpful.

In interview situations where I had no language in common with my informants, I used a Danish-Arabic translator. In the beginning of my fieldwork, a local translator offered to help me for free, but at the interview I realized that the answers were different from those of the other Syrians I had interviewed. When using this specific translator, the informants praised the municipality and the integration program. Later I discovered that the translator, was also translating for the municipality. Despite her duty of confidentiality, her presence might have affected the answers of the informants in question. Therefore, I hired a translator from Aarhus, who I was sure that my informants would not know. I used this translator for four semi-structured interviews. I also experienced that informants who were afraid that they could not express themselves clearly in English or Danish had invited a friend to help translate.

1.3.8 Notes, field diary and coding

During the fieldwork, I spent the evenings writing in my research journal and rewrite fieldnotes. The notes I took during the first months of my fieldwork were more detailed, while later notes were more thematically organized (Milton 2016).

When visiting informants, I didn't take notes, but as soon that I'd left my informants house I would do some *jottings, to* remember important details. Jotting is a technique to scrabble down observation and notes in a draft like manner to not forget details or reflections (Russell 1994: 181).

Transcribed interviews and notes were organized using qualitative data analyzing software, which helped me identify and organize the empirical material.

1.4 Ethics

Qualitative research constitutes both ethical dilemmas and potentials (Brinkmann 2010: 429). The dilemmas occur, because qualitative research focuses on subjective and sometimes intimate aspects of a person's life. Refugees are a vulnerable group of people, and serious ethical considerations need to be taken prior to and during a study of refugees.

First, the Syrians in Granbakkedal have been in interview situations with Danish and sometimes Syrian authorities, which resembled interrogations and in which their answers could have severe consequences. These situations were to some informants traumatizing experiences. Therefore, I aimed to conduct interviews in a non-interrogatory and more conversation-like manner. I ensured that my informants knew that answering questions was not obligatory and that they could stop the interview anytime.

When conducting qualitative research the researcher and informants often build relations of trust, which can result in a form of therapeutic relationship (Brinkmann 2010: 431). Some of the topics which came up during interviews were of emotional character; topics painful to talk about for my informants, and my role during interviews sometimes assembled a therapist. Therefore, I took my informants emotional state of mind very seriously, and avoided asking further questions, if I found my informants were heading on a side-track, where memories they might not want to reexperience would come up. I also made sure to stay with the informants a while after each interview and talk about daily topics to ensure that they would not be left alone with an emotional state of mind.

Secondly, I promised all informants full anonymity, and prior to any interview, I handed out an information sheet, in Arabic, where I explained the purpose of my study, and how the collected data would be used (see appendix 1).

Thirdly, my connection to the local museum, and my presence at the municipality when researching the integration program might have given my informants the impression that I was directly affiliated with the municipality. This could have two obvious consequences. First, my informants could see me as a useful contact, with whom good connection could be an advantage for e.g. family reunification, finding internships, social benefits. Second, my informants would not disclose any information with me that they did not want the municipality staff to know. To avoid this, I stressed to my informants that I am a university student, who happen to do an internship at the municipality museum, and that I have no influence on municipality or state matters. This was generally understood and accepted. As a result, the Syrians were not afraid to criticize the municipality or state.

To ensure full anonymity, the informant's real names are not used in this thesis nor in the video material. The three informants, who participated both in interviews for my thesis and in the videos produced for the museum, are in this thesis "split". Meaning I have given each of them two names, where quotes or situations which are directly or indirectly identifiable with the people on the museum videos, they are given one name, and situations which differ from the video material, they are given

another. This is done to ensure full anonymity, and to avoid any circumstances where my informants are held responsible for differences between information given to the Danish authorities, the museum and me.

In addition to the above mentioned ethical reflections, there are also ethical potentials to be considered, one of which is to give voice to marginalized people in the public domain (Brinkmann 2010: 429). My research opened for an ethical potential, which let a group of Syrians voice their opinions on matters involving them deeply, but where their opinions often drown in the voices of the public critical debates.

2.0 The Individual bodily aspect of everyday security

This chapter deals with the individual bodily aspect of *everyday security*; a feeling and experience of general safety in the practice of everyday life activities; an aspect essential in the resettlement process where the Syrians not only physically but also mentally need to move away from the dangers, which characterized their lives in Syria after the war broke out.

The individual bodily aspect, I argue, encompasses two levels of security, *ontological security* which is security on a psychological level, a security of the self (Giddens 1991: 92). And a level of *personal security*, which refers to individual perception and fears of external or internal, mostly physical threats (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 14).

Sociologist Antony Giddens defines ontological security as "The confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their social and material environments. Basic to a feeling of ontological security is a sense of the reliability of persons and things"(Giddens 1991: 92) Ontological security thus necessitates confidence in both a continuing self-identity and stable social and material environments. It is an emotional phenomenon, "a security of being", which according to Giddens, is a psychological need for individuals (Giddens 1991: 92; 1976: 117). Following Giddens, human geographer Priya Kissoon says that because ontological security is the basis of "a positive view of one's lifeworld and the future, and based on a sense of safety" it's also dependent on the avoidance of fear and chaos. Therefore, forced migration represent a disruption to ontological security (Kissoon 2015: 26).

The individual bodily aspect of everyday security also include characteristics of personal security; one of the seven dimensions of human security, which deals with individual perception and fears (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 14). Personal security threats include violence, war, abuse, terrorism or even suicide or substance abuse (violence against oneself), moreover it can also consist of well-founded fears of insecurities, such as the fear of losing a job or the right to healthcare (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007: 14; UNDP 1994: 30).

However, the individual bodily aspect of everyday security differs from personal security in the sense, that it is not crucial that genuine personal security threats are at stake; as long as the individual feels threatened or in danger, it is a threat. The experience of insecurities in the past may (though not necessarily) be embedded in a bodily experience and affect the resettlement process in a way in which

phenomena, which may not be personal security threats, are experienced as such. Thus, whether the security threats pose genuine danger is not important; what is essential is the experience of safety from the individual's point of view

2.1 The war in Syria and threats to ontological security

In Syria, my informants experienced personal security threats daily; insecurities, which moved all the way into the Syrians houses and private spheres. Scholars in Social work Cindy A. Sousa, Susan Kemp and Mona El-Zuhairi have explored the violence to private households within political violence among Palestinian women and they say that war and political violence naturally poses a threat to the general notions of home as a safe place and refuge (Sousa, Kemp, and El-Zuhairi 2014: 206). They further argue that threats of violence to homes and "threats to the privacy, control, and constancy of the family" also constitutes threats to the ontological security (Sousa et al. 2014: 208, 212). In Hassan's statement below, we see that without safety, Syria as a home-place loses its meaning to him, as it is no longer considered a place of continuity, or a place he can imagine future prospects.

> We, all of us of course miss our country, our neighborhood, our friends, what we were doing, our jobs our family. But when you lose the safety and when you really like… you feel like you might get hurt in any second. So, you are looking for a better place, a safe place. It's not about… most of the people who is coming here they had a good job, they had good professions they like, had good lives, but the only thing is the safety. We're missing the safety. So, when we feel like safety, it's like home exactly. Because if you're at home at your place, and you're not safe, so it's not a home […] because you are thinking to leave it in any way. (Hassan)

Similar statements were made by other informants who told me that their houses had been bombed, invaded by troops, members of their families were killed, or their neighborhoods had become so unsafe that they could no longer safely continue their everyday lives. They therefore fled Syria. The question is then: how does it affect the Syrians' everyday lives, when an experience of unsafety persists in Granbakkedal.

2.2 The individual bodily aspect and everyday life in Granbakkedal

Before moving on to the experiences of the informants who felt unsafe in Granbakkedal, I want to underline that a clear majority of my informants specifically said that what they liked most about living in Granbakkedal, was the feeling of general safety. They believed that they were in no personal

danger neither in their houses nor when carrying out everyday activities in Granbakkedal; to a high extent they have achieved the first aspect of everyday security.[20]

However, some of the Syrians in Granbakkedal felt unsafe because things occurred which did pose a genuine threat to themselves or their family members in Granbakkedal and others felt unsafe due to traumatizing experiences in Syria; which meant that they reacted strongly to what others without the same baggage, might have been taken more lightly. In general, my informants did not feel that they were taken seriously, when they raised these issues to municipality staff, and this caused frustrations, hopelessness and distrust towards the municipality.

Rasul survived a bomb-attack on his house in Syria, but still suffered from severe physical and mental injuries after the attack. As the shock of the attack left him with a serious liver-condition he came to Denmark as a UN mandate refugee, and he therefore moved to Granbakkedal directly after his arrival to Denmark. Because his refugee status was already approved on arrival, he did not stay in an asylum center. The municipality was not able to find him permanent housing, and referred him to a shared temporary housing facility where he was living when I interviewed him. He was the only one of my informants who preferred the interview done in a public space rather than in his house. He was very upset, because he felt unsafe in the house, the municipality had found for him and he did not feel his issues were taken seriously by the municipality.

> I live with someone, and I've had problems with him, because he has given the key to one of his friends, so one moment at one o'clock in the night, then my friend's friend comes together with a girl and tries to break into, or get into my room. It's very difficult for me, because I've got this disease in my liver and I've experienced things in Syria, so I get scared. I've tried telling it to the municipality, but I haven't had response or anything. I've told about the episode to the doctor, and the doctor said to me that it would be better if they found a new place for me. And I said that it would be fine, it would be nice. But then when I told the municipality about it, they said they don't have a house for me. (Rasul)

[20] This refers to their own safety and the safety of family members already living in Granbakkedal. Naturally, my informants still worried about their loved ones remaining in Syria.

The episode, meant that he was no longer able to sleep after 1 AM. and felt genuinely unsafe in his everyday life in Granbakkedal. Consequently, due to worries and lack of sleep, he found it impossible to focus on other aspects of his everyday life, such as, establishing social networks, learning Danish or following the integration program. The experience was a threat to his mental well-being and has elements of ontological insecurity. Mikkel Rytter describes ontological insecurity as "events and social situations in which the agents have the carpet pulled from underneath them. The social world is no longer immediately recognizable, and they therefore cannot draw on their embodied repertoire of skills and knowledge to predict what kind of consequences specific acts will provoke" (Rytter 2012: 101). The incident in Rasul's house was an experience of "the carpet being pulled from underneath him", not in itself, but caused by mental recollections of traumatic experiences of personal insecurity in Syria, among which, Rasul's house was destroyed by an attack. Daily routines are, according to Giddens, an important part of psychological security, and when these routines get shattered, anxiety may overwhelm the individual (Giddens 1991: 98). Rasul's daily routines were first shattered in Syria, when his house got destroyed and he was separated from his wife by the war. When restarting his life in Denmark, he initially felt safe, but the incident of strangers entering his house disrupted his daily routines once more, which meant a general anxiety and feeling of unsafety overshadowed all aspects of his everyday life.

The predominant character of the unsafety he felt, made him bring up the issue in the class during the Job & Liv course, but the teacher dismissed his complaint and referred him to his caseworker, to whom he had already raised the issue. This led to even greater frustrations for him, as he felt that the municipality couldn't help him. He experienced a severe level of insecurity, but didn't feel the municipality understood why. As I will discuss in detail in chapter 5, when the Syrians raised concerns or issues it was often interpreted as ungratefulness, both by municipality staff and in the civil society. Rasul explained that he feels "ignored by the municipality" and he said that the only way to be heard was to create a scene and raise his voice when addressing municipality staff.

Thus, to Rasul, he was unsafe in his house, and this is what is essential in relation to disruption of the resettlement process and the prevention of everyday security. The episode also triggered other experiences of insecurity, for example when he realized the building caretaker had entered his room:

> I want to feel free in way so that nobody is coming into my room. For example, I used to sit in the kitchen and eat, where I had a chair and then I slept in the room. But then suddenly the caretaker comes and takes the chair and turns off the radiator

> in my room. […] So… the feeling that people come in and out of my room, doesn't make me feel safe at all. I know it was the caretaker who did it, because he's the only one with a universal key and the only one who would turn off the heat. If he'd just taken the chair [and not turned off the heat] it would have been much worse, then I could have thought "who took the chair?" (Rasul).

According to sociologists Ann Dupuis and David Thorns, the restoration of the ontological security often takes place in the private realm, where the individual is relieved from the chaotic outside. Ontological security furthermore re-establishes itself in personal social ties with others, such as family members or partners (Dupuis and Thorns 1998: 27-28) The house, which should be the material frame of his private realm, did not provide Rasul with the privacy and relief from the chaotic outside, but rather posed a threat to his ontological security. In addition, he lived with strangers, rather than with his wife or family members who were still in Syria, and he did not have any friends or close relations in Granbakkedal, and could therefore not restore or re-establish his *ontological security* through close social relations. His feeling of general unsafety became a ubiquitous phenomenon, a vicious circle, in which he isolated himself from others and became increasingly suspicious of the municipality, his case worker and the possibility of positive prospects for him in Granbakkedal.

The temporary housing facility that Rasul was placed in, was only supposed to be a solution until the municipality had found him a permanent rent contract elsewhere. However, legislation changes concerning the transition from regular benefits to the significantly lower "integration benefits" limited the municipality's options for finding an affordable flat in the highly competitive housing market in Granbakkedal.

The duration of the temporality was unknown to both him and the municipality staff, thus he found himself in a context of open-ended insecurity, for which he found only limited sympathy.

