2013

The Everyday Spaces of Humanitarian Migrants in Denmark

Malene H. Jacobsen
University of Kentucky, malene.jacobsen@uky.edu

Recommended Citation

Jacobsen, Malene H., "The Everyday Spaces of Humanitarian Migrants in Denmark" (2013). *Theses and Dissertations--Geography*. 7.
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/geography_etds/7

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained and attached hereto needed written permission statements(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine).

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless a preapproved embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's dissertation including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Malene H. Jacobsen, Student

Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp, Major Professor

Dr. Matthew Zook, Director of Graduate Studies

THE EVERYDAY SPACES OF HUMANITARIAN MIGRANTS IN DENMARK

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By

Malene Herschend Jacobsen

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp

Lexington, Kentucky

2013

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

THE EVERYDAY SPACES OF HUMANITARIAN MIGRANTS IN DENMARK

Through an analysis of the Danish Immigration Law and asylum system, this research illustrates how the Danish state through state practices and policies permeates and produces the everyday space of humanitarian migrants. Furthermore, it examines how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life in the Danish asylum system. An examination of state practices in conjunction with humanitarian migrants' narratives of space and everyday practices, offers an opportunity to explore what kind of politics and political subjectivities that can emerge in the space of humanitarian migrants. This research contribute to our understanding of first, how the securitization of migration has direct impact on the everyday life of humanitarian migrants, second, second, how the state through practices and space governs and de-politicizes humanitarian migrants, and third, humanitarian migrants are able to act politically.

Furthermore, this research problematizes the categorization of humanitarian migrants as "asylum seeker" in order to illustrate how the group of humanitarian migrants is a very diverse group of people from different places with various skills and education-, social-, and economic backgrounds. Even though "asylum seekers" are often portrayed as a homogenous group of vulnerable people we cannot assume that these people understand themselves as vulnerable docile "asylum seekers".

KEYWORDS: asylum, everyday practices, the state, neoliberalism, political subjectivities

Malene Herschend Jacobsen

25 April 2013

THE EVERYDAY SPACES OF HUMANITARIAN MIGRANTS IN DENMARK

By:

Malene Herschend Jacobsen

Dr. Patricia Ehrkamp
Chair of Committee

Dr. Matthew Zook
Director of Graduate Studies

25 April 2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The English word asylum originates from the Greek word *asylon*. In ancient Greece, asylum was used to describe "a place of sanctuary or protection from which a person could not be removed forcibly without sacrilege" (Andrepoulos, 2013). Within the Danish language the word asylansøger (asylum seeker) did not appear until the 1980s and had a more juridical meaning than earlier. Today, the word or category "asylum seeker" is frequently conceptualized in terms of vulnerability, force, and lack of agency. In this research project, I chose to use the term humanitarian migrants instead of the term "asylum seeker". I find the category "asylum seeker" problematic because it places these people in a particular category, which is often connected with vulnerability, force, and lack of agency. Furthermore, scholars have illustrated how "asylum seekers" and other poor migrants are increasingly perceived by Western states and the media as "bogus refugees", non-legitimate refugees, who are a threat to the nation-state's welfare system (Pratt, et al., 2002; Mountz, 2003, 2010, 2011; Neumayer, 2005; Zetter, 2007; Schaeffer, 2009). Both the category "asylum seeker" and the term "bogus refugee" delimit migrants, their lives, and our understanding of them. I argue that the term humanitarian migrant can help us to stress the diversity among the people who seek asylum and the fact that these people are humans and should be treated as such. The term humanitarian migrant includes refugees, asylum seekers, people granted humanitarian residence permit, and rejected asylum seekers.

In Denmark, the Immigration Law, legal restrictions, and spatial state practices define where humanitarian migrants are required to live, what activities and daily practices they are required to take part in, and what they are not allowed to do. Thus, the Danish state permeates and participates in the production of humanitarian migrants' everyday spaces. But how does this group of migrants experience their everyday spaces given the restrictions, categories, and state regulations imposed on them? Furthermore, the Danish state's interests of security and financial considerations compete with humanitarian concerns and human rights regimes. Therefore, I examine how humanitarian migrants' narratives of space can contribute to a critical understanding of the state, neoliberalism, and the political subject.

Denmark is a useful case to study with regard to neoliberalism, the political subject, and securitization of migration. Scholars have also argued that since the early 1990s there has been a growing concern about migration and immigrant integration / assimilation in Denmark. This has led to an increased focus on- and interest in "preserving" "Danish" culture. This focus and interest have influenced the changes of the migration law (Valentine, et al., 2009). Furthermore, research has illustrated that there is evidence of discrimination against migrants with regard to housing policies, religion, clothing, and language (Wren, 2001, 2003; Valentine, et al., 2009). Additionally, migration and asylum in Denmark have been addressed in terms of geographical belongings to the city and the nation (Koefoed, et al., 2011), cultural racism (Wren, 2001), the spatial distribution of asylum centers (Wren, 2003), the Danish asylum system, surveillance, and uncertainty (Whyte, 2011), and children's life in detention centers (Vitus, et al., 2011). This research illustrates the importance of paying attention to not only national identity and laws, but also to the everyday practices and spaces of (humanitarian) migrants.

Migration & Securitization

Since the 1990s, countries of the European Union have increasingly implemented techniques and mechanisms of securitization and criminalization in the migration management system. The securitization of migration management of the European countries began with the Schengen Agreement (Leitner, 1997), which harmonizes immigration and border control for signatory states (Feldman, 2011). Because of the free movement of humans within the European Union, it has been essential to secure the European borders from non-Europeans and to control the humans who enter the European Union. Therefore, waves of migrants are controlled through a highly securitized migration apparatus which includes biometric registration, I-Map, Frontex, Dublin Agreement, and EURODAC (Feldman, 2011). "Uncontrolled" migrants such as humanitarian migrants have increasingly been portrayed as a security threat to the European countries because uncontrolled migrants are supposedly abnormal and difficult to control. As a consequence of this securitization, migration has been criminalized on various levels - humanitarian migrants are understood and treated more as criminals than

as human beings who have been forced to flee from their countries because of war or political persecution.

Denmark's membership in the European Union is different compared to the other EU member countries because of its four exceptions to the Maastricht Treaty, which were granted by the Edinburgh Agreement in 1992. The four opt-outs (exceptions) were essential for the Maastricht Treaty because it could not come into effect without ratification from the countries of the European Union. Denmark held a referendum that rejected the first Maastricht Treaty without the four opt-outs. With the four opt-outs, Denmark ratified the Maastricht Treaty by the referendum in 1993. The four opt-outs are: first, *Citizenship*, this opt-out means that the European citizenship does not replace the national citizenship (it became meaningless with the Amsterdam Treaty), second, *Economic and Monetary Union*, Denmark does not participate in the Economic and Monetary Union, however Denmark does participate in the exchange-rate cooperation within the EMS, third, *Defense Policy*, Denmark does not participate in EU's foreign policy concerned with defense, and finally, *Justice and Home Affairs*, this opt-out has changed since the Edinburgh Agreement, today it is a case-to-case opt-out.

Particularly because of the *Justice and Home Affairs* opt-out, Denmark is theoretically not a part of EU's asylum policy. However, Denmark has signed special agreements which enable the country to be a part of the EU's frontier control and the Dublin Agreement. Thus, Denmark follows the EU's asylum policy and migration management to some extent but at the same time it is possible for Denmark to have a more restrictive asylum policy than most EU member states.

The Danish Asylum System

Historically, Denmark has not had a very restrictive asylum policy. In 1983, the Danish parliament passed a new Immigration Law, which became known as the most liberal immigration law in the world. However, the Danish Immigration Law lost this reputation rather quickly. In 1985, only two years after the Immigration Law was passed, the parliament passed the first amendment which introduced the concept *Åbenbart Grundløs* (Manifestly Unfounded). If the Danish authorities could assess that a humanitarian migrant was clearly not eligible for asylum, the humanitarian migrant could

3

not appeal the ruling of rejection. Since 1985, immigration legislation has been changed 63 times. The majority of these amendments have happened after 2000. Some of them have been necessary in order for Denmark to live up to international commitments and EU agreements. Within the European Union, Denmark has been the pioneering country of a strict immigration law and asylum policy.

Denmark's Immigration Law has become more restrictive and efficient. Humanitarian migrants no longer have the right to family reunion and the legal process of seeking asylum has been limited and reduced to the minimum human rights requirements (Vitus, et al., 2011). Denmark has abolished the *de facto*-refugee category[1], which has been replaced by the B-Status. Today, Denmark has three refugee categories, *Konventionsflygtninge* (Convention Refugees), B-Status, and *Kvoteflygtninge* (Quota Refugees). Convention Refugees are those humanitarian migrants who meet the requirements of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' Refugee Convention which define a refugee. B-Status is used in cases where humanitarian migrants who do not meet the requirements for UNHCR's Refugee Convention, can obtain protection status. The protection status is assigned to humanitarian migrants who risk death penalty, torture, or inhuman treatment / penalty if they return to their home country (Grunnet, 2012). Scholars have argued that with the introduction of the B-status, conscientious objectors and other particularly vulnerable groups no longer have the right to asylum in Denmark (Vitus, et al., 2011). The category Quota Refugees is the number of humanitarian migrants, in refugee camps outside of Denmark who are being resettled in Denmark each year by an agreement with the UNHCR. When Denmark receives Quota Refugees, a Danish delegation travels to the UNHCR refugee camps where they interview refugees about their motives to seek asylum and their social connections and relations to Denmark. Since 2005, the Danish delegation also estimates the refugees' ability to assimilate to the Danish culture and society (Bak et al., 2010; Vitus, et al., 2011). The focus, therefore, is not only on the refugees' need for protection but also on the refugees' age, level of education, and ability enter into the Danish society and job market.

---

[1] The de facto-refugee category has been replaced by the B-Status – conscientious objectors and other particularly vulnerable groups do not have the right to asylum in Denmark any longer.

In the last decade, the majority of humanitarian migrants who have come to Denmark originate from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Somalia, Russia, Syria, and Serbia & Montenegro (Vitus, et al., 2011).

Table 1: Humanitarian Migrants 2006-2012[2]							
The number of migrants seeking asylum							
Nationality / Year	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
Afghanistan	127	144	424	1059	1512	906	
Iraq	519	1071	562	309	254	116	
Iran	89	109	202	334	614	462	
Russia	61	115	184	341	358	300	
Somalia	58	37	66	179	114	113	
Syria	55	74	107	383	832	429	
Serbia & Montenegro	274	96	121	277	414	321	
Other	777	600	743	973	1017	1159	
Total number of migrants seeking asylum[3]	1960	2246	2409	3855	5115	3806	6141
Total number of migrants granted asylum[4]					2124	3349	2585
Spontaneous migrants granted asylum[5] (pct.)	18%	56%	50%	44%	38%	33%	46%

As Table 1 illustrates, 6,141 migrants sought asylum in 2012. Last time this number was more than 6000 was in 2002, where more than 12000 migrants sought asylum.

In 2001, Denmark elected a new government which aimed to reduce the numbers of immigrants coming to Denmark (Regeringen, 2002). The new government sought to achieve this through a more restrictive asylum policy that limited humanitarian migrants' legal rights, made it easier to deport migrants whose applications for asylum were rejected, and tightened the rules for refugees to obtain permanent residence permits. The

---

[2] Grunnet, Henrik, 2012, "Tal of fakta på udlændingeområdet 2011"; Udlændingestyrelsen, 2013, "Tal på udlændingeområdet pr. 31.01.2013", Udlændingestyrelsen
[3] These total numbers include migrants from Afghanistan, Algeria, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Serbia & Montenegro, Somalia, stateless migrants, stateless Palestinians, Syria, Tunisia, and other countries.
[4] These total numbers include all types migrants granted asylum (Convention Status, B-Status, Humanitarian permission to stay, and other special reasons to asylum)
[5] These numbers only include spontaneous humanitarian migrants granted asylum by Immigration Service. The numbers do not included humanitarian migrants grated for example humanitarian permission to stay.

main political argument supporting a restrictive asylum policy stated that such a policy would make Denmark less attractive for humanitarian migrants (DR2, 2012). However, a country's asylum policy is not the only factor that determines where a humanitarian migrant end up seeking asylum. Other factors could be that the humanitarian migrant was stopped by the police of the particular country on her journey through the country, the humanitarian migrant ran out of money and could therefore not travel any further, it was the smuggler's decision, or the humanitarian migrant had social relations to people living in the particular country. Nevertheless, a more restrictive asylum policy influences the everyday life of humanitarian migrants. The amendments to the Immigration Law, which were introduced in the 2000s, changed state practices directly related to humanitarian migrants' stay, activities, and practices in the asylum center.

The Asylum Center

The Geographical Distribution of Asylum Centers in Denmark
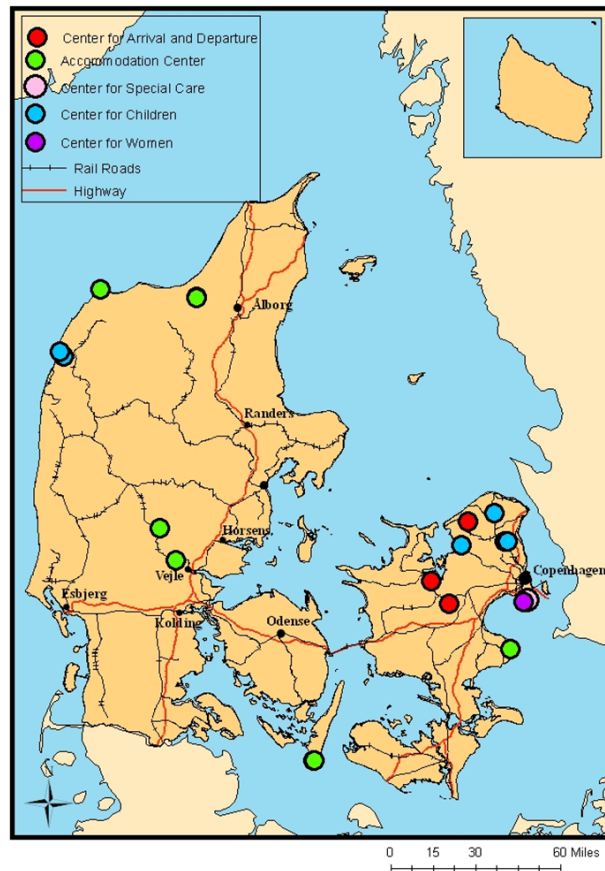
The majority of humanitarian migrants who are seeking asylum in Denmark live in special asylum centers while their cases are being processed. However, humanitarian migrants also have the option of private accommodation if they have friends or relatives living in Denmark. The map on the previous page illustrates the geographical distribution of the asylum centers.

The governmental institution Udlændingestyrelsen (*Immigration Service)* has the responsibility to provide accommodation to every humanitarian migrant, and accommodations are run through partnership with the humanitarian organizations Danish Red Cross[6], Jammerbugt municipality[7], Langeland municipality[8], and Thisted municipality[9]. There are five different types of asylum centers: Accommodation Center, Center for Arrival / Departure, Center for Children, Center for Women, and Center for Special Care. The centers vary in capacity from 36 to 600 people. The majority of the centers are located/built/erected in remote, abolished military barracks, abolished airbases, and mobile barracks, far from major cities.

Each center is organized in a different way, although all centers have bedrooms, shared bathroom facilities, shared kitchens, and various outdoor facilities. Generally, the housing conditions in the asylum centers are limited and meager. The majority of humanitarian migrants share a room with two to four other people. In the centers that have a cafeteria, the humanitarian migrants do not have the opportunity to cook their own food; they are forced to eat the food provided by the cafeteria three times a day. There are different rules and restrictions applied in the five different types of centers, with regulations being strictest in the arrival/departure centers (The Danish Immigration Service, "Asyl Centre", 2012).

The time it takes to process an asylum case varies significantly from case to case. Some "urgent" cases can be processed and determined in just a few days. A case can be considered urgent if a humanitarian migrant comes from a country where she does not risk persecution according to Danish Immigration Service intelligence (The Danish Immigration Service, "Asylansøgning", 2012). Other cases can be more complicated and

---

[6] Danish Red Cross runs12 of the centers, the majority these centers are located on (Zealand) relative close to Copenhagen.
[7] Jammerbugt municipality (Jutland) runs 2 of the centers
[8] Langeland municipality (Langeland) runs 2 of the centers
[9] Thisted municipality runs (Jutland) 3 of the centers

it can take years before these cases are determined. The average stay for humanitarian migrants at an asylum center was slightly less than 600 days in 2011 (Grunnet, 2012).

Humanitarian migrants over 18 years of age enter into a contract with the asylum center at which they live or to which they are attached. The contract is a written agreement that states which daily duties, courses, and activities in which the humanitarian migrant has agreed to participate. The daily duties and activities consist mostly of cleaning and repairing the buildings and common areas at the asylum center. It is also possible for humanitarian migrants to be in an unpaid internship. The status of the asylum case influences what kind of duties/activities, educational classes, and internships the humanitarian migrant can participate in.

Because humanitarian migrants are not allowed to work they receive a cash allowance[10] from the state. The cash allowance is regulated after the migrants' legal status and whether or not she abides the contract and co-operates with the authorities. The Immigration Service can decide to reduce the cash allowance, if the humanitarian migrant does not abide by the contract or does not co-operate (The Danish Immigration Service, "Ansøgeres vilkår", 2012).

Children, who the state defines as a person under the age of 18, are required to attend school at the asylum school. Some children get the opportunity to attend a regular public school. The children take Danish, English, and the other classes that are offered in the Danish public school system.

Humanitarian migrants have limited access to the Danish healthcare system. The Immigration Service covers health and dental care expenses which are necessary, urgent, and pain-relieving. Humanitarian migrants under the age of 18 have the same access to healthcare and dental care as residents of Denmark (The Danish Immigration Service, "Ansøgeres vilkår", 2012).

---

[10] There are three types of cash allowances; 1) **Basic Allowance** that covers the expenses for food and personal hygiene items. In 2011 this allowance was DKK 50.03 per day per adult and is paid every other Thursday 2) **Supplementary Allowance** is received by the asylum seekers who are not a part of the food allowance program. This allowance is DKK 8.35 per day. This amount increase to DKK 29.19 per day if the State decides to process the asylum seekers case in Denmark, and 3) **Caregiver Allowance**, this allowance is received by asylum seekers with dependent children. It is for the first and second children, DKK 58.38 per children per day, also this allowance increases if the case is being processed in Denmark (DKK 79.22 per child per day). The allowance for the third and fourth child is DKK 41.70 per child per day. This allowance is paid every other Thursday (The Danish Immigration Service, "Ansøgeres vilkår", 2012).

As mentioned earlier, the rules and restrictions that are applied for humanitarian migrants vary depending on the center in which they live. Their placement in a particular center depends on their case. For example, if the Danish state decides to let the case of a humanitarian migrant be tried in Denmark, then that person is moved from a center of arrival / departure to an accommodation center. Research of children's lives in asylum centers has shown that life in an asylum center is often characterized by limited mobility, limited physical space, and insecurity and uncertainty about the future (Vitus, et al. 2011; Martin, 2011).

The contract between Danish Red Cross and Immigration Service states that the aim of the stay in the asylum centers is provide humanitarian migrants with a meaningful and dignified waiting time. Furthermore, the contract emphasizes that it is important that humanitarian migrants' personal, social, and professional resources and qualifications are optimally utilized according to the circumstances (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012). But what does "meaningful" mean? How do humanitarian migrants experience their life in the Danish asylum centers? How do state practices affect humanitarian migrants' everyday life? And to what extent are migrants included in and excluded from the Danish society? How do humanitarian migrants "deal with" the rules and regulations imposed by the state? In what form does resistance exist in the spaces of humanitarian migrants?

In order to answer these questions, this research project focuses on the everyday spaces and practices in the Danish asylum system. An investigation of both humanitarian migrants' everyday life and state practices will allow me to analyze how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life and the kind of politics and political subjectivities that can emerge in this life and these spaces.

Research Questions

RQ1: How do state regulations enable and constrain the everyday space of humanitarian migrants?

What is the process of seeking asylum in Denmark? Which spatial rules and restrictions are applied at the asylum centers? What are the humanitarian migrants allowed to do (work, education, travel)? Which legal rights do humanitarian migrants have? And do the rights differ between the different asylum centers and private accommodation (right to education, Medicare, translator)?

RQ 2: How do the humanitarian migrants experience their everyday space?

How do humanitarian migrants experience their stay in the asylum center? How do they experience their life outside the asylum center? How do humanitarian migrants' position themselves as subjects?

RQ3: What kind of politics and political subjectivities can emerge in the everyday space of humanitarian migrants, and what do these subjectivities, in turn, tell us about the political and the state?

How do politics enter into the everyday space of humanitarian migrants? When and how does a subject become a political subject? What role does citizenship play? Is the practice of citizenship the modern state's technique to organize political- and non-political subjects?

Together, answers to these research questions will contribute to a critical understanding of the state, neoliberalism, and the political subject.

Overview of Thesis

In this research project, I investigate the everyday spaces and practices of humanitarian migrants in Denmark. Guided by these three research questions, this investigation is carried out through an analysis of archival data aimed at analyzing how state regulations and practices permeate and influence humanitarian migrants' everyday life. Second, using interviews with humanitarian migrants and staff involved in the Red

Cross and the Trampoline I analyze how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life and spaces in the Danish asylum system. Finally, I draw on these data to illustrate how humanitarian migrants enact different political subjectivities.

In the next chapter (II), I conceptualize this research. I bring together literatures of everyday space and practices, migration and security, and subjectivities. I illustrate why we need to examine state's practices in conjunction with humanitarian migrants' narratives of their spaces and practices. This conjunction offers an opportunity to examine what kind of politics and political subjectivities that can emerge in the space of humanitarian migrants. In Chapter III, I explain the methodology of this research project. I layout the methods applied and discuss the importance of positionality, trust, and place. Chapter IV examines first, the historical development of the Danish Immigration Law and, second, how the asylum system and its practices create a space where humanitarian migrants are categorized and understood as vulnerable docile subjects. Chapters V and VI focus specifically on how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life and spaces in the Danish asylum. These two chapters illustrate who humanitarian migrants deal with the everyday practices and space constrained by the state. Furthermore, I examine how humanitarian migrants position themselves against the category "asylum seeker" and are enacting various political subjectivities through everyday tactics, demonstrations, and hunger strikes. Finally in chapter VII, I summarize my research findings.

CHAPTER II: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Geography of Everyday Space, Migration, and Subjectivities

The production of everyday life and space is influenced and permeated by state practices. We experience this permeation in various ways through almost every aspect of our everyday life – child birth, citizenship, and our presence in public spaces. The everyday life and spaces of humanitarian migrants are no exception to such permeation. A humanitarian migrant whose asylum case is in process does not hold citizenship in Denmark; he is forced to live in special asylum centers, and the state determines what education and medical care he can receive. Humanitarian migrants lack the rights afforded by Danish citizenship.

Citizenship as a legal category has become the mechanism that determines a subject's membership of a state and it's civil, social, and political rights (Ehrkamp, et al., 2003, Bosniak, 2006; Staeheli, et al., 2012). Humanitarian migrants who are not members of the state where they seek asylum can mistakenly be conceptualized as non- or apolitical subjects because they seem to be excluded from the ability to claim civil, social, and political rights. But when and how does a subject become a political subject? How do state practices influence the construction of political subjectivities? What role does citizenship play as a state practice? And in which spaces are humanitarian migrants able to enact political subjectivities?

In order to investigate these questions in the light of humanitarian migrants in Denmark, studies within critical geography and social theory, which are concerned with state practices and production of space, are the theoretical point of departure. These studies offer an insight to how we can conceptualize the influence of state practices on the spaces and everyday practices of humanitarian migrants. However, I argue that we need to examine the state's practices in conjunction with humanitarian migrants' narratives of their spaces and practices. Humanitarian migrants' narratives of everyday life can illustrate how they understand and act against the state practices. Therefore, this conjunction offers an opportunity to examine what kind of politics and political subjectivities can emerge in the space of humanitarian migrants.

Everyday Space and Practices

> *"The state is not a unitary object but is, rather, a set of practices enacted*
> *through relationships between people, places, and institutions"*
>
> (Painter, 2006: 764).

State practices permeate our everyday lives through ordinary practices such as schooling, working, shopping, giving birth, and travelling (Painter, 2006). And the everyday lives of humanitarian migrants are no exception to this permeation. A focus on how the state is present in everyday lives enables us to understand how the state is constituted through its involvement in the most ordinary aspects of social life, and how state practices are uneven, constructed, heterogenic, and processual (Painter, 2006). In order to understand the effects of this permeation we need to conceptualize our understanding of the space in which these state practices permeate. What does it mean for our understanding of space to assert that state practices permeate the everyday lives of humanitarian migrants? Furthermore, what can a focus on humanitarian migrants' everyday practices tell us about the production of space?

In order to answer these questions, I turn to the work of Lefebvre (the production of space) and De Certeau (everyday practices), because the work of these two scholars has enabled us understand how space is socially constructed and how spatial practices play a role in the (re)construction of space. Space is a part of our everyday life – we live in it, we are a part of it, and our presences and actions take part in the construction of it. Attention to everyday spaces and practices is pivotal in order to investigate the complexity of how humanitarian migrants' spaces are constructed and reconstructed by various actors, institutions, social relations, and legal restriction.

As a geographical concept, space has been conceptualized and theorized in various ways, which means that there are various conceptual interpretations of space – from the Euclidean geometric understanding of space as a neutral empty "container" (Hubbard, et al., 2004), to De Certeau's idea that space is an effect produced by the practices of a particular place (De Certeau, 1984). The various conceptualizations of space have divided space into different segments such as the physical space, the mental space, and the social space. Thus, the different segments of space appear separate. As a

reaction to this segmentation, Lefebvre calls for a unitary theory of space which includes all segments of space. For Lefebvre, space with its various segments (physical, mental, and social) emerges, exits, and then demises –"(Social) space is a (social) product" (Lefebvre, 1991: 26). Space is neither given nor static. Therefore, the everyday space of humanitarian migrants should be conceptualized as a produced space – a space that includes the physical, the social, and the mental segments – a space that emerges, exits, and demises over time.

Furthermore, with the concepts of spatial practices, representation of space, and representational spaces, Lefebvre illustrates how the state, politics, and discourses do not stand outside the (re)construction of space. Space is political. The space of the asylum centers is politically produced and ordered in relation to the knowledge, ideology, signs, and codes of space. When scientists, politicians, and government officials talk about the space of the asylum centers, they often talk about the space as unified and hegemonic space. In the moment in which state practices are applied and materialized in space, space becomes a site of politics. The placement of humanitarian migrants in asylum centers is one among many state practices that strategically order the space of the state. However, by also focusing on the everyday practices of humanitarian migrants, we can understand how the space is not only strategically ordered by state practices, but also includes struggles and resistance to state practices.

Lefebvre is not explicitly clear in his definition of the three elements of space (spatial practices, representation of space, and representational spaces). The lack of specificity leaves room for (mis)interpretation and misunderstandings. Therefore, I find it necessary to further engage with literature on everyday life and practices. Such engagement enables me to illustrate why we need to examine the everydayness of state practices in conjunction with practices of humanitarian migrants.

Everyday life and space consists of a set of structural practices and routines. An examination of everyday spaces can illuminate how these spaces of humanitarian migrants also consist of struggles. For De Certeau, a place is the order; it is the relation between its elements, and it is stable. "The law of 'proper' rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are beside one another, each situated in its own 'proper' and distinct location, a location it defines" (De Certeau, 1984: 117). Space, on the other hand,

14

is a practice of place. It is the operations, practices, and routines that occur in a place that produce space. The asylum centers, organized and planned by the Danish state, are transformed into spaces by the humanitarian migrants' use and living. Therefore, it is the practices within a place that form space. De Certeau differentiates between the producer and the user.

> "We must first analyze its manipulation by users who are not its makers. Only then can we gauge the difference or similarity between the production of the image and the secondary production hidden in the process of its utilization" (De Certeau, 1984: xiii).

In the section above, I stated that humanitarian migrants take part in the production of space. Based on De Certeau's differentiation between the producer and user, humanitarian migrants' production of space is a secondary production – this production of space takes place through humanitarian migrants' utilization of place produced primarily by the Danish state.

But why do we need to be concerned with this secondary production, the use, and the everyday practices? Everyday practices such as talking, cooking, walking, and moving cannot be reduced to some simple cultural system of behavior; they imply a tactical element – "clever tricks of the 'weak' within the order established by the 'strong,' (…) hunter's tricks, maneuverable, polymorph mobilities, jubilant, poetic, and warlike discoveries" (De Certreau, 1984: 40). De Certeau differentiates between a tactic and a strategy. Whereas a strategy "assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it" (De Certeau, 1984: xix), a tactic "insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance" (De Certeau, 1984: xix). Strategies are able to produce space. Tactics, on the other hand, are able to use and manipulate space.

Drawing on De Certeau's notion of tactics and strategies, Secor illustrates through narratives of migrant women in Istanbul how citizenship works as a spatial strategy to claim belonging and the right to a place (Secor, 2004). Again, the everyday spaces become a central element in our understanding of the struggle over citizenship and belonging – they "are thus both the medium through which citizenship struggles take

15

place and, frequently, that which is at stake in the struggle" (Secor, 2004: 353). The focus on everyday space expressed in the narratives illustrates how Istanbul consists of a constant, negotiated political terrain – identities and social position constructed and reconstructed through everyday spaces and practices (Secor, 2004). Secor's focus on how identities and social positions are (re)constructed through spatial tactics opens the door to further discussion on how political subjectivities can be formed through spatial practices. Therefore, through a focus on the everyday practices of humanitarian migrants in Denmark, this research project contributes to the discussion of how humanitarian migrants can perform various political subjectivities.

In a study of children's life in an Irish asylum center, White focuses on the different lived spatialities of children. Drawing on Holloway and Valentine, White argues that focusing on children's spatial experiences gives us a "way 'in' to 'focus on those everyday spaces in and through which children's identities and lives are made and remade'" (White, 2012: 314f). Like other humanitarian migrants, children living in asylum centers are often seen as passive, dependent, and lacking social agency. White's study illustrates how these children interpret, understand, and act upon the spaces in which they live – these children should be understood as active subjects and not so much as a vulnerable unified group. Therefore, White's findings confirm that it is essential to examine humanitarian migrants' spatial experiences and practices in order to understand how they perform various political subjectivities. However, because White's study took place in a different context (Ireland) and with a different group of migrants (children), it is not prudent to argue that we will unearth the same findings in Denmark. The group in focus here is adult humanitarian migrants. This group will position themselves differently from children. Furthermore, this group's everyday life is influenced by state practices that are different from those by which children would be influenced. The political, social, and geographical context influences our empirical findings. Secor's and White's studies highlight the importance of spatial experiences and practices because the everyday spaces and practices are shaped by and engage the state. In the context of immigration, Luibhéid (2002), Chavez (2008), Staeheli & Nagel (2008), Khosravi (2009), Mountz (2010, 2011), Martin (2011), and Hyndman & Giles (2011) have all examined issues related to how state practices permeate and shape everyday spaces.

Geopolitics of Migration & Feminist Political Geography

In this section, I conceptually situate this research project within the recent literature on geopolitics of migration and feminist political geography. Specifically, I focus on migration research that is involved with different aspects of securitization. Since the 2000s, geographers concerned with migration and securitization have published on aspects including the externalization / internalization of border management (Coleman, 2007, 2009; Baumann, et al., 2011, Feldman 2011), insecurity of migrants (Luibhéid, 2002; Staeheli & Nagel, 2008; Chavez, 2008), profiling of migrants (Razack 2008), criminalization of migrants (Nevis, 2002; Khosravi, 2011; Mountz, 2010; Bacon, 2008; Luibheid 2010), and life in detention centers (Khosravi, 2009; Mountz, 2011; Martin 2011).

