

THE PARADOX OF CONCERN: NATIONALIST DISCOURSES AND THE EDUCATION
OF “IMMIGRANT” YOUTH IN A DANISH FOLKESKOLE

BY

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Urban Education in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

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By

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This dissertation, drawing from an ethnographic study of the experiences of Muslim first and second generation Muslim youth in a Danish Folkeskolen, examines the conflicting narratives of immigration in Danish society and how these discourses influence the schooling and the identification processes of Muslim immigrant youth. Prior to 1960, Denmark was, ethnically, a relatively homogenous country that prided itself on its commitments to social equality, humanitarian aid and openness to refugees. However, since the 1990s Denmark has experienced the emergence of nationalist discourses that construct immigrants as racialized outsiders. This dissertation explores how social stereotypes of Muslim identities are produced, circulated and debated within the media and education policies and how they are taken up within everyday school practices of teaching and learning as well as in interactions between different actors in schools. It considers how Muslim immigrant youth position themselves and are positioned within hierarchies of racial and cultural difference that influence their access to resources in school and society. However, it also explores how immigrant youth and teachers create critical counter-narratives that challenge and reframe negative social stereotypes in ways that forward new conceptions of belonging within Danish society.

In educational spaces long committed to social equality and child-centered education, teachers expressed desires to help immigrants, to extend the benefits of “democratic” society as

they enacted assimilative practices that were cloaked in the benevolent language of “concern”. School was imagined as a site to enlighten and civilize Muslim students. While teachers conceived of school as being “open” and inclusive of cultural and religious differences, findings suggest that school is implicitly a Danish and Christian space where immigrant students were positioned as racialized outsiders. The data presented here reveal how immigration discourses inform the amplification of everyday events and particular moments in adolescence that are understood to be critical opportunities for cultural and national intervention. This work therefore seeks to reveal the complex dimensions of concern that may mask coercive and assimilative practices. Paradoxically, concern may lead to misrecognition and derail the types of authentic student teacher relations that are associated with educational and civic engagement.

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DEDICATION

In loving memory of my dad

Lee Harold Jaffe

1913-2001

Born Leo in Hell's Kitchen

Became Lee in Miami

City College, Brighton Beach, Bordeaux, connecting circles of diaspora on steamships

Wish we could have sat on the gray couch and talked about this late into the night

I stand firm in the world in your love.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In countries across Europe, we witness the proliferation of anti-immigrant discourses, increasing restrictions on immigration and the introduction of new mandatory “civic integration” requirements for immigrants (Joppke, 2007). Increasingly we see how globalization—characterized by the growth of cross-border flows of trade and people, and the proliferation of transnational networks (Sassen, 2006; Castells, 2004; Appadurai, 1996)—is challenging the cultural borders of nations’ “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1983). As Arjun Appadurai suggests (2006), “Global migrations across and within national boundaries constantly unsettle the glue that attaches persons to ideologies of soil and territory.” As increasing globalization places strains on national sovereignty, nations focus on the internal threats of immigrants and develop new forms of exclusionary nationalism to counter such threats. “Minorities are the major site for displacing the anxieties of many states about their own minority or marginality” (Appadurai, p. 43). Thus, globalization drives a need to defend the “imagined community” of the nation, what Hedetoft (2007) describes as a “right peopling” of the state. We see this dynamic in the policy decisions of global leaders such as Berlusconi, the Italian prime minister who sent boatloads of indigent immigrants back to Africa as well as French President Sarkozy, who ordered the national deportation of 10,000 Roma (BBC, 2010). But, as Billig (1995) describes, we also witness this dynamic in quieter ways—in a banal nationalism reflected in everyday practices and routines that tacitly work through public institutions to reinforce the borders of the national community by determining who is and who isn’t a member of the national community (Billig, 1998; El-Haj, 2010). This dissertation focuses on how nationalist discourses insinuate themselves into the everyday interactions, relationships and practices in schools and

how they influence the social positioning (Ong, 1996) and the education of Muslim immigrant youth (Gellner, 1983, Hobsbawm, 1990; Anderson, 1996; Hedetoft, 2007).

While the rhetoric of immigration discourses in Denmark is similar to that in countries such as France and Italy, the case of Denmark is unique in that immigration is a relatively new phenomenon. Prior to 1960, Denmark was, ethnically, a relatively homogenous country that prided itself on its commitments to humanitarian aid, openness to refugees and social equality. Given this history, it would be logical to expect Denmark to be a best-case scenario for the reception of immigrants—a model of positive assimilation for other nations to follow.

Yet, as Denmark grapples with the increased complexity introduced by its growing immigrant community, we witness the emergence of contradictory discourses surrounding immigration: on the one hand, stated commitments to social equality and humanitarian concern and, on the other, the propagation of neo-nationalist discourses that construct immigrants as racialized outsiders. Within schools, we see institutional discourses that reflect commitments to equity based and student centered education (Holmen, 2009) yet outcome studies reveal stark differences in school outcomes between ethnic Danish students and immigrant students¹. This dissertation, drawing on ethnographic study of the experiences of immigrant youth in a Danish Folkeskolen, examines the conflicting narratives of immigration in Danish society—the inclusive history on which Denmark prides itself, and the nationalism and Islamophobia it does not want to acknowledge. I analyze the influence of these contradictory discourses on the work of schools and the processes of social incorporation for Muslim immigrant youth.

¹ Over four years of PISA testing reveals dramatic difference between the outcomes of immigrant youth and ethnic Danish youth (Mejding, 2004; Egelund & Rangvid, 2005; Egelund & Tranæs 2007, Egelund 2007, Egelund 2008, Holmen, 2009) According to the 2006 Science PISA exam, 50% of immigrant youth have performance levels that put them at risk of not completing upper secondary education while that number is only 16% for ethnic Danish students. Further, the drop-out rate from upper-secondary education for immigrant students is double that of ethnic Danish students (OECD, 2007).

How do we understand the seemingly conflicting elements of democratic societies that espouse the values of egalitarianism, inclusion and tolerance for difference on the one hand and racial exclusion and xenophobia on the other? In studying the current discourse on immigration in Denmark and its expression in the education of immigrants, it is necessary to tease apart the contradictory strains within relationships between immigrant communities and the imagined communities of nation-states. Studying “through” various levels of research—macro and micro— and looking at discourse and policy as cultural texts, I strive to understand these seemingly contradictory responses to immigrant communities.

Research Questions

Specifically, this dissertation seeks to answer the following questions:

- How do nationalist discourses and policies influence:
 - Teachers’ and administrators’ understanding of what it means to educate immigrant youth?
 - Everyday interactions between teachers, immigrant youth and ethnic Danish youth in schools?
 - The racialization of immigrant youth in school and community?
- How do immigrants negotiate imposed identities and create counter-narratives that challenge dominant discourses?

This dissertation engages a multi-sited ethnographic approach to examine how immigration discourses influence the processes of schooling and the identification processes of immigrant youth. First, it looks at the various discourses related to immigration and education in Danish society—with close attention to how the figure of the immigrant is positioned within public discourse. It considers how immigration discourses inform education policies and the

work of schools and how teachers conceive of their work with immigrant students. Finally, I consider how immigration discourses influence individual identities. Engaging theories of cultural citizenship (Ong, 1996), I consider how the “dual process of self-making and being made exist within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society” (1996, p.321)—that is, I consider how immigrants are located within hierarchical schemes of racial and cultural difference that are reproduced through schools and that influence youth’s access to resources in host societies. I am interested in youth’s complex negotiations of nationalist discourses: the ways that they adopt, adapt and resist discourses and, especially, the ways that they develop counter-narratives (Solis, 2004) that speak back to negative representations of immigrants.

This dissertation explores the multiple dimensions of educator concern; it considers how the overlapping discourses of humanitarianism and nationalism are taken up within teacher’s everyday interactions with Muslim immigrant students. I use “concern” because it carries the contradictory approaches to immigrant communities in Denmark amidst the dynamics of globalization and nationalism. Its primary meaning is “to show interest or care” while a secondary definition is “to trouble, worry or disquiet”.

In educational spaces long committed to social equality and child-centered education, teachers expressed desires to help immigrants, to extend the benefits of “democratic” society as they enacted assimilative practices that were cloaked in the benevolent language of “concern”. School was imagined as a site to enlighten and civilize Muslim students. My work explores how social stereotypes are taken up in teacher’s everyday work and how they contribute to processes of misrecognition (Taylor, 1994) and racialization in classrooms. The data presented here reveal how immigration discourses inform the “amplification” (Puwar, 2004) of everyday events and particular moments in adolescence that are understood to be critical opportunities for

cultural and national intervention. This work therefore seeks to reveal the complex dimensions of concern that may mask coercive and assimilative practices. Paradoxically, concern may lead to misrecognition and derail the types of authentic student teacher relations that are associated with educational and civic engagement (Noddings, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 1998).

Literature

Building on the work of scholars who have engaged in critical policy analysis, my work considers not one dominant discourse about immigration but rather a “plurality of discourses that are at times distinct and others overlapping and messy and constitute a field of possible meanings” (Henry & Tator, 2006, p. 26). Within this discursive space, I’m interested in how immigrants are constructed and understood to pose “problems” that require interventions through schooling and social policies (Ball, 1993). Stuart Hall (2001) describes new forms of “de-regulation and re-regulation” whereby “questions concerning sexuality, morality, crime and violence, standards of public conduct and behavior, parenting, family values” become the targets of new state intervention (p.25). He argues that as economies are deregulated, we witness the control of culture in the name of the nation:

These are some key areas of change and debate in contemporary society around which anxieties cluster, where a collective cry goes that ‘something must be done.’ As such, they give us a set of symptomatic clues as to what seem to be the flashpoints, the unsettled issues, the underlying tensions, the traumas of the collective unconscious in late-modern societies (p. 25).

In the Danish context discourses reflect a number of ways in which “something must be done” about the perceived problems of oppressed immigrant girls, criminal boys and unassimilable immigrant communities.

The solutions proposed for these problems often take the form of education policies that do not determine action but rather, “create circumstances in which the range of options about what to do are narrowed or changed and the particular goals or outcomes are set” (Ball, 2006). How do discourses gain legitimacy within society? Following Susan Wright’s work on the anthropology of policy, I consider how they mask political power under the cloak of neutrality or science—or, in the case of Denmark, under the principles of “democracy, open-mindedness and gender equality” (Shore & Wright, 1977).

Much has been written about how public schools are enlisted to turn “outsiders” into citizens (Tyack, 1995). In the United States, the presence of immigrants and Native Americans triggered a number of educational reforms: the settlement house movement that sought to establish schools as centers of social aid for immigrants in cities, the invention of standardized testing as a mechanism to sort and control the masses of new immigrants, and the creation of Indian boarding schools that promoted the “coercive assimilation” of native Americans (Spring, 2005; Tyack, 1995)². Schiffaur, Baumann, Kastoryano and Verotec’s (2004) study of public schooling in Europe explores the ways that schools take up the work of the “civic enculturation” of immigrant youth—a process whereby youth receive the beliefs, knowledge and behaviors required for participation in civil society. As El-Haj (2007) writes, “Schools play an important role in the construction of the symbolic boundaries of the nation—in constructing who is and who is not a member of the nation and in the provision of resources in which immigrant youth

² Spring (2005) describes how Native American boarding schools employed strategies of segregation and isolation, forced change of language, use of curriculum and textbooks that reflect the dominant group and the use of teachers from the dominant group (p.177).

learn to belong to and navigate their new society” (p.289). Schools, then, are public institutions that take up the work of producing citizens and maintaining the integrity of the nation (Spring, 2005; Schiffauer et. al, 2004).

Immigrant youth’s affiliations with homelands, religious identities and cultures are often perceived to threaten the cultural homogeneity and “imagined communities” (Anderson, 2006) of their host nations, where they attract increasing attention in public debate and in schools (Appadurai, 2006). Immigrant youth live within webs of connection that extend beyond cultural and national borders (Katz, 2004; Smith, 2006). Appadurai (1996) describes the “global ethnoscape” in which immigrant youth reside, the “landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups” (1996, p.5).

Educational anthropologists have identified factors contributing to immigrants’ disadvantages in school. In the U.S., these include institutional practices of schools that devalue immigrant students’ home languages and cultures (Valenzuela, 1999; Lee, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001), that divide or alienate immigrant families and schools (Valdes, 1996), or that limit immigrant youths’ ability to access social capital within schools and protective resources within community networks (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). Immigrant youth must also negotiate the processes of racialization (Lee, 2005; Mullings, 2005) and exclusion manifest themselves within schools (El Haj, 2007; Lee, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999) influencing their processes of identification (Sirin & Fine, 2008).

An emerging group of scholars considers how current theoretical frameworks for examining the experiences of immigrant youth in schools do not adequately account for the

intersection of processes of nation building and national identity formation (Hall, 2004, El-Haj, 2010). The early literature on immigrant incorporation takes an assimilationist perspective that assumes that immigrants must divest themselves of immigrant identities, cultural traditions, languages and habits in order to fully assimilate into the new society (Gordon, 1964). According to this perspective, assimilation “is a natural process by which diverse ethnic groups come to share a common culture to gain equal access to the opportunity structure of society” (Zhou, p.976, 1997). Kathleen Hall (2004) suggests that in order to move beyond traditional straight-line assimilation frameworks for understanding the social incorporation of immigrant youth, researchers should embrace “a shift in ethnographic vantage point from an exclusive focus on everyday worlds to the broader historical and cultural processes in which these worlds are embedded” (pg. 118). Hall argues that the cultural politics of immigration and citizenship in the global era require this shift in ethnographic perspective.

Multi-sited ethnography enables researchers to illuminate the more complex cultural processes of nation formation and the contradictory and, at times, incommensurate forms of cultural politics within which immigrants are made and make themselves as citizens. Viewing immigration from the perspective of nation formation, moreover, brings into question the explanatory power and political implications of traditional assimilation models of immigrant incorporation.

Following the work of El-Haj (2010) and Hall (2004), this dissertation considers how the school experiences of Muslim youth are influenced by nationalist discourses and the everyday “politics of belonging” that takes place within schools (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Danish scholars have documented the rise of neo-nationalism in Denmark, beginning in the late 1990s, that has led to “the construction of a rigid dichotomy between “we” the Danes and

‘they’ the out-group of foreigners” (Hervik, 2004, p. 248; Wren, 2001). Educational scholars describe how schools become sites of assimilation—for contending with these “problems” of immigrants who refuse to integrate (Suarez-Orozco 2007; Schiffauer, Baumann, Kastoryano & Vertovec, 2004; Horst and Holmen, 2007; Jenkins, 2007). Gitz-Johansen (2006) and Gilliam’s (2007) ethnographic dissertations show how immigrant students are treated as “others” in relation to the unspoken norms of Danishness in school years K-4.

As a result of increased globalization, there is a dramatic increase in the movement of people across national borders (Sassen, 2006; Castells, 2004; Appadurai, 1996). Suarez-Orozco (2007) estimates that there are currently between 185 and 200 million transnational migrants across every region of the world. The children of immigrants represent the fastest growing sector of society in nations such as the United States, Sweden, Denmark, Germany the Netherlands and France (Suarez-Orozco, 2007). Given the growing number of immigrant youth entering schools in host nations across the globe (Suarez-Orozco, 2007), it is critical that we deepen our understanding of the ways in which schools either enable the civic engagement of immigrant youth or encourage their social alienation. As Denmark has moved in a short period of time from a relatively homogenous society to one with a significant Muslim immigrant community, it is an important site for witnessing how the cultural and demographic changes brought on by globalization affect education policies, practices and schools. These dynamics are not unique to Denmark. This research offers portable lessons for educating in a globalizing world in diverse national contexts.

On the Category of “Immigrant”

This dissertation is about the experiences of Muslim immigrant youth in a Danish Folkeskolen. Because of my prior experiences as a teacher of first-generation immigrant students and my familiarity with the U.S. literature on immigrants and schools, I entered the Folkeskolen with a broad set of questions about the experiences of immigrant students. Throughout my research career, I have avoided focusing on the “essential” experiences of youth from one national or religious group. Having worked in New York City’s International Schools with students from over 68 countries, I found that many of them shared common experiences of cultural negotiation and discrimination that cut across ethnic and religious borders.

However, a few months into my fieldwork at Dyreparken school, I realized that in Denmark, the category of immigrant in Danish society refers specifically to Muslim immigrants whose increasing visibility and perceived failure to integrate has been defined as a substantial social problem. This story emerges out of a narrative of “hosts and guests” (Sassen, 1999), i.e., the guest workers who arrived in Denmark and then never went home, and who refuse to respect the local culture (Hervik, 2004). The growth of Denmark’s Muslim immigrant community began in the late 1960’s with mostly male workers who arrived from Turkey, Pakistan, Yugoslavia and Morocco seeking temporary employment. Subsequently, in the 1980’s and 90’s, because of civil war and political unrest, Denmark accepted refugees from Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Somalia, the Palestinian territories and the former Yugoslavia. Within Denmark, Muslim immigrants, their children and grandchildren are treated as “third country nationals”. Although they may have legal citizenship, they are positioned in policy and discourse within a category of semi-permanent outsiders. Even after living in Denmark for multiple generations, Muslim residents appear to remain within the category of immigrants while white immigrants from European countries are more readily accepted within the national community.

Over the course of my fieldwork, I gained insight into how the category of “immigrant” is conceptualized by my participants. During an interview, a first-generation Romanian Christian immigrant, Francesca referred to herself as a Dane and made references to “we” the Danish youth and “them” the immigrants. There is some evidence that non-Muslim immigrants—particularly those who are from Arab countries and who are perceived to have dark skin or Asian features—share Muslim youth’s experiences of racialization and stereotyping within Danish society. I observed incidents in the school lunch room in which Asian students were mocked and racialized, and on my street I noticed that the Chinese family was not invited to community events. Because the majority of the immigrant students in my sample were Muslim and because of the ways that Islam is contested within the school, my study focuses on Muslim immigrant youth. I use the terms “immigrant youth” and “immigrant students” to refer to Muslim youth who are either immigrants or the children of immigrants.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter two of this dissertation provides a social, historical and political context for understanding Danish nationalism. It provides a brief history of the arrival of immigrants in Denmark and explores the positioning of schools within the national project. Finally, it provides an analysis of Danish integration policies and events surrounding the Mohammed cartoon crisis of 2005. Chapter three outlines the methods of data collection and analysis that I used and discusses my relationship with participants and my ethnographic positionality in different contexts.

Chapters four through six present the results of my study and provide insight into how nationalist discourses influence schools, interactions and identities. Chapter four includes a

discussion of how schools are a Danish space, with attention to the negotiation of language, religious difference and Danish educational philosophies and policies. It also includes ethnographic data that considers teachers' concern for immigrant students from multiple perspectives. Chapter five focuses on teachers: their identities, the different ways they mediate and negotiate immigration discourses and policies, and their understandings of the task of educating immigrant youth. Chapter six looks at immigrant students' processes of "self-making and being made"—the messages they receive about their identities and affiliations in schools and society and the ways they conceive of themselves. It considers how they negotiate codified notions of Danishness, as well as their counter-narratives and strategies for negotiating hostile contexts.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: IMMIGRANTS, SCHOOLS AND THE NATION

Within Danish society, media and politics there have been two central discourses surrounding immigration: first, a discourse of tolerance and humanitarian concern highlighting the generosity of Danes towards immigrants and second, a neo-nationalist anti-immigrant discourse that emphasizes the cultural incompatibility between Muslim immigrants and Danes (Hervik, 2004; Enoch, 1994). While these discourses invoke their own histories and appear to be distinct, they are in fact overlapping and blurred. Both discourses were taken up by educators at my fieldwork site who described “problems” with immigrants who refuse to integrate, insisting on holding on to their native language and culture. Similarly, I heard a related tolerance discourse (Enoch, 1994), which asserted a lack of racism in Danish society and invoked stories of Denmark’s historical generosity towards its immigrant communities, the rescue of the Jews in WWII and the acceptance of refugees from war torn countries (Hervik, 2004). Before moving into a discussion of the ethnographic case, it is critical to consider the cultural and historical circumstances from which these discourses emerged. Indeed, the cultural negotiations and conflicts that I witnessed are not isolated struggles; rather, they reflect the teachers’ efforts to make sense of prevailing discourses that grow out of Denmark’s political and cultural past.

Prior to 1960, Denmark experienced very little immigration with only minimal numbers of European immigrants including Jewish refugees and immigrants from other Nordic countries and ex-colonies including Greenland, the Faro Islands and Iceland. Historically, Denmark’s relative cultural homogeneity and strong sense of civic solidarity have been understood to be

central to its survival amongst more powerful European nations. This solidarity centers on a set of shared assumptions, values and beliefs that are at the heart of notions of Danish citizenship. Following the rise of Danish nationalism, Danish schools became critical sites for socializing and enculturating Danish children. This chapter explores the rise of Danish nationalism and considers the way in which immigration in the 1960's introduced a challenge to the national community and to Danish schools.

Rise of Danish Nationalism

Throughout its history Denmark has sought strength in the “imagined community” of the nation, ie. distinct Danish cultural norms, language and traditions that are collectively understood to be at the heart of the nation (Anderson, 1996). Danish nationalism has developed around perceived external and internal threats to the national community. In the mid-nineteenth-century Denmark, the threat was largely from neighboring powers with powerful armies. Mass immigration of the 1960's and 70's led to a resurgence of Danish neo-nationalism (Hervik, 2004) in the 1990's which was a response to a perceived internal threat posed by Muslim immigrant communities. However, it is important to point out that this “neo-nationalism” is not actually so new as it extends from mid-nineteenth century notions of Danish citizenship and belonging that emerged around shared ideas of *dansked* (Danishness) and cultural homogeneity.

Denmark suffered significant territorial losses in the nineteenth century. In 1814, Denmark lost all of Norway, and in 1864 it lost vast territories along the borders with Germany as a result of German expansionism. Danish political leaders were confronted with the fundamental question of how Denmark would maintain itself amidst world powers with large militaries. In response, they developed a strategy of “culture as defense” by establishing policies that sought “to build a strong internal defense primarily through social, educational and cultural

politics” (Korsgaard, 2006). In short, Danish leaders sought to unify the nation around a common language, culture and ethnicity. According to the military leader and historian Peter Munch, Denmark’s lack of military might should be met with the construction of a national project that all Danes could identify with and be proud of. Munch writes:

The means for this end is to enlarge our culture and to create solidarity in the Danish people by developing such states in the society that all layers of the people have reason to embrace our country and its people with warm affection. Often is this sentence mocked: It is by culture and not by weapons that we shall defend ourselves. This mockery comes from people who are not capable of understanding the meaning of this sentence. The intention is of course not that the weapons shall fall from the hands of enemies in respect for culture. *But a free and self-reliant culture that permeates all layers of the people can, however, create safeguarding for the subsistence of the peoples national life, even if the misfortune should come upon us, and the state, by brutal laws of war and conquest, succumbed to the will of foreign violators.* (p. 334).

In this historical context, maintaining ethnic and cultural homogeneity was understood to be not only important but also a matter of national security. The national community was developed to defend itself against an imagined “foreign violator”.

In 1848, the priest NSF Grundvig became a central figure in creating a cohesive Danish nation, which eventually led to a major shift in Danish political culture. His philosophies, based on the assumption that national culture and identity are embedded in the unity of life and language, became the foundation of Danish nationalism. His writings often took the form of verse:

People! What is a people? What does popular mean?

Is is the nose or the mouth that gives it away?
 Is there a people hidden from the average eye
 In burial hills and behind bushes,
 In every body, big and bony?
 They belong to a people who think they do,
 Those who can hear the mother tongue,
 Those who love the fatherland.
 The rest are separated from the people,
 Expel themselves that do not belong. (Grundvig, cited in Ostergaard, 2006).

Grundtvig translated many volumes of Nordic verse and hymns and was a prolific writer that contributed to a Danish literary canon that was central to visions of Danishness. This literary canon was made a mandatory part of the curriculum of Danish schools in the 1990's and focuses on Danish romantic literature.

While the emergence of cultural nationalism in Denmark was at certain moments explicitly propagated by policymakers and elites (Gellner, 1983), more often, it took the form of what Billig (1995) calls "banal nationalism" or "patterns of social life that become habitual or routine: thoughts, reactions and symbols are turned into routine habits and thus, they become enhabited "(pg. 42). An important site for the inculcation of Danish values was the Danish folkeskolen. Inspired by Grundvig's ideas about education, the Folkeskolen is a model of public schooling that brought the common people of Denmark together in schools to learn principles of democracy through the foundations of Danishness – namely, Danish history, music, literature and shared celebrations.

Role of Schools in the National Project

The Folkeskolen was created in opposition to the “The Black School” or “The School for Death” –the kinds of schools that educated the children of the elite during Grundvig’s life and that came to symbolize academic hierarchy, corporeal punishment and the rote transmission of knowledge. In contrast, the Folkeskolen was committed to the cultivation of students’ desire for learning and a respect for their individual development and needs (Anderson, 1996). The mission of the Folkeskolen focused on supporting students to be proper Danes developing students’ abilities to be active citizens of the national community.

Before the creation of the Folkeskolen, children of different social classes attended different schools. In the 1600’s and 1700’s education was not universal or controlled by the state. Peasant children were taught catechism and moral character in Danish by the clergy in “Almueskoler” or writing schools. The children of elite landowners and higher townsfolk were taught in Latin at “Betallingskoler”. In 1814, the first compulsory schooling laws were enacted but vast distinctions between city and country schools still existed. In 1890, the first *folkeskolen* came into existence eliminating the distinction between the *almueskolen* and Latin schools. The public school law of 1903 expanded educational opportunity by opening middle schools or *enhedskolen* which acted as a bridge between lower secondary education and the Gymnasium (10-12 grades). These schools were characterized by a high degree of stratification and tracking as students chose between grund (basic) courses and udvidet (advanced) courses in grades seven to nine. They were eventually abolished and the folkeskolen was extended from seven to nine years.

In post-war Denmark, the social democratic party argued that the Folkeskolen would ultimately be a source of social equality (Korsgaard, 2006). The democratization of education

involved two principles, first making education accessible to all and second, instilling the principles of Danish Democracy to young students. During this period, the primary goals of Danish education focused on supporting social equality rather than economic growth. It was believed that schools should develop independent of market forces. Korsgaard (2006) writes: “Schools should train students in tolerance and cooperation in spite of differences in social situation and skills”(p.154).

In an effort to reduce class and regional distinctions, Danish schools moved to a *klasse* system, a structure which involves placing students in groups when they enter primary schools that they remain in for the entire nine years of their compulsory education. Students are placed in each *klasse* randomly and are not divided by skill level. Structured to promote equality and a lack of hierarchy, the folkeskolen has been committed to not having any tracking and it is argued that all students receive the same level of education, with the exception of students who attend special education classes. Gilliam (2007) explains that Danish schools are:

...seen as more liberal, social inclusive and child friendly ways to organize school. The Scandinavian schools and their embrace of all social groups, avoidance of streaming, minimal usage of tests and non-authoritarian relation between teachers and pupils are thus often looked at for inspiration by educationalists visioning more inclusive and ‘less-failure-producing’ ways to school children”.

Students in Danish schools are socialized and educated within the *klasse* which is structured to resemble a family system, it is designed to be a closely associated group of students and teachers that is supported by a parent group. Ideally, students remain in the same *Klasse* for all nine years with the same class teacher (*klasselaerer*). The Folkeskolen Law of 1975 states that it is critical not to merge *Klasses*. Anderson (1996) writes: “It is considered traumatic for students and

teachers to be with people whom they do not know well, who have different work habits, threatening the Klasse as a group (p.45).” Between 1903 and 1993, the number of years that students stay in the same classe grew from 2 years to 10 years. Keeping the Klasse together is understood to promote a feeling of *tryghed* or social comfort which is believed to be a necessary prerequisite for learning. The Klasse system is a critical structure for encouraging social unity in Denmark, it is understood to be an enclave or a social community more than a group of students gathered together to learn a specific set of skills (Anderson,1996).

In the post-war period, schools were a primary site of enculturation of Danish children as they played a critical role in gathering regional and class based identities into a common national identity (Korsgaard, 2006; Jenkins, 2007). As this dissertation considers the ways in which teachers understand and respond to the cultural and linguistic differences of their immigrant students, it is important to consider that way in which Danish schools have historically been focused on reducing cultural differences amongst Danes. Jenkins (2007) explains that Danish schools have historically eliminated the creation of sub-cultures in Denmark. Gitz-Johansen (2006) describes how the folkeskolen “has played a vital part in the creation of a common linguistic and cultural base of the population, or, at least, the creation of some commonly recognized criteria of legitimate cultural and linguistic practices”(pg.3). Thus, there is a parallel focus on teaching youth to become “proper persons” so that they may lead a fulfilling life in Danish society as well as ensuring a high degree of social solidarity within the national community.

According to Jenkins, the Folkeskolen is both “child centered” and “nation centered” (Jenkins, 2007) bringing radical education philosophies of the mid-century together with the goals of Danish Nationalism. A Danish Ministry of Education publication emphasizes the

parallel collective and individual focus of instruction.” The teaching is organized in such a way that it both strengthens and develops the individual students interests, qualifications and needs so that it contains common experiences and situations providing them with experience which prepare them for cooperation in the performance of tasks”(Danish Ministry of Education, 2010). Danish schools have emphasized that learning should unfold naturally according to the individual pace of the child who should not be pushed—there is an understanding that the school is a safe space designed to facilitate learning and positive relations amongst students³.

While Danish schools have a child centered focus that attends to the child as an individual, there is a stronger emphasis on group accommodation and fitting in within the Klasse. Gilliam (2007) explains:

In the Danish school the avoidance of marks of difference is extremely strong. The teachers strived to treat the individuals as equals, avoided privileging or discrimination against any child due to its background or ability and avoided the marking of differences as this might polarize the classe. Differences between the children were valued in theory, as instructive of life outside school, and the children were ideally respected as different individuals with different personalities and skills but these differences should make no difference to children or teachers, and best be left unmentioned and unmarked (p.6).

Since the mid nineteenth century, there has always been an emphasis on instilling the norms and values of Danishness through schooling. However much of this work happens implicitly and is conveyed through everyday interactions. Jenkins (2007) argues that the introduction of immigrants into Danish society required that schools shift to a “systemization of Danishness” making explicit what was previously implicit. So while the Danish Folkeskolen has

³ As a result of the poor performance of Danish students in relation to students from other European countries, there has been an increased focus on academics and standardized testing in Danish schools.

been focused on the enculturation of Danes, the introduction of immigrant students into the Danish educational system led policymakers to introduce policies which have implemented changes that have an explicitly Danish focus by mandating the teaching and testing of Danish culture and religion.

Immigration to Denmark

Danish Jews: National Narratives of Openness towards Immigrants

Currently, immigrants and their descendents comprise 9.8 % of the total Danish population (543,000 people) (Statistics Denmark, 2010) . Prior to 1960, there was relatively little immigration to Denmark, with the number of emigrants significantly outnumbering immigrants (only 15,000-35,000 people or less than 1% of the population) (Pederson, 2008). This immigration consisted of Swedes coming to Denmark to take jobs as workers and Jews fleeing the pogroms in Russia in the late nineteenth century. The immigration of Jews continued after the Russian Revolution in 1917 and during World War II. However, the number of Jews was relatively small and geographically isolated in Copenhagen, numbering about 6,000 in a population of 700,000 residents. Jewish immigrants were understood to be “ideal citizens” as they were oriented towards assimilation into Danish society. Many Jews changed their names to Danish surnames. Yael Enoch (1994) “most Danes have never met a Jewish person and those who have usually regarded them as Danes who are not significantly different from the majority. In short, the social visibility of this minority group is minimal.”(pg. 286). The Jews were not perceived to pose a threat to Danishness or Danish society.

Denmark’s acceptance and protection of its Jewish population figures prominently in Danish immigration discourse and is seen as a symbol of Denmark’s humanitarianism. After

Germany occupied Denmark on October 1, 1940 Hitler ordered Danish Jews to be arrested and Danish fisherman collectively organized to evacuate the 8,000 Jews in Denmark across the Oresund to safety in Sweden. Ostergaard (2006) suggests: "The saving of the Jews shows what a people is capable of when it shares the same values and the same political culture. It also shows the importance of an individual committing himself and making a choice, "the courage to care" as it is called in widespread international debate". Thus the saving of the Jews is a story about the power of a society with a cohesive culture and the altruism of the Danish people.

Absent from this imagined past (Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1983) of Jews in Denmark is a discussion of the history of Danish anti-Semitism. From 1747-1864, some Danish communities passed laws requiring Jews to take oaths of loyalty to Denmark, and some required that Jews attend conversion churches. In a conversation of Denmark's immigration history, Per, the principal of Dyreparken school, my fieldwork site alluded to how Jews were viewed with suspicion:

In the beginning of the 18th century, a Jew named Goldsmith wrote about being a Dane but they said, you cannot be a Dane because you belong to Israel. Therefore it is impossible that you could be a Dane. But he said, I belong to this country, my mother-tongue is Danish. But if you belong to Israel, than you cannot be a Dane. This discussion is still going on.

Throughout Danish history, the Jews were both the recipients of Danish concern and suspicion. As in other European nations, there were fears that Jews loyalties to a pan-national "Jewish people" might ultimately limit their allegiance to Denmark.

The Arrival of Guest Workers

It was not until the late 1960's that Denmark became more heterogeneous, as growth within the Danish economy increased demand for immigrant workers. Significant numbers of migrants, mostly male workers from Turkey, Pakistan, Yugoslavia and Morocco, came to Denmark in the late 1960's and early 1970s, seeking temporary employment. They were able to enter under the terms of the Danish Aliens Act of 1952, which stated that guest workers could enter the country if they could demonstrate that they had funds to provide for themselves and to pay for their trip home. The number of immigrant workers grew steadily from the late 1960s until 1973. In 1965-6, fewer than 500 immigrant workers entered the country, but by 1972 the number had risen to over 10,000.

The numbers of immigrants in the late sixties and early seventies continued to rise because family members, including children, spouses and parents, continued to enter Denmark under the family unification law. After the rapidly rising price of oil led to long-term recession and an increase in unemployment in 1973 (Pederson, 1999), the Danish government introduced a total ban on all immigration. Even so, the number of immigrants in Denmark continued to rise because workers were not sent home and were gradually granted residence permits. Workers that had lived in the country for at least seven years were legally allowed to apply for citizenship.

Arrival of Refugees

In the 1980's there was a large influx of refugees due to the Iran-Iraq war and conditions in the Palestinian territory. In the mid 1990s, the civil war in former Yugoslavia sent more refugees into Denmark. The Danish government introduced a very liberal refugee policy in the Aliens Act of 1983, which provided protection and rights to residence permits in Denmark. Pederson explains that the Alien Act conformed to Denmark's self image as taking an active role in human rights issues. "Internationally, the 1983 Act drew considerable attention due to its

liberal approach to the question of refugees, and with the passing of this new legislation Denmark acquired a reputation for leading the way in providing a humanitarian approach to refugees”(Pederson, 2008, p.165). After the passage of this act, the number of asylum seekers rose from 332 in 1983 to 8,698 in 1985 (Pederson, 2008). Overwhelmed by the relatively large influx of refugees, the Danish government introduced amendments to the act in 1985 and 1986 that led to a reduction in asylum seekers in subsequent years. Tracing Danish immigration policies since 1960s, we witness a movement between the ideals of Danish society to open its borders to outsiders and those in need and then the restrictionist reactions after Danish political parties respond to the perceived demographic and cultural challenges introduced by rapid immigration.

Rise of Anti-Immigrant Sentiment: Neo-Nationalism in the 1990's

In the 1990's, there was a significant political and media response to the burgeoning communities of Muslim immigrants. This led to the emergence of an anti-immigrant neo-nationalistic discourse of “unbridgeable differences”. Hervik (2004) explains that the neo-nationalist movement that emerged in the 1990s positioned immigrants as unwanted guests:

One of the key features of the neo-racist wave is the construction of a rigid dichotomy between 'we' the Danes, and 'they' – the out-group of foreigners – to the point that it is unbridgeable. However, as we shall see, the social construction of foreigners is an 'outwardly defined population' that uses pseudo-biological ascription but mainly focuses on cultural criteria as well, i.e. clothes, food and language (p.253).

Thus, immigrants were perceived to shake the foundations of Danish society by threatening the cultural roots of the nation, Danish institutions and the stability of the welfare state. Hedetoft

(2007) argues that in the 1990s, there was a shift in Danish immigration discourse and policymaking from humanitarianism to nationalism. He finds that the following questions emerge within policymaking and immigrations discourse of the 1990s...of national interest and utility (“What’s the benefit for us? How many can we take?; of identity scares (“Can Danishness survive the religious and civilizational challenge”); of social cohesions (“How can we deal with criminal immigrants and ethnic ghettos? How can we make them integrate?); and of welfare-state policies and political participation (“Can the universalist welfare model survive? Can we afford to pay the benefits?)(p.410).