Rasul was not the only of my informants experiencing unsafety in his house, though he was the one most affected by it. Mina, who lived alone with her children in the outskirts of the town of Granbakkedal in a rented terraced house experienced racists behavior which affected her everyday life practices. Her next-door-neighbors, "do not like foreigners", as Mina described it and therefore spoke ill about her, and to her, and spread rumors in the neighborhood. They had further contacted the housing association with complaints of noise and other issues about Mina and her children. Complaints which Mina ensured me were unjustified. She therefore rarely let her children play outside in the garden and generally avoided disturbing the neighbors, to avoid giving the neighbors

any reason to complain, as complaints could result in her eviction from the house. These experiences did not affect her to the same degree as Rasul's, but she was constantly worried, about what the neighbors might do next, and therefore adjusted her everyday life practices, so that they disturbed the neighbors the least. Mina had at the time been in Denmark for several years and had a network of friends and family and thereby a stronger local foundation than Rasul. This might have made her more resilient to threats than Rasul, who had just escaped the war. Nevertheless, her neighbors' behavior made her nervous, and she isolated herself and her family from the neighborhood she lived in.

Mina was not the only informant who experienced racism. Many experienced a form of racism on social media, but there are also other examples of Syrians who were directly confronted with racism in Granbakkedal. Fourteen-year-old Aiesha explains:

> Once I was outside a super market. I was with some people... Palestinians, who had been in Denmark for a long time, and spoke Danish. And I also spoke a little Danish, but together we spoke Arabic. And then someone came and said "why do you speak your language… what the hell" and things like that. And then he started shouting so loudly and he came, and I felt he was just about to punch me. But I shouted and went into the super market. Then a lot of people approached us and they said "do you want us to call the police?" but then he just left. But he was so angry, and shouted, and then I thought… or I became so angry and sad. […] I also get affected when I hear about racism, when someone else has experienced it. Because I think I'm like any other person. […] For example, when I look at Facebook, they say, "Why the hell are you here?" or "they should go back [to their home countries]", "We don't want them" and these kind of things. Then it also affects me, because those people that they're saying they don't want here… well I'm one of them. (Aiesha)

The episodes of racism that she experienced, had character of a threat to her personal security, it was an attack of her as a person; a bodily embedded experience which left her suspicious of other Danes, as she wondered if they had similar views and if she should prepare herself for similar episodes in the future. She however underlined that many of the Danes she had met had been nice to her, but she wondered if they were just hiding what they really think about refugees:

> It's only a few people [who are like that]. But there are also many people who smile, even though they're thinking a bit differently. They don't want refugees or anything… But they don't say anything. Because maybe they're thinking that they aren't allowed to say something… I don't know. (Aiesha).

The episode outside the super market made Aiesha feel unsafe in the situation, but the feeling of unsafety did not have an omnipresent character or a feeling of insecurity of all aspects of her life, as we saw in the case of Rasul. Nevertheless, being directly confronted with racism affected Aiesha to such a degree that she became more suspicious about the Danes she encountered in her everyday life. This is a hindrance in the resettlement process and in creating a sense of belong, and thereby also a potential threat to the establishment of everyday security.

2.3 Sub conclusion

This chapter showed three examples of Syrians in Granbakkedal who experienced threats to the individual bodily aspect of everyday security. The main point of this chapter is not to bring forward the specific individual security issues that some of my informants experienced in Granbakkedal, or to criticize the municipality staff, who are working under a framework of state legislations and in a context where available affordable housing for refugees is very limited. The point of the chapter is rather highlighting how important feeling safe is for the resettlement process and for establishing a sense of belonging.

For those who had experiences of unsafety in Granbakkedal, whether it be physical personal security threats or threats to their ontological security, the threats were genuine to them. An experience of insecurity for the individual; a bodily embedded insecurity, which functions as a hindrance in the resettlement process and during everyday life practices. These experiences of insecurities were awoken by the remembrance of traumas from Syria or from uncomfortable, transgressive experiences in Granbakkedal or from combination of both.

Due to the, in some cases, ubiquitous character of the experiences of insecurity, and their effect on the resettlement process and the wellbeing of the individuals concerned; expressions of insecurities, even if they are not assessed as serious to outsiders should not be taken lightly when dealing with refugees. When my informants felt that their concerns and fears were neglected and ignored by their municipality caseworkers it let to mistrust, suspicions and sometimes aggressions towards people working for the municipality. The experiences of unsafety prevent the Syrians from resettling, as

getting to safety was the root cause of their flight for all my informants. Without a general experience of ontological security as well as protection from personal security threats, an everyday security cannot be established and the development of a sense of belonging to Granbakkedal is prevented.

3.0 Home-making, materiality and everyday security

This chapter examines the material aspects of everyday security. It focuses on materiality in regards to what it takes to create a sense of belonging and a feeling of home. Homes, houses and materiality are subjects which have been examined widely by researchers from different fields (Miller 2001; Højer and Vacher 2009) One of the widely accepted characteristics that distinguish a house from a home, is that houses are material buildings, while homes are created between the people living in them, and in the relations between the people, the building, and the material objects within it (Højer and Vacher 2009: 8). Homes and home-making is also related to family life. Houses can according to Tine Tjørnhøj Thomsen be described as places where families live, while, the *way* families live in them, makes them into homes (Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2009: 78-79). However, it is not only family members and social relations, that constitute a home. There is also a material aspect; Anat Hecht, states that a house can encompass a variety of material objects, which "are more than mere things" they are "invested with meaning and memory" which underlines who we are, where we have been and sometimes also where we are going; the meaning of and the relations with these objects transform houses into homes. When homes are lost, it means losing: "a private museum of memory, identity and creative appropriation" (Hecht 2001: 123).

The Syrians in Granbakkedal had all lost their homes in Syria; either in terms of splitting up the family in the flight, or in a more material sense, where houses and material objects inscribed with meaning were either destroyed or left behind. However, homes are not necessarily limited by geography. Kristina Grünnenberg's research on sense of belonging among Bosnian refugees in Denmark concludes that a sense of belonging is not only about geographical places, but is also related to people, social networks and common experiences. Grünnenberg underlines that individual and collective processes can transform the home of origin to a strange place gradually, and likewise the new place of residence can be transformed into a home (Grünnenberg 2010: 112-113). This chapter deals with the material aspects of everyday security, and the home-making process, the Syrians were in the middle of during my fieldwork.

When moving from one house to another, we sort out and bring along the objects we value, and leave behind objects which are no longer meaningful to us (Marcoux 2001: 69-70). Jean-Sébastien Marcoux describes how these possessions play a role in "securing memory in motion" (Marcoux 2001: 69). David Parkin argues that "everyday movements" should be seen in contrast to the situation in which

forced migrants hurriedly grab certain objects to bring along when fleeing. Displaced people carry along objects which are of immediate practical use and objects with a sentimental meaning, in which they "both inscribe and are inscribed by their own memories of self and personhood" he refers to these as transitional objects (Parkin 1999: 304, 317). They use the objects as means to rearticulate themselves and their personhood in the new environment (Parkin 1999: 314).

Among my informants there are people who had time to plan their escape and the objects they would bring along, while others had to escape head over heels, due to immediate danger. However, most of the Syrians in Granbakkedal, came emptyhanded or with very few possessions, because they either did not have time to collect their possession before leaving, or they lost them along the route, or were asked to throw them over board when crossing the Mediterranean Sea. Others experienced that their houses were bombed or occupied by soldiers or fighters from opposition groups or troops from the Syrian government. They therefore had no access to their homes before fleeing. Consequently, they often did not manage to bring much along, and in terms of material objects and home-making, they had to "start over". In this chapter, following Parkin's idea of transitional objects, I examine the material aspects of the resettlement process, and argue that materiality and a place to call home, are important aspects of everyday security. I begin this chapter by considering the role of the state and the municipality in regards to housing. This is followed by a sub section dealing with materiality, including preparing houses for family life, transitional objects, and why the size of refrigerators is of great importance to the Syrians in Granbakkedal.

3.1 The municipality and state's role in the housing process

The municipality and state has a high role in the housing of refugees. The municipality must act within the legal framework dictated by the state. This means that the services, requirements and integration initiatives that the municipality is responsible for are framed by the state. The municipality therefore has a limited agency span concerning initiatives aimed at refugees. The municipality also acts as the only public institution who have frequent and direct contact with the refugees, and the municipality therefore also often acts as the messenger, when new laws, which they have no influence on, have been implemented. To my informant this meant that they sometimes found it hard, to distinguish between the municipality and the state when complaining about their situations or criticizing new legislations; my informants often saw the municipality and the state as "the system", which was in control of or affected their lives. The municipality staff that the refugees meet in relation

to the integration program are thus almost the only representatives of the political and legal aspect of the resettlement process that the refugees have direct contact with.

When an individual is granted refugee status, one of the first legislations they are met with is the Danish dispersal policy (see 1.1.2) which means that the refugee will be assigned a municipality where he/she will move to and take part in the integration program (Udlændinge-, Integrations- og Boligministeriet 2014: § 16, § 24). Every year the government makes an estimate of how many people will be granted refugee status in Denmark, and use these numbers to disperse the refugees among the municipalities. Three aspects are taken into consideration when dispersing refugees 1) the municipalities' share of the total number of inhabitants, 2) The municipalities' share of non-western immigrants (except students, au pairs and foreign workers), 3) The number of family reunified members of refugee families who came to the municipality the previous year (Lindberg 2016; Udlændingestyrelsen 2016). Thus, where the refugee will live is decided on state level.

When Granbakkedal municipality was informed that a refugee, would be dispersed to the municipality, an employee visited the refugee at the asylum center. Here they went over the possibilities in regards to housing. The municipality is obligated to offer housing to the refugees assigned to them. In Granbakkedal, however, due to lack of available houses, refugees were sometimes placed in temporary housing facilities. When refugees get an offer for a permanent house, they have the right to reject it, but if they do so, they are responsible for finding housing on their own. My informants generally accepted the house offered, because in Granbakkedal it was challenging to find a house on your own and even more so without a local network and knowledge of the housing market. Birgitte Romme Larsen points out, that refugees in Denmark do not have much real choice in regards to critical aspects of everyday lives, including where they are going to live (Larsen 2011a: 357).

When the municipality looks for a suitable flat for a refugee they want to ensure that it is both big enough and affordable. When looking at the size of the flat, the municipality takes into consideration if it's a single person or a family who has been granted asylum. However, in these considerations, they only include family members who have also been granted asylum, while family members, who are not yet in Denmark, but are expected to arrive later through the family reunification scheme, are

not included[21]. Consequently, many Syrians in Granbakkedal lived in apartments with one bedroom and one living room or even in studio apartments, despite of the fact that several family members were on the way. In contrast, families who have fled Syria together and who have been granted asylum are offered housing of a more suitable size. This gives refugee families an advantage over families who have partly come to Denmark as refugees and partly through the family reunification scheme. The refugees are responsible for paying rent, but to cover the down payment of the deposit the municipality offers a loan, which is exempt from repayment and interest rates the first five years. Additionally, to help fund the furnishing of the houses, the municipality provides reestablishment benefits, which the refugees may spend on furniture and other necessities.

In this section, I elaborated on the state's and municipality's role in the first steps of the resettlement process, in the next sections I will examine what it takes in terms of materiality for the Syrians to achieve a form of everyday security.

3.2 The meaning of materiality and the preparation of homes

This section deals with the material aspects of the resettlement process, more specifically how objects were acquired and selected in the home-making process by the Syrians in Granbakkedal.

My informants were generally accompanied to their new apartments by a municipality employee the day they arrived to Granbakkedal. The houses were unfurnished, often without lamps and in some cases also without refrigerators. Most informants were offered help from the municipality employee to go to a department store to buy a mattress as a temporary bed, but apart from this, decorating the new apartments was the responsibility of the Syrians. Arriving at an empty house gave the Syrians a possibility of decorating the houses the way they liked, and as a researcher this gave me a unique opportunity to understand the material aspects of the resettling process. However, to my informants it was also challenging to arrive in a new city and to a house with no furniture or light. As acquiring furniture required a network and knowledge of the city:

> They call it the genbrug, like a Red Cross […] like recycling. There are three of them here […] It's difficult because sometimes you have a low budget and then you

[21] This is the official policy, however, a municipality worker, told the course participants of Job & Liv that if the municipality were aware of family members who might be coming later, they tried to find flats with at least two rooms.

> have to buy everything. Still until now, at the end of the month everything is gone because of the furniture. So, it's a bit difficult and everyone who comes to a new city he should know someone to help him, like especially if he's living in the third or fourth floor, he should have friends. You should make friends to help you out with this. (Hassan)

The Syrians mostly bought their furniture second hand, however, the local Venligboer group also assisted in finding furniture. Throughout my fieldwork, the Venligboer group members became more organized and proactive as they contacted the newly arrived refugees in Granbakkedal a few days upon arrival for the purpose of redistributing free, used furniture items to those in need.

