



Life on Integration Benefit

*- a study of how Syrian refugees experience living
on integration benefit in Denmark*

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Abstract

In 2015, the Danish government announced the implementation of a new social benefit, called ‘integration benefit’, which is mainly targeted towards refugees and immigrants. This new benefit is around half of what other unemployed groups receive. This has caused much debate, however the voices and opinions of refugees are seldom heard. Focusing solely on the experiences of Syrian refugee families, this thesis sets out to examine how they experience living on this new integration benefit and thereby sheds light on an angle rarely presented: the refugees’.

In order to get an understanding of how it is experienced, the empirical data of this thesis is based on interviews conducted with Syrian refugees from 12 different families. To explain and understand their experiences expressed during the interviews, the thesis draws on Marianne Holm Pedersen’s concept of ‘class journey’, which functions as the theoretical frame. The concept is used to understand the changes that the Syrian refugees on integration benefit experience, in relation to three dimensions: their economic position, their relationship to the surrounding society and lastly their family relations. The thesis is structured around three analytical chapters inspired by the aforementioned dimensions.

In the first of the three-part analysis, we demonstrate how our informants find themselves in a tight economic situation, where they struggle to make ends meet. This is felt in sharp contrast to their old life in Syria, where they did not experience material deprivation.

The second part elucidates how our informants experience finding themselves in what seems to be an unequal reciprocal relationship with the surrounding society. This was apparent in relation to the lack of acknowledgement they experience when being obliged to complete random internships, where their competencies are overlooked and their manpower is being taken advantage of. Additionally, our informants experience the integration programme as stressful and controlling of their time, due to the fixed schedule. Furthermore, the way they find themselves being portrayed and perceived as freeloaders and “desert-people” by the surrounding society, adds to the experience of not being acknowledged or recognised.

The third and last part of our analysis shows how the restricted economic situation challenges the husbands in living up to the ‘hegemonic masculinity’ as the provider. The women, simultaneously, expressed how they find it troublesome that their husbands are no longer able to take care of them

financially. Additionally, the thesis demonstrates that being on integration benefit challenges our informants ‘intergenerational relationship’ with their children, as they struggle to provide for their children’s needs.

Keyword: Integration benefit, class journey, gender roles, hegemonic masculinity, intergenerational relationship, reciprocal relationship, economic position, Syrian refugees, integration programme.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction and motivation

Ongoing war and conflict in many parts of the world over the past few decades have forced people to flee their countries of origin and seek safety in other parts of the world. Particularly since 2014, the number of refugees seeking refuge in Europe has increased, which in turn led to a so called “European refugee crisis” (UNHCR, 2014 and Human Rights Watch, 2015).

The war in Syria has, since 2011, forced many Syrians to seek safety outside Syrian borders (UNHCR, 2017), which has played a large role in the increased number of refugees travelling towards Europe (BBC, 2016). Since May 2017 UNHCR has registered that there are now over 5 million displaced Syrians worldwide (UNHCR, 2017).

The number of refugees seeking safety and stability in Denmark has likewise increased since the end of 2014, and in 2015 Denmark experienced the highest number of refugees arriving in 20 years (Møller et. al., 2014 and Frandsen, 2016). In the wake of this much discussed situation, the Danish political scene has seen much debate on how to best handle the situation. As we will demonstrate, many have argued that the large number of refugees is a threat to the Danish welfare state; as it will put a big strain on social security benefits and that refugees are a safety risk (Rebouh, 2017 and Kristensen, 2016 and Birk, 2015).

As we will show, the Danish government and politicians have, in the wake of this situation, tried to control and downgrade the influx of refugees coming to Denmark, with different measures and regulations (DR, 2016). Importantly, one of the measures that was implemented in 2015 to regulate the increasing number of refugees, was the ‘integration benefit’ [our translation: integrationsydelsen]. As we shall explain, some of the arguments for implementing the integration benefit concerns political strategies: on the one hand making it less desirable to flee to Denmark and on the other hand to make it more desirable to enter the workplace for those who already find themselves in Denmark (Beskæftigelsesministeriet (2), 2015).

The introduction of this new benefit means that unemployed refugees’ benefit is reduced to about half of what they received before (Domino & Bloch, 2016). As we will unravel, similar benefits have

been introduced prior to the integration benefit, but have later been repealed as it was argued that it put people in poverty and has not proved to get the majority of refugees into the labour market any faster (Politiken, 2011). The implementation of integration benefit has, on the basis of the experiences with similar benefits in the past, led to it becoming a much discussed topic. Some argue that possible problems that could arise include; marginalizing people even more by putting them into poverty and thereby worsening integration of refugees into Danish society, thus questioning its effectiveness (Ejrnæs et al., 2015).

Following the many debates and discussions regarding integration benefit, we became interested in exploring how the recipients of this benefit - refugees - experience it. It was difficult for us to find perspectives of refugees in the debates, that have taken place thus far. As we will explain, our ambition, with this thesis, is to begin exploring how refugees themselves think of and experience living on this much discussed integration benefit.

As a way to investigate and explore this, we talked and interviewed Syrian refugee families that, as we will show, all expressed that they live very different lives now in Denmark than they used to in Syria before the war. They all explained to us that they come from a resourceful social and economic background and that their lives have changed in many aspects since coming to Denmark. In general, our informants compared many aspects of their current situations to the situation they were in in Syria, and a lot of them yearned for their old lives. Even though not all of their stories about their lives on integration benefit in Denmark were negative, a lot of the interviews were taken up by frustrations and criticisms of it. It is these aspects of, and changes in, their lives that we will be exploring in this thesis. Most of our informants come from a background where they did not experience the economic hardship and deprivation that they now face. As one of our informants, Mansoor, said when he compared his current situation, which he finds tough, with his life in Syria: “[...] *we are used to buying everything we know in Syria.*” (Focus group, Gribskov). Our informants further explained that they no longer are able to go on excursions with their family, buy the things that they need and they find themselves being dependent on getting their stuff from the local rubbish dump or from volunteer organisations and spending a lot of time looking for supermarket special offers. As we will show, they further expressed finding themselves in a new position in relation to the surrounding society, than they have been used to, which in turn affects their experiences of living on integration benefit. Furthermore, they told us about the ways in which living on integration benefit

has affected familial relationships; putting strain on the previously held gender roles as well as relations between parents and their children.

In this matter it became clear to us that Syrian refugees experience that living on the integration benefit affects many different parts of their lives and that it is experienced as a big transformation from their old lives in Syria before the war.

Research question

The above has led to the following research question and sub-questions:

Research question: *How do Syrian refugees experience living on integration benefit?*

Sub-questions:

1. *How do Syrian refugees, living on integration benefit, experience their relationship to the surrounding society?*
2. *How does living on the integration benefit affect Syrian refugees' family relations?*

Where the research question serves as a guideline in relation to our study of interest, and what we will be exploring and answering in this thesis, the sub-questions are a way for us to explore the different dimensions of our informants' experiences and thereby serve as a means to answer the research question.

When we write "surrounding society" in the first sub-question it entails respectively our informants' relation to what we will refer to as "the state", which involves the institutions that have made and enforce the integration programme and the rules around it, but also their relation to other parts of the surrounding society, which entails the government, politicians and the media. Our informants made no clear-cut lines between these just mentioned actors and institutions, in their statements. As we are trying to disseminate our informants' experiences, we will consequently draw on how they understood and talked about the surrounding society, as an overall experience.

A matter of a class journey?

Following the interviews, we asked ourselves: how can we understand these experiences of change in their lives?

In the process of trying to understand our informants' statements, we found that the concept of 'class journey' [our translation: klasserejse] by anthropologist Marianne Holm Pedersen was useful. Pedersen uses the concept to understand the change in social class that Iraqi refugees experienced after arriving in Denmark (Pedersen, 2007: 191). The concept of "*class journey should not be understood as linear journey, but rather consisting of complex and contrasting processes, that can be both social and geographical, and that is affected by gender, age and the historical period in which they act out*" (ibid.: 195, our translation).

As we shall elaborate, the concept of class journey allows us to study and unfold the different dimensions of our informants' experiences of living on integration benefit, namely their financial situation, their relationship to the surrounding society and their family relations.

To qualify the research question and the sub-questions, below we will set the scene and present the field we are investigating and placing ourselves in.

Setting the scene

In this section, we will firstly touch upon describing the integration benefit and the rules and regulations connected therein. Secondly, we will make a brief introduction to Syria to contextualise what our informants come from, as their background will naturally play a role in and form the way they experience living on integration benefit. Thirdly, we will turn our eyes towards the setting refugees step into when arriving in Denmark, namely the Danish welfare state which, as we will explain, is an important instrument in relation to refugees' process of settling into Denmark. Then we will introduce the 'integration programme' [our translation: integrationsprogrammet] and 'activation measures' [our translation: aktiveringsindsatser] in Denmark and thereafter include a discussion on the debates revolving around refugees and the integration benefit as well as the arguments behind its implementation. Lastly, we will introduce the concept class journey and elaborate on how we will use it to unfold and understand our informants' experiences with living on integration benefit.

Integration benefit

In order to describe the financial situation of our informants, we will, in this part, elaborate on and explain the integration benefit in more detail. Furthermore, we will look more closely at other relevant forms of financial support that refugees are entitled to.

The law regarding the new integration benefit was passed in September 2015 by the Danish parliament and became important to refugees arriving in Denmark (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2015 & Retsinformation (1), 2015).

People, who have lived in Denmark less than seven out of the last eight years and are unemployed, will have to live off integration benefit. This new social benefit is lower than ‘social assistance’ [our translation: kontanthjælp] that people, who have been in Denmark longer than seven years, are offered when without a job. Until the implementation of integration benefit, refugees were entitled to the same kind of financial support as other unemployed citizens in Denmark (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2015).

We will now show some of the financial differences between living on social assistance and integration benefit. It is not our purpose to make a comprehensive assessment, as what the individual receives depends on the individual's situation. However, we find it important to briefly outline the financial difference between refugees with or without children living on integration benefit and persons with or without children living on social assistance. Furthermore, we are exclusively looking at the rules for persons over 30 years as all of our informants are over this age.

In table 1, one can see the difference between social assistance and integration benefit. As the table shows, a newly arrived refugee, who is single and without children, receives 6,106 kr. before taxes whilst a person having been in Denmark over seven years is entitled to 11,143 kr. before taxes. Thus, there exists a difference of 5,037 kr. Furthermore, the numbers show the difference between the two benefits for persons with children, where the difference is 6,262 kr.

Table 1

	Integration benefit	Social assistance
Single without children	6,106 kr.	11,143 kr.
Person with children, not single	8,546 kr.	14,808 kr.

(Borger.dk (3) and Borger.dk (4)).

There exists a supplement to integration benefit, called ‘Danish allowance’ [our translation: dansk tillæg], which consists of an extra 1,541 kr. a month. Refugees can receive it if they have passed a Danish language test at level 2, an equivalent or higher test. If a person is diagnosed with a physical, intellectual or psychological disability and therefore not capable of passing the Danish language test, they will be able to receive the Danish allowance anyway (Københavns Kommune (1)).

Additionally, there exist different possibilities for refugees to supplement their income by seeking help, from the municipality in which they live, for special expenses. All of the following possibilities to seek help in special situations also exist for people living on social assistance benefit. However, because of the purpose of this thesis, we have chosen to focus on the supplements that could be relevant to our informants.

Municipalities are able to provide assistance to unemployed refugees and other citizens by granting them a ‘single benefit’ [our translation: enkelt ydelse], if an absence of this supplemental financial assistance can make it difficult for refugees or others to manage their life in the future (Integration Act §35 and Dansk Flygtningehjælp, 2016). Normally one is only eligible for this form of benefit if it is in relation to unexpected expenses, however it can also be given if this extra payout plays a central role in a family’s living conditions. Exceptions can be made in cases of newly arrived refugees in relation to the demand about unexpected expenses. An example of the single benefit could be help to establish a life when arriving to Denmark, e.g. expenses for furniture, help with medical bills or moving. However, it is important to note that many municipalities have internal guidelines regarding what kind of expenses they can provide help for and it is therefore an individual assessment (*ibid.*).

Furthermore, a municipality is able to render financial help if it becomes important for refugees’ ability to participate in the integration programme (Integration Act §23f). This could be expenses for

equipment, tools, specific clothes, teaching resources or transportation expenses that are necessary when engaged in the integration programme (*ibid.*).

Housing benefits

Refugees, who are renting a place to live, are able to receive ‘housing benefit’ [our translation: boligstøtte] from the municipality in which they live (Dansk Flygtningehjælp, 2016). If one lives in a house/apartment assigned by the municipality, where the rent expenses exceed half of the household’s income, one cannot be refused full housing benefit (*ibid.* and Integration Act §12 subsection 1). Refugees will further be able to borrow money for a housing deposit if the household’s income is within certain limits. Additionally, refugees can apply for help in relation to their rent if they are in danger of being evicted (Active Social Policy Act §81).

Children- and adolescent check

If a Danish married couple with children, live off social assistance they will be entitled to a ‘children and adolescents check’ [our translation: børne- og ungeydelse], which entitles the parents to extra financial support in relation to their children. The support depends on the ages of the children (Borger.dk (1)). The relevant rates are listed below.

Table 2

Children benefit	
0-2 years old	4,491 kr. per quarter
3-6 years old	3,555 kr. per quarter
7-14 years old	2,796 kr. per quarter
Adolescent benefit	
15-17 years old	932 kr. per quarter

Refugee couples with children, who have been in Denmark for less than two years, are no longer entitled to the full benefit. In 2015, a new law was implemented, which reinstated the ‘principle of accumulation’ [our translation: optjeningsprincippet]. Following this principle, one will first be entitled to the full children and adolescents check when one has lived in Denmark for two of the last 10 years. Gradually with 25% half-yearly, one will earn their right to the full benefit. This only

concerns refugees who were given a residence permit after the 1st of September 2015 (Dansk Flygtningehjælp, 2016 and borger.dk (2)).

The social security-limit and the 225-hour rule

Simultaneously with the integration benefit, the Danish parliament passed new rules in relation to social assistance in general: the ‘social security-limit’ [our translation: kontanthjælpsloftet] and the ‘225-hour rule’ [our translation: 225-timers reglen]. These rules also apply to refugees receiving integration benefit (Beskæftigelsesministeriet (1)).

The social security-limit concerns itself with a limit to how much one can get disbursed in relation to social benefits, housing benefit and single benefits. The social security limit has 23 different limits depending on what kind of benefit you are receiving, your household and other personal information (Dansk Flygtningehjælp, 2016). If the combined social benefits exceed a certain limit, their benefits will be cut to this limit.

See the relevant limits for recipient of integration benefit below (the numbers in brackets indicate the limits for receivers of social assistance):

Table 3

Married/cohabiting with one child	12,057 kr. (14,808 kr.)
Married/cohabiting with two or more children	11,894 kr. (14,808 kr.)
Single, not provider	9,910 kr. (13,477 kr.)

(Borger.dk (5) & Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering, 2017).

The 225 hour-rule entails that one only has the right to receive full social assistance or integration benefit if one has had 225 hours of ordinary employment within the last year. This applies when you have received benefits one year out of the last three years.

Single people on integration benefit are exceptions to the demand for 225 hours of employment. Married couples with children will be affected by this demand when they have earned their right to

get the children and adolescents check, which - as previously stated - is after two years (Active Social Policy Act §13f, subsection 3-4).

To sum up, refugees' integration benefit consists approximately of half of what other citizens, who have been in the country seven out of the last eight years, receive. However, importantly, the difference between the limits that exists for both receivers of integration benefit and social assistance, is not that substantial. Nonetheless, refugees with children do not have exactly the same rights to receive children and adolescent check as people on social assistance.

The above has briefly illustrated the financial ground on which refugees and thereby also our informants live. Furthermore, it has shortly compared it to other groups living on social assistance. Following on from this, we will now give a brief introduction to Syria and the Syrian people as all of our informants are from there. This will be done in order to gain an understanding of our informants' background and what kind of society they come from.

Syria

Before the civil war broke out in 2011 Syria was a middle-income developing country. Despite being a developing country the Syrian people enjoyed fairly good living conditions due to an extensive set of welfare services (Galdo, 2004). This entailed a health care system which provided free services at government clinics and health centres and a limit on charges by private hospitals. Further, education from grades 1 to 6 were free and compulsory, which close to 90% of Syrian children attended (OpenLearn, 2010). However, the country still suffered from relatively high poverty rates. The inequality in Syria was significant, especially the difference between rural and urban living conditions was notable, as poverty was more prevailing in the rural areas (Abu-Ismail et al., 2015:6).

As mentioned, over 5 million Syrians have fled the country since the war broke out (UNHCR, 2017). According to the UN, the majority of Syrians who make it to Europe are middle class well-educated people as it is essential to have the necessary wherewithal in order travel out of Syria and towards Europe (Doucet, 2015). This was also the case for most of our informants, with backgrounds in different professions such as engineering, accounting or self-employment. They all described their lives in Syria as being economically stable, with a financial freedom to do as they pleased.

Syrian refugees arriving in Europe, here within Denmark, can thus be characterised as a group, where the majority left a desirable life and a country that had been fairly stable prior to the war. In contrast

to many other migrant and refugee groups, they do not come from a country with decades of war and instability. Many Syrians fled solely because of a war, which changed their lives dramatically. As our informants expressed it, they did not want to leave Syria, since they had good lives, with “[...] *house, business and everything, but because of the war we lost everything.*” (Liza in Focus group, Roskilde women).

In the following we will broaden the scope of the field, when we will unfold and contextualise the kind of setting that refugees face when they flee to Denmark, namely the Danish welfare state and its role in relation to integrating refugees in Danish society.

Danish welfare state and integration

Denmark is a welfare state developed to large extent by a forceful Social Democratic government and is “*based on the universalist ‘Nordic model’, where welfare services are provided through national agencies, closely integrated into the public sector and funded by general taxation.*” (Olwig, 2012: 1-2). The state therefore shoulders the responsibilities that in other countries are often undertaken by family, business and private organisations (*ibid.*).

This entails that in a Danish welfare state the integration of refugees and immigrants into society is a welfare state matter. Thus, numerous integration programmes have been initiated and put in place offering both housing and economic support until the refugees become self-supporting (*ibid.*: 6). In Denmark, the central components of the current integration programme are activation measures such as internships as well as Danish language classes that are set out to integrate refugees into Danish society. It can be seen as “*elements in the more general Scandinavian welfare project of providing the assistance necessary to enable all immigrants to become equal members of society.*” (*ibid.*).

The welfare state thus plays a crucial role in the reception of refugees in Danish society through public integration programmes. The institutions involved in this process, such as the municipalities, both control and manage the resources distributed to refugees and immigrants, and further define these people’s needs and problems as well as with which means they should be remedied (Olwig & Pærregaard, 2007: 21-22).

According to anthropologist Steffen Jöhncke categorization is an important aspect of the welfare state and its ways of working, since the purpose is to create a special societal order. It is an order that lays the ground for how the state should act in relation to these differences or categorizations (*ibid.*: 23).

Thus, it creates a system of citizens categorized as weak, in social and economic terms, who are in need of special measures in order to become part of society, such as the integration programme in relation to refugees. Indeed, refugees and immigrants have been categorized as particularly problematic and in need of “integration help” because of their foreign origin (ibid.: 24).

It is further expected that refugees and immigrants take an active part “*as workers and taxpayers in the reciprocal social and economic relations between the state and the local population fundamental to the Nordic model.*” (Olwig, 2012: 2). Following Karen Fog Olwig, an anthropologist specialising in migration, the assistance is often problematic as it entails “*active intervention in the private lives of refugees and immigrants*” (ibid.). In line with Olwig, Birgitte Romme Larsen, an anthropologist who has been investigating refugees’ experiences with the Danish spatial dispersal policy, writes that “*the Scandinavian welfare states have been described as interventionist states because they exercise far greater power over the private lives of their citizens than do other European states.*” (Larsen, 2011a: 336).

Additionally, according to Olwig, “*the Scandinavian states intervene directly in people’s private lives, and this is widely accepted by their populations, which have a generally positive attitude toward the state and public authorities.*” (Olwig, 2012: 2). Thus, this form of welfare systems can exist because the population has been willing to pay high income taxes in order to access a range of services (ibid.). Stenius further states that the Danish welfare state is built upon the “*ideological prerequisite [...] that the state is seen as good.*” (Stenius, 1997: 170).

The welfare state thus serves the role of providing for the weak and those in need of special help, such as refugees. Part of the assistance that the refugees receive from the welfare state is the integration programme and integration benefit. We find it important to briefly elaborate on the integration programme and contextualise it as part of a wider range of activation measures implemented in Denmark, in order to generally get unemployed citizens into the labour market. This is also to emphasise that we are aware that all the obligations set out for refugees, do not apply exclusively to them but also to people on other social benefits.

The integration programme and labour market policy in Denmark

Refugees living on integration benefit are obligated to participate in what is called the integration programme, which is organised by the municipality that the refugee lives in (Integration Act §16 and Gentofte Kommune and Odense Kommune, 2017). This includes participating in Danish classes and a range of different activation measures and it can last for up to five years (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2016 and Cabi, 2016).

The integration programme as we know it today has undergone changes through the years since its implementation. The first actual ‘Integration Act’ was implemented in 1999 and contained many new initiatives in the form of new rules and legislation on how to best integrate refugees (Larsen, 2011b: 13). It was implemented as a result of increasing discontent due to the growing number of unemployed refugees and immigrants (*ibid.*). The law, amongst others, entailed that the municipalities got the responsibility for the integration of refugees and that refugees should attend an intensified programme aimed at getting refugees into the labour market fast and learn about Danish society (*ibid.*). It was called the ‘introduction programme’ [our translation: introduktionsprogrammet] (Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening, 2003: 154). This introduction programme, today named integration programme, as well as the rights and duties relating to it, has changed several times since. Due to the increasing number of refugees in the 1990’s, especially under and since the VK-government that came into power in 2001, the demands and requirements that the refugees have to fulfil have intensified (Bejder, 2016).

The purpose of refugees attending the integration programme is to contribute to a linguistic improvement as well as to give refugees skills and qualifications in order to find a job (Cabi, 2017). Activation measures and initiatives towards integrating refugees, have in recent years taken a turn towards a strong focus on the labour market (Finansministeriet, 2016).

However, activation measures are not something only aimed at refugees, but are used on a general level when trying to combat unemployment in Denmark. The principle of ”no sweet without sweat” [our translation: Man skal yde for at kunne nyde] has set the trend in many important negotiations regarding unemployment policies in Denmark through the years (Christensen & Nørgaard, 1997: 24). Added to this, the demands towards the unemployed has increased during periods with large unemployment, especially after the 1970’s, leading to different laws regarding activation (*ibid.*: 24-

25). The purpose of these laws has been to secure the unemployed's connection to, or enhance the qualifications of the unemployed for the labour market (*ibid.*).

Especially, in the late 1980's, Denmark implemented activation measures, which meant that unemployed citizens should, in return for social benefits, take part in activities similar to ordinary jobs. In the beginning, it was mostly aimed at unemployed youth, however today other groups of unemployed citizens are incorporated into this arrangement (Goli & Hansen, 2012: 417).

According to associate professor at Metropolitan University College, Lene Nedergård, the municipalities have previously focused on solving the social problems that hindered citizens from taking a job. Lately, however, there has been an increasing tendency to focus solely on getting the unemployed into the labour market through different activation measures, thus a strict focus on the labour market has emerged (*ibid.*: 417-418). In relation to this, according to Phd. and associate professor in social work, Marco Goli, one can say that there has been a change in Danish labour market policy from welfare (a 'support paradigm') to workfare (an 'activation paradigm') (*ibid.*: 86).

The increased focus on activation in relation to employment consequently means that a lot of unemployed are put into company internship programs amongst other initiatives such as job-seeking guidance and different skills development courses (*ibid.*: 418). The target groups in relation to the internship programmes are diverse and it entails a mix of different citizens with very different backgrounds and reasons for being out of a job (*ibid.*: 415).

In general, the intention with the internship programme is for the unemployed to connect with the employers and thereby get a foot in the door, acquire new skills or develop more confidence and a larger social network (*ibid.*: 421-422 and 415).

There has been a general debate in Denmark regarding the above mentioned activation measures. A debate not related to refugees, but unemployed Danes in general. Many have found the internships, qualification-courses as well as job-seeking courses meaningless and a waste of time and it has fostered a lot of frustration amongst the unemployed (Andersen, 2012 and Berlingske, 2012 and Gaardmand, 2012). Furthermore, it is well known that the activation measures are often experienced as stressful by unemployed on social assistance (Arre, 2014).

As we are concerned with how Syrian refugees experience living on integration benefit, we will focus solely on their experiences with being unemployed and obliged to attend different activation measures, particularly internships. As mentioned, the intention with describing the general debate concerning activation measures has been to contextualise the strong focus on employment in the integration programme as a part of a more general tendency and to emphasise that we are aware that this is not something only refugees are experiencing.

We will in the following unfold some of the discussions and debates that have taken place in recent years regarding integration benefit and refugees in general, as this thesis revolves around these issues and consequently can be argued to be contributing to these discussions.

Migration, national security and poverty

In recent years, the integration of refugees and immigrants has become a larger concern in policy making, legislation and public debate (Olwig, 2012: 4). There has, since the 1990's, been a tendency to portray refugees and immigrants, in the media and public debate, as a "*threat against 'Danishness' because they are seen as disruptive elements in the imagined culturally homogeneous national community.*" (ibid.: 5). Additionally, according to Olwig, refugees and immigrants are "*struggling with a generally negative image in Scandinavian society, as evidenced by their representation in the media.*" (ibid.). It is the case that refugees are often portrayed as greedy freeloaders and criminals in the media and by politicians (Brandsen, 2016 and Pittelkow, 2016 and Ottesen, 2013 and Jørgensen, 2017). In continuation thereof, in recent years "*tighter restrictions on the admittance of refugees*" have been instituted and the debate about the need to protect the borders has intensified (Olwig, 2012: 6).

On the flip side of the coin, there has been a long tradition in Denmark "*of encouraging the population's active involvement in a range of voluntary associations*" (Olwig, 2012: 6). This became all the more visible when the so-called "European refugee crisis" hit Denmark and hundreds of refugees walked the Danish motorways, trying to reach Sweden, were offered help by Danes (Ejsing, 2015 and Ostrynski, 2015). Prior to this "crisis", several formal and informal voluntary initiatives and associations existed to provide assistance to refugees (Dansk Flygtningehjælp, 2016 (2) and Kirkernes Integrationstjeneste). Since late 2014 Danish civil society has been more engaged and played a bigger role rendering help to refugees arriving in Denmark (Kjeldsen & Nørgaard, 2015),

thus serving as an example of a positive and welcoming stance to refugees, in contrast to the one mentioned above. There is thus not solely one attitude towards refugees in Denmark, the topic of refugees and immigrants are much discussed and some argue that it is an issue that divides the country (Larsen, 2015 and Henriksen, 2015).

The implementation of integration benefit plays into this debate, as the arguments behind the necessity for its implementation have revolved around migration and refugees. The Minister of Integration, Inger Støjberg, explained in 2015 why it was important to implement the integration benefit:

“We need to tighten up, in order to control the influx of refugees to Denmark. That is why we, on Friday, will submit a bill, which is a significant tightening of the conditions for foreigners, who are seeking to reach Denmark. We will introduce a new integration benefit on par with SU, which will make it less attractive to come to Denmark [...].”
(Beskæftigelsesministeriet (2), 2015, our translation).

In this quote, Støjberg is arguing that the implementation of integration benefit will make it less attractive to come to Denmark, which rests on an assumption that refugees consider the conditions for social benefits when deciding on where to seek asylum. However, this has been criticised from many angles, both by politicians and experts in migration. Morten Ejrnæs, a sociologist who has been working with ethnic minorities, points to how no research can serve as substance for this argument and he consequently regards integration benefit as an experiment (Ejrnæs et al., 2015). Professor and debater Garbi Schmidt has further presented the argument that it is a matter of tokenism: a sign to the Danish population that the government is concerned with the security of the country, and are acting upon what they see as a threat to the Danish welfare system (Schmidt, 2015). As the quote from Støjberg implies, the integration benefit can be seen as a part of a bigger effort in trying to manage the number of refugees seeking asylum in Denmark.

Refugees have been argued to be an economical threat to the Danish welfare system as most of them will be on social benefit and thereby will be a costly expense for the state. As former Danish Minister of Employment, Jørn Neergaard Larsen, said on the matter in 2016: *“It has no positive effect that there are people coming here that are going to be consumed by public relief. It’s a catastrophe.”* (as

cited in Bækgaard, 2016, our translation). Additionally, the refugee influx has been argued to be a national security risk due to a concern that there might be terrorists amongst the refugees entering Denmark (Rebouh, 2017). It has thus, from a national security perspective, been argued that refugees are threatening Danish society and a decrease in the reception of refugees in Denmark is necessary in order to maintain the Danish welfare state as we know it today.

The other main reasoning behind integration benefit revolves around getting refugees into the labour market, as the low benefit should serve as an incitement for refugees to get a job. From 2002-2011 Denmark had a social benefit aimed at refugees and immigrants similar to integration benefit, called ‘start help’ [our translation: starthjælpen] (Politiken, 2011). On the basis of the experiences with start help, which proved to get a higher percentage of people into the labour market than people on social assistance, about 12 percentage points, some argue that integration benefit is therefore an effective tool (Berlingske, 2009 and Aagaard & Wolfhagen, 2015). Opponents, on the other hand, argue that the increase in refugees getting into the labour market does not compare with the number of people who do not obtain a job and consequently will be living in poverty (Ulveman, 2015 and Aagaard & Wolfhagen, 2015).

Indeed, some have argued that integration benefit alongside other new regulations “[...] *will throw many families into such severe poverty that they will not be able to afford food and clothes.*” (Abrahamsen, 2016, our translation). In a joint feature about the integration benefit, prominent researchers and academics studying poverty, wrote that there is no doubt about the fact that integration benefit will lead to an increase in the number of poor people (Ejrnæs et al., 2015). They emphasise that integration benefit is below the previous defined poverty line: an income 50% lower than the median income of Denmark. In addition to this, integration benefit is much lower than the minimum budget presented by Ekspertudvalget about poverty (*ibid.*). However, this has been justified by supporters of integration benefit because students in Denmark get a similar benefit to live off, therefore refugees can too. A counter-argument to this comparison has been that refugees are not in the same position as students in regards to the ability to take loans with favourable interests, having a network or a student job (Nissen, 2015).

In relation to this, the notion of poverty is widely discussed in Denmark and many disagree on how to measure it and how to define it. Some define poverty as a relative notion, others would refer to the notion of absolute poverty when deeming if someone is living in poverty, whilst others do not believe

that it can be solely divided into these two categories (Arendt, 2009 and Bjørkøe, 2010 and Berlingske, 2010). The notion and definition of poverty is thus a much discussed issue that we will not go further into as the purpose of this thesis is to portray how our informants experience living on integration benefit - and not to define if they can be classified as poor or not. We merely want to clarify that we are aware that poverty is a well discussed issue in Denmark and that there exist many different opinions on poverty and how it should be measured.

Following on from this, CASA (Center for Alternativ SamfundsAnalyse) has published research about start help, investigating the consequences that start help has had on the economic situation and living conditions of its receivers (Blauenfeldt et al., 2006). The report concludes that the families living on start help had a hard time and were suffering from material deprivation. The authors found that especially families with children were struggling and that the children felt the destitution, thus being at risk of marginalisation and isolation. The material deprivation contributed and led to a social deprivation in that the children could not attend social activities, enroll in after-school centres or other leisure activities (*ibid.*: 6-8).

As the above shows, this thesis enters a heavily debated field regarding integration benefit, migration, poverty and national security - a field that is widely discussed by politicians, experts, academics and the general public. We will, with this thesis, contribute to this debate by bringing forth refugees' perspectives on living on integration benefit.

Studying a class journey

As briefly accounted for, we will use the analytical term class journey, as a way to understand and unfold our informants' experiences with living on integration benefit.

The concept of 'class' is often associated with the theories of Karl Marx, whose analysis deals with class relations between those who own the capital goods and those who sell their labour. This notion of class is strictly limited to the economical aspect of class (Pedersen, 2007: 193). However, as societies have developed and changed, a larger middle class and differences within classes have emerged. The boundaries between classes are therefore not only defined by economic differences, but also social differences in status, in relation to notions such as taste, attitude, and behaviour (*ibid.*). Sherry Orther, a cultural anthropologist, combines the economic aspect of class, defined as an economic localisation of one's position in society, with the social aspect of class, defined as

something culturally constructed. According to Pedersen, “*social class constitutes a position in the social space, which is defined by economic and cultural capital.*“ (ibid., our translation).

The concept of class journey is originally coined by Marianne Gullestad and the term refers to the movement that a person makes from one kind of environment, because of education or migration, to other environments (ibid.: 195). As mentioned, a class journey involves opposing and complex processes, which are affected by the context in which it happens, as well as gender and age (ibid.). Gullestad originally used the term to investigate the cultural meetings that take place in relation to “*upward social mobility within a national state*” (ibid., our translation). However, Pedersen suggests a different interpretation of the concept than originally proposed by Gullestad. Pedersen argues that the concept can be used in a transnational context in which migrants move between different countries (ibid.). She uses the term class journey in relation to her study of Iraqi refugees in Denmark where she uncovers how many immigrants experience a lowering in social status and recognition after arriving to Denmark (ibid.: 192). It is this understanding of class journey that we will draw on in our analysis.

We find the concept useful as a way to understand and unfold the different changes that can occur, and consequently the different status and class one enters into, when fleeing or migrating to another country. It is within this theoretical frame that we will unfold our informants’ experiences of living on integration benefit.

As mentioned, we found that the concept class journey can help us understand many of our informants’ experiences with living on integration benefit, which we will unfold through three dimensions; namely their financial situations, their relation to the surrounding society which has an effect on how they experience living on integration benefit and lastly their family relations. We will elaborate on this, when we in the following introduce the structure of the thesis.

Structure of the thesis

In the above introductory chapter, we have presented the field within which our area of research takes place. We have introduced integration benefit as well as the rules and legislation connected to it, as well as briefly introducing Syria and the Syrian people in order to gain an understanding of where our informants come from. Furthermore, we have included a section on the Danish welfare state, the integration programme and contextualised this programme as part of a wider activation strategy in relation to unemployment in Denmark. In addition to this, we have included a description of the discussion and debates that have been taking place regarding integration benefit and refugees in general. This has been done in order to unravel the context that our informants have arrived to and now live in. Lastly, we have introduced the concept of class journey, which will help us understand how our informants have experienced changes in their lives and that we will be using this as a frame for our analysis.

In chapter 2, '*Methodology*', we situate ourselves as researchers in the field and reflect on the way in which we entered the field, as well as what roles and relations we developed whilst there. Additionally, we will introduce our informants and account for our qualitative methods and how we processed the empirical data that emerged from our interviews. Lastly, we will present some of the limitations we have faced and that this thesis entails.

Chapter 3, '*New economic situations*', will be exploring the economic dimension of our informants' experiences with living on integration benefit. Here we will illuminate the different aspects of the economic hardship that our informants seem to be facing. This chapter is situated within the frame of class journey, and therefore aims to examine the shift in economic position and status that our informants have experienced since arriving in Denmark. Thus, the chapter, will be a part of answering the research question by looking at how our informants experience living on integration benefit in relation to their economic situation.

Chapter 4, '*Surrounding society*', will take a closer look at our informants' relationship to the surrounding society, and thereby answer the first sub-question. Drawing on Marcel Mauss' thoughts on 'reciprocity' and reciprocal exchange, and as a part of our informants' class journey, we will show how they find themselves in what seems to be an unequal reciprocal relationship with the surrounding society. In this relationship, they do not find themselves being recognised or acknowledged when

participating in the internship measurement. Furthermore, the chapter will take a closer look at how our informants experience being portrayed by the surrounding society and being ascribed the status of criminals and freeloaders, further contributing to the experience of not being acknowledged as resourceful people who can contribute to society. Thus, we will show, how our informants' find themselves in a different position and having a different relationship to the surrounding society than in Syria, which affects their experiences of living on integration benefit.

Chapter 5, '*Family relations*', will answer the second sub-question by examining how integration benefit affects our informants' familial relationships, and thereby look at another dimension of our informants' experiences with living on integration benefit. We will do so by deploying the concepts of 'gender', 'masculinity' and 'intergenerational relationship'. As we will show, the relationships between the husbands and wives as well as the parents and children in the families have been affected by the limited financial latitude. This serves as another dimension of our informants' 'class journey' as we will show how different economic positions affect family relationships.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This thesis is an investigation of how Syrian refugees experience their life on integration benefit. In that sense, we are approaching our study of interest, from our informants' point of view.

We are taking a phenomenological approach to our research area as our interest is to depict our informants' experiences with life on integration benefit (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 26). When taking a phenomenological approach, it involves "*detailed descriptions of how people immediately experience space, time, and the world in which they live.*" (Jackson, 1996: 11). In accordance with this, we are trying to comprehend and shed light on how Syrian refugees experience life on integration benefit. To accomplish this, we have not included questions concerning the objective condition of opinions and ideas in order to focus on describing and discussing the ways our informants actually live as well as their experiences (ibid.: 10).

As we intended to grasp their understandings, we found semi-structured interviews to be the best way to gain this insight. Our main source of information is therefore derived from the interviews we conducted with our informants. We are thus exploring life on integration benefit from an emic perspective, as in this way we are studying it "*from inside the system.*" (Pike cited in Xia, 2011: 77). According to sociocultural anthropologist Roger Sanjek one of the ways to validate one's ethnographic study is to be explicit about one's ways through the field (1990: 398). In this chapter, we will do exactly this. We will situate ourselves as researchers by reflecting on how we entered our field and on the kinds of relations and roles we developed there. Furthermore, we will present our choice of informants, make a short presentation of them, account for our qualitative interview methods, explain how we processed our data and lastly present the limitations we faced during the process of writing this thesis. But, as mentioned already, we will begin by describing and reflecting upon our way into the field and how we gained access to our informants.

Entering the field and choice of informants

Since our primary focus has been to investigate how refugees experience living on integration benefit, we naturally chose to find informants based on the following criteria: being refugees in Denmark, being unemployed and dependent on integration benefit. Furthermore, we were especially interested in how integration benefit affects refugee families, which is why we also wanted to establish contact with couples with children. By coincidence all of our informants ended up being from Syria even

though this was not the initial plan. It however ended up, forming our study, as we in this way got an exhaustive insight into how Syrian refugees experience living on integration benefit. Some of these experiences may be general for other refugee groups, but many might be specific for Syrian refugees given their shared background. As our informants hail from the same country, they share similar stories and situations. The fact that all our informants ended up being from Syria thus plays an important role in our findings as we are able to investigate this specific group's experiences.

We find it important to firstly share some of the considerations we had before trying to gain access to the informants and entering the field. We especially considered the personal consequences for the informants. We were in doubt as to whether the subject of this thesis would be too sensitive to talk about and the possible informants would feel uncomfortable discussing it. Bearing in mind that our informants would consist of newly arrived refugees, we considered their vulnerable situations and the dangers of opening up emotional topics. However, we considered that they may have a need to share their experiences and feel that someone is listening to them, as issues about refugees are often being discussed on a political level and in the media, however this seldom include the opinions of refugees themselves. Furthermore, we agreed to go into the field, trying to gain access, with the clear ambition that we would always try to make sure that our informants were comfortable and that they did not feel pressured into talking to us.

The process of gaining access

The process of gaining access to informants proved to be a far more challenging and time consuming process than first assumed. We initially started by contacting different volunteer organisations working with refugees such as Venligboerne, Kirkernes Integrationstjeneste (KIT) and other volunteer organisations working with refugees through The Danish Refugee Council. All organisations that we contacted were located on Sjælland due to economic restrictions in relation to transportation. While some of them were unable to help us as they felt that interviews would disrupt the intimate and private space that they had established with the refugees, others were happy to help and said that they would get back to us but never did. Some returned to us with the discouraging answer that the refugees they knew were not interested in participating in the interviews. Several of the contacts we made in this process suggested that we should come to their social and/or language cafés. Throughout the month of March, we therefore participated in a language café in Helsingør, went two times to KIT's refugee café in Frederiksberg, one time to a café run by Venligboerne in

Holbæk as well as two times to a community house, Frivillighuset, in Gentofte run by Frivillignet. However, as mentioned, none of these contacts resulted in informants for our thesis despite having contact to many different persons and potential informants. We generally found that the main obstacle was that it seemed that our contacts had not understood the criteria of the potential informants that we were seeking. Consequently, we often found ourselves in peculiar situations. Three times we had the experience of beginning an interview, only to discover that the potential informant either had a job, and therefore was not receiving integration benefit, or that she/he did not have children here in Denmark. We therefore chose to cut short these interviews. Furthermore, we experienced that it was mostly single or younger refugees that attended the language cafés we visited, which again made it more difficult for us to get in contact with relevant informants.

Because of the challenges we faced, we reached out to our private network. Through Emilia's volunteer engagement in an NGO, and through a previous job in the integration department of the Municipality of Gribskov, it was possible for us to get three focus group interviews. We got these three focus group interviews from contacting respectively; Talisha, who Emilia knows from an NGO, located in Copenhagen and Mazaa, who was one of the refugees that came to the Municipality of Gribskov, when Emilia worked there. Mazaa and Talisha therefore became our 'gatekeepers', which according to Lisa M. Campell et. al. entails individuals "*who provide - directly or indirectly - access to key resources needed to do research, be those logistical, human institutional, or informal.*" (Campell et al., 2006: 98).

We knew that both of them were in contact with refugees on integration benefit, in Roskilde and Helsingør respectively, which is why we contacted them. We experienced that the private contacts of these gatekeepers were a more fitting way of gaining access, potentially because of the private connections between the gatekeepers and the informants. Yet, we had some considerations before using our personal contacts as gatekeepers. Since Emilia knows Mazaa and Talisha from work and private gatherings, we were a bit worried that it could create confusion as to the relation between us. Our first thought was that we should not mix personal relationships with our academic work, and that we did not want the gatekeepers to feel obliged to ask their network to participate in our interviews. Therefore, it was of great importance to us to make it very clear, that it was only a request and that Mazaa and Talisha were free to say no. When we asked them, they reacted in the same way: we explained the background for the thesis and why we were interested in talking to refugees on integration benefit, and they both responded with "*of course I can help you*" and expressed that it

was no problem for them to ask around in their network. They further offered to function as interpreters during the interviews. We took their goodwill and interest in the project as a sign of them not feeling obliged to cooperate with us.

We considered Talisha and Mazaa's roles as gatekeepers, as we, despite having explained the criteria for the potential participants, do not know on which ground they chose the informants. It may be that they chose the most vulnerable refugees they know, the one's they have the best personal relationship with or that they considered other matters when selecting the informants.

As mentioned, we initially thought that it would be easier to get in contact with refugees on integration benefit through volunteer organisations than it turned out to be. Since it posed quite a challenge, we had to think long and hard about what we could do in order to get in contact with more informants beside the ones we got through our private contacts. After having tried through volunteer organisations on Sjælland and through our private network, we reached out to refugees on the integration benefit through the municipalities. This means of gaining access to our informants showed to be the most rewarding in terms of number of participants. The contact to the majority of our informants was established through family consultants in the Municipality of Frederikssund. It was one out of many municipalities that we contacted. Many of them were not able to help us, as they did not have the time, however an integration officer from the Municipality of Allerød invited us to join their café on Mondays where a lot of refugees came to talk to the integration officers about different matters. Unfortunately, we did not find any informants through this contact as the refugees who were potential "candidates" were not interested in talking to us. We found that many of them were not comfortable talking to us about their lives, and also the setting in which they were asked: a formal situation in one of the municipality's facilities, with a hectic vibe, probably did not contribute to a feeling of trustworthiness. Some were interested in talking to us but unfortunately did not fit the criteria. However, as mentioned, we made a reliable contact in the Municipality of Frederikssund, who was very interested in our project, which consequently resulted in five interviews with refugee families living on integration benefit.

Our main contact person in the Municipality of Frederikssund was the family consultant, Lærke, who helped us get in contact with our informants. She identified the potential families that we could interview, introduced the project and asked our informants if they wanted to participate. Lærke can therefore also be termed as one of our gatekeepers.

Like with Mazaa and Talisha, we carefully considered Lærke's role, as she in her role as a gatekeeper, was the one who had the power to select potential candidates, which we had no control over. We do not know on which grounds they were selected, which we in some aspects find troubling.

As we were not part of the process and had no chance of knowing the relation between Lærke and the potential informants, we did not know how this process would be perceived by our informants. As Lærke is part of the municipality, we had more concerns about her role as a gatekeeper, than we had with Mazaa and Talisha. Larsen considers a similar matter in her PhD, *Ind i Danmark - Skabelse af sted og tilhørsforhold blandt nyankomne flygtningefamilier bosat i mindre lokalsamfund*, where she also enters the field through an employee from the municipality - in this case an integration caseworker (Larsen, 2011b: 54). She points to the issue, that the power relation between the case worker, or in our case the family consultant, and the newly arrived refugees most likely is not felt as equal (*ibid.*). Following this, some of our informants may have felt pressured or obliged to participate in the interview as much of their everyday life revolves around being met with different forms of expectations and demands from the municipality. As Lærke is part of the municipality this may therefore have influenced our informants' choice to participate in this thesis. In other words, we have been in doubt about whether our informants in reality felt that they could decline participation. Furthermore, it was clear to us that functioning as a family consultant, Lærke has helped our informants settling in and they may have accepted the interview as they felt that they owed her something. As she is the one guiding them, they may have thought that accepting the interview was the best thing to do. It was therefore very important for us to stress to the Municipality of Frederikssund that they had to pass on to the potential informants that they were able to say no. This section has concerned itself with our way of gaining access to our informants and our way of entering the field. In the following section, we will discuss our role and position as researchers in the field.

Placing ourselves in the field

Our entrance into the field, as well as the assumptions and the prejudices we arrived and were met with, will inevitably influence the process and the outcome of the thesis. We therefore find it crucial to present and position ourselves in the field. We will in the following discuss our main considerations concerning the interview situation, Lærke's presence during the interviews, as well as our informants' expectations towards our study and its potential influence on their situation.

As we did not have the time or access to conduct participatory observations and spend longer time with our informants, our interaction with them was limited to the interview. Time with our informants was limited to the small-talk we shared before and after the interviews, and we consequently did not establish close relationships with them. However, as we introduced ourselves and the intention behind the thesis, we experienced that our informants felt a need to share their stories and experiences in Denmark, even though we did not have the time to build strong trust. This leads us to believe that our informants generally feel misunderstood and overlooked, which also became clear during the interviews. They seemed eager to explain to us, that they did not flee to Denmark for social benefits, but only because the war forced them to leave their country. They tried to convince us, that the way they were being portrayed in the media, where they experience themselves being described as a threat to Danish society and as freeloaders, does not hold. This may serve as an explanation as to why they wanted to share their experiences.

We experienced that the interviews evoked strong feelings among our informants. Not only talking about integration benefit, but also explaining their daily life, was a struggle for some. One of our informants had to take a break during the interview, and was obviously emotionally affected by talking about her life, especially after having explained how she had just attempted suicide. In this particular situation, we considered the necessity of our study: was it worth provoking these feelings and making them share them with strangers?

At the same time, it was a motivating factor, as we found it even more important to share these stories and to make visible to the general public what it is like to be a newly arrived refugee on integration benefit. This situation occurred during one of the group interviews and the woman in depression therefore had friends around her, which was reassuring as we saw that she got comfort from close friends and had a safe space around her.

Lærke was present during the five interviews we conducted in the Municipality of Frederikssund, as this was one of the criteria for letting us conduct the interviews. Entering the homes of our informants with Lærke and being introduced to them through an employee from the municipality may have led our informants to believe that we were part of the municipality. We had many considerations about meeting our informants in this way. As just mentioned, getting access to families on integration benefit was not an easy process, and we had to compromise and accept the help from the Municipality of Frederikssund. We therefore started each interview stressing that we were merely students,

investigating how people experience being on integration benefit. We agreed with Lærke that she would stay in the background and not intervene or be part of the interviews in any way. However, due to her personal relationship with the families, she on several occasions interrupted the interviews, both to comment on private matters - asking about the family's well-being or about updates on the children's adjustment - or to ask more specific questions concerning different matters with the municipality. Lærke emphasised to our informants, that despite her role in the municipality, everything they said during the interviews would stay confidential, adding that if they had any complaints regarding the municipality they should not hold back.

We sensed a trusting relationship between Lærke and our informants, as Lærke had been the one helping them to settle in by supporting and advising them. Her presence may therefore have created trust, and a more relaxed atmosphere, as the families were familiar with her and trusted her. She was useful for us, in creating a quick bond with our informants, as she legitimised our presence and could ensure our informants that we had good intentions.

This being said, Lærke's presence obviously influenced the interviews and how we were perceived by our informants to some extent, and we did not manage to create or set an interview space where the informants, were not influenced by other outsiders than us as researchers. Her presence may have led some of our informants to hold back information, with the thought that it may influence the relationship with their family consultant, who are in a position to potentially improve their situation. As Lærke is in this position, it may be that our informants strongly emphasised the things they lacked, with the thought that she would then help the family. Our informants' statements should therefore be taken into account with the potential for bias or influence, as a family consultant from the municipality was in attendance.

In relation to the focus group interviews in Roskilde and Helsingør, respectively, we entered the field, the interview situation, differently than in the Municipality of Frederikssund. We came into contact with the different informants because of a common relation to either Mazaa or Talisha, which all parties were aware of. We experienced that this relationship created a trusting and safe interview situation, where the informants felt more at ease with us researchers.

Another important aspect regarding our role in the field and hereby our role in the interview situation, is that some of the informants expressed that they hoped that we, through this project, could change their situation and put pressure on the government. In some instances, we found it unavoidable not to express our standpoints related to some of the policies that have affected our informants' everyday life. Especially since some of our informants explicitly asked us. This was also a way for us to make the informants feel more confident in opening up, as they felt our sympathy and recognition. They begged us to hand the project over to the Minister of Immigration and Integration, Inger Støjberg, and other politicians in the hope that it would better their circumstances. We emphasised heavily to our informants, that even though we would do our best to disseminate their experiences, we could not promise that it would make a difference here and now. It was important for us to make sure, that we had not given our informants false hope and made them believe, that we were in a position to affect immediate change, if at all. That being said, our thesis can potentially have influence in the long run, by contributing to the subject with academic knowledge. Additionally, the knowledge and insight we have gained will affect how we will approach the issue in the future, and dependent on our engagement, we can use it in our work to have influence in the debate.

After having discussed our way of gaining access to the field and informants as well as our role, as researchers, in the field, we will now present our informants.

Presentations of informants

The persons we interviewed and talked to during our fieldwork form the foundation of our research, thus this thesis. Therefore, we find it important to present our informants in the following section. The couples we interviewed together will be presented together.