What triggered this anti-immigrant discourse? While the Danish economy required the labor of guest workers from the 1960s on, the Danes always assumed that guest workers would eventually return to their home countries and so they were not perceived to be a direct threat to national culture. When, in the late 1980s, most chose to apply for permanent residence in Denmark rather than to return home, references to the “immigrant problem” multiplied within the media and the public at large. The simultaneous arrival of new groups of refugees in the late 1980’s spurred additional anti-immigrant sentiment. Newspapers discussed the challenges posed by immigrants in Danish society and spoke of the “Muslim invasion,” drawing on a broader European discourse that emphasizes the incompatibility of Islam with the values of Western society (Huntington, 1996).

During this period, the far right in Denmark placed the *indvandrersproblematikken* (the immigrant problem) at the center of its political campaigns. The most significant anti-immigrant organization, Den Danske Forening (DDF) launched an anti-immigrant campaign in 1992. Henrik (2004) explains that right wing organizations such as DDF and newspapers use the term *de fremmede* (strangers) to describe immigrants and to forward “the basic assumption that

immigrants and refugees are widely different [from Danes] and thus do not belong in the company of Danes in Denmark”(p.256) For those who chose to settle in Denmark, there was a social expectation that they should conform to Danish cultural traditions and values. Hervik (2004) explains the logic of this expectation: “Since newcomers have arrived seeking aid in the form of work , or for protection, they are like ‘guests’ and dependent upon the hospitality of the house (Denmark). They are supposed to be humble, undemanding, at best invisible, interested in Danish ways of living and willing to conform to these ways of living and thinking”(259).

When immigrants refused to downplay their cultural markers, they are perceived to be soliciting a negative response and so are understood to justify racist and islamophobic responses. Since 2000, the Social Democratic Party and the Danish Folkeparti, two of the top three parties that hold the majority of seats in the Danish Parliament have developed platforms that emphasize their commitment to defending the Danish culture and resisting the perceived cultural threat presented by immigrants. In 2000, the social Democratic Minister of the Interior said, ”I will under no circumstances live with a multicultural society. That means where cultures are treated equally”(Berlingske Tidende, 2000 in Horst, 2004). In 2001, Bertel Haarder, the Minister for Refugees, Immigrants and Integration made a similar statement:All that talk about cultural equality and that we must have ethnic equality. No we shall not. ...In Denmark the Danish shall have preference. Of course. Anything else would be to disregard the culture. If you want a culturally based policy then it cannot be founded on equality between the Danish and the foreign. It must necessarily be a policy that favours, Bertel Haarder, Minister of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration (Kristeligt Dagblad,2001 in Horst, 2004).

Haarder’s statement emphasizes the idea that state policies must be focused on protecting Danish culture and preventing “equality between the Danish and the foreign”. During Haarder’s

tenure as Minister of Integration, he eliminated funding for NGOs supporting ethnic equalities. In 2005, Haarder was appointed the role of Minister of Education and developed education policies that emphasized Danish nationalism and that created new instructional requirements in Danish language and culture.

The Dansk Folkeparti launched a media campaign that focused on the threat that immigrants posed to the nation.

Figure 2.1



YOUR DENMARK?

A multiethnic society with:

- *Mass rapes*
- *Crude violence*
- *Insecurity*
- *Suppression of women*
- *Gang Crime*

IS THIS WHAT YOU WANT?

Do something - be a member of

THE DANISH PEOPLE'S PARTY'S YOUTH ORGANIZATION

- A Danish future

(Danish People's Party Youth Organization, 2001)

Immigrants are framed within the immigration discourse as barbaric “others” who threaten the basic safety of Danish society and the Danish values of gender equality and freedom. This advertisement reproduces the figure of the “criminal” immigrant man and the figure of the

“oppressed immigrant woman”. Silverstein (2005) comments on the centrality of in the criminal in European discourse: “With the ever-increasing dominance of the “clash of the civilizations” paradigm as performatively enacted in the current “war on terror” the latest icon of such fears of permanent immigrant mobility, of preternatural Islamic transnationalism, has become the young European Muslim man, recruited to travel abroad in the duties of global jihad (p. 376). As the Dansk Folkeparti advertisement implies, Denmark as a multi-ethnic society involves insecurity and the constant threat of violence as Muslim immigrants are perceived to be fundamentally different and hold other national loyalties. Ensuring a “Danish Future” requires enacting policies that limit the influx of immigrants into Denmark and restrict the rights and mobility of those who already live there.

On September 30th of 2005, the Jyllands-Posten Muhammad cartoon controversy erupted after the paper published 12 editorial cartoons that negatively depicted the Islamic prophet Muhammed. The paper announced that the publication was intended to contribute to the public immigration debate about the presence of Islam in Danish society. The explanatory text published with the cartoon states: “The modern secular society is rejected by some Muslims. They demand a special position, insisting on special consideration of their own religious feelings. It is incompatible with contemporary democracy and freedom of speech where one must be ready to put up with insults, mockery and ridicule”(Rose,2005). While critics reacted to the inherent racism and Islamaphobia of the cartoons, supporters described the cartoons as an exercise in free speech and democracy. Supporters cited the violent reactions by Muslims following the publication as yet another example of how Muslims are not equipped to exist in Democratic society. The cartoon crisis had widespread political and economic consequences

including protests in cities in Europe and the Middle East, the burning of Danish embassies and over 200 reported deaths

In the days following the publication of the cartoons, the Danish government refused a meeting with Danish Muslim Imams and did not condemn or express regret about the cartoons. When world leaders such as Kofi Anan, George Bush and Jack Straw condemned these actions, the Danish government attempted to divert attention away from themselves by insisting that the crisis was really about maintaining the right to free speech in the western world. Members of the UN Committee on the Eradication of Racism was critical of Denmark's position: "There isn't a hierarchy where freedom of speech is always at top, it does not supersede the right to not be subjected to discrimination and hate speech"(CERD, 2010). Despite, public criticism, the Danish government and press continued to use freedom of speech to legitimize the publications of the cartoons. In an article published several months after the publication of the cartoons, Flemming Rose (2006) the editor explained:

We have a tradition of satire when dealing with the royal family and other public figures and that was reflected in the cartoons. The cartoons treated Islam the same way they treat Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism and other religions. And by treating Muslims in Denmark as equals they made a point: We are integrating you into the Danish tradition of satire because you are part of our society, not strangers. The cartoons are including, rather than excluding Muslims.

Engaging the language of inclusion, the Danish government attempted to evade charges of Islamophobia and racism by reframing the cartoon crisis as a conflict between liberal enlightened democrats who value democracy, freedom of speech and openness and violent immigrants who are opposed to those values. At Dyreparken school, ethnic Danish youth and teachers brought up

the topic of the cartoon crisis as they spoke about cultural conflicts with immigrant students, ethnic Danish students said “They [immigrant students] don’t understand that in Denmark we have freedom of speech”. I also heard a narrative about how immigrant students don’t understand Danish humor. When I asked the principal about an incident in which an immigrant student was confronted about her beliefs (discussed in chapter five), he said, “she doesn’t understand that in Denmark we have a lot of irony, the teacher was kidding with her”. Muslim immigrant youth described both the events of 9/11 and the cartoon crisis as incidents that have led to the proliferation of surveillance of immigrants and increasing conflicts between ethnic Danes and Muslim immigrants.

The cartoon crisis was not an isolated incident; it grew out of broader immigration discourses and local conflicts with immigrant communities. In the next section, I discuss policy changes that limited immigrant’s rights reduced their access to social benefits and perpetuated deficit views of immigrant communities framing them as enemies of the state. Significantly, the Integration policy discussed here was published four months prior to the publication of the cartoons.

Neo-nationalist Policymaking: Managing Threats to Danishness

Immigrants in Danish society challenged ethno-cultural visions of the nation (Ostergaard, 2006)—the imagined sense of ethnic and linguistic unity that was understood to be the only defense of the “little big nation”. As such, expanding communities of immigrants and the emerging idea of a multicultural society presented a growing problem. Policymakers sought to provide policy “solutions” or interventions aimed at solving the immigrant problem. Stephen J Ball (1996) writes about how shifts in discourses lead to policy changes:” Discourse provides a particular and pertinent way of understanding policy formation, for policies are, pre-eminently,

statements about practice—the way things could be or should be—which rest upon, derive from, statements about the world—about the way things are. They are intended to bring about idealized solutions to diagnosed problems”(p.27). Danish policies define an “immigrant problem” that can somehow never be solved as long as there are unassimilated minority communities within Denmark. Further, there is also a proposition that the messy cultural and religious conflicts introduced by immigrants can be “solved” through adherence to the ideals of Danish democracy and gender equality.

In the 1990’s there were a number of policy changes that sought to protect Denmark from the threat of immigrants. In addition to restricting immigration and extending the residence requirements for applications for Danish citizenship from seven to nine years, Danish statistical categories were changed in 1990 in order to emphasize immigrants’ “outsider” status. This led to the establishment of three distinct categories, first, Ethnic Danes born in Denmark, second, Individuals from Nordic countries, EU and North America (born in westernized countries) and third, third country nationals (those who come from outside the western hemisphere)(Horst, 2004⁴). The first sort of this type of statistics appeared in *Statistiske Undersøgelser nr. 43. 1991*: These statistical categories apply not only to first generation immigrants but also to second and third generation immigrants. This labeling is yet another way in which the rigid dichotomy between Danes and immigrants is enforced through national policies. Within Danish policy and discourse, it is understood that no matter how many generations immigrants have lived within Denmark, they are fundamentally unassimilable “others”.

Neo-Nationalist Changes in Education Policies

⁴ This type of statistic first appeared in *Statistiske Undersøgelser nr. 43. 1991: Indvandrere og deres efterkommere i Danmark*.

Beginning in the late nineties, there were a number of changes to Danish education policies related to native language instruction and the teaching of Danish culture and Christianity that were created in response to burgeoning immigrant communities in Denmark. Prior to this period, the teaching of Danish culture and Christianity was woven into the fabric of Danish schooling, an implicit part of the everyday life of the Folkeskolen. However, the challenge of immigration was understood to require a new strategy—a systematic focus on Danishness that was enforced through policy and testing requirements (Jenkins,2011).

In the 1990's the Ministry of education required that municipalities provide native language classes for immigrant students from all countries and backgrounds and provided funding for these activities. In 2002, this policy was changed to only mandate native language lessons for students who are citizens of other EU member states, EEA states and Greenland and the Faroe islands. For most Muslim immigrant students from Turkey, Lebanon and Somalia (considered 3rd world countries in Danish Policies), there is no requirement to provide native language classes. The policies state that municipalities may offer native language classes should they choose to do so, but without a requirement this amounts to a de facto withdrawal of support. In 2006, the Committee of the Elimination of Racial Discrimination of the United Nations issued this critique of Denmark's language policies:

The Committee, while welcoming the municipalities' obligation to offer mother tongue teaching to bilingual students coming or originating from the European Union and European Economic Area countries, as well as from the Faroe Islands and Greenland, regrets that in 2002, the municipalities' obligation to do so for bilingual students from other countries was repealed and that municipalities no longer receive financial support for such purpose. The Committee recommends that the State party review its policy,

taking into consideration its obligation under the convention not to discriminate against persons on the basis of their national or ethnic origin nor against any particular nationality. *The committee recalls that differential treatment based on nationality or ethnic origin constitutes discrimination (CERD, 2006, sixty ninth session, July 18).*

The Danish government's policy of distinguishing between students from European countries and "3rd world nationals" creates a racial hierarchy in which immigrant students from "3rd world" countries entitled to fewer resources than Europeans and ethnic Danes. The Documentary and Advisory Centre on Racial Discrimination finds that the distribution of resources under this policy is arbitrary. For example, if a Spanish speaking family moves to Denmark, the determination of whether the children in this family will receive funds or is denied depends on their national origin. If the family is from Spain the children will receive free instruction in Spanish for their entire educational career⁵. If the family is from Peru, the children will be denied instruction (p. 27, CERD, 2010). This policy has affected a significant population of immigrant students; , 62,000 bilingual children of third country origin lost their right to mother-tongue instruction. The government's reasoning for the withdrawal of funding for native language instruction was that too many children were coming to school with no knowledge of Danish and that more resources should be focused on teaching small children Danish from very early ages (Politiken January 2 2006). Extending the logic that student's native language created a barrier to their acquisition of Danish, the government put in place additional policies to increase immigrant student's exposure to Danish at an earlier age. In 2004, the age for Danish language reception programs for bilingual immigrant children was changed from 4 years of age

⁵ Native language instruction is an extra-curricular course offered to students who attend the Folkeskole. It is not offered at all to students attending gymnasium.

to 3 years of age and it became compulsory for parents to send their children to language reception classes if they were not enrolled in Danish preschools.

In March 2011, national legislation declared that parents living in ghetto areas who are out of work risk losing public benefits if they do not send their children to preschool.

In addition to changes in language policies, the Folkeskolen act of 2001 and 2002 mandated that schools increase the amount of instructional time devoted to the teaching Danish culture and religion in schools. In the next chapter, Schools as a Danish space I explore how these policies are negotiated on the ground in schools and experienced, by teachers and youth. Just as education policies introduced a set of strategies for disciplining immigrants, a new series of integration policies were developed in response to perceived problems with immigrants who failed to become integrated within Danish society. In the 1990s, Danish policies focused on the problems of unassimilable immigrants and on shifting immigrants' feelings of solidarity away from families and ethnic communities towards the state (Hedetoft, 2007). Public institutions like pre-schools and the Folkeskolen are seen as capable of breaking patterns of ethnic isolation by teaching youth the ideals of Danish society and citizenship from a very young age.

Housing Policy: The Danish Government's Integration plan: "A New Chance for Everyone"

Using the language of democracy and equality, the integration plan policy cited educational and economic disparities between immigrants and ethnic Danes suggesting that integration would provide a better future for immigrants. The policy's opening statement reads: "The Government has a clear goal of improving integration. The fundamental values of society, such as democracy and equality between the sexes, must enjoy general recognition"(The Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs, 2005, p.1). The policies stated goals express

concern for immigrants and purport to provide more opportunities through a series of policy changes—from reductions in social benefits to the demolition of housing projects where immigrants live. To address the problems of lower employment rates the new policy requires that individuals who are 18-25 who are not employed or enrolled in internships have social benefits discontinued. The logic driving this policy is that the problem of low employment rates amongst immigrants is related to a lack of motivation or a lack of orientation towards work. There is no mention in the document of the barriers facing immigrants in the workplace (CERD, 2006). Several studies produced by International monitoring organizations find that in Denmark immigrant youth who have finished vocational or professional education are unable to obtain internships due to discrimination.

Overlooking the structural and economic barriers to employment for immigrants, this policy forwards the image of the lazy immigrant who is living off the social welfare system. In chapter 6, one of my participants echoes this idea, stating that one of the negative images about immigrants is that “don’t want to work and only come here for money.” Another image that is reproduced within the policy is the figure of the criminal immigrant man who is perceived to lack an understanding of the democratic values of Danish society. The document states: “The government will increase its efforts to strengthen the democratic values of society and to prevent extremism and crime”. Using the benevolent language of concern, the policy enacted a series of disciplinary measures such as the reduction of resources. In addition, the document outlined new policies whereby immigrants who commit crimes are subject to expulsion from Denmark. It also extends the punishment for crimes committed by individuals to their families and calls for the reduction of social benefits for families when one member of the family has committed a crime.

This critical analysis of the Integration policy does not intend to imply that there are not criminal activities that take place within immigrant communities. Rather, it seeks to highlight the ways in which the figure of the criminal immigrant dominates Danish discourse and policy and highlights the “problems with immigrants” while underplaying similar problems in ethnic Danish communities. Michael, a guidance counselor and member of the local social police (SSP) and an African-American from California, works closely with youth in the community. In an interview, he points out that the media representation of crime amongst immigrants in the community is overplayed. He speaks about the problems in a wealthy suburb compared to Dyrehaven⁶.

Michael: The situation with the young people is totally different and we are only half a mile from each other. They are coming from very well situated families with a lot of money and their parents don't have time for them and they are running around alone with a lot of money without much supervision. In the Muslim families there is one parent that is always around...giving them guidelines.

Reva: You are the first person to mention problems with ethnic Danish youth.

Michael: We see big problems everyday, Soberg⁷...If you ask someone on the street they will say, Dyrehavn, aww, there are so many problems there I 'm not going there. Soberg, they have problems with rich kids who are crashing parties and selling Gucci and Armani and selling drugs. There are not those problems. Who are they going to steal Armani bags from in Dyrehavn?

Michael argues that the threat of criminal immigrants is exaggerated: “we are not talking driveby shootings or rape. More driving a moped without a helmet on, selling drugs, hash mostly.” He

⁶ Dyrehaven is a pseudonym for the town where my fieldwork site is located.

⁷ Soberg is a pseudonym for a town that is nearby Dyrehaven.

contends that media and governments reports exaggerate criminal activity within Muslim communities. Echoing dominant figures in the public immigration discourse, the integration policy reflects back negative representations of immigrants.

The integration policy also addresses the “problem” of ghettoization or the existence of communities with high concentrations of immigrants. This reflects a discursive narrative that emphasizes the importance of spreading immigrants so that they can live amongst Danes to learn the “proper” ways to live (see also school bussing and the 20% rule in schools). The policy states: “It is an entirely untenable situation that a large group of citizens are isolated-often in segregated residential areas too-from the remainder of society” The Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs, 2005, p.5). The solution to the problem of ghettoization is “to make neighborhoods up to date and attractive-both in order to retain resourceful residents and to attract a wider group of new residents...In connection with the regeneration of an entire neighborhood, it might be necessary to approve demolition to a very limited extent”. The implicit message here is that immigrant neighborhoods or “ghettos” are problems that would be solved by “resourceful residents” and a “wider group of new residents”—or an influx of ethnic Danes. With the policy’s language of immigrants who live “far from the remainder of society”—we hear how immigrant communities are not conceived of as full citizens. There is an assumption that through residential proximity, the ideal Danish citizen will help uneducated immigrants to learn the proper way to live.

An analysis of Denmark’s integration policy reveals the ways that policies work as instruments of governance by mobilizing metaphors of democracy and equality and informing the ways that individuals are identified. In their work on the anthropology of policy, Shore and Wright (1990) explains: “Through policy, the individual is categorized and given statuses and

roles as ‘subject’, ‘citizen’, ‘professional’, ‘national’, ‘criminal’ and ‘deviant’. From the cradle to the grave, people are classified, shaped and ordered according to policies, but they may have little consciousness of or control over the processes at work” (p. 4; also Foucault, 1977). The Danish case reveals not only the ways in which immigrants are positioned as “criminals” and “oppressed” victims within but also the ways in which discursive images have teeth, that is, the ways that these images translate to material consequences and the distribution of resources within society, such as the destruction of homes and the elimination of social benefits that are extended to other Danish citizens. In addition to the fact that immigrants receive reduced social benefits for their first seven years living in Denmark, if they are perceived to resist “integration efforts” they are subject to a series of penalties. Hedetoft (2007), explains:

The new, liberalist modality demands that ethnic minorities prove their economic self-reliance through educational performance, snappy acquisition of linguistic skills, and proactive integration into the labor market thus ridding themselves of dependence on government aid. Failing that, they have to carry the penalty in the form of reduced payments, (or none at all) and additional demands, incentives or pressures to return “home”, diminished hope for permanent residence (let alone citizenship), or a life lived permanently on the margins of society (p.414).

The differential treatment of immigrants is justified in terms of democratic concern that encourages members of immigrant communities to access the full benefits of Danish society. Within the chapters that follow, we will hear echoes of concern, of efforts to assimilate, that are cloaked in the language of care and equality and the implications of refusing this concern. I explore how discourses and policies shape the contours of schooling, imbuing the golden light of natural legitimacy on some while casting shadows on others. As Shore and Wright (1997) argue,

“Policies use normative claims to present problems and solutions, as if these were the only ones possible, while enforcing closure or silence on other ways of thinking or acting”(p.3). I will consider how different actors in schools use elements of discourses of humanitarian concern and neo-nationalism in their everyday work, as they focus on “managing diversity:” and the perceived instabilities brought on by globalization, while at the same time preserving understandings about the goodness of individuals, institutions and the nation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

My study uses ethnographic “thick description” to document how narratives of national and racial belonging and exclusion are enacted in the teaching and learning processes in one Danish secondary school (Lecompte & Schensul, 1999; Geertz, 1973). It explores how discursive notions of Muslim identities are produced, circulated and debated within the media, education policies and schools, and how these produced identities influence the face-to-face encounters between different actors in schools and understandings about the role of schools in the lives of immigrant youth. Further, in addition to considering how immigrant youth are represented, it considers how they are positioned within schools in ways that influence their ability to access the educational resources and the support of institutional agents that are required for success and integration within school and society (Lee 2005; Varenne & McDermott, 1998; Pollack, 2008; Hall, 2004; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Ethnography is well suited to this task as Luttrell explains (2009):

Qualitative research is defined by an effort to highlight the meanings people make and the actions they take, and to offer interpretations for how and why. Qualitative research is committed to participants using their own words to make sense of their lives; it places an importance on context and process; it rests on a dialectic between inductive and deductive reasoning; and uses iterative strategies to comprehend the relationship between social life and individual subjectivities" (p 1-2)

This study engages ethnography to consider the ways that individuals negotiate their identities within the broader context of globalization and nationalism. Kathleen Hall (2004) explains that scholars of immigration need to expand their gaze from an exclusive focus on the localized everyday experiences of immigrant incorporation to engage in “multi-sited analysis of how national boundaries and ethnic identities are created, circulated, debated and contested across social contexts and levels of scale”(p.109). In concert with a growing number of scholars who consider immigration in the context of processes of nation formation (Hall, 2002; 2004; Levinson, 2005; El Haj, 2010), my work expands current acculturation frameworks for examining the experiences of immigrant youth to consider how the production of nationalism and national identities influence the education and social incorporation of immigrant youth.

My data collection methods included the following ethnographic methods: 1. participant observation, 2. ethnographic interviews with teachers, ethnic Danish youth, immigrant youth, a school principal and guidance counselor; 3. extended discussions with focal informants. It also engaged the following methods: 4. identity mapping with immigrant and ethnic Danish youth; 5. the collection and analysis of site-based documents; 6. the collection and analysis of newspaper articles; 7. the collection and analysis of Ministry of Education publications and policy documents.

This dissertation draws on data collected during research that took place between January and December 2007 and then during follow-up data collection trips in May of 2009 and July 2010. I moved to Denmark with my family in January of 2007 and obtained a position as a visiting student at the Danish Pedagogical University’s Department of Educational Anthropology in order to work with Danish scholars on issues of immigration and education. When I began my

work in Denmark, I did not intend for this to be my dissertation research; it was to be fieldwork intended to expand my understanding of the education of immigrant youth in different national contexts.

I went into the field with a series of general questions about the experiences of immigrant youth in schools that emerged during my research in urban education, my experiences as a teacher in of recently arrived immigrant youth in New York City, and my own experiences as a young person on the move who attended 10 different schools across five states in my own K-12 years. After my early observations and interviews, I developed more specific questions about how teachers' understandings of immigrant youth and their families were influenced by immigration discourses.

Figure 3.1



My methodology was born as I moved between the classrooms at Dyreparken School, the University—where I spoke to scholars about recent shifts in Danish education policies—and my home—where I received the Danish daily newspapers on my doorstep every morning with headlines and images publicizing the “*Indvandrers-problematik*” (the immigrant problem).

(Image: Sinclair, 2007)

My methodology seeks to draw out the complex connections between political discourses, the works of institutions and individual identities. It draws on Marcus's approach to multi-sited ethnography that builds on Shore and Wright's work (1998) on the anthropology of Policy. Wright emphasizes that a central problem within anthropology has been how to move beyond "a conceptualization of the local and the national, or village and state, as two separate polities with relations between them" (Shore & Wright, 1998, p. 13). She argues, "The key is to grasp the interactions (and disjunctions) between different sites or levels in policy processes. Thus, 'studying through' entails multi-sited ethnographies which trace policy connections between different organizational and everyday worlds" (p.14). My data collection and analysis moved between the micro world of the Danish folkeskolen and the broader context of political discourse and educational policymaking, noting how conceptions of the immigrant "problem" and public "solutions" are woven through public discourse, the media, education policies, and within the school.

Given the enormity of the task of conducting multi-sited research, my primary site of study is the folkeskolen where I conducted extensive ethnographic observations and interviews. The school was an important site for witnessing how immigrant youth negotiate the complex dynamics of globalization and nationalism. By immersing myself in a deep ethnographic study of this case and by closely studying how different actors in schools make sense of their identities and everyday events, I was able to develop an emerging understanding of how nationalist discourses influenced the schooling and social positioning of immigrant youth and how schools are broadly understood to be a strategic site of cultural intervention in Denmark. Using this case based logic of inquiry my data collection and analysis were iterative and informed one another (Yin, 1998). I do not claim that the school described here is representative of all schools in

Denmark, instead, I engaged in thick description of the local context of the school and triangulated various sources of data and the broader discourse to identify key social processes.

My examination of Danish media discourse and Danish policymaking is secondary but provides an important context for understanding the institutional discourses pertaining to immigrants within the school. Throughout data collection, I used grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1987; Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001), moving back and forth between data and analysis, reviewing relevant literature and engaging in “memo-making”—that theorized link between the various levels of research.

In addition to data collection in the school and work at the University, I spent the year immersed in Danish life, living with my husband and two children in an historic part of Copenhagen, the kartoffelraekkerne, where the streets are famous for their civic life and community dinners. This dissertation is the product not only of the data that I collected at Dyreparken School but also of the understandings that developed as my family and I found our way in a this new context—negotiating new relationships and public institutions, and embracing the rhythms of everyday life. As Goffman explains, field research involves “subjecting yourself, your own body and your personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically, ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, or their work situation, or their ethnic situation” (pg. 125 in Emerson, Fretz, Shaw, 1995).

Having the eyes of an outsider helped me to tease apart everyday understandings of what is good, proper and desirable in Danish society and how this translates to normative notions of citizenship that influence how immigrant youth are understood and positioned. I sought to analyze the normative cognitive structures that influence how individuals perceive the cultural

worlds around them (Holland & Quinn, 1987). Shore & Wright (1998) argue that anthropology is well suited for analyzing taken-for-granted assumptions that govern societies and institutions:

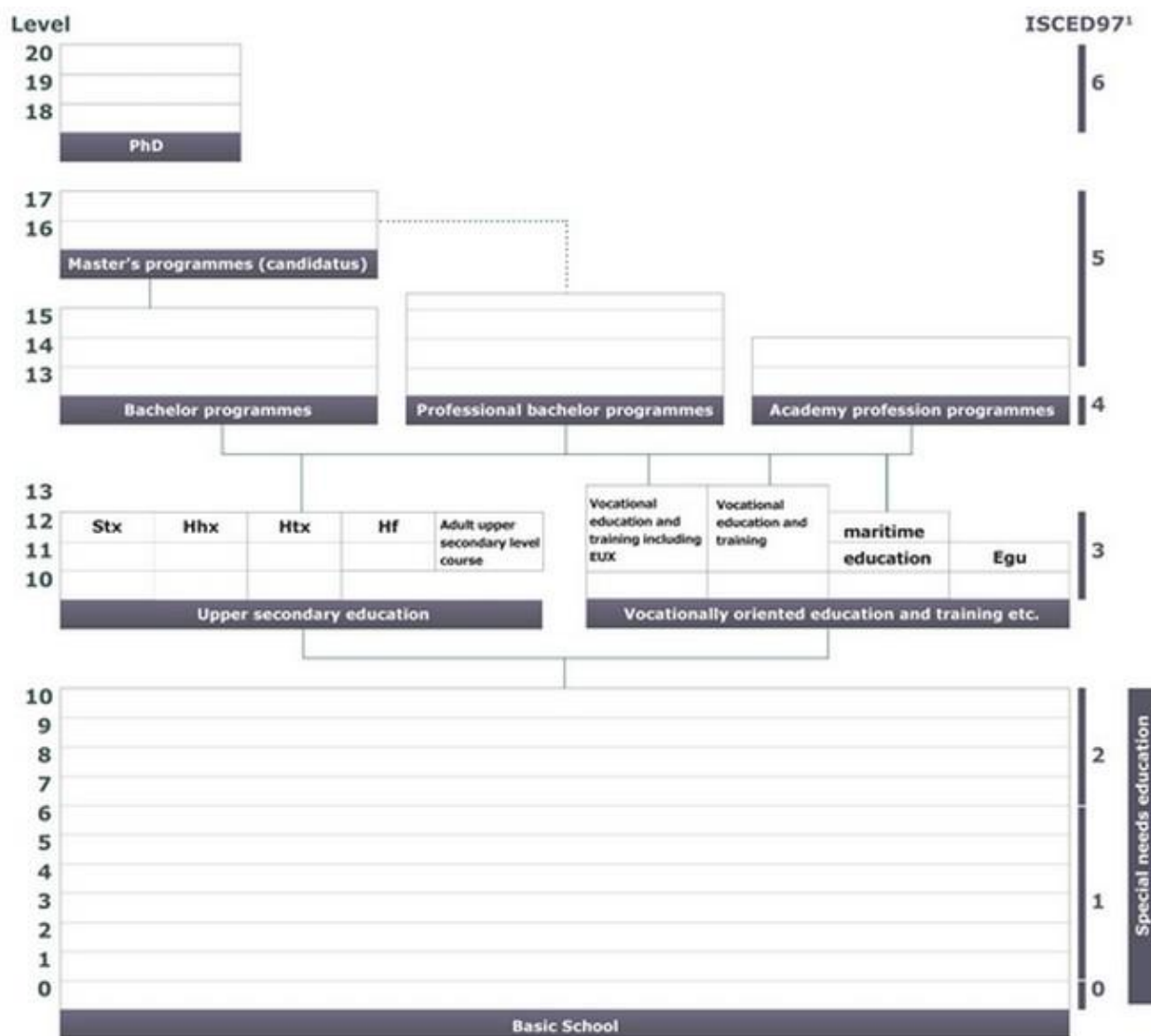
The task for the anthropology of the present, we argue, is to unsettle and dislodge the certainties and orthodoxies that govern the present. This is not simply a question of ‘exoticising the familiar.’ Rather, it involves detaching and repositioning oneself sufficiently far enough from the norms and categories of thought that give security and meaning to the moral universe of one’s society in order to interrogate the supposed natural and axiomatic ‘order of things.’ Standing outside one’s own conceptual scheme is always difficult (p.17).

Thus, my vantage point as an outsider in Denmark allowed me to look critically at taken-for-granted aspects of Danish society and schooling. It made it easier for me to see processes of everyday nationalism (Billig, 1995) that are so tightly woven into the fabric of Danish society that they are often difficult for insiders to discern.

Research Context

Background: Overview of the Danish Education System

Figure 3.2



Danish Ministry of Education (2010)

Within Denmark, the public municipal school or folkeskole is a comprehensive school encompassing both primary and lower secondary school that educates students from pre-school through ninth grade. In some cases, the folkeskole offers an optional 10th grade that allows students to gain additional skills in preparation for upper secondary education. All students are required to receive ten years of education extending from pre-school through ninth grade. In

2008, 712,100 students attended 1605 folkeskolen in Denmark with 85% attending their local folkeskole and 15% attending private schools that include religious schools (Christian, Jewish & Islamic schools) as well as international schools, Waldorf schools and Montessori schools. Private schools, or friskoler, receive partial funding from the government. In 2008, the average class size was 19.6 with a student:teacher ratio of 10:1. Two-thirds of all teachers in the folkeskolen are women, and two-thirds of principals are male.

Within the folkeskole, with the exception of special education classes, there is no tracking or division of students by ability. Students are placed within a Class group in their first year of school and ideally, will travel with the same group of students throughout their years within the folkeskole. The following subjects are mandated for all students (in all grades unless otherwise noted) : Danish, English (3-9), Christian Studies in all grades except for the year in which religious confirmation takes place, history (3-9), social studies (8-9), physical education, music (1-6), visual arts (1-5), design, wood and metalwork (1-5), math, natural sciences (1-6), Geography (7-9), biology (7-9), physics/chemistry (7-9) plus a number of optional subjects (French, German, photography, extra physical education, cooking etc.)(Ministry of Education, 2010).

After the Folkeskole: Upper Secondary Education

In the ninth grade, all students take a series of exams that are combined with teacher recommendations to determine which pathway of upper secondary education that they will enter. The purpose of Upper Secondary education programs in Denmark is to prepare students for higher education as well as to provide vocational training. The gymnasium program, the three-year traditional upper-secondary education pathway, prepares students for higher education. In addition, there are less academic, more vocational-oriented programs (erhvervsuddannelserne)

that prepare students for careers in trade and industry. Upon finishing upper secondary education, students take a final exam that determines placement into higher education tracks. Vocational training programs include training in the fields of maritime work, healthcare, agriculture, childcare and other areas. The duration of vocational training ranges between one and five and a half years, depending on the area of study. These programs qualify participants to work directly in certain trades. In some areas of vocational education, students are able to continue on to higher education.

Education is largely overseen by the Danish Ministry of Education. It shares control of the gymnasium and vocational programs with local school boards and business leaders. The Ministry of Education is responsible for determining a framework for the curriculum at the primary and secondary levels. While historically the content of what is taught within courses is established by the school in communication with teachers, students and local school boards, since 2005 the Ministry of Education has mandated curriculum focused on the teaching of Danish language and history and Christianity.

Dyrehaven⁸: The Town.

Dyreparken School is located in a town that I call Dyrehaven, a short train ride outside of Copenhagen within an area that is commonly known as the "The Whiskey Belt", a series of exclusive communities renowned for their mansions with sprawling formal gardens looking out onto the sea. While the residents of the towns surrounding Dyrehaven are almost exclusively Danish, the residents of Dyrehaven are much more diverse. Sixty six percent of those residents are first, second and third generation immigrants who are predominantly Muslim and come from Turkey, the Middle East, Iran, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. Within the center of

⁸ A pseudonym

Dyrehaven is a large public housing project that was built in the 1970's to accommodate the large numbers of guest workers who arrived to work in nearby shipyards. It consists of 18 buildings with 677 rentals and a population of approximately 1700 residents.

At the time of its construction, it was considered advantageous to have workers concentrated within specific communities but since the 1990's the government has attempted to break up areas of residential segregation. In 2007, a large section of the housing project was demolished due to perceptions of criminal activities amongst immigrant boys (see discussion of demolition in Chapter 7) and it has become widely known for its large immigrant population. In the media, its residents are often described in racialized terms.

Dyreparken School

After visiting several schools serving immigrant students, I chose Dyreparken⁹ as my fieldwork site because I was able to establish rapport with the principal and because the school had a reputation for working to accommodate the needs of its large population of immigrant students.

During the 2007-2009 school years, the student body of Dyreparken school was forty five percent first generation immigrants and the children of immigrants who primarily come from Turkey, Somalia, Croatia, Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon. The 2007-2008 school years Dyreparken School enrolled 300 students in 14 different classes and 7 small special education classes. The school is divided into 3 different sections with young children (preschool-2nd grades), the middle years (3rd -6th grades) and the elder years (7th-9th grade).

Prior to the arrival of Per Jensen as principal, Dyreparken School had a poor reputation and was known for its high rate of teacher turnover and lack of leadership. The growing immigrant community in Dyrehaven and the increasing population of immigrant students within

⁹ A pseudonym

the school were also perceived to contribute to the school's negative reputation. According to the guidelines set out by the Copenhagen plan, there is an effort to keep the number of immigrants and children of immigrants below 20% . This plan expresses concerns about the social and academic consequences of having a large immigrant population. This plan that sought to "spread" the population of immigrant students in schools in Copenhagen and in surrounding communities through the forced bussing of immigrant students. Per had turned around the reputation of the school, revitalizing the teaching force, opening an organic cantina and expanding outdoor education programs. However, the fact that forty five percent of the student population was composed of immigrants and the children of immigrants meant that many ethnic Danish parents chose not to send their students to Dyreparken School. In a focus group, an ethnic Danish student said, "Yes, our school has a bad reputation because a lot of immigrants go here. Parents come to a first grade classroom and look around and see so many brown faces and don't want to send their kid here."

Per had worked to turn around this reputation, designating the school as a UNICEF school as a way of framing the presence of immigrants in more cosmopolitan terms. However, the pressure to market the school to Danish parents and the schools declining enrollment was a constant source of conversation during my time at the school¹⁰. The school's institutional culture and practices are discussed in more detail in chapter four.