A few weeks after I had started my research Karam invited me to his house. He lived in an apartment with a bed room, a living room and a kitchen located in the center of Granbakkedal. The walls were left empty, except a painting with Arabic calligraphy in it. In the living room, there were two small couches and a sofa table. Karam told me that he had bought all the furniture from second hand charity shops for the reestablishment benefits (7500 DKK), except the calligraphy which was given to him by a friend, in return for helping with filling out the application form for family reunification. What Karam liked most about the apartment was its proximity to the city center, the local mosque and super markets. However, the apartment did not leave him with a good first impression:

> When we entered, I saw the floor it was very bad. And I saw that there is no refrigerator and these things […] from the municipality they were saying "no, they'll fix everything, they'll put a refrigerator for you, don't worry", I said "ok". So, the next week, I said, "can I see the apartment?" they said "ok", and we came here and still nothing changed! I stayed two months without the refrigerator. Actually three […] They brought us here on a Friday and by the time we finished meeting at the municipality and explaining everything it was afternoon and what are you going to buy in that time? and Saturday and Sunday most of the stores are closed. Luckily the Red Cross on Saturday was open so I went to buy the table and I bought a TV, and I bought a couple of lamps... actually one lamp. (Karam)

The first objects Karam acquired were a table (no chairs), one lamp and TV. The TV was important to him, as it let him follow the news about the ongoing war in Syria; this was thereby prioritized higher than the comfort of having a chair. In Syria, Karam had both a flat in Damascus and a villa in the suburbs. He was disappointed to see that his new house was of a much lower standard. In addition,

he felt let down by the municipality, as the condition of the flat had not improved when he moved in; especially the missing refrigerator turned out to be a central aspect of his resettlement process and a topic, which I will return to in a later section.

Most of Syrians in Granbakkedal were male who fled to Denmark alone. When arriving in Granbakkedal, they applied for family reunification, a lengthy process (see chapter 4). In the meantime, the men were all preoccupied with decorating and making their homes ready for the family's arrival. When I asked them to describe a typical day, they explained that they spent most of their time preparing the houses.

Tjørnhøj-Thomsen, has researched into the material aspect of home-making for child-less couples wishing to have children, and she found that houses' sizes and interior reflects the wish for a child in the future (Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2009: 71). Among the Syrian men, who were waiting for the possible reunification with family members, a somewhat similar pattern was seen, as they acquired objects and decorated the houses in accordance with the taste and needs of family members; and thereby bought objects which reflected a possible future. Sami for example, spent a large part of his reestablishment benefits on a carpet to avoid that his children would be cold:

> When I first came, they [the municipality] gave me around 7000 DKK which of course was not enough. I bought a carpet, it's cold here and I have two children! It cost 2200 DKK. Some of the stuff I bought used and some I bought new. The carpet was new. Some stuff I got from Danish friends "this one, and this one" (points around in his Livingroom). They ask: Do you have clothes for children? "no", and they give me (Sami).

This was long before Sami's family reunification was approved, but he decorated his house in a way, so that it could become a possible family home in the future. Karam also prepared the house for his wife's arrival, however, aware that his extended family would not be able to come, he didn't buy many furniture items for sitting, as he did not expect his future to contain many visitors.

> Actually, [in Syria] we had more furniture than this... I've got a three-person sofa and here are two places. In Syria, we have also a couple of chairs more, and more groups of sofas and chairs. Because we have families. They visit. We don't have just one or two people visiting, we have at least six-seven people, which came, so we like more places to sit (laughs). But here, it's not necessary (Karam).

Tjørnhøj-Thomsen furthermore describes that some childless couples, to guard themselves against *nemesis* refrained from finishing the decoration of the child bedrooms, in case they wouldn't succeed in having children (Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2009: 76ff). Maan had lived in his flat for around eight months, and as he did not have money for curtains, he found it acceptable, to hang a scarf in the window, which could function as curtains. However, just after he found out that his wife had been granted family reunification, and would arrive a few days later, he hurried out to buy real curtains, in this way the house would be ready for her arrival. Like in the examples of the childless families, Maan did not want to finish decorating his living room, until he was sure of his wife's arrival.

Thus, the Syrian men, who arrived in Granbakkedal months before their close family members, tried to acquire material objects, which they could imagine would be suitable for a future family life. This is similar to what the childless couples described by Tjørnhøj-Thomsen did, when decorating their houses. The houses were decorated with a certain hint of pessimism, as we saw in the case of Karam, who did not expect many guests in the future, and in the case of Maan, who did not want to spend money on curtains, until he was sure his wife would arrive.

The next subsection deals with objects from Syria that some of my informants managed to bring to Granbakkedal. These are examined using Parkin (1999)'s theory on *transitional objects*, which assists in personal rearticulation in the resettlement process.

3.2.1 Mementoes from a lost "home"

My informants, fled Syria using different methods and routes, and their escapes were therefore done under different conditions. Most of the Syrian were, as I stated in the introduction of this chapter, not able to bring along many personal belongings on their flight. Some, however, managed to bring certain objects special to them. Parkin points out that the, often short, decision-making process victims of forced displacement go through, when deciding on what to bring along in the flight and what to leave behind, is an act of preparation for the life that lies ahead of them (Parkin 1999: 305). The circumstances of such a rushed departure is according to Parkin both existential and material – because the objects taken along and the skills of the person will shape the future, or at least it will from the refugee's perspective (Parkin 1999: 305). In addition, he says that when personhood "cannot be vested emotionally in the trust of people around", refugees may instead invest emotionally in objects, ideas or dreams, which thereby take the place of interpersonal relations, and function as a storage for both sentiment and cultural knowledge (Parkin 1999: 308, 317). The process of conveying self and culture, is a process which though most evident during flight and resettlement process,

already starts the moment the refugee is in the decision-making process of which belongings to bring and which to leave behind (Parkin 1999: 308). People who are put in the situation of quick escape seek to bring along mementoes to remind them of "who they are and where they come from". These objects are brought along with those of more practical and immediate use (Parkin 1999: 312). The objects taken along can "through their association with stories, dreams and the transmission of skills and status, temporarily encapsulate precluded social personhood" (Parkin 1999: 313), and may be the only things that are a left of the fugitives personhood "to provide for future continuity" (Parkin 1999: 314). The mementoes can, if the right environment for resettlement occurs, be used to re-articulate personhood and socio-cultural identity and retelling of the stories that the mementoes contain, and the mementoes therefore function as transitional objects (Parkin 1999: 313, 317-18). While most of my informants arrived to Denmark emptyhanded, a few did bring along mementoes, which helped them on their escape and in the resettlement process in Granbakkedal.

In Syria, Fatima was a business owner and director, despite her young age, and had worked hard to establish a luxurious and comfortable life. She owned a house and a car. She fled Syria while she was seven months pregnant accompanied by her child and husband (now ex-husband). When escaping from Syria she brought along two pieces of jewelry, two rings. She had to keep them in her underwear, to protect them from being stolen. In Syria, she had bought the rings herself for some of the money earned through the company she had established. She did not bring the rings, due to their monetary value, but rather as a symbol of her success as a business woman. When she in Granbakkedal looked at them, she was reminded of her success and they inspired her to work hard. Most of her friends lost their lives in Syria, and her business was long gone, but she found comfort in the rings. The rings helped her rearticulate her socio-cultural identity and served as a reminder of what she had accomplished. The rings were mementoes that functioned as transitional objects, which she used to rearticulate her personhood and her success in Syria; they inspired her to pursue a fight for a career in Granbakkedal. Thus, they gave her a sense of future continuity. She stated that no matter what, she would never sell them. When I last talked to her she was studying to be an interpreter, but dreamt of getting a job with a charity organization, to be able to help others.

Maan, who came to Denmark hidden in the back of a truck, had a chance to bring a small suitcase with him. Besides clothes, medicine and water he brought two small decorative objects, a wooden box and glass bowl. His reasons for bringing precisely these objects along, were the memories they contained:

> These two things… just because I wanted to feel like when I come inside the house, that there is something I brought from Syria. It's just a memory that this is from Syria. So, this box and this little glass thing; it's just… it makes me feel like… a memory that I carry with me from back Syria. Even if they are not from Syria, but I used to have them in Syria, and they have years with me. So, it reminds me of home, it reminds me of my furniture, my car, my family, my living there, my work, everything. These two things, it's like a memory (Maan)

Two decorative objects, with low monetary value are not of very practical use in a flight situation, as they would be of no practical use if an emergency occurred. However, in the resettlement process, they were meaningful to Maan. At the time of the interview, Maan was still waiting for his wife to come to Denmark, and was very frustrated that he couldn't find a job – even looking at these two objects made him very emotional. They functioned as a way of holding on to the things he had left behind in Syria including family and valuable possessions and simultaneously helped him feel at "home" in his new flat. They, like Fatima's rings, helped him create a form of meaning and a continuity of his identity.

Kazim and Hadiya, also managed to bring an object along on their flight, even though they were crossing the Mediterranean Sea in an overcrowded boat. They explained that they wanted to bring the Quran on the flight, but were afraid that they would not have access to clean water to perform the wudu (religious washing) before touching it, and thereby not comply with the rules of Islam. Instead they brought along a wooden box, with a quote from the Quran engraved in the lid. They hoped this box would help protect them on the journey. Their daughter Aiesha explains:

> It's because that my mum says that quotes from the Quran can help us. I mean, protect us. So, my mum found it hard to bring the Quran, because it's paper and because you're not supposed to hold it if you don't have clean hands, so it's difficult. But with that thing (points at the wooden box) it was not the case. We can also hold it right now, even if we haven't washed ourselves. So, my mum says, she brought it along (Aiesha)

> I also had a lot of things, but they were lost along the way, because we weren't allowed to bring them. (Kazim)

- What else did you bring?

> Clothes. We thought the journey would be different. Maybe we were dreaming. We just thought it would be different. When we were told, we were going to be sailing, I thought it was a ship like Titanic. It was a small rubber boat, so if there had been a needle… then we'd all be dead (Kazim)

Three years after their escape from Syria, the wooden box was placed in Aiesha's room, and functioned as a decoration, as the family had long acquired a new Quran. The function of the box during the escape was both an object of protection, but also a bearer of the family's religious identity. Islam was and still is a fundamental part of the family's everyday life, and the collective religious identity kept the family together both during the escape and in an everyday life in Granbakkedal full of challenges and insecurities. The box thereby also functioned as a transitional object, and a provider of continuity in the form of collective religious identity and family life.

The mementoes presented in this chapter all functioned as reminders for my informants of *"who they are and where they come from"* (Parkin 1999: 312). In the next sub section, I move on from Parkin's theory, and examine objects, which are not brought from Syria, but which still have a significant importance for the Syrians in Granbakkedal; the next subsection focuses on why the size of refrigerators matter.

3.2.2 The importance of the size of the refrigerators

One thing that surprised me during the fieldwork, was the symbolic importance of the size of the refrigerators in my informants' homes. As mentioned in a previous section, Karam had no refrigerator for three months. He was offered help from the municipality to buy a small refrigerator, which could have sustained him, while living in the flat alone. He refused the offer as he considered it a fridge suitable for offices, not for a home. He therefore saved up money for a larger second hand refrigerator.

> I went to look in the Red Cross to see if they have used refrigerators and I couldn't find one […] When they gave us the 1000 DKK and I couldn't find one, then eh… to buy a new one it was so expensive. The cheapest one was like 3000 or 2500 DKK or something like that. The small one, small one like the office one we call it... it was like 1500 DKK […] I don't want to have a small one because it's a house! yeah. I have my wife coming and this fridge isn't just for me. (Karam)

Karam was not the only informant to emphasize how important it was to have, what they considered a proper refrigerator in the new apartments. To my surprise this was a general pattern in my fieldwork.

Here Hassen explains, why he, like Karam refused to accept the smaller refrigerator that the municipality offered:

> The fridge… I found it down in the [points at the bulky waste area outside his window]. It's an old fridge, so this is a problem for me now. I'm trying to find a fridge but… it's working, but I think it's costing a lot of electricity. Because it's open […]. So, the municipality wanted to arrange a fridge, but the fridge was for a single person. It's small... 160 liters or so... that's why I couldn't. So, they gave us 1000 DKK, and they say if you want to choose this one we give you another 700 DKK, but not if you don't choose it... so it's ok I'm waiting (Hassan)

Hassan explained that he did not want to take the 1700 DKK the municipality offered him, so he could buy a small refrigerator. Instead he decided to take 1000 DKK from the municipality and look for one himself, knowing that this money would not be sufficient he found one in the bulky waste area, but the problem was that the door of the fridge couldn't close properly, which meant that his electricity bill increased. He explained that the refrigerator the municipality offered was not suitable for homes, only for offices. At the time of the interview he was, like Karam, living alone waiting for his family reunification application to be processed. Hassan had worked hard to prepare the house so it would be ready for the family's arrival. Having an "office fridge" would not be sufficient for his new house, despite of the fact that he was living alone at the time, and didn't have a time perspective for when the family would come.

I suggest that the importance of the size of the refrigerators indicates two things; first it's a matter of influence, decision making, and responsibility of one's own life. In the process of finding a house Syrians may legally, but not in reality be in a position of much choice, as they only had one chance to ask for support to find a house by the municipality in a city, which was not familiar to them. In addition, most of the Syrians in Granbakkedal have lived at different asylum centers before being granted asylum; the fact that they had to move was often announced with only a few days' notice, and in this process, they had no influence on where they were going to live. They also had no influence on which municipality they were dispersed to after the asylum process. In Syria, most of my informants were independent, highly educated and used to making decisions in their everyday- and work life; the memories of the life in Syria stood in deep contrast to the new life in Denmark, where they as Tariq put it, just follow orders:

> You know we're like a football inside the match. We're put here, we go there and they kick us here and it goes on. They shout here or shout there. We're like inside a football. We cannot… I mean… we don't have a choice. The municipality said: stay in this home, I said: "yes sir" (Makes a military salute) (Tariq).

