

# Front page for examination papers

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<b>Study programme</b>	Global Refugee Studies
<b>Name</b>	Ilaria Vidili
<b>CPR no.</b>	210990-4468
<b>Student no.</b>	20141253
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<b>Supervisor*</b>	Danny Raymond

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**AALBORG UNIVERSITY COPENHAGEN**  
**GLOBAL REFUGEE STUDIES**  
**MASTER'S THESIS**



(Student Christian Movement: "Students call for better access to higher education for refugees and asylum seekers" at <http://www.movement.org.uk/>)

**ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION FOR ASYLUM SEEKERS IN DENMARK**

**ILARIA VIDILI: 210990-4468**  
**Supervisor: DANNY RAYMOND**

**August 2016**

# ABSTRACT

*We must not believe the many,  
who say that free persons only ought to be educated,  
but we should rather believe the philosophers,  
who say that the educated only are free (Epictetus, 55-135 AD).*

Denmark, as other European countries, has been facing the refugee crisis that has challenged the continent to help all the people coming to ask for help. The country has been trying to cope with the emergency influx while trying to address the specific needs of those who are suffering from protracted refugee situations, therefore not considered eligible still to start again their life.

This thesis addresses Denmark's legislation towards asylum seekers wishing to pursue higher education while still waiting for their case to be processed and hopefully, approved. It also involves those who cannot be sent home because obtained rejection but still, wish to continue with their school progresses.

The empirical data used in this research is based on interviews conducted in Copenhagen, with asylum seekers either with pending or rejected cases, and my methodology includes in-depth semi-structured interviews. The analysis will be completed by the use of two theories: social identity and Giorgio Agamben's *bare life*.

The study and the research I conducted conclude that higher education's access for asylum seekers in Denmark has to be implemented in order to adjust to the needs of those who are not legally entitled to pursue such opportunity. Education could serve as a way of empowering asylum seekers by giving them a tool to believing in their own capacities and exercise independence.

Keywords: asylum seekers, education, human rights, regulations, discrimination, alienation.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

*“Education is the kindling of a flame, not the filling of a vessel.”*

*Socrates*

The last couple of years have witnessed the dramatic increase in the number of asylum seekers desperately trying to reach the Southern European shores, aiming at the Northern countries as final destination. Denmark indeed has seen an increase in asylum applications (in 2014 doubling the numbers of the year before) (“Denmark grants asylum to nine of ten refugees”, 2015). In 2015, 20.000 people obtained protection from the Danish state, and many more tried to, by applying for asylum. With the new problematic revolving around the major influx of incoming asylum seekers, many unresolved issues followed, not only regarding first emergency concerns. As a matter of fact, due to the bureaucratic delays in giving asylum to those who seek for it, many people are stuck in a prolonged refugee situations. This means they are kept in the first phases of their asylum procedure for a very long time (sometimes even years) without being able to obtain any permission to study or work. Many, especially among the youngsters, have tried to seek for better opportunities but have been turned down by beaurocratic flaws. Many others, already feel drained by life in the centre and its restrictions, are afraid of more rejection and closure from the institutions and the limitations of the latter and do not even feel like trying to find out more. Denmark offers a good hosting system for asylum seekers: great infra-structures, suitable accommodations in respect of gender and family groups, well-functioning language and culture courses. Despite of the apparent well-being, the inhabitants of the centres, especially those who are stuck in long judicial times and those who cannot be deported for missing agreements between Denmark and the home country, are stuck in a limbo situation without the possibility to pursue activities or life opportunities and to take their destiny in their hands. The question then is, does Denmark provide asylum seekers with enough opportunities when it comes to education and the job market accessibility? Are they free to decide and continue with the life pattern they would like to pursue?

In Italy a high demand of asylum seekers seeking for higher education has led to encouraging developments. As a matter of fact, some universities have recently given newly arrived asylum seekers the benefit of accessing Bachelor programs without tuition fees. The eldest higher institutions in the world, the University of Bologna, started few months ago offering such privilege to selected pupils, along with 5 scholarships worth 8000 euros each. (“Il Fatto Quotidiano”, 2015) Other Italian institutions followed shortly after, such as the University of Pavia, that offered 14 scholarships to brilliant asylum seekers. Some universities in Slovakia have followed the same trend, offering also online support and legal counselling to asylum seekers living in third world countries. (“Slovakia: Free university programs for asylum seekers” 2015) Finally, some German universities are giving similar chances to asylum seekers, such as the Flensburg University (located right next to the Danish border), that will provide both university courses, and German language classes, all funded by the “DAAD” (German Academic Exchange Services). The university also proposed to ease the application procedure by offering unbeaurocratic approaches, such as flexible deadlines or less strict documentation requirements. (“Geflüchteten Menschen den Zugang zum Studium ermöglichen”, 2016)

As Denmark currently does not provide such options, it is a good case study to discuss about what is now provided as educational opportunities for asylum seekers and what could still be done.

## 1.1 Denmark and the refugee crisis

Just at the beginning of 2016, Denmark became famous abroad for passing the bill that entailed seizing asylum seekers’ possessions as an “exchange” for shelter and first emergency facilities. But what else should we know about the country’s position towards incoming migrants and asylum seekers?

Despite the episode, Denmark does not stop being a favourite destination for people seeking asylum.

“In 2015, 21,000 people sought asylum in Denmark—up from 14,815 asylum applications in 2014 and 7,557 in 2013. (Denmark happens to be sandwiched between the two most popular European destinations for today’s migrants and refugees: Germany and Sweden.) These are

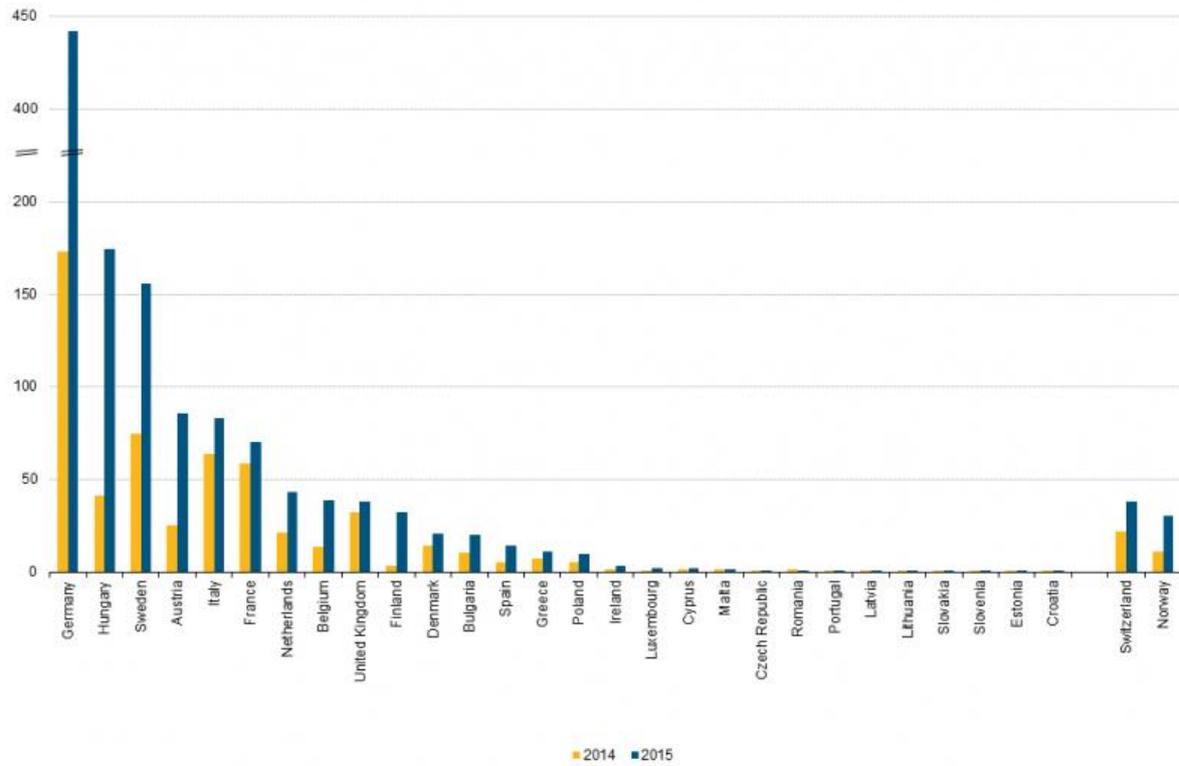
numbers that the Danish welfare state—which guarantees free health care and education, among other benefits, to every citizen—is struggling to handle.” (Delman, 2016) Due to the financial struggle, Denmark started deciding to dissuade asylum seekers applying for asylum here in many different ways. One of which has been moving rejected asylum seekers to tent camps outside the city area. “I believe that we have found a good solution for a pressing problem. Those persons who do not have the right to asylum can be placed in secured accommodation, from where they can be deported as quickly as possible,” Minister of Integration Inge Støjberg stated in an interview, adding: “It also sends a clear message to criminals and otherwise ejected persons that the government does not want them in Denmark.” (“The Local”, 2015)

Another bulletin touching upon the issue reported that the waiting time for family reunification will take up to 3 years for normal asylum seekers.<sup>1</sup>(Which are luckily a minority nowadays, since the Syrians, constituting the majority of asylum seeking group, fall under the conventional status) (“The Local”, 2015)

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter 3 for more clarifications on asylum procedures in Denmark.