We have chosen to use pseudonyms in order to protect the people we interviewed, which according to Kvale is of absolute importance when working with people in exposed positions (Kvale, 1997a: 235). All of our informants are refugees from Syria, living on integration benefit with the notable exception of Mazaa, who has functioned as our translator, and Thamer, who just recently started studying. However, we have chosen to include them in the list of informants. The grounds for this choice will be elaborated on below.

Mazaa came to Denmark in 2014 and was placed by Immigration Services in the Municipality of Gribskov. He holds a degree in chemistry from Syria, and has for a short period of time worked as a math teacher in the reception class for refugee children. At the time of the interview he was supporting himself and his family by working as an ‘uber-driver’ but before this, he used to be on integration benefit. We have chosen to use him as an informant too, because he had some great insights into life on integration benefit having been a previous recipient.

Thamer came to Denmark the 10th of August 2014 and was placed in Roskilde by Immigration Services. Thereafter he got family reunification with his wife, Sulaima, another informant, and their two children in November 2015. He has a bachelor degree in computer science and engineering from Syria, and recently got accepted into DTU (Technical University of Denmark). Even though Thamer currently is not on integration benefit, he was up until recently and had been since its implementation. We therefore argue that he still has some useful insights into life on integration benefit, which is why we have chosen to include him as an informant.

Omar came to Denmark in August 2014, just like Thamer, and was placed in Roskilde by Immigration services. After one and a half years his wife Liza, another informant, and their two children arrived in Denmark in late 2015 through family reunification. He holds a high school degree.

Ahmad came to Denmark the 10th of April 2014 and Immigration Services placed him just outside Roskilde. He now lives with his wife and their four children who came to Denmark through family reunification. He holds a degree from 8th grade. He knows Thamer from Turkey, where they went on “suicide missions”, as they called it themselves: trying to cross the Mediterranean to get to Europe.

Liza came to Denmark in late 2015 through family reunification with her and Omars two children, aged two and six. She holds a high-school diploma and used to be a stay-at-home mother in Syria.

Jazmin came to Denmark in 2014 and was placed in Roskilde by Immigration Services alongside her husband. She has no children but is included in our presentation of our informants as she participated in the focus group interview with the Syrian women in Roskilde.

Sulaima came to Denmark in November 2015 with her and Thamer's two children, aged eight and seven. She holds a high-school diploma from Syria and before they fled she used to be a stay-at-home mother.

Maya came to Denmark approximately two years ago. She was placed in Roskilde by Immigration Services, where she now lives with her husband and their two children, aged 12 and five. She holds an education in accounting from Lebanon, but after graduating she completed a course in order to work as a pedagogue. She worked in a kindergarten for seven years before she got married and then stopped working.

Hamed came to Denmark in 2014 and was placed in the Municipality of Gribskov by Immigration Services, where he now lives with his wife and their five daughters, aged 17, 15, 13, 10 and six. Before coming to Denmark, he used to work in a pizzeria in Syria.

Mansoor came to Denmark in 2014, like Hamed. He was placed in the Municipality of Gribskov by Immigration Services. He lives with his wife and their three children, aged 18, 13 and nine. He used to work as an accountant in Syria.

Haitham & Nouf live in the Municipality of Frederikssund together with their four children aged eight, six and four as well as a newly arrived baby, born two weeks before we visited. Haitham arrived in the beginning of 2015 and thereafter got family reunification with his wife and children. Before they fled Syria, Nouf used to be a stay-at-home mother and Haitham worked as a baker and owned his own eatery serving pizza and different breads.

Jalil & Tabina live in the Municipality of Frederikssund together with their four children aged 18, 16, 13 and 12. They all arrived in Denmark together about one year and four months ago. Jalil used to work as a bricklayer in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. In Syria, he worked maintaining old grave sites and in Egypt he worked maintaining old buildings. Tabina concerned herself with designing clothes, mostly for women.

Midhat & Ruba live in the Municipality of Frederikssund together with their two children, aged 15 and nine. They all arrived together in Denmark in November 2014. Ruba used to be a stay-at-home mother in Syria and Midhat ran a bus company.

Ramas & Miriam live in the Municipality of Frederikssund together with their three children. Ramas came to Denmark two years ago and then Miriam followed with the couple's two children. Since arriving in Denmark they have had another child. Ramas has worked as a welder on ships, while Miriam was a stay-at-home mother in Syria, as she quit school when she got pregnant.

Adam & Nala live in the Municipality of Frederikssund together with their five children aged 16, 13, 10 and six as well as an 18-month-old baby. Adam worked in the building industry as a bricklayer's assistant in Syria and Nala was a stay-at-home mother.

After having presented our different informants, we will now elaborate on the interview methods used in this thesis. We will start by discussing our use of semi-structured interviews as our main method of collecting data.

Interviews

As already mentioned, our core data consists of semi-structured interviews leaving out participatory observations, and would usually not be considered as a full ethnographic study (Rubow, 2003:227). However, we will justify and defend our choice of only using interviews, by drawing on arguments presented by anthropologist Cecilie Rubow. She argues that an interview can also serve as participatory observation, as one does not necessarily keep a distance, but one can "*bring oneself up close and practice what one is studying.*" (ibid., our translation). In an interview the conversation creates many types of data and to listen entails more than just receiving a message: it may include "*hearing a tearful voice, watching the tears and maybe a feeling of powerlessness, compassion or relief that one does not know of this great pain.*" (ibid.: 240, our translation). This can indeed be said to be the case for our interviews, as we left the with much more information than just what we gleaned from conversations.

We will in the following present and discuss the interviews conducted with couples and the focus group interviews, our interview guide as well as some of the ethical consideration we have regarding our interviews.

Semi-structured interviews with couples

As mentioned, we chose in-depth semi-structured interviews as a means to understand and comprehend how our informants experience their lives on integration benefit. The limited time with our informants led us to structure the interviews and prepare an interview guide beforehand. This ensured that we touched upon the themes we wanted and asked the questions necessary to understand their situation. However, still keeping the interviews partly structured allowed us to be more flexible and ask follow-up questions (Kvale, 1996: 124). We consequently found semi-structured interviews to be the most effective way to let our informants express their opinions, thoughts and feelings about living on integration benefit. It gave us an insight into how they interpret and navigate the situation they find themselves in (Mack et al., 2005: 29-30).

In total, we conducted five semi-structured interviews with couples. We chose to conduct the interviews with both husband and wife present, with the intention of capturing and getting a sense of the social dynamic between them. Further, as we will describe below, in '*Focus group interviews*', the informants can be challenged by each other and through the interaction and discussion reflect on issues they did not consider before.

Focus group interviews

In addition to our semi-structured interviews with couples, we conducted three focus-group interviews, which will be elaborated on in the following section.

We collected two focus group interviews in Roskilde, one with four Syrian women and one with three Syrian men. Additionally, we conducted a group interview with two Syrian men in Helsingør, in the Municipality of Gribskov. The two focus-group interviews in Roskilde took place in the informants' homes, both locations were chosen by our informants, who themselves invited us.

Before, during and after our first focus group interview with the Syrian women: Maya, Liza, Sulaima and Jazmin, the atmosphere was cheerful and bustling with laughter and children running in and out of the playroom, which created a safe setting for us and our informants, where everyone felt relaxed. It was a different ambience in relation to the interview with the three Syrian men: Omar, Thamer and Ahmad in Roskilde. Here there were no children running around, solely the three men sitting on the couch smoking shisha. However, the men served us freshly brewed coffee and offered us homemade cake, were very open and interested in talking to us, which together with the homely vibe contributed

to a relaxed atmosphere. All of which is highly important for establishing trust and openness as highlighted by Kvale (Kvale, 2009: 150).

As mentioned in the presentation of our informants, some of the refugees we interviewed in these two focus groups were married (Thamer & Sulaima and Omar & Liza), which is why some of their stories, answers and information about their lives here in Denmark will sound alike.

In contrast with these two focus groups in Roskilde, the interview with Mansoor and Hamed took place in Frivilligcenter Helsingør, a centre for volunteer initiatives. A place lacking in atmosphere, with very little personality, which set a different scene for the interview. However, Frivilligcenter Helsingør was familiar to Hamed and Mansoor as it is the place many of the municipality's refugees go for help when needed. The place was chosen by our informants as a place where they would feel comfortable. The ambiance was relaxed, but it felt like a more formal setting than the other focus group interviews.

Focus group interviews have their own strengths and weaknesses (Halkier, 2015: 137) and we therefore of course considered if it was the right method to use in relation to what we wanted to research. In the beginning of the process, we were not interested in getting focus group interviews, but rather semi-structured interviews with couples, as we were interested in the individual refugee family's situation and getting as much knowledge about their specific situation as possible. Indeed, it can be difficult to get every individual in a focus group interview to contribute as much as each other. Each individual will have much less time to talk as they would during an individual interview. Opinions might be silenced or altered to comply with a general feeling. It could therefore potentially be difficult for us to get the chance to ask as much into the individual's understandings and experiences of living in Denmark on integration benefit (*ibid.*: 138 and Bryman, 2012: 503).

However, some of the informants were only interested in being interviewed if conducted in a group setting. We therefore chose to follow their wishes and at the same time thought that the possible dynamics within the groups could provide new insights into the life on integration benefit as the informants in the groups were friends and spend a lot of time together. We experienced that the groups created a trusting and comfortable space for the interviews. We found that the focus group settings constituted spaces where the different participants could compare experiences and understandings and where free flows and exchanges of ideas produced new knowledge about the complexity of the research area (*ibid.*).

As mentioned, the informants in the different groups are used to interacting on a daily basis and were all in the same position: being refugees in Denmark and living on integration benefit. It came naturally for the informants to share insights into their worlds. They had a lot on their minds and did not seem to be hindered by talking in a group, probably because of their close relationships. Of course, there were informants that said more than others during the interviews but we found that they complimented each other very well and commented on each other's statements, which in some ways created an open and free space, where everybody could join in.

Translation

During all our semi-structured interviews with couples we used an interpreter, Hammam, who Lærke had booked for the interviews in Frederikssund. Hammam has worked as a professional interpreter for the Municipality of Frederikssund and we found that he was highly experienced, which made the translations smooth and without misunderstandings. Additionally, Hammam was regularly used by Lærke when she visited the families, meaning that they knew him and it seemed that they felt secure with him.

The three focus group interviews were all translated by three different translators. Throughout the focus group interview with the Syrian women, Talisha was our interpreter (translating from Arabic to Danish). As mentioned, she knew the women from before the interview. On the basis of our work relation to her, we know that she is very absorbed with refugee issues, which in some instances led her to speak her mind and connect the women's statements to the current debate surrounding immigration and refugees. Additionally, since she is friends with the informants, she sometimes told us her perception of their lives on integration benefit, which may have influenced the interviews. Yet, her close relationship with the informants added a relaxed atmosphere and it was clear that the women felt very safe in her company. Our knowing Talisha beforehand therefore made it easier for us to gain the women's trust and for them to open up and speak freely.

The focus group interview with the Syrian men in Roskilde happened with Thamer acting both as the interpreter and as an informant, as he is fluent in both English and Arabic. This double role may have led Thamer to feel privileged and thus given him an opportunity to decide and say what he deemed to be important. Thus, the "*boundaries between the roles of translator and other roles in the project become blurred.*" (Temple & Young, 2004: 171).

During the focus group interview with the Syrian men in Helsingør, Mazaa functioned as our interpreter. As mentioned previously, he himself is a refugee and came to the Municipality of Gribskov at the same time as Mansoor and Hamed and thereby also have a personal relation to our informants. Furthermore, he also recently experienced living on integration benefit and therefore expressed some of his own experiences, which we, because of previously mentioned reasons, have chosen to include in this thesis. However, since he has experienced it himself and consequently has opinions about integration benefit, it had the potential to affect his role as a translator.

Interview guide

As argued above we found semi-structured interviews to be the best suitable method for us to gain the most in-depth and thorough understanding of the informants' experiences with integration benefit. As semi-structured interviews constitute our primary data, we spend time preparing a relevant and useful interview guide. It was developed in order to help us cover the different themes we wanted to discuss and provide us with a set of questions (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 130). We divided our interview guide into the five themes that we wanted to investigate: *everyday life, housing, children, economic situation and the future*. These worked as main themes that fostered open dynamic conversations, allowing our informants to explain their own perceptions of life on integration benefit. We used this interview guide in both the semi-structured couples interviews and the focus group interviews. Our interview guide can be found in Appendix 1.

As we initially wanted to look at how integration benefit influenced our informants' everyday life, one of the themes in our interview guide revolves around this. We found inspiration in Larsen's report, *Tid og forbrug i etniske minoritetsfamilier* (2013), where she explores how families with an ethnic minority background form their everyday life in Denmark. We chose to look at her interview guide to find inspiration on how to build our guide around this theme. Additionally, we looked at the interview guides of both reports by CASA about start help, respectively *Flygtninge på starthjælp* (2006) and *Flygtninge på langvarig starthjælp* (2011). Here we found inspiration and ideas on ways to ask questions concerning the family's economic situation.

Having presented and discussed our thoughts regarding the interview methods and interview guide we will now elaborate on the ways we have processed our data.

Data processing

For us to be able to stay engaged and attentive during the interviews and not get distracted by note-taking, we recorded all our interviews. As a result, we have been able to listen to the interviews again and to examine the content several times. It is possible that some of the meanings and atmosphere during the interviews are not captured by the recordings, such as body language, mimicking or irony (Kvale, 2009: 200), but we tried to compensate by taking notes just after some of the interviews to remember such subtleties. See our field notes in Appendix 2.

Transcribing

When transcribing, “*the conversational interaction between two physical persons becomes abstracted and fixed in a written form.*” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 177-178, our translation) and one can additionally term it as an “*initial analytic process*” (ibid.: 180, our translation).

According to Kvale and Brinkmann “*the quality of interviewing is often discussed, whereas the quality of transcription is seldom addressed in qualitative research literature.*” (ibid.: 177, our translation). We therefore find it relevant to elaborate on our methods of transcribing and coding the gained data.

The interviews were, as previously mentioned, recorded using phones and then transcribed. The transcribed interviews can be found in Appendix 3. As we are two researchers and both transcribed the interviews, we realised the importance of using the same procedures for transcribing (ibid.: 180) in order to make it easier to cross compare the interviews (Kvale, 1997: 171).

When transcribing there are some “*standard choices to be made*” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 181, our translation). One of the choices to make is if one wants to transcribe word-by-word, “*noting the “mh”’s and the like*” (ibid., our translation) or if the interviews should be transcribed in a more formal and written style (ibid.). In accordance with Kvale & Brinkmann, there are no correct answers as it will depend on the “*intended use of the transcript*” (ibid., our translation).

We chose to transcribe as precisely as possible, including the repetitions and the “mh”’s since two of our interpreters translated in a language which was neither ours nor their native tongue. It could therefore be difficult to get the full meaning of every sentence without having as much of the context and conversation transcribed as possible.

However, we did not transcribe the interviews when there were pauses or breaks and when our informants talked about topics outside of the research area, such as a private conversation with their family consultant regarding personal matters.

The transcriptions of the five interviews conducted in the Municipality of Frederikssund are all in Danish, since our interpreter translated our informants' statements from Arabic to Danish. When quoting from these interviews, our informants' statements are therefore all translated from Danish to English by us. This also applies to the focus group interviews conducted in Gribskov and to the interview with the Syrian women in Roskilde. However, it does not apply to the focus group interview with the men in Roskilde, as Thamer translated from Arabic to English. All the quotes and parts of interviews that we refer to, in the thesis, are highlighted with yellow in the transcriptions.

Coding

In order to break down the interviews we conducted, and uncover the crucial parts, we used 'coding', which is a useful method because it is beneficial when trying to identify uniformity in parts of an interview (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2010: 450).

Coding can either be data or concept driven (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009: 202). As a way of finding the essential themes in our interviews, we have used 'data-driven coding' (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2010: 451). According to Brinkmann and Tanggaard, data-driven coding is when "*the researcher starts out without codes, and develops them through readings of the material*" (ibid.: 202, our translation). We reviewed the transcribed interviews and identified different themes, which we then used to find coherency throughout our interview.

The themes we found through the data-driven coding were: *poverty, everyday life and isolation, children, stigma, change in class, uncertainty about benefits, psychological effect, shame, strategies, future, internship, family life and help from volunteer organisations*.

After looking through the different themes, we chose to focus on the themes that reoccurred in almost all of our interviews: *poverty, everyday life and isolation, children, change in class, internship and family life*, as means of exploring how they experience life on integration benefit. The themes were further chosen on the basis of what we found interesting and what leaped out at us as central, intriguing components of their experiences on integration benefit.

After having accounted for all our methodological considerations and choices, we will end this chapter by discussing and reflecting upon the limitations we faced in the process of writing this thesis. In particular, we will focus on the chosen methods and how the thesis could have gained more insights if other methods were used.

Limitations

An obvious limitation in this thesis was the short period of time available for conducting our fieldwork. We were restricted to solely conducting one interview with every informant and to leave out participatory observations. If we had had more time and access, it would have been interesting to follow the families over a longer period of time and conduct more interviews, thereby gaining a deeper insight into their lives. This could have contributed to a broader and more complex understanding of how life on integration benefit is experienced.

Another large scale limitation was the language barrier. We had to use an interpreter during all interviews, except for one, which was conducted in English. Using an interpreter can involve misunderstandings and misinterpretations, which we consequently cannot exclude as a limitation to our findings. It may have influenced the nuances in our informants' answers and important parts may have been lost in translation.

Furthermore, as mentioned, many of the informants and also potential informants that we did not end up interviewing, were very interested in knowing to what extent this thesis would be able to change their current situation and get their stories to be heard by politicians. We tried our best to explain that we, of course, hoped that our thesis could help get their experiences out to the general public and the Danish political scene, but that this was not the main purpose of the thesis. However, it was still our experience that many of the informants focused on how important it was to them that their statements would be heard, and it seemed that to some degree this was the motivation they had in mind when they agreed to participate in the thesis. Their responses should therefore be viewed in this light, as they may, in some of their statements, have emphasised how bad their situation is, in the hope of trying to change the perception of them and their current situation.

This chapter has concerned itself with the methods of this thesis. In the following section, we will move into our analysis and unfold how Syrian refugees experience and perceive their life on integration benefit through the three mentioned dimensions.

Chapter 3: New economic situations

In this chapter, we will explore one of the dimensions of our informants' experiences of being on integration benefit and thereby also of their class journey, namely the radical changes in their economic situation. As we began interviewing our informants, it quickly became clear to us that many of them have a hard time managing their restricted economic situation. This was expressed in different degrees, ranging from experiencing not being able to afford food, to experiencing restrictions in their social life - which all stand in sharp contrast to their old life in Syria.

"It's hard because we're used to buying everything we know, in Syria."

Each family had different views on the ways in which integration benefit made them feel limited in their everyday lives. In the most extreme cases, our informants expressed not being able to provide for the most basic needs, such as food. When we asked Omar and Thamer about their families' activities in their leisure time, they responded in an annoyed tone:

“Omar: This is the point actually, because you jumped to the activities, but we are not thinking about activities right now.

Interviewer: What are you thinking about?

Thamer: About food actually at home. Because this is more important.

Omar: My card is 0 kr. We do not eat.” (Focus group, Roskilde men).

Their comments illustrate how integration benefit has an effect on some informants' ability to buy food for their families. Mansoor, upon arriving in Denmark, expressed experiencing poverty as a result of living on integration benefit: “[...] *we become poor people.*” (Focus group, Gribskov). Hamed too puts into words how integration benefit is not enough to cover his, his wife's and their five children's needs. He stated: “*We always try to find offers, from Netto, from Lidl, Kvickly, and still it's not enough. And groceries here are expensive.*” (Focus group, Gribskov). In fact, the majority of our informants spend a lot of time bargain hunting. Making ends meet requires insight into finding the cheapest goods since it is otherwise, as Omar's statement exemplifies, not possible to get through the month.

However, the majority of our informants rather found that the biggest consequence of their limited budget due to integration benefit is that it in some ways limits and restricts ability to do activities during their weekends and in their leisure time. The limited financial latitude that they experience

having on integration benefit limits their social lives and their ability to fill the void of time that they have on the weekends. Haitham expressed:

“Well, eh, it affects in this way: we of course have food on the table, but it limits our social life very much as we cannot really afford to visit anyone or have anyone visiting. Because the smallest expense, eh, makes it tight [...]” (Interview, Haitham & Nouf).

Adam also explained how he and his family spend most of their weekends at home: “[...] *then the children also get home, and then we just sit at home. We don't go out much.*” (Interview, Adam & Nala). He explained how he would like to break with this routine and take the family out, but the situation they are in does not allow him to do so. Instead, the family is stuck at home. Another informant, Tabina, describes her weekends in a similar manner. When asked whether they do any activities she simply replied: “*Well, this is totally precluded for us, we cannot afford it.*” (Interview, Jalil & Tabina).

Much like Haitham, Midhat also has to limit his social visits: “*Well, if we take these social visits, it was much nicer before the cut-downs in integration benefit because it costs money to get out [...]*” (Interview, Midhat & Ruba). Haitham and Nouf had a similar depiction of their weekends in relation to activities and leaving the house: “[...] *on Sundays we used to, if we had money, to go on trips or visit someone. Buy some stuff. If there is no money, we just stay at home.*” (Interview, Haitham & Nouf).

When being restricted to staying at home and the way in which our informants describe their weekends show that they experience being restricted in their social life. One of them is Thamer. When we talked with him in his home, he had his two friends Omar and Ahmad over. He explained that “[...] *most of the time, me and Ahmad [ed.] and Omar [ed.] like this. When we like, meet. Because you, you can't go anywhere or do any activities.*” (Focus group, Roskilde men). Some informants further explained how it can be difficult for them to invite people over. Omar later told us “*One cannot invite someone to your home.*” (ibid.).

Even though Omar asserts that one cannot invite people over, though Thamer has two friends visiting at the time of the interview, we find that this statement is to be seen as an expression of their inability

to invite people into their homes, aside from close friends, as they do not have the resources that these kinds of visits would require. The same understanding applies to statements from Haitham, who too explained that he only gets visits from his brothers (Interview, Haitham & Nouf). The restricted financial situations our informants are in, are thus experienced as an obstacle for them in trying to create and maintain a social network.

Transportation expenses showed to be especially limiting for our informants' interaction with the rest of society. They explained to us how expensive they found public transportation in Denmark to be, and that their lack of economic resources prevents them from going other places than the town in which they have been placed by Immigration Services (Focus group, Roskilde men). This, also prevents them from visiting family residing in other parts of Denmark, as Liza stated: "*I have two sisters in Jylland. I cannot visit them, I cannot afford it.*" (Focus group, Roskilde women).

These stories and statements from our informants serve to show how they find themselves being restricted in different aspects of their lives due to integration benefit.

However, we find it important to stress that some informants also told us stories of how they try to go out and do different activities that do not require any economic resources, such as going on trips to the forest and the beach, or going to the shopping mall without buying anything. Additionally, our informants still do not have the same social network in Denmark as in Syria and they lack knowledge about opportunities to do activities without money. These may be relevant factors that contribute to their experiences of having limited possibilities. Thus, not all informants solely sit at home and the fact that they are still new in Denmark should be taken into account. Nonetheless, their statements of feeling limited in relation to activities and social interaction outside the house, due to integration benefit, were a reoccurring theme, for which reason we chose to focus on this aspect of their experiences with living on integration benefit.

Our informants described their social lives as restricted and that they are not able to take part in social activities, to the same degree as many families in Denmark. This experienced restriction contrasts with the ways in which our informants speak about their lives in Syria: "*[...] we are bored, and our children are bored because we cannot afford to go on trips. Everything costs money. We were used to this in Syria, we were really well.*" (Focus group, Roskilde women). Haitham also compares his life in Denmark with his family's old life in Syria. He explained: "*[...] we could better afford that I*

could e.g. take the girls in the car, or the children and their mother in the car, and drive to Lebanon, to the mountains and experience a little change [...]” (Interview, Haitham & Nouf).

Many of our informants further expressed how they feel disgraced by their new lifestyles, partly because they are comparing themselves to the Danish society in which they live now and the standards of living, but also because of how their new lifestyles are perceived in Syria. As some of the Syrian women in Roskilde told us:

“Interviewer: Is everything in the living room from there [referring to the dump]?

Liza: Yes, yes.

Interviewer: it's nice though.

Talisha: But it is also used, you have to consider, when you are from [Syria], you are used to being rich and everything, and then you arrive and take from the streets. It hurts them. It really hurts them. Even though we are here, try to consider, if we had to go, it is really hard.

Liza: Sometimes, I get really sad, I get shy. I am ashamed of telling people how I obtained all my stuff, my furniture and my stuff. Because I live in a welfare society, Denmark, which is a developed rich country, and I go to the dump and get my stuff.

Maya: In my home country they say “oooh”

Liza: Yes, yes.” (Focus group, Roskilde women).

Getting one's furniture from the rubbish dump is definitely not something they would have done in Syria, and, as Maya's comment indicates: if their relatives in Syria knew, they would be looked down upon. Liza's statement shows that she also views this as shameful because she lives in a developed, rich country, where she presumes that no one has to obtain their furniture this way. Interestingly, however, even though Denmark is a rich country, recycling and reusing is not an unusual or shameful way for Danes to obtain their stuff (Thomsen, 2016 and TV2, 2016). The statement thus further indicates that Liza has not yet familiarized herself completely with Danish society or Danish ways of living as she compares her lifestyles with her own idea of how other people in Denmark live.

Furthermore, Liza finds her new lifestyle in Denmark different, as she is not used to wearing old clothes: “[...] I only have used clothes, I am not used to used clothing. It's for the first time, when I

arrived to Denmark, I'm wearing used clothes, so I miss go shopping for new clothing." (Focus group, Roskilde women). These statements further indicate that our informants come from a different economic and social position with different ways of living and acting than the one they find themselves being restricted to now. Following on from this, Thamer told us about the one time he invited his wife out for dinner but, because of the limited financial latitude, he could only afford to buy them a kebab:

"We went there, it's Turkish guy, he made this kebab sandwich, it's so, so disgusting you know, so disgusting, so I don't really eat it. I would never eat something like this, just 15 kr. I throw up actually." (Focus group, Roskilde men)

Whereas in Syria he would have taken his wife to fancy restaurants, he is now eating cheap fast food, something he would never eat in Syria (*ibid.*). His remark about throwing up can be seen both as his way of emphasising the demeaning manner of the situation, and as a way of distancing himself from it.

Mansoor too explained how he and the refugees he knows in the Municipality of Gribskov rely on old furniture dropped off at the local school. This is a situation he finds difficult because of his former lifestyle in Syria:

"Mansoor: Even though we're not used to it [getting old, used furniture that is being handed in], but what can we do? It's hard. We feel it is hard for us, but what can we do? It's hard because we're used to buying everything we know, in Syria." (Focus group, Gribskov men).

Hence, our informants find themselves in new economic situations to which they have difficulty relating, because of their old lifestyles in Syria.

Concluding remarks

By looking at our informants' stories and statements through the lens of class journey one can see how they experience living in different economic positions than they had in Syria. The extent to which integration benefit affects their lives is experienced to a different degree. While some

experience not being able to afford basic necessities, such as food, others mainly talked about how integration benefit affects their social life. Our informants expressed how they feel ashamed about their new economic position, because it induces a new lifestyle which stands in sharp contrast to how they lived in Syria. In Syria, they were able to buy what they needed, such as new clothing and furniture, whereas they now have to buy their stuff second hand or collect it from the dumpster.

In the next chapter, we will explore another dimension of how our informants experience living on integration benefit through the lens of class journey, namely their relationship to the surrounding society.

Chapter 4: Relationship to the surrounding society

As a means to understand how our informants experience living on integration benefit, we will in this chapter investigate another dimension of our informants' class journey, namely their relationship to the surrounding society. As we will show, this investigation will draw on Mauss' thoughts about reciprocal exchange, as this will help us unfold how our informants experience their relation to the surrounding society. We will elucidate how our informants' experiences indicate that this relationship can be seen as an unequal reciprocal relationship. As we will unfold, this is expressed when they explained how they experience lack of acknowledgement in relation to the internship arrangement, where they do not experience being recognised for the effort they put in, nor the resources they contribute with. This stands in strong opposition to the more self-reliant lives, with jobs, that they had in Syria. Additionally, the obligations and rules connected to the integration programme creates stress for our informants and is experienced as a restriction. As we will get further into, the last component, indicating this unequal relationship, probes how our informants experience being perceived by the surrounding society. Often, they experience being attributed the status of uncivilized, "desert-people" or free-loaders who are not recognized for their resources and great historical and cultural background.

We will firstly present the analytical frame for this chapter, by introducing Mauss' perspective on reciprocal exchange and how we find it useful in relation to our empirical findings.

Tensions and reciprocal exchange

During the interviews our informants expressed a lot of frustration and dissatisfaction with the integration programme that they have to attend in order to receive integration benefit. In particular, they criticized and complained about the obligations that they had to fulfil, where the requirement to attend internships was a consistent issue. Many of these complaints were pointed towards what can be termed a part of the state; the institutions that have made and enforce the integration programme and rules relating to it.

There will always, as a basic term, exist tensions between a state and its citizens (Villadsen, 2006: 10). Foucault presented and made famous the concept of 'governmentality' which focuses on the tensions between the state and its citizen (Foucault, 1991: 102-103). Governmentality essentially

looks at the “organised practices and techniques used to produce, care for and/or dominate individual subjects.” (Owens, 2009: 568). In other words, the state is seen as both controlling and caring, implying that the relationship between state and citizen, fundamentally, is neither negative nor positive, but both. When we refer to Foucault, it is not to make a Foucauldian analysis of our informants’ relationship to the state. It is merely to explicate that these tensions always exist. Instead, we will investigate these tensions from a reciprocal perspective. From this perspective, one can understand the relation and the tensions between state and citizens as exchanges of different values, such as rules, obligations, rights and services, through which the state is trying to control and care for its citizens.

Mauss developed the theory concerning reciprocal exchange, which he presented in his piece *The Gift* in 1950 (Mauss, 2002). Using extensive empirical examples from a variety of societies, drawing on data concerning Northwest Coast American Indians and Melanesians and Polynesians, Mauss discusses a system of exchange and obligations (*ibid.*: xiii). He proposes that when a gift is given there exists an obligation to return the gesture, creating a reciprocal exchange (*ibid.*: 11). In his perspective, universally, there exist three different kinds of obligations within reciprocal exchange: to give gifts, to receive gifts and to reciprocate the gifts (*ibid.*: 16-17). This gift can be both material, but can also consist of immaterial values such as services or honour (*ibid.*: 4 and 11). According to Mauss the gift is thus not just a transaction of material value from one person to another, but the gift-giver gives something of oneself, “*Hence it follows that to make a gift of something to someone is to make a present of some part of oneself.*” (*ibid.*: 16). He therefore regards these exchanges as a foundation for social relationships (*ibid.*: xix). Within these relationships and exchanges there is an element of power, as he phrases it: “*a power is present that forces gifts to be passed around, to be given, and returned.*” (*ibid.*: 55). With this follows the notion that to make a gift “*in turn will give the donors authority and power over the first donor, who has become the last recipient.*” (*ibid.*: 15). This points to the question of whether the exchange is experienced as equal: it can be felt to be equal, when what is being exchanged is considered to be of same value, however, it may be regarded unequal, if the transactions are perceived as having a different value (*ibid.*: xi).

Anthropologist Sofie Danneskiold-Samsøe uses Mauss’ ideas about reciprocal exchange when looking at the relationship between Iraqi refugees and the receiving society (Danneskiold-Samsøe, 2007). She proposes that the different integration measures can be seen as a part of the reciprocal

relationship between the refugees and the Danish welfare state (*ibid.*: 227). We will consequently draw on Danneskiold-Samsøe's understanding of reciprocal exchange, when trying to understand the complaints that our informants had and thereby unravel how they experience their reciprocal relationship to the state. However, as already mentioned, when we investigate this relationship, we will not solely look at our informants' relationship to the state, but we view this as a part of a greater experience of their relationship to the surrounding society. Indeed, a lot of our informants simultaneously explained how they experience being negatively portrayed and perceived in Denmark, as "desert-people" and free loaders. In their statements, our informants did not differentiate between their relationship with the state, the government, politicians and the media. Instead our informants' relationship to these different actors became a fused experience of a relationship to what we will term the surrounding society. We have therefore chosen to look at our informants' relationship with surrounding society, which entails all of these just mentioned actors.

"It feels as if we have become slaves"

Our informants expressed how they fled to Denmark with the dream of finding stability and peace, and possibilities of creating a better life without facing threats and exposure to death on a regular basis. After arriving in Denmark, desires of being financially independent from the state and having a job, as they were and had in Syria, were widely expressed during our fieldwork. Maya told us about her first meeting with a Danish municipality, which gave her hope for a peaceful, self-sufficient future in Denmark:

"When I came to Denmark, after three days I went to the municipality [unclear] and tell me: "Welcome to Denmark [unclear] you can find peace here in Denmark" because there is war in my home country and I think that maybe I will be happy [unclear] for my children and family. [unclear] [the municipality said] "you can go to language school, after you can get a job" and I said that it was really nice." (Focus group, Roskilde women).

Still after years in Denmark, the dream of getting a job and not being dependent on the Danish state remains a strong desire for her. Maya described her current situation: "*We think about how or when we will get a job because we want good salary and stop taking money from the municipality [...]*" (*ibid.*). After arriving in Denmark, they find themselves in a new position where they are dependent

on the state and have to fulfil various obligations through the integration programme in order to receive integration benefit.

As previously mentioned, the main components of the integration programme are Danish classes and internships. Many of the refugees that we interviewed during our fieldwork have experienced doing several internships, assigned to them by the municipality, with the anticipation of getting a job. However, none of the informants have acquired a job despite several successfully completed internships.

Mansoor explained how most refugees experience the internship initiative: “*And if we find an internship, we will wait on employer, maybe he will give us job, but maybe no. And most of them... Eh, most of them, will not give you a job.*” (Focus group, Gribskov). It was a general frustration amongst the refugees we met during our fieldwork, that they experience attending endless internships, assigned to them by the municipality but never getting a job. As Hamed stated: “*Only internship. Internship, internship, internship, internship. Not work.*” (ibid.). In Syria Mansoor worked as an accountant and Hamed worked in a pizzeria. Now they find themselves in positions where they put efforts into endless internships, without attaining a job, whereas in Syria they both had a job and earned their own salary.

Maya, a Syrian woman, who has been living in Denmark, close to Roskilde, for almost two years, with great hope of getting a job and starting work, has attended four internships without any prospects of a job. She stated:

“I have done four internships but I do not find work or hours [...] If one goes to a company or store and say “can I get a job?”, she says: “You can only get internship. Maybe after internship, if you work really well yes and if I’m very happy about your performance [...]”. Then you go to internship every day, fresh and working a lot.” (Focus group, Roskilde women).

But Maya frustratedly explained that she always gets the same answer: “*Thank you but I do not have any openings.*” even though she has worked hard and efficiently (Focus group, Roskilde women). This is not a unique experience amongst the refugees we interviewed. Liza’s husband, Omar, who

has been in Denmark the same amount of time as Maya, has done five internships and is getting started on his sixth, still with no luck of obtaining a paid job (*ibid.*).

Haitham experiences that he and other refugees:

“[...] are being sent to different companies for a three months internship period e.g. and then after the period is over, there is no work but the employer wants to extend the internship period with five months and then one thinks “what is this?”. For free he wants me as an employee but pay for me, he will not.” (Interview, Haitham & Nouf).

Ramas backed up this statement, when he said that he experiences feeling used by the system when an employer wants one to stay for another internship period, but is not willing to pay a salary:

“ [...] that means that he can use you, he is satisfied with my performance, but he will not pay me. I know a lot of people that have been in both six and nine months periods of internships and still, in the end they have not gotten anything, you get zero in your hand.” (Interview, Ramas & Miriam).

Like Ramas, Midhat shared his frustration towards the internship system:

“[...] it makes us sad and irritated, this stuff with the internship system. Because a lot of people get used for three or six months of interning and then we are getting sent away like a cloth, an old cloth, we cannot use you.” and rounded up by stating: “and it feels as if we have come here to become slaves.” (Interview, Midhat & Ruba).

Also Haitham, who fled to Denmark from Syria two years ago and who has been through numerous internships further expressed a lot of frustration:

“I am also tired of interning. Even if I get kicked out of the country, I will not do anymore internships. Well, when you’re interning, you kind of have limited hours and limited responsibility [...] but in the baker

where I was interning, he fired a baker to save hours and money, when I was interning [...] If I was a just as good baker, why the heck doesn't he want to pay me, right?" (Interview, Haitham & Nouf).

These statements illustrate that the initiatives, implemented to integrate refugees quickly into the Danish labour market, are experienced by our informants as exploitative. Through the integration programme the state is trying to prepare and engage the refugees to participate in society. However, instead of this our informants feel used as free labour, which causes a lot of resentment as they would like to find a job as soon as possible. The fact that they experience doing their internship tasks as expected, but never get hired as a proper employee once the internship is over, makes them feel as if they are being taken advantage of. Even though it is not the state's responsibility whether our informants get hired or not, it still strengthens their experience of being exploited, as they feel they are being kept in an exploitative system enforced by the state. When Midhat described himself as a slave and "*an old cloth*" it can indicate that he does not experience the system as acknowledging him and others as possible resources.

That being said, when our informants make these strong statements, they should be seen in light of the fact that they are still new to Denmark and are not used to these kinds of activation measures in Syria. This may imply that their knowledge about the Danish system and the use of different activation measures is still limited. They are therefore most likely not fully aware of the intention behind the internships, leading them to view the initiative with a lack of comprehension. Furthermore, since they still have not settled in and their future in Denmark can seem uncertain and unstable, it can enhance their frustration about their current situation. This might explain some of their strong statements about exploitation and the obvious and consistent resentment.

Still, resentment was obvious and consistent throughout the interviews. Grievances that come from the experience of being taken advantage of, when having to do one internship after another without them leading to a job.

As a continuation on this point, Haitham explained how he finds that the system itself also does not consider the internships as regular, proper employment:

"This [the internship system] just extends the tight economic situation, it just prolongs and prolongs. And furthermore, eh, there exists this rule

for this 225 hour ordinary work, a year, if you do not fulfil it. If you do not fulfil it, then there will be made even more cuts in your benefit and the internship doesn't count in these 225 hours. This makes it even more, eh, well people have even more resistance towards a job that is not taken into account in this rule." (Interview, Haitham & Nouf).

This serves as another example again highlighting the frustration of how the internship constellation is experienced as unjust because the effort they put into the internships is not recognised as a contribution. Our informants are at a loss to understand why their internships are not regarded as "real work". This again stands in contrast to their lives in Syria, where all our informants had a job and consequently earned a salary. From earning their own money in Syria, they now experience having to do internships, where they do not find any recognition for their efforts. They feel trapped as they try their best to work hard in their internships, but ultimately it is of no relevance as they feel that their efforts are not regarded as "enough" by the system.

As mentioned, the activation measures rest on some general, specific assumptions about how internships can be especially useful as a means to create a network for the unemployed and fast track them into the labour market. However, our informants do not experience this. Like many other unemployed groups in Denmark, our informants find the activation measures meaningless, as they do not experience the measures as useful and effective in their quest to find work.

In trying to meet the expectations set out for them, our informants find that the efforts they put into it ends up unrewarded, as they do not receive any appreciation in return. The experience of doing everything expected of them, but getting nothing in return, is expressed by Liza, when she explained: "*We do everything for society, for the municipality: we go to school, we go to internships, we really want to engage, but they are not helping us.*" (Focus group, Roskilde women).

Our informants further stressed the fact, that the internships that are forced upon them, feel meaningless partly due to the lack of future job opportunities, but also due to the lack of relevance in relation to them and their previous experience. Ramas stated:

"I do not understand the job centre's policy and form of government. We can see that e.g. people that have been driving busses for many years, are being send to supermarkets and people that have worked with

e.g. sailors are being sent to mechanics somewhere. And people that wants to be, be mechanics are being send to agricultural internships, so it seems very illogical, it doesn't make any sense. You feel very used, you feel like putting your feet down and say "I will not do my internship" even if you stop my integration benefit or what you will do, because it is so demeaning." (Interview, Ramas & Miriam).

Ramas' statement indicates that he does not consider the system to acknowledge the specific competences of each individual or take into account the contribution they can make, when assigning them an internship. Ramas' categorization of it as "demeaning" can indicate that he does not experience being acknowledged for what he can contribute with. Ramas proudly explained how he, in Syria, worked as a welder on ships, something that he would like to resume. He does not understand why he cannot continue this job in Denmark, and instead is faced with his experiences, skills and expertise being overlooked in favour of him being assigned an internship that does not mirror his competences.

The above has shown another dimension of our informants' class journey, when unfolding how our informants experience their reciprocal relationship to the surrounding society by looking closer at their experiences with one of the obligations within the integration programme: doing internships. This system is intentionally used to help refugees into the job market as well as to settle into society, however our informants experience the system as pointless and exploitative. Their reciprocal relationship to the surrounding society therefore seems to be experienced as unequal, which were expressed when they explained how they experience the internships as undertaking free labour which never leads to a real job and that they are not being recognised or acknowledge for their competences and the hard work they put into the internships.

In the following section, we will show how in addition to this, many of our informants found it very stressful to be on integration benefit due to the time consuming obligations that come with it. We see this as an extra dimension of what seems to be an unequal reciprocal relationship between our informants and the surrounding society.

“It’s a big prison”

As previously shown, living on integration benefit is not experienced as a dignifying situation. Rather, our informants experience it as a constant stress factor to be in the integration programme and being dependent on integration benefit.

In this regard, it should be noted that the informants’ experiences, should be understood in the light of their current situation: our informants are still settling into a new country, learning to navigate Danish society, acquiring a new language and familiarising themselves with another culture and norms. They are still orientating themselves in a completely new place and processing the fact that they had to flee their home country, Syria. The feeling of stress can thus not only be explained by living on integration benefit and the obligations set out for them, but should be seen in the context of the situation the newly arrived refugees live in.

Tabina, a Syrian refugee living in the Municipality of Frederikssund, stated: “*And it stresses a lot to get the family to function normally with such a tight situation, and at the same time comes the pressure from the job centre, from school, from the internship and so on.*” (Interview, Jalil & Tabina). Here she illustrates that it can be a stressful experience being in the “process of integration” and living in a welfare system that is trying to “*enable all immigrants to become equal members of society.*” (Olwig, 2012: 6) with different integration initiatives.

Some of our informants expressed how they find that the system and the treatment in Denmark is just as bad, if not worse, than in their war torn home country. Sulaima feels that the system is like torture: “*And then we arrived here, we like, they are torturing us too, right? [...] And all the time they are threatening us, you don’t attend school, we’ll withdraw you [...] We feel it like torture. It is so inhumane.*” (Focus group, Roskilde women). This statement further shows how the integration programme is being experienced as stressful. Sulaima additionally added:

“I am so tired, well, Monday and Tuesday I do internships, and Wednesday, Thursday and Friday I attend language school, but every Wednesday I always take a day off, I call in sick. I could not handle it, it is so hard, I am not used to working.” (Focus group, Roskilde women).

It shows how the integration initiatives, when structuring their time, are experienced as stressful, controlling and limiting in the sense of not being able to live and structure their lives as they wish. It is in stark contrast to Syria where she, as a stay-at-home mother, had more control over her own time. Maya further elaborated:

“Sometimes I feel like I am forgetting my family in Syria because I am thinking about a lot of things in Denmark. Sometimes 2-3 days go by where I do not talk to my family. They say “Why don’t you talk to me?”. I say “because I go to school, I go to kindergarten, and I do a lot of internships and I think about what I’m going to do after” I have forgotten my family.” and later added: “Everyday stress, stress, stress!”
(Focus group, Roskilde women).

Again, the way Maya emphasised how stressed she is, by bringing up an example of how she even forgets her own family, clearly underlines that she finds the integration programme overly demanding of her time. This adds an extra component in the reciprocal relationship: beside the feelings of being used and unrecognised, which the internship arrangement generates, our informants also experience that the authorities are controlling their time.

Ramas even described his current life in the Danish welfare state as a prison:

“It is difficult to call this life here a normal life because one’s time is programmed so you do not have time for anything else than what is planned. In other words, one feels as if you are in a prison where there are fixed routines that one has to follow. It is a big prison, and there exist these firm rules and these fixed routines that you cannot deviate from.” (Interview, Ramas & Miriam).

Much like Maya, Ramas experiences the integration programme as controlling. The state’s intervention in how he should spend his time, is clearly felt to be very commanding and claustrophobic.

Ramas’ statement should however also be seen in light of his background and how he lived his life in Syria. Before Ramas was forced to flee his country, he, as mentioned, worked as a welder on ships.

This entailed being away for longer periods of time, where he stayed on the ships repairing and welding. He described his previous life as very free, in the sense that he travelled a lot with work and has seen most of Europe (Interview, Ramas & Miriam). It can therefore also be argued that the fixed routines he now has to follow are felt all the more, as it stands in sharp contrast with how he used to live his life in Syria.

Our informants widely experience the integration programme as very stressful, as it controls their time and makes it difficult for them to plan their days as they wish, because of the already fixed schedule handed to them by the authorities. In Syria, they were more independent in terms of having a job and were not subjects to a fixed routine from the authorities. They now find themselves in positions, where they find the integration programme controlling and demanding of their lives and do not experience getting anything in return for their hard efforts in trying to follow the tight schedule.

Besides the experiences revolving around the internships and the internship programme, our informants also touched upon how they experience being presented and perceived by the surrounding society. They expressed how they experience being portrayed as a group coming to Denmark for social benefits and unwanted within Danish society. This adds yet another component in what seems to be an experienced unequal relationship to the surrounding society, which we will elucidate in the following.

“We’re coming from cities, we’re coming from history”

As mentioned, many of our informants, before arriving in Denmark, had resourceful positions and backgrounds with jobs and a good economy. However, in Denmark, they face a change that reaches beyond economic terms. They are viewed differently and they, thereby, have trouble maintaining their previous status as resourceful individuals, who contribute to society as equal citizens.

Several studies have pointed out that migrants often have different positions in their country of origin than the ones they obtain in the host society, and American studies have presumed that migration to wealthy countries automatically entails upward-going mobility (Pedersen, 2007: 196). As Pedersen writes, there is often the assumption that when refugees and immigrants have obtained a job, learned the Danish language, and got an apartment, they will automatically get a better life and higher standards of living (*ibid.*). This could very well be the case for our informants: they might get a job

soon and the experienced economic hardship would be over. However, according to Pedersen, while upward-going mobility might be happening in relation to the material and economic situations, a corresponding development might not be the case in relation to their social status in society (*ibid.*). Many refugees will have difficulties maintaining the status they held in their country of origin as they are being categorised as refugees in the receiving country (*ibid.*: 202).

As already explained, refugees are often portrayed as a threat to the Danish welfare system as they are seen as unwilling to work, thus putting an extra pressure on the social security system (Kristensen, 2016 and Birk, 2015). As mentioned, it is a common argument that refugees are only out for the Danish welfare state's social benefits and that letting them into the country is a risk, which threatens the social security system (Olwig & Pærregaard, 2007: 22). It follows from this, that refugees in today's Denmark can be argued to be coping with a negative image and often are, as mentioned, being viewed as a "*threat against 'Danishness'*" (Olwig, 2012: 5-8). Furthermore, as mentioned, refugees are often portrayed as greedy, freeloaders and criminals by the media, politicians and the public (Brandsen, 2016 and Pittelkow, 2016 and Ottesen, 2013 and Jørgensen, 2017).

When our informants are being ascribed the status of refugee, they are consequently placed in a low position in society that differs from the one they held in Syria. This was also voiced by our informants during the interviews, as they expressed how they find themselves being looked down upon and received as a burden. When our informants expressed how they experience being portrayed and perceived in a negative way, they talked about it relation to the surrounding society. When talking to our informants it seemed to us that, from their perspectives, there are no clear-cut lines between the role of the state and the government and how they are often portrayed in the media. Instead, as mentioned, these experiences can be regarded as being fused and part of an overall experience in their reciprocal relationship to the surrounding society, which influences their experiences of living on integration benefit.

Ramas explained to us how he experiences being viewed as of less worth in Denmark: "[...] *but it also about how people sees you, how people look at you, how you feel that you are a burden, or unwanted and so on [...]*" (Interview, Ramas & Miriam).

In general our informants were very aware of the ways in which they are portrayed in Denmark. This is exemplified in Tabina's quote:

"Additionally, you hear a lot, from the politicians, the parties, that it is the refugees who cost, refugees are this, refugees that, refugees, refugees, refugees. And then this sweet Minister of Integration, who celebrates the tightening no. 50 outspokenly, doesn't lift up your thoughts and self-esteem, because you actually feel as a strain, that you are less worth, that you are a freeloader, even though we actually didn't come here because we lacked food or drinks at home [unclear] we had our jobs, but the bombs started falling next to us, and life is worth more than money." (Interview, Jalil & Tabina).

As with Tabina, a lot of our informants wanted to explain that they did not fit the categorisation often made of them: freeloaders coming to take advantage of the Danish state. Many of them wanted to explicitly clarify that their lives in Syria were good lives and that they only fled because of the war. Thamer also showed great eagerness in wanting to show film clips and pictures from his hometown in Syria, because, as he said: "*I had a fancy life for me, high-style, but I'm running away from the war.*" (Focus group, Roskilde men).

Indeed, during our fieldwork, many of our informants wanted to show us pictures from war-torn Syria: bombed cities, mass graves, and pictures of the way it was before the war (Field notes). We were shown a 10 minute long film from Thamer's home city – an almost non-existent Aleppo. Thamer vividly explained and showed us where his brother was buried in the mass cemetery right next to his old house. He told us about one morning when he and his family were almost hit by a missile which luckily struck the next-door building. We could not help but think that showing us these film clips and pictures and divulging these stories were Thamer's way of convincing us, the interviewers, that he and his family did not have a choice but to flee, and that they did not come to Denmark for social benefits. We took this as one of many expressions of the fact that the Syrian refugees we met are very much aware of the general immigration and refugee debate in Denmark, and are desperate to escape this categorization.

This categorization, according to Thamer, entails being criminal or “desert” people:

“There is something, actually, really, really serious, and these people, in the government, they have to understand this: as long as they keep using this aggressive speech against us, no society, no society in the world will accept us. So, you don't say, those people are criminals, and you expect that those people they will be part of society. You cannot actually! You cannot, yourself, if you have a company, and you every day on the radio, every day, you listen on the radio, the people saying, in the government I mean, those Syrian people or refugees, or Muslims, they are criminals, we don't know, we don't expect what they will do. We don't know what's going to happen, we don't know what they will do, they are bad people, they should get back to Syria, they should get back to the desert. And then you expect the other company that they will hire us? You know?” (Focus group, Roskilde men).