Observations

For a period of seven months, I conducted participant observations three days a week in student lounge areas, the teacher workroom and in English classes. Because of my limited Danish language skills, participant observations took place in 8th and 9th grade English foreign

¹⁰ In January of 2011 the school was closed due to under enrollment. The students and teachers were sent to a neighboring school.

language classes where instruction took place in English. As the English curriculum in Danish schools focuses both on learning the language and on developing “intercultural” understandings, these classes provided a window into the treatment of cultural, linguistic and religious differences. In the first few weeks I sat in the back of the class and spoke only to answer questions that were asked by students or the teacher. Over time, I became more involved in the daily life of the class by helping individual students on assignments and taking a more active role in class discussions. I documented observations by taking notes within the classroom and then wrote more extensive field notes following observations. Field notes included descriptions of the interactions between different actors within the classroom as well as the physical layout of the room and student seating pattern. I did not audiotape classes but did try in some cases to document interactions within class discussions. During some observations of class discussions, I conducted tallies in order to document patterns of student participation.

Throughout my time at the school, I was given free access to visit classes and to hang out in the different spaces of the school. Teachers always stopped to answer questions or to have short discussions, and they accommodated all requests for interviews. They were also curious about my experiences adapting to life in Denmark. At times, I marveled at the teacher’s openness and their willingness to help me understand Danish schools and Danish life. In exchange, I offered to help teachers in any way that I could. In a few cases I covered classes when teachers were absent and supported students’ work on English projects. On one occasion I was “guest star for a day” in a fourth grade class, observing student presentations and answering questions about “life in the big apple.”

My early observations revealed a substantial amount of conversation about immigrant students, signaling that I had found a rich site for witnessing the complex dynamics related to the

education of immigrant youth. On the first day, I observed a group of teachers in the teachers' room discussing the attendance problems of an immigrant girl who teachers believed was staying home to provide childcare for her sister. In other conversations, teachers described the challenges related to public perceptions of the school's increasing immigrant population. It was through observations and informal discussions in the teachers' room and in hallways, that I developed understandings of the place of immigrants in the life of the school and in Danish society, of how educators referred to the religious, cultural and linguistic differences of their immigrant students, and of how they talked about "successful" and "problematic" immigrant students (Gilliam, 2007; Gitz-Johansen, 2006).

Interviews

Following observations, I invited all members of observed classes to participate in my study and identified a sample of 20 first- and second-generation immigrant students and eight ethnic Danish students. I also interviewed 18 eighth and ninth grade teachers, as well as the school principal, assistant principal and guidance counselor. Interviews were taped using a digital recorder. Digital recordings were transcribed with close attention to pauses, laughter, overlap in speech and emphasized speech. I also incorporated contextual information from field notes into interview transcripts, such as information about informant's use of gesture, body language and eye contact, as well as details about the interviewer-interviewee relationship.

Teachers

After several months of observing classes and daily activities within the school, I conducted interviews and focus groups with teachers that centered on their understandings of their work with immigrant students, including conceptions of "successful" and "problematic"

students, factors that lead to the success and failure of immigrant students, understandings about immigrant families, and perceived tensions between the cultural values of immigrant families and Danish values. In several cases, without prompting, teachers discussed events that I had witnessed in classes, seemingly because they wanted to convey their version of events. This allowed me to triangulate different perspectives on particular events using student data, teacher data and my own field notes. It also provided a context for discussions. Such embedded ethnographic interviews (Smith, 2006) show the strength of ethnography, because the interviews elicit discussions of events where both researcher and informant are present.

I was attuned to moments in which teachers discussed particular students or immigrant communities in racialized terms. I investigated these expressions of racialization not in terms of my own normative assumptions about what constitutes racism but in terms of how the teachers managed this “race talk.” I was especially sensitive to moments when participants disavowed racism with statements like, “I am not racist but...” Augustos and Every (2007) have a useful frame for analyzing race talk:

Given the multiple and shifting meanings of racism that are argued over and debated by both researchers and everyday members, we attempt in this article to refrain from labeling any discourse or stretch of talk as racist or prejudiced per se, as if racism were something that could be readily diagnosed by us as analysts. Rather, what we seek to do is to overview recurring and pervasive patterns of talk that have been identified across a number of studies that nonetheless negatively position minority out-groups and rationalize their continued marginalization and or exclusion from the mainstream society (p. 125).

I tried to refrain from making normative judgments and instead focused on how teachers understood immigrant youth and their families and how their descriptions mapped onto narratives within the broader discourse.

On Positionality

I was introduced to the teachers by Per, the principal, as an American researcher who was interested in learning more about Danish schools. When asked by individual teachers, I explained that my work focused on schools that serve immigrant youth in the United States and I expressed interest in the child-centered, project-based approach of Danish schools. As I spoke to teachers, I was surprised by their willingness to allow me into their classrooms and to take time out of their busy schedules to answer my questions. It was clear to me that teachers saw me as an ally, a similar kind of person. As a white woman in my late thirties who frequently wore chunky Danish sweaters, jeans and rain boots and travelled to the school on a bicycle, I was perceived to be like many of the female teachers in the school. I built this perceived common ground by engaging in conversations about the problems with the American government under George Bush and the proliferation of standardized testing in American schools—topics that Danish teachers seemed eager to discuss.

Scholars of qualitative research point to the ways that researcher identity influences the type of data that researchers are able to access. Gunaratnam (2003) finds that there is a ‘race-of-interviewer’ effect. For example, black Americans have been found to be more willing to be interviewed by black, than white, researchers and are found to be more forthcoming with black researchers. In my relationships with teachers within the school, I intentionally mobilized an identity that would facilitate the building of rapport with my informants.

I emphasized different aspects my identity depending on who I was speaking to. For example, I did not openly talk about my Jewish identity with Danish teachers, not wanting to mark myself as different. However, one day I was questioned by Helle, a Danish teacher who stopped in the course of a conversation and asked me, “Jaffe, Jaffe, Jaffe, what kind of name is that?”

After an exceptionally long pause, I said, “It’s a Jewish name.”

Helle said, “Oh, yes” smiling. In conversations with Aysa, a teacher and second-generation Turkish immigrant, I discussed my Jewish identity, and described the ways that my children negotiated their Jewish identities in Denmark. When working with my focal informants, I revealed many aspects of my personal life but did not reveal my Jewish identity. Having heard them talk about the Jews who hate the Muslims, I worried that it would complicate my ability to maintain the rapport that I had established.

While I sought to build on perceived similarities with Danish teachers, at times I was uncomfortable with what teachers revealed, as they assumed that I shared their beliefs. The following is from my field notes:

Nov 8, 2007

Today, a sunny November Monday morning, a group of teachers were catching up about the events of the weekend, huddled together on couches drinking coffee and eating homemade cake. One by one, teachers left the seating area to make copies or to gather their things for their first class. When Birgitte, the English teacher, remained alone on the couch, I asked if we could talk for a few minutes about the students in 9F. After a discussion of immigrant students who were struggling in her class, I asked if she could give me an example of a successful immigrant student. She replied,

“It would be Mohammed.” I asked her to explain why he is successful and she replied, “It’s because of his family, especially like his mother and sister.” As she spoke, she pointed to her own face with her right index finger and began tracing the form of a circle around her face as she spoke. “Mohammed’s family is more open than the rest of them, his mother and sister speak Danish at home.” She continued to draw the invisible outline of the circle around her face and I paused and she whispered, “They don’t wear the scarf.”

At first I was confused by the gesture and the whispering, but I realized that Aysa, a Turkish teacher who wears hijab sat grading papers at the table across from the couch where we were seated and that Birgitte was whispering and gesturing so that Aysa would not hear the conversation. In this scene, I felt that Birgitte made assumptions about who I was, that I shared her values and understanding of what it would mean to be “open.”

There were many moments like this during interviews, when I would feel the blood rise in my shoulders and I became uncomfortable with teachers’ negative representations of immigrant students. They were moments of dislocation, when conversations that felt easy and flowing became halting as I wondering which way to go next with my interview questions. In retrospect, as I look at the data from my interviews with Danish teachers, I can see these uncomfortable moments within transcripts, the point at which the interview became stilted, where discussion were no longer natural because I felt that I had crossed a line but remained smiling and nodding, trying not to reveal myself. While I had worked to mobilize teachers’ assumptions that I was like them, to build bridges, I felt that at times I allowed their assumptions about our sameness to extend into uncomfortable territory.

Interviews with Students

I held focus groups with immigrant students and ethnic Danish students. My questions to students in early focus groups centered on the daily life of the school, relationships with peers and teachers, as well as students' future aspirations and their perceptions of the support that helps them and challenges that hinder their ability to achieve them. In addition, I asked youth to describe their experiences navigating home, school and their connections with other countries/communities. In some focus groups, I asked students to reflect on interactions or dynamics that I had witnessed in participant observations.

Within focus groups, I asked students to complete identity maps that were visual depictions of their identities and the messages that they receive about their identities in different spaces. Drawing on the work of Winnicott and social psychologists Sirin and Fine (2007), I used these maps to acquire information that might not emerge in the course of traditional focus groups. The maps allowed students to express fears, desires and feelings that they might not otherwise openly discuss in front of peers. I read the following prompt and supplied blank paper and markers.

Identities: Everybody has different 'selves' they carry around in the same body – you may be a daughter, cousin, student, writer, athlete, friend...

- What are the different identities that define who you are?
- Draw a picture that describes your many selves and the messages that you receive in different spaces. This can include any place such as: home, school, community, nation, or in your/your parent's native country.

Students were then asked to share their identity maps. Their explanations often provided a context for deeper conversations about how students position themselves and are positioned by

others—what Ong (1997) calls processes of “self-making and being made.” During a follow-up visit to Denmark in 2010, my focal participants completed a second set of identity maps which was analyzed together with interview data to consider how their conceptions of themselves changed over time. All maps were coded to reveal whether the participants described “integrated”, “parallel” or “conflicted” identities (Sirin & Fine, 2008). I analyzed the maps to understand how youth negotiate their “hyphenated selves” and to see if processes of racialization and marginalization were represented (Lee, 2005; Sassen, 1998).

Focal Participants

In the process of participant observation, I identified three participants with whom I worked more intensively than other informants. My interactions with these participants began through informal conversations about events in a class that I had observed (See chapter 5 “Impossible Love”) and have continued for the last three years (2007-2010). Through the course of ongoing focus groups, my work with these young women has revealed critical insights into how Muslim immigrant youth negotiate connections to home countries and religious and ethnic communities, as well as processes of racialization and stereotyping in school and community. All three of these young women identify as practicing Muslims. Dhalia was born in Denmark but identifies as a Palestinian with strong connections to Lebanon. Sara was born in a refugee camp in Lebanon and moved to Denmark when she was three and identifies as Palestinian. Aliyah was born in Denmark and identifies as Somali from Ethiopia. All three girls explained that their families moved to Denmark in search of economic opportunities because of war in their home countries.

During our first focus group, I explained that I was a researcher who focused on the experiences of immigrant students in schools in order to improve the ways that schools serve

these students. In 2007, I conducted three formal focus groups with Aliyah, Dhalia and Sara and spent time engaging in informal conversations and “hanging out” at lunch, in the school hallways and in English classes. When I left Denmark in December of 2007, our conversations continued via email and telephone. I conducted additional meetings and focus groups on follow-up visits during May of 2009 and July of 2010. In addition, in July of 2010 I spent time in Dhalia’s home with her family and with Sara and Aliyah. While I did not provide the girls with incentives for their participation in focus groups, I did provide them with small monetary gifts of 200 kroner (approximately \$40) on three occasions, in November 2007 and on follow-up visits. Chapter seven provides a more in-depth discussion of my work with these informants.

Data Analysis

Using triangulation, I compared data from observations, focus groups and interviews seeking resonance between different forms of data (Webb, 2000). Hence, I observed instances in English classes where immigrant girls were critically questioned about how they would choose a marriage partner. In follow-up interviews, the girls told me of a similar experience in Danish as a Second Language class¹¹ where another Danish teacher encouraged them to consider engaging in pre-marital sex as a way of conforming to Danish norms of romantic relationships. The girls experienced these instances of teacher concern as critiques of their religious faith and one described how, “she (the Danish teacher) wants us to get away from our families to have freedom.” In a teacher interview several weeks later, the Danish teacher in question described this class as her way to encourage immigrant students to think of premarital sex as a “way of getting to know someone.” This is a concrete example of how the narrative of concern expressed

¹¹ Danish as a Second Language classes were mandated by the 2001 Folkeskolen Law and focus on developing immigrant students’ knowledge of Danish language and culture. These classes involve only immigrant students

by a teacher can be experienced by immigrants as an oppressive, assimilative critique of their beliefs.

I also sought out data that disconfirmed my emerging findings. For example, I found two teachers that explained the challenges facing immigrant students in schools in terms of a lack of academic Danish skills and proper supports in schools. In addition, I sought out immigrant youth who reported experiences that were different from the majority of my informants. These data are reported in my findings in the youth and teacher chapters.

Coding.

I used grounded codes as well as codes that emerged from the relevant literature to analyze this data. Codes include descriptive markers such as gender, family context, religion, cultural traditions as well as secondary codes that emerged in the process of analysis, such as educator concern, Danishness in schools, assimilative education practices, democratic teacher talk. Using grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1987; Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001), I conducted the analysis as an iterative process. I engaged in memo-making and wrote about emerging findings throughout the fieldwork process. My analysis moves between the micro world of the Danish folkeskolen and the broader context of political discourse and educational policymaking, noting how conceptions of immigrants exist within public discourse, the media and education policies.

Media and Document Analysis

There were a number of documents that I collected that provided insight into Denmark's immigration discourse and how immigrants are positioned within Danish society. Following Henry and Tator's (2002) methods of critical discourse analysis, I engaged in a content analysis of newspaper articles focusing on immigrants. I considered how representations of immigrants

vary along the lines of gender, national origin and religious affiliation. In addition, as themes emerged within my interviews, (e.g., discussions of cousin marriage, ideals of gender equality) I conducted newspaper searches on these issues in order to understand the relationship between the understandings of actors within schools and broader discursive narratives. I also collected and analyzed Danish policy documents including the Folkeskolen Act of 2005, The Danish integration policy “A New Chance for Everybody” (Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration, 2006) and publications produced by the Danish Ministry of Education. At the school site, I collected handouts provided by teachers within the classes that I observed. In addition, I photocopied sections of textbooks and acquired samples of national exams. This material helped me to understand how Islam and immigrants were represented within instructional materials and also provided an understanding of teachers’ instructional strategies for working with immigrant students.

Limitations

My lack of fluency in Danish was the most significant limitation in my work. While I spent several months studying Danish, I only acquired a very basic understanding of the language. For this reason, I observed English classes where English was the primary language of instruction. In addition, all focus groups and interviews were held in English. With teachers, this was not a problem since they were fluent in English. In Denmark, English is the second most spoken language next to Danish. While English is not an official language, 86% of Danes are speakers of English (European Commission, 2006) Within Danish schools; English is a required course beginning in third grade.

While most students were able to engage in discussions in English, there were some who were not able to express themselves in this language. In these cases, more fluent peers would

provide interpretation for these students. In some cases, I would ask a student who was fluent in English to help with translation in a focus group. In focus groups and conversations where students had difficulty making a particular point in English, I would sometimes ask a student to provide the example in Danish and then I would send these sections of transcript out for transcription and interpretation.

While my lack of Danish language skills was a significant limitation in my work, my identity as a woman from the US, an outsider in Denmark made it possible for me to gain the trust of my informants. Further, some students said that they appreciated the opportunity to practice their English skills. Many of the documents that I analyzed were printed in English as well as in Danish. Documents printed in Danish were translated using translation software, a research assistant and transcription and translation services.

CHAPTER 4

DYREPARKEN SCHOOL: AN IMPLICITLY DANISH SPACE

This chapter moves inside of the halls of Dyreparken School and explores the subtle ways in which the national imaginary is reproduced within the school—what Billig (1995) refers to as the “banal reproduction of nationalism.” It considers how Danishness is transmitted through the spaces of the school and through everyday interactions, silently establishing implicit expectations of proper behavior and collectively cherished values that sit below the surface and are rarely discussed.

In interviews and focus groups, my participants discussed the cultural and religious values of immigrant students at Dyreparken School but there was very little discussion of Danish values. Gitz-Johansen’s (2006) finds that, “Danishness, functions as an unspoken positive notion of normality against which the images of “otherness” is constructed” (p. 3). While teachers conceived of school as being “open” and inclusive of cultural differences, the institutional discourse and practices reflect that the school is a Danish and Christian space where immigrant students are positioned as outsiders (Lee, 2005).

Inside Dyreparken School

In the main entrance of Dyreparken School there is a display consisting of three large decorative steamer trunks meant to represent shipments of aid to developing countries and a large banner hanging across the front hallway that reads “UNICEF SCHOOL.” The school identity is aligned with Danish commitments to humanitarianism and social equality. In describing the culture and mission of Dyreparken School, Per, the school’s principal, explained

that while the school is first and foremost a Danish school, it also promotes tolerance and cooperation between different groups:

It is very important to me that we are a Danish public school, we have Danish values but we also have tolerance, respect for individuals and working for cooperation between peoples. And I am happy that now a lot of strong Danish parents are choosing this school. Of course you show your respect for people for Turkey or Arab countries, it is not unnatural to do it.

Per, is a gentle and soft-spoken man. As I walked the hallways of Dyreparken School with him, students would frequently stop him to chat, or grab him by the arm to get his attention. The sound of Per, Per, Per would ring out behind us as we walked the halls. One day as he was explaining the challenges of both having warm relationships with students and also being a disciplinarian, three fourth grade students, a Somali girl and two Danish boys, ran in circles around him singing. Students and teachers described a major turn-around in the culture and climate of the school since Per had taken the position of school leader. He adopted school policies that were not typical for a Danish school such as the recruitment and hiring of several ethnic minority teachers and counselors. Per also condemned the changes in recent education policies, most notably the lack of funding for mother-tongue instruction and the inherent racism in the national immigration policies. In an interview he explained:

A minority in the parliament really don't want foreigners in Denmark. Before this law, we gave all bilingual children instruction in mother tongue and it was just thrown away. But what is quite interesting is that the EU has a rule that says that mother-tongue teaching is important and when Europeans are living in another country, they must have instruction in their own language, for free. But it is not important to Turkish people,

Arab people, Asian people. The Danish government would say that the French and the Spanish should have mother tongue instruction, but not people like the Turkish and the Indians.

Per highlights the inherent discrimination within policies that only support native language instruction for European students.

Per describes how Dyreparken School's humanitarian mission is expressed through partnerships and projects with schools "in some of the poorest part of the world," such as Africa and Brazil. Per explained the importance of this work, "given our tremendous wealth." Students and teachers engaged in collaborative projects in English classes that involved letter writing campaigns and collecting supplies that were sent to the schools in South America and Africa. He said, "We can help them by communicating because they have to learn English, too, but we can also send them gifts such as paper and colored pencils. It is very little money for us but it is an enormous gift for them." Students in fourth grade English classes wrote letters to students in Africa and wrote books in English for street children in Brazil. These projects were frequently publicized in newspaper articles about the school—they resonated with broader discourses of Danish humanitarianism and global outreach. In addition—developing students' English skills were understood to reflect desires to prepare students for participation in a globalizing world.

My first impression of Dyreparken School was that it was very different from the public schools that I had worked in and visited in the United States. Its physical spaces appeared bright, open and airy, and the smells of paste, paint and fresh-cooked food wafted through the air. Children's art was displayed on the walls of the hallway leading into the school office, where small tea-light candles burned on the front desk. As the secretary explained, "We do our best to make the school cozy or "hyggelig" in the fall and winter." Unlike New York City lunchrooms,

which are typically in basements and have an institutional feel, Dyreparken School's lunchroom is a large open room with floor to ceiling windows on one side that look out onto the school garden. Children eat freshly prepared organic lunches on maple tables covered with batik print table clothes and midcentury-designed light fixtures hang from the cathedral ceilings.

Figure 4.1 School Cantina



The teacher's room consists of a seating area with couches and lounge chairs. There is a kitchen area where coffee is served throughout the day and a large work table where teachers conduct meetings and develop curriculum. One wall of the teacher's room is floor to ceiling windows and French doors that lead out onto a patio in front of the playground. When the sun finally emerges in the spring after the long Danish winter, teachers sit together in chairs in the sun during their planning periods. They seem to enjoy a positive sense of community sharing a homemade cake or discussing curriculum.

The physical spaces of the school reflect Danish commitments to hands-on learning and cooperative education. Students engage in projects together that encourage the development of the community of the Klasse.

Directly outside the lunchroom was a series of outdoor teaching spaces, including a barbecue area with a brick oven where the first and second grade children had recently made homemade bread. A coop full of chickens stood at one end of the outdoor classroom area and remains of a deer carcass hung on a rack, having been recently dissected by a seventh grade science class. Per explained that “the hunter brought it right from the forest, it was still warm.” Sitting at a picnic

Figures 4.2-4.4 School Outdoor Spaces



table, Per said that the work of the school is built on Danish tradition of farming and cooperation:

In 1864, we created a cooperative movement in Denmark where everybody worked together to cooperate in making a better life through farming, cooking and other kinds of work. In

this movement, everybody has one world; it was not depending on how rich someone was, but that everybody was a human being.

Per helped me to make sense of the world of the Danish school—the beautiful interior spaces, the centrality of human relationships, social units that resemble families, and experiential learning. From the perspective of history, he situated the work of the school within the cooperative peasant

farming movement that prospered in the 1870's—pointing to the importance of norms of cooperation and social unity that are at the heart of Danishness (Ostergaard, p.159).

These ideals of “community” and “being together” (*samvaer og faelleskab*), draw on late nineteenth century visions of the nation as a culturally and linguistically homogeneous Denmark (Jenkins, 2010).

Negotiating Islam and Danishness in the Space of the School

The values of *Dannelse* (Danishness) are conveyed through everyday interactions and negotiations that implicitly define what is normal, proper and good within the space of the school (Anderson,1996). At the heart of Danish educational philosophies, *Dannelse* corresponds with the German word *bildung* and centers on encouraging national unity through the education and development of proper citizens.. *Dannelse* represents “the holistic formation of social human beings who can manage their own lives, who know how to behave properly in society and who know how to fit in with others...*Dannelse* involves the cultivation of individuals who do not stand out. *Dannelse* is one of the consistent moral threads that runs through the formal socialization process in Denmark” (p.188). In short, Danish schools are focused on the parallel tasks of creating citizens and maintaining the social cohesion of Danish society (Jenkins, 2010; also Schiffauer et al., 2004).

The next few sections focus on how the work of national “enhabitation” (Billig, 1998) takes place within the everyday practices of schools. They reveal the ways that linguistic, religious and cultural difference are negotiated through policy and everyday practice. Before I move back to the discussion of the school, I will make a brief detour through my family’s early

experiences in Denmark in order to provide a sense of how I experienced Danish implicitness, a key characteristic of Danish schooling.

On Danish Implicitness

On many occasions during my year living in Denmark, a friend, neighbor or informant would say to me “This is Denmark you know” or “We are here in Denmark” as a way of signifying that an invisible border had been crossed. Being new to the country, my husband, my two awkward American adolescent children and I frequently violated everyday norms of proper behavior. There was rarely a follow-up discussion about what had transpired but instead a series of non-verbal cues, a stare of disapproval and sometimes a smile when we complied. On our first trip to the swimming hall, we encountered a sign with a stick figure outline of a body with red x’s on the head, armpits, genital area. Months later, after making many mistakes, we learned that one is expected to disrobe completely, carry one’s bathing suit and towel into the open shower area and scrub one’s body thoroughly with soap before entering the pool area. One cannot return dripping to one’s locker to retrieve forgotten goggles or try to use elaborate adolescent strategies of scrubbing without removing the swimsuit (the one occasion we were told by a swimming hall attendant that the suit must come off). As we fumbled through our first few months living in Denmark, we were tolerated. For example, when moving into our quaint brownstone in the center of the city, we had a dilemma about what to do with the large bags of Ikea trash and moving materials after we discovered that it is only acceptable to put out one can of garbage in front of the house for pick-up. Eventually we learned that while it isn’t appreciated (i.e., neighbors discuss under their breath the problems with the wasteful Americans) we learned that it is possible to leave out additional refuse for pick-up if one leaves a beer besides the bag.

While it is true that any move to a new context involves a certain amount of culture shock and a steep learning curve, Danish culture is especially implicit (Anderson, Jenkins). Because of Denmark's commitments to romantic ideals of the individual, there is a desire not to hamper the spirit with excessive rules and social orders. However, there is a complex system of social rules in Danish society, understandings about how proper Danes behave that are just below the surface, communicated through a non-verbal grammar of stares, smiles and furrowed brows. I also believe that we were eventually accepted into the local community of our street because we are white Americans who at times "passed" as Danish. While we were eventually included in community suppers and *Gadefest* (street party), our Chinese neighbors were not.

Within the Danish school, there is an assumption that immigrant youth will learn to be good citizens through proximity to their ethnic Danish peers. They will learn the norms and values implicitly in the social group of the Klasse in the same way that individuals learn the rituals and valued behaviors within families through shared experiences over time. As Jenkins (2010) describes:

In the forging of long-standing and close-knit class groups, and in the fostering within the 'class system' of relationships between pupils, teachers, and parents, the ordinary practicalities of everyday life become a powerful and un-obstrusive medium for active socialization into a particular way of doing things, for downloading collectivity into individuals. Cooperation, consensus, conservation and conformity are not merely valued principles: *they are shared and implicit foundations of a distinctive ways of life and distinctive institutions* (p.200).

Thus, social expectations and norms are communicated implicitly. While the rules of the game are not openly discussed in the Danish Klasse, they are present, and they determine how

individuals are positioned and ordered within the class (Gilliam, 2007; Anderson, 1996; Gitz-Johansen, 2007).

As mentioned earlier, Dyreparken School has a reputation for accommodating the cultural differences of its population of immigrant students. One area of negotiation involved the foods served in the school's cantina. Per explained the debate between Danish and Muslim families:

Some of the Muslim parents have asked us to buy Halal meat and we said no, because you cannot buy organic halal food and we are a school that wants the children to be healthy and not religious. Half of our children have a background where pork meat is similar to what rat meat would be for us. I met with the parents and said that I am headmaster and I told the parents that we have to respect that pork is disgusting for some of our children and they have to respect that we are not buying religious meat. You must try to find the balance and it is very difficult. A respectful balance and of course you can get two enemies if you do this.

Per describes his work to reconcile the values of the Danish school with traditions of immigrant students. He made this decision not to serve pork in the face of disapproval from Danish parents who objected to its removal from the cantina menu, citing the significance of pork as an important part of Danish culture. His compromise—to serve organic meat that is healthy—reflects the school's liberal commitments to fair trade and sustainable farming.

Per makes a distinction between food that is religious and food that is healthy as he explains that you cannot buy organic religious meat. He emphasizes that the school intends to support students to be "healthy and not religious." While Per's policy changes around school lunches in the cantina accommodated the needs of immigrant students, he positions students'

religious faith as something to be tolerated and fosters a hope that students will choose a secular “organic” life over a religious one.

Like the negotiation around the serving of pork in the lunchroom, Muslim students asked Per for a space within the school building to pray during the school day. In this case, he decided not to accommodate the request explaining that it violated the secular nature of Danish schools.

To me it is more important that if you show your respect to other people, you also must know what the limits of this respect are. Therefore, I have been fighting against religious fundamentalism in the school and in the thinking. For example, some of the Muslim girls came and asked for a room for praying. I said no, *we are a public school and we are not religious at all*, so you cannot not have a prayer room. Because I knew that they would use it to make a press to the other Muslim girls to be a real Muslims. Of course we cannot have this, in Denmark religion is not a part of the school.

Per’s explanation reveals concerns about the threat of Islam within the school and how religious fundamentalism is believed to be antithetical to the secular nature of the Danish school. While Per seeks to accommodate the cultural differences of immigrant students, he points to the “limits of this respect,” the point at which it violates the Danish space of the school. Like the statement about being “healthy and not religious,” Per describes the perceived incompatibility between religious and Danish identities.

Silently Danish: Christianity and Danish-Only

While observance of Islam is associated with radicalization and with students who are understood to be “potential terrorists,” (El-Haj, 2010), religious observance of Christianity is understood to be central to the work of the schools and to the national culture. Most Danes belong to Denmark’s national church Den Danske Folkekirke, they do not engage in devout

worship. Jenkins (2010) explains that for most, “Today, membership of the Danish national Church seems most often to involve an individually variable combination of traditional sentiment, participation in rites of passage, and weakly held, sometimes quiet heterodox beliefs” (p. 235). However, there are critical life rituals that are intimately tied to notions of “being Danish” that take place through the institution of the Danish church, such as births, naming ceremonies and deaths. The church plays an important role in mediating between the nation and citizens and is just part of implicit background of Danish life (p. 236).

In December, I observed several Christmas classroom discussions and parties. In one class, Lena, the English teacher said, “Now we will have a Christmas treat. I will read you a Christmas poem by Paul Auster. How many of you did the homework last night and went to the Merry Christmas website? So, who were the names of the three wise men?” In these discussions, Danish students answered and cheerfully talked about their upcoming Christmas plans while immigrant students remained silent. The emphasis on Christianity in Danish schools seems to highlight the boundary between Christian students and Muslim students (Jenkins, 2011).

When asked if they could ever imagine a day when Danish schools would not celebrate Christmas, teachers uniformly answered no. They explained that celebrating Christmas together is an important tradition in Danish schools. Although Per and the teachers in the school explained that the school is a secular space that provides equal air time for all religions, my findings suggest that schools are implicitly Christian spaces marked by the ritual observances of Christian holidays and preparation for religious confirmation.

Figure 4.5 Christmas Tree



Since the creation of the folkeskolen, kristendomskundskab or Christianity has been a central pillar of Danish education. Jenkins (2011) reveals, “Although kristendomskundskab is translated in Gyldendal’s standard Danish-English dictionary as ‘religious knowledge’ (Garodkin, 1996, p.504-506), the word is clearly rooted in specific religious knowledge, about Christianity” (p236). In addition to kristendom lessons (short for kristendomskundskab), students in the seventh grade receive the religious education required for confirmation during the school day with their fellow classmates. At Dyreparken School, the klasse travels to the local church during the school day to study with the local priest. Non-Christian students have a right to opt out of religious confirmation and are given free time during the time that confirmation studies take place.

When I asked Per and others about what I perceived to be a contradiction between stated commitments to secularism in schools and the religious aspects of schools that I observed, I was told that confirmation studies did not really constitute religious study but were instead cultural

and part of what it means to be a Danish school. Describing practices as “cultural” implies that they are just part of the taken-for-granted fabric of Danish schools—a given, like the air everyone breathes. Ultimately, notions of Danishness are intertwined with being Christian. As Jenkins explains, “*Kristendom*-and, no matter what else the subject may cover, it is still ‘*Christendom*’ is ‘part of our culture’ (Jenkins, 240).

In addition to being required in every grade of the Folkeskole, Christian Studies became one of the required high school exit exams as a result of changes in the Folkeskolen Act of 2006. According to Jenkins (2010), it became “a *provefag*, a tested subject with an *afgangsprove*, an obligatory examination that awards each pupil a formal mark at the end of their school career” (p.238). Several teachers explained that the Christian Studies curriculum is not a religious class at all because it includes a discussion of all major world religions. However, a close look at the curriculum revealed a primary emphasis on Christian studies. In my analysis of the national exam in *Kristendomskundskab* (Christian Studies), I found that of the 63 pages of the exam, 55 pages are devoted to questions pertaining to Christian scripture and beliefs, three pages are devoted to Islam, two pages to atheism and three pages to Buddhism. In addition, there are significant differences in the treatment of different religions. In the section focusing on Christianity, students are asked to explicate and analyze sections of religious scripture whereas the section on Islam engages public debates on Islam. Students are asked to discuss whether Danish judges should be allowed to wear hijab in parliament and to analyze neo-nationalist advertisements by the *Danske Folkeparti* that associate Islam with the oppression of women.

The representation of Islam on the national religion exam reflects the contested and unsettled place of Islam within Danish society. Further, the exam reflects the ways that Danish values of incorporating debate and inquiry into curriculum—i.e. multicultural “discussions” of

different religions—translate into negative representations of immigrants and testing practices that privilege Christian students. The tests have consequences for the educational outcomes of immigrant students. Since the 2006 change, Kristendom is now recorded on students' formal transcripts that reflect their performance within folkeskolen. Jenkins (2011) finds,

Opting out of kristendom lessons has become more than merely an act of personal resistance, cultural avoidance or religious fastidiousness. Where once it would have been invisible and effectively private, opting out is now publicly certified, there for the world to see: one less final mark, and an absence that others may interpret as they see fit. (p. 240).

It is important to emphasize that recommendations for tracks of higher education are based on students' final transcripts, which determine whether they will proceed to the academic gymnasium, remedial or vocational tracks (10th & 11th grade).

The Folkeskolen Act of 2002 suggests that the folkeskole “shall familiarize the pupils with Danish culture and contribute to their understanding of other cultures.” While policies have a stated goal of familiarizing students with different cultures, my ethnographic data and other sources suggest that there is little emphasis on teaching content related to immigrant students' countries of origin and religious holidays. When I asked one fourth grade teacher if she thought the school would ever have a party to celebrate the festival of Eid at the end of Ramadan, she paused for a long time and then replied, “No, because this is Denmark. I know that *we should be able to think that we are open to that but we aren't going to do that.*” While there is a desire to appear to be “open” to the cultural differences introduced by immigrant students, the insistence on Danishness separates insiders from outsiders in the space of the school.

Curriculum and standardized tests convey social messages to youth about what is and what isn't valued within a society (Apple, 1996. In this case it says that being a Christian is a central part of being Danish (Lee, 2005). Scholars find that curriculum that does not reflect the experiences of minority youth affects their performance and understandings of their position within the school (Ladson-Billings, 2002). The UN Committee on the Eradication of Racism (2006) speaks of, "concern that the school curriculum at all levels of education, does not seem to include sufficient information on their (students of ethnic and racial minorities) culture." Within the folkeskolen we see on the one hand a stated commitment to openness and a respect for all cultures and religions while there is an understanding that the school is a Christian and Danish space.

Language

Per described access to mother-tongue instruction as a "human right" and contended that "children should have the language to speak with their parents and grandparents." However, since the changes in the Folkeskolen Act eliminating support for native language instruction, Per did not have the municipal funding to offer mother-tongue instruction within the school.

While Per and many teachers expressed openness towards student's use of their native languages, it seemed that students were discouraged from speaking languages other than Danish and English. Elana Shohamy (2006) theorizes about the space between officially stated language policies and how language is actually negotiated on the ground in institutions. She explains: "It is through a variety of overt and covert mechanisms used mostly, by those in authority, that languages are being manipulated and controlled so as to affect, create and perpetuate de facto language policies, i.e., language practices" (Shohamy, p. xv, 2006). One afternoon, I was walking with a Danish teacher, Mathias, looking for a place to conduct an interview, we entered

a classroom where six fourth grade boys who are part of a special education class sat at a bank of computers joking around and speaking in Arabic. When Mathias entered the room, he raised his index finger in the air and firmly said, “Dansk” to the group of boys. Without hesitation or questioning, the boys switched from Arabic to Danish. Based on the seamlessness of this transition, it seemed clear that the students were aware of the expectation that they use only Danish in classes where teachers are present. This was confirmed by several students and another teacher who explained that students are discouraged from using native language in classrooms. While there seemed to be a de-facto policy of Danish-only in classrooms, I did observe groups of students speaking Arabic and Turkish in the hallways and common areas between classes and after school, which seems to suggest that there is more acceptance of students’ use of native languages outside of instructional spaces.

The space between Dyreparken School’s stated commitments to supporting students’ native languages and Danish-only practices on the ground mirror that of Danish educational policies. A publication produced by the Danish Ministry of Education (2002) for immigrant students outlines parents’ “rights and duties” in Danish schools. It states that students have a right to tuition for the teaching of mother tongue. However an asterisk qualifies that this right is only for students from the EU or other Scandinavian countries. Therefore, the majority of immigrants would be excluded from resources. Within official policies and stated policies, it seems that there is a desire to assert ideals of openness and support for linguistic difference, but in practice there is an emphasis on Danish only.

Policies enforced within the space of the school reveal how the speaking of Arabic and Turkish is tied into larger issues of national identity and citizenship. They reveal the symbolic function of language, the need to control languages used by Muslim immigrants as they are seen

as threatening the acquisition of fluency in Danish and the immigrant students' acceptance of Danish identities. Sue Wright (2004) theorizes about the symbolic function of language: "to know and to use a language is part of the definition of belonging to the nation; to speak the language is a badge of inclusion; to refuse to know the language is to refuse the community and is seen as schismatic and unpatriotic" (p.42).

Several teachers at Dyreparken School expressed concerns about "unintegrated" immigrant families that don't speak Danish in their home. In the following section of interview, Lena associates speaking another language at home with poor parenting practices and suggests that this is one reason for perceived "social problems" with immigrant boys.