From a geopolitical perspective, securitization is here understood as a state strategy. Since the 1990s, the borders of Europe and North America have securitized in order to control the flow of migrants across the borders. With the strategy of securitization has followed other state practices and strategies such as policing / enforcement, externalization of borders, and racialization of migrants. This section illustrates how these state practices and strategies intervene in- and permeate the everyday life of migrants. By drawing on feminist political geography, I argue that a focus on humanitarian migrants' everyday lives allows us to see how their politics and political subjectivities are formed in and through space.

Migration & Security: Spatial Strategies, Externalization, Racialization

> *"The problem of security is the protection of the collective*
> *interests against individual interests"*
> (Foucault, 2008: 65).

Since the 1990s, several Western countries (the United States, Canada, the European Union, and Australia) have increased their border and migration enforcement. In the case of the United States, scholars argue that the border and migration enforcement is no longer only present at the actual physical border (Coleman, 2007, 2009; Baumann,

et al., 2011). The migration enforcement is "a localized as well as inward-looking national security practice" (Coleman, 2009: 907). The migration enforcement has been de-territorialized from the actual border. We see this de-territorialization in the form of programs like Secure Communities[11]. Coleman has argued that the "border" is now everywhere in the interior landscape of the United States and immigration agents are controlling and policing the interior landscape for suspected immigrants (Coleman, 2007; 2009; Winders, 2007).

In the case of Europe, the internal borders of the European Union, to a large extent, "disappeared" with the arrival Schengen Agreement, in favor of a so-called 'Fortress Europe' (Leitner, 1997). Because of the free movement of humans within the European Union, European governments have argued that it has been essential to secure the European borders from non-Europeans and to control the humans who come in to the European Union. Therefore, waves of migrants are controlled through a highly securitized migration apparatus (Léonard, 2010; Feldman, 2011). The institution FRONTEX[12] is EU's external border security apparatus. Politically, the aim of FRONTEX is to protect EU's border against unwanted entries of things, animals, and people – to protect and control the territory of the European Union. Through FRONTEX, the European Union has various agreements with North African countries which allow FRONTEX to monitor the coast of those North African countries. The European Union has, thereby, extended its border to the coast of the North African countries. The border surveillance takes place in all three dimensions of physical space – land-based, sea-based, and airborne (satellites and helicopters) (Feldman, 2011). The externalization of the EU border enables the European Union to stop migrants before they reach the actual border of the European Union (Gammeltoft, 2010). Furthermore, Wren (2001), Salter (2004), and Feldman (2011) have argued that the disappearance of the internal borders has led to an increase of nationalism – the nation states have lost some of their functions and sovereignty. The European countries have expressed a concern about a lack of national control in relation to immigration and security. These concerns pushed towards a strengthening of EU's external borders. The externalization of the European borders

---

[11] Secure Communities was implemented in 2008
[12] FRONTEX – European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union

consists of both a "removal" of the borders between the EU countries and an actual extension of EU's exterior borders (Salter, 2004; Bialasiewicz, et al., 2005; 2009; 2012).

In line with the externalization of state borders, Hyndman and Mountz (2008) have examined how the geographical location of detention centers is another aspect of externalization. Detention centers in Western countries (EU, Canada, United States, and Australia) have been externalized to remote locations and a non-sovereign territory (Hyndman & Mountz, 2008; Mountz, 2010). Mountz (2010) argues that nation-states strategically use geography to exclude and deny migrants access to asylum. This creates powerful spaces and geographies of exclusion as "[e]nforcement practices grow more transnational, and the relationship between migrants, refugees, and nation-states grows more ambiguous as nation-states manipulate geography to deny access" (Mountz, 2010: 145). Hyndman & Mountz (2008) use Agamben's concept of *homo sacer* to argue that humanitarian migrants placed in the externalization of detention centers are included through exclusion. The externalization of state borders and detention centers illustrates how the state strategically makes it increasingly difficult, economically and in terms of safety, for migrants to reach a sovereign territory where they can claim asylum.

The securitization of borders, territory, and population has increasingly led to a shift in how transnational migrants are understood and treated. Scholars have illustrated how migrants have been criminalized and how undocumented migrants are often identified as illegal (Khosravi, 2011; Mountz, 2010; Bacon, 2008; Luibheid 2010; Coleman, 2012). In the case of undocumented migrants, this group of migrants has increasingly been identified as illegal and thereby criminal. They are seen as a potential threat to the nation state because their migrant status as undocumented undermines the rule of law. Khosravi states that this criminalization of migrants has become essential to the way Western states are handling migration. "Redefining a social issue as crime, and categorizing an affected group as criminals, is a political strategy to legitimate further intervention into matters not previously regarded as criminal" (Khosravi, 2011: 21). By "making" migrants criminal, the state can more easily treat them as such. This affects both how migrants are talked about and their legal rights. However, the criminalization does not only influence undocumented migrants and documented migrants' legal rights. As Mountz has illustrated in her ethnography of the Canadian state, the securitization and

criminalization have made it increasingly difficult for transnational migrants to reach sovereign territory where they can make asylum claims. Mountz argues that, "Unfortunately for those seeking protection, refugees are being melded with terrorists, so that all forms of human migration become suspect and securitized" (Mountz, 2010: 113).

The securitization of immigration goes hand in hand with the increasing racialization of immigrants and their portrayal as either threatening to the welfare state (Wren, 2001; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Chavez, 2008) or as potential terrorists who undermine national sovereignty (Razack, 2008; Wendy Brown 2010, Martin, 2011). Particularly after 9/11, several Western countries have used racial profiling to secure themselves against suspected terrorists. Terrorists have been pictured as men with Muslim or Arab appearance (Razack, 2008; Staeheli, et al., 2008). Razack states that racial profiling is highly problematic because these people are criminalized without committing a crime - "the 'crime' in security cases is not a crime but something born in the blood or the psyche" (Razack, 2008: 35). September 11th fueled the discourse of security, terrorism, and migrants. Nevertheless, the racialization of transnational migrants is not a new practice within the security apparatus. As Coleman has illustrated, racialization and criminalization of undocumented migrants has been a part of the discourse of security since the 1990s - "(…) the message in 1996 was that undocumented migration was a constitutive feature of both [terrorism and welfare abuse] (…)" (Coleman, 2008: 16). Chavez contends that in the recent immigration debate, anti-immigrant arguments state that the United States needs to protect their "American values" – values which are often understood as universal (Chavez, 2008). However, in the anti-immigrant discourse, transnational migrants are not only understood as a threat to the nation's values, but are also seen as a threat to the nation's security, welfare, labor market, and culture. Razack has argued that this imagination of threat is a part of today's race thinking. Race thinking is a structure that divides the world into "us" and "them" – "(…) between the deserving and the undeserving according to descent" (Razack, 2008: 8). The structure of race thinking consists of a racial and social hierarchy. When the protection of "national values" is articulated, it produces the racial hierarchy. The articulation automatically states that people who do not share these "national values" cannot be included in the nation state.

As I show in Chapter IV, racialization and criminalization are part of the practices the Danish state uses. I argue that a focus on racialization and criminalization in the case of Denmark allows us to see how values of the Danish welfare state and human rights get challenged in the Danish asylum policy and state practices.

Feminist Political Geography

Scholars have paid attention to the insecurity and uncertainty of the people who are seen as unwanted and as a threat to the nation-state (Luibhéid, 2002; Winders, 2007; Staeheli & Nagel, 2008; Chavez, 2008; Razack 2008). Several scholars, including Nevins, have argued that the criminalization has led to an insecurity and uncertainty among migrants, which has forced them into the shadows of society. A life in the shadows might make these people likely to break other laws in order to survive (Nevis, 2002). Coleman has shown that the aim of the Secure Communities in the United States has been to destabilize undocumented migrants' everyday life. This destabilization is manifested in the micro geographical space of immigrants' lives. In the post-9/11 era, the number of immigrants deported directly from homes, workplaces, neighborhoods, shopping centers, streets, and hospitals increased (Coleman, 2009).

Feminist political geography offers a way in which I can critically address how state practices construct spaces of exclusion and permeate the everyday life of humanitarian migrants, which influences their bodies and subjectivities. The aim is to investigate the geopolitical struggle, tension, and conflicts within the everyday space of humanitarian migrants. As Coleman's finding of destabilization of migrants' life illustrates, state practices and discourses of national security influence the everyday life and spaces of migrants. Through a feminist geo-political approach, scholars have questioned the discourse of national security, the vulnerable (female) migrant, and addressed how state practices create spaces of exclusion, immobility, and struggle (Hyndman, 2010; Dixon, et al., 2011).

In a study of Arab-Americans and British Arab Activists, Staeheli & Nagel state that the notion of national security is ambiguous – the security for the citizens of the United States has caused insecurity for those who are likely to have a risk profile. This insecurity has affected mobility, political rights, and daily lives of Arab-Americans. The

ways in which Western countries approach security offer an insight to questions of democracy, but a focus on how practices of security are experienced offers an opportunity to rethink security (Staeheli, et al., 2008). That is to say, security is a political technology, and practices of (state) security permeate people's everyday life, which can lead to insecurity. Staeheli & Nagel's work illustrates the geographical unevenness of how state practices are applied and experienced. On a different geographical scale, Hyndman & Giles have made a similar argument regarding the geographical unevenness of security. They argue that refugees "on the run" in the global North (a security threat) are understood differently from the refugees "staying in place" in the global South (depoliticized and feminized). "'Real' refugees wait in camps with temporary, prima facie status, whereas asylum seekers at the borders of the EU, US, Canada or Australia who seek Convention status are framed as security threats" (Hyndman, et al., 2011: 374). The geographical location of where humanitarian migrants live influences how these people are understood by Western states. However, Hyndman & Giles' study only speaks to how humanitarian migrants are understood by the state; they do not show how the geographical location influences humanitarian migrants' understanding of themselves in relation to security. The risk of only showing how humanitarian migrants are feminized by the state and political discourses of migration is that such a representation can lead to the assumption that humanitarian migrants as a unified group are vulnerable, helpless, passive, and static. This feminization of migrants can be understood as part of what Lauren Martin has defined as the geopolitics of vulnerability, which includes the legal, discursive, and spatial state tactics (Martin, 2011). In the case of Martin's study, the adult migrants are seen as a threat and self-conscious actor, similar to the case of migrants in the global North, and children are seen as vulnerable and depoliticized objects, similar to the feminized migrants in the global South. In line with Martin's idea of geopolitics of vulnerability, Fitzgerald argues that state practices (re)construct women as vulnerable. Human trafficking as a case offers an insight to how the state constructs the trafficked woman as helpless, naive, vulnerable, and in need of state protection. Vulnerability comes to function as a technique within state practices to identify perceived threats to the state (Fitzgerald, 2010).

These state practices also influence and construct particular kinds of bodies. Luibhéid (2002) and Berger (2009) have both illustrated how the U.S. immigration enforcement constructs and regulates immigrant women's sexual identities. The regulations are related to gender, sexuality, class, race, and nationality. Furthermore, Luibhéid states that the experiences of violence and sexual abuse caused by the border patrol agents have increased. Sometimes the violence results in death. Often the violence and sexual abuse remain hidden (Luibhéid, 2002). "While standing for law and order against violence and illegality, the wall not only generates violence and non-state rogue actors, but licenses rogue state activity" (Brown, 2010: 113). The practice of violence has become normalized by the federal government in the name of fighting the threat of immigrants (Nevins, 2010). Therefore, a geopolitical feminist focus on migrants' bodies and the bodily performance can illustrate how state practices, sometimes violently, not only permeate the practices of crossing the border, but also influence how migrants perform their bodies and sexuality. By paying attention to bodies in space, we can similarly illustrate how migrants encounter state practices such as criminalization, racialization, (violent) policing, and law enforcement, and how these practices influence how migrants perform their bodies.

The border is one among many spaces where migrants encounter and experience spatial state practices. In the case of humanitarian migrants and refugees, life in asylum / detention centers has often been described as pre-modern prison (Khosravi, 2009), a life in limbo (Mountz, 2010; 2011), and a space dominated by waiting and insecurity (Mountz, 2010; Hyndman et al., 2011). Life conditions there can best be characterized as "don't die survival" (Hyndman, et al., 2011). Agamben's theory of the state of exception and bare life has been applied in order to conceptualize the space of- and life in these centers. The externalized detention centers at non-sovereign territories have been understood as spaces where the state of exception rules and the detainees have been understood as the figure of *homo sacer* (Rajaram et al., 2004; Salter, 2008; Vitus, 2011). The figure of *homo sacer* is excluded from human jurisdiction, i.e. from the legal political order. But does this enable us to conclude that humanitarian migrants, because of their lack of citizenship, are *homo sacer*?

Whether or not humanitarian migrants can be described as the figure of homo sacer, life in the asylum- and detention centers is marked by waiting. Conceptually, Conlon describes waiting as "actively produced, embodied, experienced, politicized and resisted across a range of migrant spaces" (Conlon, 2011: 355). Feminist scholars such as Hyndman & Giles, Mountz, Schuster, and Gray have all illustrated how waiting is part of geopolitics; socially produced, experienced, and resisted in the everyday space of humanitarian migrants. It is essential to highlight that waiting is experienced. Though scholars have described life in detention centers as a life in limbo, waiting can be more than limbo. Approaching waiting as something experienced offers an insight into the practices, tactics, and resistance that can take place in the space of detention / asylum centers. This conceptualization of waiting leads me to further question how waiting functions as political strategy to a- or de-politicize humanitarian migrants. Furthermore, from a critical feminist perspective, we need to ask questions about how state practices and the discourse of security and vulnerability permeate migrants' subjectivities.

The Political Subject

> *"Migrants struggle to fit themselves into policies, and the mismatch plays out as state reads body and bodies read states"* (Mountz, 2010: xxviii).

As mentioned in the introduction, I find the category "asylum seeker" problematic and I am therefore using the term humanitarian migrants. However, this does not mean that I do not come across the category "asylum seeker" in my research. I have seen how the category is used and how this categorization of a particular group of migrants affects both the migrants and how they are understood and talked about within society, politics, and the media. The category "asylum seeker" produces, like other categories, a particular identity (Mountz, 2010). In order to critically analyze the "meaning" and effects of such a categorization, I draw on Foucault's theory of governmentality.

I contend that the Danish state de-politicize this group of migrants through the use of the category "asylum seeker". However, an examination of how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life illustrates that humanitarian migrants do not necessarily

understand themselves as de-politicized subjects; instead they are trying to act politically in various ways.

Governmentality and Subjectivities

Through his genealogical analysis of the modern Western society, Foucault develops the concept of governmentality. Specifically, Foucault explained his idea of governmentality in the essay *Governmentality,* which appeared for the first time in English in the journal *Ideology and Consciousness*. The essay has since been reprinted in the book *The Foucault Effect* in 1991, and the lecture series *Security, Territory, Population*, from which the essay originates was published in English in 2007 (Burchell, et al., 1991; Foucault, 2007). Since the first English publication in 1979, geographers have widely drawn on the concept of governmentality in order to examine, as Huxley states, "the role of space in disciplining, fostering, managing and monitoring the conducts of individuals and the qualities of populations" (Crampton, et al., 2007: 185).

For Foucault, the concept of governmentality implies three things. First, governmentality is an ensemble that makes the power possible. This form of power has population as its primary target, political economy as its principal form of knowledge, and the apparatus of security as its technical means of operating (Foucault, 2007). This form of governmentality can also be described as biopolitics. Biopolitics is different from the anatomo-politics (disciplinary power) but it does not exclude it, rather it integrates it. Biopolitics is concerned with the population, with the human race. Birth rates, mortality rates, and longevity become the biopolitics' object of knowledge and target of what it seeks to control. "Biopolitics is the means by which the group of living beings understood as a population is measured in order to be governed" (Elden, 2006: 4). With biopolitics the population becomes the political problem. The mechanisms of biopolitics (forecasts, statistical estimates, and overall measures) do not to seek to modify the individual body, they seek to regulate the general phenomena, such as the level of humanitarian migrants who seek asylum or are granted asylum.

Second, governmentality is the power of the government. For Foucault "government" as a concept does not only imply the management of a state or a certain political structure. Government is understood in terms of "the conduct of conduct"; the

government of others, of souls and lives, and the government of the self by the self. As Foucault has argued:

> "[The government] did not only cover the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection but also modes of action, more or less considered or calculated, which were destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people" (Foucault, 1982: 790).

Governmentality, therefore, refers to a way of governing – a particular way in which individual bodies and the collective body of population are governed. Governmentality as the power of the government includes all forms of power (sovereignty, discipline, security). This is the power "by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982, 777). Therefore, the power within governmentality can be characterized as biopower – bio-political power and anatomo-political power work in conjunction (Schlosser, 2008). It operates through the techniques of the self – through the agency of individual human beings.

Third, governmentality is the result of a process where the state of justice over time has been governmentalized (Foucault, 2007). For the state of justice to be governmentalized means that the question is no longer of imposing law on men. Instead, the question is of ordering things – "of employing tactics rather than laws, and even of using laws themselves as tactics" (Burchell, et al., 1991: 95).

Drawing on Foucault's notion(s) of governmentality allows us to understand how the subject of an individual human being is produced and governed, and governs itself through the mechanisms and technologies of power. The subject is "a product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces" (Foucault, 1980: 74). The productive form of power produces the subject and provides the condition of the subject's existence (Butler, 1997). "This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him" (Foucault, 1982: 6). The individual becomes a subject through various techniques of power such as characterization, calculation, categorization, and normalization. These techniques form the subject, its habits and behaviors. Simultaneously, the individual's reflexivity, her

ability to govern herself, her ability to turn upon oneself, her ability to reflect upon her constituted identity as prisoner or asylum seeker further forms the subject – the individual is subject to her own identity through self-knowledge (Butler, 1997). To a large extent, the process of subjection takes place through everyday spaces and practices – on the micro level of institutions where humanitarian migrants are "confronted" with their identity as "asylum seeker".

Foucault's concepts of governmentality and biopolitics offer insights to understand how governmental practices and strategies are related to both the construction of humanitarian migrants' spaces and their subjectivities. When Foucault writes "population", it is important to remember that population does not necessarily refer to the total population of a nation state. In the case of migrants, we can talk of the population of citizens, the population of undocumented migrants, and the population of humanitarian migrants. The different populations can be exposed to different regulations. Furthermore, the concept of the conduct of conduct allows us to see how humanitarian migrants "govern" themselves in relation to the category, identity, and strategies imposed on them.

The (De)Politicized Subject

Citizenship as a legal category has been a way to constitute the members of a state and their civil, social, and political rights (Ehrkamp, et al., 2003, Bosniak, 2006; Staeheli, et al., 2012). When humanitarian migrants seek asylum, they might technically hold a citizenship from the country they fled, but they do not hold a Danish citizenship. Therefore they are not included as member of the state and do not have the same rights as Danish citizens.

Agamben has argued that the legal form of citizenship granted through jus soli (birth) or jus sanguinis (descent) transforms the subject (man as bare natural life) into a citizen (man as a politicized subject). Furthermore, he states that a human being (man) has rights "solely to the extent that man is the immediately vanishing ground (who must never come to light as such) of the citizen (Agamben, 1998: 128). Agamben concludes that refugees, due to their inability to claim citizenship (claim their rights), are breaking the continuity between man and citizen. A refugee represents man as bare natural life (bare life) (Agamben, 1998). Agamben's theory of bare life might lead us to conclude

27

that humanitarian migrants, due to their inability to claim rights through citizenship, are reduced to bare life, excluded from all political life, and excluded from "performing a juridically valid act" (Agamben, 1998: 183). However, I argue that there is no direct link between being a political subject and being a citizen. Being a non-citizen does not mean that you are a non-political subject.

Humanitarian migrants are not reduced to bare life or non-political subjects. They are included in the juridical order (Immigration Law), they are able to make a juridically valid act, and they are able to act politically and claim rights. Indeed, they do not hold citizenship of the country where they seek asylum and they are not granted the same rights as citizens, such as the right to vote, the right to run for public office, and the right to public education, healthcare, and social benefits. But what constitutes a political subject? And, (how) is the political subject connected to citizenship?

Ranciére has defined politics as that which deviates from the normal order of things. Politics can be described as disturbance. "It consists in making what was unseen visible; in making what was audible as mere noise heard as speech and in demonstrating that what appeared as a mere expression of pleasure and pain is a shared feeling of a good and an evil" (Ranciére, 2012: 38). Politics, therefore, takes place in space. Politics transforms space in order to make unseen things, bodies or subjects visible, to make the silenced heard as speech, and to be recognized as part of a community.

The political subject is a subject that holds the capacity to create politics, to disturb the normal order, to make dissensus (Ranciére, 2012). Furthermore, a subject is a political subject because she is operator "of a particular dispositif of subjectivation and litigation through which politics come into existence" (Ranciére, 2012: 39). Thus, Ranciére's notion of politics and the political subject offer a way in which we can understand the spaces and actions of migrants as a potential space for politics and different political subjectivities.

"Historically citizenship has been the identity through which claims to political being are enacted" (Isin, 2008: 162). Citizenship has often been understood as the mechanism through which the subject has been defined as a political subject because citizenship gives the subject political rights such as the right to vote, freedom of speech, and the right to run for public office. However, as scholars have argued, the political

subject is not constituted simply through citizenship (Isin, 2002; Isin, et al., 2008; Ranciere, 2012). As Ranciére states, "man" and "citizen" are both political subjects. "Man" and "citizen" are both political predicates, which are not definite collectivities. As political predicates, they are changeable and generate a dispute about who is included and excluded.

In the case of non-status migrants in Canada, Nyers argues that identifying "as 'non-status' is to engage in a political act, (…) – an act of political subjectification" (Isin, et al., 2008: 162). Citizenship as an act can be enacted by both non-citizens and citizens. What matters is not the actor's status (whether or not she is a citizen), but the act itself. In this understanding of politics and citizenship, "the subjects constitute themselves as citizens (…) – as those to whom the right to have rights is due" (Isin, et al., 2008: 161f). Therefore, citizenship is socially produced through acts and processes of struggle and claim-making; through acts where subjects constitute themselves as citizens (Isin, et al., 2008).

Within studies of citizenship, scholars, particularly focusing on citizenship as more than just a legal category, have illustrated how citizenship is practiced and experienced through people's everyday life (Ehrkamp, et al., 2006; Glenn, 2010), and how citizenship, through the ordinary, is constructed through the interactions of both status and position (Staeheli, et al., 2012). Scholars have argued that immigrants' participation in civic associations offers a space through which migrants can act politically and claim rights, and that citizenship, therefore, is also a social practice that people take part in beyond the state (Ehrkamp, et al., 2003; Sziarto, et al., 2010). Furthermore, scholars have examined how migrants have practiced citizenship across national boundaries and in multiple public spheres (Nagel, et al. 2004; Ehrkamp, et al., 2003; Waters, 2003).

Citizenship as a legal category functions as state practice that differentiates between subjects. It defines who is a member and who is not a member, who has rights granted by the state and who does not have rights granted by the state. But citizenship as a legal category does not define who is a political subject and who is not a political subject. Humanitarian migrants can be political subjects because of their ability or capacity to create dissensus. Hence, my research seeks to contribute to a broader and

more complex understanding of what political subjectivities emerge in the exclusionary spaces of humanitarian migrants.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

"The term 'science' has had a long history of masculinism because it has represented a powerful force in society that has consistently ignored or actively suppressed diverse forms of knowledge production, the importance of gender and other sets of relationships on constructing multiple truths" (Moss, et al., 2002: 47).

In order to capture the complexity of migration legislation, humanitarian migrants, and their everyday spaces, this research applied three different qualitative research methods; archival research, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews were used to collect the empirical data necessary. In this chapter, I explain the methodological aim of the three different methods and how the three methods have been applied. Throughout the chapter, I discuss the limits and challenges of the three methods that I have experienced through my field work. Particularly, I critically discuss the role or position of being a researcher, an activist, a friend, and a Dane living in the United States in relation to my field, the humanitarian migrants whom I met, and my findings.

Archival Research

"Archives are social constructs. Their origins lie in the information needs and social values of the rulers, governments, businesses, associations, and individuals who establish and maintain them" (Schwart, et al., 2002: 3). My research project focuses on the archives comprised of policy documents: the Danish Immigration Law 1983-2012, the contract between the Danish State and the Danish Red Cross of 2012, "A new immigrations policy" from 2002, and the yearly reports from Immigration Service. These archives are produced by the Danish government and its officials.

Through an examination of these archives, I illustrate how they produce knowledge, signs, and codes about asylum, space, and humanitarian migrants (Chapter IV). The knowledge, signs, and codes produced are not objective – for example, they are influenced by the ideology of the government, the UN refugee convention, the European Union, and public debates about migration.

"(…), the individual document is not just a bearer of historical content, but also a reflection of the needs and desires of its creator, the purpose(s) for its creation, the audience(s) viewing the record, the broader legal, technical, organizational, social, and cultural-intellectual contexts in which the creator and the audience operated and in which the document is made meaningful (…)" (Schwartz, et al., 2002: 3).

The archives that this research is concerned with aim to establish a political order in relation to migration and asylum.

The fieldwork of this research project took place in an interesting political moment, where there was a political push to change the Danish Immigration Law with regard to humanitarian migrants' right to live and work outside the asylum centers[13].

There have been more than sixty amendments to the Immigration Law in the past three decades, and during that same timespan, there have been seven governments in parliament. If we pay attention to the different political contexts in which the amendments were passed, we can understand the discursive development of the Danish state's understanding and treatment of humanitarian migrants. Therefore, the political context(s) in which these archives were produced is essential.

The various archives are analyzed using critical discourse analysis in order to examine how the Danish state permeates and (re)produces the spaces of humanitarian migrants (Chapter IV). Furthermore, I investigate how the state, through its laws, regulations and practices, contributes to a particular categorization of humanitarian migrants as "asylum seekers" (Chapter VI).

Participant Observation

I conducted participant observation at *"the Trampoline House"* in Copenhagen. The Trampoline House is a user-driven cultural house for humanitarian migrants, Danes,

---

[13] For the last two election periods, Denmark has been governed by a coalition of Conservative People's Party (CPP) and the Left Liberal Party of Denmark (LLPD), with parliamentary support from the Danish People's Party (DPP). At the general election in the fall of 2011, a new government was elected, a coalition of Social Democratic (SD), Socialist People's Party (SPP), and Red-Green Alliance (RGA). The new government announced that they aimed to create a more human migration policy. In September 2012, the Immigration Law was changed in order to allow a particular group of humanitarian migrants to work and live outside the asylum centers.

and everyone else who wants to meet, learn, and share stories and experiences. The house is non-profit and self-organized. It was established in 2010 by humanitarian migrants and Danish asylum activists, and it is located in the central part of Copenhagen (The Trampoline House, 2012). The Trampoline House offers different facilities and activities, such as the d'Funk T House Café, the kitchen, the counseling room, the library and reading zone, the children's corner, the hair & tailor salon, the IT zone, the multi zone (meetings, classes, workshops, film screening, live music, and performance), English classes, French classes, Arabic classes, Danish classes, medical service, women's program, and a children's youth club.

I chose the Trampoline House as the site for participant observation because it provided the opportunity to meet humanitarian migrants outside the asylum center. The Trampoline House is not affiliated with the Danish State. Rather, the Trampoline House as a community has a political standpoint; it works politically for a better life for humanitarian migrants. Based on my experiences in the field, doing participant observation (through volunteering) at this site made it easier for me to build a trusting relationship with humanitarian migrants than if the research site had been an asylum center. I will return to questions of trust and positionality.

Participant observation served to observe the activities, spatial practices, and interactions between the users of the house in order "to understand how people create and experience their words through processes such as place making, inhabiting social spaces, forging local and transnational networks, and representing and decolonizing spatial imaginaries" (DeLyser, et al., 2010: 121f). As Lefebvre has argued, space consists of complex social relations and knowledge. Participant observations at the Trampoline House allowed for a deeper understanding of the complexity of humanitarian migrants' everyday space – their spatial practice, interactions, and social life (Crabtree, et al. 1999).

This method focuses on more than simply verbal language and verbal exchange. Through participant observation, I was able to examine how bodies interact and constitute places. Sometimes, when people do not all speak the same language; they seek to communicate on an equal footing through their body language. For this reason, embodied actions and emotions were important elements of the participant observation. Furthermore, the house's ideal of being an open and inclusive community – one that did

not differentiate between migrants and non-migrants – carried over in the users' welcoming body language and attitude towards new and old users; it constituted the social space of the house.

I came to the Trampoline House on a daily basis from the middle of May 2012 to the middle of August 2012, except for two weeks in June. I spent most of my time there participating in the weekly house meetings, talking to people over coffee, and lending a hand where I could (this included cooking, making coffee, and picking up bread and vegetables at local grocers who donated food to the house). These activities always involved other users of the house, which allowed me to meet, interact with, and learn from them. The house was closed in July because of the Danish summer holiday. The house opened again in August, which happened to be during Ramadan[14]. This meant that the first couple of weeks in August, there were not a lot of people in the house. The majority of the humanitarian migrants simply stayed in the center or tried to make the trips to the city as short as possible. At Friday dinners, humanitarian migrants who fasted would sometimes show up and not eat but instead bring their food back to the centers. For my research, the event Ramadan implied that I had a harder time getting in contact with potential interviewees toward the end of my time in the field.

Qualitative Semi-Structured Interviews and Mental Mapping

The aim of qualitative semi-structured interviews with humanitarian migrants was to obtain knowledge about how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life and spaces. As a method, qualitative semi-structured interviewing allows for meaning and knowledge to be created through the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee – it is a conversation, a personal contact that gives the interviewer an insight into the interviewee's lived world (Kvale, et al., 2009). "A semi-structured life world interview attempts to understand themes of the lived everyday world from the subjects' own perspective" (Kvale, et al., 2009: 27). Furthermore, the goal of these narratives has also been to give the humanitarian migrants a voice – a voice that is often not heard or neglected because of the humanitarian migrants' lack of resources and legal status. As I will illustrate in Chapter VI, an attention to humanitarian migrants' narratives can allow

---

[14] In 2012, Ramadan began July 19th and finished August 18th.

us to examine the complexity of humanitarian migrants as (political)subjects and how various subjectivities are performed.

I conducted thirteen qualitative semi-structured interviews. Eleven of these interviews were with humanitarian migrants. Two of the eleven humanitarian migrants I met through my two visits to a Red Cross asylum center, and not in the Trampoline House. The two interviews that were not conducted with humanitarian migrants were conducted with a staff member of the Trampoline house, and a staff member of the Danish Red Cross.
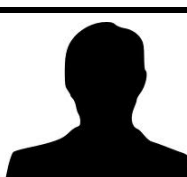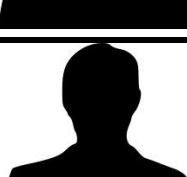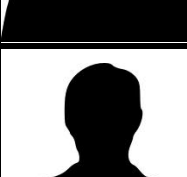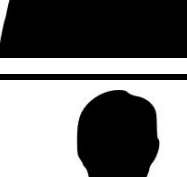
Five of the interviews were conducted with the help of an interpreter. Using an interpreter may limit the researcher's interpretation of- and access to what exactly the interviewee says word by word. In some cases there may be incorrect translations. I tried to avoid these situations in various ways. First, I got to know the interpreter before I asked her if she wanted to translate interviews for me. Through the participant observation in the Trampoline House, I got a chance to interact with her on a daily basis and we had several conversations about asylum and life in the Middle East and in Denmark. Second, through the interview guide I made several verification checks and I got the interpreter to repeat the interviewee's answer to the interviewee. Third, participant observation allowed me to build a relationship to the research subjects, I did not always understand exactly what they were saying (verbally) but I was able to build a relationship to them and have knowledge about their body language.