When Thamer used the phrase “*they should go back to the desert*” we understand it as him referring to the way he experiences being perceived: as an uncivilized person from the desert. Several times before we started the interview, he asked while joking: “*How do you even dare to come and interview us in our house? Aren't you afraid to be alone with us: people from the desert with barbarous manners?*” (Field notes). We interpret this as a reference to the way in which refugees find that they are being ascribed the status of criminals, freeloaders and uncivilized people by the surrounding society. This is a clear degradation of the social status previously held in his country of origin where he had a “fancy” and “high-style” life as a citizen who could contribute to society with his many resources.

Omar and Thamer reflected on the reasons for them being viewed this way:

“Omar: [...] they think that we don't like to work or we don't love to work. Sitting at home is affecting us. In other words it kills, it kills actually, it kills us actually. It kills us so much staying at home, because, he used to work, he has his business, he has work, he had life. And they thought that we are here just to come and sit and take free money.

Thamer: Exactly, this we all agree about, that we are, this is the result of the old experience with the old people they arrived here before. And we know how they are dealing actually. The old people.

Interviewers: The old immigrants?

Thamer: We know that they are bad.” (Focus group, Roskilde men).

Omar and Thamer’s statements display how they find themselves being judged and categorised on the basis of wrong assumptions about refugees. Assumptions that are based on experiences with immigrants coming to Denmark many years ago who, according to Thamer, only sit around and take “free money.”

Furthermore, they experience not being recognised or respected for their background as Syrians, a country with rich history and culture. Thamer told us about his country and his people:

“Thamer: Because they are afraid. 5 years, 5 years and they will have no job to work actually, 5 years we'll take all the professions and I'm sure about this. The best traders, merchandisers all over the world are from Damascus. One of the best people that they work in like handicraft, but not like the others. We're coming from cities, we're coming from history, we had a country, you know? We had a country, one of the richest country all over the Arab world. Once I had like a small introduction, or lecture about Syria, it took me two hours to finish, it was in the højskole. I could be able to get some information from the wikipedia, but it was old information, so it's not really... It was difficult to retrieve it at that time, and I guess those information not still available right now. Like what we produce of cotton, what we produce of wheat, what we produce of petrol, that we have 4500 cities and historical locations, old historical locations, 4500. We have, we are the third producing cotton comparing the quality, the quantity to the land.

Interviewer: Ok.

Thamer: The first for olive and olive oil in the Arab world, 19 million trees of olive, 93 million animals in Syria, like cows and sheep, 1 million barrels of petrol Syria can produce every day, gas still not used at all [...]” (Focus group, Roskilde men).

In this quote, Thamer positions himself and other Syrians in what Pedersen terms the ‘global cultural hierarchy’ (2007: 201, our translation), in which Syrians are at the top of the hierarchy because of their great historical and cultural background. He further positions Syrians in relation to the “old immigrants”, whose jobs and businesses the Syrians will take over within the next five years. We take this as a way of convincing us that they are not the freeloaders and “desert people” that they are being portrayed to be. Rather, they are resourceful people with a great historical and civilized background who contain great cultural capital. In other words, our informants experience trouble maintaining their previous statuses and not being recognised for their resourceful background.

After having finished the interview with Omar, Ahmad and Thamer, they asked if we wanted to watch a Syrian TV-show with them, to which we said yes. The TV-show displayed the lives of the Syrian people in ancient Syria. As we do not understand Arabic, Thamer translated the dialogs to us whilst telling us stories about Syria’s history and development – a country full of life, shops, and culture (Field notes). We perceive this as another way for Omar, Ahmad and Thamer to demonstrate the great backgrounds they are from and what a great cultural capital they carry with them.

As mentioned, Danneskiold-Samsøe discusses a similar matter, when she investigates how Iraqi refugees, who have been exposed to torture and organized violence, experience their reciprocal relationship with the Danish authorities and society (Olwig & Pærregaard, 2007: 29). In her work Danneskiold-Samsøe displays how Iraqi refugees, in their reciprocal relation with the state authorities, portray their suffering and in return get treatment for their trauma and social help. In some instances, the Iraqi refugees found this reciprocal exchange as equal, when they felt that their suffering was being recognized. However, in situations where they felt that their distress was neglected, and not being ascribed the recognition and respect that they felt they deserved, they experienced the exchange as unequal (Danneskiold-Samsøe, 2007: 219).

Although Danneskiold-Samsøe’s study differs from our research in many aspects, both studies are describing how refugees enter into a reciprocal relationship with Danish society, when arriving in the country. However, this relationship is experienced differently by the two groups studied. Whereas Danneskiold-Samsøe found that her informants in some instances found acknowledgement for their suffering from the authorities, by receiving care and rights to benefits, our informants did not express great appreciation about their situation. Instead they find themselves not being acknowledged and recognised for their background and skills and have difficulties gaining a job.

Yet, when Danneskiold-Samsøe describes how the Iraqi refugees experience a lack of recognition, when their suffering is being reduced and not given the attention they call for, it corresponds with the lack of recognition our informants experience. Whilst it amounts to an ambivalent feeling in the Iraqi refugees Danneskiold-Samsøe follows, our informants' feelings toward the surrounding society is very much overshadowed by their dissatisfaction with internship system as well as experiences of negative portrayal.

By looking at our informants' statements and stories through the lens of class journey, one can see that they experience having taken a different social position and status in Denmark than the one they held in Syria.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has unravelled another aspect of our informants' class journey, by showing how they find themselves in new positions when looking at their relationship to the surrounding society. We have shown how many of our informants' experiences suggest that they find themselves in an unequal reciprocal relationship with the surrounding society. This was expressed in different ways, but it mainly concerned the three topics: internships, the integration programme's tight schedule and how they experience being wrongly portrayed and perceived by the surrounding society.

Firstly, as we explained, our informants mentioned how they feel exploited and lack recognition for their resources and individual skills when doing endless, meaningless internships that never lead to a salaried job. Secondly, the many obligations and rules associated with the integration programme stress our informants and make them experience their everyday lives as restricted. Lastly, we have shown how our informants experience being viewed and categorized as freeloaders trying to take advantage of the Danish welfare system. They expressed how they experience not being acknowledged for their great cultural and historical capital and resources that they bring with them, but are rather viewed as uncivilized "desert people". This dimension of their experiences in Denmark contributes to their experiences of living on integration benefit as, one can argue that, the surrounding society's acceptance and acknowledgement can play a role to which degree our informants experience life on integration benefit as difficult. One can question whether our informants would experience life on integration benefit just as hard if they experienced to be acknowledged and recognised as citizens that could contribute to society and people with many resources.

In the next chapter, we will investigate another dimension of our informants' experiences living on integration benefit and of their class journey; namely their family relations, both between husband and wife and the relationship between parents and children.

Chapter 5: Family relations

As we have just seen, our informants regard their arrival to Denmark as a big transformation. Following the integration programme and complying with the obligations it sets out seems to be challenging for the families we encountered. Additionally, finding themselves in these new positions with very limited economic resources proves to have a big effect on their family relations.

In the following chapter, we will explore this as a third dimension of our informants' experienced class journey. It shows how their family relations are affected by moving to Denmark and living off integration benefit. As we shall explain, their previously held gender roles are being challenged, as our male informants find it difficult to live up to their previously held role in the family, that of the breadwinner. Furthermore, this dimension displays how the parents' and children's 'intergenerational relationship' is being challenged, as our informants experience an inability to fulfil their children's needs due to a lack of economic resources.

“Isn’t he the man of the house?”

When talking to our informants, it became clear that the limited economic latitude affects the men's ability to meet the expectation of being a “real man”. Tabina illustrated this during the interview:

“It’s also, I think the worst effect of these economic cutbacks is the psychological effect, because, we come from a society where it is the man who provides the money to live, often, in most homes, well our home was probably not so traditional, but most homes were like that: that it is the man, who has a job [...] and provides the money, the home, the family, right? And here is a man, that doesn’t feel like a real man, because he stands there and his wife contributes just as much to the household as him, which denies him the responsibility, denies him that pride.” (Interview, Tabina & Jalil).

In Tabina's statement, the gender roles within the family are highlighted when living on a tight budget: the men struggle to provide for their families, and the fact that women and men receive the same amount of money in their account further challenges the previously observed gender roles they had in Syria. Seen through Tabina's eyes, moving to Denmark led to an imbalance in many Syrian

refugees' marriages. As she phrases it, the husbands can no longer be "real men", which serves as an important aspect of their class journey. However, it is worth noticing that Tabina does not characterize her and her husband, Jalil's, relationship as what she defines as a "typical" Syrian marriage in regards to the gender roles. Tabina has, as the only one of our female informants, worked in Syria whilst being a mother and while Jalil worked too. Nonetheless, as Tabina believes, in most Syrian refugee families, the man's role as the provider will be affected by living on integration benefit. Indeed, this was voiced several times by our other informants.

We found it interesting that the idea of a "real man" came into play, both implicitly and explicitly, several times during interviews with our informants about their lives on integration benefit. This dimension will be explored through the concepts of 'gender' and 'masculinity' throughout the first part of the chapter.

Theoretically, we will refer to gender as something individuals "do", consequently drawing on the thoughts of sociologists Candace West & Don H. Zimmerman, Michael Kimmel and the ideas Judith Butler presents in her book '*Gender Trouble*' from 1990 (West & Zimmerman, 1987: 126 and Butler, 2010 and Kimmel, 2005). From this theoretical perspective, there is no answer to what a "real man" is. However, gender identity can be seen as being in "*a constant process, always being reinvented and rearticulated in every setting, micro and macro.*" (Kimmel et. al, 2005: 7). We will draw on West and Zimmerman's idea of the concept of gender as an interactional concept, i.e. something that is constructed in the interplay between people (*ibid.*). In line with this, we will take departure in Butler's account of gender as "*a relation among socially constituted subjects in specifiable contexts. This relational or contextual point of view suggests that what the person "is," and, indeed, what gender "is," is always relative to the constructed relations in which it is determined.*" (Butler, 2010: 14). In other words, we understand gender as something that is shifting and changing in different contexts and view the term according to the meaning ascribed to it instead of as a fixed characteristic. Thereby, we regard gender as a relational, situational and performative concept that very much depends on the social surroundings and structures. We place ourselves and this thesis in the context of recent tendencies within gender studies, viewing gender as something that is being "performed" or "done" instead of a static and innate matter of course (Butler, 2010 and West & Zimmerman, 1987). Based on this, we will consider how gender is being negotiated, how it is "done" or performed, and which values our informants ascribe to being a "real man" and a woman respectively.

Our informant Ramas' description of the feeling of not being able to provide for his wife indicates that he shares Tabina's perception of a "real man". Being the breadwinner of the family is regarded by Ramas as his job. In the following, he explains his feelings about his inability to live up to this understanding of being a "real man": "*It is not comfortable when one cannot provide something for your wife that she needs, and that's what hurts.*" (Interview, Ramas & Miriam).

Ramas interprets the gender role of the man – and therefore also of himself – as being provider of the family. Ramas expressed how his gender role is being challenged when living on integration benefit because he can no longer live up to the expectations of being the breadwinner of the house as he could when living in Syria. Ramas' wife Miriam, too, believes that the husband should provide for the family. Despite it being said in a joking manner, it is clear that she has some expectations of her husband:

"I don't get a penny from him, isn't he the man of the house? When we were in Syria, he was generous, he gave me money and bought me things that I wanted. Today, since we arrived here, I get nothing."

(ibid.).

The last part of Miriam's sentence points to a feeling of discontent with the way in which her husband no longer lives up to being "*the man of the house*". Miriam's quote exhibits very specific expectations of her husband. It further points to the interesting aspect that, even though the couple find themselves in a new country and in new positions with limited resources, the expectations towards Ramas have not changed. The expectations still exist in these new surroundings, and they cause frustration among our informants.

Miriam struggles to understand the fact that her husband no longer has the ability to be economically generous to her after arriving in Denmark. When Ramas heard Miriam's complaint, he replied: "[...] *she thinks it's still the man that holds the responsibility of all the expenses and that everything entering her account, should be just for her, that she can save up.*" (ibid.).

As with Ramas, Thamer finds it very difficult not being able to accommodate his wife's needs and wants. This is expressed when he exemplified how he cannot take her out for a coffee:

“For example I have never invited my wife for a cup of coffee outside. Just a cup of coffee, you know? Never! Since she came here. Once she just wanted to go to a restaurant and she told me: I need to go to a restaurant!” (Focus group, Roskilde men).

Thamer’s statement further serves as an example of the women’s expectations of their husbands. Thamer told us this story and depicted how his wife had said it to him in a very discontented tone to show us how he experienced her great frustration of him not being able to invite her to a restaurant. When we talked to his wife Sulaima, she described how she misses her husband’s generosity and ability to take the family out. Sulaima looks back on their old life in Syria, and how “spoiled” she was:

“And then every Friday we went to restaurants and amusement parks, a lot of stuff, we were very, as women, we were very spoiled. We, we, we did not go to work, our husbands supported us, we were very... Our only responsibility was at home. Take care of the children and cooking, go shopping with friends and then on Fridays the entire family go out together on trips.” (Focus group, Roskilde women).

In Syria, her husband was able to uphold and secure the family so that Sulaima could sustain the household. In saying this, she explained the distribution of roles that they are used to, between husband and wife, which goes for the majority of our informants: the wife takes care of the household and the husband works. It is clear that Sulaima longs for how the roles between her and her husband were divided and upheld before, in Syria. Since they arrived in Denmark these gender roles have been challenged: living on integration benefit does not give her husband the opportunity to spoil her, and further complying with the integration programme makes it difficult for Sulaima to live up to her responsibility of taking care of the household.

Almost all of our informants indicated that the husband provided the income of the family in Syria, and that the economy was, and still is, his responsibility. This also became clear during many of the interviews when the women could not give an insight into the family’s economy because they simply did not have knowledge of this area. As Liza explained: *“Everything concerning the economy, we do not think about it, because they’ve been well, it is the men who have the responsibility of such things.”*

(Focus group, Roskilde women). This, again, emphasises that the economy is considered to be the husband's domain. That being said, it is important to mention that all our informants, both men and women, faced confusion and disorientation concerning their monthly payment. They all found it difficult to navigate in the many changing rules that dictate their monthly payouts, as well as the technical part, such as NemID and borger.dk, that they had not yet familiarised themselves with.

When looking at the way in which the women expressed their expectations towards their husbands and how the men talked about what they have to live up to, it paints a picture of the man's gender role as being the provider and breadwinner of the family. During the interviews, the women showed clear expectations towards their husbands being both the ones in charge of the family's economy and main income producers. This role was reaffirmed by the husbands who described their responsibility to take care of the family financially, and make sure that the family gets what it needs. However, the economically restricted situation in which they find themselves challenges the men's ability to live up to the wives' – and their own – expectations. Ultimately, this creates frustration and despondency, and affects the family's relationship.

The statements from our informants, thus, show that integration benefit, in some ways, hinders the men from fulfilling their role as "real men" as they cannot provide the necessities that are expected from them, thereby affecting the previously held gender and family roles they had in Syria. The men's roles, that they held in Syria, are being jeopardised in their new setting. The transition from living in Syria to living in Denmark on integration benefit is putting their roles as "real men" at stake.

In the following section, we will further examine this dimension of our informants' class journey, when we will take a closer look at masculinity and elaborate on the gender roles that are being challenged.

Failed masculinity and altered gender roles

Like gender identity, the concept of masculinity is, in this thesis, viewed as a term defined by social surroundings. According to sociologist Michael Kimmel, masculinity is a "*constant changing collection of norms and meanings embedded in gender relations between men and women and among men*" (as cited in Vazques del Aguila et. al., 2013: 65). What masculinity implies and means, thus, depends on the social context. As anthropologist Ernesto Vasquez Del Aguila states:

“In every society there is hierarchy of masculinities with versions of being a man that are encouraged and others that are forbidden. Masculinity varies across time and cultures, and also different versions of masculinity can coexist within the same group.” (Vazques del Aguila et. al., 2013: 65).

When looking at how our informants expressed the norms and meanings between them, it indicates that masculinity to them is very closely related to being the income provider, and ensuring that the family can get by. This is the role that the men strive to fulfil, but have trouble living up to after arriving in Denmark where they no longer possess the same economic surplus. Another word for this depiction of the ideal image of being a man, in certain settings, is what Vasquez Del Aguila terms ‘hegemonic masculinity’ (ibid.: 66). The hegemonic masculinity in this context, which is both what our male informants are striving to achieve, and what the women expect of them, should be seen as what both groups define as the independent breadwinner of the family.

Anthropologist Nauja Kleist has conducted similar research into gender relations within the Somali diaspora. She found that to some Somali men “*the marginalized position in the labour market and meeting with the welfare system*” (Kleist, 2002: 36, our translation) plays a part in their frustrations about the changed gender and family roles in the new country. When both the women and men received a small bankbook to which they have their money transferred every month from the municipality, the providers’ – the male “family chief’s” – power position disappears. This, in some instances, results in a feeling that the “*Danish welfare state is threatening family life*” (ibid., our translation).

This resonates well with how our informants, both women and men, find that the men can no longer live up to the hegemonic masculinity, i.e., being the provider, as well as the effect that the equal distribution of benefits between husband and wife can have in our informants’ families. However, whereas Kleist argues that it is mainly due to the unequal treatment of men and women by the municipality, where in many instances women are favoured, our findings display another case. Instead, it is the low stipend that they receive on integration benefit, that restricts the man from taking care of the family as he was accustomed to.

In Denmark, it is expected that both men and women take part in the integration programme and are equally active in their quest of getting into the labour market. Sulaima considers this to be very challenging. She still has to keep up with the household, but, in addition to this, she now also has obligations to fulfil in order to contribute to the tight economy. Sulaima explained to us that she finds this difficult:

“I couldn’t take it, it is so hard, I’m not used to go to work, now, here in Denmark, it is double work, because outside and then inside, because in Syria we are only used to work at home. It is very hard.” (Focus group, Roskilde women).

Liza, too, finds that the new life in Denmark brings new obligations and responsibilities to her as a wife - obligations that she did not have in Syria:

“We didn’t have that much, well, we did not have to consider money when we were in Syria, we have a lot of stuff to do here, we are used to having our husbands taking care of everything, think about us at home and think about children, be well.” (Focus group, Roskilde women).

It is, thus, not only the men’s gender roles that are being challenged, but also in some aspects the women’s. The women feel pressured when trying to fulfil their role as wives, taking care of the household whilst participating in the integration programme and searching for a job.

This section has shown another dimension of the class journey, when exploring how living on integration benefit affects the relationship between husband and wife, as they experience difficulties living up to their previous gender roles. By drawing on the concepts of gender and masculinity, the chapter displays how our male informants face difficulties when attempting to live up to being and acting as a “real man” which, in this context, entails the ability to provide for one’s family. In their new economic position, they can no longer uphold the role of being the breadwinner of the family. Furthermore, the chapter illustrates how the new setting of living in the welfare state of Denmark, in which both men and women are distributed the same amount of money and expected to work the same amount of time, challenges the previously held gender roles.

“Our primary concern is the children”

As mentioned, we will now look into another dimension of our informants’ class journey regarding their family relations, namely the relationship between parents and children.

It is not only the relationship between husband and wife that is affected by the new conditions in Denmark. A major concern to our informants, expressed during the interviews, was their children whom they mentioned a lot. They explained how their children were the main reason for fleeing Syria, as they wanted to give them a brighter future. However, they also expressed a high concern for their children’s lives in Denmark. They all struggle in trying to meet their children’s needs.

In their book, *Generations in Africa: connections and conflicts*, Susan Reynolds Whyte, Erdmute Alber, and Sjaak van der Geest touch upon this matter of intergenerational relationship. They state that: “*The most important quality of intergenerational relationships is reciprocity. By this we mean a sense of mutual dependence expressed in give and take over time.*” (Whyte et al., 2008: 6). They use the notion of reciprocity to capture both the exchange and transfer of resources as well as reciprocal manifestations of care and respect (*ibid.*). Whyte et al. further argue that there exists a moral obligation, in what they term the ‘intergenerational contract’. This contract is the “*implicit expectation that parents will care for their children until they can care for themselves*” (*ibid.*: 7).

When looking at how our informants regard living on integration benefit, and the way this influences their relationship to the children, the intergenerational relationship becomes a relevant aspect. The flow of resources, or the lack thereof, from parents to children plays an important role in their relationship.

All of our informants expressed a feeling of being insufficient for their children, as they can no longer provide the necessary resources. Jalil and Tabina have four children: Reem, 18 years old; Karim, 16 years old; Bushra, 13 years old and Zaki, aged 12. Jalil expressed how he considered the children to be the ones most affected by their challenging economic situation (Interview, Jalil & Tabina). Tabina exemplifies this when explaining how she and Jalil found themselves compelled to let their oldest son Karim stay at home and not join his classmates on a school trip to the Netherlands (*ibid.*). Tabina is in no doubt that it affects the children when they experience their limited opportunities. Jalil expressed his concern for their children during the interview:

“Then they start to be bored, then they start to play tricks. If the economy is tight, so they cannot get that, they cannot get this, they cannot get this, there will always be someone who will take advantage and say, “hey, you just have to sell 50 gr. of hash” or something like this, steal from the supermarket, or something like this, right? Then you’ll get money. And this is the diseases of society, which can have a much bigger effect than just cutting the benefit a couple of thousands a month.” (Interview, Jalil & Tabina).

As an effect of not being able to provide the necessary resources for his children, Jalil is afraid that they will enter a dangerous criminal path in trying to support themselves economically. Since he is no longer able to uphold some aspects of the intergenerational contract and care for his children economically, he is worried about their future. There exists an imbalance in the reciprocal relationship, which he expresses as an inability to live up to his parental role as a father.

Jalil also explained how the obligations from the municipality limit his time with his children. Because of his internship, he has to work during weekends which affects the time he usually spends with them. His son asked him: *“Dad, when can I see you?”* (Interview, Jalil & Tabina). Because the integration programme controls Jalil’s time, he is missing out on social time with his children.

Like Jalil and Tabina, Haitham too explains the embarrassment he feels when not being able to live up to the parental role that he strives for. Even the smallest things he cannot provide for his children: *“And it is also embarrassing to go into a supermarket and one’s child points at some small things, that you cannot [buy], and one can only say no no no.”* (Interview, Haitham & Nouf). This has resulted in Haitham having the children stay at home whenever he goes shopping. He simply does not dare to take them with him, out of fear of ending up in exactly this situation.

The limitation of having to keep the children at home reoccurred in several interviews. Our informants talked about how their financial situation often hindered them from sending their children to social activities. When asked if there were any activities that they could not attend due to economic reasons, Haitham referred to the children’s needs and expressed that he, as a parent, is not capable of fulfilling these.

It shows how the intergenerational contract, his and his wife's responsibility for their children, is challenged when they are not able to send their children to leisure activities. Haitham explained:

"So... It's mostly the children, because we grown-ups we have [unclear] as our responsibility to focus on the children and the house [...] but it is mostly the children's desire or needs for activities."

(Interview, Haitham & Nouf).

Furthermore, Midhat and Ruba experienced an inability to send their children to birthday parties with gifts or being nicely clothed (Interview, Midhat & Ruba). Thamer also explained the pain of not being able to provide the clothes that his children desire in order to not feel different from their classmates, and, also, not being able to provide the children's Halloween costumes:

"[...] And they are not like the same other kids in school, they don't wear like nice or clean clothes, not about clean actually, nice, for example clothes or new clothes or whatever, you know? [...] when they, for example, like when they have this party where they wear..."

Interviewer: Fastelavn?

Thamer: I don't know, they wear like Spiderman and Superman and..

Interviewer: Halloween?

Thamer: Something like this. We cannot buy something like this for our kids. It's something that really hurts. And you cannot say for the boys: I cannot buy. So, this will remain in his head, his brain, so we're trying, actually, to separate it away, but as much as we try, but the, I mean [...] the problems are very difficult and very big, and this suffering is, we cannot hide it all, you know? We cannot control it all, we cannot control everything actually, we're trying to control, but we cannot." (Focus group, Roskilde men).

The last part indicates that he is trying to stay in the role of a father, with a surplus of mental energy to care for his children, but that it is challenging for him. He expresses a feeling of not being in control, which from Whyte et al.'s perspective can indicate a break with his moral obligations of the intergenerational contract. It is clear that he finds his situation troublesome, and, at times, impossible to manage. The desperation and frustration in his voice were very apparent when we talked to him.

In the statement, he expresses that he is no longer in control of the situation and cannot make sure that his children will grow up without any deprivation or a feeling of being different from their friends.

Our interpreter in the focus group interview in Gribskov, Mazaa, worked as a teacher in a reception class for refugee children. During the interview, he presented his view on the consequences of integration benefit in relation to the children and their interaction with their classmates:

“Mazaa: Their reactions, it is different from one and another, so I can see that some children get angry and some get reserved. And they do not want friends, Danish friends.

Interviewer: Mm, okay.

Mazaa: I know a girl, who didn’t want Danish friend and I sat with her several times and said to her: “why don’t you want Danish friends?” In the end she say to me: “eh, I get annoyed if I get invited to a birthday party and I do not have any present with me [...]”” (Focus group, Gribskov).

Mazaa’s statement illustrates how the parents’ limited budget affects their children’s ability to attend social gatherings on equal terms with their classmates, which, in his example, consequently makes this girl withdraw from social interactions.

Midhat and Ruba, Jalil and Tabina, and Thamer’s examples illustrate that, as parents on integration benefit, their economic situation in some instances limits them in letting their children socialise with their classmates.

Whyte et al. mention that the flow of material resources is not the only defining factor in the intergenerational relationship, other resources such as social contacts are also important (Whyte et al., 2008: 6). Our informants expressed that the integration benefit in some instances affects their ability to let their children socialise with other children, thus limiting their access to social contacts. The parents are struggling to sustain both the material flow and the flow of social contacts that are important in the intergenerational relationship. However, it is important to mention other factors in our informants’ lives play a role here. Refugees are often challenged in helping their children decode

the receiving society in terms of customs, culture and rules, something that would have come naturally in their home country. It is, thus, not just a matter of economic resources, but other factors further play a part in the reciprocal relationship between parents and children, such as the parents' knowledge about the receiving society and their ability to navigate within it.

Mazaa told us that:

“[...] the children are beginning to understand that their parents cannot make anything for them. And that is not good. When a child loses its, eh, relationship to the parents: that my parent can always come with something for me, but they think that their parent cannot provide for them.” (Focus group, Gribskov).

In this quote, Mazaa speaks into the very core of the reciprocal relationship between parents and children, as well as the moral obligation that parents have of providing the necessities for their children. This is an obligation that our informants do not feel that they are able to fulfil in the same way as they could before.

Ramas expressed sorrow about the situation in which he finds himself:

“As you know, for me, I am a man, nobody notice what I am wearing, I can get stuff from any place, secondhand shop or whatever. But it is, it is not nice, when you cannot procure the stuff for your children, that they wish. It is not nice when you cannot procure something for your wife, that she needs, and that is the thing that hurts.” (Interview, Ramas & Miriam).

In this statement, Ramas' feelings are clearly displayed: it hurts him when he cannot support his children. Not only is his role as a “real man” challenged. He also finds his role as a father difficult to live up to. His statement indicates a feeling of not being able to live up to his moral onus.

This being said, it is important to stress that our informants also emphasised on how their children receive a good treatment in Denmark. As Sulaima stated:

“But here in Denmark they knew how he was feeling in Syria, so we have had a children’s therapist working with him. We are happy, they pay attention. In this way, it is good. However, on the other hand, when we think about the economy, they are treating us so terrible.” (Focus group, Roskilde women).

Our informants are thus satisfied with the treatment they receive for their children, services they would not have enjoyed in Syria. It is thus mainly in relation to the economic resources that our informants feel inadequate to live up to their role as parents and provide for their children.

In sum, our informants experience a loss of ability to give their children what they need and some aspects of the reciprocal relationship is challenged. This means that they are no longer able to transmit the same sort of resources to their children that they had previously been able to. They experience a shift in their role as parents: before they were able to fulfil their children’s needs, but now they are struggling, which serves as another dimension of our informants’ class journey.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has explored the third dimension of our informants’ class journey by looking at how living on integration benefit affects family relations. Our first focus was on the relationship between husband and wife, followed by the relationship between parents and children.

This chapter has displayed how marital relations between husband and wife are being challenged in their new economic position living on integration benefit. The relatively low integration benefit hinders the husbands from living up to their role of what is characterised as a “real man”: being the main earner of the family and supporting the family economically. Living on a tight budget makes it difficult for them to provide the necessities that are expected of them, and they experience not being able to live up to the hegemonic masculinity. Additionally, living in Danish society, in which both husband and wife are obligated to work the same amount in order to receive the same sum on integration benefit, proved, in some situations, to alter the previously held gender roles in the families. Furthermore, the chapter shows how being on integration benefit affects the relationship between parents and children as the parents are struggling to fulfil their children’s needs. Thus, in some situations, integration benefit challenges the intergenerational relationship between parents and children, as the parents are not able to fulfil the moral obligations of transmitting resources to their children, in the same way as they were able to in Syria

Chapter 6: Conclusion and reflections

Conclusion

This thesis concerns itself with the highly debated and discussed issues of refugees, migration and poverty, when exploring how Syrian refugees experience living on integration benefit. It is rare that the perspective of refugees, on this much discussed benefit, see's the light, which is what this thesis has aimed to provide.

This thesis has taken its point of departure in interviews with Syrian refugees and sets out to answer the research question: *how do Syrian refugees experience living on integration benefit?* We have explored this through the analytical concept of class journey, which, as we have shown, functions as the frame for the analysis. The concept of class journey refers to the complex and contrasting processes that can take place when people migrate and move from one environment to another. These processes can be both social and geographical and be affected by both age, gender and the historical period. Through this lens, we have explored three dimensions of our informants' class journey, namely their new economic situation and position, their relationship to the surrounding society and their family relations. As we have argued, all these three dimensions together provide an insight into how they experience living on integration benefit.

The study has revealed how Syrian refugees experience economic hardship, when living on integration benefit, which stands in stark contrast to their lives in Syria before the war, where they did not live on a tight budget, but had a good economy and better economic position. They thus find themselves in different economic positions after arriving in Denmark. However, the degree to which they experience economic difficulties is different: some experience not being able to buy basic necessities, whilst for others they experience an inability to do activities, go on trips, buy new clothes and furniture and invite people over. Thus, we found that they experience economic hardship and a change in their lifestyles because of their financial situation, contrasting with their lives in Syria.

Following on from this, we have showed that our informants experience being in another position when being dependent on integration benefit and having to apply to the rules connected to it. This, together with their experience of being wrongly portrayed and perceived by the surrounding society, caused a lot of tensions and frustration. We have therefore argued that they experience a different

relationship to the surrounding society than they have been used to in their home country, which further serves as a dimension of their class journey. By looking at our informants' statements through the lens of Mauss' ideas on reciprocity, we found that our informants seem to be in a uneven reciprocal relationship with the surrounding society. This was voiced in regard to three different issues. Firstly, they experience being exploited and taken advantage of when doing numerous internships, as a part of the integration programme, that they feel are leading nowhere. They do not experience being acknowledged or recognised as persons that can contribute to the labour market or society, which is also experienced when they are being assigned internships that do not match their professional backgrounds. Secondly, they experience being restricted and stressed by the different rules connected to the integration programme and the tight schedule this sets forth. Thirdly, our informants experience being viewed and portrayed negatively by surrounding society. In Denmark they do not feel that their great historical and cultural background is acknowledged. Rather, they experience being seen as criminals, freeloaders, "desert-people" and a burden by the surrounding society. We argue that our informants' relationship to the surrounding society plays a role in their experiences of living on integration benefit as for them it is an interconnected experience.

Lastly, we have investigated a third dimension of our informants' class journey and their experiences of living on integration benefit: their family relations. We have done so using the notions of gender, masculinity and intergenerational relationship and looked closer at the relationship between husbands and wives as well as parents and children.

We found that particularly the men in the families find it difficult to live up to their previously held role as a "real man", which to them entails being the provider of the family. The restricted economic latitude makes it difficult for them to be economically generous and act as the breadwinner of the family, which they could in Syria. Additionally, the wives of the families experience being challenged by the new setting in which they have to work both "outside" and "inside" their house, meaning both taking care of the house and children whilst also participating in the integration programme. Furthermore, as we have showed, the parents are struggling to provide for and fulfil their children's needs and desires as they were able to in Syria. Hence, some parts of the intergenerational relationship are being challenged by living on integration benefit.

In sum, this thesis has shown how, for Syrian refugees, living on integration benefit is experienced as a radical transformation in different parts of their lives, compared to the life they had in Syria,

namely regarding their economic latitude, relationship to the surrounding society and their family relations.

Reflections

During the process of writing this thesis, several other interests and angles on the subject caught our attention than the ones we have presented above. This chapter will present some of these considerations and reflections. We will discuss how our findings would have ended up differently, had we talked to informants with another background and share some thoughts on how our empirical material could have been supplemented if we had had more time. Furthermore, we will reflect on how we could have elaborated on our informants' relationship to the surrounding society had we had more time to explore this aspect and discuss it further with our informants.

One of the reflections we made following our research, was the consideration as to how our findings would have looked, if our group of informants had consisted of people from a nationality other than Syrian. As we have emphasised, the fact that all our informants are from Syria has naturally played a big role in the outcome of our empirical material and consequently the findings of this thesis. We have therefore wondered how this thesis would have turned out, had we talked to refugees from different economic and social backgrounds. It could thus be interesting to investigate how another group, with another background, experience living on integration benefit. This may have led us to focus on other aspects of life on integration benefit, as other elements may have been brought forth during the interviews. This could have showed other perspectives and experiences on how it is to live on integration benefit, which deserve attention, as the refugees themselves are seldom heard and we therefore find that it is an area where there is room for more research. As mentioned, we found that the concept of class journey was a useful frame for our analysis and our empirical data, however, this might not have been the case if we had talked to refugees with different backgrounds. It could have been interesting to investigate if other groups experience to obtain a better economic position in Denmark, than the one they had in the country they fled, and how this would have influenced their overall experience of arriving in Denmark.

As we touched upon briefly in our limitations, another reflection we have made following our research, is how our restricted and limited time to do field work has impacted our methods and thereby our empirical data. It could have brought forth new, interesting elements, if we had been able to spend

more time with our informants. One way of doing this could have been by following them in their everyday life, to get a more nuanced picture of their life on integration benefit. We would in this way be able to compare their statements, with how they behave, and observe what their lives on integration benefit look like. In relation to our findings about their relationships within the family, it could have been relevant for us, to have witnessed how this plays out, in their everyday interactions. Additionally, it could have been fruitful to follow them during their internship, to get an impression of how they operated and maybe get more comprehensive data concerning this, as opposed to solely having their negative statements about the internship programme.

By spending more time with our informants, it would also have given us time with them, without Lærke's presence, which may have provided us with a less biased space for our informants to share their thoughts and perspectives.

Even just a second interview with our informants could have supplemented the data we collected during our first conversations, provided us with more varied answers and consequently nuanced our empirical data all the more. After having talked to our informants, we would have liked to ask further questions about some of their statements, which a second interview could have allowed for. As we found later in the process, that our informants' experiences can be understood through class journey, we found that it could have been useful to meet up with them again and talk more about what their life in Syria looked like.

Lastly, one might argue that when looking at and unfolding our informants' relationship to surrounding society, it should also encompass their everyday interaction with other citizens. Importantly, it was briefly mentioned during some of the interviews. Nonetheless, we chose not to include it as a part of their relationship to the surrounding society, as it was not something that our informants made extensive statements about. However, it could have been interesting to have - if had more time - looked further into their everyday interaction with other parts of the surrounding society, such as other citizens, the neighbours, the integration officers etc. Maybe one would find that they there too find themselves being perceived wrongly or on the contrary that they there feel acknowledged and appreciated.

As we have already established, we regard this thesis as necessary and useful due to the lack of research portraying the topic from the refugees' perspective. As we have shown in this chapter, there is nonetheless plenty more work to be done, and many ways of doing this.

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Appendix 1: Interviewguide

Presentation of interviewers

Short presentation of ourselves, who we are and our studies.

Purpose of the interview

Give a short presentation of what we are investigating: We would like to investigate how families, like yours, live off the integration benefit. We are writing our thesis about integration benefit and have a focus on economy and what effect it has on people's everyday life. We have furthermore chosen to have a focus on families and that is why we find it relevant to talk to families like yours. The interview will therefore touch upon you everyday life, your economic situation and how you make a living on the integration benefit.

The interview will approximately take 1-2 hours.

We are very happy that you want to participate and you if you prefer to be anonymous we will of course make sure to respect this. Can we tape the interview?

1. Background information about interviewee and the family

- a. What is your country of origin?
- b. How long time have you been in Denmark?
- c. Who do you live with?
- d. How old are your children?
- e. What is your educational/professional background?

2. Everyday life

- a. What do you do on a normal week day from morning until night?
 - i. What obligations do you have? (In relation to the municipality - e.g. deployment, Danish classes, internship...)
- b. What do you do in your free time?
- c. What do you normally do in the weekends?
- d. Who do you interact with during a normal week and weekend? (e.g. visiting / getting visits)

- e. Are you active in any organisations? (Venligboerne, integrationsforeninger, diaspora organisations or others?)
- f. Is there anything that you would like to do during the week or in the weekend, that you cannot afford? (Any activities like sport etc.)

- g. How do you plan your daily shopping? (groceries etc.)
- h. Can you buy the food that you would like to eat?
- i. Do you do anything to find the cheapest goods/food? And do you spend a lot of time on that? (Finding offers etc.)
- j. What do your children say about the food that you eat?

3. Housing

- a. Is it permanent housing? (Can you stay here...)
- b. Are you satisfied with your house and furniture?
- c. How did you get the furniture for your house?
- d. Have you considered moving? If so, why?

4. The children

- a. Are your children in school/institution/working?
- b. Tell us about your children's everyday
 - i. What do they like to do?
 - ii. What do they experience difficulties with?
- c. What does your children do when they are not in school/institution? (free time activities, see friends, at home, birthday parties...)
- d. Are your children earning any money?
- e. What do you do together with your children?
- f. What is important for you to celebrate with your children? (Like Eid, birthdays etc...)
- g. What do your children wish for and what do you reply, when you can't afford it?
- h. What expenses for your children do you prioritise?
- i. Is there anything you would like to do with your children that you cannot afford?
- j. Do feel like your children compare themselves to the other children in school? How?
- k. Do you feel that your children are affected by living on the integration benefit?

5. Economic situation

- a. Is there anything you cut down on to afford other needs? (What do you prioritise?)
Please give examples.
- b. How do you get clothings and footwear? And for your children?
- c. Do you get any money beside the ‘integrationsydelse’?
 - i. If so, how? (Lend from friends/family, work, savings, municipality etc.)
- d. Do you receive any help from any other organizations than the municipality? (Venligboerne, DFH or others)
 - i. If yes, from whom and for what? (food, free Danish classes, money for activities for the children)
 - ii. Are you dependent on these benefits?
 - iii. What is your experience of receiving these benefits?
- e. How does your economy affect your family life?
- f. What would you do/buy if you had more money? (Eg. if you had 5,000 Kr. more a month)
- g. How would your life be different if you were on e.g. kontanthjælp?

6. Future and wishes

- a. How would you like to live your life in Denmark?
- b. What do you wish for the future? (How do you wish your life would look like in 5 years?)
- c. How does the future of your children look like?

Do you have any questions you would like to ask us?

Appendix 2: Field notes

Focus group interview, Roskilde men (Omar, Ahmad and Thamer)

Date: 17.03.2017

Location: Roskilde, Denmark

- Thamer translated from Arabic to English
- The interview was situated in Thamer's apartment in Roskilde
- Very cold, light apartment
- First it was only Omar and Thamer present
 - Ahmad came later
- They offered us very sweet coffee and chocolate cake made by Sulaima
- They seemed to be close friends
- They expressed a lot of frustration about their lives in Denmark
- Before we started the interview, Thamer made fun of how he finds himself being portrayed in the surrounding society, when he asked:
 - *How do you even dare to come and interview us in our house? Aren't you afraid to be alone with us: people from the desert with barbarous manners?*
 - This was said like a joke
- They showed us a movie, maybe 10 min, from Aleppo after all the bombings, many houses were hit by missiles. Thamer explained where he used to live with his family, where his brother was buried (before an old park, now a cemetery) and where his parents used to live.
- He told about one time where him and his family were almost got hit by a missile but missed
- It was obvious that he was choked that his home city looked like this now and that he tried to explained to us how it used to be before the war

- In the end of the interview, we sat for some time to see a Syrian TV-show about ancient Syria. It was in Arabic but Thamer translated it into English. The show depicted life in old Syria with great architecture, life, culture and humour

Focus group interview, Roskilde women (Liza, Jazmin, Maya and Sulaima)

Also present: Talisha and informants' children

Date: 10.03.2017

Location: Roskilde

- We arrived to Liza's house in Roskilde - a terraced house
- On the second floor of the small house, we were greeted by Talisha and Liza.
- In the living room sat Jazmin and Maya
- There are children running around, TV is on, we sit down in the couches and starts talking
- Later Sulaima comes with her two children
- They offer us food, coffee, snacks and Coke
- Very relaxed atmosphere, a lot of laughter and children running in and out from the room next door
- They seem to be very good friends and have a strong bond

Appendix 3: Transcriptions

Focus group, Roskilde women

Interview date: 10.03.2017

Place: Liza's home in Roskilde

Length: 1:37:28

Interviewee(s): Sulaima (S), Liza (L), Jazmin (J) and Maya (M)

Interviewer: Emilia and Marie (I)

Other people present: Translator Talisha (T) and the women's children

Interview:

I: Øhm, og alle er fra Syrien? Ikke?

Alle: ja ja

I: Øhm og hvor lang tid ... du havde været i Danmark i halvandet år? Hvor lang tid har du været i Danmark?

M: To år

I: To år, okay. Og hvor lang tid har I været i Danmark?

S: Også 2 år

I: To år

J: Eh, to år og et halvt

I: Okay, et år og 2 måneder? [referring to L]

L: Ja, et år og fire måneder

I: Og 22 år år [referring to T]

T: 27 år [laughing] men jeg får ikke integrationsydelse [laughing]

I: Nej nej. Og bor I alle sammen med jeres familier?

Alle: ja

M: Ja, min mand og mine børn.

I: hvor gamle er de?

M: to døtre,

I: to døtre? Okay. Og? [referring to J]

J: Min mand, jeg har ikke børn

I: Okay.

L: Min mand og to børn

I: Ja, de to der [referring to the children]

S: Min mand og to børn

I: Okay.

S: to drenge

I: to drenge okay. Og hvor gamle er jeres børn?

M: 12 år og 5 år

I: 12 og 5 år.

L: 2 år og 6 år

I: 2 og 6, okay

S: 8 og 7 år

I: Okay. Øhm, og hvad, har du I nogen uddannelse med fra Syrien?

M: Ja, jeg har en uddannelse fra Libanon, fordi jeg har født i Libanon, bagefter jeg gift og flytte til Syrien

I: Okay.

M: Så jeg læser [unclear] jeg læser accounting, bagefter jeg har kursus som pædagog og jeg arbejder som pædagog i børnehave for 7 år

I: En børnehave?

M: Ja, børnehave

I: Okay.

M: I Libanon

I: I Libanon også?

M: Ja, men da jeg blir gift, jeg har stoppe med at arbejde og jeg ...

I: passer børn?

M: Ja, passer børn.

I: Ja... Har I uddannelse eller?

[talking Arabic]

J: 9 - 10 klasse

T: hun er student [referring to L]

S: Også jeg

I: Okay. I hvilken uddannelse?

T: i det, sådan en gymnasial uddannelse

I: Nåh, okay. Okay. Ja. Øhm, og hvor lang tid har I, I er alle sammen på integrationsydelse.. De er alle sammen på integrationsydelse, ik?

T: Ja.

[talking Arabic and translating]

I: Ja, og hvor lang tid har de været det? Siden det trådte i kraft? Eller?

[talking Arabic and translating]

T: siden de kom her.

I: Ja okay.

[talking Arabic]

T: De snakker om, undtagen J (red.), de kom som familiesammenføring. J kom som asyl.

I: Mm, okay, okay. Ja. Øhm, okay så har vi nogle spørgsmål om hverdagen fordi vi gerne vil prøve at få et indblik i, hvordan det har en indflydelse på en s hverdagssliv. At man er på integrationsydelse.

[translating]

I: Så måske vi, I vil starte med at forklare, hvad de laver på en hel normal hverdag, altså fra de står op om morgen og hvad de..

[translating]

M: Hver dag bliver vi stress hver dag fordi jeg tænker på mange ting. Vores børn, vores familie i Syrien, I Libanon eller. **Vi tænker på hvordan eller hvornår skal vi få arbejde fordi vi vil gerne få god løn og stoppe med tage penge fra kommunen**, og tænker også at læse dansk og snakke meget dansk, og tænker for mange ting, så vi vågner op og tænker: 'hvad skal jeg lave i dag?' og eftermiddag og tænker så jeg stress eller nervøs hver dag. Og også vi går til sprogskole og jeg og S (red.) er i praktik nu.

I: Okay.

M: Og [unclear] jeg har de første problemer for mig fordi da jeg kommer til Danmark, går jeg til sprogskole og **jeg laver fire praktikker, men jeg finder ikke arbejder eller timer, så kommunen siger at jeg skal arbejde 224 timer, du får god løn, men jeg får ikke**. Fordi hvis du går til firma eller butikker, og siger 'kan jeg få arbejde?', hun siger 'du kan kun få praktik', måske efter praktik, hvis du arbejder godt ja og jeg er meget glad for dig, du kan få løntilskud eller... Så du går til praktik hverdag og er frisk og arbejder meget. Da du er praktik, hun sagde: 'Tak for dig, men jeg har ikke pladser til dig'.

Jeg går, jeg laver praktik to gange i børnehaven, og jeg laver praktik i butikker og nu jeg starter praktik i plejehjem

I: I?

M: Plejehjem. Og så jeg finder praktik, jeg finder ikke arbejde, jeg tænker da, når jeg er færdig sprogskole, måske jeg går til VUC til få uddannelse fordi hvis du ikke har uddannelse i Danmark, så måske du skal blive hjemme eller tage penge fra kommunen og tage kontanthjælp.

I: Mm...

M: Det er et problem fordi vi snakker lidt dansk, måske jeg snakker dansk, men jeg forstår ikke, når I snakker

I: Nej, vi snakker også hurtigt

M: Ja, præcis [unclear] hvis jeg siger: 'hej hvordan går det?' og hun siger: 'men du snakker dansk meget godt' og bla bla bla (prøver at vise at snakke hurtigt).

I: Ja [laughing]

M: og de andre har problem også

I: Ja

T: jeg synes det er flot, hun klarer sig flot.

I: Ja, meget.

[everyone applauding]

[talking Arabic]

M: Da jeg kom til Danmark, efter tre dage går jeg til kommunen [unclear] og fortælle mig: "Velkommen til Danmark, du kommer her, du kan finde fred her i Danmark" fordi der er krig i mit hjemland, og jeg tænker at du måske bliver glad for det fordi [unclear] for mine børn og min familie, måske du starter med [unclear], [the municipality said] men det er okay fordi du kan gå til sprogskole efter du kan få [unclear] og finde arbejde'. Jeg sagde det er meget flot.

[everyone say hello to a daughter who just arrived]

M: Så går jeg til sprogskole og jeg var meget glad fordi jeg vil gerne lære nyt sprog. Det er meget sjovt for mig og det hjælper mig lidt fordi jeg kan snakke lidt engelsk. Så, bagefter hun sagde, fordi jeg arbejder i mit hjemland som pædagog i børnehave, så jeg vil gerne få den sådan samme, eh eller som pædagogmedhjælper eller something. Jeg laver praktik, men de sagde "Undskyld M. [ed.] du kan ikke finde arbejde i børnehave fordi det er svært i Danmark, du skal finde [unclear], du skal passe børn og familie [unclear] om dig.

I: Mm.

M: Jeg kender ikke dig i Syrien, jeg kender dig her i Danmark, så du skal gå og læse mere, bagefter du kan få uddannelse, bagefter du kan komme og spørge om arbejde her.

I: Mmm..

M: Så jeg sagde okay måske jeg kan. Min første gang jeg får god løn fra kommunen, der er nok for mig og mine børn og jeg kan købe mad og tøj eller alle ting til mine børn, bagefter der kommer ny lov i Danmark, og sagde du skal få, din løn skal minus, fordi [unclear] komme her, du skal... Da jeg kommer til Danmark, jeg få 10.000, men bagefter jeg få 7.000. Jeg sagde det er okay, måske jeg kan ikke købe mange ting eller ting til mig, og måske jeg kan finde arbejde [unclear]. Efter to måneder de siger du skal finde, du skal arbejde 224 timer, fra i dag til efter 2 måneder, hvis du arbejder ikke der, så din løn skal minus. Mere.

I: Mmm...

M: Jeg sagde: kan du hjælpe mig finde arbejde? De sagde du skal lave praktik og efter praktik, du kan få arbejde. Jeg sagde okay, jeg gå til første praktik, anden praktik, bagefter jeg få ikke arbejde.

I: Nej...

M: Så sagde det er svært for mig, så min løn blir 5000. Og min mand får 5000 også, hvad skal betale husleje, betale børnehaven første, og måske jeg vil gerne købe mad og det.

I: Mmm, ja

M: Det er svært for os. Fordi det er ikke nok for mig og min mand og for mine børn også. De vil gerne at du, de tænker at hun, at de kommer fra krig og bor nu i Danmark, måske få alle ting og du kan få det samme som danske børn, men jeg tror det ikke.

I: Mm, nej. Hvad med jer andre? Hvad laver I på en normal hverdag?

[talking Arabic]

J: jeg står op kl. 7, jeg laver morgenmad til min mand, min mand går på arbejde, jeg går to gange om ugen til sprogskole, jeg går ikke i praktik, jeg går derhjemme og tænker, og ellers jeg mødes engang imellem med mine veninder.

I: Så din mand har et arbejde?

J: Ja, men det er med løntilskud og det er ...

I: Løntilskud, ja

[talking Arabic]

J: det er fordi, det er ikke fuld tid, det er kun deltid, så de har det rigtig meget hårdt økonomi.

I: Mm.. og er det det hun går og tænker på, når hun går derhjemme så?

[talking Arabic]

J: ja, fordi eh, jeg går meget og tænker over situationen, hvordan det er fx nu, jeg har ikke [unclear], nu vi får, efter vi har betalt udgifter, vi har kun 500 til mad, tøj til to voksne, og hun får også medicin.

Vi kommer fra krigen, vi kom her, altså, vi tror, vi tror vi får tryghed, vi får det godt her, nej tværtimod, jeg føler her meget undertrykkelse, vi bliver meget undertrykt her.

I: Okay.

J: Forleden, ikke for lang tid siden, jeg har tænkt mig at begå selvmord fordi jeg kan ikke klare det mere.

I: Hvad sagde du? [referring to T]

T: at hun gerne vil begå selvmord fordi hun ikke kan klare det mere. At det var så voldsomt: efter krigen og så kom hun, det bliver værre, hun troede situationen ville blive bedre.