Oh yea, sure, it is of course that the mother is perhaps having a job, uhhhh...she is perhaps, speaking Danish. First of all it is important that both people are speaking Danish in the home and they encourage their children to do their homework, that they take care of the children after school...they don't allow boys who are nine year olds run around in the center and then the only boys they have to compare themselves to are the bit more grown up boys who run around in the area as well...

Just as "problematic" students are associated with homes where Danish is not spoken, a number of teachers associate successful students with parents who speak Danish in the home and who appear to be less religious and more assimilated to Danish values. Speaking Turkish or Arabic is seen by these teachers as a handicap to the acquisition of Danish language and Danish assimilation (Helot & Young, 2002). However not all languages are perceived to be a barrier to the acquisition of Danish.

While immigrant languages are discouraged, language policies and practices encourage students to develop English language skills. As part of the school's UNICEF project, students

are required write letters in English to students in schools in Africa and South America. At the same time that funding for mother tongue instruction has been eliminated, English language instruction requirements have increased in schools and students begin English at an earlier age. When I discussed this contradiction with a principal of another Folkeskolen that has a large population of immigrant students, he asserted that it is more important for his students to learn English than Arabic. He said, “Arabic is not going to help them, it’s an old language. They need to learn English to be successful in the global economy.” It seems that English is associated with norms of individual advancement in the global marketplace while Arabic is associated with resisting this advancement.

In addition, English is understood to be the ideal language for understanding other cultures, for being a part of the rapidly globalizing world. Mathias, the English teacher, explains:

M: Denmark is such a small country that we have to look out. You have to understand other cultures because Denmark is so small. It would be like if Delaware said, “We are just going to stick with our own philosophy and not learn from others.” I have this discussion with 7th grade, when kids say, why do we have to learn this? And in the world today, you are limited if you don’t have any knowledge of English, it doesn’t matter where you go.

When teachers spoke about the importance of understanding other cultures, it was frequently framed in terms of immigrant students need to understand and embrace the “traditions of the English speaking world” and the advancement of global capitalism. In contrast, expressions of immigrant languages and Islam are understood to be barriers that prevent students from acquiring more cosmopolitan Western identities. My findings reveal that while there is a

discourse of openness, of ‘equal treatment’ of differences—the everyday practices of the school reveal an assimilative focus on moving students toward normative notions of Danish citizenship and *Dannelse* that center on Christian and Danish values. The school’s discourse of social equality is manifested in assertions that the school is a race-neutral space where everyone is treated equally (El Haj, 2010).

While Per and the teacher cited the existence of Islamophobia and racial tensions within Danish society, they explain that these problems do not exist within the school. Conflicts between Danish students and immigrant students were explained as isolated incidents. When asked if there are problems within the school with teachers who have negative views of immigrants, Per said, “No, we had a problem with one teacher a few years ago calling the Muslim girls seagulls because of their scarves, but we replaced her quickly.” Per argued that discriminating against students based on their religious or cultural identity is not tolerated. Per’s denial of racism highlights the fact that the label of “racism” is withheld for extreme acts. He does not acknowledge the subtler forms of institutional racism, the everyday racisms (Essed, 1991; Lee, 2005) and symbolic violence experienced by immigrant youth.

Aliyah, Sara and Dhalia offered a different perspective on discrimination against immigrant students in the school. “In our class we have two boys who are always teasing us and the Arabic boys, and the teacher never says anything she just continues the class and never tells them to stop.” I observed multiple instances in English classes in which immigrant boys were called “terrorists” by their ethnic Danish male peers.

Omi and Winant (1994) find that despite claims of colorblindness, it is impossible to escape the ways that race and racial hierarchies influence the work of institutions and the perceptions of individuals:

In the U.S., race is present in every institution, every relationship, every individual. This is the case not only for the way society is organized—spatially, culturally, in terms of stratification, etc. —but also for our perceptions and understanding of personal experience. Thus as we watch the videotape of Rodney King being beaten, compare real estate prices in different neighborhoods, size up a potential client, neighbor or teacher, stand in line at the unemployment office, or carry out a thousand other normal tasks, we are compelled to think racially, to use racial categories and meaning systems in which we have been socialized. Despite exhortations both sincere and hypocritical, it is not possible or even desirable to be “colorblind”(pg. 158-159).

While there is a stated policy of equality and openness within the space of the school, there is an implicit privileging of normative ideals of Danish citizenship.

Discussions about religion, language and food reveal that national commitments to Christianity, use of the Danish language and child-centered instruction are so tightly woven into the fabric of schooling that they are no longer visible to insiders. Instead, it is the figure of the immigrant student who stands out, disrupting the Danish space with cultural and religious difference. Later in this dissertation, Muslim youth will describe their experiences of being bodies out of place (Puwar, 2004) —and how they understand that to be Danish is to belong naturally. When I asked Amir, a Muslim student from Iraq, what it means to be a Dane, he explained, “They are, of course in their own country and they are looked at as one of themselves and they are always welcome everywhere.” (Lee, 2005; Sirin & Fine, 2008). Within Danish schools there is a “politics of belonging” (Yuval-Davis, 2006), and students who display the attributes of Danishness are able to reap the full benefits of membership. They are more likely to experience positive treatment by teachers and peers, and they are also more likely to be

perceived as academically gifted and encouraged to enter academic tracks of higher education (Jenkins, 2010; Anderson, 1996; Gilliam, 2007).

Conclusion

This chapter and considers how national ideals of Danishness are transmitted through the everyday practices and spaces of Dyreparken School. As Foucault reminds us, state control does not represent a series of top-down state mandates, but instead works through a variety of official and unofficial sites and spaces (Foucault, 1977). Thus, Danish schools are powerful “sites of cultural production” where national culture is reproduced as certain forms of identity are endorsed and others are devalued. This dissertation reveals how immigrant youth are racialized and positioned as outsiders through everyday interactions that occur in the Danish space of the school. Lee (2005) reveals how a similar Eurocentric culture of whiteness operates in a high school in the Midwestern United States (p.126). She writes, “At UHS the largely Eurocentric curriculum tells Hmong American students that they are not important, and it also tells them that whiteness is central to being American” (p. 35). We need to be attuned to the ways that schools’ that publicly state their commitments to multiculturalism and openness, enact institutional discourses, curriculum and everyday practices that silence youths experiences and diverse affiliations

Like the colored pencils sent in classroom care packages from Dyreparken school to children in schools in South America and Africa, the offering of the Danish language, culture and religion to immigrant students is understood to be a way of supporting equality in the world. Per and the teachers framed the work of the school in terms of its civilizing mission to help poor children in Africa and South America as well as first- and second-generation students within the school. Per has worked to establish a school culture that welcomes immigrant students, where he

knows every child's name and strives to make accommodations to make immigrant youth more comfortable within the space of the school. However, there are ways that within this discourse of concern, immigrant students are positioned as requiring tolerance and careful management (Brown, 2006; El-Haj, 2010).

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPOSSIBLE LOVE: CIVILIZING IMMIGRANT GIRLS

This chapter presents a series of interactions between teachers and immigrant students from multiple perspectives. Working in the tradition of the anthropologist Marjorie Wolf in *Thrice Told Tale*, I attempt to take the reader into a scene in its fullness, without attempting to resolve the differences in how individuals make sense of events. I leave the various “contested meanings” intact. Revealing how the politics of national identity and globalization live in schools, this chapter considers how processes of national building happen through teacher’s everyday work with immigrant girls. It reveals how moments in schools with individual immigrant girls become amplified as they are seen in the light of national concerns about the lack of integration of immigrants and the perceived oppression of Muslim women. In this chapter, I explore questions such as: how do teachers and students make sense of the identities and everyday actions of immigrant girls in schools? How do teachers recruit narratives from immigration discourses into their explanatory frameworks? What is at stake in the education of immigrant girls? How are broader anxieties about nation projected onto the bodies and experiences of young women?

English Class

In my second week of observing classes at Dyreparken school, I observed an English-language class in which students were preparing for the national exam. In Danish Folkeskole, all students are required to take English language classes in their third to tenth years, and there is a required national exam in English for entrance into upper secondary education. The themes

covered in the exam include “racism, isolation, religion, culture, love/friendship” (classroom hand-out, Sept 17, 2007). The curriculum of English classes is intended to promote intercultural awareness—an understanding of the English language and, as one teacher adds, “the traditions of the English-speaking world.”

This particular class focused on one theme in the curriculum and text book called “impossible love”—instances when individuals from different cultures fall in love. The students were asked to silently read a story from the Blue Cat Reader, a Danish English-language textbook. The story, “Fatima and Saret,” describes a Turkish Muslim girl, Fatima, who works at home with her family. One afternoon, she takes a walk through the town with her baby brother in a stroller and stops to speak with Saret, a male friend who is from Cambodia. When Fatima’s aunt reports to the family that she was seen talking to a boy, she is berated by her angry father who calls her a “slut.” The story ends with Fatima’s aunt suggesting that she should leave school to prepare for her impending arranged marriage.

After reading the story, Lena, the teacher, began a class discussion. Standing at the front of the room, she asked the class, “So when you think about what you could write about as a subject on the national exam, one thing would be inter-love. You could write about all these people that are not supposed to love each other. How do we feel about Fatima and her problem?” An ethnic Danish student said that the story reminded her of the movie *Shakespeare in Love*. Then Lena asked again, “So what *do* we think of these problems with impossible love?” She asked two Palestinian boys, Mohammed and Jamail, who were sitting at a front table, “What would happen if you brought home a girl who is not Danish to your parents?” Mohammed replied, “It would be okay.”

She then asked a Danish girl, Majbritt, if her parents would approve if she dated a boy who was not Danish and she said, “It would not be a problem.”

Then she turned to Dhalia, a Palestinian student who was sitting at a table in the back of the room with two other immigrant girls, Aliyah and Sara. She asked, “Dhalia, could you bring home a Danish boyfriend?” Dhalia looked up at Lena seriously and said, “I would not.”

Lena continued, “But what if you fell in love with a blonde Danish boy.”

Dhalia responded, “I wouldn’t.”

Lena repeated, “But what if you did?”

Dhalia insisted, “I would not.”

Lena then asked another way, “But what about your own children, would you accept it if your child came home with a Danish boy?”

Dhalia replied, “I would not,” and added, “also my husband might not want it.”

When Lena heard this answer, she stepped back, looked at the rest of the class, and said, “And you would have to do what your husband says?” At this moment there was silence in the classroom. Lena then stepped away from Dhalia and asked the students to reflect on Dhalia’s answer. “So (pause) how can we help each other to understand these *problems* with impossible love?”

There was silence in the room. Pernilla, a Danish student responded, “I think that it’s a problem that she has to do what her husband says. It’s very traditional. It’s like during the time of Shakespeare—very traditional.”

Throughout this interchange, I felt a growing tension in the room. Dhalia’s eyes were serious and fixed on the teacher, who was clearly frustrated with her answers. I sensed the gravity of the interchange, but I didn’t understand what was happening. I was in the midst of

what Michael Agar calls a “breakdown moment” during ethnographic fieldwork, when one doesn’t have schema for making sense of events, when expectations of what should happen at a particular moment are not met. Why would this interchange about a choice of marriage partner invoke such strong feelings from the teacher? Why would the teacher persist in her questioning despite the student’s growing discomfort? At the time I observed this interaction, I wasn’t steeped in Danish immigration discourses and the ways that classroom practices reproduced notions of “ideal” national citizens in racialized terms (the imagined “blonde Danish boy” suitor and the unassimilable immigrant).

After the class, when students were more relaxed and standing around in the hallway talking to each other before heading off for lunch, I approached Dhalia, Aliyah and Sara and asked Dhalia how she experienced the events that I had just witnessed. Dhalia said that she was uncomfortable with her teacher’s questioning and with the responses of her Danish peers. “I think she wanted to hear from me that I would get married with someone from another religion. What are these questions? I thought, ‘Why is she asking me these questions when I said that I can’t. Why can’t she just respect that?’”

Sara added, “She didn’t respect Dhalia’s answer. She kept asking, and then she asked the Danish students what they think, and then she said, ‘OH, that’s like an old thing, like from the Middle Ages.’”

Dhalia and Aliyah’s retelling of events suggests that instead of inviting dialogue, Lena’s questions signaled the repetition of a narrative about immigrant girls that was all-too-familiar. Her refusal to say, “Yes, I would marry a Dane,” presented a challenge within the Danish space of the classroom. While she was firm in saying “No,” and resisting Lena’s questioning, she was not able to influence the way she was positioned within the classroom by her Danish peers, who

saw her as a girl who was confined by her religious traditions. Aliyah underscores Lena's lack of "respect" for Dhalias answer, how she enlisted ethnic Danish students to comment on their backward immigrant peer.

After talking to Dhalia, Aliyah and Sara, I asked a Palestinian student, Mohammed, about the impossible love story that the class read, "Fatima and Saret." He offered a perspective that was not shared in the classroom and said that this story was meant to show "that Muslim fathers keep their girls inside all of the time." I also asked him about his response to Lena's questioning—his comment that it would be acceptable to bring home a Danish girl to marry. Outside the space of the classroom, in the hallway, his response was much different: "I come from Lebanon, and it would not be okay for me to bring home a Danish girl. The Danes view the immigrants as different and they want to say that like immigrant families are so strict." Mohammed has attended Dyreparken school since kindergarten and it seems that his strategy for negotiating his teachers' questioning was to provide an answer that would not prolong the discussion or invite scrutiny of his community and "culture." While this strategy helped to buffer him against Lena's assimilation work, it did support the reproduction of narratives of good, assimilated immigrants and bad unintegrated immigrants.

Dhalia, Mohammed, and Sara highlight different strategies for negotiating the deficit views performed by teachers, peers and the textbook and curriculum within the classroom. They have developed what Cross (2010) calls an "enactment repertoire"—or ways of adjusting behavior to meet the demands of different social situations (p.6). Over time, Mohammed has developed identity competencies (Boykin, 1986 in Cross) that allow him to negotiate racism while also accessing support from teachers and peers. Other youth, like Aliyah describe their strategies for avoiding teacher questioning. She suggests that there are different rules for

operating at school and home. For example, she explained “I can’t talk about my house and my parents like the Danish girls can(mocking). Like the Danish girls who say, oh my God, my mom was so mean...there are some things I’ve learned that I have to keep for myself.” Having attended Dyreparken school since kindergarten, Aliyah has developed strategies to insulate herself against teacher concern.

In the Teachers’ Room—The Teacher’s Perspective on Impossible Love

While I felt comfortable discussing the events in the classroom with the immigrant students after the class, I did not follow up with Lena to discuss the class. As a teacher, I recognized the complexities of what goes on in the classroom and I didn’t want to bring attention to what I perceived to be an uncomfortable moment. However, it became clear that Lena wanted me understand how she perceived the discussion with Dhalia, when she raised the incident in an interview two weeks later. When I asked her to talk about her strategies for working with immigrant girls, she said:

They are still suppressed, if I could put it like that, in my opinion, and ummm.. also.....and also I can see in the other girls opinion. I mean, you saw, the other day...Dhalia sitting there and saying that she would never marry a Dane because her religion would forbid it or her parents would not approve or whatever...and ummmm, I think it is interesting that we have not come any further, I mean I think we try and try and try and many of them have been here for generations and still I am sure that...uhhhh... we will not see any light within the next two generations. I think that it is tragic that it is like that....but I think that it is correct that it is like that..

While I had spent several days in Lena's class after the impossible love lesson, it was clear that the conversation with Dhalia held particular significance. She presented the conversation as representative of the problems with immigrant girls in Denmark. She explained that they are "suppressed", and then brought in other voices to support her claim enlisting "other girls" to support her position. She also attempted to enlist me to support her position "I mean, you saw, the other day". She assumed that as a white American woman of around the same age, that I would share her view of the event. Or perhaps, she was not sure and was attempting to establish her legitimacy as a well intentioned teacher. What was clear, in our discussion was that Lena was frustrated that despite the efforts of teachers who "try and try and try"-immigrant girls remain captive to their cultural and religious traditions, as they have been for generations. Despite all of her efforts, immigrant girls refuse the "light" and opportunities that are perceived to be available to immigrant girls in Danish society.

Perhaps some teachers' desires to support/civilize immigrant girls also suggest broader concerns or anxieties. Lena's statement, "I think it is interesting that we have not come any further," suggests that Dhalia's refusal represents a problem on a number of fronts. In Lena's statement, it isn't clear who "we" are. One reading suggests that it is "tragic" that despite the efforts of Danes to integrate the immigrants (over several generations), "we" will not be able to integrate them in the future. Or it is possible that she is suggesting that it is tragic that "we" women have not achieved more equitable status in communities across the world. Or, finally, she could mean that it is tragic that "we"—a society of Danes and immigrants—have not come any further. The last of these possibilities suggests that Lena's image of Danish society as one representing equality and democracy is somehow tarnished by the presence of Muslim immigrants. While there isn't a clear interpretation of Lena's intended meaning, these multiple

readings reveal different narrative threads of the liberal discourse of concern for immigrants in Denmark that reflect both advocacy and collective anxieties.

It is interesting to note how Dhalia's refusal to concede to a teacher's repeated questioning, her rejection of Lena's concern is interpreted not as a critique or an act of questioning, but rather as evidence of Dhalia's passivity and blind acceptance of religious tradition. In my discussion of the child-centered classroom in Denmark, I examine teachers' assertions that immigrant students aren't successful in the inquiry-based classroom because they don't engage in social critique. This suggests that notions of student inquiry and child centered education are informed by nationalist discourses that shape the boundaries of acceptable conversation.

Within this interaction, there is a politics of belonging at play—what Yuval Davis (2006) calls “the dirty work of boundary maintenance... that separate(s) the world population into 'us' and 'them'”(p. 204) in which Dhalia is cast as an outsider, a non-Dane, a backward immigrant who doesn't belong within a nation that is perceived to be a paragon of democracy and gender equity. Dhalia's insistence on asserting difference in the space of the classroom is understood as transgressing the norms of national belonging. As such, she is treated as an internal exile, an outsider who is not eligible for the rights and resources available to ethnic Danish students (Lee, 2006; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova (2008) identify the ability “to recruit the support of others, including peers, friends, teachers and counselors” as a “disposition” that is associated with high achieving immigrant students. The classroom scenes presented reveal how the ethnic Danish peers of immigrant students are invited into critiques of their immigrant peers in ways that undermine the formation of supportive peer relationships.

Danish-as-a-Second-Language Class

After the “impossible love” interchange in Lena’s class, Dhalia, Aliyah and Sara lingered in the hallway until all of the other students had left for lunch. Dhalia said:

I want to tell you another thing. This isn’t the only time this happens. In extra-Danish class, the teacher said that it’s okay to date and to have sex before you marry because then you get to know someone. Because she thought I would just be married to someone I don’t know. This never happened before because before this I was in Islamic school. In the beginning when I came here it was very difficult for me. It is not fair, but I get used to it I guess.

In helping me understand the dynamic operating in the English classroom, Dhalia described a lesson in her Danish-as-a-second-language class where the teacher initiated a discussion of sexual activity before marriage. Danish-as-a-second-language classes¹²—or what are informally called “extra-Danish” classes—are relatively new in Danish schools. They were created as a result of mandates in the 2001 Folkskolen Act that eliminated funding for native language instruction for students from “third world” countries while calling for increased emphasis on the teaching of Danish language and culture. These classes are the only time during the school day that immigrant students are segregated from their Danish peers.

My understanding of the content of this particular extra-Danish class is based on secondary data, as I did not actually observe the class. When Dhalia first told me that her teacher was counseling her to have sex before marriage, I was skeptical, thinking that perhaps Dhalia was exaggerating the message of her teacher. But in an interview the next week, Dhalia’s extra-

¹² 1 This requirement has not been carried out in practice. Danish as a second language was introduced as a school subject in 1995 when the first guidelines were sent out. . However, there are no formal requirements as no number of lessons, assessment criteria etc (Holmen, personal communication)

Danish teacher, Birgitte, told me that she was working to help the immigrant girls learn to fit in better in Danish society.

Birgitte said she brought in an article from a Danish newspaper, “Falske Jomfruer (False Virgins)” Thorup, 2007).

Figure 5.1 False Virgins



The article describes the case of Muslim girls in Denmark who are choosing to have hymen reattachment surgery so that they can engage in pre-marital sexual activity and then return to an intact state for their weddings. Birgitte said that she brought in the article as a way of starting a discussion about issues of romantic love and also as a way to suggest that it was possible for the girls to try out their sexuality.

Birgitte explained that she feels that immigrant girls are pulled between their positions within their families and Danish society. She said, “They are very much struggling with the whole thing of being Muslim girls in Danish schools. They can’t really discuss being a virgin...if it is good or if it is fair to wait until you get married. *They don’t really know their opinion*, they just know that it is not ok not being a virgin.” Throughout several interviews, Birgitte echoed this idea that the immigrant girls were passively accepting values forced on them by their families. She expressed her conflicting feelings towards the girls. On the one hand she wanted “to show them that I respect their views,” but on the other hand, she found that “I have to show them that they live here now.”

Within extra-Danish class, readings and class discussion were used as a medium to encourage immigrant youth to question aspects of their traditions. Associating the Danish values of sexual openness with increased freedom and autonomy, she describes using readings about forced marriage in the 1800’s in Denmark “to show them this world and how women were fighting against that and trying to show them that things can change.” While other teachers in the school stressed that “openness” was important and that immigrant students needed to look more critically at their religious and cultural traditions, Birgitte was the only teacher to specifically mention openness to pre-marital sexual activity. Her moral agenda took up elements of national discourse related to sexual openness and gender liberation.¹³

Birgitte felt that it was her job to help her female Muslim students conform to Danish norms of sexuality. She said, “I also have to show them that they live here now and when you

13 Since Denmark’s sexual revolution of the late 1960’s Denmark has been a proponent of the first country to legalize pornography. Pre-marital sex for teenagers is seen as natural and acceptable. A large percentage of Danes live together without being married and Denmark was the first country in the world to recognize same-sex partnerships.

choose your husband, I think it is important that you know who he is, and to tell them that in Denmark a way to learn about each other, a way to know each other, is to try to have sex with them.” Birgitte positions herself as a concerned educator who wants to encourage immigrant girls to learn about the freedoms available within Danish society.

Discussions with ethnic Danish students in the school revealed that the content covered within extra-Danish class was targeted specifically to immigrant students rather than part of a broader school-wide sexual education and reproductive health curriculum. Danish students who were in the same 9th grade class but who did not attend extra-Danish classes indicated that they did not have any sexual education in the 9th grade year. In 7th grade they had a sexual education class where they learned about birth control methods and had discussions about “the right time” to have sex. Aliyah, Sara and Dhalia spoke critically about extra-Danish class, indicating that it was not the subject matter that was problematic—they were accustomed to sexual education classes—but rather the lack of respect for their choice to follow the traditions of their communities and the suggestion that in order to be “Danish” they had to have sex before marriage.

Dhalia felt that Birgitte was encouraging her to consider having sex before marriage. In a focus group discussion about this particular class, Dhalia said:

She talked about immigrants who had an operation after they have sex with some guys. I think she wanted us to have sex. She was telling us that some immigrant do this operation and I feel like she was telling us that we could have sex with someone and after do the operation. My parents would not accept it if I had sex before marriage. I feel like she was saying to me, “You can do the operation and then your parents don’t know anything.”

Dhalia believed Birgitte was advising her to ignore her parents' values regarding sexual and romantic relationships. Aliyah went on to explain that the conversation about the *Falske Jomfruer* (False virgin) article that began in extra-Danish continued within her regular class.

It was in extra-Danish class. It was just us three and then two other immigrant boys.

And then another day we talked about this with the whole class. Birgitte asked me and another girl to talk about it in front of the whole class, and it was really embarrassing to talk about it. She just said, "Now, Aliyah you talk about it." She also made us talk about women in the old time in Denmark before they had their rights. Other groups talked about issues that had nothing to do with this subject.

As in the "impossible love" interaction in Lena's class, Birgitte makes Aliyah the focus of attention and extends an invitation to other students to engage in conversation/ "critique." Aliyah describes her discomfort with the way she was asked to make a presentation on issues related to immigrant girls and sexuality in Danish society when others made presentations on less personal topics. As a young woman wearing hijab, Aliyah is understood to be an appropriate spokesperson for discussing the plight of immigrant women. As Birgitte says, she structures classroom discussion and curriculum to show immigrant girls examples of forced marriage and how it was eradicated. It seems that teachers made multiple references to the historical oppression of women in order to show Muslim girls a pathway to liberation.

Aliyah indicates that it isn't "fair" that within the context of school there is an assumption that she is always a victim. She said the following about Birgitte: "She wants us to get out of that and then we can have freedom, but we have a freedom. Some people think Muslim girls don't have freedom—staying home and doing what our parents want us to do and only go to school.

But it's not like that". This was a theme that was echoed in focus groups with other immigrant girls who expressed frustration with teachers who made assumptions about their identities—who didn't have an understanding of their lives.

Dhalia describes being questioned by the teacher and her response:

Last time in the class when we were talking about this she asked if I would do this operation and I told her no because my religion says that I can't and my parents say... I grow up with my parents and they teach me what I can and what I can't do, and I accept it. I told Birgitte that I wouldn't do that.

Similar to her response to Lena's questioning in the "impossible love" class, Dhalia clearly resists her teachers coercive questioning. Again, she points to the importance of her connections to parents and tradition. She says it is her parents who guide her in her decisions related to sexuality and marriage. Aliyah said Dhalia were critical of the ways that teachers engaged social stereotypes about immigrants— "she was making it sound like all of the immigrant girls do that." While Sara did not participate in much of the discussion of Birgitte's class in the focus group, at the end she struggled with English to sum up her friends comments: "Because we live in Denmark, she wants us to act like Danish people. She think that our parents decide what we do for us. She asked me if (pause, Sara speaks to Aliyah in Danish) Aliyah: She asked Sara if her parents will decide who she will get married to. I: I said no it's me who will decide who to get married to. I feel like it is not her business." The youth suggest that their teachers see them in essentialized ways, assuming that all Muslim girls are oppressed victims of forced or arranged marriages who lack individual agency. Aliyah, Sara and Dhalia are clearly aware that they are positioned as victims of an oppressive religion. They also reveal the ways that being singled out and questioned about their cultural and religious practices complicated

their experiences in classrooms, undermining relationships with ethnic Danish peers and encouraging their withdrawal from the life of the classroom.

Other studies reveal the ways that Muslim girls in Europe and the United States negotiate discursive narratives about oppressed immigrant girls in their daily lives. . Mannitz (1992) describes school practices in which discussions intended to foster dialogue between different cultures perpetuate deficit views of immigrant students and their families. She writes, “Muslim girls are in the position of having to defend themselves against the German majority that depicts Muslim women as puppet-like representatives of traditionalism (p.43).”

Everyday interactions with teachers and peers in schools reflect discursive narratives that suggest that immigrant girls’ identifications with Islam pose a danger to their well-being and to the nation. There is also an implicit and at times explicit assumption that if they would just accept Danish norms and values, they would have a better life. Sherene Razack (2004) observes this same underlying logic in the educational agendas of some NGOs in Scandinavian countries. “Rescuing Muslim women from their feudal cultures is considered an educational issue. Immigrant families are inherently dangerous places for young women” (p.139). In the classes presented here, teachers take up a discourse that constructs Muslim girls as captive within their families and that position Danish society as presenting freedom from that captivity (Abu El-Haj, 2010).As Muslim girls and women often visibly display difference through dress and carry religious values more openly than men, they are often perceived to challenge national culture being the “symbolic border guards who embody collectivities” (Yuval-Davis, p.129, 1999). They assert difference in ways that are identified as social and educational problems by policymakers and educators. Mahmood (2005) critiques the liberal progressive discourse of gender equity that privileges normative notions of “free choice” and agency and justifies

“intervention” in the lives of young immigrant girls. Some feminist scholars point to the limits of “imperial feminisms” that define Muslim women as “oppressed and backwards” in relation to western women who are defined as “enlightened and progressive” (Ghandi, 1998). This discourse emerges out of a colonial discourse that is established “on the basis of the “inferiority” of non-western cultures, most manifest in their patriarchal customs and practices, from which indigenous women had to be rescued” (Mahmood, p. 190). The stakes are high in the education of immigrant girls as some teachers believe that if they are not successful in reaching individual girls, another generation will remain isolated within oppressive Muslim families. Immigration discourses provoke national anxieties that lead to the amplification of particular moments in adolescence that are understood to be decisive points in the lives of immigrant girls. They are understood to be critical opportunities for cultural and national intervention.

These scenes reveal how some female teachers at Dyreparken school understand their work in terms of civilizing immigrant girls, ie. promoting gender equity by educating immigrant girls about ideals of marriage and sexual openness. As such, it is not unusual for teachers to feel responsible for the social development of their students and their integration into Danish society and to become involved in the personal lives of students. The Danish head teacher or “klasselaereren,” the mother of the class, has historically been a leader in the work of creating Danish citizens, as she has been understood to be responsible for the academic and social development of students and the growth of the class as a community (Anderson, 1996).

Danish schools focus on the parallel tasks of creating social cohesion in the Class and providing students with the skills to be engaged citizens. Birgitte, the extra-Danish teacher, said: “In Danish, not only do we educate but we help students to be citizens, we help them to be independent individuals who have their own opinions, and we actually do a lot of creative,

educational activities to help them to be individuals.” These ideals of Danish individualism were frequently projected in opposition to the collectivist orientation of immigrant families. Teachers emphasized the need for immigrant students to become “individuals” who are independent from their families. In the following passage, Birgitte discusses her work with immigrant students and expresses desires to provide female students with the opportunities available within Danish society.

I think that it is a big part of our job and I know that a lot of teachers are working very much with this. They [immigrant girls] have to be a part of the jobs and the education system and to be open-minded, where I can no longer live in my own little safe world where I do what my mother did and she did what her mother did...and the more we can try to get them to open up, the better it will be for their integration as a whole.

Birgitte describes her work “to get them to open up” to move immigrant girls out of a historical cycle of gender oppression in order to enjoy the freedoms afforded by Danish society. Her understandings weave together notions of Danish democracy and ideals of gender equity that are set in opposition to the traditionalism of immigrant women. She emphasizes that this work “is a big part of our job.” Denmark’s immigration discourses shape Birgitte’s understanding of her own professional identity and her work as an educator to support her female students to move beyond the perceived constraints of ethnic and religious communities to join Danish society.

While both male teachers and administrators discussed the challenges facing immigrant girls in their families and communities, Birgitte and Lena were the only teachers to speak about their work with immigrant girls to encourage them to accept Danish norms of behavior. Lena emphasized, “The more that we can try to get them to open up, the better it will be for their integration as a whole.” She co-constructs Muslim immigrant communities as backward and

oppressive, and Denmark as offering freedom and enlightenment—thus framing her work as bringing civilization to immigrant girls. Discursive conceptions of oppressed immigrant girls provide legitimacy and moral authority for teachers “civilizing work”.

As Lena spoke about her work with Dhalia, Aliyah and Sara, she reflected on experiences earlier in her career when she worked with women in Somali communities to start an educational campaign against genital mutilation. She casts her work in the classroom with Dhalia in the same light as her work with Somali women—it involves civilizing work to bring equity and democracy to immigrant girls.

I worked with ethnic minorities before in another community where I was a teacher for many years and we had a lot of Somali women. They didn't speak anything but Urdu or whatever they speak. I spoke to their translator and tried to work with the girls to stop practices like clitorrectomy, these practices that are hurting women.

As Lena spoke to me over a cup of tea, it seemed that her work with immigrant girls was an integral part of her professional identity and provided her with a sense of moral authority and a sense of herself as a caring and concerned teacher. Lena works in the tradition of what Puwar (2004) describes as ‘western women or ‘imperial ladies’ who work under the cloak of the rescue paradigm “to style perhaps unconsciously, a political position and identity for themselves...they could use charitable positions which maintained distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them’ to measure and judge the lives of ‘other’ women through a yardstick that took the lives of middle-class women in the west as the norm, ‘as the implicit referent”(p.23). It seems that for Lena, understandings of the perceived social problems in immigrant communities inform her everyday work with youth in classrooms and become the dominant frame for interpreting everyday interactions.

Teachers who engage in civilizing work express desires for their female students to have access to education, jobs, and an individual identity while they also express broader concerns about the integrity of the national community. We hear teachers take up the emancipatory language of democratic values to project an assimilationist agenda. As Wendy Brown (2006) argues, “The discourse of tolerance substantively brokers cultural value—valorizing the west, othering the rest—while feigning to do no more than distinguish civilization from barbarism, protect the former from the latter, and extend the benefits of liberal thought and practices” (p. 203). Lena and Birgitte work within a tradition of women teachers who serve as mothers or guardians of the state and who are responsible for maintaining the boundaries of the nation. Within their civilizing discourses, the language of helping ultimately slides into an insistence on assimilation as immigrant girls are invited to sever ties to family, religion and community.

I believe that Danish teachers’ concerns for their immigrant students are genuine. Birgitte and Lena are sincere as they express desires to extend opportunities to immigrant girls to get an education and to have good jobs. Lena said, “I want them to be assured in their inner self that they feel that they are something, that they have an equality of possibility of getting an education.” Teachers conceive of education as providing opportunities for social mobility, higher levels of self-esteem and independence. However, their direct work with these students seems to be focused on solving perceived cultural problems rather than on providing academic supports. In short they engage in culture work rather than academic work as they conceive of cultural assimilation as a necessary pre-requisite for academic success. However, the youth in this study reveal how assimilative educational practices complicate their efforts to be fully involved in the life of the classroom and the school—how they must adopt a defensive posture

and avoid exposing aspects of their personal lives that might attract the scrutiny of peers or teachers.

I found no evidence that the Muslim girls in my study were vulnerable to practices of forced marriage or other oppressive practices. Many of my female participants described parents who wanted them to learn Danish, to be successful in school so that they would have the opportunity to attend upper secondary education and university. However, I am not arguing that oppression of women in Muslim communities does not exist, or that it should not be the concern of teachers. Rather, I think we should consider that when that concern takes the form of coercive questioning and assimilative practices, when youth feel the sting of cultural and religious critique in classrooms, they are less likely to feel that they can reach out to those teachers and peers in times of personal crisis.

Flashpoints: Class Trips and the Wearing of Hijab

Like the interactions presented in English and Danish as a second language classes, there were other interactions within the school that became weighted with broader concerns about the integration of immigrants. Youth described how decisions not to attend a school trip or choices to wear hijab in school become flashpoints—or everyday encounters that become amplified as they resonate with broader discourses. Class trips¹⁴ are understood to provide important opportunities for immigrant girls to learn the cultural values of Danish schools in order to become more integrated into the community (*faelleskab*) of the school. Trips were a major point of discussion within the school amongst teachers and ethnic Danish students who noted the absence of immigrant girls from Class trips the year before. Sara, Dhalia and Aliyah explained that they didn't attend their Class trip because of concerns about eating and sleeping

¹⁴ Class trips are usually two to five days in length and involve travel to the countryside or to other European cities.

arrangements. Teachers believed that the girls didn't attend because parents did not allow their daughters to travel with their Class¹⁵. The absence of immigrant girls on trip is understood to be a problem that extends to schools across Denmark; the Danish Ministry of Education has produced a publication explaining the educational purposes of Class trips to immigrant parents:

Figure 5.2 School Camp



The school camp
is a part of the teaching,
which creates an opportunity
for the pupils to gain hands-on
experience. The pupils are taught

in a secure environment – under
the guidance and supervision
of the teacher.

(Danish Ministry of Education, 2009)

Anderson (1996) writes about the place of Class trips in Danish schooling:

One ideologically proclaimed and commonly practiced way of getting to know one another is to have common experiences. Thus, at times of change, Classes will be funded for several days at a school camp. Here, due to informal, intense and unschool-like environment, it is expected that teachers and students will be “rystet sammen” (shaken together) to merge and form an integrated whole (sammenhaengende hele).

The topic of immigrant girls absence on class trips came up repeatedly in interviews with teachers, immigrant youth and ethnic Danish youth. Birgitte and Lena described the “problems” with immigrant girls who don’t attend school trips and framed trips as an important opportunity for immigrant girls to be exposed to Danish ways of living and thinking:

Four of the girls, they are not allowed to go on the school tour. I think it’s affecting their whole experience of how we all are. I mean to understand the social rules. They need to learn to be independent, to be able to sleep away from their family, to get their own opinion, to manage, to socialize playing games.

School trips are understood to provide an important opportunity for the immigrant girls “to learn, away from their home and be independent”. Further, being exposed to other Danish students within the community of the Class is understood to provide an opportunity for the girls to be independent—“to sleep away from their families”. Birgitte suggests that immigrant students

absence affects the overall feeling of community within the Class—“it’s affecting their whole experience of how we are all”.

In focus groups ethnic Danish youth explained the role of school trips in the development of social community of the class.

We have really close relationships with our teachers. We can joke with them and they know us very well. The school trips are really important, on the trip to Prague hiking, we really got closer to our teachers.