The graph below shows the amount of newly arrived asylum seekers across Europe between 2014 and 2015. (“Eurostat Statistics Explained”, 2016)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: migr\_asyappctza)

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH AREA

Many recent studies have been dedicated to the position of asylum seekers asking for protection in Denmark. While researching material for this thesis, I found many articles and legislative material that could serve well for the scope of my project. Therefore, I took into consideration the works of diverse authors and used some of them for the analysis. The main topics I deepened my knowledge in have been the one of Danish legislation (which we will discuss further in a separate chapter), social discrimination and exclusion of asylum seekers from the hosting society's facilities and alienation. First of all, I read Simon Turner's "Politics of Innocence" (2010), which I found of great inspiration in order to better understand the dynamics of refugee camps and the way their inhabitants are prevented from a normal way of living. This work was definitely a very useful tool for better understanding the feeling of confinement and direct dependence asylum seekers feel towards the United Nations staff members, and I thought it was very representative of the situation of the people in the Danish centres and the relationship with the Red Cross staff members. Secondly, I deepened my knowledge in the topic of camps' exclusion through the following texts: "Landscape of Hope and Despair: Palestinian Refugee Camps" from Julie Peteet (2005), "Between War and the City: Towards an Urban Anthropology of Refugee Camps" by Michel Agier (2002); "Specialising the Refugee Camp" by Adam Ramadan (2013) and "Refugees, Prisoners and Camps: a Functional Analysis of the Phenomenon of Encampment" by Bjorn Moller (2015). The latter articles were very interesting as they gave me a broader idea of how the life of the centres, that are more confinement camps, intertwines with the feeling of alienation the asylum seekers have. Although these articles were part of my courses of the last school semesters, therefore fundamental for my studies, I decided to rather use them as background knowledge than for analysis to better match the scope of my research. I also used "Agamben's Theory of Bio power and Immigrants/Refugees/Asylum Seekers" by Michalinos Zembylas (2010), as a big inspiration, since a good portion of my project is based on Agamben's studies. As a matter of fact, it was important for me to understand the connection between the bare life theory and the asylum seekers' experience as political alien, and this article serves very well to capture this relationship. For a more complete knowledge of the aforementioned theories I also used Alexander Betts' "Forced Migration and Global Politics" (2009), which I always found a very complete work and it is at the core of every research paper on forced migration. Moreover, due to the affinity of argumentations, I used "Exploring Barriers to Higher Education in Protracted Refugee Situations: The Case of Burmese Refugees in Thailand" by Barbara Zeus (2011). While talking about Danish policies I took inspiration from "Asylum seekers and the Danish System: A policy evaluation" by Kang Ngite Nnoko (2014) and the various semester projects or thesis written by former or current Global Refugee Studies colleagues.

### 3. SIGNIFICANCE AND JUSTIFICATION OF CASE STUDY

In the following chapter I am going to give further insights to the core reasons why access to education for everyone is important. I am also going to discuss the relevance of education as a tool of empowerment for asylum seekers.

#### 3.1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

I will look at the basic rights that any individual is entitled to pursue as stated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As a matter of fact, access to education might be something considered of secondary importance when speaking of first emergency situations, such as the ones asylum seekers face. It may also strike as something that neither is a right of the individual, related to people's health and survival. Although it is clearly mentioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that education should be guaranteed to everyone, as it is an important freedom and political space's facilitator.

The problematic related to asylum seekers being able to access higher education is at the very bottom of the fundamental rights of an individual. In article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948, it states that:

*“(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.*

*(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.” (United for Human Rights, 2016)*

Even if phrased in a very abstract way, these lines are emphasizing that education should be guaranteed to all citizens equally. Especially for individuals who have been through war and violence, it is one of the ways, and maybe the more important one, to redeem themselves from the atrocities of the past and start over. I find also inspiring and powerful how an individualistic act, such as deciding to go back to their studies, has such a positive impact on the rest of the society. As a matter of fact, educating oneself is also important, as mentioned in article 2, to *"promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace."* To instruct a sole person, and give them the tool to free themselves from prejudices and ignorance, is one step closer to create a more stable and understanding international community. To help to develop one's individual path, is one step closer to developing the whole society.

Education is, indeed, a very complex and over discussed topic: the asylum seekers who are interested in pursuing higher education in Denmark find many barriers while trying to understand whether they are eligible to do so. It is neither mentioned in any the Danish universities website if they are allowed to seek a Bachelor or Master's degree nor they are listed in the different classifications of international students. Financially and legally speaking, the Danish laws forbid them to enrol to university. In order to so do, students should be able to prove a legal permit to stay in Denmark. Although, due to the high number of qualified and talented refugees the country is currently hosting, there should be better options for the youngsters willing to continue with their education despite of their legal status. On this matter, rector of the University of Copenhagen Ralf Hemmingsen, writes that Denmark needs to change its attitude towards education and the incoming asylum seekers. He states: "Many of the refugees who are entering Denmark at the moment are highly educated, and with a quick and targeted effort they could become better integrated and gain easier access to the Danish job market"...."Refugees who are granted temporary residence should be allowed to study from day one. Many of them have competences, skills and experiences that are in high demand both if they are to stay in Denmark and if they return to their country of origin. At the University, we are ready to take on this challenge but it's not possible under the current rules. So we hope the government will adjust the rules to help both the refugees and Denmark." (Winkel, 2015).

Therefore it could be discussed that allowing asylum seekers to qualify themselves better according to their needs and the needs of the hosting country's job market, could be

beneficial for both the individual and the Danish state. As mentioned above, the position of Danish universities towards the enrolment of asylum seekers in their programs is very hard to establish. Asylum seekers willing to begin any Bachelor or Master's program in a Danish university have to consider different factors while trying to do so. First of all struggles, asylum seekers are considered political '*aliens*', thus not able to provide the international recruitment department any legal permit for their stay in Denmark. Moreover, while having their case being processed, it is impossible to furnish such confirmation. Furthermore, we have to consider that being part of the Danish system is barely impossible without the possession of a CPR number.

Having a social security number means that asylum seekers finally got a permission to stay in Denmark, and for all non-European citizens it is the way of showing that are in possession of a job or school permission and of a regular house contract.

Apart from the financial problematic, universities are not going to accept pupils with lacking documentation from home countries. Most universities in Denmark only accept verified and certified copies of diplomas and other relevant certificates, which, for asylum seekers coming from war zones and dangerous home countries or situations, can be hard to obtain. Asylum seekers and refugees could definitely benefit out of free education as it could be a tool for them to start over with a new life objective. Meanwhile asylum seekers are highly discouraged to apply for any Bachelor or Masters Programs in Danish universities while, refugees with a permit allowing them to stay in Denmark are very welcomed in the education programs.

## 3.2 Emancipation of the applicants

As mentioned before, education is important for integration but also for autonomy as emancipation of asylum seekers.

In academic literature the concept of "autonomy" is described as:

"[...] an act of liberation. It not only demanded that migrants *themselves* be allowed to speak of their struggles (or, more generally, that migration discover its own language) nor did it simply seek to interrupt the helpless recourse to the history of victimhood that oppresses through racism; and it certainly was not about adding another decentralized social movement

to those that replaced the workers' movement after its demise – on the contrary, the idea was to contribute to the construction of new connections within the social struggles concerned with migration, in order to gather the different layers of subjectivity (as men and women, as workers and employees, as citizens and the illegalized) to form a foundation with which to accelerate these struggles in emancipatory ways.”(Bojadžijev, M. & Karakayali S. 2010, p. 17)

Helping the asylum seekers by giving them tools to emancipate themselves freeing them from the pre-established victim role is the very scope of my research. Giving them back subjectivity and consideration is what really matters, as it proves to be beneficial both for the individual and the receiving society.

### 3.3 Problem formulation

When we talk about education related to asylum seekers still living in the centres, it is very hard to imagine that they can actually have power and desire to focus on such an important commitment.

We have to consider that these people are sometimes forced to remain in protracted refugee situations for a very long time, therefore there is a risk of pausing their life while awaiting for a final decision about their case. Usually, when talking about education for asylum seekers, we think about language classes or culture classes. This is because the rules are designed in order to address a temporary situation, as a positive outcome from the Court could lead to the decision making of further and more stable life choices, such as trying to obtain a job or accessing any kind of education (like in phase 1-2). But what happens to those who wait a long time and do not want to waste it sitting in the camp? The universities' international offices are vague about admissions of asylum seekers. The University of Copenhagen, KUA, one of the most prestigious institutions in Denmark, states in his website that “If you have not yet been granted asylum in Denmark (i.e. you are an asylum seeker), you cannot apply to a study programme or for a vacant position at the University of Copenhagen”, (“Information for refugees”, 2016) making clear the position of the educational authorities. We can also imagine that being considered non-EU citizens, although residing in Denmark, can also lead to very expensive tuition fees to provide.

These issues leads then to the consequent questions:

**What are the obstacles that forbid asylum seekers to pursue higher education in Denmark? What is the emotional impact they entail?**

In my dissertation I will deepen my knowledge in these various aspects, trying to identify the different motivations and clauses that do not enable asylum seekers to have access to higher education in Denmark. Eventually I will analyse how a change in different directions could lead to a better integration and mutual benefit. I will choose an anthropologist research approach that will allow me to take the perspective of asylum seekers in the process of verifying if possible for them to undertake the application procedure for higher education.

What will be the aspects to focus on in order to answer the main questions? The structure of the project will be shaped in the following pattern:

First of all I will analyse the different theories that will help to unravel the consequent aspects of the analysis. It will be also important to deepen the knowledge of the different methodological approaches, like the type of interviews done and the way to conduct them.

In the contextual framework, the first relevant argument to discuss would be contextualizing the legal framework of asylum procedures and where education for this category of people stands in the European legislation. Afterwards, I will look into the different regulations on applying for higher education in Denmark and finally, I will look into the rules on asylum seekers trying to access education, and what is designed appositely by law for them. Another important matter to focus on will be the introduction of tuition fees and the whole financial problematic regarding non EU citizens applying for university programs or further education courses in Denmark.

In the analysis I will deepen my knowledge in the before mentioned theories, connecting them with the most troubled issues reported in the interviews. This part will have focus on two main points: first of all the stressful closure of the asylum seekers in the centres and their inability to integrate; education will be looked at as an important integration tool. Then attention will be also put on Danish bureaucracy to education and the problematic faced by asylum seekers regarding the matter, always by keeping in consideration the interviews done.