Thus, to some informants, who in Syria were independent and of high social status, the whole housing process, was a way of just following orders dictated by the municipality. However, in the case of refrigerators, they were given a choice between what the municipality would consider suitable (an office size fridge) or to be given money by hand, which was not sufficient for any kind of refrigerator. This gave them the power to choose for themselves and take responsibility for the interior in their own houses. Influence on one's own everyday life is therefore, I suggest, one of the reason that the size of the refrigerator matters.

Secondly, both Hassan and Karam were waiting for their families to arrive, and hoped to have finished decorating their houses upon their arrival. As a house becomes a home through the social relations and family life that takes place within it (Tjørnhøj-Thomsen 2009; Hecht 2001; Højer and Vacher 2009), objects symbolizing family life or which brings memories of everyday life activities carried out in Syria, may become a reference point that helps create meaning in the resettlement and home-making process. Thus, to create a sense of home-feeling, they needed something through which they could relate their homes in Syria to their new homes in Granbakkedal. In Syria, smaller refrigerators were used in offices while larger were used in homes; a fact several of my informants pointed out. Moreover, in Syria the kitchen was largely the wife's domain and had a symbolic meaning of shared family meals, which were a major part of the everyday lives of both Hassan and Karam. The large refrigerators were thereby inscribed meanings of family life, shared meals and home. They could not bring their wives along on the flight and as a holding-on-to the family, they insisted that the size of the refrigerator should be suitable for a family. Accepting an office fridge would, I suggest, be accepting that the small sized apartments they lived in, were never meant to constitute a future family home.

The right size of refrigerator is one of the material aspects which to my informants was crucial in the home-making process. In the attempt to reestablish themselves and create a sense of everyday security, the size of the fridge was of great importance. This shows us that what to the municipality and others might seem like a small detail, was to my informants essential. Both in terms of having influence on the home-making process, but also to create a form of continuity of family life by

underlining that their new apartments were not temporary solutions, but future home-spaces in which family life and everyday activities could take place. To other Syrians there might be different objects with similar functions, therefore, my point is not that Syrian refugees necessarily need large refrigerators, but rather that material objects as well as influence on the home-making process can be essential in establishing everyday security.

3.4 Sub conclusion

In this chapter, I showed how the Syrian men who fled alone to Granbakkedal spent their free time preparing their houses for the family life they hoped to have in the future. They did not, however, dare to finish decorating until they were sure that their families would come. Home-making and materiality constitute, I argue, an important aspect of everyday security, as certain material objects can help rearticulate and create continuity of the self-identities in exile. Moreover, until a new home is established through family life, memories and shared everyday practices, certain material mementoes functions as transitional objects, which help the Syrians rearticulate themselves in the new context.

The Syrians' determination of choosing a suitable sized refrigerator may, I suggest, be based on a wish to have influence on and take responsibility for their own everyday lives. This is a reaction to the fact that the state and municipality have a high role in the resettlement process of the Syrians through the dispersal policies and housing policies which in reality leave the Syrians with little choice of where they are going to live. In addition, I suggest that the refrigerators have a symbolic meaning of family life, and for that reason they are specifically meaningful to the Syrian men, who left behind their family members when fleeing.

Home-making and materiality helped the Syrians establish a sense of belonging to Granbakkedal, and served as a reference point, from where meaningful future family- and everyday life practices could take place, and was therefore essential in the establishment of everyday security.

As I showed in this chapter, family life and social relations are crucial in regards to home-making. In the following chapter, I examine the social aspects of everyday security more specifically, the impact the separation from close family members have on the resettlement process.

4.0 Family life as everyday security

This chapter deals with the importance of family life for the establishment of *everyday security* and examines how the absent family and the ongoing war in Syria influence the resettlement process. *Everyday security*, I argue, requires a sense of belonging as well as a meaning in the everyday practices; a meaning that is partly acquired through the family and social relations, which characterized everyday life in Syria prior to the war. Karam emphasizes, that to feel "at home" he needs his wife by his side; her absence is enhanced in the everyday activities which they used to share, and he cannot fully settle until they are reunited:

> I feel home but it's like still missing something. It's not a hundred percent you can say I feel home like 70 %, but it's going to be a 100 % when I feel... when I have my wife here (laughs) and then we'll schedule things you know.... we have special Syrian food eh... we have things to share, we have things to talk about, we have phone calls to make eh... this conversation during the day you know the phone ring... oh my wife "what's going on? What would you like to eat today?" for example... I miss that, I miss... not the eating part... I miss the (laughs) the talking part. (Karam)

In Granbakkedal most of the Syrian refugees are men, who alone fled to Europe, while their close family members remained behind either in Syria or in neighboring countries. When a refugee is granted asylum, and has been given a place of residency in Denmark, he can in most cases apply for family reunification.[22] The application process is long, and refugees therefore wait months or sometimes more than a year, before they get the decision. At the time of my research, several

[22] Changes in the Danish Aliens Act in 2015 meant that if the reference person had been granted temporary protected status, the person couldn't apply for family reunification until at least 1 year of legal residency in Denmark (Udlændingestyrelsen 2015). In 2017 this was extended to 3 years of legal residency (Udlændingestyrelsen 2017). The law changes affect people who have applied for asylum after the 14th of November 2014 My key informants, however, were not affected directly by the law.

informants were waiting for their applications to be processed; a waiting time, causing a lot of frustrations, feelings of powerlessness and a sense of temporality.

Among the Syrians who fled with their families, the importance of family was also emphasized. Aiesha, who unlike most of my informants escaped Syria with her parents and siblings expressed at several occasions that the most important aspect of her life is her family. When I asked her, what she liked most about living in Granbakkedal, she answered:

> To have my family, love, and what else… safety. Yes… to live such a place, where you know that if you sleep and wake up in the morning, then you see your family and you are not afraid that they have been bombed or something like that (Aiesha)

In this chapter, I argue that to achieve a form of *everyday security* for the Syrians, family life is essential. The emotional consequences of being separated from close family members affected the everyday lives and disrupted the Syrians concentration and attention on all other matters than getting their family to Denmark. Additionally, the period of waiting time, which the family reunification process caused, created a sense of temporality and uncertainty of the future. Moreover, the family members who were still situated in Syria function as a constant reminder of the ongoing war and were thereby contributing to mentally keeping the Syrians in the war. I initiate this chapter by examining the absence of family and how it affects the everyday lives of the Syrians using Mikkel Bille, Frida Hastrup and Tim Flohr Sørensen's theory on absence and presence. Then I explore the family reunification process and the temporality that the waiting time and insecurity brings, hereafter I consider the transnational family relations and the presence of the ongoing war, time-space compression and the coping mechanisms adapted by the Syrians. Finally, I conclude that the absence of close family members is a threat to the achievement of *everyday security.*

4.1 The omnipresence of the absent family

The long processing time family reunification applications and the frequent legislation changes caused constant worries and insecurity of the future for the Syrians. During this time, the Syrians were expected to participate in activities planned by the municipality. However, the absence of family members affected the Syrians to such an extent that what could be considered simple everyday activities became challenging.

> I tell you, a lot of times it takes longer time for me to digest. It depends about the mentality of the person. Some people they don't care, some people they just you

> know... focus. For me it's very hard sometimes to focus on the language or on with the teacher. Because I'm thinking about my family. I have family there, I'm thinking about my wife also she is in Turkey, she's not here yet. I'm thinking about my property there, I'm thinking about learning the language about living in this country here, about finding a job... There is a lot of things to care about... so it's not easy sometimes to concentrate... But I'm doing my best. (Karam)

The absence of Karam's wife thus made it hard for him to concentrate on the municipality planned language courses, and even though he was making an effort, his progress in learning Danish was limited.

In Syria, family life is of great importance, and though there are differences between the ways Syrians "do" family, socializing in Syria do to a great extent involve family, extended family and kin, though naturally friends and neighbors are also part of Syrians' social lives (Rabo 2008: 134ff). The Syrians in Granbakkedal also underlined the importance of family; before the war, family members made plans together and the everyday humdrum was a social and shared experience among both close family members and the extended family. The absence of the closest family members affected the Syrians ability to resettle and restart in Granbakkedal, precisely due to their absence.

Bille et. al's suggest that what is physically absent may still have impacts on "people's experiences of the material world" (Bille, Hastrup, and Sørensen 2010: 4). A graphical example they present is that of phantom pains, where a person experiences pain in a limp which is missing. Utilizing this example, they argue that people experience "phantom pains" by "sensing the presence of people, places and things that have been obliterated, lost, missing or missed, or that have not yet materialized" (Bille et al. 2010: 3). Such absence can occur under different circumstances, some of which are dramatic such as catastrophes, wars and the destruction of monuments or buildings. The absent elements are present to people and are materialized or articulated through narratives, recollection of experiences in the past or visualization of future scenarios. They introduce the paradox, the presence of absence, and say that the absence may be the overall reason why a phenomena have a powerful presence in the lives of people; they thereby say that absence is as real as presence (Bille et al. 2010: 3-4, 10). The powerfulness of the presence of the absence of Karam's wife is seen in the quote above.

Absence should not only be understood theoretically as the opposite of presence, but also as something physical, sensuous and emotional, something infinite which is "entangled in the dynamics of potential reverberation, reappearance, transformation and return" (Bille et al. 2010: 13). The below

example illustrates how Yousef changed the topic of our conversation to concern his family, rather than his Danish education.

- How is your Danish education going?

> It's good but (laughs). I have to work more for that, really, I cannot… really, I started and I can introduce myself in Danish, but always my mind is with my family. Always you know... Always… and I'm afraid from the war... against my family it's a very bad thing, when I... always I think about it.

- When did you apply for family reunification?

> Three months ago. I got the [residence] permit five months ago, but unfortunately my luck is bad. I had to stay in [city of his asylum center] for two more months until I moved to here, to Granbakkedal.

- So, you had to wait until you moved to Granbakkedal?

> I have to wait always... Always you have to wait (laughs emotionally). (Yousef)

The absence of the family members of the Syrians was a very present phenomenon and it affected their everyday lives and the ways in which they experienced and acted within the resettlement process in Granbakkedal. To the Syrians, this was an emotional sensory, physical omnipresent absence, and as family to the Syrian is closely related to everyday life practices and meaning; the absence of family members complicated the resettlement process and posed a threat to the establishment of everyday security. Yousef characterized his life in Granbakkedal as a period of waiting for his family, and further indicated that his life would begin again when the family arrived. For example, despite many unsuccessful job applications, he expected that when his family would come things would work out and he would find a job:

> I just have one request… just for my family. When they come all things it's easy for me. Yeah when my family comes… I promised my wife that when my children and she'll be here, I'll, after six months or one year… maximum one year, I'll get my job (Yousef).

The everyday lives and the first many months of the resettlement process were characterized by waiting time and frustrations, due to the presence of the absent family. In the following sub-section I

examine the Syrians' determination and effort to be reunited with their closest family, as well as the state of temporality and waiting time the family reunification process is characterized by.

4.2 Family reunification, waiting time and everyday security

Twice during the Job & Liv course, I had the chance to attend an excursion of refugees to the city council, where a local politician showed them around and explained different aspects of the political system in Denmark. After the speech, the politician asked if anyone had any questions; at both occasions, this led to a lot of raised hands among the Syrians. The Syrians however, did not have any questions about the political system; almost all their questions concerned the processing time or legislations regarding family reunification or asylum for family members. When I afterwards talked to some of the Syrians, they explained to me that this was a chance to talk to someone in power, who could perhaps have a positive impact on their family reunification cases or even talk to the government about their issues. At both occasions, the Syrians had so much to say that the Q&A session was interrupted, so that the Syrians could continue with the rest of the program of the day. This desperate attempt of trying to be heard and understood by someone in a "power position" underlines that the Syrians experienced that their complaints concerning family reunification, which they generally directed at the municipality or the Danish Immigration Service, were not going anywhere, and in desperation they reached out to anyone who they thought might be able to help. In addition, it is an example of the omnipresence of the absence of family members and the way in which the presence of their absence affects everyday lives. What should have been an introduction to the Danish political system, ended up in an emotional discussion of how and when family members would arrive.