In a discussion about immigrant girls, ethnic Danish students brought up the topic of school trips and described their teacher’s strong reaction to the absence of the immigrant girls on their school trip.

Like our trip to Jutland, the Muslim girls weren’t allowed to come with us and they miss the social life that we have together. (Another student): Yes, their parents wouldn’t let them come. Our math teacher (Henrik) was really angry at the parents because he thought they were ruining their daughter’s life. R: How did you know? J: In the class he was shouting that it was wrong, he would call their parents”.

In an interview Henrik, the math teacher said the following:

There are some students that I think why are you here? Go back to your country. I say to myself, why are you here, you must leave the country if you are not going to follow the rules and know how to behave. Many of them think they can use special rules for themselves but they must use the same rules as I do. I will give you an example. With the girls, there are some of the four foreign girls who couldn’t come with us on the school trip. My job is to take care of them and the parents must understand that, when you say no to not letting your girl coming, you accuse me of not taking care of your girl, of doing

my job.... It's a problem, it's like they say, I follow the class as long as I like. I don't like to have to sleep outside. *I told them, you are 15 now and it's not normal and it's not good. They could learn, away from their home and be independent.*

Immigrant students' lack of participation on trips seems to present a direct challenge to Henrik who feels that immigrant parents are accusing him of not "taking care of their children well". In this instance, Henrik positions girls who don't attend Class trips as outsiders within the community i.e. If she isn't going to "follow the rules and know how to behave" she should "go back to her country". It is understandable that a teacher would be upset about the lack of participation of some of his students in a school sponsored activity. However, the amplification of the incident and his anger seem to reflect how individual student's choices carry the weight of broader societal concerns about the integration of immigrants.

Henrik establishes an either/or scenario—either the girls conform to Danish notions of belonging and attend trips or they should be excluded from the community. Rebuffed that immigrant families refuse his care and are denied the opportunities of Danish schools (and by extension society), he seems to argue that exclusion is a legitimate response—something that they brought on themselves.

Like students experiences with class trips, Aliyah described how Henrik publicly questioned her in class about her choice to begin wearing hijab:

Most teachers are like that, like the math teacher (Henrik) when I begin to put my scarf on last year then he get a little bit angry at me...he said why did you put that on in the classroom when anyone could hear (the other students), like it was my problem when I put it on, it is not your choice...and he kept asking me why and why and saying, are your

parents making you put it on. But I say noo, I said it's not my parents, it's my decision what I do and what I choose not to do. He wasn't believing what I was saying, he was like saying, like oh yeah, it's your parents. Some teachers are like that.

In her retelling of the encounter with the math teacher, Henrik, Aliyah teases out multiple dimensions of this interaction. She describes her teachers expressed anger about her decision, the fact that it takes place in the classroom in front of her peers and the teacher's assumption that she is forced by her parents to wear hijab. Like the incident in the English class with Lena and Dhalia, Aliyah experiences a hostile set of questions without a real opportunity to respond. She countered the teachers questions, with "no, it's my decision what I do and what I choose not to do"—but she also expresses her acceptance that within the Danish space of the classroom "some teachers are like that". She is resigned to the fact that there is a breakdown of communication and understanding with some teachers.

Youth describe how they become accustomed to teachers coercive questioning and critique in the space of classrooms, how they develop protective strategies. While Aliyah is aware of the contentious terrain of teacher's and peers deficit views, she holds onto her traditions even when it leads to disciplining. In a focus group, Aliyah describes the first day when she wore hijab to school.

I remember the first day I put my hijab on, I was like really scared going to school, thinking, what are they going to say to me. But in another way, I felt really strong, like I was saying, I can do what I want.

Despite her fear of the consequences of asserting difference in the Danish space of the classroom, Aliyah finds strength in her choice. But despite her work to hold her identifications

and affiliations within the space of the classroom, she points to the ways in which this choice can translate to reduced access to academic support.

In the 6th grade, I began to be really good in math and he was like my best teacher. And then in 8th grade, I didn't go to the camp because I was in Africa and he was angry that I missed the overnight. And then when I started wearing the scarf, he was like, he didn't like me. In the teacher student meeting he told my parents that I wasn't doing well in math, I wasn't doing my homework. But I did. I always do my homework. Also the Danish teacher, that same year, said she isn't doing well, she is too quiet.

Aliyah associates her choice to wear hijab and missing the overnight trip with a decline in her grades and her relationship with Henrik.. She explained that before she began wearing hijab, Henrik was a supportive teacher and she excelled in his class. This view of Henrik was consistent with that of ethnic Danish students, female ethnic Danish students described Henrik as a person that they could turn to for support. Christina explained, “it helps a lot when you can ask the teacher a questions, when I have a hard time I can always ask him (Henrik) questions. Pernilla added: When I first got into his class, I wasn't good at math and I was really shy, he helped me so much and I wasn't afraid to ask him questions when I didn't know something. It seems that prior to wearing hijab, Aliyah felt similarly about Henrik and excelled in his class. However, once she entered adolescence began wearing hijab and expressing ethnic and religious difference in the space of school her relationship with Henrik declined.

Like Aliyah, Nadifa, an eighth grade Somali student described how she felt that she could no longer turn to Henrik for support when she began wearing hijab,

Sometimes teachers too, Henrik is like that. He teaches us chemistry. When I just put my Hijab he looked at me differently, he talked to me in a really mean voice. When I

started wearing hijab he changed from treating me sweet, like before when I asked him for help he would come and help. Then after I started wearing hijab he was very strict, he would say no you can't do that. I don't ask him for help anymore.

Nadifa explains that after she began wearing hijab, she experienced critique shift within her relationship with Henrik and no longer reached out to him for academic support. These cases reveal how expressions of cultural and religious difference can also translate to reduced access to institutional support from teachers who are gate-keepers to upper-secondary education in Denmark (Stanton-Salazar, 1998) In the Danish system where teachers ultimately make recommendations that determine whether students move into a vocational track or an academic track, teachers negative views of students can translate to narrowed opportunities following Folkeskolen.

Immigrant youth must navigate a series of negative assumptions about their identities within the spaces of Danish schools and their communities. These assumptions often define youth as constituting a social problem that requires a series of educational interventions that are cloaked in the language of care and concern. The three contexts presented here reveal educators who frame their work in terms of supporting their immigrant students to have a better life—but ultimately their efforts to support emancipation slide into exclusion. They also highlight how the racial, class and gender hierarchies of the nation are reproduced in classrooms where immigrant youth are positioned as outsiders (Lee, 2005; Lopez, 2003; Suarez-Orozco, 2001)

As these data reveal, a shift in discourse and policy opened up spaces within schools for the expression of anti-immigrant ideas and the coercive assimilation of immigrant youth. As Discourses are “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.” As Stephen J Ball (1996) tells us, “They are about what can be said, thought and also about who can speak,

when, where and with what authority (p.207)” In the chapters that follow, I explore how discourses position immigrants in Danish society and schools as a social problem and how educational practices are engaged to provide solutions.

In this work, I am not suggesting that all Danish teachers are engaging in the coercive assimilation of immigrant students or are encouraging Muslim girls to engage in pre-marital activity. I will present a variety of ways in which teachers conceive of their immigrant students and their work with them.

The classes presented here provide a glimpse into how nationalist discourses lead to the amplification of everyday interactions in schools between Muslim students and their teachers. In the student/teacher interactions presented here, we see how scripted narratives about the identities of immigrant girls influence how teachers understand and respond to the youth in their classrooms. As revealed in the example of Henrik and Aliyah, we witness a decline in what was once a positive student/teacher relationship. It seems that as Muslim girls reach adolescence and begin to assert their ethnic and religious identities, teachers begin to focus on these differences as requiring particular forms of intervention.

Liz Fekete explains that in the post 9-11 context, national fear has taken on a kind of “paranoia in which any signs of cultural difference-like the wearing of hijab—is interpreted as an act of aggression” (Fekete, 2004). Like the act of putting on the hijab, the choice to attend or to not attend Class trips is amplified and invokes anxieties. It takes place at a critical turning point in an immigrant girls life which signifies whether she will follow in the footsteps of her mother and join the community of unassimilable immigrants or whether she will join the rest of Danish society. This heightened scrutiny of adolescence seems somewhat uncharacteristic in Danish schools that are anti- authoritarian and encourage self expression and experimentation with

clothing that take place as adolescents negotiate their identities. But going gothic, and wearing all black or other forms of experimentation and self expression do not seem to invoke the heightened surveillance and disciplining that we see here. The examples in this chapter reveal how everyday expressions of individual students carry the weight of collective anxieties about the “immigrant problem”. The Muslim youth in this chapter describe how they experience educator concern as both heightened surveillance and as well as painful processes misrecognition where they are no longer seen as individuals or as learners by their teachers. There seems to be an unstated belief that as they refuse educator concern, they justify their own exclusion and are positioned within a racial hierarchy where they are no longer eligible for the same kinds of supports and sponsorship as ethnic Danish students.

CHAPTER SIX
ON TEACHING DEMOCRACY AND OPENNESS:
THE ECHOES OF IMMIGRATION DISCOURSES IN SCHOOLS

This chapter examines how immigration discourses and policies influence understandings about the education of immigrant youth. According to Holland and colleagues (1998): The new ethnographers of personhood describe how specific, often socially powerful, cultural discourses and practices both position people and provide them with the resources to respond to the problematic situations in which they find themselves (p. 32). Teachers are not passive agents who merely absorb the knowledge contained within discourses—they are active agents who adopt, resist and adapt discursive knowledge as they negotiate their own identities and the cultural complexities of their students in the socially produced, culturally constructed “figured world” of the school (Shore and Wright, 1997; Ball, 1996; Holland et. al, 1998).

This chapter explores how nationalist discourses and policies influence teachers practices and understandings of the immigrant students in their classrooms. It explores how discursive notions of the social “problems” of immigration are treated within classrooms with deep pedagogical commitments to democratic, child centered education and social inquiry. As in the discussion within the Impossible Love chapter, this chapter explores how commitments to “democratic” education can at times translate to educational practices that are focused on civilizing immigrant students and disciplining cultural, linguistic and religious differences. It also reveals educators who resist deficit discourses to create expanded notions of citizenship and belonging. In this work, we hear the voices of educator concern-- teachers desires to create classrooms spaces committed to fostering liberation and student “voice” and youth’s experiences

of those spaces as sites of racialization and silencing. This work raises up larger questions of how broader discourses and constructions of citizenship influence teachers' understandings, the messages that youth receive about their identities in schools, social relations between different actors in classrooms and ultimately the possibilities for immigrant youth's engagement in schools and society.

As a former teacher, I have always been uneasy about engaging in critical analysis of teachers' work—especially in a time when teachers are subjected to increasing surveillance and the global proliferation of testing that evaluates teachers and students on achievement on standardized tests. My work does not engage in normative evaluations of individual teachers, but rather considers how discourses are carried and contested by individual actors. While there are common narratives that are echoed amongst teachers in school discourse and practice, there are significant differences in how teachers position themselves in relation to immigrant students depending on their professional responsibilities within the school and their own history and identity.

While this analysis makes no claims that the sample presented here is representative of all Danish teachers, the ways that teachers' narratives resonate with themes in the larger immigration discourse indicate that I have tapped into aspects of the conversation about the presence of Muslim immigrants in schools and society. It is also critical to position the teachers discussed here within the local context of a school and a community where public perceptions of threat from immigrants are magnified. As mentioned earlier, Dyreparken is conscious of its public image as a "black" school or a school with a large population of immigrant students. Over the past thirty years, the number of immigrant students has grown, and fewer ethnic Danish families have chosen to send their children here. In Denmark, schools are considered acceptable

with immigrant populations of 25% or less. In 2009, 45% of the population of Dyreparken school came from immigrant families. Per explained that, increasingly, ethnic Danish families are choosing to send their children to a local private school. During my time within the school, teachers expressed concern about the threat of impending layoffs as a result of the school's declining enrollment, and there was speculation about whether the school would survive.

There was much public discussion about the problems of residential segregation of immigrants and crime amongst immigrant boys in Dyrehaven. Media articles described the problems of "crime from immigrant gangs" and portrayed the housing project as a "ghetto." A Danish newspaper article describes the growing crisis in Dyrehaven. Within the article the chairman of the local municipality social committee declared war against "troublemakers":

We are at war. The way I define war is that we can send troops to Iraq to take care of people down there, but we can not take care of our own citizens. Old ladies will even be killed in broad daylight when they are in Dyrehaven Centre. It's becoming like Soweto or Harlem. So ludicrous is it (Jespersen, 2004).

Within this context, immigrants evoke racial terror, as they represent a threat to individual citizens, schools, the community and the nation. Youth in my study described how processes of racialization were amplified in this local context. One male Iraqi-Romanian student explained that in Dyrehaven he is seen as "someone who is going to get in a fight," whereas in Copenhagen he would more likely be viewed as "just a guy walking around". Within Dyrehaven the "problem" of immigration reverberates through community and school. It influences how individual teachers perceive the immigrant students who arrive in their classes every morning and how they conceive of their work with these students.

Integration Discourses: On supporting Danish “Openness” in the Child- Centered Classroom

Mathias, a young male English teacher, spoke about openness in terms of classrooms that encouraged youth to engage in critical questioning in order to be more “open” to new ideas. In describing his philosophy of teaching, Mathias emphasized that it is important to develop close relationships with students and to create classroom environments where students feel comfortable asking questions and engaging in critical dialogue. He said, “I believe that questioning is what it is all about. I have no problems answering any questions. For example my students ask me, ‘Have you ever smoked pot?’ and I think it is okay to talk about it.” Within his classes Mathias encouraged an informal atmosphere where students related to him more as a peer than an authority figure.

The informality of Danish classrooms and relationships with teachers was emphasized in several interviews. A Danish teacher said, “It’s relaxed here—we don’t get upset when kids say ‘shit’ in the classroom.” A reflection of Danish educational ideals of the 1960’s and 1970’s, there is a focus on preparing students to be active participants of Danish society, and teachers privilege the expression of students’ individual opinions.

An important element of the Danish approach to English instruction is that it not only involves instruction in English language skills but also requires the consideration of a variety of viewpoints and perspectives. Mathias says, “Denmark is such a small country that we have to look out. You have to understand other cultures because Denmark is so small. It would be like if Delaware said, ‘We are just going to stick with our own philosophy and not learn from others.’” Mathias explained that he feels successful in his work as a teacher “when people start to ask questions, when I don’t have to edge them on. If I can get the kids hooked on seeing things from another perspective, like when Lene says, ‘You can think of this another way.’” Like

several other teachers in the school, Mathias spoke of his commitment to encouraging students to engage in active debate in the classroom.

The curriculum in Danish schools is designed to respond to students' individual interests and needs. In one class that I observed, Mathias was reading and discussing the short story "The Things They Carried" by Tim O'Brien. Mathias explained that he chose this story because he thinks that students can really relate to the content. "They are interested in Iraq, like, what it feels like to wander through the forest with a gun. I don't use the textbook because it's not where these kids are at; it's about like how kids in Australia eat lunch at 11:00. These kids could care less about that sort of thing." On several occasions, Mathias emphasized, "I would die if I had to use the textbook." He stressed that he designed curriculum that responded to the individual interests of students in his classroom in order to increase student engagement.

In the classroom discussion, I noticed that there was a significant difference between the involvement of immigrant students and ethnic Danish students. In Mathias's class, the ethnic Danish students sat together towards the front of the room and engaged in the discussion while the immigrant youth sat together near the rear of the classroom and were completely silent. One Turkish girl with long dark braids sat text messaging in the back of the classroom for over a half an hour, with her phone in full view. In one class discussion, I recorded that Mathias called on ethnic Danish students sixteen times without calling on any immigrant students. While the immigrant students were clearly not taking steps to join the discussion—signaling interest or involvement through eye contact, for example—Mathias was also not taking steps to draw these students into the discussion.

Mathias expressed frustration about the lack of participation of his immigrant students, and he spoke at length about the problem of immigrant students "keeping to themselves" in his

class. He attributed their lack of engagement to a lack of “openness” or curiosity about the world that is evidenced by their perceived lack of integration within Denmark. Mathias felt that by not participating in classes they were not able to benefit from the offerings of Danish society to obtain the resources that they needed to be successful. He concluded that immigrants were failing to be “open” to Danish ways of thinking that would improve their lives. Mathias’s explanations about the participation of immigrant students in his class resonated with narratives about the integration of immigrants.

Educators’ concerns about the segregation of immigrant youth in classrooms seem to be tied to discursive narratives about integration. Mathias said, “With the youth the focus should be that people coming to this country have to be open-minded to the system to be successful. You have to be willing to embrace the culture.” I asked what it means to be open-minded. “If you go to a different country and *you try to maintain the culture that prevailed in the country that you came from then you are not open.*”

Like other teachers, Mathias defined “successful” students as those who were assimilated within Danish society. Keeping one’s native language and culture is understood to be evidence that one is not adequately “open.” In this instance, it seems as if openness is unidirectional—immigrant youth should be “open” to Danish and European culture, but in the Danish space of schools, “openness” to expressions of religious and cultural differences is rare.

English teachers presented the idea that English class provided opportunities for students to be exposed to other ways of living, i.e. the “English-speaking world”

Lena, the 9th grade English teacher, suggested that English class was particularly critical for immigrant girls who need to learn that “there are other ways of behaving and living in the world.” Classroom discussions and curriculum privilege specific attributes that are associated

with Western societies. While teachers referenced the need for Danes to look outwards to learn about other countries, it seems that they reproduce normative notions of citizenship that define the boundaries of discussion in classrooms.

In one interview, Mathias described how youth were encouraged to think critically about their own beliefs. He said the following about Danish classrooms:

In my class when we are talking about text or talking about religion, I have a very relaxed attitude towards religion, but if I flash that, I will always sugarcoat it to say that other people might think something else. This is Denmark; it is the cornerstone for freedom of speech and so *I respect people's views but I also feel that it is my right to scratch the surface* because if you don't have any self irony it is going to be hard for you. You do that best where *you create a situation where you shake the goalposts a little*. There was this guy in my class, and we were talking about the idea that you get 72 virgins in heaven if you pray five times a day... He said, "I don't pray five times a day," and he said every time you skip a prayer you spend 350 days in purgatory, and I told him, it doesn't really matter. In my mind, that helps to loosen up the discussion and makes it more easygoing.

In this description, Mathias conceals his critique of Islam. He wants me to understand that he respects others' views but he also feel that it is his right to "scratch the surface" or challenge immigrant youth to explain their views. Employing the language of democracy and freedom of speech, Mathias justifies critically questioning a student about his religious beliefs, explaining that it is one way to "loosen up the discussion" (Augoustinos & Every, 2007).

In this instance, as in the classroom discussion of "impossible love," the teacher uses debate and deliberation—features of democratic education—to disguise coercive questioning. It

is coercive because it does not take account of the asymmetrical power relations that exist within the Danish space of the classroom in which Danish norms of belonging are taken for granted and the beliefs and practices of immigrant students are contested. Zaal, Salah & Fine (2007) describes how Muslim immigrant youth must carry the “weight of the hyphen”—how they are called on to defend their beliefs in Eurocentric classroom spaces.

This raises important questions about how desires to promote critical social inquiry and democratic participation can enact the silencing and marginalization of minority students. Kumashiro (2000) describes how at times inter-cultural conversations designed to deepen students’ understandings of different cultures can ultimately end up essentializing or othering students. Despite expressed commitments to diversity and to understanding different ways of life, English classes established unofficial borders that distinguished enlightened, democratic, Western cultures from the home countries of immigrant students.

Repeating a statement that I heard in most interviews, Mathias said “*This is Denmark*”—signaling an aspect of Danish identity that is collectively taken for granted and highlighting the national commitment to freedom of speech. He positions the need to “respect others’ views” as secondary, explaining that sometimes you have to question youth about their beliefs. Mathias signals that freedom of speech is a value that is privileged above the rights of individuals. Embedded within national debates surrounding the Mohammed cartoon crisis, teachers and ethnic Danish students argued that Muslims just do not fully understand the democratic values of freedom of speech. Similarly, Mathias constructs Denmark as embodying multicultural awareness, democratic values and freedom of speech. As such, no topic is considered out-of-bounds, from classroom discussions about smoking pot to the critical questioning of a student’s religious beliefs.

In a focus group, Lorna, an ethnic Danish student, echoes Mathias's statement about immigrant students' lack of understanding of freedom of speech:

“But sometimes they (Muslim immigrants) don't understand our culture. Like with the Mohammed drawings. It was a big issue. They don't know that we have the freedom to speech. And I thought it's okay to print the cartoon if you have respect for the culture. They're not doing it just to be mean.” While several immigrant students cited the discriminatory nature of the Mohammed cartoons and understood the publication of the cartoons as evidence of hostility towards immigrants in Danish society, Lorna explained the crisis in terms immigrants' failure to understand Danish culture. Her explanation reproduces the common theme that Muslims do not know the requirements of democratic citizenship. Several teachers explained that the Danish practices of inquiry-based, child-centered education is particularly challenging for immigrant students. Mathias described the experiences of teachers in a school in a more affluent community:

If you travel up the coast 10 miles you will see that the students are completely different. I have a friend that teaches in Ryborg and it's amazing the things that his students cover, *they know more, they have been brought up to ask questions, they speak their mind*, as long as you just get involved in the conversation and then you'll learn something. Here in my class, there are like 10 people in the class that don't say anything, they are at the point where they don't dare to say anything.

In this passage, Mathias contrasts the work of a teacher in a school with affluent ethnic Danish students to his own work with immigrant students. He constructs ethnic Danish students as ideal citizens, students who “*speak their mind*” and “*have been brought up to ask questions.*”

Mathias expresses ambivalence about working in Dyreparken school with such a high percentage of immigrant students who complicate his efforts to foster inquiry in the classroom.

Mathias views his immigrant students' silence in his classrooms as an expression of their cognitive limitations or their traditionalism, i.e., a devotion to ethnic and religious community that is antithetical to the development of one's individual opinion. However, interviews and focus groups with youth reveal a different perspective. Students describe how they have adapted their behavior in order to avoid the gaze and critique of concerned teachers. Their strategies for dealing with deficit views of immigrants often involve lowering their profile in classes and not speaking about personal experiences in order to avoid being singled out by teachers. They also describe conflicts with teachers and school administrators that reveal that it is risky to challenge deficit views of immigrants in classrooms.

Other teachers echoed the assumption that immigrant students lack the skills and disposition to function in an inquiry-based classroom. Tina, a fourth grade English teacher, said: "It's very challenging for some of the students [an implied reference to immigrant students] because they have to form an opinion about something. It's the main problem I feel because not all children are able to do it. The less fortunate do have problems working in this way."

In another instance, Birgitte explained the problems with immigrant girls in terms of the captivity and repression of Muslim girls: "They don't know their opinion. It's very hard for them to get rid of their background and say what they mean."

Holger, a German teacher in his late sixties, has worked in the school since before the arrival of immigrants in the community and describes how immigrants challenge Danish notions of child-centered instruction. *"I have been here for over thirty years when our school was just a*

farmhouse in a field, it was white.” He described how the changing population of the school has challenged his work. Specifically, he described how the religious and cultural differences of immigrant students challenge his ability to connect with his students and threaten the use of child-centered methods. He describes the unique approach of Danish schools.

It is important to focus on the individual needs of the individual child. What are his needs? In math, in science, creatively...It is hard because the cultures differ so very much. When you talk about food, commitments, traditions. When I asked how that becomes hard, he said, *“Because we can’t set a standard. The parents have a different standard of how to behave. So, we just, it is very difficult to pick up the phone and refer to some behavior in the classroom because maybe it might be normal in their homes this special behavior that we might describe.*

While Danish schools are understood to attend to “the individual needs of the individual child” there is an implied directive to enculturate students to the “standard of how to behave.” Holger tells us that the cultural complexity of families that have different “food, commitments and traditions” complicates his work. His explanation also reveals how notions of “good students” and “problematic students” are defined in terms of Danish norms of behavior.

Holger is nostalgic for his early years in the school and expresses concern about the challenges of negotiating the religious and cultural differences of immigrant students. “Their religion has attacked our system. Back in the 50s, during my childhood, there was only one way to consider the world and how life should be lived but now there are many aspects to be considered, (laughing) many cultural riches.” Unlike teachers who conceal deficit views of immigrant students by using the tropes of democracy and individualism, Holger expresses worry about the influence of immigrants’ cultural practices on Danish culture, as he says, “Many

immigrants have come in the sixties and seventies and they have made their footprint in the culture and society.”

As Danish schools have historically been focused on enculturation students to become responsible members of society, teachers’ work emphasizes bringing up students according to Danish ideals of the “proper way to behave.” The school has been seen as a site of social justice that brings together youth from diverse economic and cultural backgrounds to ensure the cohesion of Danish society. Within the mission of the Danish educational system, there is a collective belief that creating a common culture through schooling is good for the nation and good for the individual student. However, despite the stated desire to promote equality for all students, the pressures towards sameness and strong social norming in Danish classrooms translate to modes of child-centered instruction that ultimately relegate immigrant students to the margins of the classroom community.

Danish notions of “child- centered instruction” emphasize constructivist approaches that include experiential learning and active project-based teaching—methods that have been shown to be effective with immigrant students who are emergent language learners (Jaffe-Walter, 2008). However, it seems that these practices are in tension with schools’ mission within the national project (Jenkins, 2007). Teachers’ efforts to maintain the imagined community of the nation appear to be in conflict with commitments to child-centered instruction that focus on the experiences of individual students. According to educators like Holger, it is easy to maintain child-centeredness when students are relatively culturally homogenous. When immigrant youth introduce cultural, religious and linguistic differences that are at odds with Danishness, teachers feel that they must either discipline these differences or relegate youth to the margins so as to maintain the culture of the classroom and the school community.

Representations of Immigrant Families:
Recruiting Discourses of “Resourceful” and “Pathological” Families

Both male and female teachers projected images of Muslim families as deficient and as limiting the participation of girls in schools and in Danish society. In a casual conversation, Michael, the guidance counselor, mentioned that “immigrant women have trouble integrating.” When I asked him to explain what he meant by this, he said, “They don't speak the language, have this scarf on and are pushed down from their husbands. They are home all day and they are not integrated.” Several teachers echoed this discursive narrative that highlights the perceived captivity of Muslim girls. This is also a dominant feature of immigration discourses in other Scandinavian countries.

In *Human Visas: A report from the Front Lines of Europe's Integration Crisis*, Hege Storhaug argues that in contrast to the typical Scandinavian small nuclear family, the Muslim extended family poses a particular danger to Muslim girls.

All too many large extended families—and smaller families as well—unfortunately have histories much like that of Mina and her family. And it seems that the larger the family is, the more strongly fortified the negative family is. There is probably connection here with the way in which the system of the extended family functions, both socially and legally, in these families' homelands...The larger the family, the more imprisoning it is (Storhaug, p. 133, as cited in Razack, 2004).

Concerns about the treatment of Muslim girls within families are linked to broader discursive narratives about the failure of Muslim immigrants to integrate within Denmark. There

is a conception that immigrant girls are forced into marriages so members of Muslim communities in their home countries can take up residence in Denmark. Thus, girls' choice (or perceived lack of choice) of marriage partner and patterns of marriage and childrearing are understood to be a central concern of educators. One female Danish teacher, Birtha, spoke about how the practice of cousin marriage within Muslim families is evidence of the coercion of immigrant girls and one reason for the academic challenges of immigrant students.

The biggest problem here is that some of our children is cousin/cousin marriage ...you know the problem when the mother and father are too close...and so we see that some of our children are not too bright. I think that is one of the biggest problem, they are joining very little groups and they are living very close in the neighborhood and getting married with people in the neighborhood. We have to make people aware of the problems and just have them talk about it. I don't think that the children know that.

Another female eighth grade Danish teacher, Hedda, described the ways in which she thinks cousin marriage creates challenges for the work of teachers. She attributes the increased representation of immigrant boys in special education classes to problems with cousin marriage:

They are now talking about how in Denmark young people (immigrants) are marrying their cousins because they inherit not so good genes, and it is causing big problem. They tell the young people, don't marry their cousins. (pause) Well, I should say, I am not a racist, that is not why I say it. They are very nice people and it is such a shame that they have those problems but it's *because they only do what their parents do or make the girls do*. I think it is getting better because the more educated, the more the girls will say no.

I asked her, "What is the solution?"

"Democracy. I like Danish democracy. If you vote, you can be heard."

Hedda's explanation about the practice of cousin marriage came after a description of a Turkish boy in her class whom she found particularly challenging. It is interesting that her discussion travels from her understandings of the challenges facing an individual male student in one class to ideas about how immigrant girls are forced into practices of cousin marriage to notions of Danish democracy and the opportunities afforded to immigrants in Denmark. We hear her recruit biological discourses to explain the behaviors of individual students. I was disoriented when Hedda said this, as it was the first time I had heard a teacher raise the issue of cousin marriage. If I had the ability to return to that interview, I would have asked her to describe similar behavioral problems with ethnic Danish students. It seems that challenges facing Danish students are understood more in terms of individual factors (ie.events in one family) whereas the challenges facing Muslim students are understood in terms of the practices of immigrant communities.

Both Birtha and Hedda engage discursive narratives about cousin marriage to make sense of the challenges facing some immigrant students at school—including behavior problems, the cognitive limitations of some immigrant students and the oversubscription of Muslim students in special education classes. While I found these connections surprising at the time of the interviews, later I found that they are part of a broader public discourse that is reflected within the media.

A newspaper article in the *Copenhagen Post* (2004) states:

Sociologists and doctors are calling for an information campaign warning immigrants of the dangers of inter-breeding in response to new figures revealing that Copenhagen school authorities' expenditure on immigrant children with special needs has risen significantly over the past decade, reflecting the rise in cousin marriages...

My intention is not to argue that there are not incidences of cousin marriage or violence against women in Muslim communities.¹⁶ Instead, I am interested in how the sensational stories of a few come to be projected onto an entire community of Muslims and how teachers use discursive stories to explain everyday encounters with students in classrooms. While there are documented cases of the abuse of newly arrived immigrant women by their Danish husbands,¹⁷ these cases are treated as isolated incidents, not generalized as evidence of the inherent brutality of Danish men. Discussions of the problems of forced marriage and cousin marriage in immigrant communities spread rapidly through the media and public institutions because they are part of a larger cultural frame. They have been woven through the fabric of Danish society over time and they serve an important social function: to justify policies that call for intervention with immigrant communities.

It is significant that Hedda asserts that Muslim students are biologically inferior because of particular cultural practices and then pauses and says, “I am not a racist.” Augoustinos and Every (2007) argue that because of social norms against racial prejudice, “negative representations and evaluations of minorities are commonly preceded by ubiquitous disclaimers such as ‘I am not a racist but...’...contemporary race talk is strategically organized to deny racism” (p.126). It seems that Hedda wanted me to understand the phenomenon of cousin marriage, yet she was uncomfortable presenting the narrative as her own personal view. She positions that story as coming from an anonymous source (“They are saying...”) in order to distance herself from accusations of racism.

¹⁶ Customs related to consanguineous marriage patterns have been identified in some Middle Eastern populations as well as in orthodox Jewish communities and Irish communities (Modell and Darr, 2002).

¹⁷ Photographer Tina Enghoff (2010) has documented the abuse of immigrant women as a result of Denmark’s seven year rule which requires that individuals reside in Denmark for seven years before applying for residency. She documents the unintended consequences of this policy on the lives of immigrant women who lack political recourse as well as the Danish government’s failure to prosecute the abusers.

Hedda's explanation also recruits available discourses about the oppression of Muslim girls who are coerced by their families. She asserts that Danish society offers girls opportunities to escape this negative cycle. In presenting solutions for the cultural problems of cousin marriage, Hedda strategically uses the language of Danish democracy to present Denmark as providing opportunities for young women to escape their oppressive families. Augoustinos and Every (2007) observed "the mobilization of classic liberal tropes of individualism, equality, and progress by majority group members in their talk on racial groups and intergroup relations" (p.145). Within Denmark, where there are social taboos against overtly racist language, teachers and policymakers frame their discussions of immigrant students in the language of liberal concern. In this case, Hedda presents herself on the side of democracy and equality, and positions immigrants on the side of coercion and pathology.

Hedda presents a notion of Danish democracy that offers opportunities to be an individual—as she says, "If you vote you can be heard." Razack (2004) describes how Muslims are often understood to exist across a divide between "those who live as autonomous individuals and who make decisions without the influence of kin and community and those who live their lives within communities, the two sides serving to illustrate not only the unbridgeable cultural divide between the West and the non-West but the non-West as a place of danger for women" (p.139). Oppositional definitions of Danes as free, enlightened and encouraging individualism and Muslim families as oppressive and collectivist were woven through teachers discourses at Dyreparken school.

In asserting that immigrants lack the cultural and (biological) characteristics necessary for citizenship, these kinds of oppositional constructions mirror the neo-nationalist discourse that emphasizes the fundamental incompatibility between Danes and immigrants. Such narratives

complicate immigrant youth's everyday experiences in classrooms as they influence processes of "self making and being made," the formation of peer relationships and the establishments of strong relationships with teachers. Culturalist representations of immigrant families become the "go to" story to justify and explain the marginalization of immigrant youth in school—they hover in the air, they obscure understand in student teacher interactions and lead to painful processes of misrepresentation (Taylor, 1996). Aysa, a Turkish teacher describes an interaction with a Danish worker in the school that explains how negative representations block understanding. "She has her own ideas about who I am. And that's why I am so tired of it, to always explain who I am and that I am like you."

Aliyah explains how negative representations are taken up in peer relations between immigrant students and ethnic Danish students:

A: All the people in our class, I don't think they have heard the good thing about us they always hear the bad things. (in a higher pitched exaggerated voice) "I would never be a Muslim, I would never be a immigrant, oh my god, they have a hard life" (double voicing). They don't want us to be here in Denmark.

Aliyah reveals how nationalist discourses travel through the classrooms and influence how peers perceive one another. They complicate immigrant youth's abilities to establish relationships with ethnic Danish youth and to be a part of the life of the class and the school. This points to the ironic consequences of assimilative practices—while intended to encourage the engagement and involvement of immigrant youth, they seem to highlight the boundaries between Danes and immigrants (Jenkins, 2010).

While some narratives about immigrant families emphasized cultural and biological differences—such as cousin marriage, other's emphasized the cultural deprivation of immigrant

families. Teachers attribute the challenges of immigrant students to living with families that are “less fortunate” and that don’t engage in discussions at home. Mathias explains the problems with immigrant parents who lack knowledge about the requirements of schools. “If you ask the immigrant kids what they want to be when they grow up, they will say doctors and lawyers. They will never in a million years be a lawyer. They want to make good money, to bring prestige on their families.”

I asked, “Why are they struggling?”

He replied, “The parents think the kids are taking it seriously but they don’t. The first two years they all pay attention. Then at fourth grade they don’t do well. The parents say, ‘You have to do good in school, you have to listen to your teacher,’ but they don’t have a grasp of what is required.”

While teachers believe that immigrant parents have high educational expectations for their children, they feel the parents don’t have the skills and knowledge their children require to be successful (Lee, 2005). In Danish schools, teachers describe the problems with resource-weak (resourcevæhede) families (Gilliam, 2007). These explanations are similar to cultural deprivation explanations used to describe the deficits of African-American families in the United States (Lewis, 2003 also Valdes, 1996; Lee, 1998 for critique). This line of thinking contends that minority students have poor school performance because their parents lack the “right” attitudes towards education, are not involved enough in their children’s education, and do not prepare their children for school (Valdes, 1996).

In ascribing the challenges facing immigrant students to immigrant families and to immigrant students’ refusal to integrate, teachers see the outcomes of these students as somehow outside of their locus of control. On many occasions, teachers told me about the lack of

engagement and poor performance of immigrant students. Lena said, “A big group of those kids in 9c are never going to ever be able to pass the tests, they just sit there every day.”

In discussions and observations, I witnessed teachers’ resignation about the poor performance of immigrant students. There was no use of strategies of scaffolding or differentiation that I have witnessed in US schools.

In a class discussion of a short story about Catholicism in English class, Lena asked

Jamail: “What do the neighbors think about the teenage girl becoming pregnant?”

Jamail answered, “I read it, but I didn’t understand it.”

Lena asked, “It was too difficult?”

Jamail answered, “Yes, it was.”

Lena answered, “Aaah, okay,” and continued teaching the lesson. Throughout the rest of the class, Jamail remained in his seat with his book open to the story but he appeared to be focused on sending text messages on his telephone. It seemed that there was a passive acceptance of Jamail’s lack of engagement—an understanding that the material was beyond Jamail’s abilities. In discussions about Jamail, Birgitte explained that Jamail would enter a carpentry program when he left Dyreparken school.¹⁸

Teachers’ descriptions of their classes commonly referred to two groups of students, “strong” students who are academically successful and “weak” students who are more problematic. In many cases, weak students were those from immigrant families. Lena emphasized that standardized test pressures make it impossible for her to “slow down” to address the needs of poorer-performing students.