Humanitarian migrants' experience of their everyday life and space is not uniform. Their asylum case, social and historical background, age, environment (placement in asylum center or private accommodation), gender, and ethnicity can play a role in shaping their experiences. Therefore, this research does not aim to reach one singular representation of how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday spaces in Denmark. Instead, this research aims to collect and present diverse narratives that illustrate different aspects of humanitarian migrants' everyday life.

Before I began my field work, I aimed to choose interviewees with different backgrounds, age, gender, ethnicity, and accommodation. The majority of the humanitarian migrants who come to Denmark are from Middle Eastern countries, Russia, and North African countries; approximately 70% of all humanitarian migrants are men.

As the table below illustrates, the majority of my interviewees are men and from the Middle East.

Table 2: Presentation of Interviewees

Name: Abdul **Gender:** Male **Origin:** Middle East Abdul has been in Denmark for less than a year.	**Name:** Mustafa **Gender:** Male **Origin:** Middle East Mustafa has been in Denmark for more than 3 years.
Name: Hadi **Gender:** Male **Origin:** Middle East Hadi has been in Denmark for more than 1½ year.	**Name:** Jamal **Gender:** Male **Origin:** Africa Jamal has been in Denmark for more than a year.
Name: Maysan **Gender:** Female **Origin:** Middle East Maysan has been in Denmark for less than a year.	**Name:** Fadi **Gender:** Male **Origin:** Middle East Fadi has been in Denmark for more than a year.
Name: Hanna **Gender:** Female **Origin:** Africa Hanna has been in Denmark since 2008.	**Name:** Sarah **Gender:** Female **Origin:** Middle East Sarah has been in Denmark for less than a year and is married with a Danish citizen. Sarah was granted asylum Summer 2012.
Name: Wilma **Gender:** Female **Origin:** Africa Wilma has been in Denmark since 2007.	**Name:** Rami **Gender:** Male **Origin:** Middle East Rami has been in Denmark for more than a year.
Name: Maja **Gender:** Female **Origin:** Denmark Maja has worked for Red Cross for 4 years. She worked for the Trampoline House until Oct. 2012	**Name:** Tamir **Gender:** Male **Origin:** Middle East Tamir has been in Denmark for less than a year.
Name: Louise **Gender:** Female **Origin:** Denmark Louise has worked for Red Cross for more than 10 years.	

My interpreter was also an important gatekeeper. She had a formal internship with the Trampoline House; she translated the house meetings, and she was actively involved in the political work regarding humanitarian migrants' rights and life in the Danish asylum system. She was born and raised in the Middle East, which meant that she had an understanding of the interviewees' cultural, historical, and political background. At the same time, she was somewhat familiar with the Danish governmental system and culture because of the different internships she had previously done in Denmark. Furthermore, because she believed in this research project and trusted me, she was able to explain to the humanitarian migrants that she knew that it was okay to do an interview with me. I did not find the right gatekeeper among African migrants, thus I was not able to establish the same trust among the humanitarian migrants from North African countries[15]. I will return to what it meant for my research and my position that the Trampoline House functioned as my research site.

I used mental mapping as part of my interviews. I asked the interviewees to draw a map of their everyday spaces. The majority of the times, I asked them to draw their room. The aim of the mental maps was to get a deeper understanding of everyday spaces and spatial practices (Nagar, 1997; Ehrkamp, 2012). These mapping activities sought to begin a conversation about how migrants navigated between- and acted in different spaces – how they experienced their life in the asylum centers. However, the mental mapping method did not go as smoothly as I had expected. The majority of the interviewees seemed surprised when I asked them to draw their rooms, and they often replied: "You want me to *draw* my room???" The majority of the interviewees drew maps, some were very detailed and others were very small. I asked the interviewees to explain their mental maps and we got to talk about the space of the room in relation to other spaces. Although I initially felt that this method fell short, my time in the field encouraged me to re-evaluate. I realized that while the maps did not lead to great conversations, the exercise partially illustrated how humanitarian migrants feel about the space in the asylum center in relation to other spaces, such as Copenhagen, another city,

---

[15] As Table 1 illustrates, Denmark receives a relative large group of migrants from Russia. I met very few Russian migrants through my time in the field. There can be various reasons why this group of migrants did not come to the Trampoline House. But because I did not encounter many Russian migrants and I did therefore neither interview them.

or their former home. Such feelings were often expressed through the actual activity of drawing the map, such as making the map really small, erasing the map, or questioning why I asked them to draw a map in the first place.

I also visited three different asylum centers – Center Sandholm, Center Sigerslev, and Center Kongelunden – in order to become more familiar with the spatiality of the centers. These visits helped me to better understand certain elements that research subjects had talked about, like the limited private space, the daily routines, and distance to bigger cities. The empirical aim of visiting asylum centers was to clarify questions, interpretation, and wonder. More and longer visits to the centers would have enabled me to explore the daily spatial practices to a larger extent and make connections to the migrants who do not come to the Trampoline House. However, throughout my field work I realized that it takes time to make trustful connections to humanitarian migrants. Therefore, in order to get a more in-depth understanding of the role of Red Cross, spatial practices in the centers, and power relations regarding gender, nationalities, and ethnicities, I would need to spend more time in the field than one summer.

In this research project, participant observation, interviews, and mental mapping generated empirical data that overlap and complement each other. I began my field work with participant observation in the Trampoline House. The knowledge that I gained and the connections that I made influenced which people I interviewed. Through participant observation, I realized that there is a spatial difference between the asylum center and the Trampoline House, and I acknowledge the importance of the internet, social relations, and social interactions with non-humanitarian migrants. Indeed, participant observation helped me to better understand the spaces of humanitarian migrants' everyday lives. At the same time, some of the knowledge I gained from the interviews helped me to observe things, actions, and interaction that I had previously been oblivious to. Participant observation and the interviews, therefore, "interacted" and usefully complemented each other.

Trust & Place Matters

Within qualitative methodology and feminist geography, scholars have emphasized the importance of positionality, intersubjectivity, reflexivity, and transparency (Katz, 1994, England, 1994; Nast 1994; Baxter & Eyles, 1997; McDowell, 1999; Mullings, 1999; Miraftab, 2004). In this section, I discuss the importance of trust and place in relation to the researcher's subject position(s), informants, and the knowledge produced through interviews and participant observations. First, I contend that trust and place matter when we are working with subjects whose futures are highly uncertain. Second, a continuously critical attention to one's position(s) allows the researcher to understand her subject positions, how these change over time, and how they influence the knowledge produced. Such reflexivity, openness and critical approach offer insights into moments of uncertainty, silence, new understandings, and challenges to the theoretical position. As a researcher, I cannot remove myself from the knowledge produced in the field. My various positions influence how I am perceived, and how I perceive and interpret the informants, the field, and the empirical findings – "A place is perceived differently through the eyes of different people" (McDowell, 1999: 227).

The Trampoline House as Research Site

While first preparing this research project back in the beginning of 2012, I thought a lot about how to get in contact with the humanitarian migrants that I would like to talk to and potentially interview. I knew that Danish Red Cross often looks for volunteers who can help with educational homework, bicycle training, and sport activities in the asylum center. Being a volunteer for Red Cross would have given me the opportunity to meet the migrants who live in the centers and talk to the Red Cross staff. However, I feared that an involvement and affiliation with the Red Cross would put me in a peculiar position vis-à-vis migrants that potentially could limit my access to empirical data. Would the humanitarian migrants be open to talk about how they experience their life in an asylum center run by the Red Cross if they saw me as being part of Red Cross? How would an affiliation with Red Cross affect how and what humanitarian migrants would talk to me about? Would there be things that they would not talk about because I was "connected" to the Red Cross? Would they be scared that I would share the

39

information from the interviews with Red Cross and Immigration Service? Because I had these questions and doubts, I found it problematic to use a volunteer position at Red Cross as my "way in" or "gatekeeper".

In December 2011, I heard about the Trampoline House. As I mentioned earlier, I felt that being a volunteer in that house would allow me to meet humanitarian migrants in a place that was not affiliated with either the Red Cross or the Danish state. At the same time, the humanitarian migrants who come to the Trampoline house cannot be seen as a general representation of the population of humanitarian migrants in Denmark. Women are underrepresented in the house for a variety of reasons, an issue to which I will return.

It takes time and costs money to come to the Trampoline House from the asylum center. Some humanitarian migrants might be able to come to the house after they finish their classes at the asylum school, located only twenty minutes (walking) from the Trampoline House, and that's why they do not have to pay for transportation. The first year of the house's existence, it had enough money to buy tickets for the humanitarian migrants who wanted to come to the house. But the house ran out of money and they could not continue this practice. At the time of my research, the house only paid for transportation for the migrants who were doing internships in the house.

Monday is a women-only day in the house to create a space where women can feel safe, talk about things they do not want to talk about around men, and do activities, like yoga, that they would not feel comfortable doing with- or in front of men. Most of the women who came to the house live in asylum centers or have contact with other women living in asylum centers. In talking with them, I learned that certain social orders and power relations exist in the centers within ethnic and religious groups, which adversely affect women that live there. For example, an Afghan woman might not feel safe leaving the center to go to the Trampoline House because other Afghan men feel that she is not supposed to leave the center on her own. I will not go deeper into these issues because I was not able to collect enough empirical material related to the social orders and power relations within the asylum centers.

Because my interview questions focused on personal understandings and experiences of interviewees' life in Danish asylum centers, it was essential for me to build a relationship to the interviewees. As researchers applying qualitative methods, we

need to establish what Mullings has called positional spaces. Positional spaces are "areas where the situated knowledges of both parties in the interview encounter, engender a level of trust and co-operation" (Mullings, 1999: 340). The Trampoline House provided such positional spaces and they were often created through common activities in the house, such as cooking, eating, and house meetings. It was essential for me to be a "part" of the house and be recognized as such before I began to conduct interviews. It took me a month before I begun to arrange the first interviews.

I came to know some of the interviewees very well through activities such as cooking, printing t-shirts, house meetings, and informal conversations. In other cases, I made the contact through my interpreter. As mentioned previously, my interpreter came to be an important "gatekeeper". I tried to set up interviews with humanitarian migrants who I did not know very well but who I had met several times in the house and had short conversations with. Three of the interviewees who I did not know every well, did not show up for the interview. When I later saw them again, I felt that they tried to avoid me. Without asking why they did not show up for the interview, one of them said that he had not felt very well the day of the interview and that he was sorry. I did not further question him or ask for another time we could do the interview. Humanitarian migrants can hesitate to participate in an interview because they fear that an interview can harm their legal case and their situation. Therefore, when the humanitarian migrants did not show up for an interview I knew one reason could be that they did not feel comfortable participating in an interview. There might be other, more practical reasons they did not come; they may have forgotten or they may have been hindered from coming into the city.

In an interview with a humanitarian migrant who I met through my visits to the Red Cross center, I realized how important it is to build a trust relationship with the interviewees. When we began the interview with Hanna, a woman from an African country who has been in Denmark since 2008, she did not want the interview to be recorded, her answers were short, she avoided making eye contact with me, and her attitude towards me seemed to be suspicious. The interview situation seemed awkward for both of us. It lacked trust and co-operation and information was not freely shared. When I was almost done asking my interview questions, Hanna asked me what I thought

41

about foreigners and migrants in Denmark. I told her about my life with an American boyfriend in Denmark and how my boyfriend experienced the country the first few months that he lived with me in Copenhagen. Her question and my response were a turning point for the interview. It was a moment where a personal connection between two women was established and ideas, thoughts, and experiences could now be shared more freely. Hanna asked me if we could start the interview over again and record it. However, it was very important for her that I would not take any photos of her or pass on personal information about her, such as name, age, country of origin, and the name of the center she live in. We started the interview over again and Hanna's attitude toward me changed. Her answers were longer and much more detailed.

Insider, Outsider, or In-between

> *"A researcher is positioned by her / his gender, age, "race" / ethnicity,*
> *sexual identity, and so on, as well as by her / his biography, all of which*
> *may inhibit or enable certain research method insights in the field"*
>
> (England, 1994: 85)

How do we "juggle" our various positions in the field? What is my position when I am a Dane living in the United States? Am I an insider because I hold a Danish citizenship? Or am I an outsider because I am not a humanitarian migrant? And can I ever become an insider through my presence and participation in the Trampoline House? I did occupy different positions when I was in the field – I was a friend, an activist, a Dane living in the United States, a researcher, and a person who could claim / use my Danish citizenship. My positions also changed during my time in field as I became more involved in the Trampoline House and made social connections to the users of the house. However, I find it problematic to define my positionality as either an insider or an outsider. As several scholars have argued, a researcher is never an insider or an outsider in an absolute sense (England, 1994; Nast, 1994; Mullings, 1999; Miraftab, 2004; Billo, et al., 2012). One's positionality changes over time and through space (Mullings, 1999). Therefore, Nast suggests that we instead understand our positionality as a state of

inbetweenness where we are "negotiating various degrees and kinds of difference – be they based on gender, age, class, ethnicity, "race," sexuality, and so on" (Nast, 1994: 57).

I spent many nights writing up my field notes and reflecting upon my role as a researcher in relation to all the other positions that I occupied - positions that I could not separate from my position as a researcher because they were a part of my identity. However, I was not the only person who questioned my positionality. Informants and other users of the Trampoline House asked me what the aim of my research project was, what I expected to change with the research I did, why I lived in America, why United states did not intervene in Syria, if I had ever been to an asylum center? It was clear from these questions that the informants tried to assess my position. The assessment of my positionality was also a moment where trust was established. Through interactions and conversations, the informants and I realized how we had a common interest in the human and political issues concerning the Danish asylum system. The common involvement, sense of commitment, participation, and sharing of fate enabled me to build a trustful relationship to the users of the Trampoline House. We were able to have discussions about the Danish asylum system, the life in the asylum centers, and how humanitarian migrants experience life in Denmark.

Conclusion

> *"the "field" is always politically situated, contextualized, and defined*
> *and that its social, political, and spatial boundaries shift with changing*
> *circumstances or in different political contexts"* (Nast, 1994: 60).

The research field consists of processes of dialogs, encounters, and social interactions. These processes are both constituted and structured by the researcher and the persons being researched. The researcher is part of the knowledge produced. The aim of this research project has not been to reach a point of generalization. Instead the aim has been to displace the differences among humanitarian migrants, the differences between the people who are all included in the category "asylum seeker". The differences are often silenced through the categorization. However, such an emphasis on difference will illustrate how these people need to be understood as something more than the vulnerable

migrant; there is a higher degree of complexity that needs to be displaced in order challenge the "traditional" understanding of the non- or a-political subject (Chapter VI).

Research Question 2 focuses on how the humanitarian migrants experience their life in the Danish asylum system. Participatory observations at the Trampoline House and interviews with refugees are used to answer the research questions. Humanitarian migrants' experiences of their everyday life and space are not permanent or constant experiences – they are changeable and multiple. The individual migrant's experience changes over time, and might be affected by legal status, social connections and network, where she lives, and what happens in her country of origin.

CHAPTER IV: THE DANISH IMMIGRATION LAW AND ASYLUM SYSTEM

The Danish Immigration Law 1998-2011

Denmark's current Immigration Law is the result of 30 years of intense political debates and negotiations, and more than 60 amendments. Since the mid-1980s, the political debate concerning migration issues has been polarized between two political blocks – a conservative block and a humanist block. The legislative changes to the Immigration Law illustrate how the geopolitical discourse of migration and asylum has changed over time. The Immigration Law has become increasingly restrictive and is marked by both neo-liberal ideas of economic efficiency and labor qualifications, and neo-nationalist ideas of assimilation and shrinking the immigrant quota. I focus mainly on the amendments that have affected the Danish asylum system and humanitarian migrants.

"The World's Greatest Immigration Law"

In June 1983, *Folketinget* (the Danish Parliament) passed Law 226/83, Denmark's new Immigration Law. The Immigration Law replaced *Fremmedloven* (Foreign Law) from 1952, which was changed very few times. By contrast, more than 63 amendments to the Danish Immigration Law were implemented between 1983 and 2011. The majority of these amendments have been restrictions and tightening of the original legal protection, and erosion of the principle of legal certainty (*retssikkerhed*) established in 1983 (Vitus, et al., 2011).

The political initiative to replace *Fremmedloven* with the Immigration Law 226/83 was based on a desire to secure immigrants' legal certainty and create formal, uniform guidelines for how to administer immigrants. The enforcement of *Fremmedloven* was based on administrative practices and assessments from case to case. For example, the *Fremmedloven* did not state how to administer cases of refugees and family reunification. The administration of immigrants was based on informal practices and assessment. Politicians and government officials critiqued these practices for being perfunctory and problematic for migrants' legal certainty (Vitus, et al, 2011).

The Immigration Law 226/83 became known as "the world's greatest immigration law" because it was liberal, immigrant friendly, and protected humanitarian migrants' right to a legal process and ensured the principle of legal certainty. The law had the following protections for migrants: first, all humanitarian migrants obtained the right to get their case processed, unless they had already obtained asylum in another country or they had a closer attachment to another country where it was possible to obtain asylum. Second, spontaneous humanitarian migrants who could be defined as refugees by UN's Refugee Convention had a legal claim to obtain asylum. Third, de facto-refugees got the legal claim to obtain asylum, and became, therefore, placed on an equal footing with conventional refugees. Fourth, migrants who sought asylum obtained the right to stay in Denmark while their cases were being processed. Fifth, refugees obtained the right to family reunion with spouse / partner, children, and parents over 60 years old. Sixth, the law limited the possibility of deportation for immigrants who were residents in Denmark. The law specified the rules and criteria for deportation. Seventh, the Danish Refugee Appeals Board (*Flygtningenævnet*) was established. The board functioned as an independent board where rejected humanitarian migrants could appeal the ruling of their case. The board consisted of seven members: a chairman, who was a judge, and six members assigned from the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Social Affairs, and two from the Danish Refugee Council. Finally, the parliament established the Civil Directorate for Immigrants (*Civile Direktorat for Udlændinge*) under the Ministry of Justice. The Civil Directorate's main task was to administer the immigration law. The Civil Directory for Immigrants changed its name to the Immigrant Agency (*Udlændingestyrelsen*) in 1995, and in 2007, the Immigrant Agency changed its name to Immigrations Service (*Udlændingeservice*). Before 1983, immigration cases were managed by the Danish National Police (Rigspolitiet) (Bak et al., 2010; Vitus, et al., 2011: 156f).

In the early 1980s, immigration was neither a pressing concern in Danish society, nor was it a controversial topic in Danish Parliament (DR2, 2012). Still, the political debate about passing the Immigration Law 226/83 started a 30 year long polarization between the supporters and opponents of the new law. In the debate of the law, the conservative block's main concern was that a more liberal and human immigration law

would undermine the immigration-stop for guest workers and result in an increased influx of immigrants.

The immigration-stop for guest workers was established in the 1970s because the unemployment rate increased and there was no longer a "need" for guest workers. In the period from 1962 to 1971, the number of guest workers with a work permit had increased from 8,497 to 24,852, an increase of 143% (Aagesen, 1971). The immigration-stop for guest workers was a geo-political attempt to stop or "turn off" the flows of migrants coming to Denmark.

The conservative block was concerned that a human and liberal immigration law would lead to new flows of immigrants, and Denmark would lose its control of the influx of immigrants. The humanist block, on the other hand, aimed to solve the problem of the administrative practices of migration by law and intended the immigration law to secure basic human rights such as freedom of speech, family reunification, personal integrity, and legal certainty for all immigrants.

In the mid-1980s, the number of humanitarian migrants increased. The majority of the humanitarian migrants came from Iran, frequently entering Denmark on their own rather than through the UN Refugee program as it had been in the years before. The Danish Refugee Council[16] (Dansk Flytningehjælp) struggled to find temporary housing for the humanitarian migrants. Humanitarian migrants were therefore placed in hotels around the country and became more visible than ever in the Danish society. The increased numbers of humanitarian migrants and their visibility led to several protests both for and against immigrants. Immigration and refugees became controversial topics within both the parliament and the society (DR2, 2012).

The Birth of Securitization

The increasing flow of spontaneous humanitarian migrants and their visible appearance were perceived as a crisis and threat to the Danish society and culture. In an attempt to politically secure the Danish nation against this crisis and threat, the parliament introduced two amendments to the Immigration Law 226/83 in the 1980s: *Åbenbart Grundløs* procedure in 1985 and the *Danish Clause* in 1986. These two

---

[16] The Danish Refugee Council is private non-profit humanitarian organization established in 1956.

amendments were the beginning of a securitization of migration in Denmark. In summary, the two amendments aimed to reduce the numbers of humanitarian migrants who could get their asylum case fully tried in Denmark.

Åbenbart Grundløs procedure (Manifestly Unfounded procedure[17]) was implemented in 1985[18] (Bak et al., 2010). The concept of *Åbenbart Grundløs procedure* implies that if the Civil Directorate for Immigrants could assess that a humanitarian migrant was clearly not eligible for asylum, the humanitarian migrant could not appeal the ruling of rejection to the Danish Refugee Appeals Board. However, the Danish Refugee Council could impose veto in all *Åbenbart Grundløs procedure* cases if they assessed that the cases were not *Åbenbart Grundløs* (Vitus, et al., 2011). The introduction of the *Åbenbart Grundløs procedure*, therefore, enabled the Civil Directorate for Immigrants to reduce the processing time of asylum cases and allowed them to more quickly reject and deport humanitarian migrants whose cases were found *Åbenbart Grundløs*. The *Åbenbart Grundløs procedure* was the first of many amendments that aimed to reduce the processing time of asylum cases and make the asylum system more efficient. As in the case of the *Åbenbart Grundløs procedure*, many of these practices negatively affected humanitarian migrants' legal rights, such as the right to appeal.

In 1986, the parliament implemented a restriction known as the *Danish Clause*[19], which later became a part of the Dublin Convention[20]. The *Danish Clause* made it possible for Denmark to directly reject humanitarian migrants (without a legal process) if their journey to Denmark had been through a safe country where they had an opportunity to seek asylum. At the same time, Denmark became the first European country to fine airlines that transported humanitarian migrants and/or passengers without a valid visa or valid documents to Denmark (Bak et al., 2010). The act of carrying migrants without valid documents to Denmark became a criminal act. The Danish Clause was one of the first steps toward criminalizing undocumented migrants and externalizing immigration control. The immigration control was not only at the Danish border but it moved to the country of departure, on private hands (airline companies), and without an opportunity

---

[17] Manifestly Unfounded procedure is the official term used by the Danish Immigration Service

[18] Law 574 19/12/1985

[19] Law 686 17/10/1986

[20] Denmark signed the Dublin Convention in 1990, but the convention did only come into effect September 1th 1997.

for migrants to appeal. The increasing control of documents carried out by airline companies therefore made it more difficult for spontaneous humanitarian migrants to reach the Danish sovereign territory, where they could seek asylum. Other scholars have similarly illustrated how Western countries (Canada, United States, the European Union, and Australia), through geopolitical practices of securitization, have strategically created stateless spaces, placed detention centers in non-sovereign territories, and diverted ships carrying migrants to non-sovereign territories – all of which has made it more difficult for transnational migrants to reach sovereign territory where they can claim asylum (Hyndman, 1997; Gammeltoft, 2010; Hyndman, et al., 2008; Mountz, 2010; Bialasiewicz, 2012).

The securitization continued throughout the 1990s - the Immigration Law was changed 17 times between 1985 and 2000 (Vitus, et al., 2011). As a consequence of the securitization, the Immigration Law became less generous and less immigrant-friendly.

The Amendments of the 1990s – Optimization, Efficiency, and Assimilation

In the case of the United States, Coleman has argued that the geopolitical securitization of the U.S.-Mexican border cannot be reconciled hegemonic with the geoeconomic liberalizing trade agreements such as NAFTA. Coleman argues that statecraft consists of opposed tactics and practices and therefore cannot always be reconciled. The two practices (securitization and de-bordering) need to be understood as a security/economy nexus (Coleman, 2005). The border and migration policy are places where we can see the contradictions between geopolitical and geoeconimic practices because they, as Coleman states, "demand different things of the border" (Coleman, 2005: 200).

In the case of Denmark, beginning in the late 1980s, we see a similar tendency of contradictions and tensions between geopolitical practices (securitization) and geoeconimic practices (free flows of goods, capital, and labor). Since becoming a member of the European Union in 1973, Denmark has gradually opened its border to flows of capital, goods, and labor. In 1996, when Denmark signed the Schengen Agreement, Denmark entered into EU's common market of free circulation of goods, finances, and labor (Feldman, 2011). The borders between the European countries who

signed the Schengen Agreement have been more or less "erased" in order to allow the free circulation.

As Denmark gradually opened its border to the rest of the European countries in 1990s, the Danish Immigration Law became more restrictive and less immigrant-friendly. The controversial debate of the late 1980s, about the increasing number of immigrants and their negative effect on the Danish society, spilled into the 1990s. The Social Democratic (SD) government, which was elected in 1993 and governed until 2001, designed the majority of legislative changes to the Immigration Law to create a more efficient immigration system where humanitarian migrants would get through the system more quickly. Even though the politicians who were part of the SD government had supported the liberal Immigration Law from 1983, the SD government made several amendments that limited the legal rights of humanitarian migrants because the party kept losing to the Danish People's Party[21] in the opinion polls (Bak, et al., 2010; DR2, 2012).

The Danish People's Party (DPP) was established in 1995. DPP's striking immigration policy aimed to work against immigration and a multiethnic society. This policy became attractive for many of the people who traditionally had given their support and votes to SD. At the same time, the Danish newspaper *Ekstra Bladet* launched the campaign "The Aliens" (De Fremmed). The goal was to illustrate the negative consequences of immigration. The DPP's immigration policy and the media's focus on migration contributed to a controversial immigration debate, and the division between the people in favor of- and opposed to immigration became sharper (DR2, 2012). In order to keep political support from the public, the SD government continued to tighten the Immigration Law and optimize the immigration system by making the consideration of cases more efficient, enabling a faster deportation of rejected humanitarian migrants, and establishing practices that would get humanitarian migrants to assimilate to the Danish society. This optimization of the immigration system was a continuation of a geopolitical securitization of migration that begun in 1980s. The overall aim of the optimization was to reduce the number of humanitarian migrants and assimilate humanitarian migrants into

---

[21] The Danish People's Party was established in 1995. At the election in 1998, the party became represented in the parliament.

the Danish society, thereby securing the nation against the crisis and threats of immigrants.

Bio-metric Data, Detention, Economic Penalty, and Assimilation

As other scholars have illustrated, the geo-political securitization of migration has directly influenced migrants' (in)security (Luibhéid, 2002; Staeheli & Nagel, 2008; Chavez, 2008), legal rights and legal certainty (Razack 2008, Nevis, 2002; Khosravi, 2011; Mountz, 2010; Bacon, 2008; Luibheid 2010), and life in detention centers (Khosravi, 2009; Mountz, 2011; Martin 2011). In the case of Denmark, the amendments made in the 1990s affected humanitarian migrants in terms of the use of bio-metric data, detention, economical penalty, reduction of basic legal rights, and requirements of education, activation, and assimilation.

Bio-metric Data

Bio-metric data is information about a person that does not change over time, such as finger prints or the shape/color of irises (Feldman, 2011). Over the last 20 years, bio-metric data has increasingly been used in border management (Thomas, 2005; Feldman, 2011). Passports and other travel documents now contain digitized bio-metric data that is supposed to correspond with the bio-metrics of document's holder.

In 1992[22], the Danish parliament changed the Immigration Law in order to allow governmental authorities and the Danish Police to use and archive humanitarian migrants' bio-metric data (section §40). Initially, the bio-metric data consisted of photos and fingerprints. The data could only be used and documented if it could help to determine a humanitarian migrant's identity. The Danish parliament has since expanded section §40 several times[23]. The practice of documenting, saving, and using humanitarian migrants' bio-metric data was part of making the consideration of asylum cases faster and more efficient. For example, the database of bio-metric data made it easier and faster for

---

[22] Law 386 20/05/1992

[23] Law 382 14/06/1995, Law 407 10/06/1997, Law 140 17/03/1999
In 1995, all migrants who sought asylum or residence permit were required to give their bio-metric data. In 1997, section §40 was expanded to include a person' DNA, if necessary, and the bio-metric date was saved for 10 years in an international database. And in 1999, the parliament changed section §40 so Danish authorities could pass on the bio-metric data to domestic and foreign authorities without the humanitarian migrant's consent.

governmental authorities to determine whether or not a humanitarian migrant had sought asylum in another European or third safe country[24]. Today, a person's identity is predominantly determined by the person's bio-metrics. Earlier, the determination of identity was made through qualitative personal histories. However, the bio-metric data is a quantitative, digitalized representation of a person that is highly difficult to share or have in common with another person. Several scholars have argued that the use of bio-metric data in border control and management alienates and dis-embodies individuals (Khosravi, 2011; Feldman, 2012). As Feldman (2012: 128) suggests, "identities are effectively lost when we move from one sovereign space to another, and they must be reclaimed from the state at the journey's end" (Feldman, 2012: 128). Humanitarian migrants are no exception to such alienation and "loss" of identity. In asylum cases, only the Danish state has the power to determine if the humanitarian migrant's biological identity matches with the identity she is claiming. I will return to this question of migrants' identities in Chapter VI.

The use of bio-metric data was not the only practice implemented to establish a more efficient immigration system, which could make the legal process shorter and repatriate rejected humanitarian migrants sooner (Bak, et al., 2010; Vitus, et al., 2011). The parliament has changed the Immigration Law in order to counteract the possibility of rejected humanitarian migrants appealing the ruling of their case and applying for readmission[25], because an appeal and readmission could slow the progress of an asylum case (Bak, et al., 2010).

If an asylum case is drawn out, it is economically expensive for the Danish state. But it can also have serious consequences for the humanitarian migrant. First of all, the long waiting time can harm the migrant's mental health (Vitus, et al., 2011), and second, a wrong ruling of an asylum case, which includes a rejection and a deportation, can, at worst, lead to torture or death of the deported humanitarian migrant. Humanitarian

---

[24] If a humanitarian migrant has traveled through a country on their way to Denmark where the humanitarian migrant does not fear persecuted or will be returned to her country of origin, then Denmark consider this country a *third safe country*.

[25] Law 421 01/06/1994, Law 381 22/05/1996

In regard to legal rights, one of the most essential amendments came in 1996. Humanitarian immigrants were deprived of the right to appeal the ruling of their case **themselves**.

migrants' right to legal certainty and ability to appeal the ruling of a case are therefore essential in order to have a fair and legitimate asylum system.

Detention, Physical Isolation, and Economic Penalty

The parliament introduced the practices of detention, physical isolation, and economic penalty to secure rejection, an effective deportation, and humanitarian migrants' presence, attendance and co-operation with the Danish authorities and police[26]. The use of detention deprives the humanitarian migrant's liberty without him having committed a crime. Humanitarian migrants in detention are detained in the special jail "Ellebæk" for humanitarian migrants. The economic penalty and detention are used if a humanitarian migrant does not attend an interview, does not co-operate with information on her case, or shows violent behavior. The Immigrant Agency[27] could take away the person's *kontant ydelse*[28] (money) and rejected humanitarian migrants who did not co-operate with the Danish Police about their case and repatriation, would receive a box with food supplies every fortnight instead of money. This system got the nickname the lunch box system (*madkasseordning*). The economic penalty system and lunch box system were critiqued because the two practices did not necessarily secure humanitarian migrants' co-operation. These practices created wretched and inhuman life conditions for humanitarian migrants (Støttekredsen for Flytninge i Fare, 2005).