According to Rytter and Anika Liversage, the period of open ended waiting time that the family reunification process is characterized by, and which to my informants caused great frustrations, is somewhat similar to the waiting time experienced in asylum centers (Liversage and Rytter 2014: 236). Literature on asylum seekers have examined the experience of waiting time in Scandinavian asylum centers (Vitus 2010; Whyte 2015, 2003; Bendixsen 2015; Grünnenberg 2010), and finds that the waiting period is characterized by uncertainty and stress (Whyte 2015: 107; 2003: 364; Bendixsen 2015: 293). Social Scientist Kathrine Vitus argues, in her study of asylum seeking children in Denmark, that the waiting time and uncertainty cause both "situational boredom" and "existential boredom"(Vitus 2010: 39). Waiting time creates powerlessness and "In open-ended waiting even though the present becomes overwhelmingly the dominant point of reference, the present has no

existential value" (Vitus 2010: 39). Whilst, the uncertainty which characterizes the future, makes the future a phenomenon in which the children cannot project themselves (Vitus 2010: 40). The insecurity and uncertainty of the asylum process is here described by Adnan:

> I was afraid… afraid about my family and what was going to happen. Where am I going to go? What will happen? It was really risky and terrifying. Imagine yourself standing on something narrow and you are afraid of falling, and you are going to fall unless someone will help you and put a latter, and make you come down. So, when I heard about the residency, finally I could breathe. The time you spend waiting you feel like you are nothing, because you cannot move, you cannot do anything. You put your fingerprint and you are waiting for the decision […] And during the waiting time you are thinking about your family, your wife, your kids and the danger back home. So... when we get the residency, ok we got it, but the war… the war is still continuing and my family is still not here. *(Adnan)*

Most Syrians in Granbakkedal have, like Adnan, spent their first many months in Denmark in asylum centers, where they were waiting for the asylum cases to be processed; only to experience that when finally receiving residence permits, a new period of open-ended temporality and uncertainty would replace the latter; namely getting the family to Denmark. Following Vitus, I suggest that the fact that the Syrians are placed within these realities of waiting time, uncertainty and temporality, complicates the resettlement process further; because the present loses *existential value* and the future, in which the possibility of the reestablishment of everyday family life is insecure and becomes hard to project oneself in. Yousef looks back at the day he was granted asylum:

> I've been very happy but… you don't react which you imagine. Before [in Syria] your life is very nice, very nice life with friends, with family with with with... you have many things. When you've lost all of things, any small good news, do not give you much happiness. Because always this news just puts you in another position for waiting. I'm still waiting now for my family. (Yousef)

The absence of the family thus extended the state of temporality and waiting time within which both Yousef and Adnan found themselves. The otherwise assumable good news of asylum was replaced by another period of open-ended waiting and uncertainty. The separation from family caused distress, uncertainty and open-ended temporality, which complicated the resettlement process and prevented the possibility of imagining positive future prospects in Granbakkedal. Because the fear of being

rejected family reunification and the frustration of the slow processing time were ubiquitous, and imagining a meaningful everyday life without the close family, impossible.

Experiences of long processing times and complications, were being retold and caused worry among the Syrians in Granbakkedal. It caused distrust to the "system", when they heard of other cases with shorter processing times. Similarly, stories of rejections made the Syrians uncertain if their family members would ever be able to join them in Granbakkedal.

In this section, I showed how the absent family affected the everyday lives of my informants, and how it kept them in a state of temporality. In the following section, I examine how the family left behind enhances the presence of the ongoing war in Syria and figuratively brings the war into the living rooms in Granbakkedal. In combination with Bille et. al.'s theory on absence and presence I use David Harvey's theory of *time-space compression* and Hartmut Rosa's theory on *technological acceleration* to understand how the family's absence makes the war more present to the Syrians in Granbakkedal.

4.3 transnational family relations and the ongoing war in Syria

Family reunification is almost always only granted to spouses and children; therefore, despite a successful family reunification, there will almost always be family members left behind in Syria or in other countries. This creates transnational family relation. According to Garbi Schmidt professor of culture encounters, transnational family relations are social structures of family relations which are maintained across national borders. Thus, they are separated by space, but are often emotionally in proximity (Schmidt 2011: 81). With the help of technology, such family relations can be maintained despite of large geographical distances. This is also how, the Syrians in Granbakkedal kept contact with their family members in Syria and in the rest of the world. Contact was maintained through social media, Skype and other communication platforms to which access in Syria was often limited; and when out of order, created worry and anxiety among my informants. The anxiety accelerated when they watched news from Syria, which showed that violence was happening in the neighborhoods where their family members lived.

Harvey's term time-space compression refers to the altering of the qualities between time and space in modern society. He originally used the term by referring to the fact that the decisions-making processes in the capitalist world has shrunk and that through technology these decisions can be transferred rapidly over large spaces (Harvey 1990: 147). It is not only the speed of information

through technology which constitutes the time-space compression, but also the speed in which people can travel large distances. Figuratively, Harvey presents a shrinking world map, in which he shows how the world has decreased in concurrency with the development of new forms of transport, from sailing ships and horse drawn coaches to modern passenger aircrafts (Harvey 1990: 241). He states:

> As space appears to shrink to a "global village" of telecommunications and a "spaceship earth" of economic and ecological interdependencies – to shorten to the point where the present is all there is (the world of the schizophrenic), so we have to learn how to cope with an overwhelming sense of compression of our spatial and temporal worlds. The experience of time-space compression is challenging, exciting, stressful, and sometimes deeply troubling, capable of sparkling, therefore, a diversity of social, cultural, and political responses (Harvey 1990: 240).

Since 1989, when Harvey introduced the term, technology has developed rapidly, now it is easy and affordable to communicate with others around the world, and it is even possible to see the other person using webcams or mobile phone cameras – through technology you are never far away from your family or friends. In addition, news is transmitted almost as it happens; events happening on the other side of the globe will appear in your television, laptop or on your smart phone minutes or even seconds later; and as more and more people own a smartphone worldwide, it means that we are almost always in close proximity with the rest of the world; the world has "shrunk" to fit in a pocket. Sociologist Hartmut Rosa refers to this rapid development of technology as *technological acceleration*, and underlines that this development has had an enormous impact on the social reality and like Harvey, Rosa argues that this acceleration has transformed the space and time regime within society in such a way that time functions as a compressor of space (Rosa 2014: 21-22).

For the Syrians in Granbakkedal, the time-space compression and technological acceleration meant that they could maintain social relations with family members far away, but also that they were constantly reminded of the war through fast traveling news on both regular and social media. When they heard news of attacks in regions where their loved ones live, the absence of their loved ones became omnipresent. The family (and friends) in Syria, who through social media updated my informants daily, showed the civilian side of the conflict with accounts concerning fear, destroyed property, injuries, starvation and death. Thus, due to time-space compression and technological development, the Syrians in Granbakkedal were "bombarded" with news from the war they physically escaped. Moreover, family members and people they care about were still in the middle of the chaos

which caused constant worries among the Syrians, which kept them mentally in the middle of the ongoing war. Therefore, it was not only the family, whose absence was present in Granbakkedal, but also the war. Rasul explains:

> Of course, it affects me, I'm trying very hard to not let it affect me, but it's very hard. Every time I see the News, then there is bomb which has been dropped in Aleppo, and then I call the family and ask if the bomb has landed close by, "are you ok?" And so on. And it's like that all the time (Rasul)

He continues:

> It's very important to [follow the news] I can't help it, because my family lives there. Everyone does it, everyone needs to see the news. Right now, it's extra intense for me, because the war has moved to precisely the area where my family lives, so I'm watching the news from the Syrian government and from the opposition. The government says something, and the others say something else, but in reality, it's only the civilians who have the bombs over their head (Rasul)

Several of my informants explained that they sometimes could not get hold of the families for hours or days due to internet or power cuts in Syria. This increased their worries until the connection was re-established. The time space compression created privation, constant stress and insecurity. The absence of family members and the mental presence of the ongoing war led to different coping mechanisms among the Syrians. They either, like Rasul and Karam, followed the news daily, or they did the opposite and refused to have a TV or to watch the news on their smart phone. Amira turned off the TV, when the emotional consequences of the ongoing war affected her life in Granbakkedal too much:

> I'm worried because my family is in Syria. I'm a woman, I have two small children, I must be strong for them! Also, I am worried [because] I must think of them down there [family members in Syria] and my children here. Find balance. Sometimes I'm very tired, when I hear news from Syria. So sometimes I stop listening to what's happening, because my feelings and emotions aren't good for the children, I become grumpy and angry. Then I turn off the TV. If I get angry, grumpy, and cry I don't change anything. I only change my feelings with the children, and it's not good for them. (Amira)

Fatima had a similar strategy:

> No, my ex-husband was watching the news 24 hours [a day], so I went to my room or played with my children. I don't want to hear more, because I have lost all my best friends down there, they're dead… So, I can't see the news, and in my opinion they're all lying. (Fatima)

The Syrians in Granbakkedal thus reacted differently to the possibilities to follow the ongoing war through media. However, even if they chose not to watch the news, their relatives and friends in Syria, kept them updated. The Syrians could therefore not avoid the negative effects of the time-space compression and thereby not escape the mental presence of the absent but ongoing war. However, having at least the closest family members nearby would create meaning in everyday activities and contribute to a sense of everyday security. And as Karam put it, if his wife would be there, at least they could worry about their families together:

> Syria has a special place for me, it's my country of course… but when I bought my furniture and I sit in certain way I feel at home... but it's missing also something, it's missing my wife... so I would feel more home when my wife comes yeah... then I would feel like ok this is it now I am settled. I can worry about my family, I… We can worry about her family all of that... it happens naturally. (Karam).

In this section I showed how the ongoing war in Syria becomes a present phenomenon for my informants through transnational family relations.

During the fieldwork, some informants' family reunification cases were processed and the close family members received Danish residence permits. The next section, deals with what happens, when the families finally arrive.

4.4 Reunified at last

The war in Syria disrupted many families' everyday lives and practices; plans were dismissed and families torn apart; the sudden separation had personal consequences for many of my informants. An example of such consequences concerns Maan and his wife Sara who were receiving fertility treatment in Syria before the war escalated. However, as Maan was arrested by the Syrian regime and later released on the condition of signing a blank document, they fled Syria, as they feared Maan's signature would be used on a confession for a crime he did not commit. Sara fled to Turkey, and

Maan continued to Denmark. It took more than one year before they were reunited, and that period of separation has critically affected their chances of a successful fertility treatment.

> I'm forty-six she is forty-two we're trying to have a baby that's the major issue and as you know, when a woman get to that age her chances are getting less and less and she doesn't want to lose her chance she really would like to have a baby, I'd like it too. But this is the major issue. The rest of the things it's also important but as not as much as this. I miss her she misses me…you know the routine here with the immigration it's awful (laughs) it's taking forever and eh... yeah (emotional) it's very hard especially she is living also with people... strange people [in Turkey]. And I'm living here alone […] we used to do things together we used to eh... have breakfast, have lunch, evening, TV, going for a walk, doing things. (Maan)

Not only did Maan miss Sara and worried about her safety, but he also knew that the longer they were kept apart the harder it would be for them to achieve their dream of having children. In addition, Maan emphasized how the absence of his wife was intensified when thinking of the everyday practices and routines which used to constitute their everyday lives. In Granbakkedal the everyday routines therefore enhanced his wife's absence, and made his everyday life lose meaning. The presence of the absence of his wife thus constituted a threat to the establishment of everyday security. However, the day arrived when they would finally be reunited:

> Today finally, after one year and one and a half month, finally my wife she is coming to the airport. So, I have to meet her. Her flight will arrive almost about 12:30, which is another two hours. I cannot wait. After all this long time, it's really nice. I cannot express the feeling, but it's very nice. […] It was really hard, you know, living without having a wife. In my culture, we depend a lot on our wives, because they have really important spaces in our lives. So, it was really hard a year and more, being here alone without her, to give you company, give you know friendship, companionship a lot of all these good feelings that when you have someone with you in the house. I spent a lot of nights alone, a lot of days alone, a lot of places I visited also alone, and she was in my mind always with all these things. Going to super market, when I look at the stuff I say "ok, this is my wife, she likes that, she would love to eat that, when she comes, I will take her to this

> place or to bring her that kind of things or food or whatever" (Video interview, Maan)

This was how Maan reflected upon his time in Granbakkedal separated from his wife.

I joined him and two Venligboer, in the airport, where we picked up Sara on a November day in 2015. Just like in the case of Adnan, the reunification in the airport brought up a lot of emotions. We drove back to Granbakkedal together in the car owned by one of the Venligboer and before going back to the house, we went to the municipality office, where Sara was registered. Afterwards, they insisted that I joined them for tea in their flat. When we entered, I was asked to sit down in the living room and from there I observed how Sara looked around the flat excitedly; after taking a quick tour of the small flat, she went directly to the kitchen and started making tea - she thereby acted the host, in the house she barely knew. She thus quickly fell into the role she had had as a housewife in Syria.

A week after I was again invited to their house, this time for an extraordinary breakfast; while we ate Maan emphasized how important shared meals are to him, and how he had missed having someone to share the Syrian dishes with; they were clearly happy about being back together. I had never seen Maan smile so much. However, the happiness did not last long. A few months later, Sara and Maan were disappointed to find out that due to Sara's age the state health insurance would not cover the type of fertility treatment needed for them to conceive. In addition, Maan was sent to a work placement, where he worked night hours in a kitchen making sandwiches, and Sara had begun her Job & Liv course. To them both these activities felt meaningless, as they could not see how they would bring them closer to paid jobs, so that they could save up money for the fertility treatment, before it would be too late. Thus, even though their reunification created more meaning in the everyday life practices, as they could share experiences, worries, and daily conversations; the final aspect of everyday security became central; finding a job and becoming self-sufficient; this was of course reinforced by their wish to have children.

In the case of Adnan, who was also reunited with his family (see preface), the wish to find employment was also intensified after the family's arrival. Adnan and his wife invited me over for dinner shortly after the family arrived. The small flat was full of toys, which Venligboers and friends had given them. The children were happy and had started going to public daycare. His wife, who was under 24 years old and therefore did not have to attend the Job & Liv course, was given a chance to study for a secondary school exam, which later could be the way into a Danish university, where she

wished to continue the studies she was forced to leave in Syria. Adnan however, had an increased focus on the fact that he could not provide for his family, and getting a job was his biggest aspiration:

> Granbakkedal is a nice place, nice city, nice people. Everything is good here. But not the new rules for refugees. Now my mind isn't with my work placement, or with learning the language. All I can think of is money. Every month I try to save up some money. I have electric bills, I have two children. My mind is only about the money now. I see this for me and for my friends here. Just I want to find a job, any job. I just want to start my life. I have ten years of experience in Syria as a teacher. I want a job, not like this job, but any job. I just want to stop the social benefits. (Adnan)

Thus, after the close family members had arrived and the family related everyday practices became meaningful, the final aspect of *everyday security* became essential: namely finding a job and achieving financial independence from social benefits; this aspect will be examined in the following chapter.