R: I have worked in a school for immigrant students, and I know that it is sometimes difficult to address the needs of students who are at many different levels.

L: Yes, it is really hard, especially because we have the English test at the end of the year. I can't afford to be slowed down because then all of the strong students won't pass the test.

In another discussion she said:

L: Well, I think it's a testing job because you have so many inner feelings in relation to the group of students and you want to help as much as possible to make them able to fit in the Danish schools system. With so many things that are coming from the Minister of Education is putting things out to our schools, also from the local level of the commune, because they are also under pressure from the Minister of Education. Everything is trying to get the most out of everything when we actually just have so much work to help these students fit in. With so many things coming in from the outside makes it impossible to take care of everyone.

Lena points to the ways that the demands of accountability mandates reveal the limited resources available within classes. In the following excerpt, Birgitte discusses the poor performance of immigrant students in a critique of the proliferation of standardized testing in Denmark.

Yeah, because we know who are the weak ones, so we don't have to make another test to find out, "Okay, you're still the weak one." I mean we know already so I think that we should have much more manpower in the classrooms to give the support to the weak ones in their schooling –

In this discussion, "the weak ones" are clearly identified as immigrant students. Like Lena, Birgitte acknowledges the limited resources and how testing distinguishes "strong" from "weak"

students. As she continues, she acknowledges the ways that immigrant students are not receiving support that could improve their academic performance.

We don't use much money in the small classes supporting the weak readers, supporting the one who has such a poor Danish, and it just follows them all the way through the system, and in the early stages it has to be done, and we don't, we're not good at it, we're not good enough. I think England could be also a very interesting study to compare because they really manage to turn the weak into strong students because they have so many more—how do call it—bilingual teachers. We don't support their native language, yeah we don't have that. But they do use that in England.

In this instance, Birgitte alludes to the schools' lack of support for immigrant students linguistic needs. She emphasizes “we're not good enough” and then highlights the ways that “it just follows them all the way through the system.” Birgitte points to the academic challenges facing immigrant students who are not receiving native language support that would facilitate their academic growth and development of Danish language skills. Scholars describe how the privileging of Danish language instruction has contributed to a situation in which immigrant youth risk double language illiteracy in both Danish and in their mother tongue (Holmen, 2009; Garcia, 2008).

While Birgitte imagines that native language support for immigrant students might improve their educational outcomes, she acknowledges that this strategy would not be possible in Danish schools because Danish education policies do not provide native language supports for immigrant students from 3rd world countries. Thus, given the dominant narratives and policy structures that frame the use of immigrant languages as a barrier, Birgitte imagines educational

practices that might turn “weak ones into strong ones” but recognizes that there is no support for these practices.

In another interview, Birgitte took a different tone, suggesting that it is the lack of active involvement of immigrant girls that accounts for their poor performance. Like Mathias, she asserts that it is common for immigrant students to have unrealistic career goals. “It’s not like some of the girls. I think they have a dream of becoming a doctor, and it’s just, ‘Wake up!’ I mean, you have been sleeping now for seven years, eight, nine years. Do you think it’s your birthright? Okay, you are going to be a doctor because you’re a nice person?”

In the earlier explanation, she pointed to the lack of attention to language development that “follows” students from the early grades. Here, she places the responsibility with the girls, who have been “sleeping.” Her characterization of immigrant girls who have “been sleeping” resonates with narratives about the passivity of Muslim girls that suggest that they are not taking the necessary steps to achieve their professional goals.

This is yet another instance in which teachers recruit culturalist discourses to make sense of the academic challenges of immigrant students. As globalization increases the complexity in classrooms, teachers employ different strategies for explaining what is happening in their classrooms. In Birgitte’s two different explanations of the academic challenges facing her students, she places blame in different places—on families and on the Danish educational system. In the first instance we hear a belief in the fundamental abilities of immigrant students and a wish for more support, and in the second we hear resignation, like the statements of her colleague Mathias who sees no hope for high academic outcomes for immigrant students. Instead there is a kind of implicit assumption that placement in vocational non-academic tracks is inevitable.

In teachers' explanations of their immigrant students, we hear narrative of biological difference (i.e., the ways that student's cognitive and behavioral problems are understood to be linked to practices of cousin marriage), we hear cultural deficit explanations (immigrant homes lack the right kind of "culture") and we hear explanations that focus on the captivity of oppressed immigrant girls. Woven through these explanations are common understandings of the "problems" with immigrant families that are deployed to explain immigrant students' performance. This suggests that as globalization increases the complexity in classrooms, teachers recruit discourses into their explanations in ways that are self-protective—that locate the problems with the poor performance of immigrant youth outside their sphere of control, thus allowing them to preserve a positive self image.

The idea that the poor performance of immigrant youth is due to cultural factors or their lack of integration resonates through public discourse and even teacher education. Historically, Danes have been confident in the Folkeskolen and its emphasis on child-centered methods to ensure equity amongst Danes and newly arrived immigrants. However, reports published by the OECD find a great disparity in the educational outcomes of ethnic Danish and immigrant students:

In comparison with the education systems of the reference countries [Canada, United Kingdom, Finland, Norway and Sweden], Denmark appears to be failing to offer its students an equal chance of success. Teachers have good conditions of service and the system is well resourced. Yet, somehow, these positive features have not produced the desired outcomes for the least advantaged students—those with the most to gain from the education system" (OECD 2004, p. 64).

Within Danish teacher education there is little or no attention to strategies for differentiation or scaffolding or types of pedagogies for working with diverse youth. While there is much talk about “openness” and “child-centeredness,” Danish schools focus on serving the needs of middle class native Danish students. Teacher education centers on preparing teachers who are generalists, who are good “caring” people. Anderson, (1996) describes how teacher education centers on the concept of *enhedslaererprincip*, the principle of maintaining flexible generalists rather than ‘narrow’ specialists.

Instead of adapting educational practices to address the needs of culturally diverse youth, there is a tendency to recruit culturalist discourses. In a conversation about how Dyreparken school might improve the education of immigrant students, Sara, Aliyah and Dhalia suggest:

A: They could give students more help. Some students who need help...they don't want to be seen by other students as needing help. There needs to be a way of getting help without having to feel not so smart.

D: Some of the students are a bit like...for example when one of us is speaking in Arabic or laughing and they say, “Why do you speak so fast?” They make fun of us.

R: How could you change this?

D: The teachers should be more sweet with the students, not just the Danish students but the *invanderer*, immigrant kids, and to like us like they like the Danish kids and to help us like they help the Danish kids. Maybe, I don't know it would help if we did one class for Danish and one class for immigrant.

A: No, that wouldn't work. It wouldn't be good because we wouldn't get to know each other, because we wouldn't learn Danish very well, and they would like us even less.

In this discussion, Aliyah and Sara express a desire for more support in school, as they want teachers “to like us like they like the Danish kids and to help us like they help the Danish kids.” This raises questions about how nationalist discourses might influence the distribution of educational resources in schools. Ricardo Stanton-Salazar (1998), points to the ways that student/teacher relationships influence the educational outcomes of minority youth. He also shows that some student are understood to be more deserving of resources than others. He highlights the fact that “the differential value accorded children and youth in society, depending on their social class, ethnicity and gender” affects “ideological mechanisms that hinder help-seeking and help-giving behaviors within the school” p.7,1997. Aliyah, Sara and Dhalia say that negative perceptions of immigrants impede their access to strong relationships with teachers and make them less likely to seek out help from peers and teachers within the space of the classroom.

The construction of immigrants as a problem also exists within teacher education in Denmark. Immigrant students are understood to require tolerance and careful management. In an interview in a teacher education newsletter (UCC Magazin, 2010) Tove Hvid Persson, the director of a teacher education institute, discussed issues around the education of bilingual teachers. She spoke about the importance of making accommodations for immigrant students, and she emphasized the importance of “creating a school where we see diversity as a benefit.”

At the end of the interview she was asked, “Where is the line? Is it a success if there are 80 percent bilingual students in a school?”

She replied, “No, we don’t want to be a ghetto school. The success in attracting bilingual students can also become a death route where they are the only ones who sign up. We want diversity, and we will train teachers for the Danish primary school. Therefore, there must be a great representation of ethnic Danish students.”

In Persson's response we hear contradictions between statements about "diversity as a benefit" and the statement that too many immigrant students is a "death route" for a school. Her statements echo narratives about the fundamental "problem" of immigrants in Danish society and position immigrants as in need of intervention.

Creating Space for Counter-Narratives of Nation

As teachers negotiate their own identities within the "figured world" of the school, they don't merely absorb the assumptions set forth in discourses (Holland & Quinn, 1987). They also negotiate discursive knowledge and understandings in different ways based on their own personal histories and experiences. This section highlights voices in the space of the school that are not consistent with nationalist discourses.

One afternoon when I was sitting at a table outside the teachers' room writing field notes, I met Karen, a 25-year-old special education teacher. Karen is the lead special education teacher for a group of eight 7th grade boys (six out of eight of whom are Muslim). As she spoke about her students' learning disabilities, she did not focus on cultural factors.

K: Their culture isn't the problem at all. I have a deep respect for their culture and they know that. I don't think that they should assimilate—they don't need to forget who they are. In my class we celebrate Ramadan and the festival of Eid. When they don't eat, I cancel all of the cooking classes to respect that they are not eating.

R: Could you imagine a time when there would be a celebration for Ramadan in the school?

K: (She paused and smiled) *Now, that would be real integration*, if we took some days away from the Winter holiday and gave the Muslim students a real holiday for the feast of Ramadan and we all had a party together in the school.

It seemed that Karen took a more individualistic view of her students because she teaches a majority of Muslim students and doesn't have to contend with the pressures of preparing students for high school examinations. Her students spend the entire day in class with her, where they complete basic academic work and then also learn daily living skills, cooking and handcrafts.

There were other teachers who similarly expressed views that "culture isn't the problem." When I asked Jaan, who works on Aysa's team, to describe the challenges facing immigrant students, he did not provide an answer that focused on cultural differences or discursive stereotypes. Instead, he emphasized that immigrant students "have the Danish skills to talk to each other but they don't have the academic Danish skills required to be successful on the national exams."

Jaan spoke to the need for more support for immigrant students' language development. He also stressed that the curriculum should reflect the interests of Muslim students. He said, "In our school we have so many Muslims and we have learned that when there is a war in Palestine we discuss it. We talk about it, because we have a lot of Palestinian students." In addition to Jaan's expressed acceptance of the cultural differences and focus on the academic needs of his immigrant students, he spoke about his work with his colleague Aysa. "My colleague Aysa, we are together and she wears Hijab, we are equal. She helps me to communicate with families. She can translate when we are sitting with families. Especially with the girls—they speak to her

because she has the same background.” It seems that Aysa and Jaan’s classrooms provide a space for counter-narration as they forward visions of hybrid citizenships.

Re-defining Belonging

Aysa: We are all the same because we all live here, we are here in the same school, they have to understand me as I understand the other children and the parents, you understand?

Aysa, a teacher of Danish who is also a second-generation Turkish immigrant, rejects notions of citizenship that are based on assimilation to Danish norms and produces expanded notions of citizenship and belonging (Maira, 2004; Rosaldo, 1994). Aysa describes her work against nationalist discourses and processes of racialization and exclusion as her “war.”

Given the large number of immigrant students at Dyreparken school, Per, the principal, wanted to increase the representation of immigrant teachers on his staff and created a school policy of hiring immigrant teachers. While there were other teachers and assistant teachers in the other parts of the school, Aysa was the only immigrant teacher in the 8th and 9th grade wing of the school. In interviews, Aysa was open about both her professional and personal experiences as a second-generation immigrant in Denmark. While I intentionally did not ask Aysa questions about her personal experiences and identifications, she volunteered stories about growing up in Denmark to help me understand the experiences of her immigrant students.

Aysa was the most discussed teacher in the school and was frequently a topic of conversation in interviews and focus groups with students and teachers. The principal and teachers cited Aysa’s position in the school as a point of pride, a symbol of the schools multiculturalness. She also seemed to play an important role in making connections with immigrant

families. The principal and teachers emphasized that she took the side of the school in what were understood to be cultural conflicts. Birgitte, the English teacher, told me, “Although Aysa looks like one of them, she is one of us.” She described problems with immigrant students who used religious observance as an excuse to get out of classes. Per also described Aysa’s role in this way but emphasized her work to educate teachers:

We respect the Ramadan. That is why it is important that we have Muslim teachers because they can tell the teachers to respect it. But they can also tell the students that they can’t use it as an excuse. They can’t say, “I can’t do gym because I am tired and hungry.” Aysa can say, “I am hungry too but I am here and working.” They are also role models for the immigrant students.

While Aysa was understood to be representative of the school’s openness to immigrant students, at times she was also sought out to police immigrant students. Despite the fact that she was born in Denmark and has linguistic skills that permit her to “pass” as a Dane, her visible presence as a Turkish woman wearing hijab meant that sometimes staff members treated her as out of place. She described how she is commonly misidentified in the space of the school.

The woman in the cantina is always asking me, “What are you doing in this school, what is your work?” She thinks that I am just somebody. When I explain that I teach the 9th grade class, she says, “Ohhh...” She makes a negative face because she can’t see me in my position. She comes from the job center and she doesn’t have an education. She has her own ideas about who I am. And that’s why I am so tired of it, to always explain who I am and that I am like you. I can’t be more Danish than I am, I do everything.

Aysa must resist stereotyped conceptions of Turkish women in hijab—assumptions that she is uneducated and limited to work in the home. She is aware that her presence complicates

other teacher's conceptions of immigrants. She says, "Sometimes they say, 'She is a Dane.' Like Stieg, he says to me, if you talk with me on the phone I would think that your name is Luisa or Maria because it isn't important when I hear you. But if I saw you, I would say, 'Oh, you are just a Muslim.' I know what he means."

Like many of the immigrant students at the school, Aysa says that she must continuously engage in the work of explaining "who I am and that I am like you." But she also complicates the rigid categories of "Danes" and "immigrants," blurring the boundaries between "us" and "them". In chapter 7, I provide a deeper discussion of the ways that Aysa is positioned in different spaces and of her personal strategies for resisting nationalist discourses.

While Aysa describes her efforts to fit in within the Danish space of the school, she also explains that she doesn't conform to Danish norms around physical contact and open discussion of sexuality in the teachers' room. "I don't make the sex jokes, funny language, like the other teachers are always touching each other and hugging." She is also critical of understandings of "openness" in Danish classrooms that involve accepting students' casual dress and use of profanity. Although it is clear that she is respected by other teachers in the school, she is often positioned and positions herself on the margins on the community of teachers. She explains that her work in the school is important because she is different from other teachers:

That's why I chose this school because I want to show something. I could be in an office too. But who's seeing me? I know that because I'm different from the other teachers here, I know it's not something I say to be bigger or something. *All the pupils know me with my name. I don't teach them but they know who I am and they know how to talk with me. They know my name. So that's really, really great. They come to me and they say "Why don't you have lessons with us?"*

Despite the negative messages that she receives about her identity in her community and in the school, she openly displays her affiliations and her professional competencies to insist on her belonging. In this way she resists a racial hierarchy that positions her as an outsider.

Interrupting Deficit Views of Immigrant Students

As Aysa told me about the experiences of Muslim immigrant students in the school, she spoke from her position as a teacher and an immigrant to critique teachers' deficit views of immigrant students.

Because I think that ummm, they, (long sigh), if I think like a real Danish teacher, ummm, it's a wall to have another background, it's a wall and they can't get through and it's easier to talk negative about something you don't know anything about. The teachers who work in this school because there are a lot of students with another background, we have to change ourselves. If we say yes to work here, we have to change ourselves, we cannot say this is my work, I teach, that is not enough.

Positioning herself within and outside of the category of Danish teacher, Aysa argues that teachers have to "change themselves"—implying that they need to examine their negative assumptions about immigrant youth. Aysa describes her work within the community of teachers to reframe understandings of immigrant youth that draw on discursive stereotypes. She discusses Jamail, a ninth grade Palestinian student. "Yeah. I can say that I love that boy. A lot of the teachers will call him criminal. I say that for me he's not criminal. He's just a kid that needs a role model—a good one that can give him a push and give him the feeling that he is something good."

Throughout my three interviews with Aysa, she pointed to the ways that teachers' work is influenced by assimilationist discourses. "There are many teachers here who believe that Muslim students have to behave like Danish students. That means doing everything in accordance with Danish culture and not showing that they are Muslims. When they show it, the eyes go down."

Describing the unspoken ways that identities are policed in the space of the school, Aysa says that when immigrant students "show that they are Muslims," teachers look away from them—their "eyes go down." Part of Aysa's work is focused on supporting immigrant students so they will feel comfortable expressing their religious identifications within the space of the school. Aysa creates space for the expression of different perspectives within her classes: "I give them a lot of space to show that they are coming from another land, they have another language, they have another religion. They can't show it to the Danish students because they (immigrant students) think it is wrong to talk about that."

Aysa, explained that she is the only teacher in the school to encourage students to use their native languages in classes. She also makes a point of using Turkish and Arabic words in her teaching to affirm immigrant student's identities and to resist the Danish-only culture of the school. She explained that parents and other teachers have questioned her about her use of languages other than Danish in the classroom. Aysa suggests that most teachers in the school are not aware of the research that shows that student's literacy in their native language encourages literacy in Danish. By using Arabic and Turkish in her classes, she asserts new versions of belonging that include being multilingual.

Throughout her discussion of the challenges that immigrant students face in negotiating their identities in the school, she reflects on her own experiences growing up in Danish schools.

“I have done a lot, but I never give up my hope or who I am. When I was in the high school, the gymnasium, there was no one with another background and knowledge. I first met angry faces when I started the school and then they saw who I was.” She suggests that the deficit views that she first encountered ultimately dissolved to a mutual understanding because she held on to her ethnic and religious affiliations.

In her classroom, Aysa wants her students to resist deficit discourses and pressures to assimilate: “And they have to learn that even if they have black hair or even if they have a head scarf or anything else, to be themselves is the most important thing, to learn that you don’t have to say yes or accept everything you’re meeting. You have to learn that the others have to accept you as you are. That’s the way we can show who we are.” Aysa emphasizes that girls should be able to have visible expressions of their religious affiliations, such as wearing She is critical of the ways that some Danish teachers engage in surveillance and disciplining of immigrants youth’s expressions of cultural and religious differences, she also struggles with her own desires to engage in surveillance of youth’s expressions of hybrid Danish-Muslim identities:

When I can see that they’re doing something wrong—against their religion for example— I think, “Should I say something or not?” And I say when I think religious, I want to say something, but when I think like a teacher, that’s not my business. It’s very difficult. Sometimes I say, “Oh, I can see your stomach,” for example. I’m just saying it in a nice way because it’s not my job. Because I am a Muslim I feel like I have to say something because I know their parents wouldn’t want for them to dress that way.

Aysa describes an internal debate over whether she should tell immigrant girls that they are wearing clothing she considers inappropriate. In this instance, Aysa reveals that her vision of

“successful” immigrant students involves adhering to norms of dress, not exposing one’s stomach. For Aysa, the work to resist assimilationist discourses in the school involves encouraging youth to hold on to a Muslim identity. Her understanding of her work as a teacher is informed by her own personal history in which her religious affiliation seemed to play a protective role. It is possible that, like Birgitte and Lena, Aysa is enacting her own vision of what it is to be a “successful” immigrant student—projecting her own set of ideals and expectations that her immigrant students must negotiate.

Criticizing more assimilated immigrant students, Aysa described her efforts to encourage youth to “not play Danish.” She provided examples of Muslim students who dressed in provocative clothing or talked about sex in order to fit in within the atmosphere of Danish “openness.” She is aware that she is an example to her students, as she wears hijab and openly discusses both Danish and Muslim holidays in her classes.

Yes, yes, I know this. We have a holiday too this Thursday and I know that. I say it a lot (loudly) you have to show them that it is okay. I’m not coming to school, it is my holiday and it is okay. You understand? We are all the same because we all live here, we are here in the same school, they have to understand me as I understand the other children and the parents, you understand? I’m not hiding (loudly) anything. I know that there are a lot of pupils that are hiding where they are from even if they wear head scarves.

During this interview, Aysa’s tone was serious and firm as she insisted that the members of the school community accept her religious differences and her observance of the festival of Eid at the end of Ramadan. Here, again, she works to set a personal example for her students so that they will feel comfortable expressing differences within the Danish space of the school. She

works to create expanded notions of citizenship and belonging, insisting on her rights—“They have to understand me as I understand the children and the parents,” (implying that these are ethnic Danish youth and parents).

However, she also expresses the vulnerability that she feels as the only Muslim teacher in the 9th and 10th grades. She explains that in her first few years at the school she would argue with teachers who refused to make accommodations for students observing Ramadan, but eventually she grew tired of being the lone voice defending the rights of Muslim students and stopped. She expresses frustration that the school does not have a policy exempting students from gym and from being required to sit at lunchroom tables while fasting during Ramadan. Instead, these issues have to be debated by the staff every year. Aysa also fears that challenging the culture of Danishness within the school might be understood as a betrayal, and might threaten her belonging:

Sometimes I have to be careful because I am new. I have only been a teacher for two and a half, no three years now. All of the teachers who are sitting there, they have been a teacher for 5, 10, 25, 30 years so I have to, I know that, I am beginning. *That's the problem. We are 20 teachers here and only me, I am only one. I don't want to be seen as the teacher who is sitting by myself and trying to make the school a Muslim school.*

As the only immigrant teacher in her part of the school, Aysa experiences challenges and burdens—resisting the exclusive focus on Danishness and taking on the added responsibility of educating Danish teachers about Islam (Zaal, Salah & Fine, 2007)—but she has gained legitimacy within the school through her work. When an 8th grade Danish teacher went on extended leave after an illness, Aysa took over his class. In the days following the change,

parents protested to Per and threatened to take their students out of the school. When the teacher on leave decided to return to his position a year later, many parents who had protested when Aysa initially took over the class wrote letters to request that she continue as their children's Danish teacher.

While she invokes a "war" to prove herself in the face of deficit views, she ultimately points to a victory of sorts in gaining the respect of Danish members of the school community. "It a war to show them that I'm a person and I speak Danish as well as them and I do a great job. I know that because I love this job. I love the job to teach children. The most fun is the Danish parents who want me to stay."

Ultimately Aysa argues that the school needs to do a better job of providing academic support to immigrant students. She also expresses concern about the tolls taken on youth who are trying to fit in and the way some immigrant students "use their energy to be another person instead of trying to be themselves and using their energy for their homework." It seems that Aysa's work resists the national policy focus on assimilation. Instead of culture work, she focuses on providing students with the academic skills that they need to be successful. It also seems that part of Aysa's educational agenda is to support youth to develop the skills to navigate a coercive context in order to get the resources necessary for success.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we hear a variety of understandings of the challenges facing immigrant youth at Dyreparken school. Teachers' perceptions of immigrant youth and understandings of the task of teaching them reflect multiple positions that draw from different themes in the broader social discourse, from gendered desires to liberate "oppressed girls," to nationalist desires to discipline

and assimilate immigrants, to hybrid positions that offer alternative visions of citizenship that create spaces for cultural and religious differences.

My discussions with teachers about their professional identities and their work with immigrant youth revealed a variety of different discursive repertoires or “ways of talking about ‘the other’”(Augoustinos & Every, 2007). Negative evaluations of the cultural and religious traditions of youth were frequently accompanied by statements like Hedda’s assertion “I am not a racist but...” or Mattias’s statement “I respect others views but...” In teachers’ talk we hear the intersection of neo-nationalist discourses and discourses of humanitarian concern. We hear desires to imagine themselves as caring teachers who are “open” and tolerant as well as the need to defend Denmark’s self image as a country with deep commitments to social equality and humanitarianism.

But it is ultimately the youth who are on the front lines of broader societal conflicts between Danes and immigrants; as they negotiate their transnational identifications within institutions and communities that insist on narrow visions of national belonging. The data in this chapter point to the limits of Danish openness in classrooms. While teachers declare that their classrooms are open spaces where youth are free to express opinions and to question the world around them, it seems that this openness is unidirectional. Immigrant youth are expected to be open to Danish culture but openness to the cultural and religious is rare. In the context of Danish discourses of democracy and openness, my findings suggest that youth are told that they need to be an individual, to express their opinions, to question the world around them as long as this doesn’t lead them to commitments to Islam or choices to wear hijab.

While some educators engage the language of educating for citizenship in democracy, they impose ethnocentric visions of citizenship that assume that if only students would relinquish

their ties to family, religion and culture they would lead a better life. This message migrates through the media, policies and schools. With the exception of Aysa, there is very little mention of the negative implications of coercive assimilation and the reproduction of stereotypes in classrooms. There does not seem to be a broader discussion of the implications of classroom environments where youth are expected to check their identities at the door of the classroom. Scholars of democratic education argue that classroom practices should be culturally responsive and inclusive in order to help youth mediate “boundary crossings” (Davidson & Phelan, 1999) between home and school. In the next chapter, youth describe how they must carefully tiptoe along the border of the national community—monitoring expressions of religious and cultural difference and buffering deficit views of immigrants.

CHAPTER SEVEN

“IF WE WEREN’T HERE WHO WOULD THEY TALK ABOUT?”

NEGOTIATING PROCESSES OF “SELF-MAKING AND BEING MADE”

In Denmark, when you watch television and the news, every day they have something new about what the immigrants are doing. They say immigrant girls don't get to decide who they get married to. Immigrant girls have to have an operation to make sure their parents don't find out if they have had sex. Immigrant girls are always in the news. If we weren't here, who would they talk about? (Aliyah, 17, Ethiopia)

Along with the typical developmental struggles facing adolescents, immigrant youth must negotiate processes of exclusion and racialization while making sense of complex relationships to “hostlands and homelands” (Mullings, 2005; Sassen, 1999; Bhatia, 2002). In the statement above Aliyah, a seventeen-year-old Somali woman who was born in Ethiopia and spent most of her life in Denmark, describes how, in the course of her daily life, she must contend with narratives related to immigration. She mimics the voice of the newscaster and shakes her head, seemingly tired of the ways the discursive figure of the oppressed immigrant girl swirls around her.

Current literature points to the ways in which immigrant youth are living increasingly transnational lives (Katz, 2004; Smith, 2006) and must negotiate “hyphenated selves”—experiences “that are at once joined, and separated, by history, politics, geography, biography, longings and losses” (Sirin & Fine, 2008). Many studies of identity formation amongst immigrant youth have investigated processes of assimilation and acculturation (Zhou &

Bankston, 1994) while ignoring the impact of broader structural dynamics of globalization and nationalism. A few scholars have begun to consider the ways in which the symbolic construction of “the nation” influences the assimilation processes of immigrant youth (Hall, 2004; El-Haj, 2001; Sirin & Fine, 2008). In her work on Muslim-American youth in the United States after 9/11, Thea El-Haj (2010) writes: “Importantly, the symbolic construction of an imagined community—of who truly belongs to the nation-state—is closely related to how people are differentially positioned to exercise a range of rights that facilitate their capacities to participate fully and on an equal basis in the social, political, cultural and economic spheres in the nation-state” (p 288).

In this chapter, I explore how youth negotiate their identities in relation to the symbolic construction of the nation, how they operate simultaneously in multiple social worlds of home, school and community (Smith, 2006) and how they discern the implicit agendas of those that position them as outsiders. The chapter also reveals how my informants, in turn, construct counter-narratives that challenge deficit notions of immigrants in Danish society. These youths carve out their identities amidst the rigid categories of “Danes” and “others”—that is, an imagined culturally homogenous community of Danes that is confronted with the problem of immigrants who are known by their cultural markers and seen as backwards and fundamentally unassimilable.

As discussed in chapter two, these social categories have deep historical and political roots and are part of a “culturally figured world” where cultural schemas for interpreting behaviors and actions are taken for granted (Holland et al. 1998). This chapter begins with a discussion of the experiences of three focal informants—Aliyah, Dhalia and Sara—and then includes data from the broader sample of 8th and 9th grade students in my study. The young people in this chapter

describe how the categories of “Danes” and “immigrants” translate to forms of coercion through cultural policing, surveillance and to processes of misrecognition (Taylor, 1994).

Creating a Counter-Public: Conversations with Dhalia, Sara and Aliyah

While I had met Aliyah, Dhalia and a few weeks before, the events in the “Impossible Love” class (discussed in chapter 5) marked the beginning of my relationship with the girls. When I asked Dhalia to talk about how our relationship began she said, “I like Americans and I like to speak English. Also you were very sweet when you asked me about that time in Lena’s class when she kept asking me if I would marry a Danish boy”. It was in the discussions following this class, that I established an “implicit contract” with the girls—which according Josselson (2007) sets the terms for “the development of the individual, personal, intimate relationship between researcher and participant”(p.539). Our focus groups and meetings provided space for the girls to speak back to everyday processes of racialization what Frasier calls “counter-publics” (Frasier, 1993 in Sirin and Fine). “Young men and women, in constant confrontation with harsh humiliating public representations of their race, ethnicity, gender, class and sexuality use these spaces to re-educate, to break down public scrutiny and invent new ones” (Weis & Fine, p.123).

My ability to be a part of this space, to establish a rapport with the girls was largely due to the fact that I was an outsider in Denmark, a friendly stranger. When I asked if I could bring a Danish researcher with me to one focus group, they suggested that they would not be comfortable with this, because “she would probably defend Denmark and we could not say how we feel”. During our second focus group Aliyah said the following about our discussions:

RJ: What does it feel like to be talking to me in this way?

A: I like talking to someone that I don't really know because I can really talk about how I feel. No one ever really asks how I feel. It would be really different to talk to a teacher or to someone that I see every day.

In this instance it seems that the fact that I am an outsider who is anonymous affords Aliyah the space to talk about how she feels without the fear of judgment. It's also poignant that although Aliyah is often subject to teacher questioning and public scrutiny—she feels that “no one really asks how I feel”. We hear Aliyah's frustration about being discussed in the school and media yet, not being included within the discussion. In another interview, Dhalia expressed the same fear of the risks associated with speaking out about teachers or school leadership.

D: If it you were my teacher I wouldn't speak to you like this. My teacher would give me bad grades if I criticized Denmark or the school. Maybe she wouldn't want to let me speak or wouldn't want me in the class.

Eighteen months after our first focus group together, Aliyah described how the complicated feelings that emerged through our work together.

A: It feels good to talk to get our problems out. But I didn't think about these problems before we began to talk. When we began to talk, I began to think about what we are going to do to stop this. I didn't even think about anything before. I just thought why are they doing this to us and then I just stopped thinking about it. When I think about it now, I begin to hate living here more.

All three of the girls mentioned that the process of talking together brought up a variety of emotions. While it both felt good to tell their stories and to be heard, it also brought up feelings

of anger and frustration. Increasingly, the girl's growing awareness and developing critical consciousness revealed the fault lines between the many worlds they navigated.

As I became aware of the girls mixed reactions to our work together, their growing anger about the treatment of immigrants in Denmark, I felt a responsibility to them—to at least make myself available to talk, even if I didn't have the power to influence difficult circumstances. After I returned home to the United States, I kept in touch via email and telephone and I spent time with them during return visits in 2009 and 2010. There were difficult phone calls when I was not sure how to counsel the girls through conflicts with teachers and principals in new schools.

Throughout our work together, I have struggled to respect the implicit contract we developed, the terms of the space that allowed Dhalia, Sara and Aliyah to speak freely and openly. This meant that I allowed them to tell me what they wanted to tell me and at times I did not pursue questions that might have provided a more in depth understanding of their lives. As they described growing up under the interrogating gaze of “concerned” teachers and community members who wanted to know the details of their personal lives, I did not want to be perceived as one of those women. Instead, I avoided probing in ways that might violate the trust that we had built and terms of the space our dialogue created.

A Sketch: Aliyah

Aliyah stands taller than her peers and dresses fashionably—the first day I met her, she was wearing a bright orange hijab with a matching print dress. In our early discussions together, Aliyah appeared to me to be the most outgoing of her friends, but my perception could have been related her firm command of the English language. At times she acted as translator when Dhalia

and Sara struggled for words, and she tended to be the most active member of discussions. Although she described herself as sometimes “shy” as a young girl, in our conversations she was self-assured and spoke firmly and directly. She appeared to be comfortable in the school and frequently spent time between classes and after school socializing with other students in the common spaces. In all of my personal interactions with Aliyah, she seemed at ease and comfortable with herself.

One day, after we had been talking in the library for several hours and then moved outside, Aliyah grabbed my camera from me, took pictures of her friends and asked one of them to take several pictures of her posing under a tree, looking serious in one picture and then smiling broadly in another. She handed the camera back to me when she realized she had received a text message from a friend on her phone. After hours of hearing her describe difficult and painful experiences of discrimination, it was reassuring to see Aliyah comfortable in her teenage identity. Aliyah’s teenage identity seemed to be most salient as she relaxed with friends in the late afternoon sun, playfully taking pictures, seemingly pleased with her image as she looked at the camera screen and smiled.

Transnational Lives

When I asked Aliyah how her family came to live in Denmark, she said the following:

I was born in Somalia. My mom and me and brother came to Denmark when there was a war in Somalia and my aunts already lived in Denmark. My dad came one year later. I go back to Ethiopia sometimes. It’s the same thing, Ethiopia, Somalia, because of the war the name of the country changed but my family’s homes stayed the same. When I am in Ethiopia, I feel that I am home and I can be me.

Aliyah explained that because of the civil war in Ethiopia, her family had dispersed around the globe, so she now had family “everywhere”—Canada, the United States, Denmark and Germany. Despite this displacement, Aliyah describes a deep connection to the land owned by her family in Ethiopia. She explains that while national boundaries shifted through war, her “family homes stayed the same.” Her description suggests a rootedness in place where “I feel like I am home and can be me.”

Aliyah’s first school experience in Denmark was an intensive year-long language immersion preschool class that she attended with Rahim and Jamail, two boys who were in her class at Dyreparken School. Here Aliyah describes her early years at Dyreparken School and her relationship to her ethnic Danish peers.

I started Dyreparkenskolen in kindergarten. I have always only gone to Dyreparkenskolen. In the lower grades, I always thought that I was one of them. I thought that I was Danish. I didn’t have problems with them...we would laugh and play around together and my best friends were Danish. But when I grew up, it was different. At the end of 7th grade, I went to Ethiopia and when I came back, when summer vacation was over, I felt like I was a different person, like we were different people.

I asked her whether she thought the change was in her or in them.

I think both them and me. We didn’t have the same things together anymore. I began to talk more to Ezra, the Turkish girl who wears hijab. We were always friends before, but after 7th grade it was different. Ezra and I were best friends and then Sara and Dhalia came from Islamic school and we were all together as immigrant girls.

Aliyah describes her trip to Ethiopia as a turning point in which her view of herself transformed from feeling Danish or “one of them” to feeling like she belonged within the group of immigrant

girls. She explains camaraderie that she had felt with the Danish girls dissolved—“We didn’t have the same things together anymore.” Below, she describes a shift in her perceptions of her peers after the trip.

That trip made me begin to see how the Danes are. Before, I thought I was Danish and then I saw where I was really from. It was a good trip, it was two months. I spent time in my father and mother’s home town. It was fun getting to know my big family. My granddad has a camel farm and he has all kinds of animals like little lambs. And I loved being with my cousins

Before the trip, when immigrant girls would say bad things about Danish girls, I would get angry, because I felt like I was Danish. When I left, I was speaking only in Danish. When the Danish girls would say negative things about immigrants, I would laugh. I didn’t take it seriously. But when I came back, I began to see things that I didn’t see before.

While Aliyah feels accepted within her ethnic Danish peer group and “one of them” for the first nine years of her education, she points to the ways in which her participation within this peer group required that she contend with the psychological assault of her friends’ anti-immigrant views.

Aliyah’s trip grounded her in a historical identity of family and home during a particularly critical moment in her adolescence. In this instance, Aliyah does not mention challenges that she experienced in her native country, such as feeling like an outsider in Ethiopia, struggling to find words in Somali or being recognized by people on the street as a person “from somewhere else.” Instead, she suggests an idealized journey to a homeland where she is “really” from, where she plays with cousins and lambs and visits her mother and father’s village.

In his work on the transnational experiences of Mexican-American youth, Robert Smith (2007) describes how transnational home visits shape the ways immigrant youth negotiate their immigrant identities. Aliyah suggests a similar process of becoming more comfortable expressing her religious and transnational connections. She says the trip left her with the “feeling like I can be me.” But it also led to a painful process of “seeing what I didn’t see before”—she became more aware of the ways in which her immigrant identity was interrogated within Denmark. It seems that Aliyah’s visit to Somalia was critical in allowing her to craft a positive self-image that insulated her from the negative messages about immigrants that she receives from ethnic Danish peers and teachers.