I: Mm..

T: Hun begynder lidt også at tude fordi det gør så ondt på hende

I: Ja...

[talking Arabic]

T: hun vil fortælle bagefter

I: Ja, det er helt okay.

[talking Arabic and laughing]

L: Jeg står op kl. 7 [laughing]

T: man skal bare tør, det var sådan jeg har lært også, jeg prøver, i starten jeg kan måske kun 2-3 ord med tegnsprog med alt muligt, I skal bare prøve.

L: Jeg står op .. [laughing]

I: Det er rigtigt

I: Du må også gerne sige det på arabisk

[talking Arabic]

M: Vi griner fordi hun at hun tager sin mand til sprogskole, til børnehave

[everyone laughing and unclear]

L: jeg går mand i børnehave, jeg går i skole.

[talking Arabic]

L: Jeg står op halv syv, jeg gør børnene klar, først den store dreng, han skal, der kommer en bus og henter ham til skole, og så bagefter tager jeg den lille og gør ham klar, så afleverer jeg ham i børnehave, og så går jeg ellers tre om ugen i sprogskole og to dage om ugen jeg går i praktik.

I: Mm, okay

T: På et plejehjem?

L: I en børnehave

I: Okay.

L: Og så ellers kommer jeg hjem og så skal jeg lave mad og børn og alt muligt, dagen går med det, den rutine vi har.

I: Mmm.. ja

T: hun siger [referring to L] at efter kommunen har betalt deres husleje, el og vand og sådan noget, så plejede de før at få hver især 3500, denne her måned hun får kun 500 og hendes mand har fået 2000. Og de er fire. Og hun siger at når det bliver d. 10, så har vi ikke flere penge.

I: Ja...

L: Med to børn, en skole, en bluse...

[talking Arabic]

L: Når man har børn, har man brug for mange ting, tøj og mad

I: Ja

L: Og min mand har boet her i to år og han har været i fem praktikker og de har ikke givet ham et job endnu.

I: Mm, nej

T: Fordi de siger alle sammen, de vil de gerne, de vil gerne have arbejde. De kommer ikke for at nasse, ja for de er vant til Syrien at .. man arbejde, men vant til ikke at få hjælp, og de de føler at båndet bliver strammere og at det bliver strammere, men de hjælper dem ikke.

L: I Syrien vi har haft det rigtig godt, **hus, forretning og alt muligt, men pga krigen vi mistede alt.** Du ved godt hvad der skete ja.

I: Mm ja.

L: Og vi kommer her og altså vi vil gerne arbejde, vi vil ikke have nogen hjælp, bare det at kommunen giver os arbejde. Vi vil gerne være selvforsørgende.

I: Mm, ja. Hun sagde at efter d. 10 så har I ikke flere penge, hvad gør I så?

T: De siger at alle sammen er i samme situation, vi går og låner penge

I: Fra hinanden eller fra nogle andre?

T: Fx nogen fra venner, fra familie, men eh J. [ed.] har nogle brødre, så går hun og låner der, og L også fra hende smands ven.

M: Nogle af mine venners veninder de får fast arbejde, så de får penge, men fordi jeg blir ved kommunen, så kan de hjælpe mig, men jeg tænker at jeg gemmer mig [unclear]. Tænker at tage penge til børn, de kommer efter 2 måneder, de sagde måske at jeg låne fra veninder og sagde da de kommer [unclear] og få mine penge fra børn, så jeg kan give til dig penge. Fordi hvis jeg får ny løn, næste

måned, så [unclear] fire måned eller 4.000 det er ikke nok, så det jeg, hver 3. måned, det, når vi får børnepenge for børn, måske vi låner fra ehm der fra andre mennesker, så jeg kan betale dem.

I: Så I bruge børnepengene til at betale jeres lån af?

M: Ja og hvis jeg går til kommunen og sagde jeg får, jeg har ikke penge, jeg er fattig, kan du hjælp mig eller lån? Hun sagde nej, jeg kan ikke, du kan finde nogen som kan låne dig, bagefter, da, når du får penge for børn, du kan betale dem. Kommunen fortæller os det.

Alle: Ja

T: ja, det er så frækt ik? Og børnepenge var det meningen at det faktisk, hvis man skal give ekstra børnene, på tur eller et eller andet, give legetøj, det er det der er meningen, at børnecheck er der, i virkeligheden ikke for at kunne få mad.

[talking Arabic]

L: Jeg fortyder så meget at jeg kom her, fordi jeg troede vi ville få det bedre, vi fik det endnu værre, lige nu også her sikkerhedszoner, i Syrien, altså sikkerhedszoner giver os, vi kommer tilbage, vi gider ikke være her. Fordi her, kommer vi her, at vi sulter, vores børn sulter

I: sulter?

L: Ja

[taling Arabic]

M: Måske nogle gange min datter siger: "Mor, vil gerne have du køber måske en taske ligesom min veninde", jeg siger når jeg job, så kan jeg betale, så kan jeg købe til dig ligesom dine danske veninder eller fordi min datter går til dansk, dansk nu

I: Dansk skole?

M: Ja, dansk skole, og alle veninder, det er danske veninder, så det, de kigger på hvad har de købt der eller [unclear] samme, ligesom min veninde.

I: Ja..

L: Fx også hvis vores børn de er ude, de vil gerne købe noget, fx en burger eller et eller andet, en is eller slik, vi kan ikke give det til vores børn, børn græder og forstår det ikke, men vi har ikke penge.

I: Nej, nej.

[talking Arabic]

L: Vi gør alt, for samfundet, for kommunen, vi går i skole, vi går i praktik, vi vil så gerne, men de hjælper os ikke

I: Nej

L: Vi føler bare at vi bliver straffet på en måde

M: Jeg synes at Danmark har lavet en forkert lov nu, for flygtninge, fordi jeg tænker ikke på penge fordi jeg har alle, alle flygtninge, havde mange penge i mit hjemland, og jeg tænker ikke på dem fordi alle kunne få arbejde, kan købe alle ting, når jeg kommer her tænker jeg kun for mine børn, fordi jeg har fortalt mine børn, hvis de spørger mig "hvorfor vi kom her?", jeg siger vi kom her fordi der er krig i mit hjemland og det er et godt land, så vi skal bo her og gå i skole og måske, hvis du vil gerne købe nogle ting eller du kan få alle ting her, det er en godt land. Min datter er meget glad, det er først efter 4-6 måneder, det er løn som nu, det er forskel nu, så jeg får ikke penge, jeg kan ikke købe for min datter, men min datter forstår ikke hvorfor laver de for mig, mor jeg vil gerne det, mor jeg vil gerne købe det, men jeg kan ikke.

I: Mm, nej.

[talking Arabic]

M: Meningen med det at vi er kommet her, er ikke på grund af os, det er på grund af vores børn, hvis vi bare tænker på os, vi blir [unclear] vi er ligeglads, men vi kom for vores børns skyld. Fordi vi troede at vores børn ville få et bedre, have tryghed, bedre, hvad det hedder, fremtid.

[talking Arabic]

T: Hun siger [referring to M] man har lavet undersøgelser, hun har hørt, om det i Danmark, at når man, altså som fx flygtningebørn kommer, at man hjælper og giver dem en god

I: Start?

T: balance og alle de der ting de har brug det ik? Så de får et godt barndom, så når de bliver voksne, så kan de give samfundet jo. Det er det der er meningen med det, ik?

M: Og vi troede at det er sådan det skulle være, vi tænker det gør ikke noget med os, bare vores børn får det bedre, men desværre er det ikke.

I: Nej

M: Og vi vil gerne have - igen - at forfra lære sprog og tage, eh, en ny uddannelse, altså forfra her, fordi vi vil også give samfundet noget tilbage fordi de har taget imod os. Vi er kommet fra krigen, vi er, altså, på en måde, taknemmelige.

T: (tolker fra M): Vi går også i skole, vi er glade, i praktik ... [pause] nu snakker de før, før de der stramninger, gamle regering

I: Mm, ja...

T: Hvor der var

I: Kontanthjælp?

T [translating for M]: Ja, kontanthjælp og ikke de der løfter, og alle mulige, ik? Og integrationsydelse. Der havde vi det bedre. Det var ikke så, økonomien var ikke så dårlig som den er nu. Vi kunne godt klare os. Og den nye regering troede at nu vi får den her hjælp, den her opgave, så vi ikke kommer til at tænke at vi skal have arbejde. Og den er en forkert tanke. Det handler om racisme.

I: Ja

M: Og efter det her stramninger, og med nedsat hjælper og alt muligt, man bliver også håbløs efter, altså man går på sprogskole og har prøvet så mange forskellige praktikker og man ikke kan få arbejde og alt muligt. Man føler sig bare, man er "lost", man er håbløs.

I: Ja

M: Og man har det svært, man har ikke, man ikke koncentrere sig for

I: Nej

M: for at lære og blive bedre til sprog. Det påvirker også meget, man kan mærke det på sprogskolen.

M: Og denne her regering, de vil finde ud af, efterhånden, den her stramninger, de har lavet, det nytter ikke noget, det er nogen fiasko, det er nogen dårlig ting, det vil koste dem dyrt. På lang sigt.

[talking Arabic]

M: Og de børn, når de bliver store, vil ikke være glade for samfundet og gavne samfundet fordi de føler at samfundet har svigtet dem, det vil ikke være god ved samfundet.

I: Ja, så det er det hun mener med at det vil koste dyrt?

T: Ja

I: Børnene vil, ja..

T: Det ødelægger mennesker, nu jeg har hørt mange de tænker på selvmord. Er det det Danmark [unclear] hvor er vi hen? Velfærdssamfund, Danmark og demokrati, menneskerettigheder og alt muligt [unclear].

[talking Arabic]

I: Okay, øhm, for at komme tilbage, hvad sådan i weekenderne, når de ikke skal i praktik eller skole?

[talking Arabic]

T: De snakke om weekender, at de slapper af og så nogen gange hoved-gøre rent og alt muligt, og vi keder os, og vores børn keder sig fordi vi har ikke råd til at tage på tur. Alt koster penge jo. Vi er vant til i Syrien, vi har haft det rigtig godt. Ja altså vores weekend var om fredagen, det var helligdagene, ik?

I: Jo

S: Og så fredag tog vi på restaurant og forlystelsesparker, alt muligt, vi var meget, som kvinder, var vi - de fortæller - meget forkælede. Vi, vi, vi, altså vi gik ikke ud på arbejde, det var vores mand der forsørgede os, vi var meget ... vi havde kun ansvar i hjemmet. Passe børn og lave mad, gå og shoppe med venner og om fredagen går hele familien på tur. Ja.

I: Ja, men her blir de mest hjemme i weekenden.

S: Hvis vi ville lave, eh, altså forskel på os nu her og i Danmark og i Syrien, så vi havde det, altså især når vi tænker på økonomi og alt muligt, vi har haft det meget godt i Syrien, hvad der gjorde, tvunget, presset os til at komme her det er krigen, det politik, det er præsidenten Assad, alt den ødelæggelse

I: MM

S: Det er ikke os der bestemte det, vi vil ikke være her.

L: Vi havde ikke så meget, altså vi skulle ikke tænke over penge da vi var i Syrien, vi skal alt muligt som her, vi kommer os fra det var vores mænd som stod for det hele, tænke på os altså hjemmet og tænke på børn, hygge os. Alt om økonomien, vi tænker ikke om det, fordi de har haft det godt, det er mændene som har haft ansvar for sådan noget.

M: Fordi i mit hjemland, vi tænker ikke på SKAT, fordi vi betaler ikke skat

I: I betalte ikke skat

M: Så men vi har gratis hospital og gratis skole, og måske, hvis du finder godt arbejde, du kan købe hus, og du kan, skal ikke betale skat for dit hus og det er, er meget, ikke svært at købe hus i mit hjemland og så hvis din mand finder arbejde, du kan, du kan købe mange ting og du kan gå tur og lave mange. Hvis du har ... Når din mand stop at arbejde, måske du kan få penge, så du kan bet.. købe ting for de penge, efter det du kan søge efter nyt arbejde. Det, vi har ikke tænkt om penge, nej nej.

I: Nej

M: Eller "Skal jeg betale til SKAT?", eller jeg betaler til sko.. husleje eller børnehave fordi du tænker ikke fordi du har mange penge, hvis du vil gerne du, du, du sende dine børn til specialskole, så måske du

I: Ja

M: få et godt arbejde og få god løn, så vi tænker ikke om det. Min værste problemer i mit hjemland, er fra krig, så måske du kan ikke, du kan ikke, (uklart) eller beslutte hvad skal du sagde [unclear], men jeg har hørt [unclear] at i Europa du kan snakke alle ting og du kan lave ting og du har jo, det har været her, så jeg kommer til her og bagefter alle flygtninge bliver chok.

I: Ja

M: Fordi jeg går væk fra krig og værste præsident Bashar og vi kommer her [unclear] "du er flygtninge, du skal lave det her, du skal lave det her". Vi vil gerne at du bor sammen med danske mennesker og der er meget søde danskere her, der er forskelle. Så det er godt, jeg siger det er godt, men det er alt, der er gode danskere, de kigger på [unclear] person og siger åh de....

[break]

M: ... Så vi vil gerne ikke at have kontakt med dig. Men når du snakker første gang eller anden gang så måske du bliver veninder. Så du har ikke problemer med danske mennesker. Du har problemer med danske lov.

S: Min hverdag også, jeg står tidligt op, jeg har to børn, jeg gør dem klar til at gå i skole og jeg går to dage om ugen i praktik og tre dage på sprogskole, men pga. jeg er så træt, altså mandag og tirsdag går jeg i praktik og onsdag, torsdag, fredag på sprogskole, men om onsdagen holder jeg altid fri, jeg melder mig syg. Jeg kunne ikke klare det, det er så hårdt, jeg er ikke vant til at gå på arbejde, nu, her i Danmark det bliver dobbelt arbejde, fordi ude og så inde, fordi i Syrien vi er kun vant til at man arbejder derhjemme. Her er man hjemme og så skal man ude. Så det er meget hårdt. Jeg er glad for at jeg har nogle veninder her, hvis jeg ikke havde mine veninder ville jeg ikke kunne klare det, for det er så hårdt og kedeligt, og føle sig så ensom her i Danmark. Ellers ville jeg gerne have, altså, jeg kan ikke vende tilbage. Jeg kunne ikke klare det mere her, hvis jeg ikke havde venner.

I: Det er godt du har dine veninder.

T: Jeg siger, jeg vil ikke gøre dig ked af det.

M: Også måske, det er min mand, har en chance for at finde arbejde her. Så han bliver meget glad, åh jeg bliver meget glad. Kommunen sagde, hvis det er, når din mand får arbejde, så kan du ikke få penge fra kommunen. Så, jeg har samme løn, så min man skal tænke mere [unclear]. Vi vil gerne have arbejde, men du kan ikke finde arbejde begge to.

I: Nej

M: Måske min man får det først, mig bagefter, men kommunen sagde, hvis din mand får arbejde, du får ikke penge af kommunen. Så måske min mand får 10.000 eller 11.000 fra sit arbejde, så får jeg ikke penge. Så jeg har det samme, for han har 5000 fra kommunen og jeg har 5000 fra kommunen, det er det samme. Så hun sagde jeg skal gå til arbejde, arbejde hårdt, bagefter jeg går hjem meget træt, men jeg har lidt penge. Så hun sagde, måske du kan finde arbejde sammen eller bliver [unclear].

Og så hvis du vil gerne læse og få uddannelse, kommunen sagde, hvis du vil gerne du kan gå, men du kan få lidt løn [benefit ed.] også, vi kan ikke hjælpe dig.

I: Hvordan planlægger I jeres indkøb af mad og sådan?

S: I starten af måneden vi plejer at købe stort ind, de der basale ting, f.eks. sukker, mel, ris og så ellers vi køber hvad vi mangler, vi kigger hele tiden efter de der tilbud, hvor der nu er tilbud henne og sådan noget.

M: Også, jeg husker fra de sidste 5-6 måneder jeg køber ikke noget tøj til min datter. [unclear]. Jeg vil gerne gå til Ros Torv, H&M, men jeg kan ikke betale. Så måske, S [ed.] har drenge, der har tøj, så vi skifter.

I: Nåå ok.

M: Så min datter, bliver stor, så jeg kan give det til de mindre. "Hvem vil gerne bruge dette tøj?"

I: Så I kan deles?

M: Ja, ja.

I: Vi snakkede bare om børnetøj, I kan dele med hinanden.

T: Også fra Røde Kors. Det har de også med sig, der er nogen på Facebook, der er nogle sider her, hvor de giver ting væk til flygtninge, f.eks.

L: Eller losseplads. En sofa, et fjernsyn.

I: Er hele stuen derfra?

L: Ja, ja.

I: Det er da pænt.

T: Men det er også brugt, du skal tænke på når man kommer fra, man er vant til, man har været rig og alt muligt, og så kommer og tager fra gaden. Det gør ondt på dem. Det gør virkelig ondt på dem. Selvom vi er her, altså, prøv at tænk, hvis vi skulle gå, altså det er virkelig hårdt.

L: Altså, nogen gange jeg bliver også meget ked af det, jeg bliver genert. Jeg er flov over at fortælle folk hvordan jeg har skaffet alle mine ting, mine møbler og mine ting. Fordi jeg bor i velfærdssamfund, Danmark, som er et udviklet rigt land, går jeg ud på lossepladsen og henter mine ting.

M: I mit hjemland, de siger "ååååh"

L: Ja, ja.

M: Også vores familier, tænker at vi bor i Danmark måske vi får meget luksus. Måske de regner med penge fra mig, sende penge fra mig. Som min mand, min mands far bor i Damaskus nu og han har syv brødre der bor sammen med sin [unclear] og han er gammel, så min mand skal hver måned sende

penge til dem, men jeg har kun 4000, men jeg skal sende 1000 til min mand, fordi hun vil gerne have penge, fordi hun har syb brødre og hun bor alene i Damaskus, hun vil gerne købe mad og de i krig, så, fordi min mand kan ikke invitere hans far til at komme til Danmark. Så hvad skal han lave til sin far? Så han kan kun sende penge, du kan købe mad til dig og min bror, og du kan spise.

I: Sender I penge til jeres familie?

M: Min mand ja.

[unclear]

M: Nogengange min mand sender til sin far, fordi sin far er gammel og bor alene. Fordi min man [unclear]. Vil ikke snakke om Danmark at det er ikke arbejde, fordi det er svært, også for danske mennesker, at finde arbejde. Det er svært også. Men jeg vil gerne føle at vi er sammen som danskere her, jeg vil gerne ikke sige "du er flygtning" eller "de er danskere" fordi det er arbejde problemer for danskere, for flygtninge også. Måske der er mange danske mennesker, for meget den samme, de får ikke arbejde. De laver praktik her, her, her.

T: S [ed.] og L [ed.] siger de har ikke nogen problemer med danskere, men det er bare den regering der er, det er uretfærdigt. Ellers vi synes vi har fået et godt indtryk af danskere, mange danskere har været søde ved os, de kommer og hjælper os, altså mange af de der lokale organisationer.

I: Hvad er det for nogle de bruger?

T: Dansk Flygtningehjælp og Røde Kors.

[phone ringing]

S: Der kommer nogen familier fra [unclear], da vi kom til Danmark, de kom og købte til os nogle ting og sagde velkommen til og tager rigtig godt imod os. Vi bliver rigtig glade. Altså, de gav os et godt indtryk af danskere.

I: Dejligt. I snakkede før om I fandt nogle sider på Facebook hvor I finder ting, hvad er det for nogle sider?

S: De hedder 'Giv væk'.

T: 'Giv ting væk til flygtninge' på Facebook. Der er også nogle andre der hedder 'Velgørenhed' et eller andet i Roskilde, der er nogle. Fordi de har ting, de har ikke brug for dem, så siger de, vi hjælper flygtninge, fordi det er der, ellers så flygtninge de ville ikke kunne, alle de flygtninge, i den her, de har ikke samme på den her måde. De kigger på, hvad hedder det.. sådan nogle hjemmesider, nogle sider på Facebook, det er der de får ting. Men jeg siger også til dem nu, det går ikke noget, det er bare en periode, I skal nok komme over det her. Og I kommer til at glemme det her.

I: Ja. Når de skal finde mad og, altså, når de skal købe ind, bruger de så meget tid på at finde de der tilbud?

L: F.eks. jo vi bruger tid på det, f.eks. nogen gange kan vi ikke nå det her tilbud, f.eks. Netto, her forleden dag havde tilbud på sukker, jeg nåede det ikke. Da jeg kom var der ikke mere, det var udsolgt.

S: Det er også vores mænd der har ansvar, de har forstand meget mere på det der. Det er min mand der køber ind.

I: Bor i alle sammen i det samme, altså ligesom her?

T: Nej, L. [ed.] bor her og S [ed.], M [ed.] og J [ed.] de bor i [another area ed.], der hvor jeg også bor. Det er også sådan et boligkompleks hvor der bor rigtig mange. Ca. 20 min herfra.

I: Ok, er det så lejeboliger?

T: Ja.

L: Vores lejlighed er meget dyr. Vi har også snakket med kommunen om de kan skaffe noget billigere, fordi vi kunne ikke klare det. Fordi de har også ramt boligstøtte, den gik også ned, med det der loft.

T: Det er så uretfærdigt synes jeg, det er urimeligt det der. Jeg fatter det ikke.

I: Ja. Men er I glade for at bo her, ellers?

L: Generelt vi har det ikke godt, altså, vi er tvunget til at være her.

S: Hvis jeg ikke havde venner ville jeg ikke kunne klare det, fordi det gør så ondt på mig, det her.

L: Hvis der ikke var mine veninder til at støtte mig ville jeg tage tilbage til Tyrkiet. Selvom det var hårdere i Tyrkiet, men det var alligevel bedre. Nogen gange tænker jeg, fordi min familie, min mor og min søster bor i Tyrkiet, nogen gange tænker jeg, ok, så bliver min mand her og arbejder og så tager jeg børnene og rejser tilbage til Tyrkiet, fordi det er bedre end det er her. Men det er også svært, så er familien adskilt, det er også hårdt.

I: Ja, ja.

T: Kan vi tage en rygepause, jeg tror S (red.) vil gerne have en pause. Jeg tror det er også lidt hårdt for dem.

[break]

Sound of spoon in tea cup

I: Ok, i forhold til hvad de sådan, af indkøb og sådan noget, er der noget de prioritere? Hvad prioriterer i højest? Af hvad der skal købes ind...

T: oversætter

L: Vi tænker først på børnene. Madpakker til børnene, og selvom vi ikke har råd til at købe frugt, vi bliver nødt til at købe det kun til børnene, når de skal have det med i skole og børnehave, så de ikke tror vi forsømmer børnene. Vi skal stå til regnskab for det her også.

S: Vi køber brød, kød, grøntsager, igen, på tilbud [unclear]

L: F.eks. frugter og mælk og havregryn det er meget vigtigt, vi køber det altid til børnene.

I: Ja ok. Hvad med mobil, internet, TV?

S: Mobil, jeg har købt det hos Callme, hvor jeg betaler 100 kr om måneden og TV vi fik en fra nogen der gav os, vi har ikke nogen danske kanaler fordi vi har ikke råd til at købe det.

L: Mit fjernsyn, det er min mands ven der har købt det til os.

J: Min fjernsyn jeg så den på losseplads, og tog den.

M: Købte mobilen i grækenland.

T: Deres mobiler de er gamle, de har købt dem hjemmefra.

M: Fordi det er måske min sagsbehandler, spørger hvorfor du får Iphone mobil og tænker ikke på, hvordan kan vi kontakte med din familie i krig, hvis vi har ikke Skype eller, fordi vi har ikke Ipad eller har ikke en laptop. Vi får ikke laptop, så du kan snakke og sende SMS og snakke med sin mobil.

T: De kan ikke undvære det, når de er på flugt. Det er vigtigt, det er derfor en telefon med hjemmefra. Nogen gange sagsbehandleren spørger os, hvordan har i råd? Hun kan ikke forstå det, [unclear] Den stammer hjemmefra.

[noise from the microwave as L is preparing food for us]

J: Min sagsbeandler, hun sagde, du skal ikke lukke for mobil og du skal lukke for internet, og hun har sin vilesesring, siger at hun skal gå og sælge den.

I: Sagde sagsbeandleren det?

J: Ja, vilesesring. Vi har kun, min mand og jeg, vi har kun, efter alt er udbetalt 1500 og får de 1500 køber jeg mel, mælk, pasta og sådan nogle ting. Og vi lever af det.

I: Ok, ja. Og børnene går de i, de går i skole..?

M: Og børnehave.

I: Hvad med fritidshjem?

M: SFO. Vores [unclear] har godt løn, vi betaler, men bagefter, de sagde det er gratis, de snakker med SFO, vi får friplads.

I: OK ja.

M: Mine børn, min datter, sagde mor jeg vil gerne få en cykel som mine veninder, de cykler til børnehave. Jeg skrev til Facebook page for flygtninge: "Min datter er 5 år, har du en cykel?" Der er danske kvinder, de ser det og vi kan få en.

I: Ej, hvor godt.

S: Forleden dag, jeg mangler en tavle til mine børn, fordi der kommer en arabisk lærer, der skal lære dem, og vi mangler en tavle, vi har ikke råd til det. Så gik vi og skrev på den der Facebook side - den der med velgørenhed og hjælp - og så var der en, en dansker, hun var rigtig sød. Hun købte en til os via DBA, og bad dem der ejede den, altså sælgeren, om at levere den til os. Jeg vil aldrig glemme denne episode. Hvor god den var.

I: Er der andre aktiviteter, som det er svært at have råd til, at børnene går til sport eller..?

S: Jeg vil gerne have at min søn går til fodbold, men når jeg tænker, det har jeg ikke råd til. Hvad med sportstøj, altså fodboldstøvler og alt det der udstyr til fodbold.

I: Ja, men det har de ikke råd til?

S: Nej. Vores liv er ikke lige så organiseret som vi er vant til, vores liv her er meget rodet. Jeg føler mig, at jeg løber hele tiden. Jeg skal komme hjem igen, lave mad, gøre rent, tænke på børn og alt muligt og så, når jeg sover jeg føler mig, jeg bare stresser og alt muligt. Nogen gange jeg bliver nødt til at lave maden dagen før, så når jeg kommer hjem, så er maden klar til børnene.

I: Ja. Får I nogle ydelser udover integrationsydelsen? Altså søger I nogensinde om noget specialtillæg?

Alle: Nej.

T: Men nu, den bliver meget mindre.

M: Fordi, vi arbejder ikke 224 timer.

I: Men så låner I penge fra hinanden, er der nogen andre måder I får det til at løbe rundt på?

L: Låner fra venner, bekendte. Og når der kommer børnepenge, så går vi og giver det tilbage.

M: Når vi får penge for børn, der kommer regninger for elektricitet, eller vand.

I: Ja ok, så skal de betales.

M: Nogen gange føler jeg at jeg glemmer min familie i Syrien, fordi jeg tænker på mange ting i Danmark, så der går måske 2-3 dage hvor jeg ikke snakker med min familie. De sagde: hvorfor du ikke snakke med mig? Jeg sagde: fordi jeg går til skole, jeg går til børnehave, og jeg går til meget praktik og jeg tænker hvad skal jeg lave bagefter, jeg har glemt min familie.

I: Ja.

[laughing]

I: Der var en der nævnte de gerne vil have at deres børn gik til fodbold, men laver de nogle andre aktiviteter med børnene?

M: Når vi gerne vil gå til Ros Torv med børnene, fordi det er et gratis sted for børnene at lege.

I: Hvorhenne?

T: Ros Torv. Det er et indkøbscenter i Roskilde.

I: Aah ja ok.

M: Vi går, indkøber ikke. Vi kigger bare, bagefter vi siger til børnene gå ud og lege for det er gratis.

[laughing]

I: Er der en legeplads?

M: Ja der er gratis legeplads.

S: Nogengange vi går til havnen eller skoven.

I: Skoven, ja.

M: Vi går meget tur ja.

I: Hvis I havde flere penge om måneden, hvad ville I så købe, som I ikke har råd til nu?

L: Jeg vil gerne have, altså, f.eks. at gå sammen med børnene til f.eks. McDonald's og spise burger. Eller tage dem på forlystelsesparker til legeland altså, alt det der børn kan lide ikke? Eller, hvor man f.eks. er træt af det her gamle brugte tøj, det var selv sådan jeg kom til Danmark, jeg har kun brugt tøj, jeg er ikke vant til brugt tøj. Det er første gang, da jeg kom til Danmark, jeg tager brugt tøj, så jeg savner at gå og købe nyt tøj.

I: Ja, ja.

M: F.eks. sidste gang jeg gik til Ro's Torv og kigger på de ordentlige butikker jeg ser en sort jakke, så jeg tænker på den, og jeg prøver den, efter jeg mange gange siger, så måske når den kommer på tilbud måske jeg kan købe den

[laughing]

M: Men bagefter, den er væk. Åååh nej, jeg gik.

[laughing]

M: Måske næste år jeg finder den.

I: Ja.

S: Jeg vil vælge en sko. Vi køber ikke nye sko, de er fra Røde Kors til 15-20 kr. brugte. I Danmark tøj er meget dyrt. Sko, 300-400 [kr. ed.]

T: Og det er billige sko!

S: Ja.

T: Hvis man går til en rigtig Skoringen det er minimum 800 de koster.

I: Ja, de er meget dyre.

M: L [ed.] og jeg bruger det samme skonummer. Nogen gange L har fundet sko og hun giver dem til mig.

[laughing]

S: Ja, eller nogen gange, de er på losseplads, de ringer til mig, jeg ringer til dig, og siger kom og hente den.

[laughing]

T: Når de siger f.eks. når de ser en ting, de ved f.eks. at de andre mangler noget, de ringer til hinanden.

I: Ja ok.

T: Men du ved godt, når man siger, man griner fordi det er så så forfærdeligt. Det er ikke fordi de synes det er sjovt.

I: Det er tragisk-komisk.

T: Ja. De griner fordi de tænker også på det, de kan ikke forestille sig, at de kan havne i sådan en situation

I: nej.

M: Min familie ringede og sagde "ah, du er glad i Danmark?" Så jeg er meget glad fordi at jeg gerne vil fortælle min familie at jeg har travlt, eller fordi de tænker for meget på mig, de tænker at nu er jeg meget glad her. Jeg vil ikke fortælle min familie at jeg har mange problemer. De har deres problemer, så Jeg skal tænke på mine problemer alene.

[break]

M: I mit hjemland det er mors dag i denne måned. Vi vil gerne købe gave til vores mor, men jeg kan ikke.

I: Hvad for noget?

I: Mors dag. Det er d. 21. marts.

L: Jeg har to søstre, der bor i Jylland. Jeg kan ikke besøge dem, jeg har ikke råd.

M: [unclear]

L: Nu f.eks. jeg savner meget min far, det er længe siden, jeg har ikke set ham. Min far han bliver skadet i krigen, han fik sådan nogle, hvad hedder det, missiler? Hvad kalder man det?

I: Nåå, fragmenter?

L: Ja, fragmenter. Jeg kan ikke rejse og besøge min far nu. Og det gør det endnu mere svært for os nu, vi får ikke mere sommerferie, nu skal vi også gå på sprogskole.

I: Mh, ja.

T: Det her er også umenneskeligt. Jeg kan ikke forstå, hvorfor har de annulleret vores sommerferie? De må ikke holde sommerferie. Ok, hvad med børnene? Skal de ikke have lov til at tage på deres sommerferie?

I: Ja.

T: Fordi f.eks. danskerne der arbejder, de holder også sommerferie for børnenes skyld, ikke?

I: Jo.

T: Hvad med [unclear]? Hvad er det for noget man? Er det lovligt?

I: Det er nok på kanten af loven i hvert fald.

M: Alle personer får penge fra kommunen skal ikke have sommerferie. Måske mine børn skal få ferie i skole, børnehave, dine børn skal få mindst tre uger ferie, fordi de skal have fri fra børnehave. Hvis jeg gerne vil have ferie med mine børn, hvad skal jeg gøre?

I: Ja.

T: Det her, det traumatiserer endnu mere.

S: Da jeg var i Syrien under krigen med bomberne, mange gange var jeg og mine børn nødt til at gemme os i badeværelser, der var så mange bomber og sådan noget. Min mand har mistet sin bror i krig og den anden bror han er i fængsel, vi ved ikke noget om ham. Min mand har prøvet 7 gange at komme her til Danmark, altså at sejle, I kender godt den der farlige tur?

I: Mh, ja.

S: 7 gange han har sat sig i sådan en risiko. Og så kom vi her, vi føler de torturerer os også, ikke?

I: Ja.

S: Og hele tiden de truer os, hvis du ikke går i skole, vi trækker dig. Hvis du ikke går i praktik vi trækker. Hele tiden, vi vil gerne, men hvad er det for en måde de behandler os på? Vi føler det er tortur. Det er så umenneskeligt.

I: Ja.

S: Altså, hvis vi kigger også på nogle andre situationer, der er der, f.eks. min søn da han var i Syrien, han har haft en meget ond lære på skolen. Hvor hun har gjort at han var meget bange, meget angst, fordi hun har været virkelig ond ved ham, og han var rigtig lille, 6 år. Men her, i Danmark, de vidste hvordan han havde det i Syrien, så vi har haft en børnepsykolog, der har arbejdet med ham. Vi bliver glade, de tager hensyn. På den her måde, man kan sige det er godt. Men på den anden side, når vi tænker på økonomi, hvordan de behandler os, de behandler os så så forfærdeligt. Med det her pres, de her regler, stramninger og sådan noget.

M: Også min lille datter, da jeg flygtede fra Syrien, jeg flygtede til Libanon først, fordi min familie bor i Libanon. Så jeg bliver med min to datter i Libanon, men min mand kommer til Danmark. Bagefter jeg flytter til [unclear], fordi jeg gerne ville have en lille lejlighed for min datter måske det er [unclear] bedst at min mand [unclear] mig. Så [unclear] hver dag, hver dag, hver dag og jeg kender ikke, kun min familie. Da jeg kommer til Danmark, min datter har problemer med kontakt med mennesker. Hvis hun ser dig først gang, hun snakker ikke med dig, måske hun bliver meget [saying uuuh noise, ed.]. Da hun kom til børnehave, måske hun bliver 3-4 måneder og græder, og jeg bliver en måned med min datter til at få kontakt med lærer først. Bagefter hun har to veninder og de lære sammen, men nu, min datter skal gå i skole og begynde i skole. Så læreren finder problemer med dette, for min datter skal flytte til en anden plads og måske hun har samme problemer. Fordi hun prøver at sende min datter på kursus for at blive god til dansk, hun går to dage og hun træt og nervøs, så hun vil gerne stoppe det, og komme tilbage til børnehave. Sidste år læreren laver brug for min datter [unclear] dansk, de kan snakke, eller kan starte skole eller nej, så min datter hun svarer ikke, hun kunne ikke. Hun vil gerne snakke med sine veninder, men hvis det, du har kontakt med hende hun snakker ikke. Så hun [unclear] og så [unclear] hjælper din datter, fordi hvis du bliver her, hun kan [unclear]. Så læreren sagde at, vi har problemer, til at se om hun er klar til skolen eller nej, så hun, næste år vil gerne have speciel hjælp til min datter, til kontakt med mennesker, eller med læreren eller med nye veninder. Så det er fra krig, fordi min datter spørger mig: "hvor er min hus? Hvor er vores lejlighed?" Fordi vi er flygtet nogen gange til flere huse, forskellige mennesker. Nogen gange med min familie, nogen gange med min mands familie, bagefter jeg kommer og bor i camp for flygtninge, jeg bliver her tre måneder, bagefter jeg flygter til et nyt hus, også i min lejlighed nu, jeg har ikke en god nabo. Fra første gang jeg bor i den lejlighed, hun kan ikke lide mig.

I: Hun kan ikke lide dig?

M: Nej. Jeg sagde "hej" hun sagde [imitating neighbour: just looking, ed.]. Efter 20 dage, hun skrev klage.

I: Klage?

M: Ja. "Din datter larmer og op ad trappen og..." Så jeg ringede til kommunen og også boligselskab. Boligselskab sendte brev til mig og vil gerne snakke om det. De kommer og besøger mig og bliver med mig i måske 3 timer, hun sagde jeg kan ikke se problemer, fordi du har stor datter og lille datter [unclear]. Hun sagde at hun ikke løber og larmer. Og min nabo banker ikke og siger undskyld, nej, nej. Hun skrev en klage at din datter larmer, i dag, ikke i nat også. Hun sendte fire klager.

I: Fire klager?

M: Ja.

I: Hold da op.

M: Bagefter de inviterer os til at snakke sammen, måske du kan finde en løsning på de her problemer.

T: Oveni alt det her, hun har også problemer med naboen.

M: Men det er, mit boligselskab snakker ikke noget, fordi de gik og spurgte alle naboer, de sagde jeg er en god nabo. Så hun sagde, det er kun hende, så måske hun har problemer, ikke mig. Mit problem nu, er at min datter, hver dag hun sagde, "hvorfor jeg har ikke som S [ed.]?" Hun går til S [ed.] og hun har søde naboer, "hvorfor kan jeg løbe og hoppe her, men ikke derhjemme?". Jeg har problemer med nabo og kommunen.

I: Ja.

M: Hver dag, stress, stress, stress!

L: Ja, stress

M: Og jeg vil gerne invitere mine veninder til at besøge mig, men de kommer de kommer ikke. Fordi sidste gang, de kom for at besøge mig, og vi snakker, drikker kaffe og børnene leger. Det er vinter. Bagefter, døren banker [says knock, knock, knock]. Jeg åbner [screaming] "Kan i stoppe det?" Jeg sagde, "men det er søndag, og det er kl tre, hun sagde " du kan fortælle børnene at gå ud" Jeg sagde " det er vinter og de kommer og besøger mig, de kender ikke pladsen her"

L: M [ed.] kommer her

[laughing]

M: Jeg kommer og besøger L [ed.], jeg kommer og besøger S [ed.], men de kommer ikke hjem til mig.

T: Hun tør ikke at invitere nogen.

I: Nej.

L: De kommer altid her hos mig. Fordi der er ikke nogen naboer her.

I: ja. Det er også et stort hjem. Måske skal vi bare tage de sidste spørgsmål. Ok, det er omkring jeres drømme for fremtiden. Hvis I kigger fem år frem.

[noise from children]

L: Min drøm er at komme tilbage til Syrien.

M: Jeg tænker ikke at komme tilbage til Syrien. For det første fordi jeg er statsløs, jeg er fra Palæstina, så måske Syriens præsident vil ikke have jeg kommer tilbage. De siger måske kun syrere kan komme tilbage. Og min familie i Libanon, vil gerne hvis jeg kan bo i Libanon, men Libanons præsident siger

nej. Kun Libanon og Syrien. Så jeg synes det er en chance for mig at starte i Danmark, men jeg får mange problemer her. Jeg har mange planer. Første ting, er at jeg gerne vil kunne cykle.

[laughing]

M: Og jeg vil gerne fungere godt. Og jeg vil gerne danse her. Jeg vil gerne starte VUC, bagefter 9. klasse, bagefter jeg kan tage 10. klasse, jeg kan læse sammen med HF sammen med [unclear] hjælper, men dette er planer. For hvis min mand finder arbejde, jeg kan gå at læse dette. Men dette problem, hvis min mand ikke finder arbejde, så vil jeg gerne have en god løn, hvis jeg går og læser og får en uddannelse, så kan jeg måske kun få 5000 og jeg har familie. Det er min plan. Jeg håber at jeg opnår det.

I: Ja. Det skal du nok. Inshallah.

[laughing]

T: Hvad er din drøm S [ed.]?

S: Min drøm er også at jeg tager uddannelse og at min børn tager uddannelse og at der kommer fred i Syrien, at jeg kommer tilbage til Syrien. Så jeg kan opbygge samfundet, jeg bygger videre i Syrien.

J: Jeg ønsker at jeg får et godt liv, jeg bliver glad, fordi det er [unclear]. At vende tilbage til Syrien. At være her, at jeg bliver glad. Fordi jeg har det ikke så godt her.

S: Hvorfor har I valgt det her emne til jeres speciale?

I: Vi synes, det er, altså for mange år siden var der jo også det der hedder starthjælpen, som er lidt det samme som integrationsydelsen. Og baggrunden for det var ligesom at de ville have folk i arbejde. Det viste sig at der ikke kom særligt mange i arbejde af at sætte deres ydelser ned. Nu har man så lavet integrationsydelsen, igen, og som vi sagde i starten, det er ikke rigtig flygtningene, dem hører man ikke rigtig i debatten, så vi synes det kunne være interessant at høre fra flygtningene selv hvordan det påvirker deres liv.

S: Nu har I hørt på os og vores historier, hvordan vi lever og sådan noget. Men hvordan havde I før indtryk af flygtninge?

I: Generelt, eller?

S: Ok, ja generelt, hvad synes I om flygtninge her i Danmark?

I: Jeg [Emilia] kender jo Wafa fordi vi arbejder i Refugees Welcome sammen, så jeg har arbejdet med flygtninge før og kender også flygtninge - og det gør Marie også. Vi har ikke noget meget anderledes billede. Altså jeg ser det som nogen mennesker der kommer hertil, fordi det har de brug for, de flygter fra krig, og jeg tænker også på jer som nogle mennesker med nogle ressourcer som vi kan bruge her i Danmark. Og nogle mennesker som lige nu ikke bliver behandlet særlig godt.

S: Jeg håber at vores stemme bliver hørt. At vi bliver hørt.

I: Vi vil prøve at få det ud.

Focus group, Roskilde men

Interview date: 17.03.2017

Place: Thamer's home in Roskilde

Length: 1:50:52

Interviewees: Thamer (T), Omar (O) and Ahmad (A)

Interviewer: Emilia and Marie (I)

Other people present: No.

Interview:

I: Maybe you can just start by telling how long you've been in Denmark and who do you live with and how many children you have?

O: August 2014 he arrived here, two years and six months almost. He lives with his wife... He lived one and a half year alone, then his wife arrived through family reunification. Now he lives with his family, wife and two kids. The ones you have seen.

I: Yes

A: 10th of April 2014, more than one year before "familiesammenføring", then all the family arrived here. He lives with his wife and four kids, two boys, two girls.

I: Yes

T: I arrived 10th of August 2014 also. I live now here [referring to the house] with my wife and two kids. Also it took me more than, almost one year. It took me till, actually, 25th of November 2015

I: To get your..?

T: Yeah, my wife here. So from August 2014 till the end, or the first of december 2015. Like one year and two months or something like this.

I: And what are your educational/professional background?

O: He has a.. what do you call it... high school eller gymnasium?

I: Gymnasium, yes.

A: Also the same, 8th grade.

T: I have a bachelor degree in computer science and engineering and I am studying right now in DTU.

I: You are studying now?

T: Yeah, I have a Master, I am making my Master Degree in computer science and engineering in technical university of Denmark, DTU

I: Ah, nice. I know that.

T: Yeah, it's nice.

I: Hehe, yeah. So, if you could explain how your, what do you do on a normal day, like on an everyday?

O: Normally school, sprogskole, in Clavis, home, school, home, we go search for job or ask in the Kommune

I: The jobcenter?

T: Yeah, the jobcenter, but there is no job actually.

O: Five times in praktik.

A: He's not really going, he doesn't go really to school. Because he have really, the worst, THE worst case I have ever seen in my life.

I: Of?

A: He's wife actually, she get tired and she... [Asks in Arabic if it is OK to tell us. He agrees] she tried to suicide.

I: Ok.

T: It was the worst case ever I have seen. Ever, you know? It was so, so bad situation, so bad actually. For me, for him, for all of us, actually. No one know, actually our friend, he doesn't know, actually. Just me and him we know.

A: Very high pressure on her actually, at home, so she couldn't really handle it.

I: Pressure here in Denmark?

T: Yeah, she is now in Denmark.

I: But it was because of the pressure here in Denmark?

T: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Hehe, she have been into a very difficult situation. Over there she was living alone in Lebanon until she arrived here, they cannot go back to Syria and they stucked in Lebanon and then it was a very difficult situation through the familiesammenføring. Until they arrived here, and then when they arrived here they stayed in the camp, you know it's not just for family camp, it's for everyone, all in one room like this [pointing at the living room]

I: Mh.

T: His wife with four kids in one room they have to share everything with others around like 3-4 months. 3 months. And he was living there for [asks Ahmad in Arabic] around one and a half year alone, then his wife arrived from Lebanon.

A: He's saying that the families arriving from there, they are coming from very difficult and bad situations, they are running away from home, they left all life, you know?

I: Mh.

T: And they, like for example two years without school for kids, for example, you know? He didn't say this, I'm saying this. Just an example, and you left everything behind, then, and you lost everything, and then you arrive here, you don't know what to do.

I: Mh.

T: And then you see some people like, putting, [Thamer sighing] like some people for example they are posting something on the Facebook. The one you have seen [referring to a picture of Inger Støjberg with a cake, celebrating her 50 tightenings] I don't want to say it.

I: The cake?

T: Yeah, the cake, the fifty something cake. You know, this is so much pressure on us. We don't know, actually, we, this makes more pressure on the family. Especially, there is no work, there is no light.

I: No. Hope?

T: Yeah, there's no hope actually. We don't know, actually, if we're staying here or if we are to be arrested and (laughter, red.). We don't know.

I: Yeah, no.

T: Nobody knows.

A: He's saying because of there's no hope, and because of this pressure of this government, we as grown ups, like the men and the women, husbands and wives, we know that this government is bad [unclear] we are not talking the people, because we have so many people supporting us, but we don't want our kids to notice this.

I: No.

A: We are trying so hard just to push away the idea that here is bad, you know? Because the kids they cannot differentiate between, like, this is the government and this is the people. They don't understand the concept of the government, you know, that they are ruling, and the people that they are ruled by the government, they don't understand this. They feel the pressure on us and then they react, actually. Somehow they feel bad. This is something he said and something I add.

O: And this suffering, actually, it is affecting the whole life at home.

I: The financial?

T: Yeah the financial actually, because, the smallest or, the smallest thing that the kids they need, we cannot really, we cannot afford it actually.

I: What could that be, that they want?

T: Like for example a bicycle.

O: Maybe just like a trip to Copenhagen. For example. We cannot take ticket, it's too expensive. It costs a fortune. We came here, it's just for our kids, it's not for us. It is our kids, they need to live, it's not for us, we can survive down.

T: I am not really sure we can survive also. I am talking about myself actually.

I: And what about your everyday life, you go to DTU, everyday, or?

T: Almost everyday, today I couldn't I have a project to work. But I have Monday, Wednesday and Thursday classes, Tuesday and Friday I don't have.

I: Do you have Danish classes as well?

T: Yeah I use to go to Danish classes, but now, it is hard at DTU and I'm a little bit afraid.

I: Yeah, hehe.

T: Yeah, it is a long time since I studied. But I am going to do it [unclear]. I am old you know?

[laughter]

T: So, I need to focus know a little bit on computer stuff. And the study right now is in English, or the Master is in English.

I: Ok.

T: But, like, the days off I go see the project team and our groups.

I: Oh yeah, the other students?

T: Yeah the other students and we do the project stuff, exercises and projects.

I: So, what about in the weekends and in the free time?

O: Just at home actually. Sometimes we visit. Because everywhere you need to go, you have to pay money.

A: He has some problems with the commune that he wants some support because he have high rent. He didn't say that now, but I know. I'm just giving you a hint that is what is happening actually. He has a high rent. 10,000. At the beginning they forced him to sign the contract. It was at that time good, because at that time he and his wife had a higher salary.

I: Oh yeah, because they had the old?

A: The old, yeah. (unclear). But then, now actually, everyone came to the, eh, what do you call this? The roof, or the?

I: Loft?

A: Ceiling? Or something like this, so we all dropped down. They told him ok if you need support, you have a small car, you have to sell it, we cannot give you any support.

I: Because he has a car?

A: He has a small car, yeah exactly. His car actually, is 8,000 kr. He sold it because then the afgift came and he has no money, he sold it for like 4,500, but the car was around 8,000. Now he paid for transportation, because he, his wife, [name of his wife and kids] six people he pays three times double what he used to pay when he had the car, because he lives in [name of village outside Roskilde]. So, it costs him so much money to come here and then go and get the kids and, you know, then they are stucked all the time at home. It costs so much more money.

I: So, he sold the car, or no?

A: Yeah he sold it, he sold the car.

I: Ok.

A: But now, it costs more money actually, hehe.

I: Yeah, it is expensive.

T: It is expensive actually, it is expensive.

A: He is saying that there is really suffering. We are suffering here. And the people actually, they don't want to believe that. They don't believe and they don't wanna believe it. And that makes the trust between us... There is no trust.

I: Is it between you and the municipality/kommunen or is it...?

A: It is between the commune and the government. Because the commune keeps saying this is the government, they make the rules, it is not us, and you cannot negotiate with, or you cannot talk to government. You cannot actually. Especially us, we are foreigners, we are not from here, we don't know what to do actually. So, whenever someone speaks to us, they say, this is the government, this is the government, this is the rules, those are the rules.

I: Yeah.

A: He is saying about the rules, actually, because we don't know the rules, they just say, ok, those are the rules, those are the rules. If we know the rules, then we might actually, sit with the commune or sit with the people and we discuss actually, we say this is our right, this is not. But we don't know actually. I keep saying, when I see E-boks, full of [laughing] something terrible, that you really need someone really his 7th grandfather lived here in Denmark, so he can understand just the words and concepts, it is just very complicated, even if you translate to English, you cannot understand. I try so much actually. So I say, ok, this is, if you imagine two years kids, they won't understand this. It is very difficult, it's really difficult, they use very difficult words, and sentences, grammars, and, you

know, so you understand nothing. You really understand nothing. Especially when it comes to like udbetaling or, eh, this boligstøtte?

I: Boligstøtte

T: So something, they just put you numbers and stuff and you read, read, read and you understand nothing. You try translate, translate, translate, and you understand nothing.

A: Sometimes we have some friends, Danish people, they help us. When they read this, they don't understand.

I: I can imagine, yeah.

T: It is the new rule of 225 hours. They say ok you have to go and make those 225 hours, how? There is something, actually, really, really serious, and these people, in the government, they have to understand this: as long as they keep using this aggressive speech against us no society, no society, in the world will accept us. So, you don't say, those people are criminals, and you expect that those people they will be part of society. You cannot actually! You cannot, yourself, if you have a company, and you everyday on the radio, everyday, you listen on the radio, the people saying, in the government I mean, those Syrian people or refugees, or Muslims, they are criminals, we don't know, we don't expect what they will do. We don't know what's going to happen, we don't know what they will do, they are bad people, they should get back to Syria, they should get back to the dessert. And then you expect the other company that they will hire us? You know?

I: Yeah, it affects.