## 4. LEGAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXTUAL FRAMEWORK

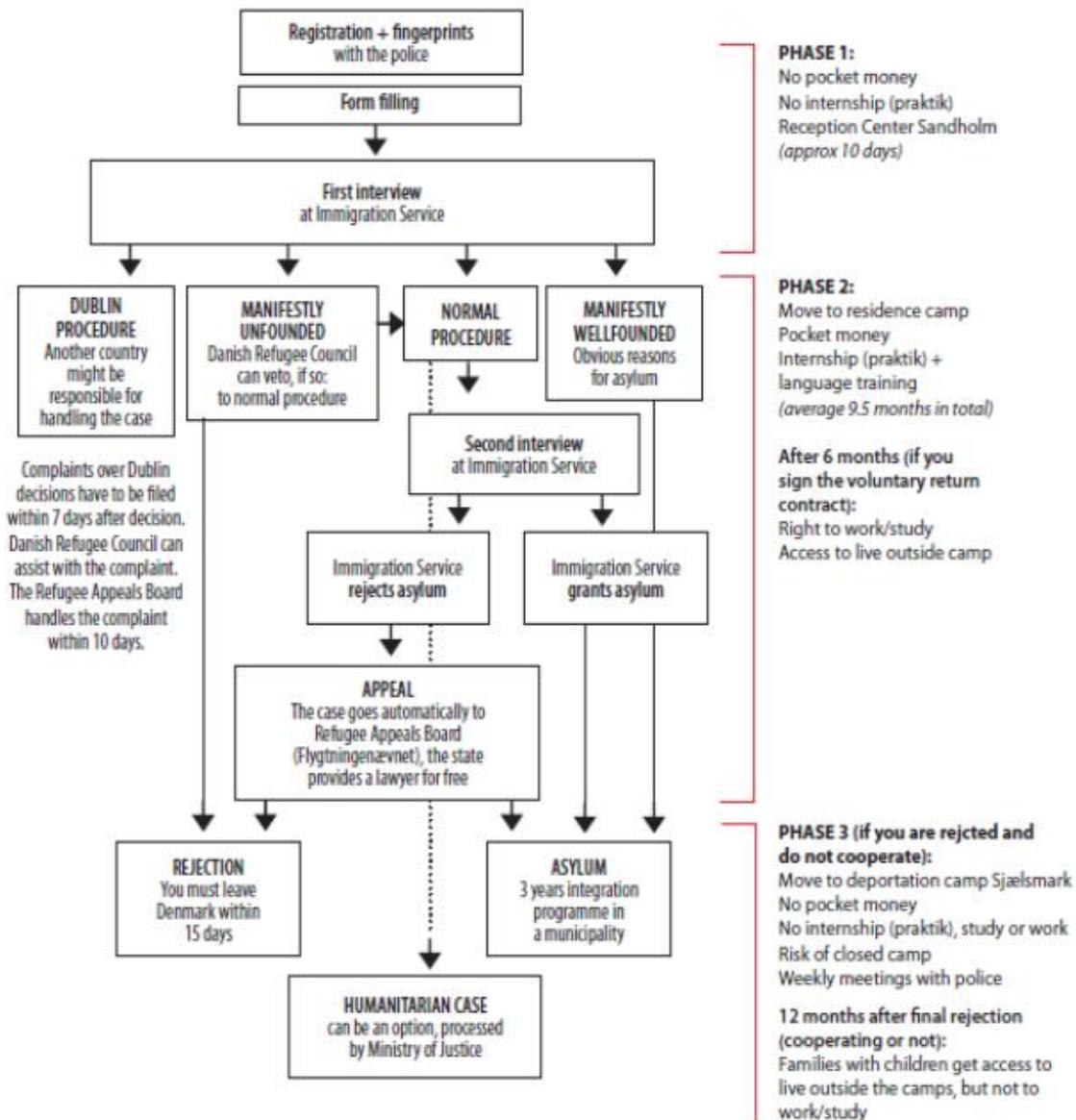
In this section of the literature review I will use the different material I have taken in consideration in order to work on my empirical research. First of all I will look at asylum seekers' rights by mentioning the ones indicated in the European Union's laws handbook and by tracking down and listing relevant indicators that help us understand what complications individuals with no papers find in pursuing higher education within the European borders. It is an important tool mainly because Denmark, as the other European states, follow general legal directives especially when deciding over asylum seekers rights, safety and wellness.

Lastly, I will focus on the Danish legislation concerning people who seek asylum, their rights to education and what is guaranteed to them, scholastically speaking, while they still having their cases underway.

### 4.1 Asylum procedures in Denmark

The graphic below represents an overview over the stages of the Danish Asylum System and the implications each stage can have.

## THE ASYLUM PROCEDURE IN DENMARK



(Bendixen, M. (2015): "The Asylum procedure in Denmark")

Most asylum seekers arrive to Denmark illegally, since they are not provided with a regular working VISA. After arrival, they would go to the police to register themselves and have their fingerprints taken. Almost all asylum seekers know this is a very important step to take, as once the fingerprints are taken they won't be allowed to seek protection in any other country. Afterwards, the asylum seekers will provide the authorities with their contact information, such as full name, country of origin etc. They will be finally accommodated by the Danish Red Cross in one of the first emergency centres around Denmark, depending on

the location of arrival. The asylum seekers arriving in this region of the Danish country (Zealand) will most likely be placed in Sandholm Center.

Shortly after, the asylum seekers will have their first interview with the Danish Immigration Service. The waiting time is now longer because of the major influx of incoming asylum seekers, phenomenon that is protracting the start of the procedure to request asylum.

The interview usually lasts a long time (even up to 5 hours). An interpreter has to be present as well, in order to facilitate the interview and make it possible for the asylum seeker to answer to the questions without any linguistic hitch in between. At the end of the interview, the Danish Immigration Service will be able to determine which of the four procedures the asylum case will follow:

### **1. The Dublin procedure:**

If the asylum seeker holds a visa or their fingerprints have been registered by another country signatory of the Dublin Regulation, then the asylum seeker's case will follow the Dublin procedure.

#### ***The Dublin Regulation:***

“The Dublin system comprises the regulations determining the European MS responsible for an asylum application. Its major aim is to guarantee all asylum seekers who enter the EU, access to an asylum procedure in only one Member State, (MS), and thus giving a significant contribution to the harmonization of asylum policies among MS. Usually this would be the MS through which an asylum seeker first enter the EU. The Regulation replaced the 1990 Dublin Convention and aims to ensure that each claim is fairly examined by one MS, to deter repeated applications, and to enhance efficiency. The application in the first country of arrival is strictly linked to EURODAC, a database that stores the fingerprints of asylum seekers entering Europe. The Regulation's ‘*sovereignty clause*’ allows a MS receiving an application to assume responsibility, and its ‘*humanitarian clause*’ allows MS to unite families in certain circumstances. The subsequent Dublin II Regulation offers additionally a mechanism to prevent conflicts of jurisdiction. It applies the principle of family unity (Art. 6-8) and the principle of responsibility. While the first is self-explanatory, the principle of responsibility ensures that the state of initial entry is responsible for the Asylum Seeker (Art. 9-10). This principle concretizes in the responsibility of the respective country to unite the Asylum Seeker

with its family or relatives, independent on the place they are located at that particular moment. One of the main shortcomings of the Dublin II Regulation, which has also pictured the Dublin Regulation recast (referred to as Dublin III), is the idea that protection-seekers could rely on equal access to protection and justice in each MS. Under these circumstances: “...the principle of mutual trust was and remains a fundamental foundational principle underlying the operation of the Dublin system and a key building-block of CEAS (Common European Asylum System).”(Paraschou, Doychev, Visan, Vidili and Pnachkova, 2014, pp. 12-13) (Velutti, 2013)

If the specific case falls under the Dublin Procedure, the Danish State will probably request that the country in which the fingerprints have been taken should process the case. The asylum seeker can file a complaint about the Danish Immigration Service’s outcome. The Danish Refugee Council has a special office that can assist with these complaints, although there are very few cases that can be reconsidered by this special board.

## **2. The Manifestly unfounded procedure:**

A Manifestly Unfounded case is a case determined to be manifestly unfounded if the asylum seeker’s country of origin is expected to be able to give protection therefore the reasons for them to seek asylum anywhere else are, indeed, unfounded. For example, Russia is generally considered a safe third country therefore those who flee from there hardly obtain asylum in Europe. (Bendixen, 2015)

Another case of Manifestly Unfounded type exists if the asylum seeker’s grounds for seeking asylum are considered too weak. The case is then considered rejected. Asylum seekers falling under this procedure, do not receive any pocket money and are prohibited to work or attend language classes.

## **3. The Manifest Permission procedure:**

Manifest Permission is a new and faster way of giving asylum, as it takes only one interview. The result of this procedure is usually positive.

#### **4. The Normal procedure:**

The **Normal procedure**, generally includes a second interview with the Danish Immigration Service, which takes place after some investigations on the asylum seeker have been conducted. Therefore this interview functions as follow-up on the first one, as the asylum seeker will be asked to give details about the previous given answers.

If the case will be rejected, the applicant can complain for their case to the Refugee Appeals Board and they will be given a lawyer. The board meeting will take place several months after the rejection and the asylum seeker will attend in person together with their lawyer and an interpreter. The board's meeting is final and cannot be appealed. The only time a case can be reopened is if new important information has emerged that should be addressed: either about the person or about the country of origin. (Bendixen, 2015)

These different agendas generally determine the different phases of an asylum case.

##### **4.1.1 Asylum case: the different phases**

###### **Phase 1**

It is considered the phase of arrival. In this period asylum seekers are not provided with any cash allowance nor internship or any sort of education, especially language school. They generally live at an arrival or reception centre (most commonly Sandholm).

Part of the first registration procedure includes filling in a form, comprehensive of picture of the asylum seeker and taking their fingerprints. The police is not allowed to take personal initiatives during the process, such as asking detailed questions about the journey, as it could interfere with the asylum seeker's case. Nevertheless, it is very common for the police to do so, therefore leading to a possible failure due to the mishandling of the case.

###### **Phase 2**

It is the stage of the process in which the case is being processed (consideration phase). Pocket money is provided, but most importantly the asylum seekers can attend language classes (Danish and English) and be part in an internship program. As a matter of fact, it is mandatory for whoever seeks asylum in Denmark to take part in an internship.

If the applicant has proven fingerprints in another EU-country, he or she risks to get transferred to this country according to the Dublin III regulation. Exceptions made are countries like Greece, that have been excluded by the duty as they are not able to cope with the high number of asylum seekers and the hosting conditions are miserable. In some cases, neither the country who first registered the applicant by taking their fingerprints, nor Denmark, are willing to process the asylum application, leaving the asylum seeker in a limbo. In this case the asylum seeker will move to phase 3 and considered “manifestly unfounded case”. The most common case, however, is the normal procedure. Afterwards, asylum applications can either be granted asylum, or be rejected. (Bendixen, 2015)

### **Phase 3**

This phase only occurs if the case has been rejected. The asylum seeker will be moved to a deportation centre (Sjælsmark in Zealand). It is almost like a detention centre and it is run by the Danish Police. It is forbidden there to attend any internship and the asylum seekers are not given any pocket money, therefore they are forced to eat at the centre’s cafeteria.