4.4 Sub conclusion

The presence of the absence of family members affected the Syrians everyday lives in several ways.

Firstly, the absence of family was such a powerful present phenomenon that it affected all aspects of everyday life activities and made concentration on other matters next to impossible.

Secondly, the absence of family made it hard for Syrians to feel a sense of belonging and to resettle in Granbakkedal, because the everyday practices, which in Syria were shared with the family, lost meaning in their absence. Even the everyday activities such as cooking, watching TV and coming home became a reminder of the absence of the family and what was lost in Syria. The temporality and insecurity the family reunification process caused further made the present meaningless and future prospects hard to project oneself in.

Thirdly, due to the time-space compression and technological acceleration, the war was always present, as news travel fast and communication across the world is affordable and available to the Syrians. When close family or extended family members were still situated in the warzone, their absence and the news from Syria was a constant threat to the Syrians everyday security; because every notification on their smartphones could be a message telling them, that they had lost a family

member in Syria. Thus, the war, though physically absent, became just as present as the absence of the family members were.

It was therefore essential for the everyday security of the Syrians in Granbakkedal, to have their close family members by their side. Though the absence of parents or extended family and friends in Syria still caused worries and kept the absent ongoing war present in Granbakkedal. The reunification of close family members created meaning in everyday life activities, and as Karam put it: at least they can worry about their relatives together. As we saw in the case of Maan and Adnan, as soon as the close family arrived, another aspect of everyday security became important; finding a job and becoming financially independent from the welfare state; this aspect is the focus point of the following chapter.

5.0 Active participation and everyday security

The fourth aspect that I argue constitutes everyday security is related to being an active participant in society; by the Syrians in Granbakkedal this is articulated as having a paid job and, thereby not being dependent on social benefits.

Finding a paid job in Denmark was an extensive aspiration to my informants, and the frustration of not being able to work negatively affected their well-being, everyday routines and confidence in themselves and their futures in Granbakkedal. Similarly, to what was seen in relation to other aspects of everyday security; being unemployed was related to waiting time and temporality, as not having a job to them meant wasting time. In this chapter I examine the importance of being an active citizen, and how the municipality planned integration program, to the Syrians, was considered a hindrance in reaching this goal. First, I consider the meaning of having a paid job and the paradox between not receiving enough social benefits for a decent life, and simultaneously not wishing to receive benefits at all. Hereafter, I examine the downward class journey the Syrians have undergone in their flight to Denmark, and finally, I move on to discussing the integration program and the clientisation process which occurs in the meeting with the welfare state. I conclude that being an active participant in society partially constitutes everyday security.

5.1 Social benefits, dignity and the importance of being active

> The disadvantage is the period between coming here to the municipality or the city, and finding a job. Because it's not always good to say you are jobless. It's not all about the money it's about like being active and seeing people and being positive. Because if you have no jobs for like a period of time, let's say one year… it'll affect the person. (Hassan)

Hassan underlined how hard it can be to stay positive when you are unemployed – he emphasized that having a job is not only about the salary, but is also connected to social relations and remaining positive. As explained earlier (See 1.1.2), the welfare state required the Syrians to try to find employment, and obligated them to participate in an integration program which aimed at helping them reach that goal. However, Sami felt that both the municipality and the "system" was holding him and other refugees back and "stopping us from introducing ourselves in a better way, finding a

better job" by controlling them, constantly changing the legislation and cutting social benefits. All he wanted the municipality to do, was to help him find a job. His financial situation frustrated him and made him worry about the future:

> Imagine that my salary is 8000 DKK, before the tax it's like 10,800 so when my wife comes and my two children, this salary will be for all of us. It'll be about 12,000. So, 12,000 DKK for four people this is the new salary after cutting. So, imagine how I'm going to survive with that, and I have a lot of other expenses like house, like food and things for the children. So, I am living on 10,800 now, so imagine how 12,000 can be enough for four people. This is one of the examples of the rules from the new government (Sami)

Sami was informed that when his wife and children would arrive the following month, he would no longer be receiving regular social benefits, but instead transfer to integration benefits, likewise would his wife. This meant that their joint net income would only be slightly higher than his current income, which barely paid the bills[23]. The introduction of the integration benefits meant that many Syrians in Granbakkedal had a hard time making ends meet, as integration benefit recipients live under the national poverty threshold (Beskæftigelsesministeriet 2017: § 11, § 12, § 22; Schytz Juul 2015: 3). Sami, who expressed his concerns about his financial situation, ambiguously also felt ashamed and unwilling to receive money from the municipality. When we discussed the possibility for rent subsidies he exclaimed:

> I want to stop everything from the municipality! I want to stop this money. I want to find a job. I hate these money. Like "Give me, give me everything" (holding out his hand like beggar) I hate it, I hate this. (Sami)

Thus, to Sami, receiving social benefits were intertwined in a paradoxical dilemma, in which his dignity and financial needs were at stake. He felt both ashamed of receiving benefits, because they compromised his dignity and reminded him of begging, simultaneously he was concerned, because

[23] The sum of their joint integration benefits would reality be a little higher than what Sami stated, as he would receive child subsidies and additional rent subsidy after the arrival of the family.

what he received was not enough to sustain the family. Several of the informants expressed similar views.

When the Syrians did not see realistic future prospects in Granbakkedal, and in addition experienced an undignified dependence on social benefits, their everyday lives in Granbakkedal lost meaning. The paradox concerning not receiving enough social benefit to be able to have a decent life and at the same time not wishing to receive any money from the state is, as I show in the following section, related to social class and active working lives in Syria. The following section explores the downward class journey my informants experienced in their flight to Denmark.

5.2 The downward class journey and banal orientalism

The Syrians have often been met with an expectation of gratefulness for the chance to live in Denmark. They did not only meet these expectations in Granbakkedal, but it also constituted a discourse in media, at social media and in politics. Consequently, refugees are often portrayed as ungrateful, when they have suggestions or complaints. I experienced this in Granbakkedal, when both Venligboer, volunteers and municipality staff who, after listening to a refugee's issues, exclaimed: "but at least you are safe here!" or "at least you have a place to live".

A study of foreign presence in Denmark in the perspective of popular consciousness, by Peter Hervik, underlines that Danes perceive immigrants as guests in a host-guest relationship; the hosts lead the way and the guests are expected to follow. They thereby become subjected to the will of the hosts, moreover the guests must be grateful for what they are offered (Hervik 2004: 252-53, 261). This was a double bind, because the Syrians were perceived as guests, and were expected to be grateful, which limited their possibility to express criticism without being perceived in a negative way.

While the Syrians in Granbakkedal were generally grateful to the Danish state, they had some suggestions and critiques, which they could not express unproblematically. Adnan and his friends, aware that the media had portrayed refugees as ungrateful, designed and printed flyers with the text "Tak Danmark" (Thanks Denmark). The flyers further contained descriptions and photographs of some of the most remarkable and famous cultural and historical landmarks in Syria.

Adnan distributed the flyers in Granbakkedal. This was done partly to show his gratefulness, and partly to underline that Syria is a country with an impressive culture. This way the Danes could understand that Syria is an old civilization and to him, a very special country. Adnan made sure that I got a copy of each of the flyers, and spent time explaining what the different landmarks represented.

This eagerness to portray Syria in the best possible way was a reaction to the discourse on refugees and the negative media coverage, with which Adnan could not identify himself. In Syria, Adnan was a hardworking and respected man, who had two jobs, which allowed him to provide for his family; in contrast to Granbakkedal where he was doing unpaid work placements, while desperately looking for a job.

In this regard, it is relevant to consider Marianne Holm Pedersen's work on highly educated Iraqi refugee women in Denmark. She suggests that these women undergo a *downward class journey*, from belonging to the higher societal class in Iraq to becoming classified as refugees in Denmark. She argues that this downward class journey has consequences for the women's sense of belonging to Denmark (Pedersen 2010: 1102-1103). Pedersen states that social class is a cultural category relative to its context of concrete social relations and may be related to access to resources; thus, social class is relevant in both a socioeconomic perspective and in relation to personal identity. She argues that when the refugees flee their country of origin, they may undergo a downward class journey which is explicit when the *social* and *cultural capital* that constituted their social class in the country of origin is not valued in Denmark – for the refugees this is primarily experienced as a downward social mobility (Pedersen 2010: 1103). Thus, according to Pedersen, social class is directly related to Pierre Bourdieu's capitals.

To Bourdieu e*conomic capital* is a form of capital, which is directly convertible to money (private property etc.), and other forms of capital can be acquired by using economic capital – economic capital is the root of other capitals (Bourdieu 2005: 16, 24). *Cultural capital* is sometimes convertible into economic capital, and can be seen in three states. The first state of cultural capital is the *embodied state,* which consists of culture, cultivation and self-improvement etc. – things which have been learned over time and which affect the person's *habitus* (way of thinking and acting), this form of cultural capital cannot be transmitted to others (Bourdieu 2005: 18-19). *The objectified state* refers to material objects (art, scientific instruments etc.), however, it is not only owning the objects that count, it also refers to the ability to consume for example a piece of art (and know enough about it to understand its cultural meaning). The objectified state is therefore closely connected to the embodied state of cultural capital (Bourdieu 2005: 19-20). The third state is the institutionalized state. This can for example be manifested in an exam certificate from an academic institution or other proofs of professional qualifications. This state of cultural capital can in the labor market be compared to other people's institutionalized cultural capital, and the cultural capitals monetary value can be estimated and be transmitted into economic capital (salary) (Bourdieu 2005: 20-21).

Social capital is constituted by social connections, being a member of a group or a network and the potential resources which are linked to that membership – the collective capital serves as a backing for the group members. Social capital is thus a collectively owned capital from which members of the group can take part in material or symbolic exchanges. The exchanges work as signs of recognition of other group members, which thereby reproduces the group (Bourdieu 2005: 22). Social capital also has an institutional form which can been seen as a title, a family name, a workplace, an educational institution or even a nation (Bourdieu 2005: 23).

It is especially the devaluation of social- and cultural capital that is at stake, when Pedersen describes the downward class journey among the Iraqi women in Denmark. An example of such is the devaluation of knowledge of Arabic language and history (Pedersen 2010: 1103).

A similar downward class journey is evident among my informants, who mostly belonged to the upper middle class or higher social class in Syria. They experienced that both their social capital in the form of their social status in Syria, their embodied cultural capital in the form of work experience and their institutionalized cultural capital, in the form of exam certificates where devaluated in a Danish context. This was manifested in several ways, one of which took place at the course Job & Liv, where they were introduced to work placements, where no education was required, and rejected when asking the municipality to focus on more relevant job opportunities or courses designed for highly educated people.

Even among one of my youngest informants the class journey was evident, Aiesha expressed it like this:

> Over there we were very rich and it was my dad who worked. He owned two-three companies himself and we lived in a big villa with a pool – so we were a rich family. And when we came here we couldn't do all the things we could do over there. And I also think this is very hard, also for my dad. Because he could give us all the things we told him to, everything we needed (…) and I also think he doesn't like receiving social benefits – he'd like to have his own money (Aiesha)

The downward journey was explicit among individuals who used to work in Syria. Here Fatima and Yousef describe their lives in Syria prior to the beginning of the war:

> (…) Our family is rich and yeah, so we've lived a very luxuries life. I had my own company, it was in the import and export [sector]. I have worked a lot. I had my own house, my own car. (Fatima)

> It's so good and so nice. I mean because I finished my university degree and started my PhD and I worked within three or four training centers and I got about 3000$ every month in Syria (…) (Yousef)

In both cases Fatima and Yousef highlighted their work-life in Syria, just like Aiesha emphasized the importance of her father's job. A general pattern in the interviews is that the life in Syria before the war was described as active lives where careers, education and social status created meaning in their everyday lives. While the descriptions of the lives in Granbakkedal were characterized by temporality, frustrations, waiting, and wasting time; my informants tried to "kill time" and "keep themselves busy", but did not feel like active participants in society. The negative view my informants had on their lives in Granbakkedal was not an expression of ungratefulness, rather it was an understanding of what they had lost, and how they were being perceived within a Danish context. They were used to living in a society where they were respected for their education, accomplishments and jobs – their cultural and social capital were highly valued; while in Granbakkedal they felt like passive receivers of social benefits, and experienced how their educational background and work experiences were not valued. They went from being able to afford luxurious goods in Syria, to belonging to one of the lowest income groups in Denmark; and for this, they were expected to be grateful.