T: It affects so much, because this is aggression. There's so much aggression against the people, you know? Against anything! Ok, just stop it! Don't tell that those people are bad, let the other people, let the Danish people discover this. I mean either the government is taking care of everyone here, and they know, instead of everyone, they think, and that means that the people are dumb, actually. They don't think. When the government, actually, they think instead of me, and they tell me ok those people are good, then I believe, or if those people are bad, then I also believe, then I'm not thinking, I'm not using my mind, you know?

I: Yeah.

T: But just telling everyday, telling, telling, telling, telling, everyday this is, this affects so much.

I: Yeah, yeah I understand.

O: He is saying that, they think that we don't like to work or we don't love to work. Sitting at home is affecting us. In other words it kills, it kills actually, it kills us actually. It kills us so much staying

at home, because, he use to work, he has his business, he has work, he had life. And they thought that we are here just to come and sit and take free money.

T: Exactly, this we all agree about, that we are, this is the result of the old experience with the old people they arrived here before. And we know how they are dealing actually. The old people.

I: The old immigrants?

T: We know that they are bad. And by the way, the old people, they really hate the Syrians here, because our life is so different. Maybe they are from Lebanon, you know? And they are next to us, from Lebanon and from Iraq. But we live completely different actually. We really... All of them they have houses in Syria, the people they are coming from Lebanon, and the people from Iraq, they have houses in Syria, you know? But when we arrived here, they are fighting us also. So much! They don't give any support. They, if you go to any supermarket, you know? Arab supermarket, the people they are coming from Lebanon or something. If you are from for example Palestine, from Lebanon, whatever, from Iraq, you need to buy then he gives you this for like 5 kr. When we come, we take for like 7 kr.

I: Ok. Why is that?

T: It is like this.

I: It's politics?

T: Because they are afraid. 5 years, 5 years and they will have no job to work actually, 5 years we'll take all the professions and I'm sure about this. The best traders, merchandisers all over the world are from Damascus. One of the best people that they work in like handicraft, but not like the others. We are coming from cities, we are coming from history, we had a country, you know? We had a country, one of the richest country all over the Arab world. Once I had like a small introduction, or lecture about Syria, it took me two hours to finish, it was in the højskole. I could be able to get some information from the wikipedia, but it was old information, so it's not really... It was difficult to retrieve it at that time, and I guess those information not still available right now. Like what we produce of cotton, what we produce of wheat, what we produce of petrol, that we have 4500 cities and historical locations, old historical locations, 4500. We have, we are the third producing cotton comparing the quality, the quantity to the land.

I: Ok.

T: The first for olive and olive oil in the Arab world, 19 million trees of olive, 93 million animals in Syria, like cows and sheep, 1 million barrels of petrol Syria can produce every day, gas still not used at all, we have gas [unclear].

A: Now Bashar is stealing that.

T: Yeah, but the information is not really accurate right now, because it is lost, you know? All the accurate information is not really, so I cannot guarantee 100 percent.

I: Ok, so, we came from the question about the weekends, and that, you just stay at home?

T: Like now, this is the weekend for us. Normally TV.

I: But you mentioned that you have some Danish friends, like, who do you normally interact with other than your friends here?

T: Some people from Dansk Flygtningehjælp. Or the mentor.

I: Mentorordningen?

T: yeah.

I: You also interact with the organisation Dansk Flygtningehjælp? [looking at Ahmad and Omar]

A: Ahmad [ed.] he has one friend actually, she is a real friend from outside.

I: Ok, but do you interact with any other organisations, like Venligboerne? Or other organisations that help refugees?

A: Nej.

I: So you hang out, you're like a big friendship group, the three of you, do you have any other good friends?

T: You've seen the women?

I: Yeah.

T: Those.

[laughter]

T: But mainly most of the time, me and A [ed.] and O [ed.], like this. When we like, meet. Because, you can't go anywhere or do any activities.

A: He's saying that the normal people, like Danish people, they don't go now, actually, to the government or to the kommune, because they know that it is a wall actually, blocking the way. They are doing the activities themselves actually, they are helping themselves privately.

O: He's saying that at home, all his furniture is from the people. Like here actually.

I: It is also from..?

T: From people actually, I just bought the beds.

I: And where do you know the people from? That you got the couches and the tables and chairs?

T: From Facebook actually, from this eeh, Ven..

I: Venligboerne?

A: Ja, Venligboerne!

I: Did you get the furniture from them?

T: Yeah, they put like free of charge furniture if you want to come and collect it. This TV I found it in the street

I: You found it in the street, wow. It's all new.

T: It's very old actually, but it's good.

I: Yeah, it's really good.

T: I mean I was one time helping one friend, I found him some couches on the internet, so we were going to bring those couches, then I found this on the street. I asked her, do you need this one? She said no, you can take it, without power cables, I arranged the power cables, there is no remote control, but it's ok. We can see something at least.

[laughter]

I: So if you..

T: This table actually is also free.

I: Yeah? It's really nice.

T: Yeah, it was broken the leg, but I fixed it, but then it's ok.

I: If you had the money that you needed, what would you do in the weekend with your family?

T: Eh, maybe I do nothing, because I'm use to doing nothing [laughter].

O: First, we'll buy some clothes to the kids.

I: Clothes for the kids?

T: Yeah, because most of the cloth they are second hand.

O: Buy some bicycles. Get them to some place like outside the city, by train.

I: Buy train tickets, or?

T: No, no, by the train. Riding the train. They just see the train. Because it costs like 40 kr. to go there and 40 kr. to get back

I: Or, I think it depends on when you're going, sometimes it's 50 kr.

A: 47 kr. to go.

I: Yeah, it's really expensive.

T: Yeah, expensive actually. But I have a small car, so.

I: But it's just because when we asked before what you do in the weekends you said we just sit at home. But then, if you could do, is there anything imagine that you would like to do in the weekends that you cannot afford?

I: Like any activities...

O: This is the point actually, because you jumped to the activities, but we are not thinking about activities right now.

I: What are you thinking about?

T: About food actually at home. Because this is more important.

O: Mit kort er 0 kr. Vi spiser ikke.

I: How do you plan your, I mean, what do you do to get all the food that you need? Do you plan your daily shopping?

O: First of all he stopped smoking, this is good for him. He used to smoke like two packages a day, now he's not smoking. It's not just about having food everyday, you know? We every month go to like a whole sale, and we buy for the whole month actually.

I: Where do you go to the wholesale?

T: It's a shop, we buy.

I: Supermarket?

T: Yeah, but it's not like Fakta or Føtex or... But we buy the other stuff, like...

I: Flour, rice?

T: For example yeah. Hummus, rice, oil.

I: That you need a lot of?

T: Yeah, when we need like a big quantity, sugar and stuff like this. So, it becomes a little bit cheaper. And we go like a group of people, so it's a whole sale.

A: And then we.., tilbud! We have like an E-tilbud [an app] on the mobile phone. Do you know the E-tilbud?

I: It's like an app?

A: We have something called E-tilbud, it's all the supermarkets.

I: In Roskilde?

T: In all Denmark. You can see all the [showing the app]

I: Aah, ok. All the magazines.

T: Yeah, so we just press, like for example, we depend mainly on Netto, Lidl, Aldi and Føtex. Føtex is normally expensive, but when they make offer, they make very good offers, because they have high quality, so even if it is like the same price of Lidl or Aldi or Netto even, the quality is better. Vegetables or whatever.

A: We cannot take trolley and go and put stuff like the other people. We go for example here, we go to Netto, they have flour, it's now 9 kr. normally it's like 15, or this is 20 now they have it with 9, ok, I can show you now, I buy like this, now we have Ariel

I: Ariel? The cleaning?

A: For vaskemaskine.

I: Ah, yeah, yeah.

T: I can show you actually, he [Ahmad] call me, "Ah, Arial, there is a, yeah, I bought you two" [laughter]. It's 50 kr. normally it's like 80 kr.

I: So you call each other?

T: Yeah, everyday. "Ok, today we have like banana for 1 kr. Ok go, go and get from Netto or get from Føtex for example" The chicken today is 25, this takes at least every day 3 hours running from place to place to buy the... Running after tilbud, you know? It's very annoying, because your wife must be like searching with you, you have to search also. Sometimes you need to buy for example chicken breasts, for example, ok? And you stop, ok should I buy it now, it's like 30 kr. here or maybe I buy it from another place. Then I stop, then I check, where is it cheaper, then I just go to the other place, so this takes long time, and it makes us feel very exhausted, really tired. Sick and tired actually. Sick and tired, because you cannot just go and buy, I don't want to go and buy from five stars supermarkets or I don't want to go to restaurants, but eh.. just, hehe.

A: He's saying that as we all know that for example like the clothes for the kids are all second hand, we cannot really afford buying new, because the money they take, we put it for food.

I: The children's check, or what do you mean?

T: Yeah, for the kids, every month, or every three months, we take it, actually we divided for three months and we put it for food. You cannot really put it for clothes or stuff.

A: So, yesterday, he has a grown up kid, 13 years, his friends, actually, in the school, they wear like sports clothes, nice and, you know? So he insisted that he wants to buy new pants and t-shirt Adidas, and he forced to buy it for him, you know? It cost like 750 kr. His son made some savings and then he paid the other, the rest. And he was crying "Oh, from where I get this money?"

I: So his son is working, he saved up some money, his son, himself?

T: No, but sometimes you need to give the kids something like every week, like 50 kr. or every month, like..

I: Ah yeah, buy some candy or.

T: Yeah like this. Because he is not 7 years or 8 years, he's 13, he go to school alone and he get back. So at least he should have like 20 kr. in his pocket, right?

I: Yeah, of course.

O: His boy he want to play football and he wants to put him in the club, he cannot afford like the clothes and stuff, like this. [unclear] Flygtningehjælpen I guess they support.

A: Yeah, yeah.

T: Ahamad [ed.] knows, Omar [ed.] did not know.

A: 900 just for the shoes. They [Dansk Flygtningehjælp] support with 400 kr. They gave him 400 and he put like 650.

I: So, do you feel like the kids are affected by it, your economic situation?

T: It's not that I think actually, I'm sure. They can see the [unlear], because sometimes we, you argue with your wife, you know? You argue that, eh...

I: About the situation?

T: Yes, that we have to do this, no you have to.. For example I have never invited my wife for a cup of coffee outside. Just a cup of coffee, you know? Never! Since she came here. Once she just wanted to go to a restaurant and she told me I need to go to a restaurant. We went there, it's turkish guy, he made this kebab sandwich, it's so, so disgusting you know, so disgusting, so I don't really eat it. I would never eat something like this, just 15 kr. I throw up actually.

I: Ok, hehe.

T: Really, seriously, I had pain in my stomach for some time. And we are used to, I can show you the pictures of how my life use to be. I had a fancy life for me, high-style, but I'm running away from the war. It's not up to us, we're forced to be here, we are forced actually, we are forced to be in Europe in general, not talking about Denmark, but we are forced that we left our home.

A: If they delete the fingerprints we leave.

I: If they what? Ah delete. To where do you want to go?

T: I didn't think this.

A: No offence

I: No, no, no offence taken.

A: Me and Ahmad [ed.] actually we know each other from Turkey, so we tried to travel together many times. And we tried to die many times together, because the travelling is smuggling through the borders, crossing the waters, it's a suicide, eh..

I: Mission?

A: Mission exactly. So many times we could be killed, me and him, so both of us we were coming to Sweden, but then they.. Then I stopped the idea, I had to bring Sulaima [his wife] to Turkey, because it was so dangerous at the house, and then he was travelling alone, then he arrived at the German-Danish border, the Danish, eh... What do you call it?

I: Grænsekontrol?

T: Guardians or the...

I: Grænsevagter

T: The borders guards or something, they caught him.

I: So the plan was to go to Sweden?

A: Exactly. So when he arrived here, he liked it so much in the beginning. So when he arrived here, he saw something that he didn't imagine about before. It was so nice. And then he called me actually, to Turkey, and he said you have to send your wife back to Syria, and come to Denmark. You'll see something incredible here in Denmark. It's the first country ever you would like to go to

O: Number one country.

T: Actually I wanna say something, that I don't want to tell him. He used to cry every day, but I don't want to say this in Arabic. [laughter] Every day actually, I used to call him, and he was so happy. And when I arrived here I was also so happy, and I went to højskole and I was so into the life.

I: Yeah, which højskole?

T: Jyderup.

I: Jyderup? OK, nice.

O: Omar [ed.] is saying that when he arrived here he wasn't thinking about, like the salary or nationality or permanent stay or, just about the life here and how happy and the fast family reunification. But they have done something very smart, they used to ask us, "why did you choose Denmark?", so, because we don't lie, we try to be honest, we say, we know that Denmark they make fast family reunification. It was three months to get family reunification, three months actually. We have friends actually they [speaks Arabic]. tre måneder. Because you are afraid about the kids, who are left behind. And it is not possible to bring them with you, because many times, many times actually, you could get killed on the way, you know? And it is very dangerous actually, you cannot really take this chance, and this is like very bad chance. And it took you long time, so when you arrive here and you say, ok, this is like very fast family reunification, so they ask us why you came to here, we say ok, this is we know that, this is the happiest place all over the world, and to be honest this is

family reunification. Ok, then after like one month, they make it for 11 months the family reunification, you know?

I: Yeah, yeah.

T: And there was no that much refugees actually. When you're talking about in 2015 all the refugees they arrived 16,000 people and at the same time 1 million in Sweden and 1 million in Germany and 15,000 here. 15,000, you know what means 15,000? Have you seen that video [referring to a video he showed earlier of his neighborhood in Syria] just that street actually is 15.000 people you can find in that street.

A: He is saying that this is all about this new government actually. This person with the cake. What's her name?

I: Inger Støjberg

T: Yeah, Inger. If they don't need the people actually, or if they are afraid or whatever, why they are forcing the people to stay?

I: Oh, because you can't go anywhere else?

T: We cannot. The kids and the wife they can go, ok, we need to send them, ok, we just sent them. You have a fingerprint. It's not against the people you know, no offense actually.

I: It's ok, hehe.

T: I just need to repeat it, it's about the rules and how they make the life difficult, but otherwise it was very, I swear actually, he [pointing at Ahmad] use to call me everyday like crying, you know? He saying " come here, it's really nice, thank god that we arrived here, this is better than Syria" [laughter]. But then I stayed, just a few people they are trying to do something very, not nice.

A: His wife actually, it's just only because of the kids that they are studying and have [unclear] relations to the school, to the friends, you know, they have something that they like.

I: Here in Denmark?

A: Yeah and they are studying.

I: The children?

A: Yeah, the children, his children, otherwise, everyday she cries, she wants to go back, even to Syria. Everyday, everyday.

O: His wife saying is it possible that we are in Europe and we think how we are gonna eat or how is it possible that you should think how you're gonna arrange your food, you're afraid that you cannot make it, you get my point?

I: yeah, yeah!

O: Is it possible here? In Europe or in Denmark that we're afraid we cannot arrange the food for the next day. You cannot invite someone to your home. Like, when they need to go the women, everyone she makes something and then they go everyone should make something. It's about supporting, we also support each other.

I: Helping out?

T: It's not like really helping out, more, just when we sit together, we cannot depend on each other. I cannot go to [unclear] he should bring something, I should bring something, then, yeah, it works.

I: We have some questions about your children, if that's ok?

T: Yeah.

I: So, if you should just describe, the everyday, or maybe not the everyday, but just the life of your children, how do you see the life of your children here in Denmark?

T: How do you see or how they do?

I: Both maybe, how you see the life of your children in Denmark, but also how they live here in Denmark?

T: We just speak first about how they live their daily schedule

All: They wake up at around 6-7, depend on how far they are from school, like we wake up at 7, they [referring to Ahmad] wake up at 6, they go to school, they get back at around 4.30-5 from the Klub or the SFO, they come, they sit, they fight a little bit [laughter] So we just like, see in the evening a little bit, then they go to sleep around 8-8.30. Then they wake up the next day, this is how they, their week. Especially it's the winter, they cannot go play outside. Omar [ed.] is saying that the kids actually they ask actually, they demand, they need something, I want something, I need to, please buy me something, I need chocolate, I need to go, I need bicycle, I need football, you know? So they have some demands. He say ok at your birthday I'll bring you , I'll buy you or, just, I will, I will, I will.

I: So you say later?

O: Later yeah exactly. Later on, later on.

A: Ahmad [ed.] is saying that we are trying to separate our suffering, daily suffering from our kids, so they don't really be affected. So they just put in mind that they study, they have fun, they grow up like healthy, you know, they are like sponge.

I: Sponge?

T: Like the sponge you know. Do you know what is a sponge?

I: Yeah, yeah.

T: They suck everything. It's like this cake [pointing at the cake on the table] it will like suck everything, and it will stay in mind. So, if they grow up now, like they are 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 years and they grow up now and they have in mind that they are, they see that their families actually are suffering and they, it's not really nice life. And they are not like the same other kids in school, they don't wear like nice or clean clothes, not about clean actually, nice, for example clothes or new clothes or whatever, you know? So they have like good toys, like when they, for example, like when they have this party where they wear...

I: Fastelavn?

T: I don't know they wear like spiderman and superman and..

I: Halloween?

T: Something like this. We cannot buy something like this for our kids. It's something that really hurts. And you cannot say for the boys I cannot buy. So, this will remain in his head, his brain, so we're trying, actually, to separate it away, but as much as we try, but the, I mean the [unclear] huge and the problems are very difficult and very big, and this suffering is, we cannot hide it all, you know? We cannot control it all, we cannot control everything actually, we're trying to control, but we cannot.

A: Now this... His kids actually now, had one year in the school and they speak good Danish. But now those kids actually they, if you tell them like, do you want to go to Sweden? They say ok I want to go to Sweden. Do you wanna stay here? They say no, I don't wanna stay here, I wanna go to Sweden or to Germany.

I: Why do you think that?

A: Because they see the problems. Because also, when, this is something you cannot really hide all the time, you know. They hear, they look, they notice everything. Fresh brains, they remember every little detail. Like we're sitting for example and we say ok now do you see the new rules for the permanent visa? We cannot take a permanent visa right now. What we will do? I'm so afraid that after 5 years they throw me away. The kids he [snapped his fingers] gets this in mind. They say, ok what will happen to me? Because he cannot understand also, at the same time. We're trying so hard to separate this, we don't speak this in front of the kids. We don't speak like this in front of the kids. Sometimes they hear from outside, sometimes you're talking on the phone, saying "do you see that new rule regarding the nationality? Or regarding the permanent visa? How can I can work for like 17 years out of 3?" I'm still new here I now the government is fighting me and all the people are fighting me, I'm not accepted in the society and I'm not accepted everywhere, how? You feel hopeless. You feel desperate, you know?

O: On August, his wife she should renew her visa, she's afraid that they might not renew the visa. Because you don't know actually, you don't know. You don't know if they're going to add a new or, because everyday she's making new rules. Everyday, everyday, everyday. I have really one question, this is to all the people here, what real achievements those people are achieved?

I: Yeah, the government?

T: Yeah, I need to see one critical achievement, you know? Not critical, any achievement, give me one good achievement. Give me one good achievement for those people. You might know, I cannot really Danish, I just listen from the people, you know? But I need a real achievement.

I: I guess it's a..

T: She was speaking about the jobless people, is it reduced or more or less or?

I: It's reduced.

T: How...

I: I mean for refugees.

T: For refugees reduced?

I: To get jobs?

T: Yeah.

I: Yeah, but not that much, like 6% or something, it's a very little portion of the people who actually gets a job, because of this, so it's not.

I: It's very little, it's like 10% maximum.

T: Ok, but the point is, what in front or to the other side, the effects.

I: Exactly, what about the rest of the people

T: The rest of the other people, or, now we have like, because of this hard rules, we have now 6% of the people that are in jobs, ok? This is an advantage. What are the disadvantage or what are the effects or the side effects of this? Does it really, does it, does it worth it?

I: Is it worth it, yeah

T: Is it worth it, right? Does it worth, I'm really bad in English.

I: No, no, but, is it worth it, right?

T: Maybe I need sugar, [laughter] I smoke so much.

I: Justify, does it justify it

T: Does it justify it, for example.

I: But it's a good question and that's actually also what we are writing about [laughter]

A: yeah, yeah. Bravo! [laughter]

I: That's why we're going out to do these interviews to see how it affects the families that doesn't get jobs.

A: It's like, if, it's not like it's going to affect, we are affected.. I don't know how to say this in English, but they are saying that it's not something going to happen, it's already happening.

I: Yeah

A: Yeah, he's getting back to the kids now, you can manage your mind actually, for an idea, but the kids, if they put it in mind, they will keep it forever. His boy actually, he made him headache in the car, last week, really, I could slap him at his mouth like this [laughter] Sssh, shush, because this is so much actually. It's so annoying when you hear you're a 13 years old boy he wants to runaway to Germany. When he speaks with some friends or relatives in Germany he see like big difference, really.

I: In the lifestyle?

T: It's not a lifestyle actually, how they treat people.

I: Ah ok

T: You can say that now it is difficult in Germany, we all know that, but it's around 1 million people around, right?

I: yeah

A: And he speaks fluent Danish, you know? He could translate to us. But even though he was like, I spend like 2 hours saying ok, what the hell you are thinking about to leave here and to go and start from zero in Germany. And he was completely convinced that there is what's better, and his father actually, he was like oh my God, what should I kill myself? So you are convinced that here is much better for you and you know that here you started and here you have school and now you have the language and you don't have to go and sit in the camps and do blah blah blah, and saying the same thing. And he was just completely convinced and he doesn't want somebody to convinced him that in Denmark is better. And this is 13 years.

I: Mh, he's a young boy.

T: Yeah, you see how we're, how it affects us, because we're afraid of the kids. Everyday, the little, maybe you saw him over there [referring to the interviews conducted with their wives]

I: Yeah

T: Every day they call my mother, every day, they say ok, grandma' when we get back to Syria? When we get back to Syria? When we get back to Syria? This is every day, every day, every day. I say, why do you need to go to Syria? They say, ok there we have a family and... [interrupted]

T: Sorry, you feel cold?

I: No it's ok.

T: Should I bring you blankets or something?

I: No, it's ok [laughter]

I: You mentioned before they wanted to practice football, but do they do any activities outside school?

A: Not really no

O: No

I: SFO?

A: SFO yes

O: Yes

I: Do they like going to school? Do they have a lot of friends there?

T: yeah, yea, yeah

A: Yes, so much

T: Yes, so much, they like the school I think more than they like home.

I: Ok

T: This is good. Because we now, and the point, this is, here you see the bright side of being in Denmark. When you deal with teachers, for example, ok, when you deal with doctors, you see how great, you see how it's really super, you know? Sometimes when you deal with the police, when you deal with the policeman, you know? I swear one time I wanted to kiss a policeman [laughter] he was so nice, he was so nice, you know? I spend half an hour just thanking him, because he was so nice. I really, I'm not, I swear.

I: We have a nice police, that's true.

T: Sometimes you see how professional people, like in the university, for example, this is the bright side.

I: yeah

T: This is the hope actually, for me. This is the hope that still exists. At least in our memory, you know. Because once upon a time life here it was so good, and we hope like after, almost two years now, they're gonna change the government. When it's gonna be the new elections? 2019?

I: Eeh, yeah, I guess. Before that?

T: 18?

I: I don't think so.

I: It's a bit embarrassing we don't know that.

T: We're also confused

I: I think it's 2018 or 19

T: It was 2015 when they were elected.

I: Ok, then it's 19. It's every fourth year.

T: August 2019. Then we say ok, it was once upon a time there was a nice life...

I: If we get a new government

T: Yeah, I'm sure

[laughter]

I: We hope.

T: I'm sure.

I: I think so too actually

T: Because so many people are upset actually.

A: This is a very sad story actually. Like for example, he was forced to sign up for this house, which is very expensive. Some people also, they put them in very bad circumstances or something, we do understand that they are under high pressure, but the way they are dealing is they say that, you have to accept this, if you don't accept you have, or now you have one of two choices, either you accept this or we take your kids and we put them in special home and we throw you and your wife on the street, we don't care. It's very hard to tell someone that I will take your kids, I'm here because of my kids. Some people they might lose their mind, you know? They might do something very crazy, they might do something criminal, you don't expect actually, because this is, those are your life, those are your kids, you can't come to someone and say ok, you imagine yourself that they took you from your parents when you were like 9 years. Do you imagine at that time, when you used to love your parents? Not now maybe...

[laughter]

T: Could you imagine that? How they, how we feel when they tell us, ok, if you don't sign, then we'll take your kids.

I: It's terrible yeah.

T: Yeah, this is very.. very difficult actually.

I: So of course you sign.

T: Yeah, of course we will sign.

I: You get the money from the municipality, but do you take money from anywhere else, do you loan money from someone, or how do you, like extra money?

T: No

O: Nej

A: No..

T: We don't loan.

I: It was just because we talked to someone, in another interview and they for example told us that if they don't have money, then they lend from each other sometimes

T: Yeah, I mean

I: Not from an organisation, but just private persons.

T: Yeah, but this is like, how much you're gonna take? Like 100, 200 kr.? And for how long?

I: yeah ok

T: To the rest of the month, then you have, like for example, I took from Ahmad [ed.] 200 kr. ok? Ahmad [ed.] I have to pay for electricity or something, can you give me just 200? Then if he, I didn't really, once maybe I've done it.

I: Ok, but it's not like

T: No but I mean at the end of the month you have to get it back because also he have to pay the electricity the next month or the internet, you know?

I: yeah yeah

T: So one month, it's like this.

I: Yeah, you have to pay it back.

T: Directly and not that much amount, you cannot like come to some people and say I need 1000 kr.

I: No, no

T: 1000 kr. you don't dream about this, this is a nightmare you know. Someone say I need a 1000 kr., this is really nice [laughter] Ok, I need 1 million ice creams

[laughter]

I: Ok, so we have a question that we ask every person that we interview, it's like, if you had the double amount of money that you get now, how would your life be different?

[laughter]

I: So like if you got the money that you got before. You know before it was..

T: yeah, yeah. I haven't got that money.

I: Ok, but you know about it.

T: Yeah, we just, we heard about this.

[laughter]

T: I don't wanna live my life like this. But I have tried once, because I worked for like 2 months, so I have tried to get like 15-16.000 net amount in cash, so it was good. I didn't go for tilbud all the time, [unclear] because this is a habit, you cannot change it

[laughter]

T: It became a habit, lifestyle. But eh, for example, I bought a laptop for my study, you know? It's an old laptop, but it's good, now I have a laptop. This one [pointing at the one next to the TV] is very broken, we found it in the garbage.

I: Ok.

T: This laptop, this is in the garbage, and it cannot work without electricity, but I fix it, I got hard disk from some friends and then it worked, now it's fine. [unclear] brought it, really from the garbage, I'm not kidding. It's where the people they throw stuff

I: Lossepladsen?

T: Yeah, but then...

O: We get to life again, get to smile.

T: We pay the rent out, the house, without thinking of...

O: He's 6, his wife 8, he takes 6.000 his wife 8.000, before taxes. Then they pay the rent, 9.800, it's damn expensive here, it's very expensive here. We should go to Copenhagen, it's much cheaper

I: No, it's also expensive

T: But it's like this?

I: yeah, more expensive, it's really expensive.

O: 750 kr. for the house support. Because of the 225 hours they lowered the salary 2.000 kr, it was 8.400, but then they dropped the ceiling.

I: Yeah.

O: Still like 3.500, this is the cash at home, they have around 1.500 invoices, mobile phone, internet, electricity and water.

I: Yeah, all the stuff for the house.

O: And 2.000 just to eat. [sighs]

T: We cannot buy anything from outside, you know? You don't ask how we are managing this.

O: Transportation like 750 kr.

T: Now the people they should believe in God, you know? Because no one can, could manage this, this is something just can God manage, you know? [laughter] Some people that they don't believe..

Yeah you just say, you have to go and visit the Syrians and then you know that the God exists, you know? Because someone is really managing this life

A: He's asking, this is something you might, as Danish people, you might know. Ok, he's asking, because you understand more than us, those people, actually, who rule now, they want us to hate here?

I: You're asking if they want to hate Denmark? If they want you to hate Denmark?

T: Yeah.

I: No... I think they are trying to..

T: Help us? [laughter]

I: No but...

A: The kids, they will not forget this bad situation, even after long time, they will keep remember that, those days were the worst, we're under very high pressure, we have part of our families back at home. We're always afraid that we're not really stable here, we cannot really be like productive people, because, we don't know if we are staying or if we are not. This is in general. The kids they will remember this forever. Because we cannot really take anymore, we are not able, you know? We cannot. It's not that, we cannot do, it's like, now we, as we say we reached the limitations, the extreme limitations, the boundaries. He can sign, he's announcing that he can sign on a white paper, that if it's a little bit like safe in Syria, he can live in our city, he would get back.

T: This is, I really feel very sad, you know, to say something like that, or to hear it, or just to discuss it, because it wasn't like this and it's not simple, it's not meant to be like this. It hurts that a bunch of people that they are kids ruling and they are doing all those stuff for all the other people and they are playing with the values actually, they are playing with the huge values of Denmark, it's not something easy that, you don't think that, when they spend like 50 years or 60 years working hard to get the best country all over the world or the best in transparency or the happiest country, or those values, or the best place for humanity and some bunch of people, you know, kids, they just come and take, and they wanna try, you know, they wanna try to do something, "ok we wanna try to do, and I put some kids", you're dumb, you're dumb, excuse me, you are dumb, you're stupid, it's not like this, it's not like this the life, believe me, it's not like this. Maybe you're politician, I'm not, but it's not like this. This is the only way that you make the people hate you, the is the only gain you get, this is the only gain, you know?

I: Yeah

T: But we keep saying, ok, this is, still we have people here, the people are nice with us, I have never been into a situation that's really bad, bad, not really bad situation, most of the time it's nice, you feel secure, but this is not everything, you know? Not everything. Sometimes we need some bread and water [laughter]

A: He's saying that to be, like, to be really honest, we have never seen something from the people here, but nice, respectful, and helpful, peaceful, trying to help you, the people, this is what we have seen from them, from the people actually. He says, this is not just him, all of us actually, we thank the population actually, thank the people, they are really nice, they are really human, but those [giggles]

I: Few.. The government

T: It's like the others, you know? It's like you have 99% of the people are good, but the 1% are making the bad things. Unfortunately they are ruling

[laughter]

I: And have the power yeah.

[laughter]

T: Unfortunately. But anyway... We will try our best, like, to be effective or to do, to be good in the society, we're trying actually, we're trying. But I had an idea actually, for the kommune, that instead of like saying to the people, like for example, ok go and find a job 225 hours, in praktik in Føtex or, and then you don't get the job, or Bilka, or whatever place you know, and you don't get the job, I'm sure you will not get the job, few, very few people they got the job. Instead of doing this, just simply, what you use to work, I use to work in a restaurant, I use to work as a painter, for example, ok just take him, put him in the special course, like I use to be a painter for 25 years, for example, ok?

I: Yeah

T: Here in Denmark we have different standard than the other [unclear]. We have a high standard. This person with that profession, how many days he needs to get standards? How many months? 3 months, maximum, because he knows the profession, but he needs the standards, you know?

I: Yeah

T: He needs to know how they paint here, what they use, and maybe it's the same. Within 3 months, just get those people actually, you certify them. Give them certificates. And stop the aggressive speech against them, you say those people are tested by the kommune, those people are educated, they have passed the exam in such a profession, you know? And they can do this job, and then after that you can find them a job. Easily. But first you have to stop the aggressive speech, you don't say

in the newspaper those mother... something, bad people, coming here to Denmark to suck us and they will kill us all [giggles]. You cannot put someone in your company expecting that he will kill you someday, you cannot actually. [laughter] You will be so much afraid.

[laughter]

T: Put someone in, he's a criminal, oh my god, ok, yeah, let's go and hire some criminals

[laughter]

T: It's so nice you know, you know some people are criminals and you hire them

[all laugh]

T: We have some criminals with us in the company you know. You see my friend, I put you in the company, but you see now what, we have CCTV here and we have a camera here, we have security. And by the way I know how to shoot.

[laughter]

I: It's tragically funny

T: Yeah, exactly

I: Ok, we just have a few more questions. It's just about your future, what you wish for the future, what are your dreams for the future?

T: For me, if I finish the, my certificate at DTU, if they let me stay in this country, or I don't know, because you don't guess, you don't guess actually, nobody knows. Then maybe I'll find a job, have my life here, and pay my taxes, because I'll be an employee. This is what, try to live in peace, you know. But I cannot dream more than this, I cannot really dream. I'm not really dreaming of the permanent visa, can you imagine how hard it is? If you go to Canada for three years then you get a nationality. 3 years in Canada. America! Now, and Trump you know, he's crazy. And he's against everyone, he's against himself

[laughter]

T: And hates the Muslims and Arabs forever, and if you go over there maybe for like 5-6 years, then you get the nationality, because this is the rules. Those are the rules, you know. But here, being under a new rule every three days, this is so annoying, you know. I swear, when the E-boks ring like "ding!" I pray. I make prays. Please, please, not [unclear] ok something from jobcenter please, please

[laughter]

T: Just jobcenter, [unclear] from the jobcenter, it's ok, I can manage it. But then when they send me like 7 pages with something you don't understand and... It's a nightmare, really nightmare.

I: What about Omar [ed.]?

O: He works, his wife works and kids learn.

A: [Thamer laughs when translating] To the future really stops like his dreams. The future, he has no idea. But, what he has an idea right now for his kids actually, that they learn and they, maybe his dreams are how he can arrange for tomorrow

T: My wife [Sulaima] she wants to study. She might go to VUC in August, I hope. She's working in Normal right now.

I: Normal?

T: Yeah. So she's working, she has a praktik now.

I: That's nice.

Focus group, Gribskov

Interview date: 20.03.2017

Place: Frivilligcenter Helsingør

Length: 1:20:16

Interviewees: Hamed (H) and Mansoor (M)

Interviewers: Emilia and Marie (I)

Other people present: Translator Mazaa (T)

Interview:

I: Øhm, ja, vi kan måske starte med at I lige kan fortælle, hvad I hedder, hvor mange børn I har og hvor lang tid I har været i Danmark.

H: Jeg hedder Hamed [ed.], jeg kommer fra Syrien, jeg gammel er 49 år, jeg har fem piger.

I: Ja, mm...

M: Jeg hedder Mansoor [ed.], øøøøøh, jeg kommer fra Syrien, jeg gammel øh halv halv, 51. Jeg har tre børn.

I: Hvor gamle er de?

M: De er øhh ny.... 18,

I: 18?

M: [speaking Arabic]

M: 18, 13 og øh 9.

I: Og 9? Okay. Og dine [asking Hamed] var 17, 13 ... ?

H: 17, 15, 13,

I: 10

H: 10 og 6

I: Og 6 yes. Øhm, og hvad lavede I da I, altså da I boede i Syrien. Hvad arbejdede I med, da I var i Syrien?

H: Jeg arbejdede i Syrien i pizzeria

I: Okay.

M: Jeg arbejdede i Syrien øh regnskab.

I: Regnskab? Okay, som revisor-agtig?

M: Ja.

I: Okay.

M: Men speciel ... øh [speaking Arabic]

T: Kassemedarbejder

M: Nej ikke kasse.

T: Revisor.

I: Okay.

T: Men revisor her i Danmark er ham som laver fx SKAT og nogle andre ting, men i Syrien det var ham som øh afregnede de daglige indtægter og

I: Ja

T: Afgifter og indtægter

M: Der kommer penge, jeg skriver også

I: Okay, i forskellige forretninger?

M: Ja, altid, færdig hver dag

I: Ja, hver dag, ja... Okay ja. Øhm, Så kunne vi godt tænke os, hvis I ville forklare, hvad I laver på sådan en helt normal hverdag fra I står op til I går i seng.

H: Da vi har sprogskole, så tager vi til sprogskole.

I: Mm

H: Og jeg køber ind hver dag.

I: Okay.

I: Køber ind hvad?

H: Hver dag.

I: Oh, okay.

I: Han køber ind...

H: Måske fire eller fem gange om ugen.

I: Okay.

H: Fordi jeg har stor familie.

I: Mm, ja. Hvor mange dage om ugen går du på sprogskole?

H: Øh, tre dage.

I: Okay. Og de andre to dage?

H: Fri.

I: Fri? Ikke, ikke, hvad hedder det... praktik?

H: Nu jeg kommer fra jobcenter, de lovede mig praktik ... at de ville finde en praktikplads, en arbejdsplads til ham.

I: Okay, så de er i gang med at finde en?

H: Ja.

I: Hvad laver du så, når du kommer hjem fra sprogskole? Sådan en normal hverdag.

H: Jeg henter mine

I: børn?

H: Lille børn fra, fra børnehave. Og jeg snakker, eh, spiser frokost med min familie, bagefter jeg ser fjernsyn, jeg kig på internet, eh Facebook om krigen i Syrien.

I: Okay ja,

H: Måske jeg snakker med min familie i Syrien.

I: Mm, okay. Og dig? [asking Mansoor]

M: På samme måde, han har tre dage eh, på sprogskole

I: Mm, ja

H: På samme måde som eh, da han har ikke praktik.

I: Nej okay.

M: Endnu.

I: Nej okay. Har du været i praktik?

H: Nej.

I: Nej? Okay.

M: Da han fik praktik før, eh, han havde syge ben, sine ben og derfor de siger til ham, at du skal holde op.

I: Okay, ja okay, du ku' ikke.. ja. Okay. Det var for hårdt. Og henter du også børn og køber ind og sådan noget?

M: Ja, sammen med min kone.

I: Mm, er hun i praktik?

M: Øhm, hun, han, hun gik til job-partner.

I: Jobpraktik?

M: Job-partner, det er en firma.

T: Det er sådan et privat firma, som hjælper flygtninge med at finde praktikplads eller job

M: Ja, hjælper hende.

I: Ah, okay. Og hvad med din kone [asking Hamed], er hun i praktik?

H: Hun laver praktik i hjemmet, hun har fem piger.

I: Ja, det er rigtigt. Det er også et stort arbejde, det er rigtigt.

I: Hvad så med så i weekenderne, hvad laver I i weekenderne?

H: Nogle gange jeg besøger jeg min familie, eh, min fætter.

I: Mm, bor han i nærheden?

H: Han bor i Helsingør.

I: I Helsingør? Okay.

H: Og nogle gange besøge min ven eller anden min ven, kun det. Jeg ikke drykker?

I: Drikker?

H: Dyrker motion.

I: Nå, dyrker sport.

H: Ikke, fordi jeg har meget svær gigt. Jeg har gigt.

I: Nåå, ja okay. Hvad laver I i weekenden? [asking Mansoor]

M: Jeg går, og så jeg eh, jeg stay med mine børn, jeg har snakker med, vi øh laver something in house.

Og vi gå til øh, til øh, til øh play football?

I: Mm,

M: Mine børn også, og så jeg har familie også [speaking Arabic]. Familie og ... Så, forældre [speaking Arabic], så onkel, jeg har onkel.

I: Ja?

M: Men ikke familie, det, det...

H: Hans fætter

M: Det er familie, onkel eller hvad hedder det?

I: Onkel er familie.

M: Onkel er familie?

I: Mm...

M: Også det hedder på dansk, "onkel"?

I: Onkel? Onkel. Altså, Onkel? Ja, onkels familie eller hvad? Altså din egen...?

M: Okay, okay forget.

[speaking Arabic]

H: Det er hans fætter

M: Nej, nej.

I: er det amo?

M: Nej, nej nej nej nej. Jeg har... Min kones søster, søster min kone?

I: Ja?

M: Søster min kone, han eh, han eh, hun bor i Morup.

I: Morup?

M: Morup.

I: Okay.

M: Ja, eh, mand til eh, søster min kone. Hvad hedder det?

I: Hmm, altså din søsters, din søster...

M: Mands søstre, min kone.

I: Din kones søsters mand?

M: Ja. Hvordan er det på dansk? Sviger?

I: Nej, altså, søsteren, altså kones søster er svigerinde.

H: Ja

M: Sviger, svigerinde.

I: Men jeg ved ikke, hvad svigerindens mand hedder. Jeg tror ikke vi har et navn for det.

[laughing]

I: Kones familie

M: Mand, gammel, min kones familie, en gang en gammel person, han eh eh, dansk, jeg tænker, jeg snakker, jeg snakker med hende, med ham, fordi han han han siger: "oh", but what's this word, I don't know.

I: Okay.

M: Okay, okay.

I: Okay, så I er mest sammen med jeres familier i løbet af ugen. Ser I andre mennesker udover – altså møder I nogle andre mennesker udover familien i løbet af sådan en uge?

H: Min familie, mine venner. Mine venner.

I: Ja, som du kender fra sprogskolen eller?

H: Nej, det er min nabo [referring to Mansoor].

I: Aah...

H: Jeg bor i Esrum, han bor i Esbønderup. Og anden ven, han bor i Dragstrup, øh tæt på Gilleleje. Ja, fire, min nabo er kurdisk syrer. Han bor i Esrum.

I: Ah, okay, men I kender hinanden fra, kender I hinanden fordi I kom til Gribskov Kommune sammen?

H: Ja, ja, ja, ja. Ja, vi kom sammen.

I: Ja okay, er I aktive i nogle organisationer?

H: Nej nej eller jo ”Mad til Alle”

T: Mad til Alle, det er en forening som hedder Mad til Alle.

I: Med til alle?

H: Ja, Mad til Alle. Det er en forening, som, eh, da integrationsydelse begyndte så der en dame, som her stiftede en forening som hedder ..

I: Ah, MAD til Alle.

H: Ja, Mad til Alle.

I: Ah, okay. Hvad...

H: Kun i Gribskov Kommune,

I: Kun?

H: Ja, ja.

I: Hvad, så kommer man og spiser der, eller får man mad?

H: Man får mad, 2 gange om ugen.

I: Okay.

H: Men man betaler, voksen betaler 100 kr., børn betaler kun 10 kr. Om måneden.

I: Voksen betaler 100 ... måneden

H: Ja, om måneden

I: Nå okay, jeg troede ... nå, okay. Og så kan man komme og hente mad eller spise mad?

H: Hente mad. Ja, meget godt.

I: Ja, godt. Er du også, kommer du også der? [asking Mansoor]

M: Ja.

H: Alle flygtninge her.

I: Alle?

H and M: Ja, alle!

H: ”Alle” eller ”eller”?

I: Alle.

H: Alle, eller, alle, heller, alle, heller

I: alle

[laughing]

H: Alle, alle, eller, eller, hvad!

[speaking Arabic]

I: Er der noget i løbet af ugen eller i weekenden, som I gerne vil lave, altså eller, ja noget som I gerne vil lave, som I ikke har råd til?

H: Ja.

H: Han vil gerne tage på tur med sine familie, men han har ikke råd til det.

I: Nej, hvor ... tage på tur hvorhen?

H: Vi har ingen penge. Børnene spørger altid om flere ting og steder, men øh, han, han kan ikke klare det.

I: Nej, okay.

H: De spørger mig ”Vi kan gå til København?”, jeg svarer nej. Jeg har ingen penge.

I: Nej. Ja okay.

H: Vi kan ikke købe ... [pointing at his shirt]

I: Tøj?

H: Tøj

M: Han siger, der er mange ting, som børn vil have. Eller vil lave. Fx de, de vil til København, de vil til Tivoli eller Parken eller andre steder. De vil købe legetøj, de vil købe tøj, de vil købe fx dessert og de altid siger: ”vores venner i skolen gik til Tivoli eller der er en fødselsdagsfest og vi skal købe gaver eller andre ting”. Og, og han sidder med, med sin kone og beregner: hvis de skal i det mindste de skal ud, de koster som det mindste 1000 kr.

I: Ja

M: Fordi de skal bruge transport, de skal betale, eh, indtægter...

I: Indgang?

M: Ja, indgang, de skal fx købe mad eller ... Som det mindste det, hvis de beregner det, det bliver ca. 1000 kr. I mindste.

I: Ja.

M: Og måske, og for hvordan kan de klare det, hvis han fik, hvis han får 1500 og hans kone får det samme?

I: Mm, ja. Så kan man ikke.

H: Jeg har ingen penge. Jeg har ikke 1000 kr.

T: Ja, han får 1500 kr. og sin kone får 1500 kr. [speaking about Mansoor], men han får det ikke [speaking about Hamed].

I: Er det for dansktillæg eller hvor får han de der 1500 kr. fra?

M: Det efter de betaler husleje.

I: Mm...

H: Han har kun 1500 og hun...

T: Ja, han og sin hele familien, får hver måned kun 3000 til...

I: Udbetalt eller?

T: Udbetalt.

I: Når de har betalt husleje?

T: Nej det er efter.

I: Det er efter husleje. Til mad og ...

M: Til altting.

T: Han får 3000 sammen med sin kone [speaking about Mansoor], men Hamed [ed.] får mindre end det.

I: Okay.

T: Vi kommer tilbage til ham [speaking about Mansoor] fordi han har speciel situation.

M: Han siger, eh, jeg vil ikke snakke om mig selv eller min cones, det vigtigste er nu børnene. Fordi de altid spørger, børn forstår ikke at vi har ikke noget.

I: Nej.

M: At vi har ikke nok. Barn forstår det ikke. De bliver ved med at spørge os. Det, der er første. Den anden ting er at oven i købet er der ikke så mange penge til mad.

I: Nej

M: Så vi prøver at sammenligne vores mad med vores indkomst. Og det er ikke ret meget som vi får. Og vi får, eh, eh, mad fra Mad til Alle, som nogle gange... Børnene kan ikke lide det, men de sku, sku...

I: Skal spise det?

M: Skal spise det fordi eh ...

I: Ellers så ...

M: Ja, og det er meget hårdt faktisk.

I: Mm.

M: Han siger det er meget hårdt. Og det er meget besværligt, når du sidder og kigger på jeres børns øjne og siger at de vil ikke have den mad, hver dag, de vil noget andet. Og deres indkomst kan ikke klare det.

I: Nej.

M: Og hvis vi kan ikke klare dét med mad, hvordan vi kan klare det med tøj og til andre ting.

I: Nej, ja, mmm, og er det også sådan at alle børnene skal have madpakke med i skole? Madpakker.

Skal børnene også have

M: Ja, de de ...

I: De får det ikke i skolen?

M: Nej

I: Nej okay.

M: De siger det de altid siger [speaking about the municipality] ”du skal finde et arbejde” og hvordan kan jeg finde et arbejde. Det ikke så nemt. Og hvis jeg skal i praktik, I ved godt at praktik: ikke løn. Vi fik ikke løn.

I: Nå, man får ikke løn

M: Nej... gratis

H: Gratis praktik

M: Og hvis vi fandt en praktikplads, vi vil vente på arbejdsgiver, måske han vil give os job, måske nej. Og fleste.... Eh, de fleste, de vil ikke give dig arbejde.

I: Nej

M: De vil sige, du vil begynde en måned praktik, så de siger tre måneder praktik, så de siger andre tre måneder praktik, så de siger andre tre måneder og til sidst de siger vi har ikke job til dig.

I: Mmm...

M: Og hvis du spørger hvorfor, de svarer fordi du er gammel mand eller du er, du taler ikke dansk.

I: Nej.

M: Ellers de siger: vi har ikke brug for medarbejdere, vi har nok. I alle praktikpladser her Gribskov Kommune, det var, eh, sådan.

M and H: Hele Danmark.

T: De tror at hele Danmark er det sådan med at arbejdsplads og arbejdsgiver.

H: Kun praktik. Praktik, praktik, praktik, praktik. Ikke arbejde.

M: Jeg er færdig. Du må godt [implying that we can ask Hamed].

H: Jeg modtager [speaking Arabic] jeg modtager, jeg og min kone, kun 10.500 kr. Kontanthjælp. Jeg betaler 12.000 plus 2.000 for el og varme. Min sagsbehandler sagde, sagsbehandler?

I: Sagsbehandler?

H: Snakker med mig, skal du betale for børnepenge.

T: Fra børnepenge.

I: Mmm – for at betale husleje?

H: Eh, jeg betaler hver måned 102, 1.256 for husleje plus 2.000 for el og varme. Hver måned.

I: Plus, altså, 10.000?

H: 10.000 for el og varme. 1256 for leje af hus.

I: mm, så næsten 12.000 kr.?

H: det betyder at jeg betaler 3.256 kr hver måned.

[speaking Arabic]

H: Han siger at han kan ikke, han kan ikke betale husleje hver måned. Fordi han, han, han og sin kone får 10.000 og ...

I: et eller andet

H: 200 kr. Og han skal betale 11.000 til husleje og plus el og varme, 1.000 og et eller andet til el og varme, så han kan ikke klare det.

I: Så du står i minus hver måned?

H: Ja. Så derfor hans sagsbehandler sagde til ham at du skal betale det, resten af beløbet fra børnepengene. Så han betale ... han betale 3.000 og et eller andet, 200...

I: Fra børnepengene?

H: Fra børnepenge til husleje.

I: Mm, okay.

H: Hver måned. Så han betale ca. 14.000 kr. hver måned.

I: Men får han nogle ekstra penge? Det vil sige at du er i minus hver måned.

H: Han får, fra Udbetaling Danmark, boligstøtte, men han, han bruge det til at købe mad.

I: Mm, ja okay, så hvor mange penge, tror du, når du har betalt husleje og regninger og sådan noget, har du så tilbage til at købe mad og alt andet?

H: 3.000 kr.

I: 3.000?

H: 3.000 kr.

I: Og det er med børnepenge, ik?

H: Nej.

I: Nej?

H: Ah, jo det er med børnepenge.

I: Ja, ja.

H: Uden børnepenge fordi han får ikke børnepenge. De penge betaler han til husleje. Så han får kun 3.000, eh, 3.300 hver måned, og han får ikke børnepenge.

I: Nej dem bruger han på husleje.

H: Så han har kun 3.300 hver måned, og de er 7.

I: 7 mennesker.

M: Og børnepenge, det er ca. 800 kr. hver måned, og det er ikke nok, hvis børnepenge plus integrationsydelse, så er det stadigvæk ikke nok.

H: Vi altid prøve at finde på tilbud, fra Netto, fra Lidl, Kvickly, og det er stadigvæk ikke nok. Og varer her er dyrt.

I: Ja, ja, så I bruger meget tid på at finde tilbud?

H og M: Vi bruger app'en...

I: Den der app, en app?

H: E-tilbud.

I: E-tilbud, ja.

M: Og han siger, da de bliver medlem af Mad til Alle, det hjælper, men også det er ikke så godt kvalitet.

I: Nej okay.

M: Så det, det næste færdigt.

I: Nåå, udløbsdatoen er?

M: Ja.

H: Måske efter et, en dag, så...

I: En dag, så er det for dårligt? Ja okay.

M: To gange om ugen, men vi har nødt til at det fordi vi har ikke noget andet. Og det er okay, hvis det ikke er så god kvalitet, men det er ikke nok . Selvom det ikke er så godt kvalitet, men...

I: Ja.

M: Han mener at vi bliver fattige mennesker.

I: Ja okay. Og det kan I specielt mærke fordi I ikke har penge nok til mad?

M: Og I må ikke glemme at vi skal betale til børnehaven, til SFO'en, vi skal betale til DR

I: Ja

M: Vi skal betale internet, vi skal betale telefon...