Some of the asylum seekers are stuck in the centres for years, because of many factors: sometimes the cases are really hard to process by the ruling, or in others, the asylum seeker fights in order not to be deported. Many of the rejected asylum seekers just leave the country voluntarily or disappear from the authorities. (*idem*)

#### **4.1.2 Special case: rejected cases**

Rejected asylum-seekers are one of the biggest groups of irregular migrants residing in Denmark, although due to the illegal status that they cover it is difficult to find out the real numbers. Many of the people with rejected cases do live inside the centres though, which makes easier to understand their prospective on their condition. I consider very important to discuss a bit more on the issue as some of my interviewees’ case will also fall under this category, therefore it might be useful to deepen our knowledge on the matter.

Even after rejection, asylum seekers are allowed to stay in the asylum centres in order to have support housing wise and for other necessities. Interesting enough, according to Danish legislation asylum seekers have obtain some status within the first 6 months after arrival, but many of them have been here for years. This makes them living in a hard limbo, since they

are not allowed to get integrated into the society but still manage to create their own life and habits in Denmark.

“If the asylum seeker does not leave voluntarily, he/she can be forcibly deported by the police. In some cases, however, it is not possible to expel an applicant, e.g. if a passport cannot be readily issued. However, any rejected asylum seeker required to leave the country is obliged to cooperate with authorities in securing his/her exit. This includes cooperating to obtain passports and travel documents, and in any other way required by the police. If the police have attempted without success to deport a rejected asylum seeker for at least 18 months, if the asylum seeker has cooperated fully, and if deportation continues to remain improbable, the Immigration Service can issue a temporary residence permit. All three conditions must be met in order to get a temporary residence permit. If the asylum seeker does not cooperate with the police, he/she cannot be granted a permit, even if the police are unable to deport him/her. A residence permit issued because deportation has not been possible is valid for an initial period of 12 months. After this, the applicant can apply for an extension of the permit, provided that it remains impossible for the applicant to leave Denmark by his/her own free will, and that the police are still unable to enforce deportation.” (“Hindrances to deportation”)

Furthermore, it is important to mention, that the Danish government was accused of human rights violations when putting in prison-like camps non-criminals such as, asylum seekers with rejected asylum claim. Also, making them choose to “cooperate” with the police (otherwise called “voluntarily return”), cannot be the only solution for people who fled from serious situations and risk their life in case of a rejected case. The hypocrisy stands when the seriousness of the death threat is not well considered but also making the asylum seekers so miserable to the point of being forced to choose voluntarily the return. After signing for “cooperation”, the Danish Immigration Service will definitely keep denying asylum using the cooperation as an excuse. This is because they do not see the aspect of depression and lost hope that forces the asylum seekers to cooperate, but they see instead the rejected applicant is apparently not in such danger in their home country to the point to ask for protection elsewhere. (Bendixen, 2011)

The reasons why asylum seekers are refused by their own country are definitely diverse and they work accordingly to the binding agreement between home country and Denmark. “Certain countries refuse to accept citizens against their own will (Iran and previously Russia), others are citizens of a country which has no recognized government (Somalia), and

some countries are in a warlike, unsettled situation forcing deportations to be put on hold (Syria and Somalia). It can also prove impossible to get identity papers from the embassy at all – some countries tend not to answer.”(Bendixen, 2011, p.18)

Furthermore, we could also discuss that deportation, in case of a rejected case, is not automatic nor forcible. As a matter of fact, as stated by the Danish Aliens Act Section 31:

“(1) An alien may not be returned to a country where he will be at risk of the death penalty or of being subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, or where the alien will not be protected against being sent on to such country.

(2) An alien falling within section 7(1) may not be returned to a country where he will risk persecution on the grounds set out in Article 1 A of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (28 July 1951), or where the alien will as stated by the Danish Aliens Act Section 31: not be protected against being sent on to such country. This does not apply if the alien must reasonably be deemed a danger to national security or if, after a final judgment for a particularly dangerous crime, the alien must be deemed a danger to society, but see subsection (1).”

Therefore, in case of a real fear of persecution, even if not eligible for granting asylum, the asylum seeker cannot be sent to their homeland either.

## 4.2 The European Union on Education for asylum seekers

The “Human Rights Act” of 1998 consolidates the European Convention on Human Rights (“ECHR”). In Protocol II, Article 2 of the ECHR it is stated that “no person shall be denied the right to education (...)”. It does not seem to prevent a State from enabling such phenomenon, but it consequently mentions that: “injure the substance of the right to education nor conflict with other rights enshrined in the Convention” (Council of Europe, 1976, p. 596)

Under EU Law, Article 22 (1) of the Refugee Convention and the EU asylum Acquis states that “the right to education of asylum-seeking children and for those granted refugee status or subsidiary protection.” (Council of Europe, 2016, p. 6) Furthermore “Third-country nationals recognised as long-term residents under the Long-Term Residents Directive, enjoy equal

treatment with EU Member State citizens as regards access to education and vocational training, and study grants, as well as recognition of qualifications. They also have the right to move to other EU Member States for education and vocational training.” (“Status of non-EU nationals who are long-term residents”, 2014) Long-Term residents are those who have stayed in a country for more than 5 years with residence permit, therefore again the target of this rule is not asylum seekers.

### 4.3. Educational rights of asylum seekers in Denmark

*“Danish politicians have to face the realities instead of hiding behind bureaucracy. It is clearly the asylum legislation that makes people sit for 10 years in the Danish asylum camps. After 10 years you cannot send these families back, they have nothing to return to. They live here without education or job, and the state pays.”*

*Pannayiotis Demetriou, chairman of the LIBE delegation, European Parliament 2008*  
(Bendixen, 2011)

Under the normative 32 and 33 of Chapter 6 of the *“Bekendtgørelse om undervisning og aktivering m.v. af asylansøgere m.fl.”* guidebook (which translated from Danish means “Order on education and activation etc. of asylum seekers and others”), called *“Undervisning af asylansøgere over 17 år”* meaning “Education of asylum seekers over 17 years”, it states that:

**“§ 32.** The teaching of asylum seekers over 17 years aims:

- 1) to create the conditions for a successful integration of the asylum seekers granted residence permit and to facilitate the repatriation of the asylum seekers who refused residence
- 2) to assist in creating an active and meaningful life for the individual asylum seeker,
- 3) to maintain and expand asylum seekers and vocational skills and

4) to help increase the asylum seekers' responsibility for their own lives and for the community that exists at the accommodation.”

and:

“§ 33. Asylum seekers over 18 years in the initial stage, which is accommodated in a reception centre must attend an asylum-seeker course, see. However paragraph. 5th

*PCS. 2.* Asylum seeker course will provide the asylum seeker a full initial knowledge of the Danish language and Danish culture and society. Asylum seeker course includes

- 1) information about the Danish asylum rules, including the phases of asylum proceedings and accommodation system
- 2) information about rights and obligations in the asylum system, including rejected asylum seekers must leave,
- 3) information about the current permission percent of asylum seekers and
- 4) lessons in Danish language and culture in order to be able to handle most everyday situations and practical instructions.” (Hornbech, 2010)

As we can notice, these regulations do not mention the possibility that asylum seekers have to enrol to university. We have to come to realize though that they have been made in order to suit a (relatively short) period of emergency and are not designed to suit situations different than that. Cases of prolonged refugee situations are frequent and bring to question many concerns on the life these asylum seekers conduct. First of all, because they are stuck in the Red Cross first emergency centres for a long time, while these accommodations should only be provided for a short amount of time, as they bring a lot of psychological consequences for those who live there. Second, because they do not allow their inhabitants, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, to have a stable living: not having a legal permit entails not being able to work, study or have access to other opportunities. What these people do is not living, it is surviving.

#### 4.4. Introduction of tuition fees for non-European citizens

Higher education in Denmark used to be free for everyone before 1st of August 2006. Tuition fees for non-European citizens (therefore, also for asylum seekers) have been introduced for a number of factors: the first one is socio-economic. Since universities are indirectly funded by taxpayers, the disadvantage for the social welfare is that international students tend to leave Denmark after graduation, either deciding to go back to their own countries or to go elsewhere. An asylum seeker, on the other hand, if hypothetically offered to take part in a national funded program such as a university Bachelor or Master's degree, could be forced not to finish it as in constant risk of their case to be rejected, or worse, of deportation. Therefore there would be a uselessness in deciding to take asylum seekers back in such programs. Danish students, in this sense, have solid grounds to continue to stay in their home country even after graduation, and, last but not least, to continue to pay taxes and fund the education system. Education system that relies solidly on these funders, the citizens, as they also contribute for the international students tuitions. Nowadays, Denmark still allows European students to achieve higher education for free. Perhaps introducing tuition fees for non-European students has been seen as a more equal and just way of balancing the social welfare. (Nordic Councils of Ministers, 2013)

Most importantly, the law was introduced in order to encourage only talented students from third world countries to come and study in Denmark, through the implementation of scholarships and free spots. Each university has the freedom to decide the price of tuition fees according to the funds they received and its own funding needs. Although the pool for scholarships has increased from DKK 2 million in 2006 to DKK 59 million in 2009, and grants for free spots from DKK 1 million in 2006 to DKK 20 million in 2011 (*idem*), Danish universities find themselves in hard competition with other European universities. This is because of the lack of funds dedicated to disadvantaged non EU students wishing to apply to their programs. Some universities in Denmark decided to use the state money to give free places including housing and full living costs (example given, the university of Aarhus), in order to increase credibility and tempt international students. This system, if promoted correctly in the asylum centres, could also benefit asylum seekers, as they receive a very small allowance during the first phases of their case (*idem*). Although, as Avnstrup Red Cross Job and Education director Lars Brügger states (Interview 1, min 24-26), the Red Cross staff never encourages asylum seekers to join educational programs outside the ones proposed

from the Red Cross itself, that mostly involve language classes and basic introductions to the Danish society and culture. This is because they cannot offer any higher educational funds to the asylum seekers, as well as no bureaucratic assistance in the application process. Furthermore, they do not want to, at the same time, distract the asylum seekers to what it is considered a more urgent and delicate issue, which is their asylum case.