Returning from this trip, she describes a change: She suddenly felt more comfortable at the “immigrant girls’ table in the lunchroom.” While Aliyah expresses feelings of connection to a Somali/Ethiopian identity within Ethiopia, she also points to her changing feelings toward her Danish peer group. As with other youth in my study, the more Aliyah became aware of her own ethnic identity and the ways in which it is contested within the community of Danish peers, the more she identified with other immigrant students. She reveals how this period during adolescence was a critical time of identity formation that was influenced both by her own emerging sense of self as a Somali from Ethiopia as well as an increasing awareness of the negative perceptions of her Danish peers. She experiences what Cross (1991) describes as an “encounter phase” in identity development that is typically precipitated by an event or a series of events that lead to a growing awareness of discrimination and an increased desire to forge affiliations with other members of one’s own ethnic group.

When interviewed, ethnic Danish youth expressed negative views of immigrant students; they described how the presence of immigrants had damaged the reputation of the school. Like

several Danish teachers, they took up the discursive narrative about “problems” with immigrants who fail to integrate. Thomas, a star on the school’s soccer team, summed up the views of other students in the focus group:

Some of them (immigrant students) will say, “I am from Palestine and not Denmark,” even though they have never lived in Palestine and were born in Denmark. They have to marry someone from the same country and the same religion. I won’t say they should marry a Danish person, but they shouldn’t say, “I’m a perker,” they should say, “I’m from Denmark.”

“Perker” is a racialized slur that several youth explained was “the same as the n-word used to describe Black people in America.” In this instance, ethnic Danish youth are critical of the multiple affiliations taken up by immigrant youth at the same time that they project racialized notions of these students.

In other focus groups, ethnic Danish youth repeated the idea that Muslim girls are oppressed by their religion, forbidden from experiencing the full “social life of the school.” Ethnic Danish youth echo the views of teachers who openly criticize immigrant girls’ lack of participation in school trips. While most ethnic Danish youth attributed the divisions between themselves and immigrant social groups to the withdrawal of immigrants, Camille, an ethnic Danish 9th grade girl, suggests that it is more complicated: “There are some groups who isolate themselves, like Muslim girls who only hang around with other Muslim girls, but it doesn't seem like they're trying to interact with us and we don't try to interact with them. so it's both groups who are pulling away from each other.”

Based on Aliyah’s story, it seems that prior to adolescence, ethnic Danish youth and immigrant youth are more likely to relate to one another in mixed social groups, but when

immigrant students begin to assert cultural differences, social groups become more polarized. Aliyah's identification with her home country and decision to begin wearing hijab seem to have violated the dominant gender norms of her peer group. This finding resonates with a similar dynamic that we see in relationships between some Danish teachers and immigrant students as in Aliyah's relationship with Henrik that was characterized as positive and supportive prior to this adolescence and then hostile once she began wearing hijab. As immigrant youth enter critical periods of racial identity formation when they begin to more openly express their ethnic and religious identities, they experience increased scrutiny as they are perceived to be challenging the Danish space of the school. We see that there during these periods of adolescence, there is an amplification of everyday events and expressions of cultural and religious differences as they resonate with nationalist discourses, specifically, broader narratives about the problems who refuse to integrate within Danish society. Processes of amplification and surveillance complicate relationships between ethnic Danish students and immigrant students as well as relationships between teachers and immigrant students.

Identity Maps

Aliyah's identity map provides a visual representation of the negative messages that she receives at school and in the community. In the focus group, when I asked Dhalia, Sara and Aliyah to draw identity maps, Aliyah asked, "Reva, can I say how I feel when I go home back to my country? Can I draw how people see me in Ethiopia and in Denmark?" All three girls drew a line down the middle of the page and proceeded to draw maps that illustrated stark contrasts between life in their native countries and in Denmark.

Figure 7.1 Identity Map: Aliyah I



Aliyah said the following about her map:

This is me in Denmark. The black symbolizes like they hate me. I don't like to be here.

Here I wrote I am not a human but an animal. And like the heart means, like my heart is black I don't feel anything. People hate me because of my hijab. I think that I am nothing.

I drew a sun because I am happy and there is a lot of sun there (laughing).

Like Aliyah's discussion of her early visits to Ethiopia, her map portrays an idealized life in Ethiopia where she has positive connections to family and friends. In contrast, she reveals experiences of racialization and exclusion in Denmark.

In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss how my participants conceive of their identities and their relationships to a Danish identity. Like the majority of my Muslim immigrant informants, Aliyah said that she would never consider herself Danish because being Muslim and

being Danish are identities that are in conflict. She focuses on the ways in which her choice to wear hijab is publicly contested as it represents a visible sign of her Muslim faith. When discussing her map, Aliyah said, “Hijab is a big issue in Denmark and it began to be a bigger issue after 9/11. Everyone was talking about, ‘Can the girls wear hijab in High School? Can they wear the Chador?’” Aliyah repeats the messages she hears in the media and in school that influence the ways she is understood and positioned in Danish society.

Aliyah’s feelings of separation seemed to increase over time. In another map she drew in July 2010, more than two years later, Aliyah presented a clear rejection of a Danish identity. She drew a Danish flag with an x over it and wrote: “I’m not Danish, I’m not a New Danish. I’m not a second generation. I’m Somali by nature, I’m Muslim by choice and I’m Danish by Paper.” In Aliyah’s second map, she rejects the labels “new Dane” and “second generation” that have been commonly used in public discourse to refer to the children of immigrants. New Dane (Nydanske) has emerged in public over the past two years (2009-2010) and is an attempt to escape the negative social implications of “immigrant” and to represent Denmark as an open and welcoming country.

Aliyah resists being forced into the categories set forth by the immigration discourse in Denmark. Instead she asserts a hybrid identity—helping us to understand her different relationships to her multiple selves, from ethnicity (Somali), to family homeland (Ethiopia), to religious identification. In keeping with Aliyah’s frequent critiques of teachers who assume she is an “oppressed Muslim girl,” her statement “Muslim by Choice,” resists the idea that Muslim girls are coerced into observance of Muslim traditions. Her map reveals her resistance to being assimilated to a Danish identity; she resists the binary of Danes and immigrants. When I met

with Aliyah in the summer of 2010, she said she was happy in her new school, citing its more international feeling.

Dhalia also resists being positioned as a Dane. Like others, she explains that being born in Denmark or “from Denmark” is very different from being Danish.

“My mom sometimes says to me that I am born in Denmark. She says that I am Danish. When we watch TV and the queen is on, she will say, ‘See, there is your queen.’ I say, ‘No I’m not Danish. I’m Arabic. You gave birth to me here, it’s not me.’” Dhalia’s identity map provides insight into the messages that she receives about herself in Denmark and in Lebanon.

Figure 7.2 Identity Map: Dhalia



The following is her description of her map:

Here this is in Denmark and this is me and here they are thinking that we immigrants only come here for money. They think that immigrants are going to destroy Denmark because there is some immigrant boys who are criminals. It's dark and night and I feel ensomel (alone) and nobody wants to speak to me. This side is in Lebanon and I feel very happy and the green color symbolizes hope and everybody likes me and nobody would look down on me. And all in Lebanon have the same traditions but it is also hard because sometimes there is war and you can't get money if you don't have work. But there is love and family.

Dhalia's images of the dark, night on the right side of the map convey the negative messages and isolation that she feels living in Denmark. In particular, she takes up the discursive narrative that immigrants are "uninvited guests" (Hervik, 2004), guest laborers who came to Denmark "only for money" and overstayed their welcome. The left side of Dhalia's map shows a sense of happiness and well-being in Lebanon despite the challenges of economic stress and war. Given that Dhalia was born in Denmark and has returned to Lebanon only for visits in the summer, it seems that she, like Aliyah, maintains a protective connection to Lebanon that insulates her from the negative messages she experiences in Denmark.

Above the figure of herself in Denmark, Dhalia asks, "Why I live here?" expressing her frustration about having to contend with psychological assaults in a place that she didn't choose to live. On several occasions, Dhalia expressed anger towards her parents for choosing a life in Denmark. In Summer 2010, Dhalia described how she left her current school, a well-known gymnasium (academic high school). She described the pain and isolation of being the only immigrant girl in the school. She expressed frustration that despite her efforts, she couldn't make friends in the school. In an identity map in 2010 she drew figures of teachers at Dyreparken school and at her current gymnasium and wrote in the caption: "Our mission is to change the immigrants." On the other side she wrote, "My dream is to be myself, to have the chance to speak out how I feel, whatever I feel, but NO!!!" As of Fall 2010, Dhalia has enrolled in bookkeeping classes and hopes to return to Lebanon in two years, a country that she has never lived in.

Unlike Aliyah and Dhalia, who were born in Denmark, Sara is a first generation immigrant. She was born in a refugee camp in Lebanon and feels that she is unwelcome in Denmark. "I don't think Danish people hate us because we come from another country; it is

because they want Denmark to be one language and they are afraid there will be more immigrants than Danish people.” Like Aliyah and Dhalia, Sara maintained close connections with her family in Lebanon and went to visit them during summers. In her identity map, she represents her protective connections—the Palestinian flag, her friends and family. However, Sara’s map reflects a greater feeling of uncertainty due to the psychological assaults she experiences. She writes, “I feel that I’m crazy and I don’t know what I’m going to do.”

Figure 7.3 Identity Map: Sara I



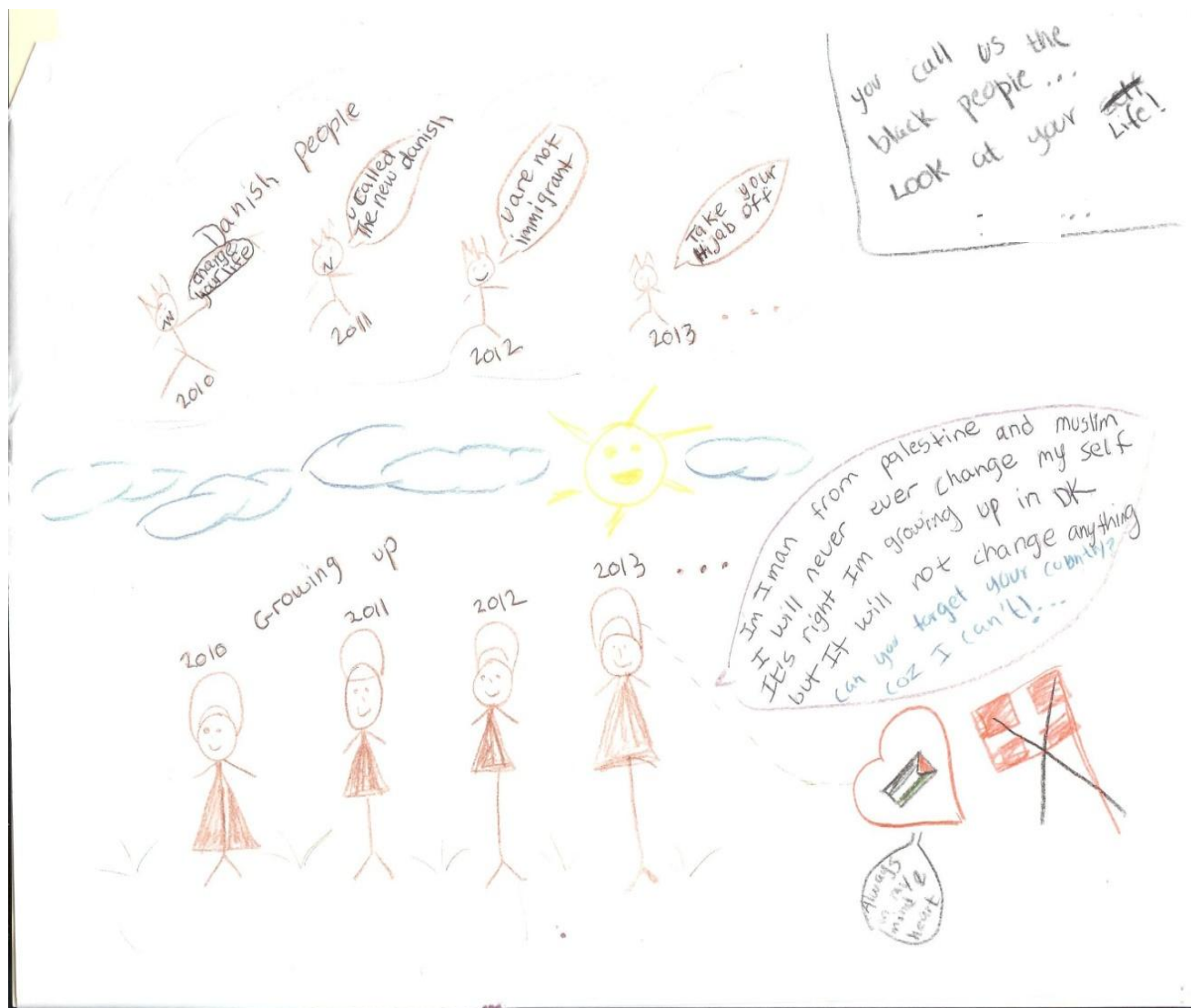
While all three girls represented negative messages they received about themselves in Danish society, in 2008, Sara seemed to be more deeply affected by these anti-immigrant messages. When I visited with her in May 2009, she seemed happier and more relaxed. She told me, “I am better now, like now when Danish students judge me, I’m not sad like before. I’m good and I know what I’m going to do with my life.” She told me of her plans to be a secretary. While she expressed feelings of hopefulness about the future, she also described how she

experienced discrimination and misrecognition at her new school. She described one particular Danish teacher who doesn't know her name and frequently calls her by the name of another student who wears hijab. She expressed frustration with the teachers' low expectations of immigrant students and described being given the lowest level of work even when her grades were higher than those of her Danish peers.

When I suggested that things still seemed quite difficult, she said that this treatment was qualitatively different from her experience in ninth grade because "teachers in the 10th grade class are not getting into my personal life like teachers at Dyreparken school. They leave me alone." Sara indicates that being in a school where teachers are crossing her personal boundaries and encouraging her to assimilate to Danish norms is more difficult than being in a school where teachers do not recognize her and have low expectations for immigrant students.

During our meeting in the summer of 2010, Sara drew another identity map in which she represents herself in ways that are clearer and more distinct from the negative messages that she receives:

Figure 7.4 Identity Map: Sara II



She created figures of herself standing on green grass under a yellow sun. She is separated from the negative voices by a layer of blue clouds. She describes her positive attachments and speaks back to the voices above: “Can you forget your country? Coz I can’t.” In Sara’s identity map she speaks back to those who challenge her connections to religious and ethnic communities. In this map, Sara represents herself in more positive ways and appears to be more firmly rooted in her own identity than in her earlier map in which she reports feeling “crazy”.

In Aliyah, Dhalia and Sara’s descriptions of their identities, we hear the multiplicity of their various identifications. Hermans (1996) proposes a dialogical model of self for thinking

about the ways immigrants negotiate their identities when living in diaspora. Bhatia (2002) expands this idea:

What is unique to the dialogical negotiations undertaken in the diaspora is that they are specifically affected by the culture, history, memory and politics of both the hostland and the homeland. Furthermore, these negotiations are not only affected by the incompatible and incongruent politics and cultural practices of the hostland and the homeland but are also embedded within, and fundamentally governed by, the asymmetrical power relationships between the cultures of Third World and the First World, and the majority and the minority culture.

Indeed, in the stories of immigrant youth we hear multiple selves formed amidst the different historical circumstances of homelands struggling with civil war and occupation and a “hostland” where they are understood to be part of a racialized underclass of low wage workers—invited guests who have overstayed their welcome (Hervik, 2004).

Hyphenated Selves

Immigrant youth are challenged to construct identities that enable them to live across the diverse contexts of home, community, schools and peers while contending with the “identity threats” of imposed racial, gender and religious stereotypes (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Historically, psychological theories have neither taken into account the complex nature of immigrant youth’s multiple affiliations nor considered the role of the social context in influencing processes of identification and assimilation. Straight-line models of assimilation assume that immigrants must divest themselves of affiliations with ethnic communities in order to fully assimilate into a host society.

More recently, Berry (2008) created an acculturation model that independently considers the degree to which individuals are willing and allowed to participate in their host society and home culture.

Sirin & Fine's study considers how Muslim-American youth have negotiated their identities in the United States following 9/11. Using Berry's framework, it explores whether youth represented their own identities in terms of "integrated, parallel or conflictual" pathways. Youth identities were considered "integrated" if their affiliations with home and host cultures were blended in a non-conflicting way, "parallel" if both identities were represented as existing in parallel worlds, or "conflictual" if the attachment they held were conflicting or seen as irreconcilable. The authors found that the majority of their participants described membership in U.S. mainstream society as well as a Muslim community.

When we looked at the correlations among the three domains of the scale across the Muslim and American affiliations, there was a positive and significant relation between how they view their membership to American mainstream society and the Muslim community at large. The more the participants saw themselves as members of the Muslim community, the more likely they also saw themselves as a member of the mainstream U.S. society. Together, these findings suggest that Muslim and American identities were not mutually exclusive, and on the contrary, were highly compatible (p.147).

Some of the Muslim-American youth in the study expressed frustration with experiences of islamaphobia in school and community in the wake of 9-11, but overall these youth depicted identities that represented their affiliations with the United States and with Muslim communities. In contrast, the first and second generation Muslim immigrants in my study almost exclusively depicted conflictual identities. Most explained that it is essentially not possible to be a Muslim

Dane. Being Danish means having the physical characteristics of an ethnic Dane and celebrating Christian holidays. Tellingly, many also explained that being a Dane means belonging—ie., having the rights and privileges of a member of the national community. In interview after interview, first and second generation youth (and one second-generation immigrant teacher) used the same words to explain that being Danish involves “eating pork, having blue eyes, celebrating Christmas and Easter.”

The youth in my study craft their identities in complex and sometimes contradictory ways that vary along the lines of race, gender, religion and national origin. Bhatia (2002) theorizes that for immigrant children and their families, crafting cultural identities is essentially a “dialogical process that involves a constant moving back and forth between incompatible cultural positions...such negotiations involve multiple mediations with a larger set of political and historical practices that are linked to and shaped by the specific circumstances of one’s ‘homeland’ and ‘hostland’” (Bhatia, p. 58).

Like Aliyah, other participants in my study defined their own process of identification as one of constant negation, as they worked to maintain their real and imagined connections to their native countries, ethnic communities, religious peer groups and linguistic affiliations. In discussions, most youth limited their affiliations to “hostland” to their legal connections—in Aliyah’s words, “Danish by Paper.”

Other Voices: Assimilated Youth

While the majority of Muslim female participants said that it is impossible to have a hyphenated or hybrid identity, there was one student, Gulte, a Muslim student from Turkey, who said that she would consider herself Turkish-Danish. She said, "Yes, we are born here, raised

here, it's our parents who came here and not us.” She described the ways in which her family has embraced some Danish and Christian traditions: "We keep some of the traditions, but it's not like what we would have if we lived in Turkey. We celebrate Christmas at our house.”

Gulte also described how she enjoyed attending Dyreparken school because she had a mix of ethnic Danish and immigrant friends. While her impressions of her school were mostly positive, she did state that teachers have higher expectations of ethnic Danish youth than of immigrant students. Of all of the first and second generation students in my sample, Gulte was the only Muslim immigrant who mentioned celebrating Christmas in her home. While Gulte stands out as someone who is able to cross the boundaries of the categories of Danes and immigrants, her notions of Danishness are consistent with those laid out by other immigrant students—i.e., being Danish means celebrating Christian holidays and Danish traditions. In Denmark it seems that there is an either/or process of identification where there is limited space for youth to express hybrid identities that allow them to maintain their religious, ethnic and national affiliations.

Understanding the Category “Immigrant”—Christian Immigrant Youth

While Muslim immigrants almost exclusively depicted identities that are in conflict with a Danish identity, Christian immigrant youth in my study described integrated identities that reflected affiliations with their native countries and with a Danish identity. I was surprised to find that these students did not conceive of themselves as “immigrants” which suggests that the immigration discourse in Denmark typically references Muslims. Francesca came to Denmark from Romania when she was five years old after her father took a job as a gymnastics coach. She describes herself as having a blended Danish-Romanian identity:

Well I would say both things because my parents are from Romania and I was born there so I could consider myself Romanian. But another part is Danish because I lived in Denmark for 10 years so it's mixed. At home I celebrate Romanian holidays which are Christian. We don't really celebrate Danish holidays at home.

I asked if there were times when she experienced discrimination because she was from another country.

No, not at all. My classmates see me as a Danish girl. They don't treat me like they would treat say some other girls from Turkey. Like you're an immigrant.

I asked her if she thought there's a different treatment towards immigrants that come from different countries.

Well, it depends on how people see you and how you are and how you socialize with the others. Because some people they speak a lot of Turkish and are just with themselves in their group. I am from another country and I socialize with them and so they don't see me as that girl that is from another country and doesn't socialize with the other Danes.

Francesca seems to imply that the fact that she is understood to be a "Danish girl" is related to the fact that she socializes with other students, speaks Danish and doesn't segregate herself. She draws on integration discourses that highlight the problems with immigrants who fail to integrate within Denmark, who are perceived to self-segregate. In our focus group, Francesca made reference to her attachments to a Romanian identity and a Danish identity, emphasizing that one important connection between her Romanian identity and Danish is celebrating Christmas. Being a Christian seems to be a critical factor in defining her exclusion from the social category of "immigrant."

Francesca describes moving between her different identities and does not find her Romanian and Danish identities to be in conflict. She does not experience the kinds of racialization experienced by Muslim immigrant youth. She says, “They don't treat me like they would treat say some other girls from Turkey. Like you're an immigrant.” In her identity map, Francesca drew a picture of the gym where she trains for gymnastics. She said that she can most be “herself” in her gym because gymnastics is an individual sport. In this description, she invokes a more cosmopolitan identity: “ I don't feel so much Danish when I'm doing gymnastics I guess maybe more American because my coach is American. The gym is more international because there are more girls from different places.”

This suggests that while Francesca is a first-generation immigrant in Denmark, she does not think of herself as an immigrant. While Francesca actually conceives of having a cosmopolitan international identity, within the Danish space of the school she must choose between the categories established by the discourse—either she is a Dane or an immigrant. In a conversation about the problems with immigrant students that are damaging the reputation of the school, Francesca includes herself within the category of we, Danish students, not them, the immigrant students. In the following statement, she explains why Danish schools don't have days off for Ramadan: “we celebrate our traditions. Not so many other races. Sometimes students are asking why we don't have free on some holidays but it's because we live in Denmark and we don't celebrate that. So that would be weird”. It seems that part of Francesca's inclusion of herself within the category of Dane centers on shared Christian traditions. Lorna, her friend explains why Francesca is perceived to be Danish by her peers:

the reason we see you more as a Danish person not to be racist or anything but it's also because you're Christian to like everybody else in Denmark. They are Muslims and its

may be harder for us to understand their culture and religion and the way they act because it's so much more different than the way we are.

Another Christian student, Jaqueline, similarly depicted integrated identities emphasizing her connection to the Serbian language and the fact that her family celebrates Danish Christmas traditions in her home. These cases suggest that within Danish discourse the category of “immigrant” or *invanderer* signals a Muslim identity that is understood to be incompatible with Danishness and that involves not celebrating Danish holidays.

Gendered Discourses of Exclusion

First- and second-generation Muslim immigrant girls described daily experiences of racialization. Their outward displays of religious differences, such as the wearing of hijab, meant that they were immediately recognized as having “outsider” status. In her work on “the politics of belonging,” Yuval-Davis finds that “women carry religious values more openly than men, they are often perceived to challenge national culture being the ‘symbolic border guards who embody collectivities.’” (Yuval-Davis, p.129, 1999). For my informants, the wearing of hijab was understood to be a social problem. Girls who wore hijab described the ways that they were subjected to increased surveillance and social disciplining within their schools and communities (Fekete, 2004)

. Aysa, the Turkish immigrant teacher discussed earlier, described the ways in which people made assumptions about her identity based on the fact that she wears hijab and expected that she would either work at home or be a service worker. She explained that she was routinely met by confusion from workers in the school when she explained that she was a teacher. In addition to being a marker of identification, the wearing of hijab seems to invoke feelings of

concern from members of Danish society. Aysa, as well as several girls who wear hijab, described being approached by strangers in public spaces. When I asked Aliyah what she thought people saw when they looked at her, she described an incident that happened after school.

I don't really get what they see. They think that our parents say to us, "You have got to wear hijab, and if you don't wear it you will get punished." A couple months ago, I was coming home on the bus and this old woman sat next to me. After we were riding together for a while she leaned over to me and she whispered, "Is it your parents who threaten you and so you have to wear it? You know you are in Denmark now and in Denmark you don't have to wear that." I just get tired of it. I got up and moved.

When I asked who does this, she answered, "Especially older people, nosey people." The wearing of hijab invokes the concern of strangers who seek to rescue oppressed Muslim girls from Islam. Like the classroom incidents discussed earlier, the statement, "You are in Denmark now," reminds the girls that the expression of cultural difference is perceived to be a transgression within the national community. The woman polices in whispers of concern, positioning herself as an enlightened woman bringing gender equality to a misinformed immigrant girl. Aliyah tires of the commentary of "nosey people". An incident at a public bus stop with Sara provides another example of the daily acts of surveillance that youth encounter.

Field notes May 1, 2009

I was happy to see Sara approach as I waited at the bus stop near the school. We planned to meet at the bus stop and then to travel to Horsholm library. It was too difficult to find a space in Dyrehaven where we could talk and work. Sara and I began to talk when a woman approached her. She had a white substance around the corners of her mouth, smelled of alcohol and wore a red baseball hat that covered her nearly hairless head. She

kept speaking to Sara and then to me in Danish with a pleading look on her face. She asked Sara over and over, "Why don't you go into politics?" "Are you happy here?"

People just watched as the woman's voice grew louder and louder. We walked away from her and she followed us. My hands were shaking and other people standing at the bus stop began to stare at us. I was relieved to see Aliyah approaching and I walked over and asked if we could get a taxi. Aliyah laughed and said, "You can't take a taxi in Dyrehaven." So we waited and the woman finally drifted away from us. When the bus arrived, Aliyah, Sara and I boarded it and sat near the back. The woman sat in the last seat next to two boys who had short dark hair, medium build and appeared to be about 12 years of age.

When the woman began yelling loudly at one of the boys, Aliyah threw her head back in reaction and rolled her eyes. She translated for me. The woman said to one of the boys, "Why do you hate me, why are you angry at me?" The boy did not answer and she repeated the question several times during the ten-minute trip to the library. Finally the boy quietly said, "I wish I wasn't born here." The woman yelled back at him, "You could never be born here."

While this woman seemed unstable, the encounter exemplifies the daily onslaught of messages that immigrant youth experience as they move through their communities and schools. They are routinely subject to surveillance and scrutiny and are constantly reminded of their outsider status. In this case, the old woman makes certain assumptions about each youth based on physical attributes and dress—Sara's hijab and the boys' dark hair. The woman's insistent urging, "You should go into politics," reflects the idea that Sara needs encouragement. While the message is positive, the woman probably would not have approached an ethnic Danish girl in the same way. The woman's question to the boy, "Are you happy here?" assumes that he is an outsider, a visitor to Denmark. Her questions to the boy

assume his anger—a characteristic of the criminal immigrant boy. In the end, she leaves him with another reminder that he will never truly belong: “You could never be born here.”

While both boys and girls are subject to routine policing of their identities and processes of misrecognition, there are significant differences in the gendered nature of stereotypes. While girls are understood to be objects of concern and deemed worthy of sympathy and care, boys are understood to be “troublemakers” and “criminals” that threaten the imagined community of the nation. It is clear that both the boy and Sara are seen as bodies that are out of place in the public space of the bus stop, unlike ethnic Danes who are understood to belong naturally. (Puwar, 2004).

“Some of Us are Criminals”— Immigrant Boys

Like my female informants, first- and second-generation male immigrant students distanced themselves from any possible affiliations with a Danish identity and emphasized their connections to particular ethnic and religious identities.

Many boys and girls stressed that they are not biologically Danish. Jamail and Mohammed, when asked what it means to be a Dane, explain why Danish and Arab identities are fundamentally incompatible:

M: It’s to celebrate Christmas on the holidays and to eat pork, that’s Danish

J: Yes, they want me to be Danish in this school.

M: I’m proud of being an Arab and I don’t want to be Danish.

I asked if it is possible to be both Danish and Arab.

M: It’s just as it is. You can’t be both. The Arab people can never be Danish because of our black hair, we look different and no one will treat us like a Dane.

Both male and female immigrant students argue that it is not possible to have a hybrid identity because Danishness is ultimately biologically determined. There is a conception that Danish people are indigenous to Denmark and therefore have natural ties to the nation-state.

Abdlvi, a second-generation Iraqi-Bulgarian, said the following about his identity: “I would say that I am Iraqi-Bulgarian. Yes, I still have the Danish part of me, I was born here and I have the Danish passport and papers, but inside—my traditions, my culture—they are different from the Danish.” He clarifies that his attachments to Denmark are legal, like Aliyah’s conception of herself as “Danish by paper.” Youth’s conception of citizenship was legal, it involved having papers and a passport—and signified that they were born in Denmark.

In some cases, youth pointed to the advantages of Danish citizenship. Sara whose mother and father are both disabled explained that her family is able to have a better life in Denmark. She explained that they have access to healthcare and public benefits whereas if she were in Lebanon, her parents would struggle to support the family. Similarly, in Dhalia’s identity map she implies a higher level of economic security in Denmark whereas in Lebanon there is war and no work.

While youth point to the advantages of citizenship, they also express that they will always be considered outsiders because of their ethnic differences. Abdlvi’s description assumes that to be Danish one must have a biological tie to a nation. While he says that “inside” he is not Danish, he presents himself as having a hybrid cultural identity that includes two cultural identifications, Bulgaria and Iraq. He emphasized that in Bulgaria and Iraq he feels comfortable because he can speak his native language and “because everyone looks like me.”

While boys’ and girls’ responses to the question “Do you consider yourself a Dane?” were similar in some ways—i.e., they focused on specific physical attributes and on celebrating

Christian holidays—the boys' responses differed in that they emphasized experiences of social rejection and isolation.

Rahim, a second generation student from Iraq, gave the following reasons for why he doesn't consider himself a Dane:

R: Would you consider yourself a Dane?

B: No.

R: And you were born here. Why is that?

B: Well, because I don't have the traditions they have. I don't eat pork. I don't celebrate holidays they celebrate. I don't feel like I'm welcome. In many locations, for example disco and you're going out to parties they always double check you for weapons when you have black hair.

R: Even if you wanted to be a Dane, it's not possible?

B: *It's not possible. And if they don't accept me, I don't want to be one of them. And I don't feel like I'm one of them.*

My participants described how experiences of rejection increased their feelings of alienation and social isolation. Rahim emphasizes, "If they don't accept me, I don't want to be one of them." Rahim argues that to be Danish is to be one who is understood to belong naturally. He says, "They are, of course in their own country and they are looked at as one of themselves and they are always welcome everywhere." In contrast, he describes the ways that he is treated with suspicion in public spaces: "If you go somewhere and something happens, people will always point at you even if you didn't do anything." Being a male and Muslim in Denmark means being located as an outsider and what Puwar calls a "space invader." She writes, "Some bodies are deemed as having the right to belong, while others are marked out as trespassers, who

are in accordance with how both spaces and bodies are imagined (politically, historically and conceptually), circumscribed as being ‘out of place.’” (p.8)(Also see Rios, 2011).

When I asked Jamail, a second generation Palestinian student, if he could ever imagine describing himself as Palestinian-Danish, he leaned back in his chair laughing and said, “NO WAY, because I’m Arab, I can’t be Danish. It’s cool to be Arab, it’s gay to be Danish. My blood is Arab.” Jamail emphasizes his connections to a broader Arab community and asserts a vision of masculinity that is opposition to Danishness.

The stereotype of criminal followed boys into schools as well as communities—some teachers used the term criminal while others described the problems with immigrant boys who are “making trouble” (also Gilliam,2007). Aysa, the second-generation immigrant teacher, described how teachers spoke about Jamail, the Palestinian student discussed above: “A lot of the teachers will call him criminal. I know that. For me he’s not criminal. He’s just a kid that needs a role model—a good one that can give him a push and give him the feeling that he is something good.” Aysa is critical of the negative cycle in which immigrant boys—rather than receiving emotional and pedagogical support—are too often subject to surveillance, labeling and disciplining.

A variation on the figured identity of the criminal immigrant boy is the idea of the immigrant boy who is perceived to disrupt the community of the class and the school. (Gilliam, 2007). At Dyreparken school, the majority of students in special education classes are immigrant boys who are described by teachers as frequently “making trouble” and unable to attend regular classes. Dhalia recounted her parent’s unsuccessful attempts to keep her second-grade brother out of special education classes at Dyreparken school. The OECD review of migrant education

finds that immigrant youth are much more likely to be placed in special education classes than their ethnic Danish peers (OECD, 2010).

Given the heightened attention to Muslim youth surrounding 9/11, there is a group of six immigrant boys at Dyreparken who have been identified by the school's social police as security threats. These boys do not attend regular classes and instead spend the day with one teacher who takes them to the local swimming hall and the gym and tutors them in basic academic coursework.

Bodies Out of Place: The Criminalization of Muslim Boys in Public Housing

Discussions with teachers and school leaders about the “problems with immigrant boys” frequently focused on the housing project where most immigrant families in the town live. Birgitte suggested, “You should visit a school to the south of here, like in Velhaven. I think you'll find that the students are very different. Here we have this housing project and in the houses we have a lot of criminals and social problems.” Occupying the center of the town, with three modern buildings that form a U around a large court-yard, the housing project is home to 1700 residents—mostly first- and second-generation immigrants who moved to Denmark in the 50's and 60's to work in the nearby shipyards.

Figure 7.5 and 7.6 Dyrehaven Housing Project Demolition

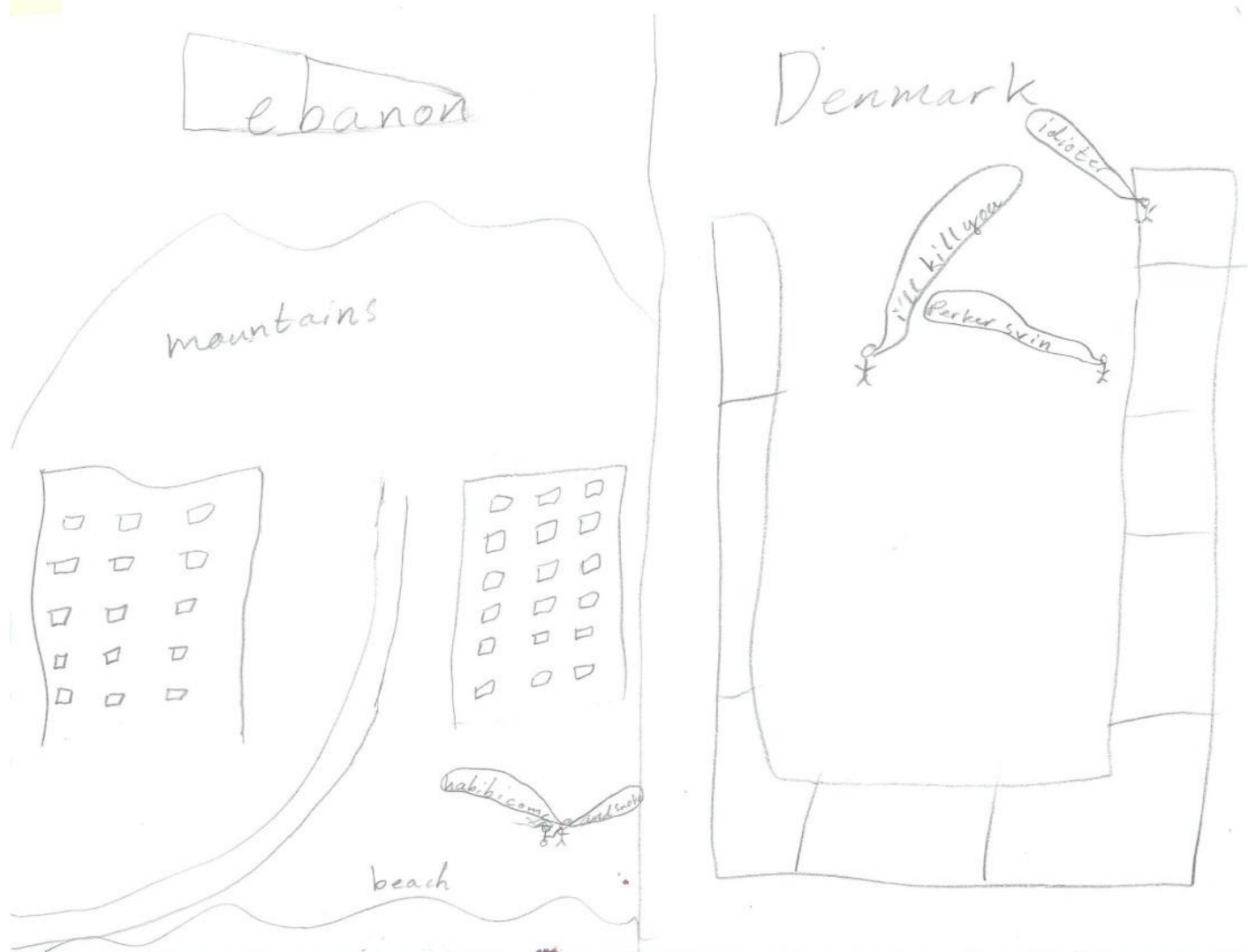


During 2007, one side the complex was demolished by the government. A local newspaper explained that the demolition of 43 apartments was due to crime amongst immigrant boys and a wish to “prevent the housing estate from becoming a ghetto and to reduce graffiti and harassment” (Copenhagen Post, 2007). The demolition was part of a broader government integration policy that focused on “spreading” immigrant communities so that the population of immigrants is not concentrated in individual communities or schools. I observed the progress of the demolition as I rode my bike by the housing project on my way to the school every morning. I watched over several months as apartments were vacated and demolished with wrecking balls. One drizzly winter morning, the site was particularly eerie—a set of half-demolished apartments with the interiors exposed to passersby as visible remnants of the resident’s lives with leftover furniture and children’s toys. Just before my return to the United States, bulldozers completely cleared the rubble. Aysa and several shopkeepers in the plaza in front of the project expressed their anger about the government’s reasons for the demolition. A shopkeeper told me that families who didn’t have financial resources were forced to move to other communities in a rural

part of Denmark. Negative assumptions about “criminal” immigrant boys not only position boys as outsiders but also have material consequences, such as the loss of homes and the destruction of communities.