I: Ja... Og jeres børn, kan de mærke det? Lægger de mærke til det?

T: Kan hvad?

I: Kan deres børn, lægger de...

T: De har sagt det før at børn altid spørger, hvorfor vi har ikke råd til at gå på tur, eller købe ny tøj. Hvorfor skal vi til Esrum, Tingbakken skolen eller Ramløse skole og hente gammelt tøj? Hvorfor? Og vores venner i skolen, de har alle mulige ting. Ja, de kan godt mærke det.

I: Ja, sammenligner de sig meget med de andre børn i skolen? Børnene, sammenligner de sig meget?

M: Ja, selvfølgelig. Børn kan ikke forstå at vi har en særlig situation end de andre. Børn, børn vil have ligesom de andre børn. Derfor, de kan ikke forstå det, og han kan ikke forklare det til dem.

I: Nej, nej

M: Nogle gange, hans barn, ehn, sine børn siger da vi var i Syrien, situationen var anderledes end her. Det var bedre end det. Vi fik alt vi havde brug for. Og de kan bemærke det fordi det, eh, før krigen, ehn, det var en god situation i Syrien, så det er ikke så nemt for dem at ændre sig.

I: Nej, nej.

M: Så hurtigt, på den måde.

M: Men det er, uheldigvis, heldigvis at krigen begyndte i Syrien og vi, vi skulle flugt.

I: Ja, ja.

M: Han siger selvfølgelig er det vigtigste ting er, frihed og ro, selvfølgelig er det det, men vores børn begynder at føle sig anderledes end de andre børn, det er også en sygdom.

I: En sygdom.

M: Ja, så vi er bange for vores børn i Syrien, men her, bliver vi, bliver vi bange af, dem er at de skal, de føler sig anderledes. Og det er særligt faktisk.

I: Øhm, hvad laver jeres børn, når de ikke er i skole eller i SFO eller? Går de til nogle aktiviteter, sport eller?

H: Ja, de går til Hallen på Tingbakken skole, til badminton.

I: Badminton? Ah okay.

H: En gang om ugen, ja.

I: En gang om ugen, ja. Alle sammen?

H: Nej, kun tre.

I: Ikke den lille, nej.

M: Han siger at, at hans to eh drenge, de kan godt lide, de elsker heste.

I: Heste? Ja.

M: Og hans lille dreng altid siger til ham ”jeg vil gerne ride hest og er det muligt at jeg går i kursus eller”.

H: Klub.

M: Hesteklub.

I: Ridning.

M: Ridningsklub. Så siger han nej det er ikke muligt.

I: Nej det er meget dyrt.

M: Det er meget dyrt.

I: Ja, det er ret dyrt at gå til ridning. Øhm, hvad, I sagde det var svært at få råd til at lave aktiviteter med børnene. Laver I noget andet, der ikke koster så meget, i weekenden eller når I har fri?

H: Vi spiller kort.

I: Spiller kort?

H: Ja, spiller kort med min datter.

I: Spiller spil, mm...

H: Måske vi ser fjernsyn [unclear]

T: Øh, må jeg sige noget?

I: Ja

T: Øh, jeg har været i Gribskole som matematiklærer, i 5 måneder, så jeg kender de fleste af de børn her og jeg var i modtagelsesklasse.

I: Ja?

T: Øh, for at afløse modtagelsesklasse. Jeg kan godt se at børn har det ikke så godt.

I: Okay.

T: De har det ikke så godt. Fordi eh de kan, de kan, kan godt bemærke forskelle mellem dem og mellem de andre børn i skolen. fx jeg vidste godt at de meste af dem eh vil gerne gå i biografen

I: Ja

T: men de har ikke lyst til det fordi det koster, det koster meget, hvis de er tre eller fire børn. Og eh de har sagt det til mig flere gange. Eh, hvorfor ikke, hvorfor vi laver ikke arrangement i skolen, hvor vi kan gå i biografen eller... jeg siger jeg ved ikke, det er ikke mig der bestemmer det fordi det, **det børn begyndte at forstå at deres forældre kan ikke lave noget til dem. Og det er ikke så godt. Når barn mister sin eh, sit forhold til forældre at min forældre kan altid komme noget til mig, men de synes vores forældre kan ikke gøre noget for os.**

I: Nej de kan ikke gøre noget.

T: Eh nogle af dem kan forstå det, men affektere dem også. fordi eh de begynder at føle at vi skal hjælpe vores forældre, vi skal undgå vores "needs",

I: Behov?

T: Behov. Så de bliver lidt lukkede og jeg, jeg kunne godt se det i dem der, og nogle af dem bliver vrede mod de andre børn.

I: Bliver hvad? Vrede?

T: Vrede og vold.

I: Altså voldelige?

T: Vold, ja ja. Ja, fordi de er sure, ikke alle dem.

I: Nogle af dem

T: Their reaction it's det er anderledes fra en til en anden, så jeg kan godt se at der er noget barn bliver vrede imod de andre børn og andre bliver lukkede. Og de vil ikke have venner, danske venner.

I: Mm, okay.

T: Jeg kender en pige, som ikke vil have danske venner og jeg sidder med hende flere gange og siger til hende: hvorfor du vil ikke have danske venner. Til sidst siger hun til mig: øh hvis jeg bliver inviteret til fødselsdag og jeg har ikke nogen gave med mig eller ..

I: Mm, ja, så det er bedre ikke at være med

M: Ja, han siger at alle disse ting og de bliver ved, den nye regering bliver ved med at lave nye regler og gøre det svært. De lader det være med alle de politiske problemer og de fokusere kun på flygtninge.

I: Ja.

M: Han synes at vi blir, vi blir et kort i et stort spil.

I. Ja, ja.

M: Og vores eneste fejl var at der en krig i vores land og vi skulle flygte.

I: Mm, ja.

M: Det var vores eneste øh fejl.

I: ja.

M: Han siger at vi flugt fra en diktator dernede og vi kommer hertil en diktator, men med demokratisk tøj.

I: Mm, ja. Det er rigtigt.

I: Tjener dine ældste piger nogle penge? Har de noget fritidsjob?

H: Nej.

I: Nej, okay. Hvad prioriterer I højeste, når I tænker på børnene og økonomi. Er det mad og hvad prioritere det ellers, som de skal have råd til?

[phone ringing]

H: Fysisk stabilitet

I: Fysiske behov?

H: Nej ikke fysisk

I: Psykisk?

H: Psykisk, psykisk stabilitet

I: Hvordan, hvad mener du med det?

H: Alt presser på dem, krigen i Syrien presser på dem, fordi de altid følger med og vi kan ikke gå ned, købe noget til dem til at gøre dem at glemme hvad sker der. Vi kan ikke øh...

I: Få dem til at glemme det?

H: Ja, så det presser, krigen presser dem, skolen presser dem, hjem ja og så derfor han siger er det vigtigste nu ikke mad eller, det vigtigste er det psykisk stabilitet.

I: Og hvordan giver han dem det? Eller hvad gør han for at de bliver psykisk stabile?

H: Han prøver at forklare det og gøre det nemmere til dem at forstår hvorfor eh alle alle de ting sker til dem, og ...

I: Ja

H: ... men, men, men hvis de klager, glæder sig over noget, så vi glæder os, så måske det, de glemmer deres ondt eller ...

M: Og selvom vi gør det, men det hjælper ikke så meget, så måske vi går en lille tur med dem i skolen eller ...

I: Mm... I får integrationsydelse og børnepenge, har I, låner I penge nogen steder, fra andre eller fra kommunen eller ..

M: Hvis vi låner, hvordan kan vi, hvordan kan vi betale tilbage, vi kan ikke låne.

H: Eh, han siger at i dag, da han var i jobcentret han kræver at de stopper de 200 kr., som de tager fra sin integrationsydelse, de har et lån fra kommunen til forsikring, bilforsikring. Boligsikring. Vi lånte fra kommunen og betalte f.eks. 200 kr. hver måned, så han beder om at de stopper at tage de penge fordi han har brug for dem.

M: Og jeg vil gøre det samme.

I: Og hvad sagde de så ja? Så de ja? Altså kommunen?

H: Han ved ikke, han så, han søger og han vil vente.

T: Men jeg tror at de vil stoppe det.

I: Okay.

H: Han siger at sagsbehandler sagde til ham at de vil, de vil en pause før at han skal betale igen.

I: Pause. Ja, de kan godt sætte det på pause. Okay.

T: Jeg forklarer ham, han siger at øh... og hvis jeg skal til læge, tænder.

I: Tænder?

T: Tænder, så han skal betale til det, men jeg forklarer til ham at han gerne må søge...

[speaking Arabic]

T: Jeg forklarer ham at han kan godt søge det, han siger jeg har søgt det, før, men det var for 3 måneder, så jeg siger til ham at det tager lang tid.

I: Ja

[speaking Arabic]

T: Han, vi diskuterer om tandpleje og jeg siger til ham [speaking about Mansoor] vi må godt, jeg vil forklare det til dig, men ikke nu...

I: Nej bagefter.

T: De har et problem, som de vil snakke om.

I: Har I nogle noget udgifter til medicin og sådan noget?

H: Nej, nej.

I: Men det er dyrt at gå til tandlægen?

M: Øh, hans barn har allergi.

I: Allergi?

M: Og lægen giver ham øh ...

I: Recept?

M: Ja, recept. Og de det koster 200 kr, men det betaler det ikke i Kommunen.

I: Ah, okay, så de har ikke købt det. Hvad med dig [asking Hamed], får du medicin for din gigt?

H: Øh, han siger at øh i kommunen de siger til ham, du må godt hente recept, recept med til dig og din kone.

I: Okay

H: Men det hente deres læge sendte medicin til Rema1000 og de køber det i Rema1000 og da de hentede recepten fra Rema1000, de sagde vi kan ikke betale denne her til, fordi du skal hente recepten fra apotek.

I: Okay, nå, men kommunen ville gerne betale?

H: Ja, men, hvis det køber det fra en butik.

I: Nå, ikke fra apoteket?

H: Ved ikke hvorfor, det er mærkeligt fordi de har recept.

I: Ja, ja.

T: Hvis det er fra apotek eller fra ...

I: Ja, det er jo det samme.

T: Ja

[speaking Arabic]

M: Men han siger at for sin børns medicin, han hentede recepten fra øh apoteket, men kommunen vil sige at vi vil ikke betale.

I: Mm

M: Ja og han siger at vi er to eksempler, men det er flere ligesom os.

I: Ja, ja, det er ikke kun jer to. Og hvor køber I, altså jeres møbler derhjemme, hvordan får I råd til møbler og alt til lejlighed?

M: Han siger du ved godt [speaking about Mazaa]. Du må gerne svare.

M: Han forklarer fordi i Tingbakken skole eller [unclear] Vestrup Skole, vi venter hvis der, gamle møbler

I: Hvis nogle aflevere gamle

M: Ja, aflevere gamle. Så det ...

I: Ah, okay

M: Selvom vi er ikke vant til det, men hvad skal vi gøre? Det hårdt. Vi føler det er hårdt for os, men hvad skal vi gøre? Det er hårdt fordi vi er vant til at købe alt vi ved, i Syrien

I: Ja, alt, hvad I har brug for. Okay, så I venter, hvis I mangler noget derhjemme, så venter I til der kommer ting på Tingbakken-skolen eller ...

M: Ja.

I: Okay. Er det privatpersoner, som afleverer?

T: Ja, det er f.eks. hvis jeg har noget som jeg ikke har brug for, jeg afleverer tilbage til Tingbakken. Der er små grupper, foreninger f.eks., som arrangerer det, så de modtager alle møbler eller tøj eller alt mulige ting og flygtninge går og henter, hvad de har brug for.

I: Er det samme måde de skaffer deres tøj på? Og til børnene.

M: Ja. Han siger at han havde en sofa, men...

I: En?

M: En sofa, så han ventede ca. 1 år, så fik han 3 sofaer.

I: 3 sofaer? Det er mange sofaer, hehe.

M: Ja, hehe.

I: Okay. Senge og sådan noget det fik I da I kom, ikke?

H: Han siger at han fik kun en, men da hans familie kom, de fik ikke noget, de hentede fra skolen

I: Hvad, hvad hvis der ikke var nogle senge f.eks.?

H: Hvad?

I: Hvad hvis Tingbakken ikke havde nogle senge? Har I gået lang tid uden noget, som man skal bruge, som f.eks. en seng eller en stol eller?

H: Øh, det, han siger at vi stadigvæk har brug for nogle ting, som vi ikke kunne få.

I: Hvad er det f.eks.?

H: Sofa.

I: Okay.

H: Vi sidder på gulv.

I: Sidder på gulv, ja ja okay. Og hvad, da jeres familie kom, så fik I ikke noget ekstra hjælp fra kommunen eller?

H: Han fik, da hans familie kom, 5.000 kr.

I: Okay, nå til at købe ja..

M: Men han fik ikke noget. Han fik kun 3.000 kr., da, men det, det bare til mad og til

I: Mm, ja okay. Er det noget, jeres økonomi, er det noget I føler påvirker jeres sådan familien? Altså jeres forhold til hinanden i familien?

H: Det, det, han siger at han har lidt problemer med børn, som vi har snakket om før.

I: Ja, ja okay. Hvad er jeres sådan drømme og ønsker for fremtiden?

H: Han siger, jeg ønsker at krigen i Syrien ...

I: Stopper?

H: Stopper, så vi kan komme tilbage og leve som vi skal.

I: I Syrien?

H: Ja.

I: Hvordan tror I jeres liv ville være, hvis I fik dobbelt så mange penge, som I får nu?

I: Hvis .. hvordan ville jeres liv være anderledes fra nu til hvis I fik øh dobbelt så mange penge, som integrationsydelsen?

H: Han siger at han har speciel situation fordi hans husleje er alt for høj, så hvis han får dobbelt, så eh, eh, hvad hedder det, boligstøtte vil blive mindre f.eks.

I: Nå ja ja okay, og loftet.

H: Men men det bliver bedre, men han mener måske til andre det bliver anderledes.

M: Han siger jeg vil ikke sige, hvis vi får det dobbelt, hvis vi får som vi fik før integrationsydelse, det bliver godt, vi kan godt klare os, vi kan øh... besvare børnenes behov.

I: Mm, ja okay.

M: Så det bliver bedre.

I: Som det var før, da I var på kontanthjælp.

I: Altså, hvis I bliver i Danmark, hvad er jeres sådan plan eller håb for børnenes fremtid i Danmark?

M: Det, han håber at sine børn får det, får uddannelse og får lov til at finde en god stilling i samfundet og arbejde og tjene deres penge.

H: Det samme.

I: Det samme? Ja, ja, det kan jeg godt forstå.

Interview, Haitham & Nouf

Interview date: 27.03.2017

Place: Haitham and Nouf's home

Length: 1:24:08

Interviewees: Haitham (H) and Nouf (N)

Interviewer: Emilia and Marie (I)

Other people present: Translator Hammam (T) and family consultant Lærke (L)

Interview:

I: Først så har vi lige nogle baggrundsspørgsmål omkring eh hvor I kommer fra og hvor lang tid I har været i Danmark?

H: Vi kommer fra Syrien

I: Mm

H: Øh jeg kom først, før min familie og jeg har været her to år og to måneder ca.

I: Okay.

H: Og min familie, altså min kone og mine tre piger de kommer for ca et år og 2 måneder

I: Okay. Og hvor gammel er børnene.

H: Samar [ed.] 8

I: 8?

H: 8. Nida [ed.] 6, Samia [ed.] 4

I: Og 2 uger? [referring to newly born baby]

H: 1 uge, nej 2 uger, 2 uger

I: 2 uger, nå helt lille ja... Og da I boede i Syrien, hvad arbejdede I med da I var der?

H: Øh, jeg havde mit eget spisested, hvor jeg lavede pizza og andre øh bager-ting.

I: Okay.

N: Øh, og jeg var hjemmegående.

I: Ja. Okay. Og så har vi så nogle spørgsmål omkring jeres hverdagsliv og hvordan I får hverdagen til at gå.

H: Vi sidder hjemme efter nedskæringerne i integrationsydelsen fordi det koster penge at få ud.

I: Går I til noget sprogskole? Eller måske prøv at forklare fra I står op til i, en normal hverdag

H: Øh en typisk dag for os, inden min kone fik barsel, gik på barsel, ik?

I: JA

H; Så var det at vi vågnede op, stod op kl. 6, sendte pigerne i vuggestue og børnehave og skole. Så kom vi tilbage hjem og for mit vedkommende, er der ikke noget arbejde, der er ikke noget at lave, så jeg sover videre

I: Mm

H: Jeg går ikke i skole, som Nouf [ed.] gør.

T: I henhold til integrationsloven, så skal hun gå i skolen når hun når en vis modul, 3 dage om ugen og det gjorde hun så. Hun gik i skole 3 dage om ugen. Haitham [ed.] har haft nogle praktikker og noget arbejde og så videre, ikke? men det er i perioder og i de periode, på grund af arbejdes natur og sådan og afstanden til arbejde og sådan, så hans skole blev flyttet til om aftenen fra 17 til 20.

I: Ah okay, så om dagen er der ikke noget?

T: Så de dage, hvor han ikke går i praktik, altså jeg kender familien i forbindelse med at Lærke [ed.] har været, virksomhed, vrøvl, familiekonsulent, har jeg ledsaget hende mange gange og der, der kommer de her oplysninger.

I: ah okay.

H: Eh, fx jeg har boet her, været her i over to år, men har ikke haft ferie.

I: Mm, ja

H: Min kone fødte om søndagen, om mandagen havde vi møde på jobcentret, om tirsdagen havde vi møde på jobcentret, om onsdagen var jeg i praktik.

I: Okay. Ja. Så lige nu går du ikke i praktik eller anden aktivering eller?

H: Jeg var i praktik, men det gik ikke særlig godt og så blev det stoppet

I: Okay.

H: I fredags fordi jeg fik tilbuddt muligvis et job i Roskilde

I: Uh, det er spændende

H: Jeg har også fået tilbud om et andet arbejde i København, faktisk her til morgen

I: Nå, spændende!

H: Ja...

I: Hvad laver I så, når I sådan kommer hjem? Om, efter sprogskole eller praktik eller...

H: Jamen, min praktik var hos en bager i Frederikssund og som du, som I ved, så starter bagerne tidligt om morgen, så derfor stod jeg op tidlig omkring, skulle starte omkring kl.5

I: Ja okay

H: meget tidligt og det sluttede kl. 12, når jeg kom fra bageren, så tog jeg mig en kort lur fordi jeg skulle hente pigerne fra deres respektive institutioner og kommer hjem. Og så, når vi er kommet hjem, så spiser vi lidt og så resten af tiden ligger man sig tidligt i seng fordi man skal tidligt op.

I: Mm, ja okay. Hvad så i weekenden, når de har tid sammen med familien, hvad laver de så?

H: Altså, når hvor min kone har lige født, så har vi ikke så meget sociale besøg, men før i tiden fx der var det sådan at pigerne har svømning. Der går de til svømning,

I: Okay.

H: Så tager jeg dem til svømmehallen og henter dem igen og om søndagen, det går så lørdagen med, og om søndagen der plejede vi, hvis vi havde penge, så kunne vi tage en tur eller besøge nogen. Købe et par ting. Hvis der ikke er nogle penge, så bliver vi bare hjemme.

I: Okay. Så I, I har prøvet at være på kontanthjælp før integrationsydelsen eller?

H: Ja. Øh, det, der var en kort periode, hvor jeg modtog kontanthjælp, hvor jeg fandt øh et ordinært arbejde bagefter,

I: Mm, okay.

H: Jeg arbejdede indtil min familie kom hertil fordi så begyndte vi at kunne mærke det økonomisk. Da hun kom her fordi hun havde ikke arbejde, hun fik eh kontant eller hvad det nu hedder, og det påvirkede vores økonomi fordi så fik hun næsten, altså så fik hun ikke særlig meget, så samlet så havde vi det dårligere end andre. Hvor parret, begge to gik hjemme.

I: Okay.

H: Derfor holdte Haitham [ed.] op med at arbejde.

I: Ah okay.

H: Altså, vi gik meget ned, da min kone kom, altså i indkomst fordi hun [unclear], og omkring d. 10 oktober 2015 da gik vores, min løn meget ned, eller vores indtægt.

I: Mm, ja indtægt. Så I kan mærke forskel på før

H: Absolut.

I: På hvilke måder i deres hverdag kan de mærke det?

H: Jamen øh de påvirkede på den her måde at selvfølgelig har vi mad på bordet, men det begrænser meget vores sociale liv idet vi kan ikke rigtig have råd til at besøge nogen eller have nogen på besøg. Fordi bare den mindste ekstra udgift øh gør det stramt samtidig synes vi det er lidt ulogisk, når jobcentrene siger jamen gå ud og søger arbejde, udvid dit kontaktnet, eller dit netværk, men hvordan kan gøre det, når man er afskåret fra det der sociale forbindelse eller relationer fordi man plejer dem ikke. Og gå ud og lede efter et arbejde det koster også penge

I: Mm, ja

H: Så alt der har, som foregår udenfor hjemmet, det koster penge. Så vi prøver at begrænse det. Altså vi har skaffet os en billig bil, kun fordi pigernes institutioner ikke ligger så praktisk i forhold til os. Og eh i sidste ende går det ud på et om det er bus

I: ja bus

H: Eller bil

I: mm, ja okay. ja, okay. Øhm hvem ses de så i løbet af ugen? (uklart)

H: Ingen.

I: Slet ingen? I besøger ikke nogen og I besøger heller ikke nogen?

H: Haitham [ed.] har tre brødre

I: Ja

H: her

I: Mm, okay

T: Jeg sagde 3 brødre, så sagde han fire brødre, så sagde jeg ja, det er dig. Han har tre brødre som bor her i Frederikssund. Den ene af dem, den mindste, den yngste, han har sin kone og børn med, som bor i Skolelev. Det er en landsby hen mod Skiby.

I: Okay.

H: Ja, og de to andre venter på at deres familier bliver sammenført og derfor bor de... Øh den næste ældste hedder Fadi og hans familie forventes at komme d. 4. april.

I: Uh, dejligt.

H: Og så er der Osam, hans sag er ikke fuldt belyst

I: Nå..

H: Øh, i Udlændingestyrelsen og derfor vides det ikke, hvornår hans familie kommer. Vi føler at Udlændingestyrelsen øh når man søger om familiesammenføring, så stiller de nogle øh næste umulige krav.

T: Mit kendskab til Haithams [ed.] brors sag, øh Osam, som er kommet faktisk til mig med hans, det brev han fik fra Udlændingestyrelsen, hvori øh Udlændingestyrelsen kræver at han skal dokumentere for at hans kone bor i Libanon, fordi hun bor i Libanon

I: Mm

T: og fordi meddelelse, opholdsmeddelelsen skal meddelees den danske ambassade i det land, hvor personen, ansøgeren, i dette tilfælde hans kone, opholder sig. Eh, det kræver en dokumentation og

dokumentationen for det er et stempel på passet, som står at det er, det er fra immigrationskontoret i Libanon, det er, vedkommende bor her, bor i landet fra denne her dato til denne her dato.

I: Mm, ja

T: sagen er bare den at, at øh hendes opholdstilladelse, den er udløbet,

I: Nåå

T: Ik? Så det vil sige, hun opholder sig ulovligt

I: I Libanon

T: men hun kan ikke rigtig henvende sig for at fornye det fordi så så koster det noget og så kan hun risikere at hun bliver sendt væk.

I: Mm

T: Og de opholder sig der og prøver at holde hovedet over vandet indtil deres opholdstilladelse kommer herfra, ik?

I: Ahh

T: Så den dokumentation har han ikke rigtig, han har et stempel, men det er så overskredet fordi der står fx bare for at sige noget, fra juni til september, på de tre måneder sådan og det er 2015, så den er udløbet

I: Ja

T: Og det betragtes såsom de mangler dokumentation.

I: ja. Hm, okay, ja det er svært. Så alle fire brødre bor i Frederikssund.

H: Alle fire brødre bor i Frederikssund

I: Så de ses?

H: Og det var faktisk pointen, som vi afvigede fra. Det var at brødrene, de kommer hertil.

I: Okay.

H: Besøger dem engang i mellem.

I: Okay. Ehm.

T: Jeg forklarede bare Haitham [ed.], hvad jeg havde sagt.

I: Mm, er I aktive i nogle organisationer, sådan, det kunne være Venligboerne eller nogle (uklart) syriske organisationer eller nogle foreninger måske?

H: Ja, vi er, vi er medlem af den gruppe, Venligboerne i Frederikssund og omegn.

I: Mm, men altså er det for at

H: For at få hjælp, hvis - det fleste flygtninge bruger Venligboerne til at få fat i ting

I: Ja

H: At få hjælp i det daglige, hvis de har brug for hjælp til det. Fordi der er mange frivillige, til at hjælpe og til at træde til. Fx hvis, nu har de et barn og så skriver man.. Lærke [ed.] hjælper en del med at skrive opslaget og for at søge om det og få hjælp på siden eller på facebook eller hos Venligboerne. Her er en familie, som har fået et barn, de mangler til klapvogn, barnevogn og hvad ellers, ikke?

I: mm

H: Og så er der nogen, som måske har en barnevogn, som de gerne vil give væk. Og så står de og mangler en bil måske fordi det ligger langt væk, og så skriver man igen: "er der nogen som kan hjælpe os med det" og så er der nogen, som træder til.

I: Ja, okay, så det er mest i forhold til at få fat i ting? Hjem til?

H: Ja

I: Der er ikke nogen, altså sociale arrangementer eller sådan?

T: Øh, undskyld Lærke [ed.], denne her fællesspisning, som blev afholdt i Valhal, var det Venligboerne.

L: Ja, det var Venligboerne. Det var, hvad hedder det, Claudia, men vi har ikke haft mulighed fordi det var os fra kommunen, som ligesom holdt det første par gange og så ved jeg at Kirsten Folke har haft det en gang mere, i Jægerspris.

T: I Jægerspris ja

L: Men der er ikke rigtig nogen, som tager teten og så falder det lidt til jorden, så der er ikke særlig meget socialt. I gruppen, desværre.

I: Nej, nej okay. Har de modtaget nogle ting, nu nævnte du før, har de modtaget noget fra?

H: nej eh ikke rigtigt.. [laughing]

T: Det er også, jeg tror, det hænger sammen med H (red.) prøver at være selv-hjælp, selv-hjulpen fordi han har netop tre brødre, så de prøver ligesom at støtte hinanden.

I: Ja, okay

H: Jo, jo da min familie kom, så fik vi denne her, fordi, den e her sofa, sovesofa og det hænger sammen sådan at øh den gang da Haithams [ed.] familie fik opholdstilladelse så var det sådan at kun flygtningen selv fik en seng at sove i. Børn, kone, det var hans problem, hans ansvar.

I: Ja okay. Så der skulle bruges noget til... Ja. Så hvordan har han fået fat i de møbler han har i dag?

H: Jamen jeg har forsøgt at skaffe de ting selv, inden min familie kom, fordi jeg havde ordinært arbejde. osv. ik?

I: mm, ja okay.

H: Fra DBA, fra FAcbook København. Altså kommunen giver også nogle møbler, men det er det aller nødvendigste for at man kan indrette

I: ja, ja okay.

T: Der er jo nogle regler omkring det, men det får ..

L: Der er jo stor forskel på de forskellige kommuner. I nogle kommuner får de jo en pose penge, her i Frederikssund der sidder de sammen med Haitham [ed.] og laver sådan en liste med, hvad er det er, men der er ikke sådan, gardiner det får man ikke, man får ikke gulvtæpper.

I: Nej.

L: du får en lampe pr. rum. Øh, der er en masse køkkenting, det er sådan noget med en grydeske det får du ikke og du får ikke nogle skåle og. Så det er meget, meget basalt.

I: Ja. Helt øhm, ja

L: Ja og før, der er blevet lavet nogle ændringer og sådan, men altså Haitham [ed.] fik ikke noget hjælp da hans piger kom, det skulle han selv stå for.

I: MM, okay.

H: Det er altså ikke særlig meget indflydelse kommunen har over, hvad skal der være på den der liste

L: Nej, nej det er højere plan og vi har bedt om at få den lavet om rigtig mange gange, men det er igen flere trin over der sidder og vurdere

I: Ja, hvad der skal være

L: Ja og jo mindre og billigere den liste kan være, jo bedre er det, selvfølgelig, ik?

I: Mm..

[enclear]

L: Og så er det et tolkningsspørgsmål mange gange ik?

I: Ja ja

T: Jeg har, selvom det er så et sidespring, jeg har også set, situationer, i de kommuner som gav borgerne en pose penge, og sagde "værsgo, så kan du selv møblere din lejlighed." En del af de flygtninge har ikke så stort netværk og de står der med penge, det er godt nok at have dem i hånden, men de ved ikke, hvor de skal købe bedst. Hvor de skal få dem til at slå til, så ender de med at købe en seng og en sofa og så har de ingenting. Så er penge brugt, ik?

I: Ja, ja, mm

T: Så jeg tror der er en logik fra kommunen til hvorfor kommunen [unclear]

I: ja, jo. øhm, nu snakkede vi før om, hvad I laver i løbet af weekenden og i løbet af ugen. Er der nogle aktiviteter, som de godt kunne tænke sig at lave, som de ikke har penge til at lave?

I: Så kører vi [laughing]

H: Øh, øh, jamen, altså der er mange ting der kan nævnes, især for børnene. Børnene vil gerne en tur fx i Tivoli eller andre forlystelsessteder, det har vi ikke råd til.

I: Nej

H: Vi kan, vi tør ikke kan tage dem i byen for at sige det rent ud for så kan de pege på ting, som ikke har råd til at købe.

I: Ja

I: Altså i Syrien, der var vi selvstændige og eh havde lige indtægter der kom ind, så vi havde bedre råd til jeg kunne sætte fx pigerne i bilen eller børnene og deres mor i bilen og så køre ud til Libanon, op i bjergene og få lidt forandring og så tilbage igen. Men her kan vi ikke engang gå nogen steder, ikke engang på Sjælland.

I: Nej

H: Så.. Det er mest til børnene, fordi vi voksne vi har som [unclear] som ansvar at fokusere på børnene og hjemmet, så der er ikke så mange aktiviteter uden for hjemmet, som de tænker på, altså fritidsaktiviteter [unclear] men det er mest børnenes trang eller behov for aktiviteter.

I: Mm, ja

H: Og det er ikke for at brokke os over denne situation, vi har i Danmark, tværtimod, nabolandet og arabiske lande har ikke taget imod os så venligt, som Danmark har taget imod os.

I: Nej

H: Men det er bare stramt

I: Ja

H: Og jeg tror, at hvis man kan, hvis jeg kan få et arbejde, så løser man sine økonomiske problemer. Det vi oplever, det er det med praktiksystemet. Øh, vi bliver sendt til forskellige virksomheder på en praktikperiode på 3 mdr fx og så efter praktikperioden, så er der intet arbejde, men arbejdsgiveren vil gerne forlænge praktikken fem måneder og så tænker man, jamen hvad er det for noget? Gratis man gerne have en som arbejdskraft, men betale for mig, det vil han ikke, eller vil de ikke.

I: Mm, ja

H: Det forlænger bare denne her økonomisk strammede situation, det forlænger det bare videre og videre. Og derudover, eh, er der en regel for denne her 225 timer ordinært arbejde, om året, hvis man ikke opfylder den. Hvis man ikke opfylder den, så bliver der skåret yderligere i ens ydelse og praktikken regnes ikke med. I de her 225 timer. Så det gør det endnu mere øh altså folk har endnu mere modstand mod et arbejde, som ikke regnes med i denne her regel.

I: Ja, ja det klart.

H: Fordi han ser det som et arbejde, ik? At man går ud på en arbejdsplads, man laver et arbejde.

I: Mm, ja.

H: Øh fx den virksomhed, som, den forretning, som jeg skal starte med, den restaurant som jeg skal arbejde på i Roskilde, da de skulle arrange eller tale med min virksomhedskonsulent fordi de kommunale ansatte som sørger for at folk kommer i praktik og hjælpe med ansættelseskontrakt, således at de ikke bliver snydt eller ja øh men den mand virkede reel idet kan kunne fortælle min virksomhedskonsulent, at jeg vil ikke have en i praktik fordi når folk kommer i praktik så arbejder de ikke helhjertet. Lige så snart de ved at de får penge for det, så arbejder de, så arbejder de næsten dobbelt så meget.

I: Mm ja.

H: Og dermed er det så sagt at jeg bliver ansat.

I: Okay.

H: Jeg er selv træt af praktikken. Om jeg så bliver smidt ud af landet, vil jeg ikke gå i praktik mere. Jamen, når man er i praktik, så er man ligesom, har man begrænset timer og man har begrænset ansvar. Som det forstås, men den bager, som jeg gik i praktik hos han fyrede en bagermester og for at spare timer og spare penge, da jeg var hos ham i praktik.

I: ah

H: Hvis jeg var lige så god som en bagermester, hvorfor pokker vil han ikke betale mig, ik?

I: Ja, ja. Okay. Vi har hørt, der er andre der har sagt det med praktiksystemet.

H: I må gerne tage [referring to cake]

I: Tak, tak [unclear].

0:07:35-0:09:53: private talk

H: Vi var været heldige med hensyn til kommune og sagsbehandlere

I: Ja

H: Fordi vi har en sød familiekonsulent og så vores job, som jobkonsulent (uklart) er også rigtig sød

I: Nå, det var dejligt. Det er godt.

0:10:15-0:11:51: private talk

I: Nå, nu går vi tilbage til interviewet. Hvordan planlægger I jeres indkøb?

H: Jamen det er som regel mig der står for indkøbene.

I: Okay.

I: Fordi det kan bedre betale sig at handle på Nørrebro i København, og derfor er det mig, som tager derover og køber, men det opstår, det sker nogle gange at Netto eller fakta har gode tilbud, som vi benytter os af. Og vi har købt en ekstra fryser, som vi kan smide det i.

I: Ah, smart. Okay.

H: Og vi handler en gang eller to gange om måneden, til en hel måned, og så mangler vi kun det der brød og sådan nogle små ting fordi hvis man skal handle hver dag ligesom man gjorde derhjemme, så vil man blive ruineret meget hurtigt.

I: Mm, så føler I at I kan købe den mad I, ja den mad I gerne vil købe?

H: Vi får pengene til at slå til, også kun lige til at slå til

I: Til mad?

H: Ja, i og med at vi selv kan lave mad, eller vi laver mad, så, hvis der er ikke så meget, så mange ingredienser og ikke så mange ting vi har, så er det bare lidt dej og vand... mel og vand og salt, og så videre, så laver vi en pizza

I: Mm, ja fordi han bager, så ved han hvordan ..

H: Ja, ja.

T: Jeg siger han praler over at han laver det, men i [unclear]. Ej, men han er rigtig dygtigt.

H: Jamen altså de penge vi får, hvis man bruger dem klogt, atlså øh sørger for at man handler ind når der er billige tilbud eller sådan fx, køber stort, så kan det lige slå det, men som sagt kan det også lige slå til. Man kan godt leve af dem, men der bliver ikke levnet noget til forlystelser og sådan, så skal man gå hjemme faktisk. Men øh, vi kan også se at vi befinner os i den gruppe, den heldige situation fordi det her regel om 225 timers regel, den har, den opfylder jeg. Ellers

I: Ah, fordi du har arbejdet før

H: Ja, ellers ville vi også miste omkring 2500 om måneden, og så har jeg, vi har N (red.) som er på barsel, ik?

I: mm

H: Så derfor bliver hun ikke ramt af det, men havde vi ikke haft denne her situation, så ville vi have 2500 kr. ca.

I: Mindre?

H: Mindre.

I: Og så ville det være

H: Og så ville det være rigtig, rigtig stramt.

I: Ja, ja.

H: [unclear]

I: Ja, okay. Og hvad, har i nogle helbredsproblemer i familien? Er der nogen, der får medicin eller?

H: Heldigvis er alle raske.

I: Det var godt. Ja.

H: Men problemer er at vi er mange og vi kan smitte hinanden.

I: Mm, ja

H: Hvis den lille

I: ja, hvis den ene er syg, så bliver de andre også ja

H: Jeg bruger nogle tabletter til min mave, men dem køber jeg ikke her fordi det er så dyrt. Så, jeg beder nogle af dem at sende dem til mig fra Syrien eller Libanon

I: Ah, ja

H: Også styrken, det er stærkere end den tilsvarende medicin, du kan købe i Danmark.

T: Man har øbenbart en anden forstet eller [unclear] lægepraksis i Syrien [unclear] man lade immunforsvaret klare problemerne, så giver man bare nogen stærkere medicin, til at dulme problemerne hurtigst muligt.

I: Okay, ja

T: Eller dulme smerterne.

I: Ja

T: [unclear]

T: Men jeg tror det hænger sammen med at i Syrien har man jo ikke det her sociale sikkerhedssystem, åh og derfor er man er afhængig af de penge, man selv kan tjene, hvis man ikke kan arbejde eller tjene noget [unclear].

H: Han [referring to their newly born baby] elsker at have piger på besøg. Normalt ligger han og sover [laughing].

0:19:27-20.04: private talk

I: Og her, hvor de bor, det er en permanent bolig, de har?

H: Øh, ja, Det er det. Det er en permanent bolig. Så længe de betaler husleje, så kan de blive boende her.

I: Okay. Ja.

0:20:56-21:58: private talk

I: Går jeres børn så i skole øh eller på børnehave?

H: Shed, den ældste på 9 år, hun gør. Og så har vi Nour, som går i børnehave, og så Shama som går i vuggestue. Snart bliver hun også børnehavebarn.

I: Okay.

L: Til alle vores flygtningefamilier, har vi søgt om socialpædagogisk friplads, det er så der hvor jeg har kunne hjælpe [unclear], så var den 31. december skal de ikke betale [unclear] igen, så

I: Okay.

L: Så der sparer de i hvert fald lidt, ik?

[unclear]

L: Lillemand når så ikke at komme med, men så søger vi jo bare igen, ik?

I: Ja.

L: Ja, for det er jo også (uklart), selvom de får friplads, så er det jo alligevel en stor udgift med mange børn, ik?

I: Ja, ja

L: Også fordi så regulerer den så hvis Haitham [ed.] får arbejde, så stiger den lidt og så kommer der en efterregulering [unclear] så det slipper vi også for. Så det er jo dejligt.

I: Ej, ja det er godt.

L: Det er så en aftale, vi har lavet med familieafdelingen at vi måtte gøre det [unclear] fordi vi sendte jo 75 ansøgninger afsted på den gang.

I: Ej, det er også mange.

L: jo, jo, men så fik vi på SFO-børnene, det spreder sig jo [unclear]

I: Børnene, har de nogen, du sagde de gik til svømning om lørdagen, går de til andre aktiviteter eller noget?

N: Nej.

T: Og jeg skal lige nævne at det der med aktiviteter, der er familiekonsulenterne, som har sørget for at det der svømning. De tog forbindelse til Dansk Flygtningehjælp, som så betalte den årlige kontingent plus et beløb til at betale tøj

I: Badetøj og sådan noget

T: Ja.

I: Fritidspuljen

T: ja

L: Ja, og der har kommunen så også lavet deres egen nu, så der er mulighed for at gå til tog aktiviteter

I: Ah, hvor fint

L: Ja, men vi ser jo helst at de søger hos Dansk Flygtningehjælp først.

I: Ja. Øh, vil du ikke fortælle lidt om dine børns hverdag? Sådan, hvad de laver i løbet af en uge, ja.

N: Jamen altså, når de ikke er i skole eller børnehave, så kigger de tegnefilm, ser tegnefilm, øh, leger med deres legetøj og så er den store Shahad, som hjælper mig en gang i mellem.

I: Mm, ja. Hvad kan de godt lide at lave?

N: De kan godt lide at lege udendørs lege. Som fx at rutsjebanen på legepladsen eller gynge eller sådan slags ting.

I: Ja, ehm, altså så de er primært hjemme, børnene. Er de nogensinde sammen med deres klassekammerater eller? efter skole.

N; Øhm, som regel er de hjemme, men øh meget sjældent kommer der andre børn og leger med dem på legepladsen, der bor også en anden familie, flygtningefamilie, ikke så langt herfra. De har to små børn, som går i en, sammen med N's [ed.] børn i børnehave.

I: ah okay

N: Og så er der en anden flygtningefamilie, som bor på den anden side af vejen, øh, hvor pigerne, de er lidt ældre end deres piger, men kommer også og leger med dem her på legepladsen.

L: Man kan så sige at den største pige, hun går i modtageklasse, så det gør også at hun bliver hentet i taxa hver morgen og kørt hjem i taxa

I: Okay

L: Så det der fællesskab med nogen fra ens egen klasse, det har hun jo ikke rigtig fordi det er spredt udover hele Frederikssund Kommune. Ligeså snart hun starter i en lokal, altså, mellemste pige hun starter i en lokal skole her første maj og så håber vi også at vi kan få storesøster, så de kommer til at få i skole her i Frederikssund eller Slangerup ik. Det vil også hjælpe på de der legerelationer, ik?

I: Ja, det er selvfølgelig ja

H: Også på grund af vores økonomi. Jeg er holdt helt op med at tage pigerne med ud at handle fordi jeg ved når de er med, så peger de på mange ting, som jeg ikke kan sige nej til og så har vi ikke mulighed. Derfor er jeg begyndt at tage lidt penge, så ved jeg det er kun dem, de kan bruge og så går de og handler selv, men så handler de selvfølgelig kun i SuperBrugsen, som er dyrere end Netto.

I: Ja, ja

H: Fordi de har også mange flere ting i SuperBrugsen, slik og den slags

I: Ja, det er klart.. ja. Er der andre ting, som han gerne vil lave med sine børn, som de ikke har råd til at lave?

H: Jamen, altså, alt udenfor kan vi ikke rigtig gøre sammen med pigerne eller børnene. Fordi det koster penge. Børnene har det heller ikke godt at kun gå herhjemme jo. Og når vi har skulle tage tage dem hjem, de vil gerne fx til, til en, ligesom når de høre deres kammerater, de har været der, de har været der, så vil de også gerne det, men det har vi bare ikke råd til.

I: Nej

H: Og det eh, gør dem også på en måde, til en vis grad, kede af det.

I: Så det påvirker dem også at de er på integrationsydelse? Altså børnene.

H: Ja, absolut.

I: Sammenligner de sig meget med deres klassekammerater eller dem de går i børnehave med?

H: Det bliver gentaget tit.

I: Hvad siger de så?

H: Jamen altså, det gør ondt selvfølgelig ikke? Og det er så for at lige som et plaster på såret tager vi til ud på en selvmordstur, hvis man kan kalde det sådan, økonomisk, fordi eh den ene dag tog til Kastrup, Høje Taastrup, City2,

I: Ja

H: Hvor der så også er legeplads til børn og der er så et par aktiviteter og så videre ikke? det koster 600 kr. Denne her tur.

I: Ja okay.

H: Denne her tur, altså forud rejseudgifterne, de 600 kr betyder meget for os, som familie. Vi kan spise og drikke for dem i en hel uge. Så det er skåret fra vores madpenge.

I: ja

H: Ja altså, når man går ude med dem, man kan sagtens sige ja okay jeg afsætter de der rejseudgifter til at gå en tur en gang om ugen, i weekenden fx, for der er masser af legepladser i sådan store centre, men det der er bekymre en, hvad nu hvis de siger vi vil gerne have noget at spise eller have noget at drikke. De vil gerne sidder der og jeg får en is eller whatever, det er det der gør ondt, når man ikke kan. Ellers skal man give dem det og så sidder man tilbage med et pakket budget.

I: ja.

H: Forleden dag fx tog vi til fakta fordi de ville gerne have fransk, de ville gerne have franske kartofler og fakta havde franske kartofler på tilbud til en 10'er posen, ik? Så jeg tænkte, okay, 30 kr det kan vi lige overleve, men det endte med 144 i udgift fordi så vil de ha' det, og så vil de ha' det og så vil de ha' det.

I: ja, det er svært at sige nej.

H: Jamen det er også sjovt med børn at eh de har nogle mærkelige indfald, fx de siger noget de gerne vil have. Når vi tager dem med hjem, så vil de ikke have det. Og man sidder i denne her situation, hvor man ikke kan rigtig lidt at sige nej til dem så meget. Og så ender man med en udgift, som er unødvendig, men heldigvis så var det, det der tunfisk, eller dåsefisk, som hun, vores mellemste ville gerne have, og som hun ville ikke spise, så fik jeg at vide af pædagogerne i børnehaven at hun godt vil spise dem der, så jeg tog brød og dåse med til børnehaven, og så foderer hende med det.

I: ah, okay det er meget smart.

H: Og således er der mange ting, sådan som mango, ananas og kiwi. Når de ser det, så vil de gerne have det og de spiser det ikke.

I: Mm, ja.

H: Og det er også pinligt at gå ind i et supermarked og ens barn peger på nogle små ting, og som man ikke kan, og man bare sig nej nej nej.

I: Mm, hvad med tøj og sko til børnene. Hvordan får de råd til det?

H: Øh, jamen altså for vores vedkommende, så køber vi fra genbrugsbutik, men det er pigerne, der er lidt svære at tilfredsstille mht at de er piger og de vil gerne have forskellige farver osv., så vi køber det i H&M. Det er den billigste butik, vi kan handle i. Og plus, når der kommer fx tilbud i de store supermarkeder og sådan, udsalg og sådan.

I: Okay.

N: Og nu sidder jeg med den spekulation; hvad skal købe til dem her til sommer fordi nu skal de have sommertøj.

I: Mm

H: Og de har vokset fra de gamle.

I: Ja, hvad skal man så gøre? Ja.

H: Børn bruger meget mere tøj end man tror. Vi voksne bruger næsten ingenting sammenlignet med børn. De skal have så mange bukser fordi de er snavset, de bliver ofte snavset, bluser osv.

I: Ja og de vokser.

H: Og de vokser. Jamen, altså, de arver selvfølgelig også, de små, arver fra de ældre lejr større og derfor vi sørger for at vi køber den samme ting, til dem alle sammen således at når de er færdige, så kan ikke se at det er deres søsters.

I: Ah..

H: De siger det er deres eget, ikke?

I: Ah, smart, lige bytte det ud.

H: Ja, men nu har vi et problem, fordi den mindste, når hun vokser fra en størrelse, så kan vi ikke give dem videre mere

I: Nej det er rigtigt.

H: Og det er selvbestemmende i forhold til, hvad de skal have på om morgenen, inden de går på institution, så vælger de selv, hvad de skal have på, for ellers vil de ikke tage det på. Specielt den lille.

I: Okay. Får I nogle penge uddover integrationsydelsen? Altså, det kunne også være at låne fra nogen, det kunne også være fra kommunen, men det kunne også være andre steder fra?

H: Jamen eh, vi ved at der ikke er så meget at komme efter hos kommunen, så derfor, vi låner af hinanden faktisk. Og så, heldigvis har jeg de sidste to år ikke lånt noget, men flygtninge de låner af hinanden, så den der kan undvære 500 kr denne her uge, giver det til en anden og så sidst på måneden så

I: Får de dem tilbage?

H: Ja.

I: Ja, okay. Ja, øhm, føler I at jeres økonomiske situation er meget anderledes fra andres?

H: Jamen altså integrationsydelsen, den er jo ens, næsten, for alle. I vores samme situation som os, samme struktur som os, men det kommer så an på udgifterne man har. Nogle husleje er billigere eller dyre end andre, nogle har fx her de har udgift til gas, varme, vand, spildevand etc. og andre har ikke det her fordi det er inkluderet med i husleje, så det er det som kan gøre en forskel plus at man øh skal kunne ved, kunne handle fornuftigt. Altså bruge pengene fornuftigt.

I: Ja.

H: Der er nogen, der kan det. Vi heldigvis har lært det og så er der nogen, som ikke har lært det endnu eller ikke ved det.

I: Mm

H: Så har de det meget svært. Det er også nogen, som ikke har lært at, at man skal begrænse sit forbrug, altså de forskellige kilder som fx strøm og vand. Vi har sådan en stabil afgif til el fx, hvor det er så 350 kr. om måneden eller sådan ting. Vi får 900 kr.s regning hver 3. måned, mellem 9-1000.

Jeg kender andre som kender 2000 kr regning hver 3. måned.

I: Ja okay, på den måde.

I: Og hvad tænker de om at de får en lavere ydelse end danske familier, hvis de var arbejdsløse?

T: Undskyld, en gang til

I: Altså, hvad tænker de om at deres integrationsydelsen er anderledes end en dansk familie, som ville være på kontanthjælp?

T: Ja, er det? Er det ikke det samme? I dansk familie. Mange er ramt af det der kontanthjælpsloft.

I: Men det er stadig meget højere end det de får.

L: Nej, ikke, der er rigtig mange danske familier, som faktisk også er ramt af den der integrationsydelsen

I: ja, men

T: Ja, hvis de ikke har været i Danmark i 7 år, hvis de kommer til Danmark inden for de 7 år, så har de samme situation, som dem

I: Ja

T: Som flygtninge

I: Jo, det er rigtigt

T: Så det er dem, som har været her mere end 7 år, som modtager kontanthjælp, som har boet i landet i mere end syv år, så får de efter den gamle lov eller regel. Selvfølgelig ja.

H: jamen det er jo, deres land, jeg kan ikke komme og forvente at jeg kan få lige så meget, som landets borgere. Vedkommende har måske været her over 50 år og jeg er lige kommet for 2 år siden. Vedkommende har måske betalt skat mere end jeg nogensinde kommer til at betale. Og har haft arbejde og gjort sin pligt mod samfundet osv.

T: Hassan bruger et arabisk udtryk, som er: man sidder i skødet af bedstefar og river ham i skægget.

I: Det kender jeg ikke lige [laughing]

T: Altså at man sidder i sikkerhed og beskyttet og så alligevel gør, giver den anden smerte. Altså det det der er meningen, når man kommer og får en pæn behandling, så skal man ikke være besværlig. På den måde

I: Nå ja ja

H: Det er mig der er, hvad skal man sige, det forstyrrende element. Jeg kommer ude fra og så maser mig ind på folks liv her og skal koste dem i pengepunge, så jeg kan ikke tillade mig at kræve så meget. Jeg tror at danskerne ville have haft det meget bedre, hvis vi ikke var kommet fordi da vi kom, så blev man nødt til at vedtage nogle love, som påvirkede også deres liv.

I: Mm, ja

L: Der vil altid være nogen, der brokker sig. Og der er plads til at vi, i Danmark, kan hjælpe. Så.

H: Men alligevel, politikerne bruger os som en undskyldning.

L: Fuldstændig. Jamen, de kører så meget vand på jer

H: Så hvis vi ikke var, hvis vi ikke havde været her, så ville folks liv ikke blive forstyrret på denne måde økonomisk, ikke? Og når de bruger os på denne her måde, så er der nogen der siger det er jeres skyld.