The introduction of tuition fees for non-European students has brought along a series of ethical discussions on the unjustness of the new rule. Free education ensures indeed “social mobility and equal opportunity for all, irrespective of financial standing.” (Nordic Councils of Ministers, p.60) It is considered unjust also towards the Danish welfare system, as it does not enable Denmark to ‘exploit’ talented and useful resources for both the academic and job market, because it prevents brilliant students from applying to its universities. It represents usually the first and easiest step for youngsters to move out of their countries and obtain visas in another continent.

The rules governing who currently has to pay or not for studying a full-degree programme in Denmark are laid out in “Bekendtgørelse om tilskud og revision m.v. ved universiteterne”, (“Order on grants and auditing, etc. at universities”) (Agerhus, 2015) As Stated in the second regulations of the Statute, paragraph 4, universities only receives funding for certain kinds of international student:

“1) has been granted a permanent residence permit or temporary residence permits with the possibility of permanent residence in Denmark;

2) in exchange for Danish students with the agreement concluded in accordance with the Order on universities international training between the university and one or more universities abroad or study at a Danish university disseminated through Fulbright, Denmark's International Study Program (DIS) or Rotary Ambassadorial Scholarships;

3) under EU law, including the EEA Agreement, or international agreements, including cultural agreements, entered into by Denmark, are entitled to equality with Danish nationals;

4) has a residence permit under the Aliens Act § 9 m as accompanying child to an alien who has a residence permit on the basis of employment, or

5) implement parts of an Erasmus + or Erasmus Mundus master's degree in Denmark.” (*idem*)

Therefore, as a dominant requirement, international students basically need to have permanent residence in Denmark for the university to receive funding, and asylum seekers are not mentioned, which does not allow the university to receive funding for them.

Chapter 3 of the same Statute states that if the university does not receive funding, according to the before mentioned requirements, the university must either require the student to pay or give them a scholarship.

In other words, an asylum seeker does not trigger any funding to the university, and the university must therefore ask the student to pay tuition fee – or give the student a scholarship. However, a student can only get a scholarship if the student needs a student resident permit to stay legally in Denmark, and that collides with having applied for asylum, meaning that an asylum seeker cannot receive a scholarship. (Jacobsen, 2011)

The rules on scholarships are laid out in: ”Bekendtgørelse om fripladser med stipendium som støtte til leveomkostninger til visse udenlandske studerende ved universiteterne.” (“Notice of place with scholarship covering of living expenses to certain foreign students at universities”) (*idem*)

## 4.5. Application process for international students in Danish universities

The application process for international students always follows the same pattern in all Danish universities. The deadlines generally take place once (or twice) per year, depending on the university and the type of program. First of all it can be done online, in order to make it easier for the students and shorten up the procedural timing. It involves the process of attachment of all requirement documents, which consist of the achieved high school and/or Bachelor diplomas (in form of translated and certified copies) and English (or Danish) language certificates of substantial knowledge of the program’s taught language. The level of such language differs depending on whether is it a Bachelor or Master’s program and on the field of studies, therefore on the extent of the vocabulary to be used. The application procedure itself takes only few minutes, and while applying the candidate can decide to apply for few options at ones, so to broaden their chances to be chosen for one of the programs.

Additional requirements might also be a proof of enough credits of a determined subject or extra curricula activities that enrich the student's profile. After having verified the before mentioned minimum requirement, the acceptance or rejection is based on individual assessment: the recruitment board might consider qualified or not a student based on the personal experiences and academic background.

The answer will be given within few weeks or months, and the applicant will be guided to the start of the school year as well as updated with relevant news and assisted if needed. ("Admission and Application")

# 5. METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 5.1 Research focus and limitations

The research I made involved first of all the hard process of discovering whether asylum seekers are eligible to pursue further education in Denmark. Although it might look and sound like an easy research, it is an unexplored field and controversial topic in European countries, as much as it appears to be in Denmark. There is indeed no clear definition on what is the best direction for asylum seekers interested in the field of education. The only education to be provided by the Red Cross centres (as stated by many guidelines and handbooks for asylum seekers, such as “NyIDanmark”) ([www.nyidanmark.dk](http://www.nyidanmark.dk)) include language and culture classes. These courses are indeed guaranteed for those who seek asylum in Denmark in the first phases of the application (although they are not for those who obtain rejection). The second focus I decided to put on my analysis has been the emotional aspect of being excluded by the hosting society because of the exclusion from educational opportunities. It is indeed a crucial aspect to underline, as it adds additional stress and depression to the already very unstable mind set of the asylum seekers living in the centres. Reconstructing their steps while trying to collect information and asking the different connections and institution’s staff members was also part of my work. In order to do so, I used qualitative interviews, whose detailed study takes up a big portion of my analysis.

There were quite some limitations in the research process: the legislation designed for asylum seekers who want to pursue education seems lacking of different details. The only classes that are mentioned in the regulations are the aforementioned language and culture ones, implemented to help the integration of these individuals. It was quite difficult to move further in the research by the only use of qualitative methods, therefore the use of personal network was fundamental in the planning and investigation of the dissertation. I also found very discouraging the lack of information offered by the authorities in charge of asylum seekers related to higher education in Denmark. It seemed like it was a new topic and all the people I questioned were astonished by my request of more transparency.

## 5.2 Methodology

My approach on the acquisition of secondary data was based on Desk review research method. This method implies the acquisition of as many data as possible around the main topic through the analysis and review of relevant websites, documents, books, reviews, statistics, etc. I also used as fundamental sources government published data, since the nature of my paper is widely based on the Danish institutions' view on education for asylum seekers.

Apart from Desk review research I also tried to gather information by trying to make my way in as many universities' international students recruitment departments as possible.

I also used in- depth, semi-structured interviews as core method for my thesis. The asset of the interviews was meant to be as fluid as possible in order to make the interviewees feel comfortable while answering. It was also crucial for my investigation to gain asylum seekers' trust in order to facilitate the interviews and guarantee their flow, and outcome. I decided to opt for this modality because of the personal and delicate topics we touched during the discussion. I decided to put a focus on the asylum seekers' opinion, because a big portion of the thesis is dedicated to the emotional impact of the Danish educational regulations on the asylum seekers in pending approval of their cases. It was therefore fundamental for my research to get acquainted with as many of them interested in education as possible. The interviews have been conducted on individuals with pending asylum cases (but also with people with rejected application, still living in the centres, because not able to be sent back for bureaucratic issues)<sup>2</sup> willing to study in Denmark. The main areas of interest of the interviews was the subjects' educational background, as well as the various problematic faced while trying to gather information about education. We also discussed more intimate matters, such as their present feelings, future hopes and life perspectives.

The semi-structured interviews are useful in order to deepen our understanding in the way the informants interpret the world. They can also highlight through them what they consider more important about their experiences and give introspective opinions. (Kvale, 1996) The semi- structured interviews also enable the interviewee to follow the outline of the questions while being able to ask more about them and seek clarifications, if needed. These type of interviews most importantly consider the interviewee's experience, through which the

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<sup>2</sup> see chapter 3 paragraph 1, Asylum procedures in Denmark

interviewer can interpret the studied phenomena.(Brinkmann & Kvale, 2009) In all my interviews, I clarified that the personal information shared with me would have been kept confidential as well as the real name and surname of the interviewees. As a matter of fact, I can strongly affirm that privacy was also an important element that helped them to feel more trustful and open to answer to the questions freely.

I believe the combination of an in-depth acquisition of secondary data and conduction of interviews was crucial for the best completion of my analysis. The process also enabled the realization of primary data, because of the lack of bureaucratic elements concerning asylum seekers pursuing higher education in Denmark. The topic of my research is once again very sterile territory and hopefully my work opened the doors to new material for further studies.

Since, as mentioned beforehand, some binding legislative details were very troublesome to discover, I considered best also to make contacts directly with the various Danish institutions involved in the matter. Examples of which are the Ministry of Higher Education and Science, the Danish Immigration Service and the Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing.

I also took part in some support groups for volunteers who try to get asylum seekers in Danish education. “RUC Supports Refugees”, is the first one I contacted: their purpose is to help refugees and asylum seekers to possibly enter Roskilde University’s programs. They have a mentor network for asylum seekers and refugees in need of help on the matter, and they also to do campaign on forced migration issues. (“Ruc Supports Refugees” <http://rucsupportsrefugees.dk/>)

They work closely with “Social Sciences across Borders”, another group made up from activists and members from CBS (Copenhagen Business School) both from the faculty and the students entourage.

Thanks to them I also entered a great refugees’ support network, hopefully to participate and witness a real change in the rules and regulations dedicated to asylum seekers and higher education. I also relied on the help of lawyers, that I had to make contacts with as the issues I will further discuss are closely related to many Danish bureaucratic tricky regulations and quibbles, and I felt I could use the knowledge of experts in the field to better understand the problematic and lacking information given by the before mentioned laws.

## 5.3. Theories

### 5.3.1. Social Identity

The use of social science theories highly related to the main topic can definitely make a difference in the outcome of the research paper.