However, the downward class journey is not a linear movement as the refugees still keep in contact with the country of origin through friends or relatives, while social life generally take places in the new environment (Pedersen 2010: 1103). This is explicitly seen in the case of Yousef, who spent his evenings supervising a Master's student in Syria through Skype. Thus, he was holding onto the feeling and self-understanding of belonging to a higher social class, and experiencing a recognition of his cultural capital, which was something he had not seen in Denmark. While being conscious of his abilities and social class, he was daily, confronted with harsh political debates on refugees in the media, this made him very frustrated:

> The new government here rate you. They use very bad talk about refugees and they are making it so that all Danish people's only problem is the refugees. It's not true at all! And the government wants the refugees to go to the work. From the first day,

> I'm here in Denmark, I said to the Red Cross and to the municipality and at Job & Liv and to many other people: "We're ready to work, we're ready to work, we're ready to work!" (Yousef)

The Syrians have not only undergone a downward class journey, but are also made objects of the most critical discussions in the political and public debates. Lasse Koefoed and Kirsten Simonsen examine the term *banal orientalism*, which describes an everyday routine on how we speak, act and think in everyday lives. They argue that orientalist stereotypes have infiltrated everyday spaces and everyday language in Denmark (Koefoed and Simonsen 2010: 67). Banal orientalism refers to talking about radical topics, such as war, exclusion or racism in a taken-for-granted sort of manner, which banalizes the topic (Koefoed and Simonsen 2010: 68). The harsh words used when discussing refugees which are especially found in political discussion and on social media, are a form of banal orientalism, where racism and xenophobia have become so infiltrated in the everyday language, that they are no longer met with strong reactions. However, to the Syrians, this downward mobility they underwent from being respected and active citizens, to becoming objects of debates in which they were portrayed as ungrateful, lazy and problem-causing, caused a lot frustrations, as the way they were portrayed in these debates were far from their own self-images.

In this subsection, I showed that that the Syrians have undergone a downward class journey in their flight to Denmark. The resources, in the forms of cultural and social capital could not be transferred into a Danish context, and were therefore devaluated, especially in terms of educational qualifications, work experience and social networks. In addition, their access to financial resources in Granbakkedal consisted of social benefits which were scarce and compromising their dignity. When they suggested improvements or expressed dissatisfaction with their financial situation, the integration program or the downward class journey, it was not well-received, as the host-guest relationship (Hervik 2004), required them to be grateful. On top of that, they were aware of the negative debates on social media and among politicians, which portrayed them in a way; in which they could not recognize themselves.

In the next section, I examine the Job & Liv course and the clientisation process that occur in the meeting with the welfare state. A major paradox discussed in the next subsection is the fact that the integration program, which was supposed to help the refugees settle and find a work was considered a hindrance. Finally, I move on to the importance of having a job for the Syrians, and why it is a significant aspect of everyday security.

5.3 Clientisation, integration and the Danish welfare-state

The welfare state aims at ensuring equal access for its citizens to welfare services (see introduction 1.1.2 & 1.2.2), but implicitly there are also expectations of active citizenship which includes participation in the work market, in the civil society, and in democracy (Nielsen 2017: 45-46). The goal of the welfare state is that everyone participates and become active citizens – this goal is never reached, but functions as an aspiration embedded in the ethos of the welfare state (Mouritsen 2015: 166). Hence, there will always be individuals, who are not active in the work market for shorter or longer periods. This section deals with the paradox which occurs in the welfare state, when initiatives aiming at making people active citizens, end up creating clients. Clientisation is a general issue among socially marginalized people, who are made dependent on the welfare system: a client is created as a function of the welfare state (Järvinen and Mik-Meyer 2003: 10-12).

Sociologist Magaretha Järvinen and Nanna Mik-Meyer have examined the interrelation between social workers and clients in the Danish welfare-system. Their work focuses on individuals with so-called problem- identities; institutionally defined identities focusing on a problem to which there is a solution e.g. "homeless", "alcoholic" "unemployed" etc. The purpose of social work is often to evaluate, affect and change individual behavioral patterns and abilities (Järvinen and Mik-Meyer 2003: 11-12). The institutional category of a "refugee" can in the same way be considered a problem-identity because it differentiates the person from other citizens and reminds us of the cultural or religious "other". As discussed in the introduction of this thesis (see 1.1.2), the lack of "sameness" may, following Gullestad (2002), be considered a threat to the established society and a challenge to the equality the welfare state is aiming at ensuring. The welfare state's solution in dealing with this problem-identity is "integration.[24]"

Adelmalek Sayad, who has examined the condition of immigrants, says, that "integration" is a word embedded in the vocabulary of the state. Moreover integration is closely related to identity and only the result, not the process of integration can be observed as it involves the entire social being of the person concerned (Sayad 2004: 216ff, 223). He states that the discourse of integration is only acceptable to the ones who are considered most integrated (Sayad 2004: 222). The Syrians never mentioned the word integration to me, and if I mentioned it to them, they did not show any

[24] The term integration, is a contested subject, but not a discussion relevant for the present thesis.

understanding of the concept, in addition they did not see a purpose of the municipality courses, which they were obligated to attend.

Sayad further states that individuals struggle over classifications drawing on everything which constitutes their self-understanding and focuses on the "we" in opposition to "them" or "the others" (Sayad 2004: 217). Considering the welfare state is so intertwined in the discourse of integration, and equality (meaning sameness) the integration program and the social workers may try to influence and change the individual refugee in accordance with the politically defined Danish norms and values.

The categorization of "refugees" and the problem-identity-related to this categorization is something, which the Syrians were confronted with both explicitly and inexplicitly, when attending the integration program. Liisa Mallki has examined the categorization of "refugees" among Hutu refugees from Burundi living in Tanzania. She points out that the legal category of refugees is closely connected to victimhood, and refugees are expected to and act accordingly (Malkki 1996: 384). The general understanding of what a refugee is, does not always reflect the reality or the self-understanding among the people who have been put under the legal category "refugee". She points out, that both workers in the refugee camp as well as refugees living in the camp found it contradicting that some with legal refugee status were wealthy and working in the city – being rich and being a refugee was contradicting. She furthermore explained how the working "refugees" became less so after a while in Tanzania, because they did not look like "refugees" any more (Malkki 1996: 384). The legal categorization of "refugees" and the problem identity associated with this classification, affects how the individuals are perceived. According to Malkki, refugees are no longer seen as different individuals, but rather as ahistorical objects of humanitarianism and "therapeutic intervention"; they become pure victims (Malkki 1996: 378; 1992: 34).

Integration initiatives can in the same manner be considered therapeutic interventions, through which the refugees are offered guidance and education aiming at modifying and adjusting behaviors to fit in to the Danish society, while at the same time offering help in the form of social benefits, healthcare, day care and housing. Because even though the category of "refugees" implies victimhood, the Syrians were not only offered help and protection, but are also met with requirements and responsibilities. The victimhood and the guest status, which Hervik argues that refugees have, bring expectations of gratitude, obedience and passivity, while the integration program expects them to take responsibility of their resettlement process, as well as being ready to work and actively participate in any work placement presented to them. The Syrians were ambiguously therefore both expected to act

as responsible and active individuals and passive (grateful) victims who needed the humanitarianism performed by the welfare-state. However, the requirements and expectations the Syrians were met with failed to consider that even though they escaped the war physically, the war was still present mentally (see chapter 3). This affected their everyday lives and their abilities to follow the integration program. Yousef explains:

> Here the government say you have to work, go to the work after just two weeks. I want to ask the minister of refugees […] If she stays in Damascus just for one day, and when she walks, there is an explosion around her and she is pushed to the wall, suddenly, and there is a lot of blood in her face. I stayed for more than twenty minutes like this, in Syria, in Damascus, when the explosion happened... like this [pushes himself against the wall, looking scared] I don't know exactly what happened, I don't know exactly. There is a lot of blood, there is a head here [points at the floor] There is a hand here, and here there is a woman with a baby in the road - all the people are killed. If she [the "refugee minister"] go to this... to Damascus, she needs ten years with a doctor here in hospital.

He continues:

> We can do [work]. But step by step. And don't say that the all problems in Denmark is because of the refugees. It's a stupid way. Stupid! If all the society around the world were mixed from many cultures, it's going to be more strong […] You have to say exactly what is the problem. The problem is your government's routine, the problem is they spend the money in many bad ways [...]. The problem is there is no plan. If you want to make all refugees work, first of all, you have to find jobs and to teach them Danish before. (Yousef)

According to Järvinen and Mik-Meyer the logic of institutions presupposes that the client is adjusted to fit within the institution and its problem categories, rules and routines. The institution simplifies and standardizes a person as human beings are too complex to fit within the institutional framework – thus the institution creates a client. A human becomes a client the moment the social workers most important task is to find the characteristics in a person, which makes him/her suitable for the administration of the institution (Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2003: 15-16). Such processes occurred in relation to the integration program and courses such as Job & Liv, where people of various

backgrounds were put under the same institutional category and problem-identity to which there was one predefined solution.

The assessment of which abilities and qualities in an individual that are relevant, are often done from the perspective of the institution, rather than of the individual. (Järvinen and Mik-Meyer 2003: 15). In the Job & Liv course, where the presented work placements do not require much work experience or educational prerequisites, it was assumed that the course participants did not have much work experience, and the course, therefore, did not take into consideration that many of the Syrian were well-educated, had work experience and often spoke English or other European languages. It is thereby implied that when the Syrians were granted refugee status and attend municipality integration programs they were tabula rasa; or as Malkki would put it, ahistorical individuals in need of humanitarian and therapeutic intervention. This lack of consideration for the educational backgrounds and work experiences frustrated my informants who felt that they wasted their time. They believed they could spend their time finding more skilled jobs, or as Sami suggested could have spent more time learning the Danish language:

> Job & Liv? I think it's a waste of time. Two months of interviews, meetings and classes and promises that they will help you find work and that stuff... and then nothing. If we were in the school using that time we could have been in module 3 [of the Danish education] now. (Sami)

In addition, they listened to experiences of Syrians who had already been through the Job & Liv Course and several work placements. Rasul, explains:

> I don't believe I'll have a future within the work placement courses I get. If I ask the others, who have been here much longer than me, then they say that they jump from work placement to another, and sometimes someone gets a job, but that is typically people with Danish citizenship or people who have been here for a really long time. […] Another bad thing is that even though you have a work placement, then you feel that this is something you are forced to do to get the social benefits from the municipality. Because then it still feels like I'm begging for money from the municipality, instead of having a job that you are proud to have, to earn my own money. (Rasul).

According to Granbakkedal municipality and the consultancy company involved in planning the integration program, the key to succeed in the integration program was motivation. They listed these four aspects needed to keep the participants motivated: 1) "to be recognized and respected", 2) "to believe in the goal", 3) "to experience the program as meaningful", 4) "to excel" (xx 2015: 3). My informants did believe in the goal of finding job but not that the integration program would help them reach it. They neither felt respected nor recognized, nor did they experience the program as meaningful. They rather felt they wasted their time in the Job & Liv course, which dealt with topics irrelevant to them. This underlines how there was a mismatch between the institutional category of a refugee and the self-identity of my informants.

5.3.1 Power relations, social work and the welfare state

When a social worker works with a client an important aspect is the power relations between the two – the social workers tries to socialize the client into the right behavior. However, social workers may distance themselves from or deny the power position. The power position, however, is underlined in the fact that the social workers description of the client will be considered more valid with the institutional framework than the explanation by the client himself (Järvinen and Mik-Meyer 2003: 17-18). Similarly, Malkki states that specifically people in the refugee category, can be "stripped from the authority" to give credible accounts about their own conditions within an institutional framework (Malkki 1996: 378). This was experienced by the Syrians, who saw that their accounts of educational background or work experience were not taken into consideration in the integration program. Similarly, issues or insecurities experienced by the Syrians, were rarely accepted as such, by the municipality workers (see chapter 2).

However, the Job & Liv course, also let participants voice their opinions. On Fridays, oral and written evaluations of the past were conducted. When the municipality worker asked the class what they thought about the past week, the Syrians generally gave negative feedback, and underlined that they wasted their time. The atmosphere was very tense, and many course participants were eager to express their frustrations.

> Tariq continuously interrupts, while some of the other course participants are speaking. The municipality worker asks him to raise his hand before speaking up, to which the man replies: "are you a dictator? (Fieldnotes, September 2015).

Tariq challenged the power relations, which he experienced in the municipality setting by suggesting that the municipality worker acted like a dictator. In Syria, Tariq co-owned a very large business with branches in many countries and used to manage a great number of employees – he therefore found the whole situation and classification humiliating.

The oral evaluation was followed by a written evaluation. However, the evaluation sheets were in Danish, which caused some confusion, as it was hard work for the teacher to help all the participants write their evaluation form. In opposition to the oral feedback, most Syrians just wrote short positive comments for each of the aspects they were supposed to assess - especially they praised their teachers. When I after the written evaluation, talked to my informants, they expressed satisfaction and even friendship when they talked about the teachers, who taught the courses at Job & Liv, but showed distrust towards the people "higher up in the system" and at times also to their personal caseworkers.

During the Job & Liv course I did not interview the social workers as such, as I wanted to understand the experience from the Syrians' point of view, rather than from the perspective of the municipality. However, a few of the social workers expressed that they felt frustrated to be the messengers every time new governmental decisions were made, which would make life more difficult for the refugees. During the course, some of the teachers also made it clear to the refugees, when they complained about family reunification or the integration benefits, that these are laws which the municipality cannot influence. Several teachers further added that they had not voted for the current government.

My informants who defined themselves through the work and accomplishments and social class in Syria found themselves controlled and kept down by the municipality institutions and state legislations. All they wanted was to find jobs, but drawing on their own and other Syrians experiences, they did not believe that the Job & Liv course or the work placements would bring them closer to that.