L: Ja, ja og Dansk Folkeparti de takker jer evigt fordi de har jo aldrig fået så mange stemmer, så hvis det ikke havde været for jer, så [laughing]

L: Er I ved at være ...

I: Ja, vi har bare nogle...

Interview, Jalil & Tabina

Interview date: 27.03.2017

Place: Jalil and Tabina's home

Length: 1 hour 13 min. 27 sec.

Interviewees: Jalil (J) and Tabina (TA)

Interviewer: Emilia and Marie (I)

Other people present: Translator Hammam (TO) and family counselor Lærke (L)

Interview:

I: Hvis I vil starte med at fortælle hvor I er fra, og hvor mange børn I har, og hvor lang tid I har været i Danmark.

J: Vi kommer fra Syrien, vi har fire børn og vi kom til Danmark for ca. 1 år og fire måneder siden

I: Alle sammen?

TO: De kom samlet ja.

I: Og hvor gamle er jeres børn?

J: Reem [ed.] 18 år, Karim [ed.] er 16 år, Bushra [ed.] 13 år og Zaki [ed.] er 12 år. Det er ham der lige har skiftet skole. Han gik i modtagerklassen til mindre børn, og så flyttede han til lokalskolen.

L: Ja så de tre mindste de går alle sammen på Ådalen, ikke?

TO: Ja.

L: Og Enas hun går på Campus

TA: Ja

I: Og de bor alle sammen hjemme, også den ældste?

J: Nej, Enas bor ikke hjemme hos os, men bor også i Frederikssund, men et andet sted bare. Men hun bor så godt, hun bor hjemme næsten, så godt som hun..

I: Ja, så meget som hun er her?

J: Ja

I: Og hvad er jeres arbejdsmæssige baggrund fra Syrien? Eller hvad lavede I da I boede i Syrien?

J: Jeg har i 25 år arbejdet som murermester, både i Syrien, i Libanon og i Egypten. Der var en kort periode mens vi var i Egypten at jeg arbejdede i en fabrik, produktion af tøj og tekstil og sådan noget. I Syrien arbejdede jeg i et program der var beskyttet af det der Commene Wealth organisationen, som gik ud på at vedligeholde gravstederne for de faldne under 1. og 2. verdenskrig, samt de bevaringsværdige bygninger i Egypten.

TA: Jeg har beskæftiget mig med design af tøj til kvinder hovedsageligt. Og det var både i Syrien og Egypten. Design kan jo være mange ting, Tabina [ed.] har mange andre ting i bagagen mht. det her. Altså, hun laver det hele selv.

I: Ok, syr og alt?

TA: Jeg klarer det hele, både med at tegne det, skære det og sy det. Jeg har forsøgt med mandligt tøj, men det blev begrænset til Jalil [ed.] og til Karim [ed.]

[laughter]

TA: Jeg tænkte at jeg kunne lige så godt lære det.

I: Hvordan er jeres hverdag normalt i løbet af en uge?

T: Vores hverdag bliver opslugt af mange ting, som følge af de nye regler og skærpede love. Der skal vi både i praktik, være i skole og det ene og det andet, og en masse møder ind imellem. Så i kraft af at vi har børn, så er der også skolen, som der er forældremøder osv. Og så har jeg været så heldig at min praktik ligger i weekenden, således at hver weekend, som jeg skulle tilbringe sammen med børnene, den går så til praktik, og forleden dag, vores sør spurgte mig: “Far, hvornår skal jeg se dig?” Fordi de går jo i seng tidligt og når de kommer fra skolen, så skal de lige spise osv og så går de i seng. Og så ja, så ser vi dem kun i weekenden, men det er der ikke så meget af.

I: Nej ok. Hvad er du i praktik som?

T: Der er et firma der hedder Big Bowling i København, hvor jeg er teknikker, så vedligeholdelse i de her maskiner osv.

I: Ok, hver weekend?

T: Hver weekend.

I: Og så går du også til dansk i hverdagene?

T: Ja.

[tea and coffee is being served]

T: En arabisk tradition, at man ikke byder ind på kaffe, lige så snart gæsterne kommer, kaffen levner man til allersidst. Kaffe betyder sådan, når man har drukket kaffe, så går man.

[laughter]

L: Hvis I starter et sted med kaffe, så er det ikke så godt.

I: Nej, det er meget godt at vide [laughter]

TO: Jeg tror ikke alle har styr på traditionerne, men jeg tror også det er fordi de kender dig [referring to Lærke] så godt, ikke?

L: Ja.

I: Er det din første praktik, eller har du været i praktik andre steder?

J: Jeg har været i praktik hos en byggeplads, men fordi vi skulle ligge på knæ meget, så fik jeg skadet knæ og blev opereret i det og fik en anbefaling fra lægen at jeg ikke skulle arbejde, altså belaste knæet.

I: Ok, ja. Og hans kone, er du også i praktik?

TA: Ja. Jeg går også på sprogskolen 3 dage om ugen og 2 dage går jeg i praktik på Ådalensskole her i Frederikssund.

[Hammam explains where the school is situated]

TA: Den tidligere praktik har jeg haft også på skolen, det var i hjemkunstskab, kun med madlavning. Nu er det sy.

L: Og Tabina [ed.] hun skal starte en stor butik engang.

[laughter]

L: Hun har vist mig engang på biblioteket viste hun mig billeder af det hun kan sy.

TO: Det er ikke så ringe.

L: Nej, jeg kan godt lide sådan nogle posebukser og sådan noget, det [unclear]. Jeg er hendes første kunde når hun åbner

[laughter]

TA: Jamen, der er ingen der siger at det ikke er positivt der kommer en fra kommunen, nu har jeg min første kunde.

[laughter]

L: Og jeg har 2 piger, så ja ja.

[laughter and small-talk about Lærke's children]

I: Hvad med i jeres fritid, når I får fri fra skole og praktik?

TA: Jamen fritiden den går mellem husholdningen, hjemmearbejdet og børnepasningen. Og så har jeg to søstre, den ene bor her i samme beboelsesområde, og så har jeg en der bor i Egedal, som lige er kommet.

I: Så dem ser I meget?

TA: Jamen der er en der bor her, sådan lige tre skridt herfra.

I: Ej, det er dejligt ja.

J: Har også tre skoledag og så er der de der praktikdage i weekenden, så han har kun to dage hvor han så er hjemme og hjælper til.

TA: Vi har også nogle danske venner som vi er meget tæt knyttede og holder meget af dem. De kommer også og besøger os især i helligdagene.

I: Ok, når der er ferie?

TA: Ja.

I: Hvordan har I lært dem at kende?

TA: De er folk som selv har interesse i at have kontakt med flygtninge. De er med i det der frivilliggruppen som støtter flygtninge i deres dagligdag, som besøgsven og sådan noget. Men de parde ses med, det er nogen som har boet i samme lejlighed, før os. Og så flyttede de her fra, men de ville gerne se deres gamle lejlighed.

[laughter]

L: hvor hyggeligt.

I: Ja det er da sjovt.

TA: Ja, så det var faktisk dem der opsøgte os.

I: Nå hvor sjovt.

TA: De spørger meget til vores familieroller, og rumfordeling osv. Så siger jeg, jamen I deler også værelserne ligesom vi havde gjort det, da vi havde børn, ikke? Der boede også vores piger her og vores drenge her. Så de kommer her på memory lane.

I: Og hvad med weekenderne, hvad får I weekenderne til at gå med?

J: Praktik.

I: Du er i praktik, ja.

TA: Vi er, for det meste tager sig af børnene og deres interesser og deres behov osv. Tager sig af deres far, som er en stor dreng, når han kommer hjem.

J: Vores tid er faktisk meget presset. Det er presset på den her måde, f.eks. før i tiden, der var sprogprogrammet for flygtninge den var på 5 år, så de har 5 år til at lære, i dag er det 3 år og sprogskolerne de vil så gerne køre så mange flygtninge igennem som muligt, f.eks. Tabina [ed.] hun har kun været i skole 1 år, nu er hun på modul 5.

L: Det er fordi du er dygtig

TO: Ja, det er også det hun siger, jeg er meget dygtigere end ham.

[laughter]

L: Det skal lige siges, at jeg er jo kommune, men hvad I siger, hvis I har noget brok eller noget, så skal I jo ikke, jeg sladrer ikke til nogen.

J: Jamen det skal du ikke sige, vi har masser af kritik, men min kone sagde at jeg ikke må sige det.

L: Jo, jo, det må man godt. Det er det de skal, de skal ikke kun høre at kommunen er godt, fordi hvis det er det, så skal jeg ikke være her. Så går jeg, det har jeg lovet, at I er ærlige, selvom jeg er her.

J: Men det der blev sagt her, for at vende tilbage til svaret, det er at tiden, deres tid, den er presset meget, fordi man skal lære så meget, på en så kort tid, så man kommer igennem programmet. Og det resulterer så i, at man ikke får lært sproget ordentligt, inden man bliver sendt på praktikpladserne, og praktikpladserne, når man kommer der, det er formålet med dem, at man lærer sproget gennem brug og dialog, men mange af de praktikpladser som man kommer til, de har ikke den tålmodighed til at sidde og forklare en og de der ting. Hvis de ser at man kan et par ord engelsk, så slår de over til engelsk. Siger at man kommer her for at lære at tale dansk, de har ikke tid til at sidde og bruge et kvarter på at sige to sætninger. Så når man er færdig med praktikperioderne, så siger de, vi er glade for dig som person, kemien passer fint, du er dygtig til det du laver, men desværre kan vi ikke forstå hinanden så farvel og tak. Så det er på en måde at man også presset psykisk fordi økonomien, sproglæring er begge dele begrænsning for muligheden for at finde arbejde, altså ordinært arbejde. Og alt det her udgør et stort pres.

L: Jeg vil lige sige at det der med praktikkerne det hører vi jo, altså som kommer hos familierne, ofte, de er simpelthen for dårlige, og det er rigtig ærgerligt. Vi har jo familier der har været i praktik, hvor familierne talte bedre dansk end dem der havde praktikforløbet. Det er måske også fordi de bliver nødt til at, altså kommunen bliver nødt til at gå på kompromis nogle gange, fordi, de vil jo rigtig gerne have praktikpladser, så det er jo også det med hvor mange krav kan de tillade sig at stille. Men vi hører det tit, at praktikpladserne er ikke gode.

TO: Ikke altid i hvert fald, fordi, forleden dag, det er så også et sidespring, havde jeg haft en samtale med en ung fyr, som var sendt i praktik i Føtex. Han var glad for det, han var flittig. Han arbejde søndag, fredag, hele juleferien, arbejde han i deres åbningstid i den her periode fra morgen til aften. Og så bliver han sendt væk efter praktik, men han siger der kommer en anden gut, som han kender, også en ung fyr, der er dansk. Han kommer der en uge, også i praktik, og efteren uge, så får han en ansættelseskontrakt. Så mistede han lysten, simpelthen, til at gøre noget.

I: Ja, det må være demotiverende. Det kan man godt forstå.

TA: Jeg tror det er et spørgsmål om pres, at f.eks. kommunerne er presset til at vise nogle resultater, lederne i kommunerne presser virksomhedskonsulenterne til at finde nogle praktikpladser, så kommer de til virksomhedskonsulenterne og det er dem der, det led, der er i direkte kontakt til virksomhederne, de har ikke de redskaber som kan presse virksomheder og sige, jamen jeg har en her, du kan få ham i praktik i 3 måneder, efter 3 måneder, hvis der ikke er noget at sætte en finger på, hans arbejde osv.,

så skal du ansætte f.eks., eller starte løntilskud. De kan ikke stille dem ultimatum til arbejdsgiverne. Og så er det på den måde, så finder de praktikker, som ikke passer med den kunnen eller den erhvervserfaring som man har, og når man kommer til en arbejdsplads/praktikplads, som man ikke kender og ikke har erfaring i, så selvfølgelig ens præstationer ikke i top. Så det ender med, selvfølgelig det er afhængig af hvilken plads, hvilket arbejde, hvilket erhverv han skal udfylde, men det ender med at folk føler at de bliver bare sendt afsted til hvilket som helst sted og så, får ingenting. De tæller ikke som de der 225 timer, og det giver heller ikke flere kr. i kassen.

L: Det er kun sprog, for at blive bedre til dansk.

TA: Men f.eks. der er også mange steder, hvor de melder ud på forhånd, at de vil gerne have en i praktik, en de kan ikke tilbyde en arbejde. Og så det er ligesom Ådalenskole, de har sagt det på forhånd, altså de kan ikke tilbyde mig et fast arbejde. Men så siger min virksomhedskonsulent, jamen ved du hvad, det vigtigste det er at du kommer ud på en dansk arbejdsplads uanset hvad, og så tilføjer Jalil [ed.] og siger at hun tilføjer, at, så din mand kan vænne sig til at det er normalt at du går ud af hjemmet, som om jeg spærre hende herinde eller sådan noget.

[laughter]

J: Som om jeg havde hende bag lås og lås i Syrien

L: Og det er jo også problemet nogle gange, at der sidder nogen mennesker med nogle fordomme, altså, gem dem lidt væk, og så, altså, lær jer at kende først.

TA: Jeg tilbød at jeg gik i skole fuld tid, så jeg kan afslutte sprogskolen og så bagefter gå i praktik, men sådan var reglerne, at jeg skulle gå i skole og praktik. Sådan er loven.

L: Jeg skal bare lige høre, hvornår kommer baby?

TA: Juni. Et sommerbarn.

J: Sagen er bare den at mange folk kommer ud i praktikker som ikke matcher deres erfaring. Og det minder os faktisk en del om hvad vi har oplevet i Syrien, hvor vi så at mange folk de er placeret i den forkerte plads, fordi de vælger de bedste pladser til dem der har forbindelser med staten og statsfolk. Således, det førte til en fejl, fordi når man sidder i et job som man ikke magter, så fører det til fejl, det kan ikke undgås. Det samme med, altså jeg er her, som murer og har været det i 25 år, som sagt, mere, det ville være utrolig at der ikke nogle steder her, men det er ikke det jeg mener, altså, det arbejde det kan jeg og jeg kan tage ansvar for det, fordi jeg kender det. Hvis du placerer mig et sted, hvor jeg kan ødelægge noget, fordi jeg ikke har erfaring med det, så får du mig til at tage ansvar for noget, der var ikke min fejl, og det syntes jeg ikke er rimeligt.

I: Mh, ja.

J: Så, i den sidste ende så er flygtningenes jobmuligheder er meget, meget begrænsede, fordi som sagt, mange føler sig at de bliver udnyttet af den der praktikregel plus at de ikke kommer til rigtig arbejde indenfor en [unclear] tidsperiode, og det får arbejdsmoralen til at dale meget, der hvor de bliver sendt. Den anden ting er, de andre muligheder som man kunne tænke sig, det er at starte et projekt for sig selv eller starte som selvstændig, det har man eller ikke store muligheder for, fordi det hele kræver penge, det kræver at man kender systemet her, hvordan det fungerer at være selvstændig og den hjælp som man kan få, den er også begrænset, altså, af kommunen og sådan. Og derfor så tænker man og undrer sig over, hvordan kan det være at kommunen ikke kan se, jamen ok, vi har her, 100 familier, eller 200 familier, an på kommunens størrelse, hvor mange familier de har råd til, ikke? At man starter et produktionsprojekt og så ansætter alle de her folk, således at de kan gavne noget.

L: Det må man ikke.

TO: Nej. De fleste af de her folk som kommer, ikke kun fra Syrien også fra Afrika og andre steder, mange af dem har arbejdet med landbrug, og her er der en masse landbrug. Så hvorfor ikke, man starter f.eks. en plantage eller sådan noget, ejet af kommunen og så ansætte de her folk og lader dem dyrke det og får det til at producere og så sælge det og få noget til at betale deres løn, i stedet for bare at betale dem for ingenting næsten. Og andre ting, der er også mange der arbejder med VVS, med murerarbejde, vejarbejde, hvad ellers ikke, så man kunne udnytte deres potentiale på mange forskellige måder. Det gør kommunerne ikke. Altså, det der socialistiske system som man har i Syrien, eller [unclear], vil gå med til sådan nogle ting, og derfor så er det meget nærliggende for dem at tænke denne her retning.

L: Der er mulighed for at optage noget mikrolån på 30.000 i kommunen. Men det er næsten umuligt at opfylde kravene til at få det. Du skal have sådan en virksomhedsplan, simpelthen. Og det kan jo godt være lidt svært ikk'?

I: Ja, det.

J: Vi har faktisk spurgt nogle af virksomhedskonsulenterne, derovre i Frederikssund, de gamle, men de siger til os, det er ikke muligt at få et lån i kommunen. Det havde været muligt...

TO: ... Men jeg tror mange af dem kender ikke til kommunens planer med det her.

L: Nej, for det er jo nyt, det her mikrolån. Så de skal snakke med en virksomhedskonsulent. Hvem har I som virksomhedskonsulent?

J: [mention name of occupational consultant]

L: Ok, og det er ham der står for det, så han ved det.

J: Men jeg har præsenteret for [name of occupational consultant] flere projekter, altså jeg har også arbejdet med dekoration af bygninger, f.eks. der er siranik med mønster på osv. laver et stort mønster på en stor væg og en mindre væg, han er rigtig dygtig, han har vist nogle billeder af hans arbejde, som er kunstværk, nå men, hvis jeg nu skulle starte sådan en virksomhed, hvis jeg ikke er kendt her, så ville folk her, altså, folk ville tage imod det og det ville få nogle kunder, men i starten vil det selvfølgelig være svært. Men jeg ved ikke hvordan jeg skal lave sådan en forretningsplan, jeg har brug for hjælp, så hjælp mig med at lave den forretningsplan.

L: Men hjælper [name of occupational consultant] ikke?

J: Men altså, [name of occupational consultant] han er rigtig fin, for at være helt ærlig, så er han hjælpsom, men jeg har ikke spurgt ham om det her, om at hjælpe mig med at lave forretningsplan. Jeg har præsenteret et projekt om en restaurant, som vi havde planer om at starte, mine brødre og jeg, men så da vi kom til det her med forretningsplanen, så stoppede vi, for vi har ikke rigtig styr på det der.

L: Jeg spørger lige [name of social worker].

J: Men generelt alle sagsbehandlere i kommunen de er hjælpsomme, indenfor lovens ramme. Det de kan og må, de hjælper med det, hvis man spørger dem. Og så hvis der er noget man har brug for, og de ikke selv kan, men de ved at der er en eller anden organisation eller forening som hjælper med det, så hjælper de også, så vejleder de hvad man skal gøre.

I: Prøver lige at vende tilbage til det her med hvordan økonomien påvirker hverdagslivet, nu snakkede vi både om jeres hverdag og jeres weekender, er der noget som I ikke kan gøre, lave eller købe pga. jeres økonomiske situation?

J: Vi starter med at tale om påvirkningerne som mærkes allermest af børnene, for det er dem som bliver mærket allermest, eller, de kan mærke det allermest.

TA: Altså, den stramme økonomi, som man har efter de nye stramninger er taget i kraft, integrationsydelsen, det mærker faktisk vores børn allermest, fordi det beløb som man får, kan lige slå til til mad og drikke og til at betale de faste udgifter. Men man skal lave en rigtig, rigtig stram plan. Hvis man bare afviger en lille smule, så går den i stykker. Og det der undrer os her, det er at man ikke har taget højde for børnenes behov, at børnene har krav eller behov anderledes end de voksne, de er større end de voksne, f.eks. sådan et budget, det tillader ikke, der er ikke plads til at købe f.eks. et spil, eller et stykke tøj eller sko eller hvad ellers, eller at sende dem på skolerejse, ligesom f.eks. andre børn i deres klasse.

I: Så lejrskole eller hvad?

TA: Ja, lejrskole. Da vores stor dreng, Karim [ed.], som er 16 år, hans klasse havde skoletur til Holland. Den kostede 2000 kr. Den kan vi ikke sende ham på, fordi vi har simpelthen ikke råd til det, vi har søgt om hjælp via kommunen og fået afslag, så her føler børnene at deres muligheder er begrænsede, fordi de kan se når de har behov for et spil, når de har behov for tøj, så siger vi altid at de skal vente til at der kommer udsalg, til tingene bliver billigere, altså det er jo 25% for at vi har råd til også at kunne købe lidt.

I: Ja.

TA: Tag f.eks. den regel der siger at folk som kom efter den dato, eller familier, som kom efter den dato, kunne ikke få den fulde børnepenge. Altså vores barn går i klasse sammen med et andet barn, som er kommet med sin familie, var kommet før den lov trådte i kraft, så når det bliver f.eks. d. 20. januar eller 20. april, så får barnet en ny ting, som han havde ønsket sig. Og så kommer børnene, [unclear] fordi børnenes penge er kommet, og så kommer vores børn ind, har vi ikke fået børnenes penge, hvorfor har jeg ikke fået, de ting som jeg har bedt om? Og så skal de sidde og forklare det barn, at vi får kun 25% af hvad den anden drengs forældre får, og det er først efter 6 måneder vi får 50% osv. Det er, det kan børn ikke rigtig forstå. Så på den måde kan de også mærke det og da vi kom hertil, der havde vores kontanthjælps størrelse, har ligget faktisk som 50% af dem som var her før os i forhold til deres ydelse. Så vi er en af de familier, der blev ramt fra starten af.

I: Ja, ja.

TA: Og det stresser en meget, altså at få familien til at fungere normalt under sådan en stram situation, og så samtidig kommer presset fra jobcenteret, fra skolen, fra praktikken osv.

L: Ja det er let at blive integreret.

[giggling]

L: Jeg bliver nødt til at køre over på skolen. Vi ses senere!

I: Ja vi ses derhenne.

I: De nævnte før at de bruger meget tid på indkøb, går de efter tilbud, eller hvordan?

TO: Det er Tabina [ed.] der står for madlavningen her, så det er nok hende der ved det. [Tabina just left the room]

J: Det er selvfølgelig, vi skal tænke os meget om, inden vi bruger enhver krone. Vi kan ikke handle f.eks. i København, fordi det kræver at man har en bil, fordi tit når man skal handle stort, så har man altså bagage og så slæber man på dem frem og tilbage i bus og tog, det er ikke så praktisk. Så vi venter til der kommer tilbud i de supermarkeder der er her i lokalområdet, og ligeledes med tøj til

børnene og sådan, vi venter f.eks. på når der kommer tilbud, når priserne er nedsatte, så lægger vi vores vægt i.

TA: Der er også, jeg tror den værste effekt af de her økonomiske stramninger det er den psykiske effekt, fordi, altså vi kommer fra et samfund hvor det er manden der skal skaffe pengene til at leve, ofte, i de fleste hjem, altså vores hjem var måske ikke så traditionelt, men de fleste var sådan, at det er manden, der har sit arbejde, sit job og skaffer penge til hjemmet, familien ikke. Og her kommer så en mand, der føler sig ikke rigtig mand, fordi han står der, og hans kone bidrager lige så meget til husholdningen som han gør, det frøtager ham det ansvar, frøtager ham den der stolthed. Derudover, så hører man tit, fra politikerne, partierne, at det er flygtninge der koster, flygtninge der er dit, flygtninge der er dat, flygtningene, flygtningene, flygtningene. Og sådan en sød integrationsminister, som fejrer stramning nr. 50 ligefrem, opløfter ikke ligefrem ens tanker og selvværd, for så føler man sig faktisk, at man er en belastning, at man er mindre værd, at man en nasser, selvom vi kom faktisk ikke her fordi vi manglede mad og drikke derhjemme, vi havde vores egen [unclear], vi havde vores arbejde, men så begyndte bomberne at falde lige ved siden af os, og livet er mere værd end penge. Så når vi kommer her og bliver mødt med sådan et syn og sådanne ytringer osv. så fortryder vi også nogen gange at vi kom hertil, fordi vi tænker også vores børn de føler sig, at de er mindre værd end resten af samfundet.

I: Lægger de mærke til det, børnene?

J: Jamen selvfølgelig lægger børnene mærke til det og de mærker det også dagligt. Og de som, f.eks. vores sør læser f.eks. på nettet, og som I ved, så trykker børnene ikke altid på nyhederne eller på [unclear] som de fortolker, på den rigtige måde, nogle gange så misforstår de, ikke? Men når han læser noget, der tyder på, tilsyneladende, at flygtningene, når der bliver fred, så kan de blive sendt derud. Så hans begrænsede syn på tingene, sige, hvorfor skal jeg så gå i skole, hvorfor skal jeg anstreng mig, og dygtiggøre mig osv. hvis jeg efter et par dage, så skal jeg smides tilbage til vores land, og der starter jeg så også på et nyt system. Det her, det har jo nogle påvirkninger som på lang sigt er meget negative på samfundet, på det danske samfund. Men det underer mig at politikerne ikke tænker på det. Altså, også en anden ting, det med arbejde, vi er alle sammen parat til at tage arbejde, allerede fra dag 1, når vi kommer hertil, men når vi får at vide, at hvis jeg f.eks. går i arbejde, så tager man min kones integrationsydelse. Hvad har jeg vundet? Altså i mit syn, så har jeg ikke vundet noget økonomisk, altså, jeg starter at arbejde eller at søge et arbejde for at hjælpe min familie ud af den økonomiske situation, hvis jeg arbejder og får det samme, så er der ingen mening med det her, og derfor det, det skubber en del flygtninge i samme situation som os, til at lave noget ulovligt, f.eks. at

arbejde sort, fordi der får de lidt ekstra, om det er 2 timer eller 3 timer, ikke? Laver lidt ekstra i forhold til hvad de får i forvejen.

I: Så det er der nogen der gør?

TO: Altså højest sandsynligt. Det var generelt, han siger højest sandsynligt at det vil have sådan en effekt.

I: Ja, ja.

J: Og det samme med børnene. Altså, hvis skolen bliver ikke så vigtig, så hvad skal de lave? **Så begynder de at kede sig, så begynder de at lave narrestreger. Hvis økonomien er stram, at de kan ikke få det, de kan ikke få det, de kan ikke få det, så er der altid nogen der kommer at udnytte det og siger, hallo, du skal bare sælge 50 gr. hash, eller noget i den stil, stjæle fra supermarketet, eller det der, ikke? Så får du penge. Og det her det er jo samfundet sygdomme, som kan have en meget større effekt end bare det at skære ydelsen et par tusinder om måneden.**

[Tabina serves coffee]

TO: Så betyder det at vi skal skride

[laughter]

TO: Jalil [ed.] sagde faktisk også, da vi kom ind, da han spurgte hvor meget tid, da jeg sagde 1 time - 1,5, siger han det er ikke nok.

I: Nej, det er kort tid.

TA: Det som Tabina [ed.] siger, faktisk, hun siger selvfølgelig, vi ved at der er nogle flygtninge, som også er dumme svin og som laver noget, begår mange fejl ikke? Men folk er ikke ens, også folk her i Danmark de er gode og de er dårlige. Men hvorfor gør man det til at hvis nogen gør en fejl, så lader det gå ud over alle sammen, generaliserer, fordi sådan er det også i det diktatoriske styre i Syrien, fordi når der er nogen der begår en fejl, så kommer de og tager hele landsbyen til fange, men hvis hele landsbyen samler sig om et godt projekt, så er der kun en der står i spidsen, som bliver belønnet. Og her er det det samme, så hvor ligger alle de positive, sammenlignet med vores system? Altså alle de positive her, sammenlignet med vores system? Så er der ikke så stor forskel.

I: Går de til nogle aktiviteter børnene, udover skolen?

J: Det er Karim [ed.], den 16-årige, og Bushra [ed.] går til Klub mix. Og Zaki [ed.] i SFO.

TA: De går til svømning og det takker vi kommunen for, de har sørget for at det. Og så går den store af drengene til fodbold, men det koster jo meget udstyr til fodbold, altså skinnebensbeskyttere, knæbeskyttere, sko og sådan noget, ikke? Så alt det her det er udgifter, som vi ofte ikke har råd til, og det kan måske være at han bliver væk.

I: Ok, at han bliver væk fra træningen?

TO: Ja. Men nu er det sådan at Karim [ed.] han deler også reklamer.

I: Ok.

J: Han delte avisere, han startede med at have flere ruter, hvor han så fik flere hundrede kroner om måneden. Men så begyndte de at tage nogle af de her ruter fra ham, så endte de med kun 100 eller 150 kr. om måneden, så kunne det ikke betale sig.

I: Nej ok, så han gør det ikke længere?

TO: Nej.

TA: Han prøver på at forbedre sin økonomi, men det lykkedes ikke.

[laughter]

I: Der er ikke nogen af de andre børn der arbejder?

J: Nej, hun læser den 18 årlige. Hun læser på campus her, det er handelsgymnasium i Frederikssund. De har lavet et specielt kursus for udlændinge så de kan tage 10. klasse, således at de kan, ved slutningen af det her kursus kan de skrive sig op til de forskellige gymnasier. Hun er heller ikke perfekt til dansk, men hun kan en del dansk. Og også Karim [ed.] og Zaki [ed.] og Yrsa, de er faktisk dygtige til dansk deres børn. Men hun vil gerne arbejde, Reem [ed.], den 18 årlige, men hun synes hun skal først have styr på sproget og så også gerne gøre det her færdigt med et godt resultat, så hun kan komme på gymnasium. Fordi hun var færdig med gymnasium da hun kom hertil.

I: Og laver de nogle aktiviteter hele familien i weekenden, altså tager på ture eller?

TA: **Altså det her det er udelukket hos os, der er ikke råd til det.** Og den eneste der protesterer imod det, at vi ikke tager på tur eller gør et eller andet sammen, det er vores mellemste, Bushra [ed.], fordi hun er pige, og vi lader hende ikke bare færdes på egen hånd, altså til København eller sådan, hun er 13 år. Så hun brokker sig altid over at vi ikke kommer nogle steder, at vi skal integrere os

[laughter]

I: Og hvordan, møblerne de har i lejligheden, hvordan har de fået fat i dem?

TA: Altså kommunen har sørget for de basale møbler.

J: Seng, sofa og stol, lamper, spisebord.

TO: Men det som kommunen ikke hjælper med, det som Lærke [ed.] har sagt, det er gardiner, fjernsyn og den slags ting. Altså de basale ting som støvsuger, vandkoger, forskellige ting. Men ellers så, noget af det har de købt gennem Den Blå Avis.

TA: Vi evner ikke, vi har ikke råd til at købe nye ting, så vi er afhængige af de frivillige og Røde Kors og Kirkens Nødhjælp, som er meget flinke og rare, nogle gange kommer de med nogle ting, når

de ved at vi mangler det her. Ellers så er det brugt, fordi de frivillige de har sådan en lektiecafé to gange om ugen, hvor de hjælper nye flygtninge med deres lektier og sådan nogle ting, så de har også nogle samtaler og chat der, hvor de kommer ind på det her emne, og så er der en som siger, jamen jeg har en sofa i kælderen, som I kan få. Vi er glade og taknemmelige for deres indsats.

J: Vi kritiserer nogle ting og påpeger nogle fejl, men generelt er vi glade for at blive modtaget og huset her i landet, men der er ytringsfrihed her, ikk?

I: Jeg tror vi skal til at videre, desværre, Lærke [ed.] har lavet en stram tidsplan til os.

[laughter]

J: Hvis I har tid så er I velkomne til at blive, vi har masser af tid.

[laughter]

I: Vi skal besøge 3 andre familier.

J: Vi bliver ikke informeret ordentligt her om hvordan magtsystemet det fungerer, eller den politiske system fungerer, f.eks. for os flygtninge, vi kender kun Inger Støjberg. Hun er den onde heks. Og så Kjærsgaard, det er det eneste vi hører om, vi ved ikke hvem der er statsminister, hvem der er udenrigsminister og hvem er indenrigsminister.

[laughter]

I: Det er lidt sørgeligt.

J: Jamen jeg tror ikke det er kun os flygtninge der kun kender til Inger Støjberg, det er også fordi integrationsminister har bare den her rolle og enten gør det godt eller gør det dårligt, f.eks. i Holland, du hører ikke om de andre politikere, men du hører om ham der, helt fanatiker.

I: Ja, det er et meget populært emne for tiden, ikke?

TO: Ja.

Interview, Midhat & Ruba

Interview date: 27.03.17

Place: home of Mustafa and Ramzia, Frederikssund Municipality

Length: 1:00:42

Interviewee: Midhat (M) and Ruba (R)

Interviewer: Emilia and Marie (I)

Other people present: Translator, Hammam (T), and family consultant from Frederikssund Municipality, Lærke (L)

Interview:

I: Først har vi bare sådan nogle baggrundsspørgsmål omkring hvor lang tid I har været i Danmark og hvor I kommer fra og hvor mange børn I har og ..

T: Må du sige noget inden hun kommer ind? [referring to the Ruba who is in the kitchen]

M: Hun har givet mig fuldmagt [laughing]. Den fungerer også i Nordea.

I: Nå, nå okay [laughing].

M: Vi kommer fra Syrien og vi kom hertil i november 2014, øh, og så er vi, mor og far og to børn.

I: To børn

M: Hvor den ene af børnene, den ældste, er handikappet

I: Okay.

M: Ja, og så er de moderens bror, som er oppe på 29-30 han er her også

I: Han bor her også?

M: Nej

I: Nå, nej han var med

M: Han var med da de kom

I: Ja okay.

[laughing]

T: Jeg sagde til ham at det er deres tredje barn, har jeg også fortalt ham

M: Ja, han er meget værre.

I: Ja og hvor gamle er dine børn?

M: 9 og H. [ed.] er 15 år. 9 og 15, men Hussein, den ældste, som har et helbredsmæssigt problem, han er jo den sværeste af de to fordi han er født for tidligt og derfor var hans, ved ikke om det er hans

muskler eller ledbånd, ikke var udviklet nok, så har han den ene, den ene af benene er for kort i forhold til den andet og så ligger den ud til siden.

I: Ja

M: De har rendt med ham til sygehuset lige siden de kom hertil [unclear]

I: Okay. Kan han godt gå i skole og?

M: Ja altså, øh, ja han går faktisk i samme skole som den der hedder Ådalen.

I: Mm, ja

M: Og han bliver transporteret øh og så langt om længe har han også fået en øh hjælper

I: Okay.

M: Til at støtte ham, i skolen. Fordi før øh var det et problem for ham når han gik i skole fordi han, han, han kan falde. Han har let ved at falde og børn der leger og sådan noget, og hver gang der bliver skubbet til ham, så faldte han, og når han vælte så har han ondt i fire-fem dage efter.

I: Ja, ja okay.

M: Og busstopstedet, hvor de samles op, øh, den lå langt væk fra skolebygningen, hvor han gik, ikke, så tit han ikke nå bussen og bussen har en meget stram tidsplan

I: Ja

M: Så tit bliver han efterladt og så ringer han og græder og siger hvad sker der med mig

I: Ja

M: Især om vinteren i hvert fald

I: Nåå, det er godt han har fået hjælp

T: Undskyld?

I: Det er godt at han har fået hjælp.

T: Ja, ja. Endelig faktisk. Det blev en hård kamp indtil de fik den hjælp, men de fik det.

M: Okay, men den støtteperson har også været væk i 20 dage.

I: Nå hvorfor?

M: Vi har talt med Ådalens skole og de sagde hun havde nogle udfordringer, som forhindrede

I: Nåå, personlige? Ja okay. Og der er ikke kommet en anden i stedet for?

M: Nej

I: Nej, nej okay. Og hvilken eh, hvad, altså hvad lavede I da I var i Syrien, hvad arbejdede i med?

M: Øh min kone var hjemmegående, altså med børn, fordi i kraft af at vi har et barn der har brug for speciel pleje. Øh og ellers så havde vi en passager bus, som vi kørte passagerer i.

I: Ah okay

M: [unclear]

[Private conversation, not relevant, Ruba enters the room]

T: [unclear] Gæstfrihed, fordi man mener i arabien, det er også en arabisk overtro, at jo bedre man behandler gæsten, jo mindre ulykke for man

I: Nåå, okay, det vidste jeg faktisk ikke

T: Gavmildheden, det er en måde at drive ulykker væk

I: Ahh, okay. Ja.

T: Så tit, hvis I kommer til en araber og så overdynget jer med noget, fx nu har jeg advaret dem, og sagt intet over, sådan det her som I plejer at gøre, bare hold det simpelt

I: Simpelt? Ja, ja, ja. Det er noget med at man blive behandlet som en konge de første tre dage

T: ja, ja Det er gæsten. Man er gæst i tre dage og efter tre dage, så er man en del af huset.

I: Såå, ja. det er meget fint

M: I må også gerne blive her tre dage, hvis I vil.

I: Okay, men som Emilia sagde, så handler det om hverdagslivet, så hvis de måske vil forklare en normal hverdag for jer. Hvordan ser en normal hverdag ud, sådan fra I står op til I går i seng?

M: Jamen eh altså den faste morgenroutine er at vi står op, gør børnene i stand til at komme i skole, hvorefter gør vi os i stand til at tage i skole. Især den store, som har et handikap, han kræve ekstra plejer fordi han kan ikke selv gå på toilettet, han kan ikke tage bad selv, han kan ikke gøre noget selv. Så han skal støttes fordi han har lidt [unclear] med balance og falder. Så han skal støttes, også i bruseren fordi han kan ikke holde sig oppe ret længe, så han skal bades. Så det er enten hans mor eller jeg der går med og bader ham og så videre. Så det er en, en, en energi og tidskrævende morgenritual.

I: Ja

M: Eh, så går vi i skole. Og så er det at Hussein, han kommer hjem kl. 15.00 fra skolen [unclear] og Muhammed han blir i SFO, han går i skole faktisk, vi har lige kørt fordi den, ved det der lyskryds der ligger oppe af bakken, når vi drejer fra stationen, krydset fra stationen, så kommer vi op af bakken, så kommer der et kryds

I: ja

M: På højre hjørne, den modsatte af der hvor vi stopper, der ligger Falkenborg skole [unclear] Trekløverskolen.

I: ja okay

M: Det er der den lille går og så går den store der hvor de andre børn, som vi har hørt så meget til

I: Okay

M: Ja og så når du kommer, så tager vi imod dem øh og så hjælper vi dem med at slappe af og se fjernsyn, hvis muligt, så chatter vi med deres bedsteforældre, med vores familie, som de bor, de opholder sig i Tyrkiet

I: Okay, Ja, så I går i sprogskole tre dage om ugen?

M: Ja

I: Og har I noget praktik eller?

M: Han er faktisk indkaldt til en praktik-møde i dag kl. 10

I: Nå okay

M: men øh, den lille M. [their son - ed.] var syg

I: Nåå

M: Og mor var i sprogskolen, så måtte Midhat [ed.] bliver hjemme, ikke?

I: Ja okay, men så har du, har du været eller har I begge været i praktik eller?

T: Det har de ikke endnu

I: Nej okay

T: Ikke endnu. Det er også, det har været en speciel situation

I: Ja

T: Pga. af barnet også fordi indtil, indtil for 6 mdr. siden da havde de boet i en lejlighed ligesom den, hvor vi kom frem, hvor man, hvor drengene skal hjælpes op af trapper og det var trapper som var sådan her og så en afsats og den vej der

I: Åh, det er besværligt.

T: Ikke? Øh og især om vinteren der var det rigtig svært, derfor var den ene af dem nødt til at være hjemme og så de havde de, hvor de boede, ikke ligesom her, hvor der er holdeplads henne ved døren. Der skulle de hente ham, et godt stykke fra, hvor de boede. Så de skal tage imod ham fra bussen af og det var så Midhat [ed.] fordi det krævede kræfter. Og det var lige før han fik diskusprolaps pga. af det.

I: mm ja

T: Fordi han skulle bære ham på ryggen op.

I: Ej, ej, så har det fået denne her for et halvt år siden? Hvor man kan gå lige ind.

M: For et halv år siden, så fik de denne her lejlighed.

I: Ja okay, fint. Okay.

M: Og de har boet et år der, derfor var de fritaget til denne her også [unclear] og i perioder [unclear].

I: mm, ja okay. Øhm, og hvad så i weekenderne eller i fritiden, hvad, laver de nogle aktiviteter eller?

M: Øhm, aktiviteter, det vil sige, det er så at enten besøger vi min kones søster

I: OKay.

M: eller de kommer og besøger os. Ellers går vi bare til byen for at se, hvad vi mangler og sådan.

I: Ja okay. Nå, Slagerup er ikke så langt. Der har vi lige været. Så I ses med i løbet af en uge og en weekend, det er meget familie?

M: Mm, og vi har også min onkel og hans børn. De bor i Hillerød, så vi besøger også dem og de besøger også os.

I: Ah ja, det er da dejligt. Er der nogen aktiviteter eller nogen ting som I godt kunne tænke jer at lave, som ikke har råd til at lave i weekenden?

M: **Jamen, altså hvis vi tager de her sociale besøg, der var det meget hyggeligere før nedskæringerne i inregningsydelsen, fordi det koster penge at komme ud,** og det er ikke kun for os, det er også for familie, ikke? Så det bliver dæmpet, plus at når vi har lyst til at tage børnene ud øh som sagt der kan vi ikke bare holde en øh gå ud på tur ligesom alle andre familier fordi har vi en der skal støtte sig til en af os, eller begge to, hele tiden, så det begrænser også vores aktiviter. **Vi har lyst til at besøge vores familie, vi har familie i Sverige, vi har familie i Tyrkiet, som vi ikke kan, pga. økonomien.**

I: ja

M: Øhm så andre ting som at skrive sig op til fodbold-hold, det kan vi ikke gøre fordi det koster penge.

I: Nå til børnene ja. Mm, ja

M: Og de er begge to, både M (red.) og hans svigersøn, vrøvl svigerbror, svoger, de er begge to aktive fodboldspillere og sportsmænd

I: [unclear]

M: Men jeg holdt op med at være det siden jeg kom hertil

I: Mm, fordi det er for dyrt?

M: Ja og ikke tid til det så meget.

T: Det som jeg har forstået på familie, da boede de, man kan godt kalde det kollektiv, familiekollektiv, hvor de så, i en fleretagers bygning, hvor de så ejede det og så boede de der på flere etager, drengene og deres familier

I: Altså i Syrien?

T: Ja og så deres forældre, mændenes forældre, de boede fx nederst, ikke? Og så havde de altid nogen til at passe børnene, det har de ikke her.

I: Nej, nej. ja, så der er mindre tid.

M: Her kan man ikke rigtig dyrke noget med ro i sindet, der er altid noget [unclear], er der sket noget, er alt vel derhjemme og sådan.

I: Mm, ja, ja. Øh, hvad med, er de aktive i nogle organisationer? Altså nogen, venligboerne, som vi snakkede om eller nogen foreninger?

M: Vi har kun [unclear]

I: [unclear]

M: Selv L [ed.] har vi ikke set i sådan 4 måneder tror jeg.

I: Nej okay ([laughing])

T: M [ed.] sender altid, det post som han får, tager billeder af det og sender det til mig, så jeg kan forklare ham det.

I: nå, det er da smart ja. Og hvad med jeres indkøb? Madindkøb og sådan? Planlægger i det?

M: Øhm, altså, det er sjældent at det slår til,

I: mm, okay

M: Det er sjældent det slår til, vi har [unclear], det er sjældent at pengene slår til

I: Hvad er det så, hvordan kan de mærke at det ikke slår til, altså hvad er det I må undvære?

M: Det allermest nødvendige, det kan vi godt [unclear], men fx vi har en dreng som altid slider sine sko fordi han ikke går eh korrekt eller ordentligt i dem

I: Ah ja mmm

M: Så næsten hver måned eller halve måned bliver de slidt og det er simpelthen fordi vi er nødt til at købe så billige sko til ham som muligt og det belaster så fx det her, nogen gange så er det tre, to par vi skal købe for at kunne dække hans behov.

I: Mm, ja okay. Så det er ikke så meget, altså mad kan, det får i råd til eller?

T: Jamen ehm, han [referring to M] siger at du kender vores økonomi næsten ligeså godt som vi kender, fordi der er opstået en situation. Da de skulle flytte hertil, det var ligesom af nødvendighed at de blev flyttet, men denne her lejlighed, de blev tilbuddt denne her lejlighed, inden tidsfristen var udløbet eller opsigelsesfristen har udløbet på den gamle bolig. Man skal opsigte boligen tre måneder forinden, ikke?

I: Nåå, ja ja ja

T: Og hvis man ikke gør det, så skal man betale husleje til øh kommunen. De fik denne her bolig to måneder før

I: Nåå, så

T: De sku, sku ja altså de havde kun 2 måneder til at få denne her lejlighed

I: Ja.

T: Ikke? Og til at opsige den anden. Så de har haft også opsagt den og dermed har de så betalt en ekstra måneds leje. Derudover at, altså nu har de boet i denne her lejlighed i 6 mdr. Man kan ikke se på væggene at de er beskadiget eller noget.

I: Nej

T: Overhovedet, vel?

I: Nej

T: Heller ikke gulvene og sådan. De har fotograferet det hele da de flyttede ind, også deres familiekonsulent tog billeder af alle gulve og de skader, som var på trægulvet og de blev kommenteret. Og de afleverede den ligesom, de modtog, eh, som de fik den. Alligevel skulle de betale 11.000 i vand, i vedligeholdelse eller i istandsættelse.

I: oj

T: Af deres, de havde regnet med, at deres indskudslån, som var på 18.000-20.000, at de ville få dem tilbage, men så har boligselskabet sagt: den skal istandsættes. Selvom den er ren, så skal den nymales og alle de her ting. Ik?

I: Nå, okay.

T: Og derfor skulle de trække 11.000 fra deres indskudslån.

I: Ja

T: Åh plus den opgørelse for el og sådan noget, der blev regnet 3 mdr.s opgørelse for de lejlighed, altså, alt det her har presset dem meget, så de er blevet nødt til at låne, de må til at låne til at klare de her udgifter.

I: Låne fra kommunen?

T: Nej. Fra deres familie.

I: mm, okay.

T: Og når man låner, så betaler man det selvfølgelig også tilbage

I: Ja, ja. Så man står i gæld.

T: Foruden at de står med 2 indskudslån,

I: Ja, så det er ekstra svært.

T: Ja, så de er forgældet faktisk.

I: Mm..

T: Det er også mor der har lavet dem [referring to the cake]

I: lækkert. Man får meget kage, når man er ude på besøg.

M: Ja. Børnene de elsker kage og sådan søde sager, så mor står for at altid står der noget på menuen.

I: Lækkert.

M: Især den lille, som sidder derinde, han eh, jeg kan huske sidste sommer, hver gang han kom ind, så skulle han i køleskabet: "hvorfor har vi ikke det her?" [laughing].

I: Nåå...

I: Får I, får de nogle tillæg eller nogen tilskud fra kommunen? Til deres ældste ja?

M: Jamen, det har været en lang proces, men det de har fået er fx at de har fået bevilget en, jamen han blev bevilget et time fysioterapeutisk behandling eller træning om ugen, en halv time og en halv time, og så blev han bevilget ekstra kørsel, og det er så fra skolen til fysioterapeuten og hjem, og så blev han bevilget sådan en støtteperson, som skulle støtte ham i skolen.

I: Okay.

M: Derudover så er det den der gips, den der grisp, så skal lave skinne til hans fod og sådan ikke? De har lavet en, men det gik ikke særlig godt fordi det det gav ham kødsår på benet og så videre, så de skulle, de er i gang med at lave en ny, men eh, undskyld, familie synes at alt går i mod dem, fordi hver gang de søger om noget, så går der flere måneder inden de kommer igennem systemet

I: Mm, det tager lang tid

M: Ja,

I: Ja, det tager meget lang tid med [unclear]

M: Men fx medicinsk behandling det får han ikke støtte til,

I: nej okay, men har, skal, han skal have medicin eller?

M: Jamen altså han skal have hvad hedder det, salve, til hans ben, du skal masserer benet, det er en del af behandlingen, det får vi ikke støtte til. Sådan en bøtte, den kan koste op til 400 kr. fx.

I: ja okay

M: Og vi har, min kone, som hjælper vores sør, og derfor ikke kan deltage i praktikaktiviteter, ikke?

Øh, så bliver hun skåret med, altså hendes ydelse bliver nedsat med 1500 kr. ca.

I: Ja

M: Fordi hun ikke opfylder de der 225 timers regel. Og så boligstøtten blev sænket fra 3500 til 1500 kr pga. de der loft. Sagen er bare den at når man søger om en enkeltydelse, selvom man får den, så bliver den også betragtet som en ydelse, ik?

I: ja, ja den går ind under

M: Ja.

I: Ja, men er i glade for at bo her nu?

M: Den er, hvis vi skal sammenligne med den gamle bolig, så er den meget bedre fordi den har ikke alt den der trapper også sådan noget.

I: Ja, ja, hvordan har I fået alle trapper og sådan. Er det fra kommunen eller?

M: Jamen vi fik selvfølgelig de aller nødvendigste fra kommune fx senge til og skriveborde til børnene, lamper og sådan nogle ting, men det her, og det her måtte vi låne og betale for.

I: Okay. Hos et firma eller?

M: Jamen øhm, vi har, hvis man kan kalde det, altså her er det kendt som en økonomisk forening, hvor alle indskyder noget hvert fast dag om måneden og lad os sige at vi tre kan lave en økonomisk forening og vi betaler fx 500 kr hver måned og så bliver der trukket lod og den der bliver trukket først får de har 1500 kr. Næste måned er det en anden der trukket lod og så den tredje og så videre, ik?

I: Okay.

M: Og i deres familie har de lavet sådan en forening, hvor de betaler sådan et simpelt beløb og så fik de

I: Så får de alle...

M: Så får vi alle pengene, men de køber det faktisk på afbetaling, hvis man kan kalde det sådan. Man afbetales bare til en økonomisk forening, som man selv har.

I: ja, ja okay

M: Og det er meget normalt i mellemøsten faktisk, altså ligesom her der er så mange beboere. Hvis nogen kommer, har meget tættere forhold til hinanden end andre, så kan de danne en økonomisk forening.

I: Mm

M: Og så er det dem, som har mest behov for det, kan de vælge at give hjælp det første og så de andre efter noget [unclear]

I: Giver man så efter, altså så er det hver måned man gør det? Eller bare, når nogen har brug for det?

M: Nej man trækker lod hver måned, så er der en som får dem hver måned.

I: Okay. Hvor mange penge betaler man så?

M: Det er fx, vi har lavet en 1000 kr.s forening, hvor man betaler 1000 kr om måneden, så fik vi puljen først

I: Ja?

M: Ja, så de kunne møblere vores hjem.

I: Ah, er det så med jeres familie, altså onkel og søster?

M: Ja.

I: Nå okay. Ja. Vil I fortælle os lidt om jeres børns hverdag?

M: Øh, som vi sagde, de går i skole og så SFO, så kommer de hjem og når de kommer hjem, så spiller de playstation, æh, og så går de i seng meget tidligt, og som sagt, så chatter vi med vores forældre, hvis det er muligt.

I: Okay.

[Lærke comes into the room → private talk]

M: han (henviser til søn) i dag, derfor han ikke i skole

L: Nååå .

M: Heldigvis er det længe siden at han blev syg, men i dag var han usikker om skal i skole eller ikke skal i skole.