The Social Identity theory has originally been discussed by Henri Tafel and John Turner between the 1970's and 1980's. It aims at analysing group's attitudes and intergroup behaviours, but also how much of a person's attitude comes from the feeling of belonging to their in-group. This theory also helps understanding various social attitudes, among which we can find social discrimination, a crucial aspect I would like to focus on further in my dissertation. Social Identity theory defines a group cognitively, meaning according to the way the group perceives itself and on the self-conception of the group members. (Hogg, Burke, 2006) The cognitive processes help understanding the division of the groups and they are called: social categorization, social identification and social comparison. First step is for the group members to associate themselves (*social categorization*) only within the in-group through distinctive features and to link themselves to these features, creating an in-group prototype which produces in-groups stereotypes, in terms of feelings, behaviours, and external perceptions. Due to the self-homogenization to the in-group's features and behaviour, they will not perceive the out-group members with unique characteristics (*social identification*), but instead as prototypes of another group, therefore with conforming features representing that group. (Hogg, 2001) Groups are obviously not the same, they can vary in size, beliefs and characteristics: but they can also have similarities that can create affinities of some sorts (*'common identity'* groups). Homogeneity within the in-group is key in order to understand the subsequent creation of prejudices with members of the out-groups: it is determining because it helps the rise differences between groups and creates even more hostile behaviours and a negative attitude towards those who are related to on a different group. Prejudice towards an out-group is generally made up by three components: first one is affective, as it is generated by the feelings that the attitude that the out-group creates. Second is cognitive, because linked to the reasoning and beliefs that the out-group's attitudes result in the in-group. The third is instead behavioural, as it relates to the way the out-group intertwines and acts according to its attitude. ("In-Groups and Out-groups", 2016)

The third and last process, *social comparison*, is constituted by the continuous need of the in-group's self-esteem improvement and outstanding achievement. This need is often promoted

and led by the leader of the in-group (whom represents and has decisional power over its associates). We could argue that the constant need of success and better accomplishment is also a way for the in-group to distance itself from the rest and rise it to a level of sovereignty and austerity over the other groups.

The comparative aspect of the Social Identity theory is definitely the key in order to understand social discrimination: the in-group judgement of the out-group results in an evaluation of the latter, which is crucial for the possible assimilation of the two groups. (Mummendey, Otten, p.110)

Conflict of interests is also an element of contract between groups aiming at the same (sometimes limited) resources.

The favouritism towards the group and any sort of unfairness against the out-group are perceived as the will of the individuals for positive social categorization and personal achievement, in which they consequently identify themselves in the process of self-categorization. (*idem*)

Some identical patterns tend to happen along with the before mentioned cognitive processes. The members of the in-group will, as a matter of fact, first of all always tend to prefer their in-group rather than any out-group. They will also tend to maximize out-groups differences and minimize the in-group ones (in order to increase in-group adherence). And lastly, in-group members will remember more positive details about in-group members and dynamics rather than the out-group ones, still to distance themselves from it and avoid coherence with the out-group members.

Discrimination also takes a bit part in social identity's theory because it helps underlining the intergroup behavioural outbreaks. By definition, discrimination "may be defined as the effective injurious treatment of persons on grounds rationally irrelevant to the situation. Individuals are denied desired and expected rewards or opportunities for reasons related not to their capacities, merits, or behaviour, but solely because of membership in an identifiable out-group." (Antonovsky, 1960) The same way asylum seekers are denied by equal life chances opportunity by the Danish society for reasons that can be related to the in-group protection of resources or simply because of stereotypical exclusions related to their capacities and needs.

I decided to use this theory for a more comprehensive approach on the differences between the in-group Danish citizens and out-group refugees and asylum seekers. Also, I thought the same differences would be perfect to underline while discussing on the reasons why asylum seekers cannot access same life opportunities as the Danish citizens in Denmark.

All these elements, will enable me to deepen my understanding of the harsh Danish regulations towards education for asylum seekers. This theory fit my needs to explain why the group differences and prejudices can be core motif for the lack of solutions of those seeking for a protection as much as for better life opportunities.

### 5.3.2. Giorgio Agamben and the “Bare Life”

Giorgio Agamben most important theory revolves around Foucault’s *biopower*, reversing the normal concept of disciplinary power. Biopower and its disciplinary strategies operates in order “to manage births, deaths, reproduction, illnesses of a population”. (O’Farrell, 2007) It has indeed also been depicted by Alexander Betts, one of the most important scholars for international affairs and forced migration, as “the practice of modern states in exercising control over their population” (Betts, 2009, p. 74) Hyndman argues that there is a connection between biopower and the camp life, because “camps serve as a control function for the host state and the international community.” He also adds that their “geographical location, structure, and layout ensure regularity, order, and control.” (Betts, 2009, p.75)

Agamben also takes inspiration for his “*Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*” and other related texts from Aristotle’s readings. I found especially the concepts of *bios* and *zoe*, from Aristotle’s *Politics*, very interesting and relevant to my project. The parallelism between the two living experiences, the very mere existence (*zoe*) and the active life (*bios*) are at the very bottom of Agamben’s further writing about the meaning of existence. Agamben notes that *bios* means in Ancient Greek, more specifically, “the form or way of living proper to an individual or group” (Fynlayson, 2010, p.97) He also underlines Aristotle emphasis on the difference between *bios theoretikos* (meditative existence) and *bios praktikos* (life based on a more pragmatic approach): These two ways of living are for him the ways of living a good life, that can bring to the achievement of *eudaimonia* (happiness). This dyad, which is at the fundamentals of Aristotle’s writing, is mutually opponent “like their equivalents: mere life/good life, bare life/political way of life.” (Fynlayson, 2010 p.109) In this sense, we can use this theory to explain how education enables asylum seekers to conduct a political life, by freeing themselves of the constrictions of the way of living of the asylum centres that we could consider as the very essence of a bare life. Agamben also takes back the concept of

exclusion from the *polis*— where the individual is included in politics only in the form of exclusion. (*ibid*) Again the connection with asylum seekers excluded by political action in the hosting society is obvious. Characterizing the process of exclusion that governments tend to actualize while preventing asylum seekers from entering certain aspects of society, is their fear that asylum seekers could participate and fit in the society. While preventing this to happen, the governmental decisions bring along even more closure and separation from the citizens and the migrants (in this case the word “migrants” refers to the asylum seekers living in the centres as well as refugees and economic migrants with residence permit). By keeping the asylum seekers far from what is the normal living, far from accessing normal services, the asylum seekers will start to perceive themselves as very far from achieving a normal life as well.

Therefore, this theory will be very useful when determining the psychological aspect that the interviewees have highlighted in their answers. More specifically, it will help us assessing the impact that the lack of proper educative means brings to the integration and personal growth of the individuals.

Although might strike as equally fitting, I decided not to use Securitization theory as I wanted the most important points of my thesis to revolve around the differences and incapability of communication between inter-groups. While Securitization theory mainly focus about the main States securitizing, as the name suggests, their resources from the out-groups mainly for fear of threats.

## 6. EMPIRICAL CHAPTER

This chapter aims at analysing the conducted empirical study. It is provided of a description of the participants, the content of the interviews (list of the questions and explanation of their utility concerning the scope of the research), but also the results obtained out of the research. The importance of this chapter is to provide a description and subsequent evaluation of the interviews and the data obtained.

### 6.1 Informants profiles

In my analysis I will use the interviews I precedently gathered in order to describe the personal experiences asylum seekers faced while trying to gather information on the Danish regulations on higher education. All four interviewees have some common opinions and anecdotes experienced while trying to collect the necessary instructions on how to continue their career paths. They understood, as soon as they arrived in Denmark, that the bureaucratic timing it was going to be longer than they expected. All of them have been residents of the asylum centres in Roskilde and Kongelunden for about a year or two.

One of them, Katie from China, is still waiting for her asylum case to be processed. Nina from Georgia, is waiting for her case to be retaken to Court due to the attainment of new details that might be crucial to a positive outcome for both her own asylum case and her 14 years old son's future. Katie and Nina are respectively in their fifties and forties', and both had very well paid academic careers in their home countries. Hana, Palestinian from Algeria, has got rejection few months ago but due to missing agreements between her home country and Denmark, cannot be deported. Mohammed got rejected as well, but, since the present tragic situation in Syria, cannot be forced to go back home.<sup>3</sup> Hana and Mohammed are instead in their early twenties and both fled from war with high school diplomas.

Since all of them are experiencing protracted refugee situations, and are very frustrated to wait for better results from their asylum cases, they all started to gather further details about their possibility to access again education. Soon after, they started realizing it was going to

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<sup>3</sup> see chapter 3 paragraph 1, Asylum procedures in Denmark

be, once again, a hard process. The lack of equal accessibility to the Danish services and inability to find reliable sources resulted in a quick surrender to their initial purposes.

## 6.2 Questions

I always used the following introductory line before the actual questions: please bear in mind everything you share with me will be kept confidential and no information will be shared with anyone, as well as your real name and surname.

- 1) Where are you from?
- 2) How many years ago did you arrive to Denmark?
- 3) What kind of education background do you have?
- 4) What kind of education would you be interested in?
- 5) Who did you ask first for information about accessing university?
- 6) What is your personal experience while trying to access University in Denmark?
- 7) Who supported you when you tried to gather information?
- 8) What steps did you go through in order to arrive to a negative outcome?
- 9) What are your final thoughts about the normatives?
- 10) Did you expect before coming here it would be hard or (relatively) easy for asylum seekers in Denmark to achieve higher education?
- 11) How does it make you feel not to be able to access education in Denmark?
- 12) What are your future hopes?
- 13) Will you still consider trying to access University in the near future? Have you discovered any other way in which you can do it?

The questions aim at understanding and achieving a broader idea of the asylum seekers perspectives on their personal experiences with the Danish legislation concerning their opportunity to pursue higher education. I structured this outline in order to cover all steps of their process, up until they obtained a negative answer on their request. It was also fundamental, for the scope of the thesis, to cover the emotional impact the negative outcome of such situation left on their psyche. I also left some time for personal opinions and possible suggestions on the matter higher education, as I support the idea that none else if not asylum seekers know what is best for their sake and well-being. Finally, I left some space also for

other personal thoughts that I considered to be useful to know, such as their future hopes and career wishes.

## 6.3 Results and findings

**Unpredictability:** as a common finding, I observed the surprise all my interviewees felt when noticing the lack of information available regarding the interested topic. As Nina also underlines in her interview, it was totally unexpected to find such disinterest from the institutions towards the matter. She underlines an indifference concerning all the asylum seekers process of integration and adjustment, which she finds again, totally unexpected since Denmark has a very good reputation abroad.

**Quick surrender:** another element I spotted on almost all my interviewees' answers, is the lack of further motivation after the first couple of negative answers given by for example, the Danish Cross job centre (the first place all of them asked first for help, as they view it as a very helpful site). I was surprised only my youngest interviewee persisted in seeking more answers from the authorities, also because supported by representatives of support groups for asylum seekers.

**Lack of support:** similarly, my interviewees felt none was interested in their cause. This apathy perceived comes for them from the institutions, as no support has been shown in order to change the situation but instead the applicants felt as few could believe in their real intentions to seek for higher education.