These three practices (detention, physical isolation, and economic penalty) are all disciplinary mechanisms that aim to regulate humanitarian migrants' behavior (non-cooperative, violence, and lack of attendance) in order to get humanitarian migrants to comply with the system and co-operate (Foucault, 1978). Humanitarian migrants are placed in the institution of asylum centers not because they are sick, insane, or criminals but because they sought asylum, because they claim that they are at risk of persecution. In the asylum system they are categorized, identified, and stigmatized as "asylum seeker" and they are subject to a set of rules that they are to obey. Non-cooperative humanitarian migrants are seen as "abnormal" asylum seekers who need to be disciplined. The element

---

[26] Law 482 24/06/1992, Law 382 14/06/1995, Law 407 10/06/1997

[27] In 1997, The Civil Directory for Immigrants changed name to The Immigrant Agency

[28] *Kontant ydelse* was the system used before the cash allowance system was introduced in 2003. A humanitarian migrant got *kontant ydelse* but this money was not connected to the migrant's level of participation and assistance in the center.

of punishment is essential here, because it illustrates not only how humanitarian migrants are being disciplined, but also how they are criminalized and made passive. Khosravi argues, "The migration regime adopts an approach based on 'penality', targeting undesirable non-citizens as a criminal population to be policed and excluded" (Khosravi, 2009: 40). The three practices of punishment introduced by The Danish parliament treat humanitarian migrants like criminals. At the same time, humanitarian migrants are placed in asylum centers because they are seen as helpless, naïve, vulnerable subjects who need the state's protection (Fitzgerald, 2010). In Chapter V, I will return to how the asylum center, as an institution and mechanism of discipline, makes humanitarian migrants passive and creates a space that does not allow resistance and struggle.

Assimilation

In addition to the above practices, in 1993 the Danish parliament also introduced the first amendments that enabled humanitarian migrants to receive education and required them to assist in projects related to the operation of the asylum centers, such as maintenance of buildings and cleaning. Initially, only humanitarian migrants covered by the Yugoslavia Law had the right to this special education and were required to assist in the centers[29]. The special education was intended to prepare humanitarian migrants to be repatriated to their country. In 1996, the parliament made it mandatory for *all* humanitarian migrants to participate in projects related to the operation of the asylum centers, such as building maintenance and cleaning. Furthermore, all adults got the opportunity to receive education and children were now required to attend asylum school while they were in Denmark. Humanitarian migrants were also allowed to assist in the education offered by the Red Cross and thereby assist in the teaching of other humanitarian migrants. Furthermore, humanitarian migrants could participate in unpaid humanitarian work or other volunteer work[30]. Participation in humanitarian and volunteer work allowed humanitarian migrants to socially interact with other people that were not humanitarian migrants.

---

[29] Law 1085 22/12/1993
[30] Law 290 24/04/1996

54

In the 1980s, humanitarian migrants were seen as a vulnerable group that needed assistance, protection, and legal rights. But the political attitude toward them changed during the 1990s. Humanitarian migrants then had a duty to assist in the asylum centers and participate in language education. This change in attitude took place at the same time as the Social Democratic government introduced the new active labor-market policies in Denmark, which started the transition from a Keynesian welfare state to a Schumpeterian workfare regime. Where the United States and the United Kingdom transitioned to a workfare strategy that focused on work activation, employability-oriented programs, and social benefits through employment (Peck, 2001; McDowell, 2004), Torfing has argued that Denmark in contrast adopted a neo-statist workfare strategy that focused more on empowerment through education and training rather than control and punishment (Torfing, 1999). But I argue that the introduction of duties and education in the Danish asylum system *is* connected to this transition to a workfare state. Humanitarian migrants could no longer just be in the asylum centers and receive benefits from the state without "giving back" – quid pro quo. Nevertheless, it was not only a matter of assisting with the daily practices and duties in the centers; there was also a focus on empowerment through education and volunteer work.

The focus on "duties" and education also appeared in the new Integration Law[31] of 1998. The chief aim of this law was to ensure that newly arrived immigrants were able to participate politically, economically, socially, culturally in the society and be a part of the labor market on equal terms with other citizens. Secondly, the law aimed to ensure that newly arrived immigrants became self-supporting as quickly as possible. Lastly, the law aimed to ensure that the individual immigrant achieved an understanding of the Danish society's basic values and norms (Bak, et al., 2010). This Integration Law was in line with the government's aim of having particular requirements for immigrants. Immigrants were required to show their willingness and ability to assimilate to the Danish society (DR2, 2012).

Generally, the amendments of the 1990s were marked by a securitization of migration that was carried out through an optimization of the asylum system. The amendments introduced state practices such as increased control, increased requirements

---

[31] Law 474 01/07/1998

for immigrants (education, activation, and assimilation), detention, faster deportation, and bio-metric data. The geopolitical securitization of migration in the 1990s functioned through the idea that if humanitarian migrants were better integrated and able to assimilate to the Danish society, they would be less visible as the dangerous "other" and not be perceived by the Danish society as threat to the nation's culture, language, and values. However, as scholars have argued (Ehrkamp, 2006; Nagel, et al., 2008; Valentine, et al., 2009; Koefoed, et al., 2010), an intense focus on integration and requirements of assimilation affects how humanitarian migrants understand their identity and belonging to a place. A so-called assimilation of immigrants does not necessarily lead immigrants to disconnect from their relations, ties, and connections to their countries of origin (Foner, 2001). Scholars have illustrated that questions of belonging and identity are much more complex and cannot be reduced to a single place (Foner, 2001; Nagel, et al., 2008; Nagel 2009).

Furthermore, in a study of Somalis in Denmark, Valentine, et al. state that even though the Somalis try to enact a Danish identity, they do not feel that they belong to the Danish society, "because they do not meet narrow definitions of Danish nationhood predicated on secularism and whiteness" (Valentine, et al., 2009). Therefore, the increased focus on assimilation and integration participate in the construction of humanitarian migrants' identity characterized as the other, non-Dane, and vulnerable asylum seeker.

The amendments of the 2000s – Fewer Immigrants and "Quid Pro Quo"

On November 27 2001, Denmark's newly elected government took office. The new government consisted of two parties: the Conservative People's Party and The Left Liberal Party of Denmark. The government had parliamentary support from the Danish People's Party. A few months later, the government released a new immigration policy, the overall aim of which was to reduce the number of immigrants – including humanitarian migrants – who came to Denmark, increase the requirements for migrants to be self-supporting, and finally, compel the migrants who lived in Denmark to be better integrated in the society and get a job faster (Regeringen, 2002).

From 2001 to 2010, the Immigration Law was amended more than 40 times. The geopolitical securitization of migration continued, but methods to secure the nation changed. Where the geo-political securitization functioned particularly through practices of integration and assimilation in 1990s, the securitization of the 2000s was marked by a greater focus on repatriation of humanitarian migrants. The goal was not to integrate humanitarian migrants in the Danish society, but to prepare them for a future in their home country. The geopolitical aim was to secure the nation against both massive influxes of migrants, and long term settlement of humanitarian migrants and their families. Politicians have argued that by having a strict asylum policy, Denmark is less "attractive" for humanitarian migrants (DR2, 2012) – it is believed that they can thereby "turn off" the flows of humanitarian migrants.

Reducing the Number of Immigrants

In order to reduce the number of incoming humanitarian migrants, the parliament introduced following amendments: first, the de facto-refugee category was replaced by the B-Status[32] – conscientious objectors and other particularly vulnerable groups no longer had the right to asylum in Denmark. Second, humanitarian migrants no longer had the right to family reunification. Third, humanitarian migrants could no longer seek asylum at Danish Embassies. Finally, the members of Danish Refugee Appeals Board were reduced to 3 members instead of 5[33] - the Danish Refugee Council and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were no longer a part of the board (Bak, et al., 2010; Vitus, et al., 2011). Scholars have critiqued this decision to reduce the Danish Refugee Appeals Board to only three members (Vitus, et al., 2011). When the board was established in 1983, the aim of the board was to ensure the principle of legal certainty. The board was an independent institution. However, with only three members – one of them being a representative from the Ministry of Integration – scholars have questioned the board's independency and stressed the decrease of humanitarian migrants' legal certainty.

---

[32] The B-Status is the name for the new Beskyttelsesstatus (Protection Status). This status only includes humanitarian migrants who seek asylum based on reasons and motives that are included in the UN Refugee Convention. Therefore, the B-status does not include migrants such as conscientious objectors, people who were persecuted because of their gender or sexuality, and other particularly vulnerable groups.
[33] The Danish Refugee Appeal Board was reduced from seven to five members 1995.

The Contract and the Cash Allowance System

Throughout the 2000s, the parliament passed several amendments that directly influenced the everyday life of humanitarian migrants, such as the reforms of education and activation, and a new cash allowance system[34]. Law 292[35] and the subsequent VUA-reform[36] (Adult Education and Offers of Activation for Asylum Seekers), enacted in 2003 sought to create the best possible conditions for successfully integrating those humanitarian migrants who would be granted asylum, and to create the best possible conditions for a return to the home country for those humanitarian migrants who would be rejected asylum.

The new cash allowance system consisted of two different kinds of payment, a basic payment and a supplementary payment every fortnight in the asylum centers. Furthermore, a humanitarian migrant was required to sign a contract with the administrator of the asylum center. This contract stated in which duties, classes, and activities the humanitarian migrant would participate, and which consequences could be employed if the humanitarian migrant did not honor the contract. For example, if the humanitarian migrant did not observe the contract she would not receive the supplementary payment. All humanitarian migrants over 18 were now required to participate in Danish or English classes and a Danish cultural and society class. Together, the contract and the cash allowance system worked as a way to motivate humanitarian migrants to participate and co-operate.

During the late 2000s, the parliament also introduced the so-called *motivationsfremmende foranstaltninger* (motivating measures). These practices aimed to

---

[34] Only one year after the cash allowance and contract systems were introduced, Law 429 09/06/2004 changed parts of the two systems. The cash allowance and requirements stated in the contract were now regulated based on how far the humanitarian migrant's case was in the asylum system. The amendments differentiated between cases of newly arrived migrants, cases in progress, and rejected cases. Furthermore, a humanitarian migrant's level of co-operation with the Immigrant Agency and the Danish Police about her / his case could now influence how much the person would receive in cash allowance.
In 2005, after much criticism, the "Lunch box system" from 1997 was abolished and replaced with actual money. The cash allowance system was changed once again. Now, for example, if a humanitarian migrant did not show up to an interview with the Immigrant Agency or the Danish Police, showed violent or threatening behavior, did not stay in the asylum center, or did not perform her / his duties in the asylum center, the humanitarian migrant's cash allowance would be reduced instead of substituted with the so-called lunch box.
[35] Law 292 30/04/2003
[36] Adult Education and Offers of Activation for Asylum seekers (*Voksenundervisnings- og Aktiviringstilbud for Asylansøgere*).

further motivate and encourage humanitarian migrants to co-operate with the Danish Police and governmental authorities. For example, in 2007[37], rejected humanitarian migrants who co-operated with regard to their repatriation got the opportunity to sign a special "upgrade" contract which gave them the opportunity to improve her skills. Another "motivationsfremmende foranstaltning", the "duty to register" (meldepligt), was introduced in 2008[38]. The Danish Police could demand that a rejected humanitarian migrant to come in every week to register with the Police in order to know the humanitarian migrant's whereabouts, and ensure that the humanitarian migrant co-operated with authorities regarding her deportation. The "motivationsfremmende foranstatninger" are yet another disciplinary measure because their function is to get humanitarian migrants to act and behave according to the rules and regulations decreed by the state. By means of the Immigration Law, the Danish state has defined that a humanitarian migrant is required to co-operate with the authorities and honor the contract.

The amendments passed in the 2000s have had negative consequences for humanitarian migrants' legal rights and everyday life. Humanitarian migrants lost their legal right to family reunification, children who are not accompanied by an adult only have the right to asylum until they turn 18, rejected humanitarian migrants have lost the right to learn Danish[39], and finally, since 2009[40], the Danish state has been able to deport immigrants, including humanitarian migrants, who were considered to be a danger for the state's security without a legal hearing. Indeed, the Danish Immigration Law has become more restrictive and limits humanitarian migrants' legal rights. The fundamental aim of the Danish Welfare state is to secure the life, health, and welfare of the human beings in the country (The Official Website of Denmark, "The Danish society", 2012). This includes free access to education and healthcare, and distribution of wealth in order to secure social and economic equality among all human beings of the country (The Official Website of Denmark, "The Danish society", 2012). These ideas of social and economic equality and provisions of basic human rights are challenged in the country's asylum

---

[37] Law 507 06/06/2007
[38] Law 1397 27/12/2008
[39] Law 301 19/04/2006
[40] Law 487 12/06/2009

policy and state practices. Humanitarian migrants are not only excluded from full participation in society, they are stigmatized as "asylum seekers" and subjects to different mechanisms of discipline. The Immigration Law and the following state practices create a space of exclusion, immobility, and struggle (Bloch, et al., 2005; Hyndman, 2010; Dixon, et al., 201; Martin, 2011).

Selecting the Right Migrants

In summary, the legislative changes of the past 30 years have created a more restrictive Immigration Law which aims to reduce the number of "unwanted" migrants in order to secure the nation against multiculturalism, the potential dangerous "other", and migrants who can be an economic burden for the welfare system. At the same time, Denmark has opened its border to flows of capital, goods, and skilled labor for geoeconomical reasons. Coleman has argued that geopolitical practices and geoeconomic practices do not necessarily correspond and logically follow one another; rather they are conflicting and the tension between the two is often expressed at the border.

Even though I have illustrated how both the geopolitical securitization of migration and the geoeconomic de-bordering are present in the Danish Immigration policy, I contend that these two practices might not be as contradictory as Coleman suggests. Instead, it is essential that we look at how the securitization does not exclude all migrants, but "works" in favor of the country's geoeconomic interest in skilled labor and continuous economic growth.

Furthermore, Mountz has argued that "Western receiving countries such as Canada and the United States often believe incorrectly that they can turn streams of transnational migrants on or off as they would an electric switch" (Mountz, 2010: 13). In addition to this, I argue that it is not a matter of turning off the streams of all migrants. Rather, the state has an interest in "selecting" the right migrants. This interest in controlling the flow of migrants and selecting the "right" migrants is evident when Denmark receives or "selects" Convention refugees from UNHCR. When Denmark receives convention refugees, a Danish delegation[41] travels to the UNHCR refugee camps

---

[41] The Danish delegation consists of representatives from the Danish Immigration Service and the Danish Refugee Council.

where they interview refugees about their motives to seek asylum and their connection to Denmark in the form of family relations. Since 2005, the Danish delegation also estimates the refugees' ability to assimilate to the Danish culture and society (Bak et al., 2010; Vitus, et al., 2011). The focus is therefore not only on the refugees' need for protection, but also on the refugees' age, level of education, and ability enter into the Danish society and job market. Simultaneously, throughout the 2000s, the government has changed the rules for family reunification. The system of family reunification today favors migrants who have a high education, can easily enter the job market, and are economically beneficial to the nation. We can conclude, then, that Denmark has, not closed its border for migrants completely. The practice of selecting the right immigrants is not strictly a Danish phenomenon. van Houtum & Pijpers have argued that EU's protectionist and selective immigration policy is a product of fear and has made EU a "gated community" (van Houtum, et al., 2007). Therefore, the practice of selecting the "right" migrants – the migrants who are able to assimilate, have an education and professional skills – is a moment where geopolitical and geoeconomic interests meet without tension. The securitization of migration serves geoeconomic interests. The practices of securitization do not necessarily include or exclude a person based on her nationality; rather the person is included or excluded based on her class or economic status (Feldman, 2012).

The Danish Asylum System (2011-2012)

In an ethnography of the Canadian state in relation to immigration, Mountz argues that "the powerful machinations of the states appear not only in the borders drawn on maps and the pages of public policies, but in the fractured fault lines of daily practice" (Mountz, 2010: xxi). With point of departure in the Immigration Law and the contract between Immigration Service and Danish Red Cross[42], this chapter will examine the spatial aspects of state rules, regulations, and practices within the area of asylum. This chapter illustrates how the Danish Immigration Law, rules applied in the asylum system, and state practices are not only part of a geopolitical discourse of migration and asylum but are also materialized, embodied, and spatially manifested in the everyday practices and life in the centers. Furthermore, I discuss how the state – through laws, rules, and practices – applies mechanisms of discipline and tries to (re)construct humanitarian migrants as docile "asylum seekers".

The Process of Seeking Asylum

As mentioned in the introduction, the time it takes to process an asylum case varies significantly from case to case. A case that is declared *Åbenbart Grundløs* (Manifestly Unfounded) can be processed and determined in only a few days (The Danish Immigration Service, "Asylansøgning", 2012). Other cases can be more complicated, and can take years before there is a final ruling. The average stay for humanitarian migrants at an asylum center was approximately 600 days in 2011 – half the average stay of 1200 days in the year 2006 (Grunnet, 2012

The process of an asylum case is divided into three phases (see table 3 below). *Phase 1* is the introductory phase where the humanitarian migrant fills out a form that clarifies the migrant's background and motive for seeking asylum. The Danish Police take the humanitarian migrant's fingerprints and photo, and determine the humanitarian migrant's identity and route of travel. The Immigration Service examines whether or not

---

[42] In the fall of 2011, Denmark elected a new Social Democratic government. The government proposed a new and more human immigration policy. In regard to humanitarian migrants, the Immigration Law was changed in September 2012, in order to allow humanitarian migrants to live and work outside the asylum centers. Because my fieldwork took place before this major change, I only examine laws and other policy documents before September 2012.

the application of asylum should be processed in Denmark or in another country (The Dublin Convention). In *Phase 2*, the humanitarian migrant is registered as an asylum seeker in Denmark. The Immigration Service interviews the humanitarian migrant in a six to eight hour session that is based on the information provided in the form (filled out in *phase 1*). Hereafter, the Immigration Service processes the case and determines a ruling of the case. *Phase 3* is for humanitarian migrants who have been rejected asylum and are in a position of repatriation. A rejected humanitarian migrant is required to leave Denmark before the date of departure that is determined in the ruling of the case. The majority of rejected humanitarian migrants do not wish to leave Denmark voluntarily (Conrad, et al., 2010). In these cases, the Danish National Police is required to arrange the repatriation. If a rejected humanitarian migrant does not co-operate about her repatriation, she will be subject to various mechanisms of discipline that aim to coerce him into co-operating, with incarceration being the last resort (motivationsfremmende foranstaltninger) (Conrad, et al., 2010; Grunnet, 2012).

Table 3: The Standard Process of a Spontaneous Asylum Case[43]

Arrival (Phase 1)
1. Immigration Service assesses whether Denmark or another EU country is responsible for the processing of the asylum case, regarding the Dublin Regulation. If the asylum seeker has arrived to Denmark from a non-EU country, Immigration Service will examine whether or not the asylum seeker can be assigned to this country. The rejection can only happen if the non-EU country ('safe third country') is a safe country.

Entry and Accommodation (Phase 2)
2. The asylum seeker who is not rejected will be registered by Immigration Service as asylum seeker and is accommodated in one of the asylum centers.
3. Immigration Service shows the asylum seeker a video that explains the process of seeking asylum. Furthermore, Immigration Service supervises the asylum seeker with his / her asylum process and explains his / her rights and obligations in Denmark. After the video the asylum seeker completes an application form that provides the basis for later (asylum) interview.

Asylum Interview (Phase 2)
4. Immigration Service interviews the asylum seeker based on the information from the form. Then, Immigration Service decides whether the asylum case will continue as normal procedure or as manifest unfounded procedure.

Normal Procedure (Phase 2)
5. Immigration Service assesses whether the asylum case can be determined based on the existing information or if the Immigration Service needs to collect more information. Immigration Service will either give a residence permit or a rejection.

Residence Permit
6a. While the asylum seeker obtains residence permit, Immigration Service decides in which municipality the asylum seeker is placed. The municipality concerned is responsible for the asylum seeker (refugee); which includes integration and a refugee introduction program.

Dublin Regulation
A. If the asylum seeker has arrived from an EU country, Immigration Service contacts this country and requests the country to take over the asylum seeker and his / her case.
B. The asylum seeker transfers to the EU country, if the country accepts it.
C. The asylum seeker can appeal this decision to the Department of Integration, according to the Dublin Regulation. But the asylum seeker cannot stay in Denmark while the government department processes the appeal.

Rejection (Phase 3)
A. Immigration Service rejects the asylum application.
B. The asylum seeker can appeal the rejection to the Department of Integration but the asylum seeker cannot stay in Denmark while the government department processes the appeal.
C. The asylum seeker must leave as soon as possible.

Manifestly Unfounded (Phase 3)
A. If Immigration Service assesses that the asylum seeker is clearly not eligible for asylum, the asylum case is sent to the Danish Refugee Council (NGO).
B. If the Danish Refugee Council agrees with Immigration Service, the asylum seeker is rejected without appeal. If the Danish Refugee Council disagrees, the case is sent to the Refugee Appeals Board.
C. It is always possible for the asylum seeker to apply for residence permit based on humanitarian reasons.

Rejection (Phase 3)
6b. The asylum case is automatically sent to the Refugee Appeals Board if the asylum seeker is rejected.
7. The asylum seeker gets a court-appointed lawyer.
8. The asylum case is presented for the Refugee Appeals Board.
9. The Refugee Appeals Board can adhere to the ruling or change the ruling and grant asylum.
10. The rejected asylum seeker will be offered a prepared repatriation if she/ he is an unaccompanied minor or has been exposed to human trafficking.

Humanitarian Residence Permit
11. An Asylum seeker can apply for a residence permit due to humanitarian reasons. The Department of Integration rules these cases.

---

[43] (Vitus, et al., 2011; The Danish Immigration Service, "Asylansøgning", 2012)

Most of the communication between humanitarian migrants and Danish authorities is in writing. Date of interview, information from Immigration Service, and ruling of the case are all communicated in writing. The information is only partially translated into the native language of the humanitarian migrant. In the case of a rejection, the standard part of the rejection is translated to the humanitarian migrant's mother tongue while the individual conditions that have been essential for the ruling of the case are written in Danish (Conrad, et al., 2010). Humanitarian migrants are not a homogenous group – they have various backgrounds, levels of education, and skills. As a result, the majority of humanitarian migrants do not have the language- and reading skills to gain knowledge about the asylum process. They experience, therefore, difficulties with getting information and an overview of their case. These people often depend on other people who can translate their letters in order to understand the content of the letters. The lack of communication and full translation creates confusion, frustration, and a feeling of alienation (Conrad, et al., 2010). In Chapter V and VI, I illustrate how humanitarian migrants feel alienated in the Danish asylum system.

The Asylum Center

In Canada, Australia, the United States, and European countries, detention centers have been erected in remote areas and, to some extent, externalized to stateless spaces. This limits migrants' access to interpreters, lawyers, diasporic communities, advocates, and sometimes even the access to a sovereign territory where they can claim asylum (Bak, et al., 2010; Mountz, 2010; Khosravi, 2011). Mountz has argued that states use the geography strategically in order to create spaces of exclusion and deny access to asylum. The remote locations and stateless spaces "are hypervisible during crises and yet simultaneously obscured from view of the general public and human rights monitors" (Mountz, 2010: xvii). In the case of Denmark, the location of the asylum centers and the practice of housing humanitarian migrants in asylum centers create different kinds of exclusion. The location of the centers geographically isolates humanitarian migrants from the rest of the Danish society. Simultaneously, the space of the asylum center categorizes and differentiates humanitarian migrants as non-belonging and vulnerable "others".

In Denmark, the Immigration Law requires all humanitarian migrants who seek asylum to live in one of the asylum centers while their cases are being processed. However, if a humanitarian migrant has relatives or friends living as residents in Denmark, the migrant can get permission from the Immigration to stay with them instead of at the center (LBK nr 947, 2011). The twenty-three currently existing centers are run by municipalities[44] and the humanitarian organization Danish Red Cross[45] in a partnership between Immigration Service[46].

The majority of the asylum centers are placed far from major cities in buildings owned by the Danish state, such remote abolished military barracks, abolished airbases, and mobile barracks. As previously stated, there are five different types of asylum centers: Accommodation Center, Center for Arrival / Departure, Center for Children, Center for Women, and Center for Special Care. As the name of the different types of center indicates, each type of center has different functions with regard to the asylum process. The Center for Women is one of the smallest centers; single women and women with children can apply to live here. The Center for Special Care accommodates humanitarian migrants with serious physical and mental health problems. It provides around-the-clock care and additional staff, such as psychologists and physiotherapists. With a capacity of housing approximately 600 humanitarian migrants, the Centers of Arrival / Departure are the largest centers. There are different rules and restrictions applied in the centers, with regulations being strictest in the Center for Arrival/Departure (The Danish Immigration Service, "Asyl Centre", 2012).

---

[44] Jammerbugt municipality (Jutland) runs two of the centers, Langeland municipality (Langeland) runs two of the centers, Thisted municipality runs (Jutland) three of the centers, and Thisted municipality runs (Jutland) three of the centers.

[45] Danish Red Cross has been involved in the housing of humanitarian migrants since 1984. Today, Danish Red Cross runs twelve of the centers, the majority these centers are located (on Zealand) relatively close to Copenhagen.

[46] Each year, Immigration Service negotiates a contract with each of the partners. This contract states the role and responsibilities of the partner and the budget.

The Geographical Distribution of Asylum Centers in Denmark
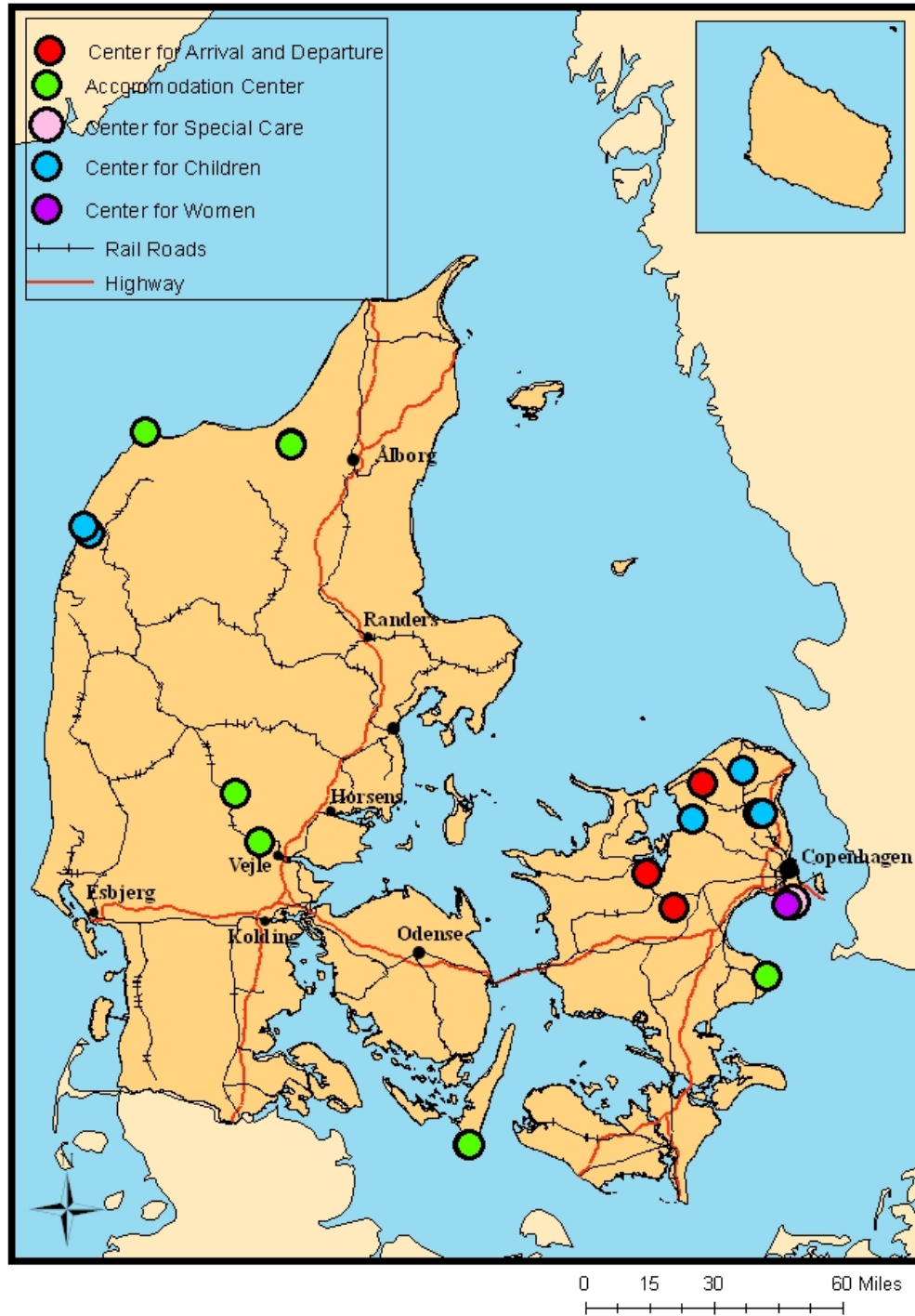
When a humanitarian migrant first seeks asylum she will be accommodated in an arrival center – most often in Center Sandholm, but sometimes in Center Avnstrup. The humanitarian migrant will stay there until the Immigration Service determines whether they will send her to another country (Dublin Convention) or register her as an asylum seeker in Denmark. If the migrant is registered as an asylum seeker she/he will be moved to one of the accommodation centers. By housing humanitarian migrants in different types of centers according to their legal status, age, gender, and behavior, the Danish state individualizes and categorizes humanitarian migrants within the asylum system. Such individualization and categorization function as a mechanism to discipline and differentiate between humanitarian migrants; between the rejected and non-rejected humanitarian migrant. I will later return to the various expectations and mechanisms of discipline applied to a humanitarian migrant according to her legal status.

Generally, the housing conditions in the asylum centers are limited and meager in terms of space and facilities. Each center is organized in a different way, but all centers have rooms, common bathroom facilities, common kitchens, and various outdoor facilities. Some centers have different workshops (e.g. bike workshops and tailor workshops), a resident-managed café, a resident board, or other forms of indoor living rooms. The aim of the resident board is to give the humanitarian migrants participation in everyday life decision-making (Udlændigestyrelsen, 2012: 16).

The images below are from various asylum center located on Zealand[47]. The images are pictures of the barracks people live in, a common kitchen, a common laundry room where a machine is out of order, and a room that is shared by two people. The last two images are pictures of Center Sandholm, which is located in an abolished military base.

---

[47] Figure 1, 6, and 7 are pictures I took in the summer 2012. Figure 2, 3, and 5 are taken by Ismail Suleiman. Figure 5 is a picture from the project Escaping Limbo.

Figure 1:

Figure 2:

Figure 3:
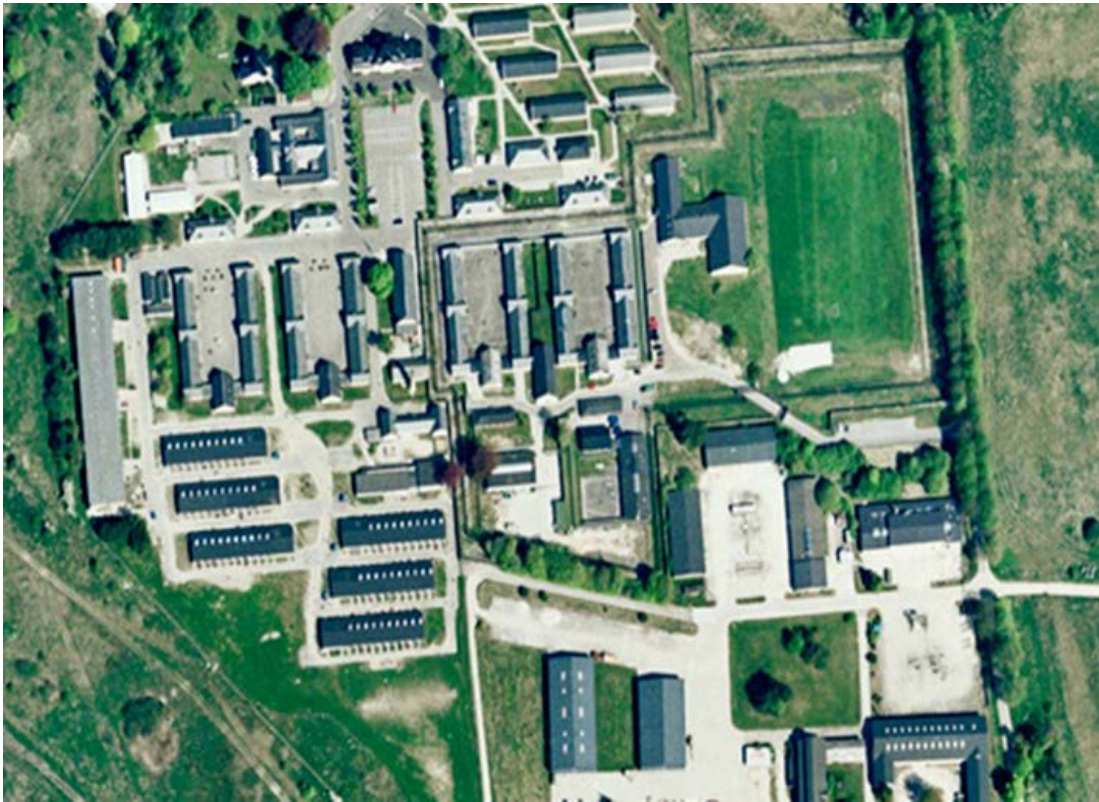
Figure 4:

Figure 5:

Figure 6:

Figure 7:

Figure 8:

The majority of humanitarian migrants share a room with two to four other people[48]. And as mentioned in the Introduction, in the centers that have a cafeteria, the humanitarian migrants do not have the opportunity to cook their own food; they are only to eat the food provided by the cafeteria three times a day.