Thus, getting a job is both an aspiration of the welfare-state and the Syrians themselves. The means to reach this aspiration, however, constitutes a disagreement between them. The clientisation process which occurs in the meeting with the welfare state, demotivates the Syrians and they do not have faith or trust in the municipality planned integration program. The fact that they are expected to actively participate in society and find work, while simultaneously being put on obligatory work placements and courses, both emphasizes the expectation of the Syrians to take responsibility for their own resettlement and job finding process, while simultaneously asking them to be victimized receivers of humanitarian interventions performed by the welfare state, and to passively follow the obligations of

the integration program as obedient "guests". The fact that they cannot identify themselves with the problem identity or typical "refugee" category, means that the integration program including the Job & Liv course lose meaning to them. When they voice their frustrations, they are perceived as ungrateful guests, who do not want to actively participate in the Danish society.

5.4 sub conclusion: active participation and its role in everyday security

In this chapter I examined the final aspect needed for the Syrians to establish a form of *everyday security*¸ namely active participation in society and independence from social benefits. First, I looked into the paradox between not wishing to receive social benefits, because it associates the Syrians with undignified begging, while simultaneously showing frustrations over the fact that the social benefits were not sufficient to cover for all necessities. The second focus point of this chapter; is the downward class journey and de-skilling or devaluation of the Syrians social and cultural capital. And I point out that due the host-guest relationship (Hervik 2004), the Syrian cannot voice their frustrations without being perceived as un grateful Finally, I examined the categorization, clientisation and problem identities which occurs as a function of the municipality planned integration programs and welfare state practices, which aspire to make the Syrians active participants in society.

In what way is active participation related to everyday security? The everyday lives of the Syrians are characterized by municipality and state planned activities, which to the Syrians are without meaning and purpose, but are obligated to follow to obtain social benefits. The social benefits are paradoxically both necessary and unwanted by my informants, as being dependent on social benefits compromises their dignity. To obtain everyday security, and to break out of the victim role or problem identity, it is essential, that the Syrians find a job, and take a step back from the municipalities interference in their everyday lives. At a workplace, they have better chances to be known by their accomplishments, rather than by the category and problem identity which they are implicitly assigned in the encounter with the municipality, and following Malkki (Malkki 1996: 384), the Syrian refugees can become "less so" because they do not look like refugees anymore. They will, furthermore, have everyday lives which have similarities with their everyday lives in Syria, where their work meant both social status and class as well as the possibility to provide for themselves and their families. Having a job will both strengthen the Syrians sense of belonging to Granbakkedal and create a purpose or meaning in their everyday lives; and will thereby be enable them to establish a form of everyday security. They will however still be met with changing legislations and negative political discourses on refugees, but when actively participating in society they will be more than just refugees;

they will have titles, produce at work, get paid and pay taxes and thereby create value in the society; this will create a closer link between their own self-identities and their everyday practices and make them more resilient to the negative debates on refugees.

6.0 Conclusion

The present study of well-educated Syrian refugees in Granbakkedal set out to examine how the Syrians experienced the meeting with the Danish welfare system, and how they can establish a form of everyday security in a context of negative public debates on refugees, ever changing legislations, and the ongoing war in Syria.

The focal point of the thesis is the everyday security model, which I introduce and examine systematically throughout the thesis. Based on my empirical findings, I argue that there are four aspects, which are essential for the well-educated Syrians in the establishment of a form of everyday security. These are: the individual bodily aspect, home and materiality, family life, and active participation in society.

The bodily aspect of everyday security refers to a general feeling of safety and protection from the experiences of both personal security threats and threats to a form of ontological security. Here it is crucial to underline that it is the experience of unsafety from the individual's point of view that is essential, and not the security threat level assessed from outside actors. When an individual experiences unsafety to a degree which affects everyday life practices, it is a threat to the establishment of everyday security. There are different degrees of threats to the bodily aspect of everyday security, some only affects certain parts of the resettlement process, others are more pervasive. This is exemplified in Aiesha's experience of racism, which only affected her in the sense that it left her more suspicious of what Danes really think about refugees. Rasul on the other hand, who witnessed strangers entering his room in the middle of the night, experienced unsafety to such a degree that it affected all levels of his everyday life. Despite the omnipresent character of the unsafety Rasul experienced, he felt that the municipality staff did not take his concerns seriously, which to him enhanced the feeling of unsafety and frustrations. The assessments of the severity of experienced unsafety should thus always be done from the individual's perspective, and when dealing with refugees, it is important to consider the possibility of traumatic experiences in the past.

Home and materiality refer to home-making and the meaning of certain material objects in the resettlement process. Following Parkin, I argue that certain material objects brought along by the Syrians function as transitional objects which help the Syrians rearticulate themselves and create continuity of their "self-identity" in the new context. In addition, there are certain objects acquired in

Granbakkedal which proved to be of great importance; refrigerators are such objects. To the Syrians it was important that the refrigerators in their new flats would be family-sized, and not smaller models, which by the Syrians were referred to as office refrigerators. I suggest that the reason for the importance of the size of the refrigerators are twofold: firstly, it is related to the lack self-determination in other aspects of the resettlement process. The Syrians felt that they had very little choice in their daily lives, so when they were presented with a choice in regards to refrigerators, it became very important to them. Secondly, because the large refrigerators had a symbolic meaning of home and family life to the Syrians; therefore, having a family-sized fridge could function as a way of underlining that their family members would join them in Granbakkedal at some point. A home or a place of attachment, a safe base as you may call it, is essential for the Syrians everyday security as attachment to a home-place make everyday life practices possible and meaningful. Until a new home is established through family life, memories and shared everyday practices, certain transitional objects help the Syrians rearticulate their socio-cultural identities and create continuity in Granbakkedal.

Family life is an important aspect in the establishment of everyday security. The presence of the absent family affects the Syrians in all aspects of their everyday lives and therefore has an impact on the Syrians' abilities to concentrate on integration program activities and language courses. Additionally, the presence of the absent family make everyday activities such as cooking, going for a walk or watching TV lose meaning. When they are not carried out in the company of close family members such everyday activities enhance their absence. The lengthy family reunification process further caused a sense of insecurity and temporality; another period of waiting, which has similarities to the waiting period most of my informants experienced in asylum centers. Moreover, contact with both extended family and close family members brought the ongoing war into the everyday lives of the Syrians in Granbakkedal. Due to time-space compression and the technological acceleration, news travel fast. The absent war, therefore, becomes present, as contact with and worries about family members keep the Syrians in Granbakkedal in the middle of the raging war through social media, media and conversations with loved ones in Syria. Finally, the empirical data shows that when family members arrive, a meaning in the everyday practices is reestablished, and the importance of active participation in society enhanced.

Active participation in society is articulated as having a paid job and being independent from social benefits. This is an aspiration for both the Syrians and the welfare state. When examining this aspect, I found a paradox between not having enough money to make ends meet and the frustrations this

leads to, while simultaneously not wishing to receive social benefits, which to the Syrians is undignified and associated with begging. My informants who in Syria had led active everyday lives characterized by careers and social status, experienced a downward class journey in their flight to Denmark, as their social and cultural capitals were devaluated in a Danish context. At the same time, they were expected to act as obedient and grateful guests; this left very little room for the Syrians to voice their frustrations. Moreover, when participating in the integration program they experienced how the welfare state had a certain understanding of how a person belonging to the institutional category "refugee" would act and what such a person would be able to do. The Syrians experienced the welfare state initiatives as meaningless and the Job & Liv course, a waste time. The reason why active participation is essential for establishing everyday security is that it lets the Syrians take a step back from the clientisation process, problem identity and institutional categorization, which are sustained in the meeting with the welfare state system and its integration program. Through employment, the Syrians can create a sense of self in which they can climb up the latter of social classes, and establish an everyday similar to the one they had in Syria. At a workplace, they have better chances to be known by their accomplishments, rather than by the category and problem identity which they are implicitly assigned in the encounter with the municipality. They will still be met with changing legislations and negative political discourses on refugees, but when actively participating in society they will be more resilient to these.

The theoretical everyday security model presented in this thesis is intended to be of use in regards to refugee policies both on a theoretical level and in practical implementation level. It aims at creating a more holistic framework which encompasses more aspects of the individuals involved, so they can be considered complete human beings, rather than sole clients or passive victims, who are objects of humanitarian intervention.

However, for the everyday security model to be of practical use, there are some structural barriers at both municipality and state level, which must be considered when implementing more holistic and inclusive refugee policies. The municipalities in Denmark are responsible for designing and implementing an integration program for the refugees who live within their respective boundaries. These initiatives must, however, be implemented and designed in a way that they live up to the legal framework set up by the state. As the Danish Aliens Act and other legislations, which concern immigrants, are changed frequently, the municipality cannot always live up to the good intentions they may have; an example of this is the case of Rasul, for whom the municipality could not find affordable housing due to both a competitive housing market and the introduction of the integration

benefits. Nor could the municipality bring family members to Granbakkedal, as the family reunification legislations are a state matter. However, the everyday security model opens for discussion on how we can rethink and encompass a more holistic view on refugees in the "integration" initiatives and the resettlement process.

Based on the result of this thesis I propose the following recommendations:

1) The thesis shows that the Syrians were eager to voice their opinions and frustrations, but when they did so they were considered ungrateful and not taken seriously. I recommend that suggestions and frustrations raised by refugees should be taken into consideration especially, before implementing new policies or initiatives which directly influences them. This could be done by including refugees in focus group interviews, workshops or discussions. Through these methods refugees could be given a voice, on topics directly affecting them.

2) The integration program activities should take into consideration that people with refugee status, are not "just" refugees, they are individuals with different abilities, qualification and educations. Based on these differences I recommend that activities should be organized in a way that allow refuges to influence and take responsibility for their own resettlement process and way into the Danish work market. This could be done by offering several relevant courses aimed at different target groups with diverse levels of education and work experiences from which the refugees could freely choose. These courses could both be intensive language courses, academic courses or more practically oriented courses. Bearing in mind that such courses are not relevant for those refugees who are severely traumatized who should instead be offered appropriate medical attention.

3) The absent family has such an enormous impact on the refugee that it affects every aspect of their lives, including their abilities to focus on integration problem activities. Therefore, I recommend to speed up the processing time for family reunification applications at state level. To measure the effect of the absent family, psychological tests and learning outcome evaluations could be carried out among language course participants before and after the arrival of the family.

The everyday security model is meant to inspire both scholars and practitioners interested in refugee policies.

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Appendix 1: Information sheet in Arabic

عزيزي المشارك، عزيزتي المشاركة

هذه الرسالة هي بمثابة دعوة لكم للمشاركة في بحث أُجريه لأطروحة الماجيستير في مجال الأمن البشري في قسم علوم الإنسان (الأنتروبولوجيا) في جامعة آرهوس . هذا البحث هو أيضا جزء من تدريب عملي في منظمة متاحف [redacted].

سيركز هذا البحث على اللاجئين الذين انتقلوا مؤخراً إلى بلدة [redacted]. أنا أتمنى أن أعرف أكثر عن تجربتكم كقادمين جدد إلى [redacted]. أريد أن أسألكم أسئلة حول حياتكم اليومية في الدانمارك، حياتكم في بلدكم الأم، و كيف إنتهى بكم المطاف في [redacted].

المشاركة في هذه الدراسة هي إختيارية. سوف يكون بإستطاعتكم رفض الإجابة عن أي سؤال يطرح خلال المقابلة. و علاوة على ذلك، يمكنكم الإنسحاب من المقابلة في أي وقت بدون أي تأثير سلبي. في حال كنتم ترغبون في الإنسحاب من المقابلة، سيتم إستعمال أي معلومات تم جمعها خلال المقابلة وصولا إلى نقطة الإنسحاب.

كل المعلومات التي يتم جمعها في هذا البحث تعتبر سرية. لن يظهر إسمكم في الأطروحة، بل سيتم إستعمال إسم مستعار. و لكن، بعد إذنكم، يمكن أن يتم إستعمال إقتباسات حرفية بدون ذكر أسماء.

بالإضافة إلى ذلك، كجزء من عملي في منظمة متاحف [redacted]، مطلوب مني أن ألتقط صورا و أفلام فيديو لإستعمالها في معرض صغير في متحف الثقافة في [redacted]. هذا لأن [redacted] هي مدينة مبنية على الهجرة، و القيميين على المتحف يرغبون في أن يكون تاريخ الهجرة الحديث ممثلا أيضا. إذا رغبتم أيضا في المشاركة في هذه الصور و الفيديو، سوف أكون ممتنة لكم كثيرا، و لكم جزيل الشكر. و لكن لن تكون السرية التامة مؤمنة للمشاركين في هذا الجزء من البحث، لأن المشاركين في هذا الجزء سيتم تصويرهم. أفلام الفيديو و المقابلة التي سأجريها لأجل المعرض لن تدخل في أطروحة الماجيستير. إضافة إلى ذلك، سنطلب من المشاركين في أفلام الفيديو و المقابلات التي ستستعمل في المعرض الموافقة عليها قبل أن نعطيها إلى القيميين على المتحف. إذا كنتم ترغبون في المشاركة في بحث المتحف أيضا، أتمنى أن تعلموني بذلك.

إذا كان لديكم أي أسئلة أو إستفهامات، أنا جاهزة للإجابة عليها.

لكم جزيل الشكر مقدماً،

بيرنيله ميلتون