**Hope for the future:** despite the outcome of their personal research, all my interviewees felt very strongly about the future. None of them hoped solely for to seek higher education in a short time frame, but all of them wished first to received protection from the Danish State. In their opinion, and as a true fact, granting asylum from the country would directly ensure an easier access to a series of services, but first of all the guarantee to be able to stay legally in Denmark.

## 7. ANALYSIS

*“The consul banged the table and said:*

*'If you've got no passport, you're officially dead';*

*But we are still alive, my dear, but we are still alive.”*

*(W.H. Auden, “Refugee Blues”)*

### 7.1 Protecting the resource *education*

The concept of social identity is well linked to issues like the protection of resources by the in-group members: the two are well intertwined within the processes of integration and intergroup relations.

All my interviewees experienced problems while trying to access the resource education, and all their experiences followed a very similar path that led to a negative outcome.

First of all, the process of gathering information on how to achieve higher education was very troubled, as all of them are unfortunately trapped in a protracted refugee situations. The job centres inside the camps are usually the first stage to go through when it comes to asking and sharing with the Red Cross staff possible future plans, either work wise or concerning education paths. The Red Cross staff generally directs asylum seekers to language classes, usually Danish courses, which are mandatory for all people seeking asylum in Denmark. They are also entitled to an eight weeks long introductory course on Danish lifestyle and better integration in the Danish society. Unfortunately the Red Cross staff seems not to be informed about any further education possibilities (especially for people who still have pending asylum cases). Although they face daily people from all different backgrounds, either youngsters, or adults with kids, showing interest in future educational perspectives on a daily base. As Mohammed addresses in his interview, the negative outcome was not even explained, although he asked both to the job centres' staff and to lawyers (Interview 3, min. 2-3): *“I asked three people about that and they were also...I don't know why or for what, that asylum seekers here they cannot make their future because they don't have permission to stay*

*and we don't have that permission."* Katie instead says she mentioned about asking for information first to *"some professors in Roskilde University and also from Copenhagen Business School. I asked about some information about Social Science (her fields of interest) and Political Science but what I can have they said it is very difficult to have a normal application for asylum seekers..is impossible. And also it is impossible for asylum seekers to get a certificate (referring to high school diploma). Even though you have the chance to it is impossible to get the certificate... but at time none knows if we can get into education or not."* (Interview 2, min 3)

As we previously argued, intergroup relations revolve all around a competition for the same resources, social services and facilities, in order to achieve a better social position and distinctiveness of the group. (Hogg, 2006) The member group, in this case the Danish in-group, strives to protect their social identity and these resources. Since education in Denmark used to be free of all charges equally for all pupils before 2006 (as previously discussed in chapter 3.5 *"Introduction of tuition fees for non-European citizens"*) the decision to restrict free access to non-Europeans, raised major debates. As a matter of fact this controversial decision put in disfavour all the non-European students especially the ones in need (as asylum seekers). Furthermore, according to the Danish legislation, education for asylum seekers is not only conceived as a tool to benefit the integration of the asylum seeker but also of the hosting country. (Hornbech, 2010) The Danish higher education system has also been ranked for 2 years in a row third educational system by the "U21 Ranking of National Higher Education Systems" 2014 and 2015, ranking 50 states in the world by Universities 21. Another interesting data that resulted from the researches specifically conducted in 25 areas, is that Denmark has also been ranked first position for resources, more specifically "expenditure by government and private sector on teaching and research", together with Canada.

("Denmark has the world's 3rd best system of higher education", 2015). It is then understandable why the Danish in-group feels like protecting such a prestigious resource, especially in the case of asylum seekers who destiny has not been legally defined. And it could make even more sense, especially if we think about the funds that the state is already investing in higher education. Also, the insertion of tuition fees for non-Europeans has probably been opted as the fairest way to bring more balance to the financial welfare system. Consequently, due to the financial cuts and legislation involving asylum seekers and higher education, we could argue that education according to the Danish legislation is perceived as

something to privatize and protect, because considered a highly requested resource and very attractive due to the quality of teaching but also for the covered (by tax payers) tuition costs.

“We have noted the relationship between discrimination and the conflict over scarce values and goods. It is obvious that an economy of full employment and an expanding productive capacity lessens the pressure to discriminate. It does not, however, resolve discrimination in job upgrading; nor is it necessarily accompanied by an adequate housing supply. As we approach abundance, however, discrimination that results from conflict over the attainment of scarce values subsides.”(Antonovsky, 1960, p. 83)

## 7.2. In-group judgement of out-group results: social discrimination

We previously argued about the first common detail emerged from the interviews, which has been the subsequent frustration on receiving such misleading and vague answers from the authorities. This frustration consequently brought my interviewees to a complete mistrust in Danish authorities, which already started during the first stages of asylum procedure, and it kept enduring on every disappointing experience like this one. All the interviewees had in common a lack of hope towards the governmental institutions and their regulations, they all felt like the system is not on their side but is trying instead to push them as far as possible from the society's accessibility of facilities. Nina had more or less the same experience as Mohammed and Katie: *“I spoke about education in general to our job centre director and as I guess it is really hard to access higher education in Denmark”... “also as I understood the perfect knowledge of Danish is required and the chance of getting a certificate is very low.”* Hana's experience is different but still disappointing: *“Before I asked university I asked about the language, because at first my goal was to learn the language” ... “and after ...I met a lot of people... and I asked first the job centre and they say I couldn't and then Jagna from the RUC support group, she is studying in Roskilde I asked her about it and I let her ask questions from me.” ... “I have been out a lot to different universities, to meetings, I even attended classes, (illegally I guess)”.... “I have contact a guy from RUC support refugee group, he has been out asking the Minister of Education, he came here to talk with the job centre, and he supported me very much. Also the other volunteers sent me good luck wishes*

*to get into university, because it was almost real but then it didn't happen in the end we stopped in the job centre, when we asked at the job centre to pay for me.*" (Interview 4, min 1-3)

While collecting information on the topic of asylum seekers in higher education at the different institutions in charge of the matter, I also encountered the same lack of knowledge that they had experienced. I could also spot some kind of surprise for the kind of topic I was interested in. Most probably the asylum seeker per sé is not considered eligible to even make inquiries about the matter. "Why would someone whom just fled (and does not even have papers yet!) be remotely interested in seeking higher education?" This is, more or less, what the different operators I spoke with seemed to be thinking and implying. According to the Social Identity theory, the way all stereotypic features assigned to the out-group (asylum seekers) from the in-group (Danish institutions/ inhabitants) consolidate different assumptions about the group and the group's expectations and needs. The obtainment of a university diploma for an asylum seeker is probably perceived as too ambitious for these individuals. This is probably because the asylum seeking phase should be shorter than the present awaiting times (see chapter 4 on Legal Background and Asylum Procedures) but secondly, we should not leave aside the aspect of the way media and the overall society portrait the people who are currently fleeing from war zones. Depicting them in complete desperation leaves aside the essence of the reason of escaping their countries: which is obtaining protection but also rebuilding their own life. And sometimes the fact that asylum seekers have different needs that do not include just a shelter and food can be left behind.

"Conflicts around the world arise from the perception of differences. They may be political in practice, but they relate to something far more intrinsic in nature. Finding differences, rather than similarities, is a window into the evolutionary strategies that allowed early humans to identify potential dangers and ensure their survival. It would be an effective strategy if humans still encountered sabre-tooth tigers. But they don't; they encounter each other." The polarity stems from an "**us**" versus "**them**" binary that allows individuals to cast judgments while maintaining a sense of **superiority and entitlement**. And it is this polarity and the tension it generates that staves off peace." (Zafar, 2016)

Basically, accepting and understanding the out-group needs, leaving aside a feeling of superiority, can not only lead to the well-being of the individual but also of the society.

This closure to the real needs of the out-group does neither allow any possible intergroup connection, therefore it is hard for the in-group even to understand and empathize with the out-group.

This aspect could be analysed on different levels. Firstly, the out-group asylum seekers, to whom the in-group Danish institutions/ citizens have given the before mentioned connotations, make the host country also not seeing any variation between the single individuals. Therefore, once again, can make it harder for the in-group to picture any need that is not of emergency effect. The out-group asylum seekers would have no different need either, and would be categorized as passive actors just waiting for their asylum case to be processed. As a matter of fact, the asylum seekers can become completely dependent on the States and its policies, and the more Denmark, for instance, grants them responsibilities and trust in their progress and future prospective, the more they can free themselves from the pity and the discomfort of exclusion. (Gorashi, 2005)

Ignorance also plays a vital part in this speech. Whatever we do not know we fear, whatever is far from us, we discriminate. I would like to stop a moment here to analyse how social discrimination interferes with social identity's intergroup relationship. As we mentioned above, in-groups will tend to distance themselves from out-groups in a discriminative form, in order to enhance their self-esteem, but also because being unsure of the out-group's real capacities and intentions. Additionally, links have been found between a feeling of nationalism and prejudices against asylum seekers. (Pedersen, 2014) Recent studies on the matter also discovered that "people who held prejudiced views against asylum seekers were more likely to feel threatened by them." (*ibid*) Therefore, once again, the relationship between the in-group and the out-group is strictly related to first impressions and to the fear of the unknown. Social discrimination takes place here, pushed by this fear and what the in-group thinks the out-group capacities are.

"The current state of affairs points up the need to sharpen the awareness of this conflict of norms in the hearts of our citizens, to stress that in order to have full democracy, concrete equality of opportunity must be granted. This would, of course, intensify the guilt feelings of those who violate, even passively, democratic values. Some would react with greater bigotry, rejecting democratic goals." (*Ibid*) We can argue that, once again, at the bottom of a society based on real democracy there should be equal access to the resources and facilities and in order to achieve that the in-group should work on the intergroup relationship and acceptance.