The contract between Danish Red Cross and Immigration Service states that the objective of the stay and the activities offered in the asylum center "(…) should provide the residents with a meaningful and dignified waiting time"[49] (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012: 3). Furthermore, the contract emphasizes that in order to make the stay meaningful and dignified it is important the humanitarian migrants' personal, social, and professional resources and qualifications are optimally used according to the circumstances (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012). But what constitutes a *meaningful* and *dignified waiting time*? And how can humanitarian migrants' personal, social, and professional resources and qualifications come to use in the asylum centers?

As other scholars have argued, the exclusion and everyday life in the asylum centers are experienced as a pre-modern prison (Khosravi, 2009), a life in limbo (Mountz, 2010; 2011), and dominated by waiting, uncertainty, boredom, restlessness, and insecurity (Mountz, 2010; Bendixen, 2011; Hyndman, et al, 2011; Schuster, 2011; Vitus, et al., 2011; Whyte, 2011). In Chapter V, I will return to how humanitarian migrants experience the exclusion and their life in the asylum centers.

The practice of housing humanitarian migrants in asylum centers located in remote areas constructs a space where humanitarian migrants are less visible to- and geographically isolated from the society - humanitarian migrants are forced to live their everyday life in a space excluded from the "normal" life of the Danish society. Furthermore, this practice reifies the categorization of humanitarian migrants as "asylum seekers". Humanitarian migrants are stigmatized and differentiated from the rest of the Danish society. Humanitarian migrants are not only categorized as "asylum seekers", they are also individualized and further sub-categorized within the immigration system,

---

[48] There is no law that determines a humanitarian migrant's area of housing. However, the National Health Service of Denmark recommends that each resident should have minimum 5m^2.
[49] The quotation is translated from Danish. "(…) skal give beboerne en meningsfuld og værdig ventetid" (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012: 3).

as mentioned earlier. This individualization takes place through different *Phases*[50] and by placing humanitarian migrants in different centers according to their legal status, gender, age, and behavior.

The Contract: Education, *Aktivering*, Duties, and Money

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 2003 the parliament introduced an education and *aktivering*[51] reform, and a new cash allowance- and contract system; practices that are still in force. The practices of education and *aktivering* illustrate how ideas of the workfare state (Torfing, 1999; Peck, 2001, 2002) have influenced the treatment of humanitarian migrants. Humanitarian migrants cannot simply wait and receive benefits from the social state, they need to be activated, empowered, and trained toward a future on the labor market. At the same time, the cash allowance- and contract system includes mechanisms that discipline and (re)produce humanitarian migrants as dependent, vulnerable, docile, and a- or de-politicized subjects (Fitzgerald, 2010; Hyndman, et al., 2011; Martin, 2011).

The Red Cross is required to offer educational classes and other activities to humanitarian migrants while they stay in the centers. The Red Cross has a special school located in Copenhagen for humanitarian migrants over the age of seventeen, and a special asylum school in Lynge[52] for children. Only humanitarian migrants in *Phases 2* and *3* can attend school. Humanitarian migrants in *Phase 1* can attend school if they have been in Denmark for more than three months from the time they applied for asylum. Red Cross offers courses in English, mother tongue, and other courses that contribute to the humanitarian migrants' skills and can help them to start an independent company or obtain employment in their home country. Humanitarian migrants are only offered courses in Danish if it is necessary in order for them to complete an unpaid internship or participate in unpaid humanitarian volunteer work outside the asylum center.

---

[50] See table 3 or appendix C

[51] Aktivering is state-mandated activities that encourage labor-market participation and qualification. The aktivering can, for example, consist of cleaning and maintenance of buildings in the Red Cross Center, or an internship outside the asylum center with a NGO or a company.

[52] A child, defined as a person under eighteen years old, is required to attend school and can attend a normal public school nearby the center if she/he is deemed qualified.

Humanitarian migrants in *Phase 3* are not allowed to receive courses in Danish (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012: 29).

Red Cross offers two kinds of *aktivering*: required *aktivering* and individual *aktivering*. The required *aktivering* consists of daily duties in the asylum center for which humanitarian migrants are responsible, such as cooking, cleaning, and clearing-out rooms and common areas. The individual *aktivering* can consist of cleaning, maintenance of buildings, common areas, cleaning outdoor areas, tasks related to childcare and activities with children, administration assignments, and participation in social, cultural, and leisure activities, sports, projects, and courses. In addition to this, humanitarian migrants in *Phase 2* can participate in internal production operations and external internships outside the asylum system. This rule also applies to humanitarian migrants in *Phase 3* who co-operate in their repatriation (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012: 30). Humanitarian migrants are not allowed to work and the magnitude of the educational courses and *aktivering* depend on the *phase*, age, and health condition of the individual humanitarian migrant[53] (Udlændingesytelsen, 2012: 28). The everyday practices ensure "continuity and some degree of cohesion" (Lefebvre, 1991: 33); some degree of everyday routines that reproduce the space and the spatial order of the center.

The contract between Red Cross and Immigration Service states that the aims of the education and *aktivering* are to:

- Create the best condition for a successful integration process for the humanitarian migrants who obtain asylum
- Facilitate/Aid the repatriation of the humanitarian migrants who are rejected asylum
- Contribute to creating an active and meaningful everyday life for the individual migrant
- Maintain and develop the humanitarian migrants' common and professional skills
- Increase the humanitarian migrants' responsibility for their own life and the community in the asylum centers (Udlændingesstyrelsen, 2012: 28).

These aims of the education and *aktivering* are related to ideas of the workfare state and the neoliberal subject (Torfing, 1999; Peck, 2001; Brenner et al., 2002;

---

[53] The time of the educational courses and *aktivering* must not exceed thirty-seven hours per week.

Hindness, 2002). The Danish state focuses specifically on the humanitarian migrants as a subject who needs to *maintain and develop common and professional skills* and *take responsibility*. Peck states: "individually, workfarism is associated with mandatory program participation and behavioral modification" (Peck, 2001: 12). The humanitarian migrants cannot just receive state-benefits (cash allowance), rather they need to take part in required activities in order to get benefits. Furthermore, the education and *aktivering* are practices through which humanitarian migrants can maintain and develop their professional skills – i.e. their skills and behavior can be educated and trained in order to adjust to the Danish labor market. The humanitarian migrant is understood by the state as the subject of *homo economicus* (Foucault, 2008) - she ought to invest in herself as a neoliberal subject. A subject who it an entrepreneur in herself, who through education and *aktivering* can increase her human capital.

At the same time, the practice of education and *aktivering* differentiate the humanitarian migrants according to their legal status. For example, a rejected humanitarian migrant cannot take Danish classes because the state argues that there is no point in giving rejected humanitarian migrants Danish education when they do not have a future in the country. Rejected humanitarian migrants will be better off learning English because it is beneficial for them as future labor in their home country. As I will return to in Chapter V, this differentiation excludes rejected humanitarian migrants from obtaining language skills that can enable them to communicate with other people in the Danish society.

Furthermore, the state focuses on education and *aktivering* as a way to create a *successful integration*. Regarding the *development of common and professional skills* and *responsibilities for one's own life*, a successful integration is a geopolitical goal. If a humanitarian migrant is integrated successfully she will be assimilated to the Danish society and will therefore not be seen as the dangerous other, but as the "perfect" migrant who has been able to adapt to the Danish society. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter an intense focus on assimilation can affect how migrants understand their identity and belonging to a place or a nation. The requirements of reaching a full assimilation are often so high that they are unattainable, and as a result, migrants feel excluded from the

society to which they are supposed to assimilate (Foner, 2001; Ehrkamp, 2006; Nagel, et al., 2008; Valentine, et al., 2009; Koefoed, et al., 2010) .

The education, duties, and *aktivering* are administrated through a contract – a written agreement that humanitarian migrants over eighteen years old are required to sign within seven days of arriving at an asylum center. The contract states specifically which Asylum Seeker course, educational courses, duties, and *aktivering* the humanitarian migrant has agreed to participate in. The Red Cross is required to continuously monitor whether or not the humanitarian migrant observe the contract and registers this in Immigration Service's IT system. If the humanitarian migrant does not observe the contract, the Immigration Service can decide to reduce the cash allowance (The Danish Immigration Service, "Ansøgeres vilkår", 2012). The contract and the rules attached to it function as a technique to observe, measure, and control the humanitarian migrants. If the humanitarian migrants do not observe the contract, do not act in the "proper" way, the state can punish the humanitarian migrants economically. The practice of the contract is, therefore, a mechanism of both discipline and surveillance.

The cash allowance system enables humanitarian migrants to get money for food and other necessary supplies[54]. The cash allowance is commonly called pocket money. Humanitarian migrants can pick up their money in cash every other Thursday at the asylum center[55]. In order to receive the money, a humanitarian migrant is required to sign that she has received the money. Five days after the Thursday of payment, the Red Cross is required to balance the payout budget and send it along with the signatures to Immigration Service (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012). The cash allowance system is organized in relation to the *phase*, contract, participation, and co-operation. As the commonly used term pocket money indicates, this cash allowance system makes

---

[54] There are three types of cash allowances; 1) **Basic Allowance** that covers the expenses for food and personal hygiene items. In 2011, this allowance was DKK 50.03 per day per adult and is paid every other Thursday 2) **Supplementary Allowance** is received by the asylum seekers who are not a part of the food allowance program. This allowance is DKK 8.35 per day. This amount increases to DKK 29.19 per day if the State decides to process the asylum seeker's case in Denmark, and 3) **Caregiver Allowance**, this allowance is received by asylum seekers with dependent children. For the first and second child, it is DKK 58.38 per children per day. Also, this allowance increases if the case is being processed in Denmark (DKK 79.22 per child per day). The allowance for the third and fourth child is DKK 41.70 per child per day. This allowance is paid every other Thursday (The Danish Immigration Service, "Asylansøgeres vilkår", 2012).
[55] The Immigration Service provides the money, but the Red Cross in the individual centers who is in charge of the payments.

humanitarian migrants dependent on the Danish state. Humanitarian migrants are given money by the state, almost as parents give their children pocket money. Furthermore, humanitarian migrants literally carry their money in their pockets, their bodies, because they are not allowed to open a bank account. This system reproduces the understanding of humanitarian migrants as passive and dependent. Furthermore, how can humanitarian migrants take responsibility for their own lives if they are not allowed to earn their own money? Does the Danish state have an interest in keeping the humanitarian migrants dependent?

The cash allowance- and contract systems together with the practice of detention, duty to register, and economic penalty, are mechanisms that discipline humanitarian migrants to obey the rules of the asylum system and become docile subjects. The system reproduces the understanding of humanitarian migrants as dependent, vulnerable, and passive. It a- or depoliticizes humanitarian migrants in the way that humanitarian migrants are punished if they resist or obey the rules.

Healthcare

While the humanitarian migrants stay at an arrival center, the Red Cross is required to offer them a medical interview with a nurse or doctor from the Red Cross. The nurse or doctor determines the physical condition and mental health (or lack thereof) of the migrant and compiles a medical record, which is then passed on to the accommodation center to which the migrant will be assigned. The Red Cross is required to record when the migrant was offered the medical interview, and whether or not she participated in it, in Immigration Service's IT system ISYS (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012: 47).

Even though humanitarian migrants are offered a health check when they arrive, the Danish state keeps humanitarian migrants' access to the Danish healthcare system to a bare minimum. The Immigration Service covers only health and dental care expenses that are necessary, urgent, and pain-relieving[56]. Therefore, the fundamental aim of the

---

[56] In cases where a doctor or a nurse from Red Cross cannot manage the patient's disease or illness, Red Cross can apply for a security from Immigration Service, which means that the Immigration Service guarantees that they will pay for the treatment or operation. The patient's treatment cannot begin before the Immigration Service has agreed a guarantee. In some cases it can take more than a month to obtain such

Danish Welfare state to secure the life, health, and welfare of the human beings in the country does not apply to humanitarian migrants.

Danish Red Cross & Immigration Service

The Danish Red Cross has been involved with housing humanitarian migrants since 1984. As stated in the 2012 contract between Red Cross and Immigration Service, the role of Red Cross is to provide various services to humanitarian migrants, such as housing, food, education, activities, interpretation, payment of cash allowance, composition of contracts, and limited healthcare.

Red Cross is required to assist Immigration Service with information as long as it is not in conflict with the law concerning professional secrecy. Among other things, this means that Red Cross is required to inform Immigration Service about crime, violence, and conflicts in the centers, and a humanitarian migrant's presence in the center and observance of the contract. Therefore, Red Cross is both a humanitarian organization who aims to protect and guide humanitarian migrants and an administrator of the Danish Immigration Law. Because Red Cross functions as an administrator of the Danish Immigration Law, humanitarian migrants often think that the Red Cross is affiliated and co-operates with the Danish state (Conrad, et al., 2010).

Conclusion

Through the Immigration Law, regulations, and state practices, the Danish state (re)produces the everyday space of humanitarian migrants. The asylum centers constitute the physical space where most of humanitarian migrants' everyday life is spent. The limited space of the centers is marked by a geographical and social isolation from the rest of the Danish society. Humanitarian migrants also lack a private space in the form of what we traditionally consider private space, such as a home or a room. In the following chapters, I examine how humanitarian migrants experience the space produced and constrained by the state, and to what extent humanitarian migrants create alternative private spaces.

---

guarantee. Humanitarian migrants under the age of eighteen have the same access to healthcare and dental care as residents of Denmark (The Danish Immigration Service, "Ansøgeres vilkår", 2012). They are therefore unaffected by the Immigration Service's willingness to pay for their treatment.

The practice of humanitarian migrants signing a contract enables the state to regulate the activities and the structure of humanitarian migrants' everyday life. Furthermore, the state is able to observe, measure, and control humanitarian migrants' participation and observation of the contract. The cash allowance system strategically aims to economically motivate or force humanitarian migrants to participate and co-operate with Immigration Service and the Danish Police.

Overall, the geo-political desire of securitization is manifested in the space of the centers. The centers are located in remote areas which make the humanitarian migrants less visible to the general public. Furthermore, the aim of the *aktivering* and education is to enable humanitarian migrants to quickly assimilate to the Danish society if they are granted asylum. Rejected humanitarian migrants do not have access to Danish education because the state finds it essential that these people instead get "qualified" to return to their home country, and do not establish an attachment to Denmark. The practices of education, *aktivering*, and the cash allowance system and contract system work as mechanisms to discipline the humanitarian migrants to become vulnerable, docile subjects, but applies ideas of the workfare model where the humanitarian migrants need to meet certain requirements in order to get their cash allowance.

CHAPTER V: EVERYDAY SPACES AND PRACTICES

A Room, a Bed, and a Table

"So this is the room, yes very small, and this is a bed, two people sleep here, it suffocates them at night because it is a small room for two people to be in and it is already very little space left. And if you tell them [Red Cross] that it is really annoying, especially now they [Red Cross] will say that the camp is really crowded and we [Red Cross] are under a lot of pressure, because there is a lot of people" (Mustafa, a Syrian man, 3 years in Denmark, 2012).

Mustafa, who has been in the Danish asylum system for more than three years, describes here his room in the asylum center while he is drawing it on a paper. The drawing is very small – *it takes up less than an inch^2 on the white A4 paper* – and before I even have a chance to tell Mustafa that I would like to keep the drawing of his room, he erases it. Mustafa's drawing illustrates how the room as a place produced by the Danish state, is experienced as a really small space – a space that is so small that it becomes difficult to draw. The size of drawing leaves almost no room for details. However, the details are not essential for Mustafa, what matters is the small size of the room and how it affects him and his roommate living in this space.

With point of departure in the migrants' narratives of how they experience their life in the Danish asylum system, this chapter examines the everyday practices and spaces of humanitarian migrants. I illustrate how the asylum system's laws and rules are materialized, practiced, and experienced. Furthermore, I discuss how the state reproduces the discursive understanding of the migrants as a vulnerable, dependent, and docile subject.

A "Normal" Day

The daily life of humanitarian migrants is a life of "nothingness", often described as an empty time that is difficult to fill. When I first asked humanitarian migrants to describe what a normal day was like for them, they would often reply "there is nothing to do, no activities to do". The majority of humanitarian migrants in Denmark go to school three times a week. Many have regular involvements, such as internal *aktivering* in Red

Cross, an external internship outside the centers, or participation at a cultural center like the Trampoline House. Yet they do not consider their daily life as meaningful or interesting. Instead, they experience the everyday life as a life where nothing happens.

Other scholars have described the everyday life of humanitarian migrants in detention center and refugee camps as a life in limbo, a life of waiting, and a life of insecurity (Khosravi, 2009; Hynman, et al., 2011; Mountz, 2011; Vitus, et al., 2011). When I asked humanitarian migrants to describe a casual day, from when they woke up to the time they went to sleep, it appeared that the nothingness was connected with a life of waiting. Because waiting is present in so many aspects of humanitarian migrants' everyday life, they feel that nothing happens, they are just waiting.

As Hyndman and Giles state, "waiting among refugees has become the rule, not the exception" (Hyndman, et al., 2011). First of all, from the day humanitarian migrants seek asylum they will be waiting for a ruling of their case. This period of waiting might last for two weeks or ten years depending on their case. Therefore, waiting in the form of waiting for a ruling of one's case will always be part of humanitarian migrants' life until the day they are deported or granted asylum. However, waiting is also present in other aspects of humanitarian migrants' everyday life. Humanitarian migrants are waiting for the internet to come back, waiting for a letter from the Immigration Service or the lawyer, waiting in line for money every other Thursday, waiting in line to use the bathroom, waiting in line for food (Center Sandholm), and waiting to start school or *aktivering*.

Humanitarian migrants in *Phase 2* are required to take educational classes. But just because a humanitarian migrant entered *Phase 2* one day it does not mean that he can start the educational classes the next day. Tamir, who just entered *Phase 2* when I interviewed him, explains how even though he is in *Phase 2*, he is still waiting to find out when he can start in school:

> "Now I am new in *Phase 2* and it is, you know, bureaucracy and routine, and it takes a long long time for them to know if you are *Phase 2* or not. So I have not started my school yet, I have been waiting for *Phase 2* for three month and now I just entered *Phase 2*. And of course I have to wait for like these documents when you are allowed to go to school" (Tamir, a Middle Eastern man, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

81

Humanitarian migrants often look forward to beginning school because it means that they can fill out the empty time with an activity and they are able to go to Copenhagen where the school is located. Nevertheless, as Tamir describes, just because a humanitarian migrant has entered *Phase 2* it does not mean that he can show up at the school. They have to receive a document that states that they are allowed to go to school - a bureaucratic process that can take time.

The majority of the asylum centers have computers and internet connection available to humanitarian migrants. The computers and internet connection are widely used because it is a way for humanitarian migrants to keep in contact with family and friends and fill out the empty time. Furthermore, several of the interviewees explain how the internet is a space where they are able to maintain a "normal" day and not necessarily be identified as a "vulnerable asylum seeker". However, the internet connection is poor in many centers and humanitarian migrants spend, therefore, a lot of time doing nothing other than waiting for the internet.

Tamir has been in Denmark for less than a year. He has left his family and friends back in the Middle East and is trying to keep in contact with them through the internet. Before Tamir came to Denmark, he checked his email and Facebook daily - it was a normal, everyday routine. Now, the poor internet connection in the asylum center makes it difficult for him to maintain his daily routines and transnational social relations.

> "Okay, then I wake up and then of course, you go and you want to go online and you spend like four hours to download something because it is a very slow internet, and if you want to check your Facebook and a friend of you posted a photo on your page then it will take 10 minutes. So you will spend four hours already, trying to check… trying to be a normal… a normal human being in this country, like every one want to be… on the internet, to communicate with people that way. So it will already take half of your day" (Tamir, a Middle Eastern man, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Most of the interviewees use the internet to communicate with family and friends and to check news. As Tamir states, this daily practice is a way to be a "normal" human being within the asylum system that limits humanitarian migrants' social interaction with

other people who are not seeking asylum. The internet can, therefore, be considered as a space through which humanitarian migrants are able to be "normal", maintaining transnational social networks across national boundaries, and creating trans-local spaces of communities (Nagel, et al., 2004; Leitner, et al., 2006; Nelson, et al., 2008). However, because of the poor internet connection and lack of computers available in the centers, it becomes difficult to keep up the normal daily routine of checking Facebook, emails, and other websites.

Waiting is also experienced in everyday practices such as cooking, taking a shower, or using the bathroom. Tamir explains how waiting is central to many of his daily practices. He also asserts that waiting is caused by the limited space and facilities:

> "Let say you want to cook, every fifteen rooms are sharing the same kitchen, one kitchen for each floor. So you have to wait in a line to cook and also if you want to go to the toilet, if you want to shower, you have to wait, if you… yeah you have to wait for everything because there are a lot of people sharing the same things, and there are very few things, like kitchens, toilets, and bathrooms" (Tamir, a Middle Eastern man, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Hyndman and Giles were right when they stated that waiting is the rule, not the exception (Hyndman, et al., 2011). But how do humanitarian migrants manage the waiting time?

In her study of migrant women in Istanbul, Secor illustrates how Kurdish women use tactics of silence, solidarity, anonymity and identity as they negotiate the political terrain of the city (Secor, 2004). The case of humanitarian migrants is bit different from that of Secor's illustration because humanitarian migrants spend the majority of their time in a space only for humanitarian migrants, as constrained by the state. However, humanitarian migrants still apply various tactics and find new spaces in order to manage the waiting time and the nothingness.

Tamir's example of the internet as a daily routine, mentioned above, is just one among many tactics applied. In an interview with Maja, who worked at Red Cross for more than four years, I asked her how she would explain humanitarian migrants' everyday life. Maja stated that she generally has seen two different "tactics", two different ways of dealing with the everyday life in the asylum center. Either you choose

to "become" the victim or you choose to maintain as normal an everyday life as possible. Through my fieldwork I have seen evidence of both tactics. Sometimes a humanitarian migrant successfully maintains a "normal" or meaningful everyday life throughout her time in the asylum system. Other times that is not possible. Sometimes, getting sick is a tactic applied because having a serious illness that cannot be cured in the humanitarian migrant's country of origin, can lead to a humanitarian permanent residence. Therefore, the aim here is not to "judge" the various tactics applied, but to illustrate how humanitarian migrants understand and position themselves within the asylum system and the waiting time.

Maysan, a young woman from the Middle East, explains how she feels lucky that she is able to use this "empty" time in a meaningful way. She cooks, studies, exercises, socializes in the kitchen, and hangs out with friends. Furthermore, she sees this waiting time as an opportunity for her to rest, though, she also states that she cannot rest forever. She wants to be able to work, make her own money, and continue her life.

> "I try to spend my time in the most useful way because this is my state of mind. Especially other people who live in the camp, in this time that I am studying and make some benefits for this time (…) so some people just do nothing, or they watch TV or they are watching different stupid website or they are sitting beside the window and thinking about their country and children. So yeah…. I am lucky because I am educated and coming from a well-developed country. I know how to use a computer and I need to study, because I was studying in school and then in college so I have a good background, but people who are just … simple people, not that I am not simple but people who are less educated or people who less know how to feel the time by themselves,… they find it very hard this free time" (Maysan, young woman in her mid-twenties, from the Middle East, has been in Denmark less than a year, 2012).

Maysan is able to fill out the waiting time with something that is meaningful to her. At the same time she positions herself as educated and uses that as an explanation to why she is able to keep herself busy. Maysan's narrative illustrates humanitarian migrants cannot be categorized classified as a uniform group of people who are

vulnerable, poor, and passive. Instead, humanitarian migrants' social, educational, cultural, and economic background influence how they position themselves within the system. Maysan's education enables her to study and take free online classes on the internet.

Some humanitarian migrants, though, experience that the waiting literally makes them sick and can cause restlessness, tiredness, and issues of sleeping (Vitus, et al., 2011). Wilma, Mustafa, and Hanna all explained to me how the waiting time has influenced their health and how this affects their everyday life. The stay in the asylum center has negatively influenced both Wilma and Hanna's sleep. They both have issues with sleeping because they constantly think about their case, about their future, and about whether or not they will be granted asylum. Humanitarian migrants' experiences of restlessness, tiredness, and issues of sleeping are all typical symptoms for people living in a space where waiting dominates, and time is "visible" and perceptible (Vitus, et al., 2011).

Similar to Wilma and Hanna, Mustafa explains how he has gotten sick from staying in the center:

> "I am getting mentally ill here, I go to school and a psychiatrist and I am taking pills as well. One day I unconsciously broke the window and the glass in the room, and I did not know what I was doing. I was not aware of what I was doing, but when I became aware I knew it was not good but I never experienced this before, I got all this in Denmark" (Mustafa, a Syrian man, 3 years in Denmark, 2012).

The everyday life in the centers is marked by skirmishes and violent conflicts, and suicides are not unusual. Both Jamal and Tamir talk about how the life in the centers makes humanitarian migrants frustrated. Tamir relates people's mental breakdowns and violent actions to frustrations over waiting and the asylum system in general. Jamal states that the violent conflicts can be caused by the fact that people are always around the same people, and they have nothing to do, they do not have a way to "fill out" the waiting time.

> "People are frustrated, confused, some people are behaving any kind, breaking some windows glasses, you know, many troubles because people are … they will do that because when you have nothing to do, you have

85

nothing to discuss. You can be frustrated and stupid and do anything, anything that comes to your mind that you can do because you are always at the same place from your room to friends' room… only or in the kitchen" (Jamal, a young African man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Because of the conflicts and violence in the centers, several migrants explain how they try to avoid social interaction with other migrants in the centers. They are scared that the person might get angry and start a conflict. Abdul for example does not open his door if people are knocking on it. And Mustafa states that a conflict can be caused by a joke. "So if I want to make a joke with someone then it might end up really bad because people will not take the joke and will be misunderstood because people are under a lot of stress" (Mustafa, a Syrian man, 3 years in Denmark, 2012).

Humanitarian migrants are trying to maintain a normal day, with daily routines such as cooking, sleeping, social interactions, checking news, and communicating across national boundaries with family and friends. However, waiting, lack of meaningful activities, and the limited space of the centers make it difficult for the migrants to maintain a so called normal dayto fill out the waiting time. Furthermore, the experiences of violence and conflicts in the centers make people less likely to interact socially with one another. Therefore, in asylum centers, the state has produced a space marked by nothingness, waiting, insecurity, and violence. The humanitarian migrants are kept in a space through which the state excludes them from social interaction, relations, everyday practices, and meaningful activities. Concerns about their legal status and possible futures become the main concern in the everyday life of humanitarian migrants.

Sharing Space with a Stranger

As mentioned in the previous chapter, humanitarian migrants are prima facie required to live at an asylum center. The Danish state maintains that the aim of the stay in an asylum center is to provide humanitarian migrants with a meaningful and dignified waiting time (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012). Most humanitarian migrants, however, do not experience the stay in the centers as meaningful or dignified. Instead, they feel that they live in prison-like conditions (Khosravi, 2009), where they are "forced" in several aspects

of their lives - "In the camp people make their food and go back to their rooms, it is just like a prison" (Tamir, a Middle Eastern man, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Abdul, who came to Denmark in 2012, has lived in two different centers. When he first came to Denmark, he was stopped by the Danish police at the Danish-German border. They detained him for several hours, un-dressed him, and searched through all his personal belongings. Abdul did not speak any English and had no idea what the police were doing to him. Several hours after he was first detained, a translator arrived. Abdul was released and told to travel to Center Sandholm. When Abdul, after a day of traveling through Denmark, finally arrived to Center Sandholm, he thought that all his worries would be over; that he now would be in safe space, and he could begin the new life for which he left his country, his family, and his old life. However, with a bit of irony in his voice, Abdul frustratedly explains how his worries have continued and how he feels forced:

> "So I am forced to live in the camp. So I am forced to live with criminals or crazy people in the camps, in Denmark every step I am taking is being forced, it is like I am forced to do everything, I have no rights, I am not doing anything I want" (Abdul, a Syrian man, 6 months in Denmark, 2012).

Similar to Abdul, Tamir explains how he does not feel that he has any choices.

> "You share a room with four people, no three people, so all in all you are four people. And they [Red Cross] give you these small things like toothpaste, shampoo, and … they chose it for you, you do not have a choice on anything in your life when you are in Sandholm, they always chose for you, everything for you, you might share the toilet with other people and maybe you do not like that" (Tamir, a Middle Eastern man, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Tamir and other humanitarian migrants are not only forced to stay in the asylum center, they also experience a lack of choice regarding everyday practices such as cooking or picking toothpaste. The supposedly equalizing safe space of the asylum center, where the Danish state takes care of every single thing from selecting the toothpaste to who you should share a room with, is experienced as space where

humanitarian migrants are disciplined, ought to follow the practices, and treated as docile bodies (Foucault, 1978; Khosravi, 2011). There seems to be no room for choices, questions, or discussions.

It is essential here to highlight that Center Sandholm is an Arrival / Departure Center, which means that both newly arrived humanitarian migrants and rejected humanitarian migrants live in the center. This center has a cafeteria where people get their food from three times daily. Several migrants elaborated on the differences between Center Sandholm and other centers. When I asked Abdul about how he experienced the various centers that he has stayed in, he said: "There is a big, big difference. So Sandholm is specially for people who get, who are criminals or who tread other people badly or who do something bad, so Sandholm is one of the worst camps" (Abdul, a Syrian man, 6 months in Denmark, 2012). When migrants highlight how Center Sandholm is different from the other camps, they typically focus on the criminal activities that take place in the center and cafeteria system, neither of which allow them to choose and cook their own food.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, each asylum center is organized in a different way, but all centers have rooms, common bathroom facilities, common kitchens, and various outdoors facilities. Most interviewees explained how sharing a room, kitchen, and bathroom with other people caused issues related to everyday practices – everyday practices such as sleeping, talking, cooking, and other daily habits. Abdul describes here how it is difficult for him to live sharing a room with other people:

> "So in the room we were four people and each of us had our own habits of sleeping at certain time, and waking up at certain time and because I am not a young person I am not sleeping heavily, and then by the end I found myself being awake 24 hours because I did not found the quiet time to sleep and it was really crazy" (Abdul, a Syrian man, 6 months in Denmark, 2012).