Several teachers associated the housing project with the high concentration of immigrants in the school. Lena said, “The immigrant boys in this area, they make a lot of criminality. They break into shops and they smash the bus houses, the glasshouses where you wait for your bus. They are rather violent.” Several immigrant boys depicted the housing project in their identity maps and described their own negative experiences with Danes in the housing project. In his identity map, Jamail drew figures of several boys standing in the center of the housing project and a woman walking a small dog and calling them “Perker Svin, sorte svin” (which they translated into English as “nigger pig, black pig”). Mohammed drew the following identity map that focuses on the housing project.

Figure 7.7 Identity Map: Mohammed



Like many of the girls, Mohammed represented the messages that he received about himself in his parent's native country and in Denmark. On the right side he writes, "perker svin" (nigger pig) is a label that many male participants describe hearing. On the left side he represents his attachment to Lebanon, where a figure says, "Habibi come." Habibi is a term of affection used with male friends. Mohammed imagines a more positive identity in a community with friends in Lebanon.

Because of the ways the housing project has become a site of contestation, immigrant boys receive more negative messages there. Deniz explained that in the housing project “if someone sees an immigrant guy walking around, they are going to think he is going to get in trouble or fighting. In Copenhagen they aren’t going to think that.”

The idea that immigrant boys are “troublemakers” and criminals was repeated and was taken up by immigrant and Danish youth in my study. This is very different from the ways that immigrant girls negotiated stereotypes. While there is much discussion of how the figure of the oppressed Muslim girl dominates discursive narratives about immigrant women in Denmark, immigrant girls in my study never repeated this idea or referenced examples of girls who are constrained by the traditions of Islam. However girls did repeat the idea that immigrant boys are criminals. Dhalia said, “They think that immigrants are going to destroy Denmark because there are some immigrant boys who are criminals.”

Rahim seems to suggest that the criminalization of immigrant boys is unfair, but at times he suggests that there is truth to the idea that immigrant boys in Denmark are “making trouble.” He associates the declining reputation of Dyreparken school with the behavior of immigrant boys. “We, the *not Danish students*... well *we* sometimes make trouble and stuff and the school has a very bad reputation now.”

In one focus group, Yasin, an 8th grade second-generation immigrant from Macedonia and Morocco, was critical of the ways that teachers perceived him as “a boy who doesn’t want an education.” When I asked him if there were some people who saw him in different ways, he said, “Yes, there are some who say, ‘You have a choice, you can be a good guy who gets an education or you can be a criminal boy.’” Yasin understood the teacher’s statement to be positive. He heard that she was encouraging him to do his best and to get an education. He did

not consider that the choice to be a “criminal boy” was out of the ordinary. When I asked him if he thought that Danish boy would be asked the same question, he said, “No, a teacher wouldn’t say it in that way to a Danish student.”

While Rahim repeats the idea that immigrants are criminals, he also complicates the binary categories of Danes and immigrants.

Well, I would tell him to first of all try to get along with the Danes that welcome you and see you as a friend and not just as a guy always looking for trouble. Well, if they don’t accept that, well, family is the second best thing because family is family and they accept you for who you are. If your friends don’t accept you, get your strength from your family in each and every way.

He acknowledges that there are some Danes who will “welcome you and see you as a friend and not just as a guy looking for trouble.” I asked him what advice he would give to a cousin coming from Iraq to live in Denmark.

Rahim points to his strategies for coping with criminalization and discrimination. When faced with rejection, Rahim recommends turning to one’s family for strength. This is consistent with the rejection/identification model that suggests that experiences of discrimination strengthen youth’s identifications with their own group and weaken identifications with their host society (Sirin & Fine, 2007; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

Living in the Shadow of Stereotype—Youth Counter-Narratives

The youth in this chapter describe interactions with peers, teachers and strangers in their communities and schools that repeatedly force them into the social categories set forth by the Danish immigration discourse where one is either a Dane or an immigrant. Being placed in the

category of immigrant in Denmark has significant psychological and material consequences for the youth in this study. The psychological costs of negotiating this symbolic violence is evident in the youth's identity maps and interviews—from frustration and alienation, to anger, to feeling “crazy.” Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco emphasize the costs of living this way: “When facing toxic levels of cultural violence, children will tend to spend much of their psychic energy defending against these assaults on self” (2001, p,95). But beyond these costs, youth described experiences of racialization that translated to limited access to resources in schools and in the labor market. Young people are placed in a hierarchy informed by racialized notions of immigrants as third-world guest workers who are outsiders and therefore not entitled to the full rights and privileges of membership in the nation (Ong, 1998; Bhatia, 2002; Lee, 1995; Mullings, 2005).

Just as youth described the limitations placed on them by their experiences and the immigration discourse, they also sought to reframe the messages that they received to critique and re-assert visions of self that resist stereotypes. They created social spaces that allowed them to critique processes of racialization. As the youth in my study tried to find their balance amidst the negative views of themselves, they created critical counter-narratives.

In one focus group, Sara and Aliyah were critical of Denmark's liberal views about sexual openness and drinking:

R : What does it mean to be Danish.

A: to celebrate Danish things like Christmas, Easter, to behave like them. When you are a teenager you can have sex. You don't get married until you're like 30. You have like two children. (They both look at one another and laugh)

S: You go out with boys, you have sex before you are married.

A: When you are thirteen you drink and drink, like every weekend. You say, “Oh, I just went out last night and I drank so much and got so drunk.” I have a friend she says (high voice), “I was drinking like so much, like five beers and I was throwing up so much, oh my god it was so cool.”

Having experienced the critical gaze of teachers, Sara and Aliyah turn the lens, highlighting social problems that exist within Danish society that are rarely discussed in the media and public discourse—e.g., problems with high rates of youth alcoholism, eating disorders and teen suicide. (Copenhagen Post, 2010).

Immigrant youth’s counter-narratives challenge the legitimacy of the Danish civilizing discourses that co-construct immigrants as backwards and oppressed and Danes as enlightened and free. Just as Aliyah mocked the voice of the newscaster talking about the “problems with immigrant girls,” (see page 1) she mimics the voice of a Danish girl bragging to her friends about her night of drinking. She uses what Bakhtin (1991) calls “double-voicing” to replay others’ voices in a way that challenges the common discursive notions of Danes as morally superior and immigrants as inferior and backwards.

In a social context where Aliyah must navigate negative perceptions of immigrant girls on a daily basis— double voicing allows her to critique Danishness while also reclaiming her own moral superiority. She also uses double voicing to reverse the lens from a focus on the “problems” with immigrant girls to her understanding of the “problems” of Danish racism and Islamophobia. Aliyah’s use of double-voicing offers a powerful social critique of the hegemony of civilizational discourses. Wendy Brown makes a similar critique:

For example, when Western liberals express dismay at (what is perceived as mandatory) veiling in fundamentalist Islamic contexts, this dismay is justified through the idiom of

women's choice. But the contrast between the nearly compulsory baring of skin by American teenage girls and compulsory veiling in few Islamic societies is drawn routinely as absolute lack of choice, indeed tyranny, "over there" and absolute freedom of choice "over here."

Tired of feeling positioned as an oppressed Muslim girl who is captive to her religion and her family, Aliyah questions the taken for granted knowledge of how girls should behave.

As immigrant girls come up against the rigid boundaries of imposed identities—they engage resources of family, community and religion and they insist upon their own hybrid versions of their identities. As Aliyah tells us, "I'm not Danish, I'm not a New Danish. I'm not a second generation I'm Somali by nature, I'm Muslim by choice and I'm Danish by Paper."

While, in the perceived safety of focus groups, the girls openly express their critiques of anti-immigrant discourses, they do not have the institutional power to speak out publicly. Aliyah, Dhalia and Sara said that they would be afraid to be openly critical in schools about their experiences as immigrants in Danish society because it might jeopardize the support of teachers; there is an implied understanding that the teachers are gatekeepers controlling access to educational and social capital resources.

Sara described an instance in which she went to the school leader to discuss a problem with a teacher who routinely expressed anti-immigrant views in class discussions and wasn't allowing her to leave the room to use the bathroom. After the meeting, in which Sara felt that the principal took the teacher's side, Sara perceived an even further decline in her grades and relationship with the teacher. While these young women voiced critical counter-narratives in the safe space of a focus group, they recognized the risks associated with expressing their feelings publicly.

After spending her life travelling through the Danish educational system and working in Danish schools, Aysa, the second-generation Turkish teacher, described her public strategies for resisting symbolic violence and misrepresentation. She told me how difficult it was for her as the only immigrant student attending her gymnasium. “That has been my war – yeah, all my life, to show that I didn’t have to play Danish.” Aysa uses the metaphor of war to describe different types of threats that she had to negotiate throughout her life as an immigrant girl, a teacher and a mother. Aysa describes the “defenses” that she uses to reassert belonging:

When I am in the street and I am speaking to my children in Turkish, I get confronted by Danish people on the street who say, ‘Speak Danish!’” She responds to these acts of public disciplining with her own counter-narratives: “That’s the way, I meet people that when they look at me, they think I don’t know a shit, they are so wrong. When I am talking to my daughter and when someone says, ‘Oh, speak Danish!’ I always choose words that are very difficult in Danish, to show the person that I know more than them. It is a war.

In this instance, Aysa’s “war” to insist on her belonging involves asserting both her Turkish and Danish identities, speaking Turkish with her daughter while also deploying sophisticated Danish vocabulary. Aysa’s “war” reveals both the possibilities and the limitations within the binary of Danes and immigrants. Aysa defines Danishness on her own terms. Saying, “I am as Danish as I can be,” she asserts her belonging and insists on her right to retain her religious and transnational affiliations. Unlike Sara, Aliyah and Dhalia, Aysa has worked her way up in the social structure; she has a respected position and more institutional power. Through her experiences growing up in Denmark, Aysa has developed defenses and learned to speak back to deficit views and to introduce alternative conceptions of belonging within the

school. While the data from this chapter show that most youth feel that they must live within a binary of Danes and immigrants that defines them as outsiders or enemies within, Aysa's case suggests that in the future there might be hope for moving beyond this binary in order to create expanded notions of citizenship and belonging (Maira, 2004) .

Conclusion

At times, the youth in this chapter describe receiving negative messages that are contradictory—on the one hand they are constantly told that they should become more Danish and on the other they are treated as outsiders, as bodies out of place. They report experiences both increased surveillance and painful processes of misrecognition. They describe experiences of being always watched but never really being seen, subjected to misidentification by those who make assumptions about their identities based on discursive narratives and figured identities. This is similar Sirin and Fine's findings about Muslim youth in the United States after 9/11:

They were placed under suspicion, socially and psychologically, within the nation they considered "home." Suddenly cast "amongst those whose very presence is both 'overlooked'—in the double sense of social surveillance and psychic disavowal—and, at the same time, over determined—psychically projected, made stereotypical and symptomatic..."(Sirin & Fine, 2008, p.35; Bhabha, 2005,p13 as cited in Sirin and Fine).

It is clear that the messages that youth receive about their identities are gendered and signify distinct types of social "problems" that call for different social responses. Girls describe how they confronted the figured identities of "oppressed" that are understood to threaten Denmark's imagined commitments to gender equality. As such, they attract the interests of teachers who want to assimilate them to Danish social norms and rescue them from their backward culture. In contrast, the boys are understood to present a different challenge. Seen as

criminals and potential terrorists, they present a threat that requires surveillance, disciplining and psychological diagnosis. The youth in this chapter reveal creativity and resilience as they exist on the front lines of globalization and immigration, they craft identities that extend roots across the borders of religious, ethnic and national communities, within the wake of the disruptions of global conflict and migration. They also share the painful experience of misrecognition within a host country that insists upon assimilation to narrow norms of belonging. They describe emotional experiences of living beneath social stereotypes in their everyday lives, in communities and classrooms exposing what it feels like to be positioned as an internal exile within semi-permanent category of “other”.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

At the end of a long focus group during which Sara, Aliyah and Dhalia had recounted the various types of everyday racism (Essed, 1991) that they had experienced in schools and in their local communities, Aliyah explained, “The problem is not with the teachers, it’s up here (she gestured into the air above us) —it’s everywhere, in the newspapers and on the streets.” This dissertation has followed the dotted line that Aliyah traces, considering how what happens within schools is linked to broader discursive narratives that reflect the contested place of immigrants within Danish society. Indeed, the cultural negotiations that take place within schools are not isolated struggles; they are informed by prevailing discourses that grow out of an imagined political and cultural past (Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1996).

Increasingly, Denmark is moving with the tide of rising neo-nationalism and anti-immigrant policymaking that is flowing across Europe. David Cameron, Prime Minister of England, recently announced the “Failure of Multiculturalism” and called for “a much more active, new muscular liberalism (BBC, 2011). Like Cameron, leaders elsewhere in Europe play to national anxieties, proving that they are willing to “get tough” on immigration, policing the cultural borders of the nation. In his comparative study of European integration policies Joppke (2007) documents this shift in Europe away from policies that protect the rights of immigrants towards a “repressive liberalism.” He argues that while the past two decades were characterized by a “Rawlsian liberalism with its emphasis on equality, individual rights and neutrality... upgraded alien rights, liberalized citizenship laws and anti-discrimination policies,” there is a current movement towards repressive liberalism: “a liberalism of power and disciplining” (p.16).

In the early days of immigration and the arrival of refugees, Denmark demonstrated a willingness and ability to receive and accommodate these newcomers. However, since the 1990s, a consensus has formed that the nation has reached its cultural limits—a consensus that exposes the fraying edge of Denmark’s commitment to humanitarian concern.

Denmark has returned to its historically proven method for responding to the external shock of rapid social change, its strategy of “culture as defense” (Ostergaard, 2006)—seeking security in the perceived cultural homogeneity of Danish culture and the stability of Danish institutions. As Hedetoft (2007) argues, “The fusion of politics and culture is always greatest in homogenous polities and becomes foregrounded in situations of perceived crisis. This will tend to increase the pressures on political actors to ‘right-people the state’” (p.400).

But despite this shift to nationalist policymaking, the rhetoric of humanitarian discourses, the language of “equality” and “democracy” is employed to lend legitimacy to policies that discipline immigrants. This dissertation has explored how the overlapping discourses of nation and humanitarian concern are negotiated on the ground in schools, how they represent, “a plurality of discourses that are at times distinct and others overlapping and messy and constitute a field of possible meanings” (Henry & Tator, p. 26). In the language of policy and in the words of actors on the ground, we hear the blurring of these discourses that at times reflect desires to uphold the collective reputation of the nation as a paragon of social and gender equality (Augoustinos & Avery, 2007). In the post-war period, Denmark imagined itself as immune from racial and social conflict. Per describes Denmark’s feeling of moral superiority in relation to racial conflicts in other parts of the world:

When I was a kid, we hated the U.S. because of discrimination. Racism in the 60's. We had a very strong movement against the Apartheid system in South

Africa. But it was free anger, if you can call it that. Because we didn't have the problem ourselves. As soon as we got immigrants, we got racism in Denmark. We have some of most racist policies in Denmark at the moment, we have Islamophobia. It is a very complicated picture.

Per suggests that the increasing diversity within Danish society challenged Danish commitments to social equality. Indeed, in my research I heard much discussion about the ways that immigrants are perceived as threatening to tarnish Danes' notions of liberal democracy, values of openness and equality between the sexes, and ability to retain a deep belief in their own collective goodness. Educators' "concern" reflects one strategy for managing diversity and the perceived instabilities brought on by globalization while also preserving understandings about the goodness of individuals, institutions and the nation.

On Concern and the Ironic Consequences of Assimilative Educational Practices

This dissertation has explored educator "concern" because it carries within it contradictory approaches to immigrant communities in Denmark amidst the dynamics of globalization and nationalism. "Concern" carries the multiple dimensions and emotions within the relationship between the nation and the immigrant—the concerned and the "concernee." The dictionary definition reveals the multiple dimensions of concern. The first definition, in its active form, it means "to be associated with", "to be connected to"- or as a noun "to show interest, or care" as in concern for children. Secondary definitions include, the verb "to trouble, worry or disquiet," the noun, "worry, solicitude, anxiety." Immigrant communities invoke both the interest and advocacy within the term *concern* in its most common usage, but also the less discussed fear, anxiety and dread on the part of the concerned.

This dissertation has considered how political discourses define structures, procedures and identities that are all deployed to “discipline” the immigrant in the name of reform, to engage in the identity work of disciplining bodies in order to police the borders of the imagined community of the nation. It has revealed immigrant youth’s experiences of social exclusion, of “being a problem” (Sirin and Fine, 2008) for the first time. Aliyah is approached by an elderly Danish woman who whispers, “Dear, you don’t have to wear that here.” Jamail, is approached in a grocery store during Ramadan: “Aren’t you hungry, you should eat.” Within the socio-historical context of Danish nationalism and in the shadow of 9/11 and the Danish cartoon crisis, immigrants in European societies are understood to require surveillance, disciplining and intervention that are enacted through state policy and schooling (Valdes, 1996). Within these interventions, we find both the language of care and helping, and the language of worry, anxiety and burden—contradictory desires to reclaim the nation, to rescue oppressed immigrant girls and to uphold understandings about the collective goodness of the Danish people.

This dissertation reveals how teachers at Dyreparken School negotiate nationalist discourses in a variety of ways. While some work to create expanded notions of belonging and create space for cultural and religious difference, others recruit culturalist narratives that center on the deficits of immigrant families and culture.. We see interactions between different actors in schools that reveal how discursive narratives insinuate themselves into student/teacher relationships, inform educational practices and amplify particular moments as strategic opportunities of cultural and national intervention. While there is generally an openness in Danish schools towards expressions of adolescent experimentation, the data presented in this

dissertation reveal how everyday expressions of Muslim youth are subjected to hyper-surveillance and amplification (Puwar, 2004).

Nationalist discourses spawn discursive narratives and figured identities that complicate the work of teachers; they prevent them from seeing the youth who sit in front of them and lead to the derailing of the types of authentic student/ teacher relations that are associated with educational and social mobility (Noddings, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Indeed, there is much work which reveals how deficit constructions of immigrant and minority youth complicate the experiences and outcomes of these youth (Valenzuela, 1999; Lee, 2005, Fine, 1991; Lopez, 2003).

The youth in this dissertation express the painful experience of being objects of teacher concern. They describe experiences of hypervisibility, surveillance and misrecognition. Taylor (1996) defines misrecognition as a “form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, reduced mode of being. Beyond simply lack of respect, it can inflict a grievous wound, saddling people with crippling self-hatred. Due recognition is not just a courtesy but a vital human need” (p. 25). While youth reveal their strength and resilience as they creatively devise ways of minimizing the impact of misrepresentation, the costs are significant. It is critical that we not romanticize the resilience of youth without considering the physical, psychological and economic costs of navigating symbolic violence and exclusion. As educators express concerns about the problems with un-integrated immigrants, their strategies of management fail to provide youth with the academic skills and resources required to attain mobility within schools and society—i.e., they focus on culture work rather than academic work.

This dissertation has identified a blind spot in Danish concern—the basic human need to have one’s identity acknowledged and to be seen and heard. There is a failure to acknowledge

the changing nature of citizenship in Denmark, and the ways demographic changes in European societies require a move away from “thick” notions of culture and from historically rooted understandings of citizenship.

While I have charted the flow of nationalist discourses within schools, I have also identified the ways that counter-narratives support the emergence of a new discourse of cultural citizenship (Rosaldo, 1994) that moves beyond the binary of Danes and immigrants to insist upon new forms of belonging that incorporate cultural and religious differences. Rosaldo (1994) describes cultural citizenship as “the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense. It claims that in a democracy social justice calls for equity among all citizens” (p.402). This dissertation reveals the experiences of youth who come up against the rigid boundaries of imposed identities, who engage resources of family, community and religion to hold onto their diverse affiliations in the face of exclusion.

We hear voices of strength and resilience that challenge discursive notions of Danishness and Danish citizenship. As Aliyah tells us, “I’m not Danish, I’m not a New Danish. I’m not a second generation I’m Somali by nature, I’m Muslim by choice and I’m Danish by Paper.” She points to her legal rights within Denmark and asserts visions of citizenship that are not either/or -that are anchored in her religious identity and that span multiple ethnic and national identities. We hear this also in the words of Aysa who like Aliyah asserts her rights to cultural citizenship: “We are all the same because we all live here, we are here in the same school, they have to understand me as I understand the other children and the parents, you understand?” Aysa creates fragile spaces of possibility and counter-narration within her classroom.

While current Danish policies seek to maintain culturally bounded conceptions of nation and citizen, it seems that the realities of globalization demand a new set of understandings about

what it means to be Danish. Jenkins (2010) writes, “In the face of aggressive consumerism, enthusiastically embraced globalization, and the permanent settlement of significant numbers of Islamic immigrants, the imagined community of *folkelig dansked* looks increasingly remote for everyday life” (p.298). Jenkins continues to describe the need for a new notion of *danskhed* (Danishness):

...not axiomatically Christian, less prescriptive, and accommodating of visible differences. In other words, ‘being Danish’ must gradually become something else. Alongside this, a more relaxed approach and less authoritarian official notion of integration—and indeed a more relaxed approach and less authoritarian approach to Danishness and Danish culture is necessary. The everyday realities of multi-ethnic Denmark cannot be micro-managed by the state, within the school system or elsewhere (p. 305).

Indeed, in keeping with the results of the PISA study (OECD, 2006), the youth in this dissertation reveal that current strategies for “managing” immigrants are not effective in supporting educational equity for immigrant youth. While there has been much attention to how immigrants need to adapt their culture and behaviors to fit in with Danish societies, there has not been a consideration of the ways that schools either encourage or discourage the civic engagement of immigrant youth.

Implications for Future Research

While there has been much discussion of the stark differences in achievement patterns between immigrant students and their native peers (OECD, 2006; Suarez-Orozco, 2007), there has been little research that provides a detailed exploration of youth’s experiences in school in

host countries. In Denmark, like in the United States, there is a tendency to respond to “concerns” about the low performance of immigrant and minority students with increased accountability mandates that lead to unintended consequences such as increased drop-out and push-out of immigrant students as well as limiting teachers abilities to support these students (see Chapter six, also Jaffe-Walter, 2008). Qualitative methods like the ones used here are well-suited to exploring the complex ways in which policies and practices that engage the benevolent language of concern and equity play out in schools and in the daily lives of immigrant youth. Interviews and identity maps and classroom observations reveal the intimate ways that global politics are insinuated in the everyday lives of immigrant youth. Ethnography allows us to examine every day interactions between actors in schools to gain deeper understandings of how the institutional practices of schools influence the educational and civic outcomes of immigrant students. However, this isn’t to dismiss the value of quantitative outcome studies. One limitation of this study is that the data collected only hint at the ways that nationalist discourses influence the distribution of resources in schools and the upper-secondary educational outcomes of immigrant youth. One area of future research would involve using qualitative and quantitative methods to track the experiences and outcomes of a cohort of Muslim immigrant students through the transitions between lower-secondary, upper-secondary and higher education/work.

In complicating “concern”, this dissertation also offers up important questions about how immigrant youth experience educator concern. It highlights a need for more research that considers how teachers’ altruistic desires to help students become bound up with narrow notions of citizenship that imply that “your life will be better if you live like we do.” As stated before, this dynamic is not exclusive to Denmark. We need more research that builds on the work of scholars like (El-Haj, 2010; Lee, 1998; Hall, 2004; Sirin & Fine, 2007) who work with

immigrant and minority youth across national, ethnic and religious borders to bring to light everyday acts of exclusion by actors who proclaim their good intentions that occur in spaces committed to social equality, multiculturalism and colorblindness. There also needs to be more research that explores how global trends toward nation building and “repressive liberalism” (Joppke, 2007) are enacted on the ground in schools.

Ironic Consequences of Assimilative approaches to the Education of Immigrant Youth
Assimilative policies and practices complicate immigrant families' engagement with Danish schools. The findings of this dissertation reveal how assimilative discourses and practices that seek to foster the integration of immigrants actually encourage disengagement and alienation. The more that immigrant youth and families experience critiques of their cultural and religious values, the more likely they are to withdraw from Danish institutions and to de-identify with Danish society (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002). In addition, the emphasis on assimilation leads some immigrant families to choose Muslim schools over Danish schools. In Gullov's (2007) study of Turkish immigrant families in Dyrehaven, parents cited the sexual content in the school curriculum and the pervasiveness of negative views of immigrant families as factors that contributed to their decisions to send children to Islamic schools. Parents said that while they think Danish schools are academically superior to Islamic schools, they worry about the social risks for their children. In addition, Per, the principal of Dyreparken School, explained that after the elimination of mother-tongue instruction in 2001, many immigrant parents chose to send their children to Islamic schools where they would receive instruction in Arabic. As parents become aware of the nationalistic and assimilative focus of Danish schools, they will seek out spaces where their children's cultural and linguistic knowledge is valued.

Nationalist discourses complicate youth's engagement with teachers and ethnic Danish youth.

This study finds that Danish immigration discourses and current education policy reforms frame teachers' work in terms of a nationalist agenda to assimilate immigrant students to Danish norms of belonging. Immigrant youth perceive teachers as having higher expectations of Danish students, and, in some instances, find that their own expressions of cultural difference lead to the withdrawal of academic support. For example, in chapter five, Aliyah reveals how her relationship with her math teacher declined when she began wearing hijab (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Further, youth in this study describe how educators' critique of their cultural and religious differences translate to buffering strategies that involve withdrawing from participation in classrooms as they sought to avoid teacher questioning and the deployment of teacher concern.

While some Danish educators are not comfortable with the presence of Islam in schools, scholars find that immigrant students draw substantial support from their religious beliefs. This support translates into higher academic outcomes (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova, 1998; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). Student data reveal that educators' strategies seeking to erode youths' connections to culture, language and religion actually challenge the formation of strong relationships with Danish peers and teachers (Lee, 2005; Stanton-Salazar, 1997) and devalue the "protective resources" available through ethnic networks (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008).

The unintended consequences of civilizing practices. Muslim girls invoke the concern of some Danish educators who believe that they lack the freedoms of Danish society and are captive to

their culture and religion (El- Haj, 2010). Collete Van Laar (2010) conducted a study of Muslim women's participation within the labor market in the Netherlands and finds:

Many active debates about religious identity assume that religious identity will conflict with integration goals. The current research suggests in fact that making room for and valuing domains of importance to young Muslim women moves these women towards domains of concern to society at large, and towards integration, not away from it. (P.29)

Van Laar et al. (2010) find that when young women feel an acceptance of their identities they are more likely to be more engaged in their work environment and to identify with the broader society. Other studies, like Barreto and Ellemers (1992) find that “the pressure to assimilate and adopt one common identity not only elicits resistance to this common identity but also is accompanied by affirmation of the neglected identity”(p. 637). My work reveals that the focus on assimilation to Danish norms and the attendant negative representations of immigrants complicate youth's processes of identifications with Danish society. However, scholars point out that it is possible to shift this trend by creating educational practices that encourage immigrant youth to bring their hybrid affiliations and experiences into the spaces of schools. As Barreto and Ellemers (2002) and Van Laar (2011) find, members of a subgroup identity will be more likely to see themselves as part of the dominant group when they experience respect for their chosen identity.

Assimilative educational practices contribute to growing divisions between ethnic Danes and immigrant communities. The findings presented here reveal the racialized and gendered messages that youth receive in their everyday experiences at Dyreparken School. As in the broader society, immigrant youth who assert difference in the school are positioned within a racial hierarchy where they are understood to be eligible for limited resources (also, El-Haj,

2010, Lee, 2005, Lopez, 2003, Suarez-Orozco, 2001). This dissertation also reveals instances in which immigrant youth's insistence on holding onto religious and cultural identities can be read by some teachers as an act of aggression or a refusal of educator concern. As such, assertions of difference are understood to call for disciplining and the loss of national and educational rights. It is ironic that while teachers speak to desires to foster the integration and engagement of their immigrant students, their everyday work with immigrant students seems to encourage their alienation and to complicate educational mobility.

Implications for Education in a Globalizing World

This dissertation has several important implications for teacher education in Denmark and more generally for teaching and learning in a global era (Suarez-Orozco, 2007). First, it calls for an awareness of how discourses and educational policies are conceiving of citizenship in increasingly narrow terms and how this positions immigrant youth as outsiders and complicates educational mobility. Teachers need to be aware of how discourses influence the explicit and implicit messages that immigrant students receive through the curriculum and within classroom interactions---the multiple ways that they are positioned as perpetual outsiders (Lee, 2005). Students and teachers need to engage in dialogue that critically examines idealized visions of the nation that espouse social equality and "colorblindness" while silencing understandings about the structural inequalities facing immigrants in Danish schools and society. Banks et al. (2005) make the point that "in order for all citizens to be prepared to participate in a democracy, children must experience democracy in schools. Therefore, teachers need to have the skills and attitudes to create democratic classrooms and to implement a culturally responsive and inclusive

curriculum” (p.233). While some teachers presented in this dissertation believed that their classrooms were characterized by “openness” and a consideration for difference, youth described how their experiences were silenced and the ways that the Danish space of the school defined the limits of discussion.

It is critical that teachers have the skills and training to move beyond deficit discourses. Even though Danish schools have become more diverse amidst globalization and increasing migration, there is a desire to hold on to time-honored Danish modes of schooling. There is some evidence that in Denmark there is a “one-size-fits all” approach to education and a historical confidence in Danish schools to create social equality. My findings reveal that when teachers are faced with increasing diversity in schools, there is a common tendency to apply stereotyping to make sense of events and individuals. Theorist like Sander Gilman (2005) describe how stereotypes work for us, how they protect us from anxieties about the unsettledness of our worlds. Designating one’s own group as the norm and assigning inferior status to other groups enhances ones feeling of self-worth. Rather than thinking of stereotyping as something that happens in the minds of the ill-willed, it is important that within education we understand it as an everyday process that individuals use to make sense of the differences encountered in everyday life. Gilman (1985) writes: “The need for stereotypes runs so deep that I do not think it will ever be thwarted; nor do I think that it will ever be converted to purely harmless expression. But I believe that education and study can expose the ideologies with which we structure our world, and perhaps put us in the habit of self reflection. (p. 12) This suggests that educating for a globalizing world involves ongoing teacher learning and reflexivity to helps us pass beyond crude processes of categorization and to develop nuanced practices that support educational equity for immigrant and minority youth.

Practically, this translates to teacher education practices that encourage teacher efficacy and the development of pedagogical skills such as scaffolding and differentiation as well as additive approaches to language development (Holmen, 2009; Garcia, Sktnabb-Kangas & Torres-Guzman, 2006). As increased migration continues to lead to more diversity in classrooms, teachers need training to address the needs of their students. Teachers are more likely to fall into patterns of blaming immigrant students and families and reproducing negative representations of these students when they lack the skills and support to devise strategies to address student needs.

Teachers need to be educated about the ways that deficit discourses complicate youth's engagement and performance in schools. It is important that educators be informed about how the negative messages that immigrant youth receive about their culture influence their involvement in the life of the school (Fine, 1991), their academic performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995) and their abilities to access support from teachers and peers (Stanton-Salazar, 1998; Lew, 2006).

Educational scholars emphasize the ways that strong relationships with teachers and peers foster positive educational outcomes and civic engagement for minority and immigrant youth (Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Todorova, 2008; Conchas, 2006, Stanton-Salazar, 1998). Danish educational policies and practices are informed by beliefs that success in school and society requires that immigrant youth privilege Danish norms of citizenship over connections to their own ethnic and religious communities. Ricardo Stanton-Salazar argues that youth's success in school and social integration "depend upon regular and unobstructed opportunities for constructing instrumental relationships across key social spheres (p.5, 1997). He argues that youth access critical social capital through relationships with higher status peers

and educators within school *and* access protective resources through relationships with family and community members.

Mobility-related resources are best embodied (but not always) in middle-class social capital, that is, in relationships with high status institutional agents, while the resources associated with healthy human development are best embodied in networks with protective agents, located principally in family and community based networks (p.6).

Stanton-Salazar highlights the importance of supporting immigrant students to develop strong supportive relationships that span across the borders of family, community and school. While much research cites the importance of “caring teachers” (Ancess, 2003), my research complicates the notion of “care” and suggests that schools need to provide space for youth to maintain and negotiate their diverse experiences and connections.

To conclude, this dissertation reveals how broader discursive notions of the “problems” of immigration are taken up by some teachers within schools, flowing with deficit discourses. But we also see examples of those who resist these discourses, who carve out spaces of inclusion and understanding. As we work towards more inclusive modes of immigrant education, we should look to schools that are “sites of possibility” for immigrant youth that resist broader societal inequalities and the racial hierarchy of the global city (Jaffe-Walter & Lee, Forthcoming; Weis & Fine, 2004).

My earlier research (Fine, Jaffe-Walter, Pedraza, Futch & Stoudt, 2007; and Jaffe-Walter, 2008) focuses on the International High Schools in New York City that have developed “actively explicit agendas geared toward the transmission of institutional support to minority children and youth” (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 22). We learn much from these studies about the power of

schools that provide ideological space for immigrant youth to maintain and negotiate their diverse experiences and connections. Youth speak to the importance of this cultural recognition. Abhik, an 11th grade student from Bangladesh said the following about his experience at the International High School: “I want to thank the school for giving us the feeling that our culture is not bad...most of the time in American schools they want you to forget your culture, they are always putting down other cultures. It’s really helping me to *trust in myself and trust in my root to take that to go forward* not to cut them off, chop them off.” Indeed, Abhik reminds us of how essential it is that schools acknowledge youth’s multiple selves and their sustaining connections to homelands and host lands that foster local engagement and mobility.

One element of the ‘paradox’ of concern is that in some ways Danish schools seem to have the right conditions for more equitable modes of education for immigrant youth. In Denmark, there have been deep commitments to creating social structures and social welfare policies that provide for the basic needs of all members of society as we see in their policies of universal healthcare, free pre-school and university education. In addition, Danish schools encourage a focus on personalization and project-based learning—practices that we know are more likely to lead to higher outcomes for immigrant students (Jaffe-Walter, 2008). In some ways the road to educational equity for immigrant youth feels shorter in Denmark than it does in countries with more deeply entrenched political and economic inequalities, like the United States. However, it is unclear whether Denmark will maintain its historical commitment to social welfare for all citizens and support the multi-ethnic realities of the national community with expanded notions of citizenship or if it will continue to develop a racialized two-tiered system that provides one set of social resources and benefits for “full” citizens and another for outsiders. The latter option would likely lead to increasing social divisions and hostilities and a

permanent underclass of guest workers, refugees and their children. Clearly, there are voices like Aysa's that argue the need for recognition of the changing nature of citizenship and for a deeper understanding of difference (Rosaldo, 1994). She reveals how we need to see through "the wall" of difference and misrecognition that is fortified with discursive narratives about the Muslim threat. She describes how we need to "change ourselves" to acknowledge the growing complexity of a globalizing world:

It's a wall to have another background, it's a wall and they can't get through and it's easier to talk negative about something you don't know anything about. The teachers who work in this school because there are a lot of students with another background, we have to change ourselves. If we say yes to work here, we have to change ourselves, we cannot say this is my work, I teach, that is not enough.

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