### 7.3 Alienation

The feeling of deep frustration for the unclear answers is definitely anger and, resignation. In his interview, Mohammed says *“it’s hard because for the asylum seekers it takes so many years to get what they want...I expected it to be easier”* ...*“the only thing I hope is to get permission to stay here and to complete my life, is the first thing in my mind now. Because when I get that I will see everything easy. I feel I am in a safe place but the thing is I want to complete my life, I want to study, I want to work....the people that I have my age they are doing their Masters now.”* (Interview 3, Min 4-6) Setting every hope aside is a common feeling for the asylum seekers I interviewed, but also for those I spoke with while trying to talk with about Danish regulations and education. All of them wish to achieve a final permission to stay in Denmark, as it appears to be the only way in order to continue pursuing life chances. Hana argues that she feels like she is slowly losing her ability to be patient and hopeful towards her future. She came to Denmark with the specific goal of achieving higher education and for her, it has not been easy to accept the hard truth, which is the impossibility for people without permit to access higher education in Denmark. She says: *“For myself I just want to get residence at first, because I just think that for the people who get residence it is much easier to access university and then I will start to study and go to university”*... *“I came here at the age of 18 and now I am 20, I wasted two years and it just feels like people are wasting their lives here just sitting in the camp trying to access something which is simple right like education ....I just think it wastes people’s minds and lives.”* (Interview 4, Min 4-5) We could further discuss that, although asylum seekers are confined to camps for a long time, this arrangement should be temporary. When something supposed to be for a short period of time becomes your permanent home, the psychological damages can be very strong. The common living situation, the imprisonment and confinement that living in an asylum centre entails, can create confusion and instability in the mind-set of the asylum seekers. “Unlike ‘normal settlements like cities and towns, a refugee camp is never intended to be a permanent home. Just as ‘refugee’ is a temporary status for those denied the ‘normal’ status of citizens, so is the camp a temporary place of refuge. The camp is a time space of dislocation: a space of displacement and exile, and a time of interruption, waiting, stasis.” (Ramadan, 2012, p.72) As a matter of fact, these are normal feelings I observed while conversing with the asylum seekers I spoke with. The feeling of never-ending waiting is devastating. The inability to

change their condition victimizes the asylum seekers, disables them to take further action in other aspects of their life. Furthermore, not knowing when they will have residence or if they will be deported can also be damaging, in a way that sets their mind on eternal chaos and anxiety, but most of all fear of possible dangers in case of deportation.

Not being able to do anything productive for their life career nor for the society that is hosting them. They would like to contribute, to show their worth, to be able to live a normal life and to give back to Denmark the gratitude for at least keeping them away from war, as Mohammed says. He adds that he feels finally safe here, after a long time of being directly involved in the Syrian conflict, and would like to be able to do something with the newfound freedom. But legally he can only be engaged in short term *praktik*, not paid internships: his dream would be becoming a professional chef. Although he is very young, he has a long experience behind him and excellent cooking skills. What he misses is a certificate, which only further education through a cuisine academy can give him. He looked upon the different choices here in Denmark and he found a school that, although expensive because it is a private institution, he would be willing to pay for in order to join. But he has been forbidden to do so. The part time internships opportunities that the government enables asylum seekers to be involved in are not enough, especially for the youngsters I met. They want a busy and full life, they want to be able to say they gave their best in order to achieve their goals, they have normal needs but they also want to have duties. A life spent “*sitting in the camp*”, as Hana argues, plays with people’s minds, pushes their limits, and makes them feel worthless, unhappy. Agamben’s thought about the political participation by the exclusion fits perfectly this section of the analysis: “*The fundamental categorical pair of Western politics is not that of friend/enemy but that of bare life/political existence, zoē/bios, exclusion/inclusion. There is politics because man is the living being who, in language, separates and opposes himself to his own bare life and, at the same time maintains himself in relation to that bare life in an inclusive exclusion.*” (Agamben, 1998, p.8) The exclusion from education, from the possibility to have a normal life, from taking simple initiatives such as choosing a life path, reduces the asylum seekers to mere human bodies, the same ways segregation camps, like Auschwitz, acted on their prisoners during the Second World War: “*Insofar as its inhabitants were stripped of every political status and wholly reduced to bare life, the camp was also the most absolute bio political space ever to have been realized, in which power confronts nothing but pure life, without any mediation.*” (*ibid*, p.9) For this reason we can argue that there is a discrepancy between the solidarity shown to the asylum seekers by non-

governmental actors, such as the Red Cross or United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the way these actors do not fight the primary causes of escape of these people, which in the majority of cases are represented by their governments. (Zembylas, 2010) The imbalance of a just asset while in the international affairs decision making can result in the suffering of the civilians. Civilians whom are not even the direct target nor enemies of any war of political strategic move, but that end up being directly involved, because threatened, violated and ultimately forced to flee.

Why being sympathetic and then stripping people down from their space in the political community? *“the identification of the figure of the immigrant/refugee/asylum seeker as fearsome in political rhetoric and news media is therefore coupled with humanitarian liberal claims, indicating how immigrants/ refugees/asylum seekers function as ‘inclusive exclusions’ of bare life”.. “When zoē is included through an exclusion from political life, then bare life (naked life) is produced. Humanitarian liberal claims view immigrants/ refugees/asylum seekers simply as bodies, bare life separate from political life.”* (Zembylas, 2010, p.36) “Bodies” that are stripped down from political power and live in uncertainty and constant fear are certainly easier to control and to fear at the same time. In a certain way the governments and non-governmental actors wish for these individuals to be pitied, helped but to place, “confine” somewhere where they can be constantly monitored. In the refugee camps, where they can be scheduled, they are better controlled and less feared: but mainly there is no apparent wish of letting them in society. He further adds that it is so because in times of “social crisis”, governments do have the power to decide whom to push away from society. *“The camp signifies a state of exception that is normalized in the contemporary social space.”* (Zembylas, 2010, p.36)

According to Agamben the person who has been banned is not simply considered an outlawed, but it has also been abandoned by it. The legitimacy of the abandonment of the asylum seekers is at the same time intertwined with the fear governments have by the thought of having to include them in the society as fully participant political actors. Therefore they confine them in a state of exclusion, or better, of exception. This is why Agamben brings the figure of the *Homo Sacer* (sacred man), whom his most known book sees as protagonist. The Agambenian’s *Homo Sacer* *“can be killed (without consequences) but not sacrificed (in religious rituals).”* (Zembylas, 2010, p.37) This figure can be compared to the one of the immigrant/refugee/asylum seeker, and *“the connection between colonialism/racism and biopolitics”... “That is, one form of life (the immigrant/refugee/asylum seeker) is separated out in*

*an act of colonialism/racism and imagined as an abject figure of fear and a threat to another form of life (the 'society')". (ibid p. 37)*

As Nina, my last interviewee, mentions: *"future hope in this country is really hard to say"* (Interview 5, min 4) : her thought reflects perfectly the common feeling of separation the Danish society is trying to pass on to the asylum seekers. They can definitely perceive they are not welcomed, and they can especially understand so by the normative the government established when it comes to the way they should conduct their life. In particular, judging by the hard restrictions when it comes to enter job market opportunities and education services. Many asylum seekers are skilled individuals with a solid education background and sometimes, even years of experience behind them. Why should they wait and be marginalized instead of being inserted, even if partially, in the host country's welfare and contribute to the system they so want to be included into? By depriving them of equal opportunities the government is not only taking away hope from them, but also dignity and pride. These individuals only want to be acknowledged as capable and worthy of basic rights and, accessing education, is a right. We could further discuss that, as Zembylas argues: *"it is only when the citizen learns to acknowledge the immigrant, refugee and asylum seeker he or she is, that an alternative political reality is possible."* (Zembylas, 2010, p. 40)

## 7.4 Education as a promise of better quality of life

Education is definitely one of the most important tools in order to facilitate a better insertion of the asylum seekers in the new society. Our interviewees have been unfortunately denied by such opportunity, and seek for better solutions in the nearer future.

Nina, fourth interviewee, is not quite hopeful on her future *"humans have our rights, human rights so all persons will be able to get education because without education and without the proper paper is hard to get the proper job and without the proper job personally I will not be happy* (Interview 5, min 2-3)*....before coming here I thought it would be so easy for me because I have already higher education, Master's degree, diploma and I thought that it would be very, very easy for me, and enough just to study Danish and that's all but now I don't think so, it's very very difficult* (referring to achievement of higher education), *rules must be changed!"* (Min 3-4) In this section the before mentioned feeling of alienation comes back and it intertwines with the lost hope in the hosting society's regulations.

*“Without education I will not be able to have the job where I would like to realize myself so it means for me would be endless torture because yes I could do anything even a dirty job but I will not be happy” (min 4-5)*

## 8. CONCLUSION

As shown in the essay, the Danish legislation does not leave space for the specific needs that those seeking protection in Denmark might have. As a matter of fact, asylum seekers are not entitled to choose deliberately to continue their studying or job career, especially those who are stuck in protracted refugee situations. The lack of opportunities for asylum seekers to continue with their life path made me touch different and important aspects in order to establish whether the Danish regulations are effective or not. First of all, I found important to talk about and in-group and out-group lack of communication and the subsequent misunderstanding, of the Danish in-group, regarding what life prospective and necessities the asylum seekers really have. Then I touched the social differences between the Danish group and asylum seekers group, which brought to the conclusion that the privatization of the facilities can also result in actions of discrimination. In my discourse, all these elements are directly connected to the reason why it has been denied by the asylum seekers' side, the access to the same resources of the locals.

Another important part of my analysis has been the emotional impact that these regulations bring along with them. We could eventually discuss that such regulations create a discriminatory regime which damages not only the asylum seekers' future possibilities, but it affects as well the status of the social group that they constitute. This regime will have permanent side effects on the asylum seekers because they will not only be denied of any career opportunities, but they will even consider themselves not worth to have any, because of the way the Danish institutions evaluate their possibilities as asylum seekers in Denmark.

Increasing the distrust in themselves, will result in a rapid lack of confidence which will also affect their willpower as well as the capacity to believe in their own success. (Hoff and Pandey, 2006)

Clearly, there is a need for greater focus on asylum seekers' educational opportunities. There is as well demand for further research on the matter. With more time and interviewees interested in pursuing higher education, there can be done a more accurate inspection in order to work on a possible intervention on the real needs and hopes of the asylum seekers in Denmark. It would also be interesting, in order to understand more the inequity of treatment that the out-group suffers, to bring together the two groups and help them in a confrontation

of the different expectations regarding asylum seekers and refugees roles and integration methods in the country.

There are certainly many aspects to cover in terms of fulfilment of what is missing in the legislation, and this can be done only by bringing more attention to the topic and by conducting more research works on it.

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