Sharing a room with other people means that humanitarian migrants practically do not have a private space. Everyday practices such as cooking, showering, and sleeping are practices that for most people take place in a private space, in a home which most people can call their own place. "Living by oneself, outside of collective places, means

88

having a protected place at one's disposal where the pressure of the social body on the individual does not prevail, where the plurality of stimuli is filtered, or, in any case, ideally ought to be" (De Certeau, 1998: 146). The majority of the interviewees share a room, kitchen, and bathroom with other migrants. Everyday practices and habits that normally would take place in private place are now "shared" with other people. Conflicts and problems arise because migrants are forced to live so close to one another despite different backgrounds, cultures, traditions, and habits. The Danish state does not take humanitarian migrants' different backgrounds into consideration, but sees them instead as a homogenous group of people (Mountz, 2011). Defined by the identity "asylum seekers", humanitarian migrants are placed in an institution where they are supposed to live a "meaningful" and "dignified" life while they wait for a ruling of their case. However, the institution does not offer a private space or a space where they are not identified as "asylum seekers".

Not everyone experiences issues with the person they share a room with, though. Maysan explains how she feels lucky because her roommate is very nice, but she has experienced how there can be internal conflicts between people sharing a room:

> "Yes, she is very very good, we are like but some girls are less like. My friend's friend was beaten, hit and bit on the head by her neighbor. (…) my friend now moved to another camp and she is living with an African woman and this African woman (…) brings her boyfriend and they speak very loudly in the morning. Like, they wake up and they start to talk in an African way, you know, very loud, and lot of emotions and my friend cannot sleep" (Maysan, a young Middle Eastern woman, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Maysan feels lucky because her roommate is nice, but more importantly she emphasizes how she and her roommate are alike. Being alike makes it easier to share a room with another person. However, as mentioned above the state does not recognize these differences between humanitarian migrants, which, as Maysan explains, can cause conflicts and violence.

Humanitarian migrants experience the practice of sharing a kitchen differently. Tamir states that sharing spaces with other people brings "a lot of complications in [your]

life" (Tamir, a Middle Eastern man, less than a year in Denmark, 2012). He further explains that the complications come from waiting on being able to cook. For other humanitarian migrants, sharing a kitchen with other people is a way to enter into a social community. They explain how their kitchen functions really well, how they enjoy cooking together, and how they are sharing cooking skills and various food traditions.

In her narration of the differences between the kitchens, Maysan states that the reason why her kitchen functions well is because it is mostly families who are sharing the kitchen.

> "On my floors there live families so that is way the kitchen is clean and the neighbors are good and everything. On the other floors where there are men's rooms, single men, the kitchen (floor) is disgusting, it is very dirty and it is hard for women to live there because all the men (…), it is stressful situation" (Maysan, a young Middle Eastern woman, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Maysan's narrative illustrates differences among the people within the centers and how these differences are experienced in daily practices such as cooking in the common kitchen. Female interviewees talk about how there are more men in the center than women, and how gender related issues are present in the centers. Approximately 70 percent of the humanitarian migrants who seek asylum are men. The majority of these men are young and single.

The female humanitarian migrants I interviewed who live in the Woman Center explain how they appreciate living in a center for only women and their children. However, the capacity of the Woman Center is very limited and the waiting list is long. A female humanitarian migrant does not need to have a specific reason for why she wants to live in this center. Because of the limited capacity, females who have been exposed to human trafficking, prostitution, or are particularly vulnerable are often those who end up living in this center. Some female humanitarian migrants who live in a center with many men experience simple everyday practices like cooking as being difficult, because as Maysan explains "(…) all these men are young and do not have any girlfriends and some of them are playing so they are staring, talking, and commenting in a positive way but still it is not nice for a woman" (Maysan, a young Middle Eastern woman, less than a

year in Denmark, 2012). Furthermore, Maysan explains how she tries to avoid the area where the computers are because men are hanging out there and this makes her insecure.

Sharing a room, a kitchen, and other common spaces is experienced in various ways. The majority of the interviewees focus on complications that sharing spaces brings into their lives, such as waiting, lack of choices, and lack of private space. The supposedly equalizing space of the asylum center creates important differences and problems because migrants are forced to live in proximity to one another despite very different backgrounds, cultures, traditions, and habits.

Humanitarian migrants use different tactics in order to avoid sharing a room or kitchen with other people. Some people stay in the city with their friends for the majority of the time. Some migrants avoid cooking and keep their food in their room. And some people pay the people that they are sharing a room with not to stay in the room, however this might be difficult to do because of the low cash allowance. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the state has implemented disciplinary practices, such as the cash allowance system and the daily duties, to control whether or not people live in the centers. If the Red Cross reports to the Immigration Service that a humanitarian migrant is not staying full time in the center, the Immigration Service can reduce the person's bi-weekly cash allowance. Furthermore, a humanitarian migrant can only do an external internship if he has done internal *aktivering* in the center first. These mechanisms of control can therefore influence humanitarian migrants' lives financially.

The mechanisms of discipline and control do not take the differences among humanitarian migrants into account. The mechanisms are trying to form, discipline, and influence the docile humanitarian migrant so that he acts according to the rules of the system (Foucault, 1978). But the "vulnerable asylum seeker" might not be as "vulnerable" as the system tries to make him. Humanitarian migrants' economic background or social relations might enable them to resist or "get around" the space and practices constrained by the state. In Chapter VI, I will return to these questions of differences, resistance, struggle, and the supposedly "vulnerable asylum seeker".

Education and *Aktivering*

In the contract between Red Cross and Immigration Service, it is stated that in order to make the stay meaningful and dignified, it is important that humanitarian migrants' personal, social, and professional resources and qualifications are optimally utilized according to the circumstances (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012). Furthermore, as explained in Chapter IV, the purpose of the education and activation is to give humanitarian migrants the ability to maintain and develop professional skills, achieve a successful integration, create an active and meaningful everyday life, and increase his responsibility for his own life. As argued in the previous chapter, the state perceives the humanitarian migrants as a "vulnerable" subject defined by his legal status. The aim of the education and *aktivering* is not only to contribute to a meaningful stay, but to allow each humanitarian migrant to develop as a neo-liberal subject, an economic man, a subject who sees himself as an enterprise (Foucault, 1978, 2008). The education and *aktivering* are therefore practices, through which the humanitarian migrant, as *homo economicus*, can invest in himself, i.e. build human capital (Foucault, 1978, 2008).

That said, humanitarian migrants experience various difficulties regarding *aktivering* (internal *aktivering* and external internship[57]) and education. I found that many humanitarian migrants were not able to "fully grasp" the system, they did not understand why they were not allowed to take Danish classes when they were in *Phase 3*, why they were not allowed to have an external internship if they did not co-operate with the Police about their repatriation, and why it could take months before they could start school even though they had already been in *Phase 2* for a month.

A humanitarian migrant can get an external practice with a company or business outside the centers. This can be an opportunity for humanitarian migrants to get outside the center and meet other people who are not seeking asylum. However, as explained in the previous chapter, not all humanitarian migrants are allowed to get an external practice. Mustafa is one among many who wants to have an external practice, however he explains:

---

[57] The Danish word for internship is "praktik". The majorities of the migrants who I talked to about internship did not use the word internship but used instead the English word practice.

"One year ago I really wanted to go out of the camp and be in involved in the society and be integrated and work. So I found a place where they wanted to give me practice. And I went to the Job Center and said that you need to give me practice outside the camp. And then he (the job center) said 'no you cannot get practice outside the camp because you are studying English Level I'" (Mustafa, a Syrian man, 3 years in Denmark, 2012).

Mustafa continues by explaining that his friend was able to get an external practice, even though they study English at the same level and Mustafa speaks the language better. Mustafa's narration illustrates how the system of external practice is unclear, and experienced as unfair. Mustafa also states that there is a difference between the job centers in each asylum center. Some people who work at the job center are more willing to work with you than others. These experiences of unclearness and unfairness illustrate how the lack of information and hazy communication keep humanitarian migrants in a state of vulnerability and exclusion (Conrad, 2010).

When I interviewed Maja, who worked in the Job Center as part of her job with the Red Cross, I asked her how she sees the difference between internal *aktivering* and external practice. Maja stated that she did not believe in internal *aktivering*: "the problem is in many places, I think… that there at the internal practices are no staffs present" (Maja, worked for the Red Cross and the Trampoline House, 2012). Maja explains that the internal *aktivering* that work out the best are the practices where humanitarian migrants are connected to a working team that exists in the center already. This way, humanitarian migrants are recognized and acknowledged in what they are doing. Maja asserts that acknowledgement is important in order for the practice to be successful. However, she explains that there is a lack of such internal *aktivering* in the centers and humanitarian migrants end up in internal *aktivering* that is not meaningful.

Both Maysan and Jamal have experiences with internal *aktivering*. Maysan, who has an educational background and speaks fluent English and Arabic, has *aktivering* ten hours per week in the centers. But she does not always succeed, which means that her cash allowance is reduced sometimes:

"My practice is translator but as well… everybody needs to make a cleaning practice, once every two weeks you need to clean the floors and outside together with other people who have the same day as you cleaning practice. And if you do not like this practice your money is cut, we get 135 kr. less from the 1200 kr. that we get" (Maysan, a young Middle Eastern woman, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Maysan further explains that the *aktivering* as a translator is more meaningful for her than the other *aktiveringer* in the center such as cleaning and repairing things that are broken. Jamal explains here how he liked his *aktivering* in the bicycle workshop in Center Auderød:

"I was doing it, very perfect, I was getting more experience with bicycle repair and the guy who was working there and he is also very interested about me because I am very active, I am very active, he was very interested and he liked my work" (Jamal, a young African man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Jamal could not continue his *aktivering* because he got sick. Today, Jamal has an external internship with the Trampoline House and tries to spend most of his time in the city.

An *aktivering* can enable the humanitarian migrants to "fill out" the waiting time. An *aktivering* that is meaningful can be very important for how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life. Here, Mustafa explains how his life where before he got the external *aktivering* in the Trampoline house:

"Before I got practice my life was like an animal in a zoo, because I eat, drink, and sleep, there are no activities, there is none. Because I do not have the money to buy a ticket and go and see new people, I was just living" (Mustafa, a Syrian man, 3 years in Denmark, 2012).

Humanitarian migrants take their educational classes in the Asylum School in Copenhagen. They are therefore able to be in Copenhagen three days a week. But as Mustafa explains, there is a difference between going to school in Copenhagen and having an external *aktivering* in Copenhagen:

"The days where I go to school I am more relieved, I am more like relaxed as well. When I go to school I need to be very busy because I need to

catch up with the train, and I do not have the time to see people and to see new people. (…) when I have practice, (…) then I can… yeah, walk around in the city, see people, and spend time them" (Mustafa, a Syrian man, 3 years in Denmark, 2012).

Although the special asylum school for adults is located in Copenhagen, it does not mean that the humanitarian migrants who attend have a greater chance to spend time in the city beyond the time they spend in the school. The travel-time from the centers to Copenhagen is two hours on average, but varies from center to center. At most centers, the local public bus comes only once every hour. The interviewees felt that the centers are far away from Copenhagen and that they spend much of their time getting to and from the school with public transportation.

Humanitarian migrants are only offered courses in Danish if they need it to complete an unpaid internship or participate in unpaid humanitarian volunteer work outside the asylum center. Humanitarian migrants in *Phase 3* are not allowed to receive courses in Danish (Udlændingestyrelsen, 2012: 29). Several humanitarian migrants understand the political argument behind this law: the Danish language is only useful in Denmark, so therefore a rejected humanitarian migrant is better off learning English. Jamal even uses this argument to explain why he cannot take Danish classes: "only English, I cannot take a Danish class, yeah, because maybe I will not be allowed to live in Denmark that is why it is not necessary to learn Danish. That is how I think" (Jamal, a young African man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Nevertheless, several of my interviewees stated that learning Danish is crucial to their survival in Danish society. Fadi, who left family back in the Middle East, explains how important it is for him to learn Danish and that not being able to speak Danish is one of reasons why he would like to go back to his home country: "Yeah I would like to go back because your home country is the place where you can communicate with people, here I cannot because it is not my language and I do not know a lot of people and it is difficult" (Fadi, a Middle Eastern man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012). Furthermore, Fadi explains that learning the Danish language is really important for him because then later on he could find a job. He would, as he says, be able to communicate.

Wilma has taken Danish classes for the last three years but she has a hard time learning the language. Her asylum case has been rejected and she is not sure when she will be deported. Many of Wilma's friends speak English, so most of the English she can speak today she has learned from her friends. In order to improve her English she requested to change her language classes to English instead of Danish. But as Wilma explains, the Job Center would not allow her to change her language classes at first:

> "But now I told them that I want to change English… maybe because before I came I did not speak English, but with friends and I have tried to speak English. It is not good but I told them [Job center] I want to change to English. Maybe English will be faster for me [to learn than Danish]" (Wilma, an African woman, 5 years in Denmark, 2012).

As both Wilma and Fadi suggest, language is essential for them in order to communicate and interact with other people, whether or not these people are friends or people they meet in the Danish society. Even though the centers are located in remote areas, the humanitarian migrants still experience difficulty communicating with people such as the bus driver, the train inspector, supermarket staff, and other people that they meet in their everyday life because they do not have the necessary language skills.

The Danish state has created a system where the education becomes part of the development as an economic being - the educational classes are an investment that can increase the humanitarian migrants' value as human capital (Foucault, 2008). The main aim of the language classes is not to enable humanitarian migrants to develop language skills that can help them get on in the everyday life in Denmark.

Geographical and Economic Exclusion

Humanitarian migrants are, to a large extent, excluded from the Danish Society. Other scholars have illustrated how humanitarian migrants and refugees are literally excluded from the state's sovereign territory (Montz, 2010, 2011; Nevins, 2010; Khosravi, 2011, Hyndman, et al., 2011). In the case of Denmark, humanitarian migrants are not excluded from the Danish sovereign territory or placed in non-sovereign spaces. However, humanitarian migrants are geographically and economically excluded from the society.

The majority of the asylum centers are in remote, abolished military barracks, abolished airbases, and mobile barracks, far from major cities. The geographical isolation of the asylum centers makes it difficult for the humanitarian migrants to interact and communicate with people who do not live in the centers, especially because public transportation from the centers to cities is, in many instances, inadequate and expensive. Among other things, the geographical isolation and low cash allowance affect their access to food and shopping.

Humanitarian migrants often explain how the money that they get from the Immigration Service is not enough to cover their expenses - "They give me money, every two week, and then… it is not enough" (Hadi, a young Syrian young man, 2 years in Denmark, 2012). Furthermore, Abdul describes how he uses a lot of his money on the transportation to the city where he can buy food. The cost of the transportation makes it difficult for the people who do not have money.

> "I was thinking about that I got to go to Roskilde because I had money and
> I got to buy my food because I have money. And I was thinking about
> these people who don't have money, how should they or how could they
> buy their food if they arrive one week before the pocket money" (Abdul, a
> Syrian man, 6 months in Denmark, 2012).

Therefore, the exclusion is experienced as being both geographical and economic. The geographical and economic exclusion are mechanisms through which the state is reconstructing humanitarian migrants as vulnerable, dependent, docile subjects. The humanitarian migrants are financially dependent on the state in order to survive. Humanitarian migrants are kept in the dependency relationship because the state only provides what Hyndman and Giles have called "the don't die survival" (Hyndman, et al., 2011). Humanitarian migrants get enough money to survive so that they do not die, but they do not get an amount of money that allows them to establish and maintain an independent life.

In the summer of 2012, Red Cross opened a new center in the city of Ringsted. The center in Ringsted is a good example of how the location of an asylum center affects humanitarian migrants' everyday life in terms of inclusion/exclusion and security/insecurity. Compared to the location of other centers on Zealand, Ringsted is

"connected" to Copenhagen through the railway system. Ringsted's train station is a central junction in the Danish railway system. Fadi was one of the humanitarian migrants who moved to Ringsted over the summer and we talked about the geographical difference between Ringsted and Avnstrup, the center where he used to live.

> "Avnstrup is like… the main difference is that Avnstrup is like very far away from Copenhagen, it is in a forest. While the new one in Ringsted is in, almost in the city. (…) There is big number of people in Avnstrup and it is very far away from the city and it is just a forest, or something" (Fadi, a Middle Eastern man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Fadi further explains how he now has better access to shops and how his life among other people; not humanitarian migrants, but life among Danish citizens, which makes him feel safe:

> "But in Ringsted… I live among people and it is easier for me to meet new people. (…) In Ringsted it is like living among people and like… everything is close to you, if you want to buy something it is close… just the fact that you are living among people makes everything safer" (Fadi, a Middle Eastern man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Even though Fadi's English and Danish skills are very limited, the proximity to other people who are not humanitarian migrants makes him feel safe.

Although humanitarian migrants are "bounded" by their legal status as "asylum seekers", they find it important to do things that they had been able to do before they came to Denmark, like shop in the city, rent a hotel room, or go to a bar or night club. Nevertheless, the state excludes humanitarian migrants, geographically and financially, and consequently constrains their ability to maintain these "normal" everyday practices. Like Fadi, Jamal, who struggles to live in the center, explains how he experiences the exclusion in more than one way, and how life in the remote asylum center excludes him from doing "normal" life activities.

> "I cannot live in a camp, all the camps are far away from Copenhagen, you know very far away, it is always boring, especially in Auderød, most of the days there is not internet connection, no wireless connection, we have no internet for many days, if we have internet two days in one week then

we have a good network, then we are lucky. Always, we have no communication, no internet, and we see the same people there is no town near, that you can go to a bar or some places that you can make yourself happy, enjoy yourself, at least a little bit" (Jamal, a young African man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Jamal's narration illustrates that he experiences the exclusion as a social exclusion. But the narration also illuminates the fact that Jamal sees the people in the center as a homogeneous group of people.

Most of my interviewees expressed a similar understanding of homogeneity because, as they said, they all face the same situation - "we have the same problem" (Hadi, a young Syrian young man, 2 years in Denmark, 2012). When humanitarian migrants talked about the "same" problem or the "same" situation, they referred to the problem of waiting and insecurity about the future that takes up a big part of their everyday life and creates a stressful atmosphere in the centers. Hadi describes why he likes to be in Copenhagen in contrast to the homogeneity of the center:

"Also in the camp you see young (people), all the people are young, and the system in Denmark has a special camp for young people and for guys (…). So like, they sit together, see the same faces, so I think it is good in Copenhagen. (…)it is the same, Copenhagen, out of the camp is good, but what I mean (about) good, like, to see more places, to see more people" (Hadi, a young Syrian young man, 2 years in Denmark, 2012).

In Copenhagen, Hadi is able to meet other people who are not humanitarian migrants; people who do not worry about whether they can stay in Denmark or if they will be sent back to the country they fled. Hadi is not the only one to have this opinion. Most interviewees stress that in the centers they see the same faces; they only see other humanitarian migrants. In Copenhagen, or another city, they have the opportunity to be among other people, experience a society, and not constantly be facing their status as asylum seeker.

As mentioned earlier, humanitarian migrants can get an external internship in the Trampoline House. The house used to give out one ticket per person per week to anyone who wanted to come to the house. However, because of lack of money, the house is now

only able to give tickets to the people who have practice in the house. When I asked the interviewees what it meant to them and their everyday life that they were able to come to a place like the Trampoline House, they emphasized how the house is like a community, that time goes by faster in the house, that it is place where they can meet and communicate with other people who are not humanitarian migrants, and that they can talk to a lawyer about the asylum process and their case. For Maysan the Trampoline House "means a community":

> "The Trampoline house gave me the opportunity to have real friends from Denmark and they help me a lot in my life, because I can understand the culture in the country I live more. So when you stay in the camp you always hear complaining about Denmark, about Danish, about Copenhagen, but when you meet Danish people and you have a real connection with them, you can have your opinion about this nation, this culture. And you can help one another with small things or big things, my friends are helping me with big things, and after you have friends you can come to Copenhagen and you can stay in their place, they can help me with different things and support me, and so I find good friends there" (Maysan, a young Middle Eastern woman, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Most say they feel safe in the house and Jamal says "it is like an umbrella, if you open an umbrella and have people under it, it is like a security" (Jamal, a young African man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012). Thus, the Trampoline House provides a space in which humanitarian migrants can meet other people who are not humanitarian migrants. In the house, they are not defined by their legal status; instead they are defined as members of a community.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated how humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life, spaces, and practices. The time in the center is very often experienced as waiting time, but also as a time that feels empty. Humanitarian migrants find it difficult to fill out this empty time with meaningful activities. Furthermore, humanitarian migrants do not

feel that they have any choice in their everyday life and they feel forced to live with- and share material space with other people, with whom they might not have anything in common, except that they all have sought asylum.

In order to deal with the empty time and the practices of sharing, humanitarian migrants apply various tactics in their daily life. Some of these tactics might hurt their economic situation if they cause the state to cut their cash allowance to a bare minimum. Furthermore, tactics such as becoming sick can have consequence for their future health.

This analysis illustrates how the state, through the location of the centers, low cash allowance, education, and *aktivering,* keeps humanitarian migrants in spaces where they become dependent, vulnerable, and docile subjects. However, the humanitarian migrants apply various tactics and find new spaces, such as the internet, through which they try to maintain a "normal" life that is not defined directly by their status as "asylum seeker".

CHAPTER VI: IDENTITY / BECOMING / SUBJECTION

"By the time migrants arrive on sovereign territory, states have already begun to define in their own terms who they are"

(Mountz, 2010: 26).

This chapter examines the everyday spaces and practices of humanitarian migrants in order to illustrate how the categorization of humanitarian migrants as "asylum seekers" has direct impact on their everyday lives. In the following, I examine how humanitarian migrants experience and engage the Danish state's attempts to de-politicize them through various mechanisms and techniques, such as categorization and exclusion. Furthermore, I discuss how humanitarian migrants' self-understanding and political activities can challenge the understanding of the "vulnerable" asylum seeker and the political subject. As I show below, the utilization of such a category can delimit migrants, their lives, and our understanding of them.

"So I am just a number…"

The category "asylum seeker" is widely used by the state, other authorities, in policy documents, and in the media to talk about a specific group of migrants. The government website nyidanmark.dk (newtodenmark.dk) states that an asylum seeker "is a person who applies for the right to reside in a foreign country and to be protected as a refugee by that country, but who has not yet been approved as a refugee" (The Danish Immigration Service, "Asylum seeker", 2013). Through various state practices and encounters, the individual human being who seeks asylum is identified and categorized as an "asylum seeker".

Such identification and categorization begins the day a humanitarian migrant seeks asylum. The Danish Police register the person's biometric data in form of fingerprints and photo. The data is then saved in an electronic system where it can be shared with other countries in order to determine the person's identity. Furthermore, the police make a short interview with the humanitarian migrant about her route of travel to Denmark. The interview is transcribed, digitalized, and sent to Immigration Service. The

humanitarian migrant's identity is, to an extent, reduced to digitalized data. Essentially, the biometric system separates the person's identity from her body (Feldman, 2012).

The humanitarian migrant receives an ID card (Figure 10) with her name, case number, and country code. This ID card is used by the asylum centers and Immigration Service to identify the humanitarian migrant concerned. The ID card is different from the Sygesikringskort (Figure 9), which is a social security card that allows people who live in Denmark access to the public services and banking.

Figure 9:

Figure 10:

The majority of the interviewees describe how this ID card prevents them from opening a bank account, borrowing library books, buying a plan-based phone or broadband internet, joining a fitness club, or entering a night club. Every time

humanitarian migrants are faced with the limits of this ID card and are turned down or refused, they are categorized and identified as "asylum seeker". This ID card repeatedly re-inscribes the humanitarian migrants' identity as "asylum seeker".

The ID card is also used in daily practices within the asylum center. In Center Sandholm for example, all humanitarian migrants are required to show their ID when they go in and out of the center. But the ID card is also used when humanitarian migrants receive a letter or their cash allowance. In order to get their letters they have to show their ID card. Humanitarian migrants are identified by their ID number and not, for example, by their name.

The ID card and number are used repeatedly as a way to identify the migrants. One day when I was in the Trampoline House having a conversation over a cup of coffee, one of the migrants told me that a Red Cross staff member at the center where he lived, had memorized many of the humanitarian migrants' ID numbers. When a migrant came to check if he had a letter, the staff knew the migrant's ID number without looking at the ID card. Instances like that make humanitarian migrants feel that they are not recognized as human beings, but as numbers among other numbers. Abdul describes here why he feels that this ID card has reduced him to a number:

> "So I am just a number, 'I don't have a name'. So when I get a post (mail) or send a post (mail), or whatever, I am a number. I cannot transfer money, I cannot receive money, I cannot send any post or package to my family (…) I cannot buy a mobile phone (…) I cannot open a bank account. So it is (the ID card) only considered an ID by the Danish government which is considering me as a number and not a person. And this is the most difficult thing, to delete a person from life and consider him as a number. And I actually exist" (Abdul, a Syrian man, 6 months in Denmark, 2012).

The ID card manifests the categorization of humanitarian migrants as "asylum seekers" – it singles them. The ID card functions, therefore, as a strategy. It defines humanitarian migrants as a group that does not belong to the society as citizens. When humanitarian migrants unsuccessfully try to use the ID card outside the asylum system, it clearly illustrates how they do not belong to the society, how they do not have the same

legal rights, and how they cannot claim identity as citizens – it is a mechanism that differentiates between subjects (Foucault, 1978, 2007). And although the ID card assigns the identity "asylum seeker" to the humanitarian migrants, they feel that this ID card deprives their identity as humans.

Furthermore, the practice of the ID card also functions as a mechanism to keep humanitarian migrants in the center or close to the centers. When I asked Maysan how she communicates with the Immigration Service, she explained how the communication through letters works as a way to keep people in the centers:

> "There is a place, I have a number and there is a place where they need to check my ID number every day and if my ID number is there that means that I have a post. This is also something that keeps you from not going far from the camp because they always need to check your ID number but of course people ask one another to check" (Maysan, a young Middle Eastern woman, less than a year in Denmark, 2012).

Maysan often spends time in Copenhagen with her friends. She needs to leave Copenhagen and go back to the center in order to check if she has a letter. But as she explains, humanitarian migrants are sometimes able to circumvent this obstacle. They get another migrant in the center to check if they have a letter by using their ID number.

The ID card, therefore, is a mechanism through which the identity as "asylum seeker" is constantly re-inscribed. And, it also functions strategically as mechanism which purpose is to keep humanitarian migrants in the center or at least nearby.

Becoming an "asylum seeker"

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Maja, who worked at Red Cross for more than four years, identified two different "tactics", two different ways of dealing with the new identity "asylum seeker" and the everyday life in the asylum center. The two different tactics can be identified as the "victim" and the "survivor", and should be understood as two different extremes. The aim here is not to identify each humanitarian migrant as either a victim or a survivor. Instead, I call attention to Maja's example of the two different tactics because it illustrates the subjection that takes place within the asylum system.

Subjection takes place through the conduct of the conduct (Foucault, 2007). Humanitarian migrants are governed through various practices, mechanisms, and techniques, such as the ID card, the required stay in the asylum centers, the cash allowance- and contract system, and the *motivationsfremmende foranstatninger*. But humanitarian migrants also govern themselves. As Foucault states, the power within these practices, mechanisms, and techniques "applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him" (Foucault, 1982: 6). The process of subjection is a reflexive process through which the individual humanitarian migrant "recognizes" his own identity. The humanitarian migrant as an individual is able to turn upon himself and he may or may not identify with the category ("asylum seeker") in which he is placed by the state.

When humanitarian migrants seek asylum they are categorized and identified by the Danish state as "asylum seekers". This identity is then re-manifested through the everyday life in the "special" asylum center, the "special" asylum school, and the daily use of the ID card. Even though humanitarian migrants are identified and categorized as "asylum seekers" by the state, it does not necessarily mean that a humanitarian migrant can identify with this discursively constituted identity. Subjection includes an element of reflexivity (Butler, 1997). Therefore, we need to examine how humanitarian migrants position themselves against this discursive identity in order to understand how they are more than a vulnerable, dependent, docile "asylum seeker".

With regard to the process of subjection, Maja suggests that the initial period that humanitarian migrants spend in Denmark can be described as a "honeymoon". Two weeks before I left the Trampoline House, a new person came to the house. He had been in Denmark for less than two weeks, he had a PhD in his "baggage", he was optimistic and open, and it looked like he had a zest for life. Maja told me that this attitude was very common. Several of the interviewees explained a similar experience. They felt relieved when they first came to Denmark and they thought that their suffering would be over. However, Maja states that the "honeymoon" often ends when the humanitarian migrants

face the bureaucracy of the Danish asylum system. They realize that Denmark is not the safe haven they dreamed about.

In his narration of his journey to Center Sandholm where he sought asylum, Abdul explains: "Then I arrived in Sandholm, I thought my suffering was going to end now, I was thinking, now I am in the camp and everything will be okay and I did not know that this was the starting point of the troubles" (Abdul, a Syrian man, 6 months in Denmark, 2012). Therefore, when we examine how humanitarian migrants position themselves in the Danish asylum system, I argue that the time a humanitarian migrant has spent in the center is an important factor. Other factors such as humanitarian migrants' nationality, gender, class, and religion might also have an effect. However, I will not make any generalizations based upon gender, class, nationality, and religion. This is primarily because of my limited empirical data set. But also because the aim of this project is not to make generalizations about humanitarian migrants, but instead to illustrate how humanitarian migrants are influenced by the categorization and how they position themselves against discourse of "asylum seeker" in various ways.

Life in the center is restricted, void of meaning, and burdened by anxiety and insecurity. Humanitarian migrants feel anxious because they cannot start their life in Denmark until their case has been ruled on. Several of the interviewees explained how life in the asylum center, therefore, makes them feel passive and immobile. Mustafa, who is from Syria, has been in Denmark for more than three years. Mustafa has lived in three different centers and states that he has been treated differently in all three. When I asked him to describe what it feels like to live in an asylum center, Mustafa said he felt like an animal when he stayed in Center Sandholm:

> "I felt that I was treated as a sheep. I was treated as a sheep, we were like a group of sheep in the camp, and they make the decision and I did not feel that I had any choice and I am just one of these people who do not have control over my life" (Mustafa, a Syrian man, 3 years in Denmark, 2012).

Similarly, Rami feels that he cannot do anything about his life or situation. "You think you are in a freezer, you cannot move, you are stuck" (Rami, a Middle Eastern man, more than a year in Denmark, 2012). These two examples illustrate how humanitarian migrants

sometimes feel that they cannot do anything. In conjunction with humanitarian migrants' lack of legal rights, it is tempting to conclude that humanitarian migrants are reduced to Agamben's figure of homo sacer – "a human victim who may be killed but not sacrificed" (Agamben, 1998: 83).

In a study of the family life in Danish asylum centers, Vitus applies Agamben's theory of zones of indistinction, bare life, and the camp. Vitus concludes that humanitarian migrants' tactic of becoming ill can be a form of resistance, but its success depends "on the willingness of sovereign citizens to realize and (…) to take political action on behalf of the asylum-seekers" (Vitus, 2011: 110). It is almost obvious to apply Agamben's theory of the camp and bare life to the life in the Danish asylum centers. However, we need to remember that Agamben applied the figure of homo sacer to the Jews in the German concentration camps, not to humanitarian migrants. We also need to discuss what counts as a political act. Is it up to sovereign citizens to take political action on behalf of the asylum-seekers? Or do humanitarian migrants act politically through various form of resistance, such as becoming ill, hunger strikes, demonstrations, and other everyday tactics? In the following section, I examine how humanitarian migrants do not necessarily position themselves as the vulnerable "asylum seeker", but understand themselves as political subjects.

The Humans Behind the Numbers

> *"And this is the most difficult thing, to delete a person from life and*
> *consider him as a number. And I actually exist"*
> (Abdul, 2012).

In her ethnography of the Canadian state, Mountz argues that the power of categorization reproduces the power of the state through the mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. Asylum seekers are excluded from the state. Their bodies are not excluded, but as a group of political subjects, they are excluded from the state's jurisdiction – an attempt made by the state to de-politicize this particular group of people. However, Mountz states that "people, meanwhile, do not imagine their lives or identities in terms of immigration policies and the categories they produce" (Mountz, 2010: xxvii). Similarly,

Fluri argues that we need to be careful identifying lives in war zones or displacements camps as bare life because these people might refuse to identify themselves with bare life, and such identification "(…) discursively enables the reduction of these human lives from a qualitative understanding to a quantifiable sum – as a the measurement of biopolitics imagined and enacted by international agents" (Fluri, 2012: 45). Therefore, even though the Danish state is trying strategically to de-politicize humanitarian migrants through various mechanisms, we cannot conclude that humanitarian migrants themselves identify with the category "asylum seeker" or position themselves as de-politicized subjects.

One of the tactics humanitarian migrants apply in order to "escape" the identity "asylum seeker" is to not reveal their legal status to people they meet. This tactic of anonymity functions as "a maneuver within (…) enemy territory" (De Certeau, 1984: 37), or, as Secor states, an act of "'making do' of those without a 'proper' space of their own" (Secor, 2004: 360). The tactic of anonymity is used by humanitarian migrants to position themselves as "a new subject of rights" (Secor, 2004: 360).

On a bike ride to the local grocer who donates fruit and vegetables to the Trampoline House, Jamal told me that he does not tell people he meets in Copenhagen that he is an "asylum seeker". He does not want to be seen as an "asylum seeker" and he tries to avoid talking with his Danish friends about his case and situation. Jamal intentionally tries to avoid identifying with the category "asylum seeker" in order to maintain as normal a life as possible. When Jamal and I talked about the cash allowance he receives, he mentions that he would like to work, but that it is too big of a risk for him to take. He knows that he is not allowed to work and how working without documents can have major consequences for his future in Denmark. Jamal is one among many humanitarian migrants that I met who constantly are negotiating their position against the discursive understanding of an "asylum seeker". Jamal tries to maintain daily routines such as listening to music, following the news, spending time in the Trampoline House, and hanging out with Danish friends in order to avoid "becoming" or being recognized as an "asylum seeker".

As described earlier, the system of the ID card makes Abdul and other humanitarian migrants feel reduced to a number. However, Abdul also describes why

humanitarian migrants in the center stopped cleaning the kitchen, which is part of their cleaning duty. They stopped cleaning because Red Cross cut their cash allowances even though they were doing their cleaning duties.

> "The reason for that is the Red Cross, because you have a duty to clean, and you get 1140 kr. every second week and if you do not clean they take from you salary or… what every, 35 kr. and if you do that again, do not clean for two times, then they cut 135 kr. for every time you do that (do not clean). Red Cross is cutting from people salary although they are cleaning so people are just demonstrating against them in this way" (Abdul, a Syrian man, 6 months in Denmark, 2012).

The tactic of anonymity and acts of resistance against the practices constrained by the state are just two examples of how humanitarian migrants can act and resist against the contract, the law, and the identity imposed on them.
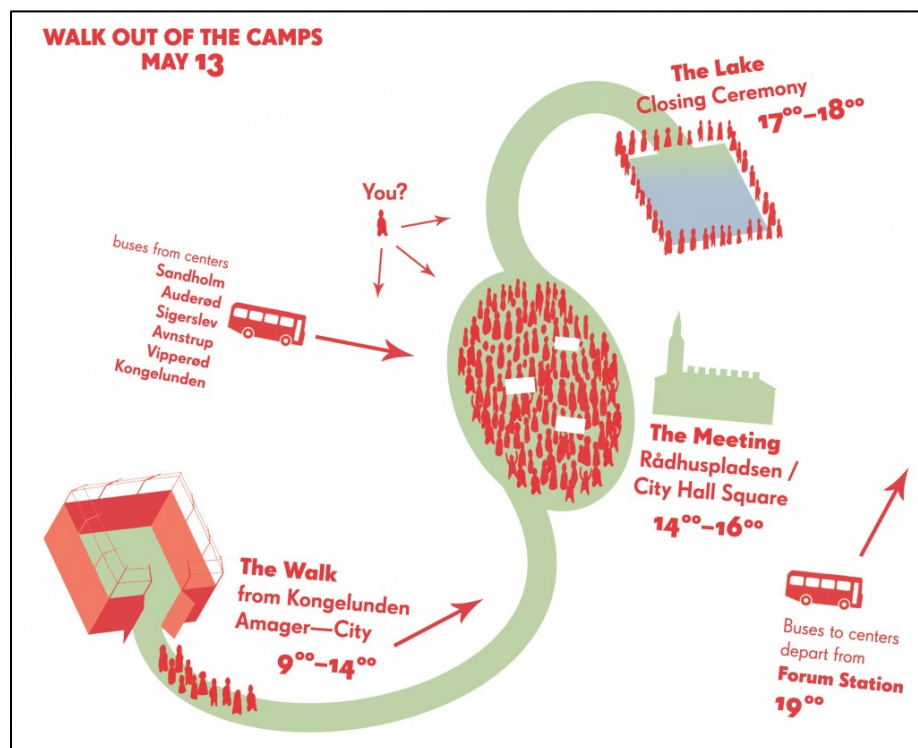
Demonstrations are a frequent means through which asylum seekers register their objection. The space of demonstrations offers a site where humanitarian migrants can act as political subjects. They can act and constitute themselves as citizens, in the sense that they act "as those to whom the right to have rights is due" (Isin, et al., 2008: 161f). In Denmark, humanitarian migrants have participated in various demonstrations in order to claim their rights as human beings in the country.

In the recent political debate over humanitarian migrants' right to live and work outside the centers, humanitarian migrants and other activists concerned with migration policy came together, formed various demonstrations and campaigns, and participated in political meetings.

Out of the Camps is a campaign arranged primarily by the users of the Trampoline House. The people behind the campaign define *Out of the Camps* as "a political campaign to improve conditions for asylum seekers in the Denmark" (Out of the camp, "About", 2012). The aim of the campaign is twofold. First, it aims to secure every person who seeking asylum in Denmark the right to live and work outside the asylum center after a maximum of six months. Secondly, it aims to create a new way of thinking and speaking about refugees. "We want to be a part of building solidarity, consciousness, and understanding among the Danish population about the urgent need for a humane and just

refugee and asylum policy in Denmark, as well as in Europe and globally" (Out of the camp, "About", 2012). The campaign's main action, the demonstration *Walk Out of the Camps*, took place three days before my arrival to Denmark. Danish citizens, humanitarian migrants from various centers, and others concerned with the Danish asylum policy walked out of Center Kongelund to Copenhagen. The aim was to call attention to the humanitarian migrants' voices through peaceful demonstration, and to demand that humanitarian migrants be able to live and work outside the centers. Figure 11 below is a drawing of the demonstration made by the people behind *Out of the Camps*

Figure 11:

Demonstrations are a frequent means through which asylum seekers register their objection. In September 2012, approximately thirty Syrian humanitarian migrants demonstrated in front of the Swedish Embassy in Copenhagen. They demonstrated against the Danish government's decision to not follow Sweden's example of granting humanitarian migrants from Syria temporary asylum.

During May 2012, more than one hundred humanitarian migrants went on a hunger strike. The strikes began May 1st in Center Hanstholm, and then spread

throughout the country. Several migrants were hospitalized but no one died. In general, the hunger strikes sought to call attention to the lack of legal rights for humanitarian migrants and to the conditions in the Danish asylum centers. The demonstrations focused particularly on the life conditions of rejected humanitarian migrants who cannot return to their country but neither can be granted asylum. Many of the humanitarian migrants who went on hunger strikes felt that they did not have another option.

In Center Sigerslev, a group of humanitarian migrants from Syria went on hunger strike because they were dissatisfied with how long it takes to get an asylum case ruling. Some of them have been waiting for a ruling of their case for more than three years. They do not know what their future will bring and they fear that they will be deported back to Syria. Because of the current situation in Syria, Denmark does not currently deport any rejected humanitarian migrants back to Syria. The Syrian group was on strike for twenty-four days. The hunger strike did not lead to any political changes for the Syrian group. They are still in limbo where the majority of them are awaiting a ruling of their case.

Similarly, groups of Iranians went on hunger strike in front of the Stefan's church in Copenhagen and in front of Center Sandholm. Most of the Iranians were rejected asylum and several of them had been in the Danish asylum system for more than ten years. Their future is uncertain. They do not know if they are going to stay in the asylum center or if they will be deported back to Iran. If they are deported, they do not know what will happen to them when they return home. The Iranians stopped the hunger strike after twenty days. However, when I visited Center Sandholm in August, the tent in which the Iranians had stayed during the hunger strike was still present. The Iranians continued their protests in the tent. Similar to the Syrian group, the Iranians did not gain any political changes with regard to their situation. However, the hunger strikes that took place in 2012 garnered significant attention from the media, and various politicians visited the strikes.

The humanitarian migrants' bodies become essential tools in the hunger strikes. They use their bodies to demonstrate their political opinion and concerns. For example, a group of Afghan women who have considered hunger strikes said, "We would rather die here of hunger than return to Afghanistan" (Khaker, 2013). But how do we understand hunger strikes? Are humanitarian migrants exactly reduced to bare life because they are

utilizing their life in a political protest? Or are the protest and the bodies an example of how humanitarian migrants inscribe themselves into politics?

Humanitarian migrants are excluded from the Danish legal jurisdiction to an extent. But as "asylum seekers" they are included through the Immigration Law, although they do not have the same political rights as citizens of Denmark. Contrary to others (Rajaram et al., 2004; Salter, 2008; Vitus, 2011), I contend that we cannot conclude that humanitarian migrants are reduced to bare life. Being a political subject cannot be reduced to a matter of citizenship. Traditionally, citizenship has been understood as a legal membership of a nation state (Ehrkamp, et al., 2003; Isin, et al., 2008), through which the individual member could claim her rights. However, as scholars have argued, citizenship is also practiced socially (Ehrkamp, et al., 2003) - it is "practices of becoming claim-making subjects in and through various sites and scales" (Isin, et al., 2008: 16). Citizenship is actively constructed through negotiations and struggles between the state and the civil society (Ehrkamp, et al., 2003).

Drawing on Ranciére's theory of politics, the hunger strikes can be considered political because they create disturbance. Hunger strikes as a political act transform the spaces in order to make humanitarian migrants appear as subjects. The hunger strikes got both public and political attention. They successfully disturbed the normal order of the asylum centers - the 'proper' space in which humanitarian migrants are not supposed to demonstrate or act as political subjects who claim their rights. Furthermore, as mentioned in chapter V, the internet serves as a potential space where humanitarian migrants can participate and engage in various political debates and events across national boundaries (Staeheli et al., 2002).

Through political actions such as demonstrations, protests, and strikes, humanitarian migrants show that they are excluded and deprived of the legal rights of a political subject. Simultaneously, humanitarian migrants enact the rights they have been denied - "They acted as subjects that did not have rights that they had and that had the right that they had not" (Ranciére, 2012: 69). Therefore, the political subject is a person that is able to create the disturbance, to stage the scenes of dissensus (Ranciére, 2012). The different examples above illustrate various political activities, from the tactic of

anonymity to the very visible tactic of hunger strikes. It is through these political activities that citizenship can be (re)constructed.

Humanitarian migrants are often understood as one unified group, constituted through their common legal status as "asylum seekers". Such understanding is produced through the exclusion of humanitarian migrants (Mountz, 2010; Hyndman, et al., 2011). However, this understanding almost "erases" the diversity within the group, and forgets that this group of people is more than just "humanitarian migrants". Humanitarian migrants are also individuals who are part of other social communities and who define themselves as political subjects through these communities.

In order to understand how humanitarian migrants enact various political subjectivities, we need acknowledge that humanitarian migrants are more than the categorized group "asylum seekers". The Trampoline House is just one example of a place where humanitarian migrants are part of another social community. Here, people are able to be politically active across various identities. The Trampoline House put a great emphasis on breaking the barrier between us, the citizens of Denmark, and them, the "asylum seeker". The political activities that originate from a place like the Trampoline House are not in the name of a unified group whose members can all be identified as humanitarian migrants. Instead, the people behind the political activities can be identified or categorized as a group of people who are working for a better, fairer asylum system. Therefore, when we ask whether or not an "asylum seeker" is a political subject, we need to think about what counts as a political action? Does a humanitarian migrant need to carry out a political action by herself in order to be a political subject? And is it possible that humanitarian migrants can be part of other social communities where they are identified, not as humanitarian migrants, but as people who want to create a better asylum system? Does our categorization of humanitarian migrants as "asylum seekers" limit our understanding of how this group of people enacts political subjectivities?

Conclusion

The strategically remote location of the asylum centers limits humanitarian migrants' access to interpreters, lawyers, diasporic communities, and advocates. Furthermore, because of the lack of citizenship, humanitarian migrants are deprived basic legal rights and are often understood as vulnerable and de-politicized subjects. Contrary to work that suggests asylum seekers are reduced to bare life (Rajaram et al., 2004; Salter, 2008, Vitus, 2011), I argue that humanitarian migrants take part in various political actions. These actions show that while the state might try to situate humanitarian migrants and questions of security, migration, and admission outside of politics, it does not mean that humanitarian migrants are actually reduced to bare life. Instead, they enact their political subjectivities in multiple ways

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSION

The production of everyday life and space is influenced and permeated by state practices (Painter, 2006). We see and experience this permeation through our everyday life and practices. Humanitarian migrants are no exception. In order to understand the struggles and negotiations that take place within everyday spaces, I argue that we need to examine the state's practices in conjunction with humanitarian migrants' narratives of their spaces and practices. Humanitarian migrants' narratives of everyday life can illustrate how they understand and act against the state practices. Therefore, this conjunction offers an opportunity to examine what kind of politics and political subjectivities that can emerge in the spaces of humanitarian migrants.

In the context of humanitarian migrants in Denmark, the Danish Immigration Law has become more restrictive in the past thirty years, and has increasingly limited humanitarian migrants' legal rights. The geo-political aim has been to reduce the number of "unwanted" migrants in order to secure the nation against multiculturalism, the potential dangerous "other", and migrants who can be an economic burden for the welfare system. In the same time span, Denmark has opened its border to the rest of a European Union that allows a free circulation of labor, capital, and good – a geo-economic de-bordering. I argue that the development of the geo-political securitization and the geo-economic de-bordering might not be as conflicting and contradictory as Coleman has argued in the case of the U.S.-Mexico border (Coleman, 2005). In the context of Denmark, I argue that the geo-political securitization and geo-economic de-bordering both "work" in favor of the country's geo-economic interest in skilled labor and continuous economic growth.

In the context of humanitarian migrants' everyday life and spaces, the restrictive Immigration Law has geographically and economically excluded humanitarian migrants from full participation in society. Practices such as duties, educational classes, *aktivering*, cash allowance and contract system, and *motivationsfremmende foranstatninger* have been implemented in order to secure an efficient asylum process and a meaningful and dignified waiting time. However, through these practices, the Danish state is (re)producing a space where humanitarian migrants are stigmatized as the vulnerable, dependent, docile "asylum seeker" and are subject to various mechanisms of discipline.

116

Humanitarian migrants experience their everyday life and spaces in various ways. Waiting and lack of choice dominate humanitarian migrants' life in the asylum center. The waiting time is experienced as empty, and humanitarian migrants find it difficult to fill out this emptiness with meaningful activities. In the asylum centers, humanitarian migrants are forced to live with and share material space with other people, with whom they might not have anything in common, except that they all have sought asylum. Humanitarian migrants apply various tactics in order to deal with the space and everyday practices of the asylum system. Even though, the state keeps them in a space where they become dependent, vulnerable, and docile subjects, humanitarian migrants find new spaces, such as the internet, the city, or the Trampoline House, where they try to maintain a "normal" life that is not defined directly by their legal status as "asylum seekers".

The space of- and life in the asylum centers, and everyday practices such as duties, educational classes at the asylum school, and the use of ID cards, manifest the categorization of humanitarian migrants as "asylum seekers" – it singles them out. Even though the state, through the categorization and identification of humanitarian migrants as dependent, vulnerable, and docile "asylum seekers", is trying to de-politicize them, humanitarian migrants do not imagine themselves as de-politicized subjects. Struggles, resistance, and various demonstrations against the everyday practices constrained by the state illustrate how humanitarian migrants are enacting different political subjectivities.

The legal form of citizenship functions as a mechanism through which subjects are organized as either members or non-members of a state. It differentiates between subjects. However, citizenship is socially produced through struggles and negotiations. Through demonstrations, humanitarian migrants are enacting citizenship - they act "as those to whom the right to have rights is due" (Isin, et al., 2008: 161f).

Finally, I argue that we need to reconsider our use of the category "asylum seeker, which is often connected with vulnerability, force, and lack of agency. I argue that the category delimits migrants, their lives, and our understanding of them. As my research and above analysis illustrate, the term humanitarian migrant can help us to stress the diversity among the people who seek asylum and the fact that these people are humans and should be treated as such.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Terminology

Aktivering

- *Aktivering* is state-mandated activities that encourage labor-market participation and qualification. The *aktivering* can for example consist of cleaning and maintenance of buildings in the Red Cross Center, or an internship outside the asylum center with a NGO or a company.

B-Status

- The B-Status is the name for *Beskyttelsesstatus* (Protection Status). The concept was introduced in 2002 and replaced the de facto-refugee category. The status only includes humanitarian migrants who seek asylum based on reasons and motives that are included in the UN Refugee Convention. Therefore, the B-status does not include migrants such as conscientious objectors, people who were persecuted because of their gender, or sexuality, and other particularly vulnerable groups (The Danish Immigration Service, "b-status", 2013).

The Danish Clause

- The Danish Clause was introduced in 1986 and made it possible for Denmark to directly reject humanitarian migrants (without a legal process) if their journey to Denmark had been through a safe country where they had an opportunity to seek asylum. The Danish Clause became later a part of the Dublin Convention.

The Danish Refugee Appeals Board

- Danish Refugee Appeals Board (Flygningenævnet) was established in 1983. It is an independent board of appeal where rejected humanitarian migrants can appeal the decision of their case. When the Danish Refugee Appeals Board was first established it consisted of seven members. In 1995, the board was reduced to five members. In 2002, the members of board were reduced to three members.

The Danish Refugee Council

- The Danish Refugee Council (Dansk Flygtningehjælp) is private non-profit humanitarian organization, established in 1956. Among other things, the organization is today involved juridical counseling of humanitarian migrants, counseling in relation to deportation, and they are represented in cases that are ruled to be åbenbart grundløse.

De facto-refugees

- A de-facto refugee is an individual who is not covered by the United Nations Refugee Convention, but who demonstrates a well-founded fear of persecution or similar injustices (The Danish Immigration Service, "De facto-refugee", 2013).

Fremmedloven

- The Foreign Law, the Danish Immigration Law that existed until 1983.

Folketinget
- The Danish Parliament

Humanitarian migrant
- In this research project, I chose to use the term humanitarian migrants instead of the term "asylum seeker". I find the category "asylum seeker" problematic because it places these people in a particular category, which is often connected with vulnerability, force, and lack of agency. The term humanitarian migrant includes refugees, asylum seekers, people granted humanitarian residence permit, and rejected asylum seekers.

Immigration Service
- Immigration Service is the governmental institution that processes asylum cases. Immigration Service (Flygtningestyrelsen) has changed names several times. When it was first established in 1983 it was named The Civil Directorate for Immigrants. In 1995 The Civil Directory for Immigrants changed name to The Immigrant Agency (Udlændingestyrelsen). In 2007, The Immigrant Agency changed name to Udlændinge Service (Immigration Service).

Madkasseordning
- The Madkasseordning (the lunch box system) was introduced in 1997. The Immigrant Agency could take away the person's cash allowance and rejected humanitarian migrants who did not co-operate with the Danish Police about their case and repatriation would receive a box with food supplies every fortnight instead of money. The system was abolished in 2005.

Motivationsfremmende foranstaltninger
- *Motivationsfremmende foranstaltninger* (motivating measures) are practices that aim to motivate and encourage humanitarian migrants to co-operate with the Danish Police and governmental authorities, such as detention, economical penalty, and duty to registration.

Praktik
- The Danish word "praktik" is normally in English translated to "internship". In the case of the Danish asylum system, praktik consists of both internal praktik and external praktik. Internal praktik takes place in the asylum centers where the humanitarian migrant often is connect to a staff member or a workshop. Internal praktik can consist of job sush as being a translator, gardening, reconstruction, kitchen assistance, bike repair, assist with childcare, and assist in the clothes bazar. The external praktik takes place outside the asylum center, in a company, business, or NGO. Humanitarian migrants are not paid for their praktik.

Retssikkerhed
- The principle of legal certainty

Åbenbart Grundløs

- The concept of Åbenbart Grundløs (Manifestly Unfounded) was established in 1985. It implies that if the Immigration Service assess that a humanitarian migrant is clearly not eligible for asylum, the humanitarian migrant cannot appeal the ruling of rejection to the Danish Refugee Appeals Board. However, the Danish Refugee Council can impose veto in all Åbenbart Grundløs cases if they assess that the cases are not Åbenbart Grundløs.

Appendix B: The Danish Immigration Law 1983-2010

Danish Refugee Appeal Board (DRAB)

Danish Refugee Council (DRC)

Government	Year	Law	Short Overview
	1952	**The Foreign Law** (Fremmed Loven)	
Conservative People's Party, the Left Liberal Party of Denmark, Centre Democrats, the Christian Democratic Party	**1983**	***The Immigration Law (Immigrationsloven), Law 226/83, 08/06/1983***	• De facto-category, family reunion, limited the possibility of deportation, the Danish Refugee Appeals Board and the Civil Directorate for Immigrants were established
	1984		
	1985	*Law 232 06/06/1985 Law 574 19/12/1985*	• Manifestly Unfounded (ÅG), DRC Veto right
	1986	*Law 686 17/10/1986*	• The Danish Clause, able to fine airport companies
	1987		
Conservative People's Party, the Left Liberal Party of Denmark, the Danish Social-Liberal Party	**1988**		
	1989	UN Children Convention	
Conservative People's Party, the Left Liberal Party of Denmark	**1990**		
	1991	*Law 387/1991*	• The law is changed in order fulfill the Dublin Convention • The Dublin Convention signed
	1992	*Law 144/1992 Law 933/1992 Law 385 20/05/1992 Law 386 20/05/1992 Law 482 24/06/1992*	• The Palestinian law • Yugoslavia Law • Restriction Family Reunification, fingerprints • The European Human Right Convention
Social Democrats, the Christian Democratic Party Centre Democrats,	**1993**	*Law 462 30/06/1993 Law 464 30/06/1993 Law 1085 22/12/1993*	• Drift af asylcentre • Help to voluntary repatriation • Activities and education (Yugoslavia law)
Social Democrats, the Danish Social	**1994**	**Law 362 18/05/1994** *Law 421 01/06/1994*	• Repatriation of immigrants • Amendments that aim to make

121

Liberal Party, Centre Democrats			the process of asylum cases more effective
	1995	*Law 33 18/01/1995* *Law 34 18/01/1995* *Law 382 14/06/1995*	• Åbenbart-grundløs-procedure • Change of §9, stk. 2, nr. 5 • Detention, fingerprints • DRAB is reduced to 5 members
Social Democrats, the Danish Social Liberal Party	1996	*Law 290 24/04/1996* *Law 380 22/05/1996* *Law 381 22/05/1996* *Law 473 12/06/1996* *Law 1052 11/12/1996*	• Change to the Yugoslavia, law, Children right to education, and it possible for adults can receive education • Residence permit to battered women
	1997	*Law 407 10/06/1997* *Law 410 10/06/1997*	• Fingerprints • Schengen-convention • The Dublin Convention is in forced
	1998	*Law 473 01/07/1998* *Law 474 01/07/1998*	• Integration Law
	1999	*Law 140 17/03/1999* *Law 251 28/04/1999* *Law 353 02/06/1999*	• Kosovo Law • Repatriation Law
	2000	*Law 424 31/05/2000* *Law 425 31/05/2000*	
The Left Liberal Party of Denmark, Conservative People's Party. (support from the Danish People's Party)	2001	*Law 458 07/06/2001*	• Detention and administrative repatriation
	2002	*Law 134 20/03/2002* *Law 193 05/04/2002* *Law 362 06/06/2002* *Law 365 06/06/2002* *Law 367 06/06/2002* *Law 1044 17/12/2002* *L 152 (2001/2002)*	• Family reunion (24-years rule) • Repeal of De facto category, B-Status, DRAB is reduced to 3 members, Humanitarian migrants can no longer seek asylum at Danish embassies • "En ny udlændingepolitik" (A New Immigration Policy)
	2003	*Law 60 29/01/2003* *Law 291 30/04/2003* *Law 292 30/04/2003* *Law 386 28/05/2003* *Law 387 28/05/2003*	• Humanitarian migrants (Children) • The process of asylum cases, humanitarian residence permit, repatriation

		Law 425 10/06/2003 *Law 1204 27/12/2003*	• Activities and education for humanitarian migrants, cash allowance system • Family reunification • The Dublin Convention become the Dublin Regulation
	2004	*Law 283 26/04/2004* *Law 427 09/06/2004* *Law 428 09/06/2004* *Law 429 09/06/2004*	• Family reunification • Cash allowance system
	2005	*Law 323 18/05/2005* *Law 324 18/05/2005* *Law 402 01/06/2005* *Law 403 01/06/2005* *Law 430 06/06/2005* *Law 431 06/06/2005* *Law 523 24/06/2005* *Law 542 24/06/2005* *Law 554 24/06/2005*	• Eurodac and the Dublin Regulations • Repeal of madkasseordningen (lunch box system)
	2006	*Law 243 27/03/2006* *Law 301 19/04/2006* *Law 429 10/05/2006* *Law 532 08/06/2006* *Law 538 08/06/2006*	• **Integrations-contract,** statement of integration • Amendment to the rules of education and activities for humanitarian migrants • Education and activities focus on repatriation • The Police have access to airlines booking system • Amendment of the rules of the repatriation
	2007	*Law 89 30/01/2007* *Law 379 25/04/2007* *Law 504 06/06/2007* *Law 505 06/06/2007* *Law 507 06/06/2007*	• The Immigrant Agency (Udlændingestyrelsen) changes name to Immigration Service (Udlændinge Service) • Special contract for rejected humanitarian migrants who co-operate about their repatriation
	2008	*Law 264 23/04/2008* *Law 431 01/06/2008* *Law 485 17/06/2008* *Law 486 17/06/2008*	• Greencard • Motivations-fremmende foranstaltninger (motivation

		Law 1334 19/12/2008 *Law 1397 27/12/2008* *Law 1398 27/12/2008*	measures), duty to register
	2009	*Law 313 28/04/2009* *Law 483 12/06/2009* *Law 486 12/06/2009* *Law 487 12/06/2009* *Law 493 12/06/2009* *Law 1511 27/12/2009*	• Amendment to the rules of repatriation
	2010	*Law 400 21/04/2010* *Law 572 31/05/2010* *Law 1542 21/12/2010* *Law 1543 21/12/2010* *Law 1604 22/12/2010*	• Immigration test, amendments to the cash allowance system • Point-system for residence permits • Revision of the rules for humanitarian migrant children • Registration fee for familyreunification
	2011	*Law 248 30/03/2011*	

Appendix C: The Process of Seeking Asylum

Arrival (Phase 1)

2. Immigration Service assesses whether Denmark or another EU country is responsible for the processing of the asylum case, regarding the Dublin Regulation. If the asylum seeker has arrived to Denmark from a non-EU country, Immigration Service will examine whether or not the asylum seeker can be assigned to this country. The rejection can only happen if the non-EU country ('safe third country') is a safe country.

Entry and Accommodation (Phase 2)

4. The asylum seeker who is not rejected will be registered by Immigration Service as asylum seeker and is accommodated in one of the asylum centers.
5. Immigration Service shows the asylum seeker a video that explains the process of seeking asylum. Furthermore, Immigration Service supervises the asylum seeker with his / her asylum process and explains his / her rights and obligations in Denmark. After the video the asylum seeker completes an application form that provides the basis for later (asylum) interview.

Asylum Interview (Phase 2)

5. Immigration Service interviews the asylum seeker based on the information from the form. Then, Immigration Service decides whether the asylum case will continue as normal procedure or as manifest unfounded procedure.

Normal Procedure (Phase 2)

6. Immigration Service assesses whether the asylum case can be determined based on the existing information or if the Immigration Service needs to collect more information. Immigration Service will either give a residence permit or a rejection.

Residence Permit

6a. While the asylum seeker obtains residence permit, Immigration Service decides in which municipality the asylum seeker is placed. The municipality concerned is responsible for the asylum seeker (refugee); which includes integration and a refugee introduction program.

Dublin Regulation

D. If the asylum seeker has arrived from an EU country, Immigration Service contacts this country and requests the country to take over the asylum seeker and his / her case.
E. The asylum seeker transfers to the EU country, if the country accepts it.
F. The asylum seeker can appeal this decision to the Department of Integration, according to the Dublin Regulation. But the asylum seeker cannot stay in Denmark while the government department processes the appeal.

Rejection (Phase 3)

D. Immigration Service rejects the asylum application.
E. The asylum seeker can appeal the rejection to the Department of Integration but the asylum seeker cannot stay in Denmark while the government department processes the appeal.
F. The asylum seeker must leave as soon as possible.

Manifestly Unfounded (Phase 3)

D. If Immigration Service assesses that the asylum seeker is clearly not eligible for asylum, the asylum case is sent to the Danish Refugee Council (NGO).
E. If the Danish Refugee Council agrees with Immigration Service, the asylum seeker is rejected without appeal. If the Danish Refugee Council disagrees, the case is sent to the Refugee Appeals Board.
F. It is always possible for the asylum seeker to apply for residence permit based on humanitarian reasons.

Rejection (Phase 3)

6b. The asylum case is automatically sent to the Refugee Appeals Board if the asylum seeker is rejected.
11. The asylum seeker gets a court-appointed lawyer.
12. The asylum case is presented for the Refugee Appeals Board.
13. The Refugee Appeals Board can adhere to the ruling or change the ruling and grant asylum.
14. The rejected asylum seeker will be offered a prepared repatriation if she/ he is an unaccompanied minor or has been exposed to human trafficking.

Humanitarian Residence Permit

12. An Asylum seeker can apply for a residence permit due to humanitarian reasons. The Department of Integration rules these cases.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aagesen, Aage. "The population of Denmark 1965-1970." Geografisk Tidsskrift, 70 (1971): 1-21.

Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. 1st ed. Stanford University Press, 1998.

Amoore, Louise. "Biometric Borders: Governing Mobilities in the War on Terror." *Political Geography* 25, no. 3 (March 2006): 336–351.

Ashutosh, Ishan, and Alison Mountz. "The Geopolitics of Migrant Mobility: Tracing State Relations Through Refugee Claims, Boats, and Discourses." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 2 (2012):

Bacon, David. *Illegal People: How Globalization Creates Migration and Criminalizes Immigrants*. Beacon Press, 2009.

Bak, Torkild, Mette Bock, and Jens Holger Schjørring. *Grænser for solidaritet: indvandrerpolitik i dansk og europæisk perspektiv*. København: Forlaget ANIS, 2010.

Baumann, Mechthild, Astrid Lorenz, and Kerstin Rosenow, eds. *Crossing and Controlling Borders: Immigration Policies and Their Impact on Migrants' Journeys*. Budrich UniPress Ltd., 2011.

Baxter, Jamie, and John Eyles. "Evaluating Qualitative Research in Social Geography: Establishing 'rigour'in Interview Analysis." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22, no. 4 (2004): 505–525.

Bendixen, Michala. *"Asylcenter Limbo: En Rapport on Udsendelseshindringer."* Refugee Welcome, 2011.

Beneduce, R. "Undocumented Bodies, Burned Identities: Refugees, Sans Papiers, Harraga -- When Things Fall Apart." *Social Science Information* 47, no. 4 (December 1, 2008): 505–527.

Berger, Susan A. "Production and reproduction of gender and sexuality in legal discourses of Asylum in the United States." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 34, no 3. (2009): 659-685.

Bhabha, Jacqueline. "The' Mere Fortuity' of Birth? Are Children Citizens?" *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 15, no. 2 (2004): 91–117.

Bhungalia, Lisa. "Im/Mobilities in a 'Hostile Territory': Managing the Red Line." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 2 (2012): 256–275.

Bialasiewicz, Luiza. "Off-shoring and Out-sourcing the Borders of EUrope: Libya and EU Border Work in the Mediterranean." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 4 (October 2012): 843–866.

Bialasiewicz, Luiza, Carl Dahlman, Gian Matteo Apuzzo, Felix Ciută, Alun Jones, Chris Rumford, Ruth Wodak, James Anderson, and Alan Ingram. "Interventions in the New Political Geographies of the European 'neighborhood'." *Political Geography* 28, no. 2 (February 2009): 79–89.

Bialasiewicz, Luiza, Stuart Elden, and Joe Painter. "The Constitution of EU Territory." *Comparative European Politics* 3, no. 3 (September 2005): 333–363.

Billo, Emily, and Nancy Hiemstra. "Mediating Messiness: Expanding Ideas of Flexibility, Reflexivity, and Embodiment in Fieldwork." *Gender, Place & Culture* no. ahead-of-print (2012): 1–16.

Bloch, Alice, and Liza Schuster. "At the Extremes of Exclusion: Deportation, Detention and Dispersal." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 3 (May 2005): 491–512.

Blockmans, Wim. "Inclusiveness and Exclusion: Trust Networks at the Origins of European Cities." *Theory & Society* 39, no. 3/4 (May 2010): 315–326.

Blunt, A. "Cultural Geographies of Migration: Mobility, Transnationality and Diaspora." *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 5 (October 1, 2007): 684–694.

Bosniak, Linda. *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2006.

Brenner, Neil. "Urban Governance and the Production of New State Spaces in Western Europe, 1960–2000." *Review of International Political Economy* 11, no. 3 (June 2004): 447–488.

Brenner, Neil, Jamie Peck, and Nik Theodore. "After Neoliberalization?" *Globalizations* 7, no. 3 (September 2010): 327–345.

Brenner, Neil, and Nik Theodore. "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism'." *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 349–379. doi:10.1111/1467-8330.00246.

———. "Preface: From the 'New Localism' to the Spaces of Neoliberalism." *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 341–347.

Brown, Wendy. *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Zone Books, 2010.

Burchell, Graham, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. 1st ed. University Of Chicago Press, 1991.

Butler, Judith. *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. 1st ed. Stanford University Press, 1997.

Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Reprint. University of California Press, 2011.

Certeau, Michel De. *The Practice of Everyday Life, Vol. 2: Living and Cooking*. 1st ed. University Of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Chavez, Leo R. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. Stanford University Press, 2008.

Coleman, M. "U.S. Statecraft and the U.S.–Mexico Border as Security/economy Nexus." *Political Geography* 24, no. 2 (February 2005): 185–209.

Coleman, Mathew. "A Geopolitics of Engagement: Neoliberalism, the War on Terrorism, and the Reconfiguration of US Immigration Enforcement." *Geopolitics* 12, no. 4 (September 28, 2007): 607–634.

———. "Between Public Policy and Foreign Policy: U.S. Immigration Law Reform and the Undocumented Migrant." *Urban Geography* 29, no. 1 (January 1, 2008): 4–28.

———. "Immigrant Il-Legality: Geopolitical and Legal Borders in the US, 1882–Present." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 2 (2012): 402–422.

———. "Immigration Geopolitics Beyond the Mexico–US Border." *Antipode* 39, no. 1 (2007): 54–76.

———. "What Counts as the Politics and Practice of Security, and Where? Devolution and Immigrant Insecurity After 9/11." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99, no. 5 (October 30, 2009): 904–913.

Coleman, Mathew, and Austin Kocher. "Detention, Deportation, Devolution and Immigrant Incapacitation in the US, Post 9/11." *The Geographical Journal* 177,

no. 3 (September 2011): 228–237.

Collyer, Michael. "Deportation and the Micropolitics of Exclusion: The Rise of Removals from the UK to Sri Lanka." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 2 (2012): 276–292.

Conlon, Deirdre. "Waiting: Feminist Perspectives on the Spacings/timings of Migrant (im)mobility." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (June 2011): 353–360.

Conrad, Malte, Jacob Aagaard Lunding, and Stinne Østergaard Poulsen. "Hvor skulle vi vide det fra? En undersøgelse af asylansøgeres behov for juridisk rådgivning og information." Dansk Flygtningehjælp. 2010.

Cook, J., P. Dwyer, and L. Waite. "'Good Relations' Among Neighbours and Workmates? The Everyday Encounters of Accession 8 Migrants and Established Communities in Urban England." *Population, Space and Place* 17, no. 6 (2011): 727–741.

Crabtree, Benjamin F., and William L. Miller, eds. *Doing Qualitative Research*. 2nd ed. SAGE Publications, Inc, 1999.

Crampton, Jeremy W., and Stuart Elden, eds. *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*. Ashgate Pub Co, 2007.

Darling, Jonathan. "Becoming Bare Life: Asylum, Hospitality, and the Politics of Encampment." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27, no. 4 (2009): 649–665.

DeLyser, Dydia, Steve Herbert, Stuart Aitken, Mike A. Crang, and Linda McDowell, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*. SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009.

Dixon, Deborah P., and Marston Sallie A. "Introduction: feminist engagements with geopolitics." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no 4 (2011): 445-453.

Dowler, Lorraine, and Joanne Sharp. "A Feminist Geopolitics?" *Space and Polity* 5, no. 3 (December 2001): 165–176.

Ehrkamp, Patricia. "'I've Had It with Them!' Younger Migrant Women's Spatial Practices of Conformity and Resistance." *Gender, Place & Culture* 20, no. 1 (February 2013): 19–36.

———. "The Limits of Multicultural Tolerance? Liberal Democracy and Media Portrayals of Muslim Migrant Women in Germany." *Space and Polity* 14, no. 1 (April 2010): 13–32.

———. "'We Turks Are No Germans': Assimilation Discourses and the Dialectical Construction of Identities in Germany." *Environment and Planning A* 38, no. 9 (2006):

Ehrkamp, Patricia, and Helga Leitner. "Beyond National Citizenship: Turkish Immigrants and the (RE)Construction of Citizenship in Germany." *Urban Geography* 24, no. 2 (March 1, 2003): 127–146.

Elden, Stuart. "Governmentality, Calculation, Territory." *Environment and Planning D* 25, no. 3 (2007): 562.

———. "Rethinking Governmentality." *Political Geography* (2006): 1-5.

England, Kim V. L. "Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research." *Professional Geographer* 46, no. 1 (1994): 80-89.

Erdinc, Mujde. "The Subject and Governmental Action: A Foucauldian Analysis of Subjectification and the 24 Year-Old Rule in Denmark." *Feminist Legal Studies* (2012): 1–18.

Feldman, Gregory. *The Migration Apparatus: Security, Labor, and Policymaking in the*

European Union. Stanford University Press, 2011.

Fitzgerald, Shannon A., 2010, Biopolitics and the regulation of vulnerability: The case of the female trafficked migrant, *International Journal of Law in Context* 6 (3): 277–294

Fluri, Jennifer. "Capitalizing on Bare Life: Sovereignty, Exception, and Gender Politics." *Antipode* 44, no. 1 (January 2012): 31–50.

Foner, Nancy. "Immigrant Commitment to America, Then and Now: Myths and Realities." *Citizenship Studies* 5, no. 1 (2001): 27–40.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage, 1978.

———. *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège De France, 1975-1976*. Translated by David Macey. Reprint. Picador, 2003.

———. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*. Translated by Colin Gordon, Leo Marchall, John Mepham, Kate Soper. 1st ed. Vintage, 1980.

———. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1978--1979*. Picador, 2008.

———. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Hurley. Fifth or Later Edition. Vintage, 1990.

———. "The Subject and Power." *Critical Inquiry* (1982): 777–795.

Foucault, Michel, François Ewald, Alessandro Fontana, and Arnold I. I. Davidson. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège De France 1977--1978*. Edited by Michel Senellart. Translated by Graham Burchell. 1st ed. Picador, 2007.

Freeman, Gary P., and Nedim Ögelman. "Homeland Citizenship Policies and the Status of Third Country Nationals in the European Union." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 24, no. 4 (1998): 769–788.

Gammeltoft-Hansen, Thomas. "The Externalisation of European Migration Control and the Reach of International Refugee Law." *European Journal of Migration and Law* (2010).

De Genova, Nicholas P. "MIGRANT 'ILLEGALITY' AND DEPORTABILITY IN EVERYDAY LIFE." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, no. 1 (October 2002): 419–447.

Gill, Nicholas. "Governmental Mobility: The Power Effects of the Movement of Detained Asylum Seekers Around Britain's Detention Estate." *Political Geography* 28, no. 3 (March 1, 2009): 186–196.

Glenn, E. N. "Constructing Citizenship: Exclusion, Subordination, and Resistance." *American Sociological Review* 76, no. 1 (February 9, 2011): 1–24.

Gomez, Basil, and John Paul Jones III, eds. *Research Methods in Geography: A Critical Introduction*. 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Grigolo, Michele. "Incorporating Cities into the EU Anti-discrimination Policy: Between Race Discrimination and Migrant Rights." *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 34, no. 10 (October 2011): 1751–1769.

Hatton, Timothy J. "Seeking Asylum in Europe." *Economic Policy* 19, no. 38 (2004): 5–62.

———. "The Rise and Fall of Asylum: What Happened and Why?*." *The Economic Journal*

Heller, Kevin Jon. "Power, Subjectification and Resistance in Foucault." *SubStance* 25, no. 1 (1996): 78-110.

Herbert, S. "Contemporary Geographies of Exclusion III: To Assist or Punish?" *Progress in Human Geography* 35, no. 2 (June 21, 2010): 256–263.

Hiemstra, Nancy. "Geopolitical Reverberations of US Migrant Detention and Deportation: The View from Ecuador." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 2 (2012): 293–311.

Hindess, Barry. "Neo-liberal Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 6, no. 2 (July 2002): 127–143.

Hopkins, Peter E. "Youthful Muslim Masculinities: Gender and Generational Relations." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31, no. 3 (2006): 337–352.

Van Houtum, H. "Waiting Before the Law: Kafka on the Border." *Social & Legal Studies* 19, no. 3 (August 31, 2010): 285–297.

Van Houtum, Henk, and Roos Pijpers. "The European Union as a Gated Community: The Two-faced Border and Immigration Regime of the EU." *Antipode* 39, no. 2 (2007): 291–309.

Hubbard, Phil, Rob Kitchin, and Gill Valentine, eds. *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. 1st ed. SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004.

Huysmans, Jef. "The European Union and the Securitization of Migration." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, no. 5 (2000): 751-777.

Hyndman, Jennifer. "Border Crossings." *Antipode* 29. no, 2. (1997): 149-176

———. "Introduction: The Feminist Politics of Refugee Migration." *Gender, Place & Culture* 17, no. 4 (August 2010): 453–459.

———. "The Geopolitics of Migration and Mobility." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 2 (2012): 243–255.

———. "The Question of 'the Political' in Critical Geopolitics: Querying the 'child Soldier' in the 'war on Terror'." *Political Geography* 29, no. 5 (June 2010): 247–255.

Hyndman, Jennifer, and Wenona Giles. "Waiting for What? The Feminization of Asylum in Protracted Situations." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (June 2011): 361–379.

Hyndman, Jennifer, and Alison Mountz. "Another Brick in the Wall? Neo-Refoulement and the Externalization of Asylum by Australia and Europe1." *Government and Opposition* 43, no. 2 (2008): 249–269.

Isin, Engin F. *Being Political: Genealogies of Citizenship*. 1st ed. Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2002.

———. "Citizenship After Orientalism: An Unfinished Project." *Citizenship Studies* 16, no. 5–6 (2012): 563–572.

Isin, Engin F., and Greg M. Nielsen, eds. *Acts of Citizenship*. Zed Books, 2008.

Johnson, Corey, Reece Jones, Anssi Paasi, Louise Amoore, Alison Mountz, Mark Salter, and Chris Rumford. "Interventions on Rethinking 'the Border' in Border Studies." *Political Geography* 30, no. 2 (February 2011): 61–69.

Katz, Cindi. "Playing in the Field: Questions of Fieldwork in Geography." *Professional Geographer* 46, no. 1 (1994): 67-72.

———.*Growing Up Global: Economic Restructuring and Children's Everyday Lives*. 1st ed. Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2004.

Khosravi, S. "Sweden: Detention and Deportation of Asylum Seekers." *Race & Class* 50,

no. 4 (April 1, 2009): 38–56.

———. "*'Illegal' Traveller.*" Palgrave Macmillan, 2011

Kobayashi, Audrey. "Coloring the Field: Gender, "Race," and the Politics of Fieldwork." *Professional Geographer* 46, no. 1 (1994): 73-80.

Koefoed, Lasse, and Kirsten Simonsen. "The Price of Goodness: Everyday Nationalist Narratives in Denmark." *Antipode* 39, no. 2 (2007): 310–330.

———. "'The stranger', the city and the nation: on the possibilities of identification and belonging." European Urban and Regional Studies 18, no. 4 (2011): 343-357.

Kofman, Eleonore. "Citizenship for Some but Not for Others: Spaces of Citizenship in Contemporary Europe." *Political Geography* 14, no. 2 (February 1995): 121–137.

Koopmans, Ruud, and Paul Statham. "Challenging the Liberal Nation-State? Postnationalism, Multiculturalism, and the Collective Claims Making of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in Britain and Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 3 (November 1999): 652–696.

Kubba, Laith. "Recognizing Pluralism." *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (1996): 86–89.

Kumar, Sushil. *Archives Principles & Practices*. Gyan Publishing House, 2011.

Kuus, Merje. "Policy and Geopolitics: Bounding Europe in EUrope." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101, no. 5 (September 2011): 1140–1155.

Kvale, Steinar, and Svend Brinkmann. *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. 2nd ed. SAGE Publications, Inc, 2009.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 1991.

———. *Writings on Cities*. Edited by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas. 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 1996.

Leitner, Helga. "Reconfiguring the Spatiality of Power: The Construction of a Supranational Migration Framework for the European Union." *Political Geography* 16, no. 2 (1997): 123–143.

———. "Spaces of Encounters: Immigration, Race, Class, and the Politics of Belonging in Small-Town America." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102, no. 4 (July 2012): 828–846.

Leitner, Helga, and Patricia Ehrkamp. "Transnationalism and Migrants' Imaginings of Citizenship." *Environment and Planning A* 38, no. 9 (2006): 1615–1632.

Léonard, Sarah. "EU Border Security and Migration into the European Union: FRONTEX and Securitisation Through Practices." *European Security* 19, no. 2 (June 2010): 231–254.

Van Liempt, Ilse, and Stephanie Sersli. "State Responses and Migrant Experiences with Human Smuggling: A Reality Check." *Antipode* (2012).

Luibheid, Eithne. "Nationalist Heterosexuality, Migrant (Il)legality, and Irish Citizenship Law: Queering the Connections." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 110, no. 1 (December 22, 2010): 179–204.

———. *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality At The Border*. 1st ed. Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2002.

———. "Childbearing Against the State? Asylum Seeker Women in the Irish Republic." *Women's Studies International Forum* 27, no. 4 (October 2004): 335–349.

Martin, Lauren. "The Geopolitics of Vulnerability: Children's Legal Subjectivity, Immigrant Family Detention and US Immigration Law and Enforcement Policy." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 4 (2011): 477–498.

———. "'Catch and Remove': Detention, Deterrence, and Discipline in US Noncitizen Family Detention Practice." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 2 (2012): 312–334.

Mau, Steffen. "Mobility Citizenship, Inequality, and the Liberal State." *International Political Sociology* 4, no. 4 (December 2010): 339–361.

Mcdowell, Linda. "Work, Workfare, Work/life Balance and an Ethic of Care." *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 2 (April 1, 2004): 145–163.

———.*Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*. 1st ed. Univ Of Minnesota Press, 1999.

———. "Women/gender/feminisms: Doing Feminist Geography." *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 21, no. 3 (1997): 381–400.

Miller, David. "Immigrants, Nations, and Citizenship*." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 16, no. 4 (December 2008): 371–390.

Miraftab, Faranak. "Can You Belly Dance? Methodological Questions in the Era of Transnational Feminist Research." *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 11, no. 4 (January 1, 2004): 595–604.

Momen, Mehnaaz. "Are You a Citizen? Insights from Borderlands." *Citizenship Studies* 9, no. 3 (July 2005): 323–334.

Moss, Pamela J., ed. *Feminist Geography in Practice: Research and Methods*. 1st ed. Wiley-Blackwell, 2002.

Mountz, A., K. Coddington, R. T. Catania, and J. M. Loyd. "Conceptualizing Detention: Mobility, Containment, Bordering, and Exclusion." *Progress in Human Geography* (October 15, 2012).

Mountz, Alison. "Feminist Politics, Immigration, and Academic Identities." *Gender, Place & Culture* 9, no. 2 (June 2002): 187–194.

———. "Human Smuggling, the Transnational Imaginary, and Everyday Geographies of the Nation-State." *Antipode* 35, no. 3 (2003): 622–644.

———. *Seeking Asylum: Human Smuggling and Bureaucracy at the Border*. Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2010.

———. "The Enforcement Archipelago: Detention, Haunting, and Asylum on Islands." *Political Geography* 30, no. 3 (March 2011): 118–128.

Mullings, Beverley. "Insider or Outsider, Both or Neither: Some Dilemmas of Interviewing in a Cross-cultural Setting." *Geoforum* 30, no. 4 (1999): 337–350.

Nagar, Richa. "Communal Places and the Politics of Multiple Identities: The Case of Tanzanian Asians." *Cultural Geographies* 4, no. 1 (January 1, 1997): 3–26.

Nagel, Caroline R. "Rethinking Geographies of Assimilation." *The Professional Geographer* 61, no. 3 (2009): 400–407.

Nagel, Caroline R., and Lynn A. Staeheli. "Citizenship, Identity and Transnational Migration: Arab Immigrants to the United States." *Space and Polity* 8, no. 1 (2004): 3–23.

———. "Integration and the Negotiation of 'here' and 'there': The Case of British Arab Activists." *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 4 (June 2008): 415–430.

Nast, Heidi, "Women in the field: Critical Feminist Methodologies and Theoretical Perspectives." Professional Geographers 46, no. 1 (1994): 54-66.

Nelson, Lise, and Nancy Hiemstra. "Latino Immigrants and the Renegotiation of Place and Belonging in Small Town America." *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 3 (2008): 319–342.

Neumayer, Eric. "Bogus Refugees? The Determinants of Asylum Migration to Western Europe." *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (2005): 389–410.

———. "Unequal Access to Foreign Spaces: How States Use Visa Restrictions to Regulate Mobility in a Globalized World." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31, no. 1 (2006): 72–84.

Nevins, Joseph. *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Remaking of the U.S. - Mexico Boundary*. 1st ed. Routledge, 2002.

Nicholls, Walter. "Cities and the Unevenness of Social Movement Space: The Case of France's Immigrant Rights Movement." *Environment & Planning A* 43, no. 7 (July 2011): 1655–1673.

Nyers, Peter. "Abject Cosmopolitanism: The Politics of Protection in the Anti-deportation Movement." *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 6 (December 2003): 1069–1093.

Painter, J. "European Citizenship and the Regions." *European Urban and Regional Studies* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 2008): 5–19.

———. "Prosaic geographies of stateness." *JPGQ Political Geography* 25, no. 7 (2006): 752–774.

———. "Rethinking Territory." *Antipode* 42, no. 5 (November 2010): 1090–1118.

Peck, Jamie. "Political economies of scale: Fast policy, interscalar relations, and neoliberal workfare." *Economic Geography* 78, no. 3 (July 2002): 331–360.

———. *Workfare States*. 1st ed. The Guilford Press, 2001.

Peck, Jamie, and Adam Tickell. "Neoliberalizing Space." *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 380–404.

Phillips, Deborah. "Parallel Lives? Challenging Discourses of British Muslim Self-segregation." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24, no. 1 (2006): 25–40.

Pratt, Anna, Mariana Valverde. "From Deserving Victims to 'Masters of Confusion': Redefining Refugees in the 1990s." *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 27. no. 2 (2002): 135-161

Pratt, Geraldine. *Working Feminism*. Temple University Press, 2004.

Prince, Russell. "Transnational Elites and the Geographies of Power." *Geopolitics* 17, no. 2 (2012): 423–428.

Purcell, Mark. "Citizenship and the Right to the Global City: Reimagining the Capitalist World Order." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, no. 3 (2003): 564–590.

Rajaram, Prem Kumar, and Carl Grundy-Warr. "The Irregular Migrant as Homo Sacer: Migration and Detention in Australia, Malaysia, and Thailand." *International Migration* 42, no. 1 (2004): 33–64.

Rancière, Jacques. *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*. Translated by Steven Corcoran. 1st ed. Continuum, 2010.

Razack, Sherene. *Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics*. 1st ed. University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2008.

———. "Imperilled Muslim Women, Dangerous Muslim Men and Civilised Europeans: Legal and Social Responses to Forced Marriages." *Feminist Legal Studies* 12, no. 2 (2004): 129–174.

Richard Alba, Victor Nee. "Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of

Immigration" 31, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 826–874.

Risse, Thomas. "The Euro Between National and European Identity." *Journal of European Public Policy* 10, no. 4 (2003): 487–505.

Salter, M. B. "Passports, Mobility, and Security: How Smart Can the Border Be?" *International Studies Perspectives* 5, no. 1 (2004): 71-91.

———. "The Global Visa Regime and the Political Technologies of the International Self: Borders, Bodies, Biopolitics." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 31, no. 2 (April 1, 2006): 167–189.

———. "When the Exception Becomes the Rule: Borders, Sovereignty, and Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 12, no. 4 (August 2008): 365–380.

Sassen, S. "The Participation of States and Citizens in Global Governance." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 10, no. 1 (2003): 5–28.

Schaeffer, Peter. "Refugees: On the Economics of Political Migration." *International Migration* 48, no. 1 (February 2010): 1–22.

Schlosser, Kolson. "Bio-Political Geographies." *Geography Compass* 2, no. 5 (2008): 1621–1634.

Schoenberger, Erica. "The Corporate Interview as a Research Method in Economic Geography." *Professional Geography* 43, no. 2 (1991): 180-189.

Schuster, Liza. "Dublin II and Eurodac: Examining the (un) Intended (?) Consequences." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 3 (2011): 401–416.

Schwartz, Joan M., and Terry Cook. "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory." *Archival Science* 2, no. 1 (2002): 1–19.

Secor, A. J. "Toward a Feminist Counter-geopolitics: Gender, Space and Islamist Politics in Istanbul." *Space and Polity* 5, no. 3 (2001): 191–211.

———. "'There Is an Istanbul That Belongs to Me': Citizenship, Space, and Identity in the City." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94, no. 2 (June 2004): 352–368.

Silove, Derrick, Zachary Steel, and Richardf Mollica. "Detention of Asylum Seekers: Assault on Health, Human Rights, and Social Development." *Lancet* 357, no. 9266 (2001): 1436–1437.

Silvey, Rachel. "Geographies of Gender and Migration: Spatializing Social Difference1." *International Migration Review* 40, no. 1 (March 2006): 64–81.

———. "Power, Difference and Mobility: Feminist Advances in Migration Studies." *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 4 (August 1, 2004): 490–506.

Simmons, Tracy. "Sexuality and Immigration: UK Family Reunion Policy and the Regulation of Sexual Citizens in the European Union." *Political Geography* 27, no. 2 (February 2008):

Sparke, Matthew. "Everywhere but Always Somewhere: Critical Geographies of the Global South." *The Global South* (2007): 117–126.

———. "A Neoliberal Nexus: Economy, Security and the Biopolitics of Citizenship on the Border." *Political Geography* 25, no. 2 (February 2006): 151–180.

Staeheli, L. A. "Political Geography: Democracy and the Disorderly Public." *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 1 (2010): 67–78.

Staeheli, L. A, D. Mitchell, and C. R Nagel. "Making Publics: Immigrants, Regimes of Publicity and Entry Tothe Public'." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27 (2009): 633–648.

Staeheli, L. A. "Political Geography: Difference, Recognition, and the Contested Terrains of Political Claims-making." *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no. 4 (February 8, 2008): 561–570.

Staeheli, Lynn A, Valerie Ledwith, Meghann Ormond, Katie Reed, Amy Sumpter, and Daniel Trudeau. "Immigration, the Internet, and Spaces of Politics." *Political Geography* 21, no. 8 (November 2002): 989–1012.

Staeheli, Lynn A, and Caroline R Nagel. "Rethinking Security: Perspectives from Arab-American and British Arab Activists." *Antipode* 40, no. 5 (November 2008): 780–801.

Staeheli, Lynn A. "Political geography: Where's citizenship?" *Progress in Human Geography* 35, no. 3 (June 2011): 393–400.

Staeheli, Lynn A., Patricia Ehrkamp, Helga Leitner, and Caroline R. Nagel. "Dreaming the ordinary: Daily life and the complex geographies of citizenship." *Progress in Human Geography* 36, no. 5 (October 2012): 628–644.

Stalker, Peter. "Migration Trends and Migration Policy in Europe." *International Migration* 40, no. 5 (2003): 151–179.

Stasiulis, Daiva, and Darryl Ross. "Security, Flexible Sovereignty, and the Perils of Multiple Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 10, no. 3 (2006): 329–348.

Støttekredsen for Flygtninge i Fare. "Fra madkasse til Eksklusionslejre." (2005): 1-18.

Swyngedouw, Erik, Frank Moulaert, and Arantxa Rodriguez. "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large–Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy." *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 542–577.

Sziarto, Kristin M., and Helga Leitner. "Immigrants Riding for Justice: Space-time and Emotions in the Construction of a Counterpublic." *Political Geography* 29, no. 7 (September 2010): 381–391.

Thomas, Rebekah. "Biometrics, International Migrants and Human Rights." *European Journal of Migration & Law* 7, no. 4 (October 2005): 377–411.

Torfing, J. "Workfare With Welfare: Recent Reforms of the Danish Welfare State." *Journal of European Social Policy* 9, no. 1 (February 1, 1999): 5–28.

Valentine G, Sporton D, and Nielsen K.B. "Identities and belonging: A study of Somali refugee and asylum seekers living in the UK and Denmark." *Environ. Plann. D Soc. Space Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27, no. 2 (2009): 234–250.

Varsanyi, Monica W. "Rescaling the 'Alien,' Rescaling Personhood: Neoliberalism, Immigration, and the State." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 4 (September 25, 2008): 877–896.

Vitus, Kathrine, and Signe Smith Nielsen. "Asylbørn i Danmark: En barndom I undtagelsestilstand." 1st ed. Hans Reitzels Forlag. 2011.

Vitus, Kathrine. "Zones of indistinction: family life in Danish asylum centres." *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory* 12, no. 1 (April 2011): 95-112.

Waters, Johanna. "Flexible citizens? Transnationalism and citizenship amongst economic immigrants in Vancouver." *The Canadian* Geographer 47, no. 3 (2003): 219-234

White, Allen. "'Every Wednesday I Am Happy': Childhoods in an Irish Asylum Centre." *Population, Space and Place* 18, no. 3 (May 2012): 314–326.

Whyte, Zachary. "Enter the myopticon – Uncertain surveillance in the Danish asylum system." *Anthropology Today* 27, no. 3 (2011): 18-21.

Winders, Jamie. "Bringing Back the (B) Order: Post-9/11 Politics of Immigration, Borders, and Belonging in the Contemporary US South." *Antipode* 39, no. 5 (2007): 920–942.

Wren, Karen. "Cultural Racism: Something Rotten in the State of Denmark?" *Social & Cultural Geography* 2, no. 2 (January 2001): 141–162.

———. "Refugee Dispersal in Denmark: From Macro- to Micro-scale Analysis." *International Journal of Population Geography* 9. no. (2003): 57-75.

Zetter, Roger. "More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remarking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20. no. 2 (2007): 172-192.

Østergaard-Nielsen, E. "Counting the Costs: Denmark's Changing Migration Policies." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, no. 2 (2003): 448-454.

Websites:

Andrepoulos George J., Encyclopædia Britannica, "Asylum." Accessed 02.22.2013. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/40220/asylum

Makhlouf, Hala Husham. "Escaping Limbo." Accessed 02.22.2013. http://halahmakhlouf.wix.com/escapinglimbo

Khaker, Khatera, Visavis, "We would rather die here than return to Afghanistan." Accessed 02.18.2013. http://www.visavis.dk/2013/02/we-would-rather-die-here-than return-toafghanistan/

The Danish Immigration Service, "Asylum seeker." Accessed 02.17.2013 https://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/faq/asylum.htm

The Danish Immigration Service. "Asyl Centre." Accessed 04.22.2012. http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/asyl/asylcentre/asylcentre.htm

The Danish Immigration Service. "Asylansøgning." Accessed 04.22.2012. http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/Ophold/asyl/asylansoegning/asylansoegning.htm:

The Danish Immigration Service. "Ansøgeres vilkår." Accessed 04.11.2012. http://www.nyidanmark.dk/dadk/Ophold/asyl/asylansoegernes_vilkaar/asylansoegernes_vilkaar.htm

The Danish Immigration Service, "b-status." Accessed 03.15.2013. http://www.nyidanmark.dk/da-dk/spoergsmaal_og_svar/ordliste.htm

The Danish Immigration Service, "De facto-refugee." Accessed 03.15.2013. (http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/dictionary/glossary.htm

The Official Website of Denmark. "The Danish society." Accessed 10.24.2012.

http://denmark.dk/en/society/welfare/

Out of the Camp, "About." Accessed 02.17. 2012.http://outofthecamps.dk/about/

Suleiman, Ismail. "Daily Life in Avnstrup." Accessed 03.20.2013.
http://www.visavis.dk/2013/03/daily-life-in-avnstrup/

The Trampoline House, "The Trampoline House." Accessed 04.22.2012.
http://trampolinehouse.dk/

Visavis. "Visavis newspaper." Accessed 02.18.2013.
http://www.visavis.dk/archives/1678

<div align="center">VITA</div>

Malene Herschend Jacobsen

Education

College of Arts and Science, University of Kentucky   **2011-2013**
    Graduate Certificate in Social Theory

Bachelor of Science, Geography and Education Studies   **2007-2012**
Roskilde University, Denmark,
    Thesis: "The Latinos are coming" – The Public Debate of the Demographic
    Transformation of Georgia
    Advisor: Kristine Juul

Exchange Student, Georgia Southern University, GA.   **2009**

Teaching Experience

GEO 162: Introduction to Global Environmental Issues, Fall 2012, Teaching Assistant
Course Instructor: Morgan Robertson

GEO 300: Geographic Research, Spring 2012, Teaching Assistant
Course Instructor: Matthew Zook

GEO 222: Cities of the World, Fall 2011, Teaching Assistant
Course Instructor: Stanley D. Brunn

Awards and Grants

The Political Geography Specialty Group Student Paper Award, Best M.A. Paper 2013

University of Kentucky, Teaching Assistantship, Academic Year 2011-2013

Knud Højgaards Fond, 2011

Nordea Fonden, 2011

Oticon Fond, 2011

Conference

Conference Presentations

"The Danish Asylum System – What Happened to Humanism?", 19th Annual Conference on Critical Geography, UNC Chapel Hill, Nov. 2012

"The Danish Asylum System – What Happened to Humanism?", Association of American Geographers National Conference, Los Angeles, CA. 2013

"Humanitarian migrants, political subjectivities, and post-political activities", 5th Nordic Geographers' Meeting, Reykjavik, Iceland. 2013