L: Så skal man blive hjemme. Men han skal ud i dansk klasse snart, han skal ikke gå i modtagerklasse mere.

M: Jamen så er det derfor han er glad, fordi han har været til test og hvis han har klaret det fint, så har de sagt til ham at du skal gå i dansk klasse.

L: Ja, men han skal blive på Falkenborg, men han har været der næste to år. Det er så dårligt.

Søn kommer ind

L: ved du hvad, du skal blive ind i seng, ikke også.

[the son comes into the room - private talk]

I: Men de går ikke til nogen fritidsaktiviteter, altså børnene?

M: Nej, det er kun SFO.

L: Ja og M [the son] skal starte til fodbold. Ja, jeg skal bare have en mail om hvilken dag han skal starte. Jeg mangler lige tidspunktet.

I: Øhm, før sagde I at I besøger meget familie. Laver I nogle aktiviteter, altså jeres familie her sammen, som ikke er at besøge ...

M: Vi sidder bare nu som nu her, så er børnene beskæftiget med hinanden, deres børn og vores børn, øh, ikke særlig mange aktiviteter siden vi kom hertil. Lige siden vi kom hertil har vi kun været i København to gange.

I: Okay.

M: Og det var kun i 2014.

I: Okay, ja.

M: Børnene de, de er glade bare de finder andre børn de kan lege med, så beskæftiger sig med andre børn og vi hører til hinanden og sludrer med hinanden.

I: Men er der nogle ting, som I godt kunne tænke jer at lave, men ikke kan lave fordi I ikke har råd til det?

[break]

I: Yes, så kører vi.

M: Jo, men altså sådan noget som at holde familie-kontakten ved lige, det gør vi, det betyder meget for os.

I: Mm

M: Især når der opstår nogle alvorlige situationer, fx min kones far, han havde haft det rigtig kritisk helbredsmæssigt, han bor i Tyrkiet, men hun kunne i tage derhen. Han var faktisk døden nær, men hun ikke tage derhen og være måske sammen med ham i hans sidste timer. Heldigvis overlevede han, men sådan var, sådan en situation, det gør ondt. Øh på en. Vi har familie i Sverige eller Tyskland, som vi ikke kan besøge fordi vores økonomi er meget stram. Så den begrænser vores øh familiekontakt, både med dem, som er her, men også dem som er ikke her. Både nær og halvnær familie, hvis man kan sige det sådan.

I: Jo, ja. Og hvad med børnene? Er der noget, de giver udtryk for at de gerne vil lave, men ikke kan lave? Eller noget, de gerne vil have, som I ikke har råd til at give dem?

M: Jamen, der er mange ting. Bare almindelige ting, som andre tager for givet at det er almindelige ting. For os er det meget svært. Bare for at sige noget. En af M's [son] kammerater, klassekammerater, han havde fødselsdag og så ville han gerne have en gave til dem og selv tage noget nyt på, ik?

I: Jo

M: Det havde vi ikke råd til, vi havde kun 600 kr til at leve for resten af måneden, så det var svært at købe en gave, det var svært at komme med nyt tøj osv. Så de her ting, det er bare en simpelt eksempel, og så er der mange andre ting som de gerne have lyst til, som er svære at skulle finde tid til at nævne her.

I: Ja, ja okay.

M: Og hvordan, nu nævnte du lige nyt tøj til børnene, hvordan, hvordan får I råd til nyt tøj til børnene?

I: Jamen øh det her luksus ting, hvis man kan kalde det sådan, det øh får vi det, hvis nogen af de, de gamle flygtninge, som har lov til at rejse til Tyrkiet eller Libanon, hvor de nu rejser, så beder vi dem om at hente noget med derfra til os, for det er meget billigere derovre, ik? Man kan købe næste tre-dobbeltså meget tøj for det samme penge. Derudover har jeg heldigvis en af mine fætre, han har, han er selvstændig har godt økonomi, så han beder jeg om et mindre lån, hver gang vi har det stramt.

I: Er han her i Danmark eller?

M: I Hillerød. Det er ham i Hillerød.

I: Ja okay.

M: Der er flere i Hillerød og så er en af dem selvstændig.

I: Ja okay. som ejer, ja okay.

M: Havde det ikke været for dem, så havde vi ikke kunnet klare os faktisk

I: For dem i Hillerød?

M: ja for familie generelt, og så selvfølgelig ham i Hillerød.

T: Shh... [laughing] nej, men åh nogen gange har M [ed.] ikke penge på kontoen til at betale en regning

I: nej

T: og han laver en afdragsordning og så spørger han mig om jeg kan betale den over nettet, og så får jeg pengene til slutningen

I: Nååå

L: Ja, der var også en flybillettengang, som, det var næsten lige da I var kommet ikke. Så

I: ja

L; I hjælper hinanden

T: Ja.

L: Men ellers kan man sige, denne her familie har også været ekstra hårdt ramt, og det ved jeg ikke om I har hørt, at de først fik en lejlighed der var alt for forkert med trapper og

I: Ja, det var været lidt op af bakke, ku vi høre

L: Ja og det bliver ligesom ved ikke?

I: Ja.

L: Man tænker: det må sgu da stopper snart, ik?

T: Jeg vil gerne lige understrege at det der aktivitet, med at betale regninger og det ene og det andet, det gør jeg med kasketten på, som frivillig hjælp

L: jaja det jo rent privat

I: Ja

L: På venne-basis ja. nej der er nogle familier, man bedre kan lide end andre ik?

[laughing]

I: Ja, dig og dig

L: Ja, nej. Vi har bare kendt jer længe.

I: Og tror I det sådan påvirker børnene? Kan de godt fornemme at de ikke har så mange penge og ...
Kan de godt skjule det for børnene?

M: Selvfølgelig prøver jeg at skåne dem for denne her realitet om jeg så skal sælge mit eget tøj, så [unclear] så de ikke tænker over det, eller føle at. Nogle gange er det svært, men vi prøver vores bedste.

I: Ja

M: Den lille, som lige kom ud og hilste, var forleden dag på Sildebroen, og der er så en FIAT, som har udstillet nogle biler, og den ene af dem som kostede 196.000 kr, og så sagde han "far kan vi ikke tage denne her bil?" og han siger "ej, det er ikke så pæn" [laughing].

I: Ja okay.

M: Men øh man har, hvad skal man sige, øh, stiller krav, den unge mand. "En brugt bil, far, vil jeg ikke sætte mine ben i".

I: Okay.

M: [unclear]

I: Ja, kvalitetsbevidst [laughing]. Ja. Øhm, hvad er det de typisk, de må skære ned på. Udover sådan rejser? Sådan hverdagsting, hvilke ting må de skære ned på?

M: Hvor skal vi starte fra? Der er mange ting, men jeg synes vi skal lade det ligge.

I: Mm, okay. Okay, så har vi nogle sidste spørgsmål omkring fremtiden, øhm, hvad har I af sådan ønsker for fremtiden i Danmark?

M: Vores ønsker for fremtiden er, at krigen i Syrien den slutter, så vi kan vende tilbage.

I: Mm ja

M: Jamen øhm, vi er vant til at bo meget tæt på hinanden, vores familie og vi boede faktisk i samme opgang [unclear] og tit, altså man smutter lige ned til bror eller smutter ned til bedsteforældre og man ved, hvad der sker den anden. Den ene ved hvad der sker med anden og prøver at støtte, der hvor man kan. Nu om dage, der ligger vi spredt til alle vindens retninger og det er vi ikke særlig glade for. Især børnene. Jeg kan huske da vi første kom hertil, hvor de savnede deres bedste forældre og deres onkler.

L: Det kan jeg også huske. Hvor du sagde "her er så stille".

M: Ja

L: Her er stille. Hvor er alle menneskene henne?

I: Ja, ja

M: Jamen den store dreng fordi han kan huske dem

I: ja

M: Ikke? Han plager mig hver dag om at jeg skal sende ham til bedstefaren, som opholder sig i Tyrkiet

I: Ja

M: Og den lille, han var meget lille da de kom.

I: ja

M: Vi er spredt over alle bjerge. I Canada, i USA og Tyrkiet og vi er her, og andre steder.

I: Ja. Hvis I nu havde dobbelt så mange penge, hvad ville i så vælge at

T: prioritere?

I: HVad?

T: Hvad ville de prioritere først?

I: Ja

M: Jamen det første jeg ville gøre var at sende vores dreng til flere timers fysioterapeut, jeg ville skrive den lille op til fodboldklub eller anden aktivitet. Vi har ligesom oplevet det vi skulle opleve. Det er mest vores børn, som betyder noget. Ja fordi mine bekymringerne og min pres, det er børnenes trvisel der tunger mig. Hvis de trives godt, så får jeg det også godt. Det gør vi begge to.

I: Ja

M: Jamen børnene udnytter vores følelser, som I ved, ikke? Altså i dag var han syg og vi har medlidenhed med ham. "Far jeg skal have chokolade", du købe ting til mig, ik? De har ting, det er ikke altid man har rød til at købe.

I: Nej

M: Men øh jeg vil ikke have at mine ord forståes som at jeg ikke er taknemmelig over den behandling vi har fået

I: nej

M: Det er bare stramt og taknemmelig er jeg specielt overfor L (red.), men på det sidste har hun ikke behandlet os pænt. Hun blir væk alt for længe.

I: Lykke....

M: [unclear] stoppet, så jeg er gået fra 20 til 57 familier, så jeg har lidt ...

I: Hold da op, ja okay.

M: Jamen ehm det andet som **gør os ked af det og irriteret, det er det her med praktikken og praktiksystemet. Fordi mange folk de bliver udnyttet i 3 mdr, i 6 mdr.s praktik og så bliver de bare sendt afsted som en klud, en gammel klud, altså vi kan ikke bruge dig.**

I: NEj

M: Og det føles som om vi er kommet for at blive slave.

I: mm, ja

M: Øh, især vores egne folk, om det så er arabere eller tyrkere, eller pakistanere, whatever, altså dem som kommer fra Mellemøsten, de udnytter hianden på det værste

I: altså dem som har været her i mange år?

M: Som, dem som har været her i mange år. Og er selvstændige. Det er fx pizzaeria, grillbarer, hvad ellers, restaurant, supermarkeder.

I: Mm

[private talk]

M: Vi har faktisk to, næsten nye lastbiler i Syrien, som er beslaglagt af, af, af styret, styret, styret, og dem vil han meget gerne have hentet herover, så I den mindste ku kan oprette et transportfirma og så kunne have ansætte chaufføre, som opfylder de krav her og så har han sin egen indtægtskilde, ikke? men han får ikke lov til at få dem ud af Syrien. Der er en afgift, som er temmelig høj

I: Ja

M: [unclear] vi har dem jo ikke under alle omstændigheder, så vi kan lige så godt betale for dem her, pantsætte dem og så bruge dem til at tjene penge.

I: Mm

I: mm, det er rigtig lækkert. Er det dig der har lavet det? Ahhh.

M: det var mig der stod og rørte

I: Ja, okay. Godt rørt.

M: Det er også mig der har været henne og handle.

I: ahm ja okay.

T: Det er rigtig lækkert om sommeren, når det er varmt udenfor

I: Ja, det kunne jeg godt forestille mig

M: Velbekomme

I: Tak

M: M [son] han elsker alle de her søde sager. M [son] han holder sig fra alt der er sundt næsten

I: Sundt? [laughing]

M: jeg orøver at lokke med alt muligt, jeg tager dig med til byen, jeg tager dig med til din fætter, så I kan lege sammen og han siger mm-mm [meaning no].

I: [laguhing] han vil bare have sukker.

M: Hver dag han skal have søde sager.

M: jeg lider af migræne, det meste af tiden faktisk, han har altså, det meste af tiden, altså hver tredje dag så får han en omgang, som han skal tage smertestillende for, han har taget epodifrin har til morgen og så løbet herfra og til kommunen for at få blocirkulationen til at køre rundt og det bliver optaget i blodet.

I: mm okay

M: For at kunne sidde normalt herinde.

I: mm

L: Men er det nogensinde blevet tjekket, hvad det er for en slags hovedpine, du har? Der er jo mange forskellige typer.

M: [unclear] Har været til egen læge og blevet henvist til fysioterapeut, fysiootearupet siger at det er denne her nerve som sidder i klemme fordi der er spændinger og sådan. Så han fik nogle øvelser, som skulle lave når han har tid. Han fik bevilget øh det [unclear] 12

L: 12 gange?

M: 12 - mm

L: Okay.

Interview, Ramas & Miriam

Interview date: 27.03.2017

Place: Ramas and Miriam's home in Frederikssund

Length: 1:04:03

Interviewees: Ramas and Miriam

Interviewer: Emilia and Marie

Other people present: Translator Hammam (TO) and family counselor Lærke (L)

Interview:

I: Ok, først har vi nogle baggrundsspørgsmål omkring hvor I kommer fra, hvor lang tid I har været i Danmark og hvor mange børn I har.

M: Vi kommer fra Syrien, vi kom ikke sammen, min mand kom først og så kom jeg bagefter med børnene. Vi havde to børn, da jeg kom hertil, og nu har vi tre børn. Ramas [ed.] kom til Frederikssund kommune for ca. 2 år siden, og Miriam [ed.] ca. 1 år og 2 måneder.

L: Er det så lange siden?

M: Mh.

TO: Tiden går, hva?

I: Hvad lavede I da I var i Syrien, hvad arbejdede i med?

R: Ramas [ed.] arbejdede som svejser på skibene, sådan noget ilt svejsning og arbejdede på skibene. Og ja, Miriam [ed.] gik hjemme, og inden de blev gift arbejdede han også på skibene. De tog så 6 måneder, 9 måneder, så kommer de hjem, hjemme 3 måneder, så gik han ud igen. Han har set det meste af Europa, før han kom hertil.

M: Og Miriam [ed.] hun gik hjemme, gik ud af skolen og gik hjemme efter hun har født.

L: Og det skal lige siges, det kommer vi slet ikke ind på, men Miriam [ed.] hun har faktisk lært sig selv dansk, hun har ikke gået på sprogskole endnu, men hun taler rigtig, rigtig meget dansk

TO: Og hun forstår også en del

L: Så vi har også aftalt at næste gang jeg kommer, så kommer jeg uden tolk.

I: Aah, sejt! Det er flot. Er det fordi du har været på barsel?

M: Ja.

L: Og så fordi det tog lang tid at finde en, deres ene pige går i specialbørnehave, fordi børnene er født for tidligt, så hun har et særligt behov. Det tog noget tid at finde det rigtige tilbud.

I: Hvor gamle er tvillingerne?

M: Ca. 4 år.

L: Dejlige børn.

TO: Jaa, de er rigtig søde.

M: Tak.

I: Så har vi nogle spørgsmål omkring jeres hverdagsliv, så hvis I kunne tænke jer at fortælle os hvordan en normal, typisk dag for jer ser ud? Fra I står op og til I går i seng.

R: Min daglige rytme det foregår sådan at jeg står op kl. 6 om morgenens, følger vores dreng til sin børnehave og så går jeg i skole, og så kommer jeg hjem fra skole, nogengange kl 12, andre gange kl to, kommer dødtræt, fordi han arbejder på bilværksted...

I: I praktik?

R: Ja.

R: ... så det er hårdt arbejde, så når jeg kommer hjem, så har jeg behov for at sove lidt, så jeg ligger mig i et par timer, så vågner jeg op, så hjælper jeg min kone, hvis hun skal have noget fra byen af, som jeg ikke har hentet med og hente børnene [unclear], ellers så sidder vi og snakker, ser fjernsyn, leger med børnene, taler med vores familier via et eller andet. **Det er svært at kalde det liv her, som et normalt liv, fordi ens tid den er programmeret at man ikke kan nå andre ting end dem der er planlagt at nå. Med andre ord, man føler sig som om man sidder i et fængsel, hvor der er nogle faste rutiner, man skal følge, det var en stor fængsel, og man har de der regler og de der faste rutiner, som man ikke rigtig kan afvige fra.**

I: Som er sprogskole, praktik, er det dem han tænker på?

TO: Ja, og hente børn, bringe børn, hjælpe hjemme og sådan.

R: Der findes ikke nogen sociale liv her i samfundet, vi sammenligner det med vores sociale liv, hvor folk kommer hinanden meget ved, besøger hinanden meget, dyrker nogle aktiviteter sammen osv., familien de ligger som regel samlet i samme by osv. Hvorimod her, det her det savner man meget, man føler sig ligesom isoleret, **men der er også det med hvordan folk ser på en, hvordan folk kigger på en, hvordan man føler man er en byrde, eller uønsket og sådan, det får også en til at holde afstand fordi, man ser folk der kigger ned på en og væk fra en, når man kommer gående**, det gør det lidt svært at danne nogle relationer osv. F.eks. vi havde en nabo her, en ældre dame, i starten kunne hun ikke fordrage os, brugte enhver undskyld til at brokke sig over os, men efter vi har ligesom nærmest os hende på alle mulige måder, for ligesom at skabe det her forhold, begyndte at invitere hende hjem til os, når vi skulle lave noget som er specielt, tit med maden så tilbød vi hende og tilbød hende at komme ind og spise, så holdt hun meget af os, og da vi en dag sagde at vi måske ville flytte, bare for sjovt,

så blev hun ked af det, og sagde at det må I ikke osv. Det beviser at folk har dannet sig nogle idéer som dem, om os er de forkerte, uden at kende os, så dømmer de os. At vi er uønskede og sådan.

I: Så I holder jer primært hjemme, det er svært at få skabt nogle relationer her?

R: Det kan man godt sige at vi savner og ikke har mulighed for de her sociale relationer, også fordi vi har børn, hvor den ene af dem, pige, hun er handicappet, hun kan ikke stå, hun kan ikke bruge sine ben, derfor skal hun gå i specialskole og derfor, når vi skal tage hende nogle steder, så er det besværligt, fordi man skal holde øje med hende hele tiden, herhjemme er vi, men hos andre er det lidt ubehageligt.

I: Og hvad med i weekenden, er de også primært herhjemme, eller laver de nogle aktiviteter sammen i familien?

R: Nu kan jeg lige sige at Ramas [ed.] har en storebror her, som er tandlæge, som passer en grøntsagsforretning, og så har han tre fætre, som bor i kommunen. To af dem bor i Jægerspris, den ene er i ordinært job og en af dem bor her faktisk i samme blok, bare ud til den store vej, som vi drejede til venstre ad, lidt længere frem mod krydset, der ligger nogle ejendomme, der bor den tredje der. Og den ene af dem er uden familie, af fætrene, så han har mulighed for at, de holder f.eks. mande sammenkomst hos ham osv. og så den anden har ordinært arbejde, og har bil, så derfor så, når de skal handle, i sær på Nørrebro og sådan noget stort, så kører de alle sammen til byen og handler stort sammen.

I: På Nørrebro?

R: Ja der er en masse arabiske eller etniske butikker, ikk? Ellers så udover det, så holder de sig herhjemme. Fordi pengene er små, som I ved, og der er stor prisforskel på varerne i København og her.

I: Så det er billigere at tage ind til Nørrebro og handle?

R: Ja.

L: Og jeg tror udvalget er større ikke?

TO: Også udvalget, de der etniske varer, som man ikke finder i danske supermarkeder, selvom danske supermarkeder faktisk gør sig umage for at skaffe en masse varietet, men det er stadigvæk, bare for at sige noget, granatæbler de koster en 10'er stykket, og [unclear] de koster 9 kr stykket, hvorimod derovre der kan man købe 5 granatæbler til 20 kr. og så [unclear] for 15 kr. eller sådan noget, 20 kr.

Det betyder noget.

I: Så bruger I meget tid på at planlægge jeres madindkøb?

R: Vi behøver ikke så meget planlægning for indkøb i de her butikker i forhold til dem i København. Der er også en grossist i Roskilde, som sælger til etniske butikker, hvor han også handler hos ham direkte, så der tager de også og køber ind, når vi har penge, så går vi derhen og køber, for så ved vi så har vi sparet det der kan spares.

I: Og føler I, I har råd til at købe det mad I gerne vil købe?

R: Vi prøver vores bedste med at få pengene til at slå til, selvom det kniber nu, mange gange, er det, ligesom, i minus går vi og må tage lån. Især når der kommer en ekstra uforudset regning, som babyen. Selvom man mener at vi skal spare sammen, hvad skal man spare sammen af? Vi prøver at få det til at passe, og ellers så låner jeg af min fætter, min bror osv. Men selvom vi låner, så kan det stadigvæk ikke slå til, at jeg kan købe f.eks. tøj til børnene, give dem de forlystelser eller aktiviteter som de gerne vil have, så deres tøj det er alt sammen fra Røde Kors butikken, og alt andet det er ligesom lånt.

I: Fra familie?

R: Ja

[Miriam serves cheesecake]

R: Jamen det er jeg sådan set nødt til, fordi hos os det at låne, det er ligesom at stå i gæld til nogen, og det er meget ydmygende, så når det er allermest nødvendigt, så henvender jeg mig til min familie, selvom jeg ved at de sidder i samme situation, de har heller ikke noget overskud, men så prøver de ligesom at presse deres eget budget, for at hjælpe mig igennem måneden, men nu er jeg begyndt at arbejde, eller i praktik på et værksted, hvor jeg så har fået nogle danske kollegaer/kammerater og dem skylder jeg også for, det var nødvendigt at jeg lånte 1000 kr., så dem lånte jeg af min kammerat på arbejdet, og som jeg så er ligesom nødt til at reducere vores budget med til næste måned.

TO: Vi har ikke spurgt Miriam [ed.] hvordan det går med hende, hvis I ikke har flere spørgsmål til Ramas [ed.]

I: Nej.

M: Jeg er en husmor i aller bogstaveligste forstand at jeg vågner om morgenens, pige som går på specialbørnehave, kommer til transporten lidt senere, og Ramas [ed.] tager drengen i børnehave, så kommer hendes transport, hjælpe hende ned og bagefter sover jeg et par timer og så tager jeg fat i det huslige arbejde, at gøre rent, at rydde op, fordi børnene især, når de er lidt specielle, så kan de svine rigtig meget, især når de ikke sover normalt om natten, så bliver man vækket, så er man sådan set træt, når man har sendt dem afsted, så tager jeg mig et par timers lur og så resten tilbringer jeg med at lave mad, rydde op, gøre det klar til de kommer hjem så, og sådan er det. Jeg arbejder fra morgenstunden til aften. bare hjemme.

TO: "Min mor hun laver ingenting, hun går bare derhjemme"

[laughter]

L: Det har vi snakket meget om ovre i modtageklassen, "nå og så du går bare hjemme?" Det gør hun ikke bare

M: Hvis det skal være sådan her, så ville jeg ønske det var mig der går ud på arbejdsmarkedet og arbejder.

I: hehe, ja.

R: Her skal du virkelig gøre dig umage for at komme i arbejde, det, dine chancer de er meget, meget små.

TO: Ramas [ed.] går også på et kursus, undskyld mine øjne løber hele tiden i vand, fordi jeg er gammel og sådan nogle ting,

[laughter]

TO: Jeg tror det er lyset og alt muligt andet. Men Ramas [ed.] han går også på et kursus i Skovlunde for at uddanne sig til buschauffør, det er et kursus, hvor der så er arbejdsgaranti, så han går på det her kursus, hvor der er undervisning samtidig og så går han på praktik i et værksted hos [unclear] i Veksø.

R: Jeg har afsluttet praktikperioden, jeg har gennemført det, men firmaet vil gerne forlænge det, og jeg tænker, altså hvorfor vil de gerne forlænge det, de har jo set hvad jeg gør, og de fortalte mig før, at han arbejder med at gøre fuld service på bilerne, skifte dæk og gøre alle de her ting og det er virkelig hårdt arbejde, så de har set mig, at jeg gør det, jeg gør det ordentligt og jeg gør det lige efter bogen osv., hvorfor vil de have mig 3 måneder mere i praktik? Fordi til sidst vil de stadigvæk sige, du taler ikke dansk godt nok, så jeg har stoppet det, jeg har ikke fornyet det. Jeg tror at mange, udlændinge de føler sig udnyttet af det der system. Altså når en arbejdsgiver siger at vi vil gerne have dig i en ny periode, praktikperiode, dvs. han kan godt bruge mig, han er tilfreds med min indsats, men han vil ikke betale mig. Jeg kender en del folk som har både været 6 og 9 måneder i praktik og alligevel til sidst har de ikke fået noget, der kommer 0 i hånden. Hans bror som er tandlæge fra Syrien, har talt med en masse fra Damaskus, som kender broren, og han er en anerkendt tandlæge og har sin egen praksis osv. Han kom her og fik vurderet sine papirer, han fik en delvis vurdering, jeg tror det er kun arbejdsvurdering, der mangler, og har gået til praktik hos tandlægerne på torvet, og de var tilfredse med hans arbejde, men alligevel fik han ikke noget. Nu passer han en grøntsagsbutik.

L: Ja, og de kunne tiltrække så mange kunder, ved at have en arabisk talende. I sær, altså her. Det er da klart, de gider da hellere til tandlægen, og det er da klart, man kan så sige, så længe de er på

integrationsydelse, så er der tilskud fra kommunen til tandpleje og tandlæge. Så man kan sige det er en god forretning for tandlægen.

R: Det gør faktisk mig så ked af det, at hans ekspertise og hans uddannelse bliver bare smidt på gaden, så han står i en grøntsagsbutik, altså hvorfor ikke udnytte ham? Hjælp ham med at få de papirer som han skal bruge til at få et arbejde, få ham i gang.

L: Og han ville nok være billigere at ansætte med tolk nogle timer, end at skulle være på kontanthjælp og integrationsydelse og hvad der ellers er.

R: Jeg forstår ikke jobcentrets politik og styremåde, altså vi kan se f.eks. folk som har kørt bus i så mange år, de bliver sendt i supermarkedet og folk som har arbejdet med f.eks. søfolk bliver sendt til mekaniker eller et andet sted. Og folk som har arbejdet som mekaniker, de bliver sendt til landbrugspraktikplads, så det lyder meget ulogisk, det giver ikke nogen mening. Man føler sig så meget udnyttet, at man har lyst til at stikke hælene i jorden og sige praktik kommer jeg aldrig til, om I så vil stoppe min integration eller hvad I vil gøre, for det er så nedværdigende.

L: Havde det nu været en god praktik med nogle mennesker, hvor du havde talt dansk og du havde, altså den der med at det er en sprogpraktik, fint, men så lær mig sproget. Istedet for at du går og arbejder selvstændigt og snakker ikke med nogen, der er ikke så meget sprogpraktik i det.

TO: Nej, der kommer kun arabiske kunder, de fleste. Som selvstændig, som grøntsagsbutik, hvem kommer ind og køber?

L: Du kan også bare se dem vi har haftude på pizzaria, det er så blevet stoppet ikk, men... Der er mange der kommer ud på pizzaria, hos en kurdisk talende eller arabisk talende.

TO: [unclear]

[Miriam leaves to go and pick up their daughter]

R: Det som Ramas [ed.] sagde her til sidst, er, jeg har ikke de der beviser, som siger at jeg kan arbejde i maskinen, jeg kan arbejde som svejser, jeg kan sejle, og det her det er jo et søfartsnation, hvorfor sætter de mig ikke på et skib, de har jo filippinere, de har russere, de har kinesere, ok send mig på et skib, de taler jo engelsk alligevel. Her er der faktisk meget bedre vilkår end i Syrien, ikk? [unclear]

L: Og vi har 7 virksomhedskonsulenter ansat i kommunen.

T: Og de gør deres bedste, men det er svært, det er op ad bakke, når der er virksomheder der ikke bærer den der sociale ansvar. Altså, der blev lavet en kæmpe messe her i oktober/november sidste år, hvor man inviterede alle virksomhedslederne i Frederikssund og omegn og Inger Støjberg kom også og tog selfies med det forskellige, ikke?

[laughter]

T: Som hun elsker meget ikke, så, altså der blev et stort arrangement, som har kostet en del arbejdstimer og en del penge, restriktivt set, ikke? Men hvis vi kigger på talene, hvor mange der har fået job eller løntilskud derefter

[Miriam arrives with their daughter]

R: Det er hendes tøj, hun går også hele tiden og river det i stykker hele tiden, fordi hun kravler på sine knæ. Og ligeledes med skoene, selvom det er specialsko.

[greet the daughter]

R: Der var en i børnehaven der har sagt at hun var så genert at hun ikke ville komme og give mig et kram, da hun så mig...

L: Det var da også helt underligt at far var i børnehaven, det skal han da ikke være. Er det næste uge hende [name of employee from the municipality] fra handicapafdelingen hun kommer?

TO: Ja, næste uge

L: Ja det mener jeg

[eating cake]

TO: I må hellere spise jeres kage, ellers spiser hun dem om lidt

I: Får i nogle tilskud af kommunen til, altså til hende, hvis hun har nogle medicinske udgifter?

TO: Hun får fysioteraapeut timer på børnehaven. Og hun fik sådan nogle redskaber til at gå med, fik nogle skinner til fødderne, til benene, fordi hendes ben kan slet ikke støtte, og så bliver de stive, så bliver hun stiv i benene og kan ikke gå osv. Hun kan heller ikke sidde ordentligt, altså sådan på måsen, med benene, fordi de ligger altid flade baglæns.

L: Hendes muskler er for spændte til at hun kan slappe af i dem. Men hun går i noget der hedder behandlingstilbud, så derfor så koster det ikke familien noget, nu har de så friplads, men ellers så ville hun ikke koste noget alligevel, fordi det er et behandlingstilbud og ikke et pasningstilbud.

I: Ok.

I: Før snakkede I om at I var meget herhjemme, og med den økonomiske situation de har, hvad er det så for nogle ting de savner i deres hverdag?

R: Der er mange ting man må undvære, fordi der ikke er penge til det. Hvis vi bare nævner et eksempel, havde Miriam [ed.] ikke hentet en masse tøj med hjem, fordi jeg har gjort hende opmærksom på at her er det meget, meget dyrt, børne og voksen tøj, havde hun ikke hentet noget med, så havde hun faktisk stået i samme kjole ligesom hun kom i. Og lige siden hun kom hertil har vi ikke haft råd til at købe tøj, så det omhandler selvfølgelig også børnetøj osv. Men, selvom vi kan anstreng os, strække os så meget, for at få pengene til at passe, så kommer der nogle måneder, der virkelig slår

benene væk under os, eller smadrer vores økonomi, f.eks. de sidste tre måneder, de gik alle sammen til udgifter til den lille baby, fordi kommunen giver ikke noget, de siger at man har vidst det for 9 måneder siden eller hvor meget det er, og så skal vi hente [unclear] børnemadras osv. andet udstyr. Så alt det her det går ud fra vores kostpenge.

I: Ok, altså madpenge?

L: Jeg vil lige sige, at jeg har også fået babypakke til Yara [ed.], den kan jeg hente, og så sidst på ugen eller starten af næste kan jeg hente pakker til Salma [ed.] og Hazem [ed.] med noget tøj eller noget legetøj, altså jeg ved ikke hvad der er i. Det er fra Mødrehjælpen, og det kan være rigtig, rigtig, altså det er godt, men...

R: Det ville vi være rigtig glade for

L: Men i morgen der kan jeg hente til Yara [ed.], og så.. Altså, jeg får det gjort inden jeg skal opereres, så vi når at få pakkerne inden.

I: Møblerne her, er det fra kommunen, eller hvordan har de fået skaffet dem?

[laughter]

I: ok, det er det ikke..

[laughter]

R: Selvfølgelig kom de med dem, altså de spurgte, hvis I vil have flere så sig bare til.

[laughter]

R: Det jeg fik af kommunen det var meget sparsomt, jeg fik en seng til børnene og så min bror, som også gav mig en seng, og så fik jeg et par småting til hjemmet, men ellers, da vi skulle bruge det, der var Lærke [ed.] syg og ikke på arbejde, så vi havde ikke nogen familiekonsulent i en måned, så vi endte med at skaffe de her ting, sofagruppe og spisebordet, fik vi fra en anden borger i den blå avis osv. Da de kom i starten havde de ikke fjernsyn, de havde ikke særlig meget klenodie. For ikke at skulle være uretfærdig, så havde de faktisk fået et lille sofabord, ligesom vi lige har set hos den sidste familie, den der hvide lille en, og så et par andre ting, som dengang, kunne man heldigvis få kvitteringen og bytte den, og derfor fik jeg den byttet til gulvtæppe, fordi vi har den lille her, og så købte jeg gardinerne for dem.

L: Det kan man ikke mere.

R: Fjernsynet fik vi af vores nabo, den søde dame.

[laughter]

I: Nå, det var da sødt af hende.

R: Som I ved, for mig, så er jeg en mand, der er ingen der kigger på hvad jeg har på, hvad jeg ikke har på, jeg kan få ting fra hvor som helst, om det er genbrugsbutik eller hvad det er. Men det er, det er ikke så behageligt, når man ikke kan skaffe de ting til sine børn, som de har lyst til. Det er ikke så behageligt når man ikke kan skaffe noget til sin kone, som hun har behov for, og det er det der gør ondt.

I: Hvad kunne det være f.eks. som børnene spørger om, som de ikke har råd til?

R: F.eks. Salma [ed.] hun får det bedre med sine ben, altså det hjælper hendes ben, hvis hun går til ridning, så derfor kom hun til ridning. Men med ridning kom der også nye behov, f.eks. ridestøvle, ridebukser osv. Jeg har nu næsten 5 dage til løning, eller 4 dage til løning, der har jeg 70 kr. i lommen og min konto, altså det er vores [unclear] hvad vi har. Og sådan en ridestøvle koster flere 100 kroner

L: De skal heller ikke have ridestøvler, det var det børnehaven sagde, de skal ikke ha..

TO: Nej, men det er en støvle som de taler om, men jeg ved ikke hvad det er for en

L: Hun skal bare have en helt almindelig støvle, men de har jo smidt dem ud de støvler hun havde, fordi de var for små. Men jeg tænker det snart ikke er nødvendigt med støvler mere, altså det ville da være dumt at gå ud og bruge penge på en vinterstøvle nu. Så tænker jeg mere på et par ekstra bukser.

R: Ramas [ed.] har lige fået nogle penge tilbage, jeg tror det er fra børnehaven, fordi han fik friplads.

Så han blev lige positivt overrasket, jeg troede jeg havde kun 70 kr., så han har fået 1000 kr.

L: For Hazems [ed.] børnehave får de tilbage for november, december, januar, februar. Vi har et system, der [unclear] jeg søger friplads til familierne i november, de er først lige blevet godkendt. Så de skylder jo, eller kommunen skylder dem jo penge. Så hvis det er det er det jo fantastiskt. Jaa, penge tilbage fra kommunen, det sker aldrig!

TO: 1010 kr. har de fået.

L: Det var godt

R: Nu har jeg 1080 kr.

[laughter]

L: Nej, nej Ramas [ed.] du har 80 kr. Miriam [ed.] har 1000 kr.

[laughter and jokes about money]

M: Jeg får ikke en krone af ham, er han ikke manden i huset? [laughter] Da vi var i Syrien, der var han gavmild, han gav mig nogle penge og køber mig noget som jeg ønsker mig. I dag, da vi kom her, så får jeg ingenting.

R: Så siger Ramas [ed.] hun tror at det er stadigvæk manden der har ansvaret for hele udgiften og at det som kommer ind på hendes konto, det skal blive bare hendes, som skal spares op.

M: Der jeg kom hertil og fandt ud af jeg ikke havde en krone på konto, jeg blev så ked af det at jeg begyndte at græde, og ville gerne tilbage til Syrien, der kan jeg i det mindste finde nogen der vil hjælpe mig.

L: I Sverige har man noget der hedder yallah-trappen, det er sådan en paraplyorganisation, hvor folk bliver ansat, så er det sådan et netværk med små, hvor de kan låne, f.eks. [unclear]. Det har vi prøvet at få dem til at kigge på her i kommunen, det var jo sådan noget der kunne være fantastisk.

R: Det som Ramas [ed.] fortæller han siger jeg var i Belgien i et helt år, jeg var i Frankrig i flere måneder, og jeg var i Tyskland. Alle de her steder kunne jeg have søgt om asyl der, hvis jeg vidste at Danmark ville ændre sig til det der blev til, for da jeg kom hertil i 2015, der var lovene ikke sådan, fremmedfjendtlige og der var ikke samme stramme økonomi for udlændinge osv. Men nu kan jeg ikke engang komme tilbage til hvor jeg kom.

L: Nej, sidder fast.

R: Fordi vi troede Danmark var meget bedre end de her steder, fordi vi hører om at Danmark og Danmark og Danmark.

L: Og jeg tør ikke sige at det ikke kan blive værre, for man ved sgu aldrig hvad de kan finde på. Det sagde jeg sidst jeg var her, så blev det lige lidt værre.

M: Havde vi vidst at det var sådan her det ville ende, siger Miriam [ed.] så havde jeg simpelthen ikke kommet hertil, fordi selvom der var krig og der var ballade og bomber, jeg var lige midt blandt min familie og mine kære, der ville altid være nogen der passede på mig, og hvis jeg skulle gå, så går jeg med dem. Hvis vi skulle stille træskoene, så stiller vi træskoene sammen, men i det mindste så levede vi et godt liv, trods alt, fordi de lande som vi er kommet til er der ikke så mange der holder med os, hverken Tyrkiet, eller i Libanon eller andre steder. Her. Alle vil ligesom gerne af med syrerne. Den eneste der har stået sammen med os i vores vanskeligheder og de forhindringer som vi har haft her, det var nogle Irakiske naboer som faktisk stod med os, da hun skulle føde, da hun skulle det ene og det andet, og det satte vi stor pris på, at i det mindste er der stadigvæk nogen, der er gode, blandt os.

L: Og det bliver bedre. Det kan ikke blive ved med, altså, det er svært og det går op ad bakke, men på et eller andet tidspunkt så vender det jo også, på et eller andet tidspunkt så får du jo også et job.

R: Det er ikke så meget optimisme i sindet fordi det går kun ned ad bakke, det der med arbejdet tror jeg heller ikke på, at det der arbejdsgaranti efter.

M: Han er pessimist

R: Selvom Grækenland som går konkursramt, så var det lettere at få et arbejde, at leve, at have et normalt liv, passe sit arbejde, og derfor så tænker jeg, jamen når Grækenland kan tilbyde sådan et liv,

så vil Danmark, som har den lykkeligste befolkning i verden, kan tilbyde noget meget bedre. Det er det som [unclear]

L: Men jeg vil sige, der er stadigvæk flygtningelejre i Grækenland. Jeg ville fandme ikke være flygtning i Grækenland, ej undskyld.

R: Ramas [ed.] fortæller at han har en skade i sit ben og knæ, det har han tilraget sig da han var i Grækenland, hvor der faldt en masse metalstænger over ham osv. så han kom til skade med sit ben, den repareret her, men han siger det gør ondt, når han lægger vægt på det, især om vinteren, der gør det afsindigt ondt, og det slår op i mod min ryg, men alligevel så bider jeg smerten i mig, jamen måske kommer der et arbejde ud af det her jeg laver, så jeg må hellere ikke pive, men siger det der sker er at man slår hovedet mod muren, eller hovedet mod muren, så mister man den der gejst, og den her lyst til at arbejde, det gør ondt.

I: Hvordan tror I jeres liv ville se anderledes ud hvis I havde dobbelt så mange penge som I har nu?

R: Jamen, det behøver skam ikke være det dobbelte, bare et par tusinder ekstra om måneden ville forandre vores liv betydeligt, fordi der er mange ting som er simple ting, og andre folk tager det for givet, som vi ikke kan tillade os pga. vores stramme økonomi, f.eks. min dreng han siger mange gange til mig, far skal vi ikke gå ind og spise McDonald's, far jeg vil gerne have McDonald's, men han har sagt det snart 100 gange, men jeg kan ikke tage ham med på McDonald's, fordi det vil koste 2-300 kr. Så de her ting, plus andre ting, vil blive også almindeligt for os, hvis vi nu havde haft lidt mere mellem hænderne. I sær når det er et børn i den alder, barnet forstår ikke at vi ikke har, eller at der er en lov, som begrænser vores ydelse eller sådan noget, det forstår barnet ikke. Hvis vi skal gå en tur med dem, så kan vi ikke undgå at komme forbi nogle butikker, hvor der er ting, som børnene kunne ønske sig, og vi prøver altid at undgå, når vi går i Sillebroen, at gå forbi legetøjsbutikker eller bare almindelige supermarkeder der har legetøj, fordi vi ved at han vil pege på det og vil gerne have noget af det, og vi har ikke råd til det. Så en masse af de her situationer, som gør det lidt irriterende.

I: Hvad ønsker I for fremtiden i jeres familie?

R: Vores højeste ønske, udover at vores land bliver fred i og livet kan gå til normalt og så vi kan tage tilbage, så er det vores ønske at jeg kan få et arbejde, som jeg kan forsørge min familie med, fordi selvom jeg tænker nogle gange at jeg må hellere tage tilbage og så klare mig [unclear], så tænker jeg også på mine børn, altså mine børn, de får en specialbehandling her, vores datter. Det har vi ikke der. Vores dreng har lært at tale dansk, nogle gange så føler jeg at det arabiske er fremmed for ham, han [unclear] bliver revet fra det ene sted til det andet, så derfor er det lidt svært at sige hvad man vil. Altså vores ønske er at finde et arbejde, og så forsørge os, og vores familie.

I: Vi skal jo snart videre. Lærke [ed.] har jo lavet et stramt skema til os.

[laughter]

I: Men vi har sådan nogle spørgsmål tilbage, som vi håber i vil svare på, som er om jeres indkomster og udgifter.

Interview, Adam & Nala

Interview date: 27.03.2017

Place: Adam and Nala's home

Length: 1:04:03

Interviewees: Adam (A) & Nala (N)

Interviewer: Emilia and Marie (I)

Other people present: Translator Hammam (T), family consultant Lærke (L) and Abdullah and Najat's five children (Amir (Aa), Moussa (M), Jalil (J), Lubna (Lu) and Kasaa (K).

Interview:

A: I er velkomne til at stille spørgsmål og vi vil svare så godt, vi kan.

I: Mm, tak. Først, hvis du bare lige vil sige, hvor du kommer fra og hvor lang tid, du har været i Danmark og hvor mange børn du har, øh, og hvad du lavede da du var i dit, dit hjemland

A: Øh, jeg er øh, palæstinenser øh, men født i Syrien

I: Mm, okay.

A: Øh kommer derfor derfra. I Syrien arbejdede jeg med byggebranchen

I: Hvad?

A: Øh bygge, på arbejdsplads eller byggeplads, altså som murer, assistent og den slags ting. Og så ja, da krigen startede så kunne vi ikke rigtig føle os trygge og derfor var nødt til at flygte og derfor flygtede vi til øh Egypten og så fra Egypten til Italien, med skib, og så fra Italien til Danmark. Vi har fem børn, som I kan se dem.

I: Okay

L: [unclear]

I: Ja okay. Og hvor gamle er børnene?

A: Amir [ed.] er seks

Barn: 16

A: 16 år, Moussa, 13, Jalil [ed.] ti år,

Barn: Ja, snart ti

I: Snart ti?

Barn: Ja

A: Og Lubna [ed.] er seks år

Barn: Nej 7

A: 7, 7, 7

A: Ham der kan jeg kalde, hvad jeg vil [referring to the smallest son]. Han kan ikke sige noget.

L: Han må snart være to år ik?

A: 1,5 år

L: Han er blevet to år?

T: Han er blevet to år`

L: 1,5

A: Ja. Et et halvt.

Barn: Efter en måned har han fødselsdag.

L: Okay, så snart.

Barn: Ja.

A: Det var en kortere beretning.

I: Okay, øhm, så og så fordi vi gerne vil vise hverdagslivet på integrationsydelse. Så hvis du vil forklare hvad din hverdag eller jeres hverdag ser ud.

Fra du står op til du går i seng.

A: Jamen altså, vi vågner op, vi står op og så sender vi børnene afsted, til deres respektive institutioner, og vi, vi går til øh hvor skoler, altså hverdag, jeg går fx til praktik hos Peugeot øh bilforhandler her i Frederikssund. Og øhm min kone går til skole, øh, så når vi er færdige, så kommer børnene også hjem og så sidder vi bare herhjemme. Vi går ikke så meget udenfor.

I: mm-mm

Barn: Det gør jeg.

Tolk: Ja du går ud og lege, men går du på udflugt, på tur

Barn: Nej, sammen med min ven

T: Ja, men her i, i, i kvarteret, her hvor I bor eller hvad?

Barn: Ja, det er rigtig

L: "Nej jeg vil over til far" [referring to the smallest son]

A: Han vil ikke have at der er nogen, der sidder sig ved siden af mig [unclear]. Ja.

I: Så går, altså både praktik, er det både praktik og sprogskole?

A: Jeg er færdig med skolen fordi, jamen jeg har afsluttet Dansk 1 alle moduler, jeg ville gerne have fortsat lidt endnu for at styrke mit danske sprog

I: Ja

A: men de ville bare af med mig "jamen du er færdig, så har du ikke krav på mere, så"

L: [unclear] syv modul to?

A: Modul 6, øh, dansk 1

L: Ja, men jeg troede der var, der var mere

T: Hvis, altså hvis nogle vil læse videre, modul eller vrøvl dansk 2,

L: Ja

T: for borgere som har uddannelse hjemmefra, som kan, altså, som kan læse og skrive også

L: Nå, ja okay, så der skal ikke være mere efter?

T: Nej for dem der vil læse videre, så rykker de dem til modul, vrøvl dansk 2, og så videre til dansk 3, og for dem som ikke vil læse og de skal bare opfylde denne her krav om opholdstilladelse, ikke?

L: Ja

T: Så øh, slutter de bare den linje der er på og det betragtes som afsluttet eh, sproguddannelse

L: Nå, Det er da dumt

T: Ja for

A: Fordi, jamen de vil også gerne sende folk i praktik så hurtigt som muligt, ik? så derfor afslutter de den meget hurtigt.

I: mm

A: Mit indtryk er at det vejer meget mindre, det at lære sproget end det at gå i praktik eller komme i praktik.

I: Mm

A: Altså, jobcentret bestræber sig på at sende folk i praktik, hvor de kan få et arbejde med løntilskud eller sådan der. Jeg har gennemført tre praktikperioder, eller tre praktikforløb i Fakta i Slagerup, hvor de boede før, samlet er det 9 måneder, på 3,3,3 måneder, og til sidst siger de at de ikke kan bruge mig

I: mm, ja

L: Men det burde jo bare ikke være okay. 9 måneder, det er jo for lang tid ik?

A: Ja

T: Og øh Aa [ed.] forstår faktisk en del af det der bliver sagt.

I: Ja

T: Men ..

L: Jeg tror faktisk du forstår næsten alt, det tror jeg godt

A; Jamen altså jeg forstår det meste, og kan godt sige en del, men jeg i og med at jeg ikke har styr på grammatikken, så er det lige så snart jeg siger noget og jeg siger noget forkert, så bliver jeg stum

I: Ja, det kender jeg godt ja. Øhm og din kone, har hun praktik nu?

A: Nej. Øh om uges tid, så kommer hun i praktik, men hun går på sprogskolen.

I: Okay.

N: Dansk 1, modul 2: tre dage skole og to dage praktik

T: Og hvad er det, når man kommer på modul 2 eller 3, så skal man også have praktik ved siden af, men det blev også lavet om eller hvad?

L: Jeg kan ikke finde ud af det mere, ja ja jeg kan ikke finde ud af det mere

T: Før i tiden var det sådan at man skal nå til modul 2 eller modul 3 uanset hvilke linje man er og så skal man blive sendt til praktik, men nu er det sådan at efter 14 dage fra den tid, eller den dato man kommer til kommunen, så skal der sættes praktikpladser op.

I: Mm, okay. Og hvad så med i weekenderne, laver I noget eller tager I nogle steder hen? Eller er mest hjemme? Hvad laver I der?

A: Jamen altså vi tilbringer så godt som hele tiden herhjemme fordi vi har ikke øh, det er svært at tage børnene ud når der opstår et behov, som er ikke bare at komme ud og gå, ikke? Og derfor er det det meste, det meste af tiden derhjemme. Børnene selvfølgelig får lov til at gå ud og lege i kvarteret og sådan, med andre kammerater, der er også legepladser her, så det er den fornøjelse, de har.

I: Mm.., ja. Øhm, så er der nogle ting som de gerne ville lave i weekenden, som de måske ikke har penge til at lave? Er der nogle ting, som de godt kunne tænke sig at lave?

A: Jamen jeg ville meget gerne fx afbryde rutinen og tage børnene fx til Tivoli eller parken eller andre steder, så de får lidt afveksling i den daglige rutine her,

I: ja

A: men det er ret svært i den situation, vi befinder os i .

I: Ja, er I aktive i nogle organisationer? Sådan ja

A: Altså før i tiden, da vi boede i Slangerup, da gik Aa [ed.] til fodbold øh en fodboldklub i Slangerup og J [ed.] gik til brydning.

I: Okay.

A: Også i Slangerup, men det har de stopper, altså de er stadigvæk tilmeldt, men det er upraktisk svært at tage derud.

I: ah okay

A: Fordi det ligger der

Barn: Men jeg går ikke til noget

T: Hvad kunne du tænke dig? Det kan du sige til de søde piger og til Lykke

Barn: hun sagde at hun ville starte til springgymnastik

T: ah, springgymnastik, har du sagt det ja?

L: har du fortalt det til Kasper?

Barn: ja

L: fordi den mulighed er der jo kommet nu i kommunen om at man kan få lov til at vælge lidt forskelligt og så betaler kommunen for det, men det tror jeg Kasper har fortalt jer.

A: Fitness?

L: Ikke fitness, det vil kommunen ikke betale. Det ikke en forening.

L: Men M (red.) der er jo brydning også, her i Frederikssund

Barn: Jo det er også det vi går over, det er [unclear], men vi har ikke tid eller vi kan ikke nå det

L: I kan ikke nå at gå til brydning? Altså fra skole eller?

Barn: Nej fordi vi tager i klub her og vores far kan ikke køre os

L: Nej okay

Barn: Men det bruger, eller, i Slangerup der var vi tættere på

I: Ja,

L: Ja, det er lidt langt ind til Frederikssund herfra

I: Mm, okay, så før kunne i bare selv gå derhen eller hvad?

Barn: Ja og måske om sommeren, så cykler vi derud.

I: Ja, okay.

L: Det er snart kommer.

I: Ja

L: Det er sommer

I Ja, det er sommer

L: (uklart)

I: Og hvad med jeres indkøb, mad-indkøb, planlægger i den eller hvordan?

A: Jamen ehm, altså det er svært at få pengene til at lå til medmindre man arbejder sort og får noget ved siden af, hvad skulle jeg sige ikke?

Fordi børnene de kræver, altså skolerne har også faste regler med hvad børnene skal ha' og ikke ha' og så videre, og de ting som børnene skal have med i deres madpakker, det er noget som koster som regel, og ikke noget, som vi køber billigt. Og derfor, hvis vi tager det her børnepenge, som man får hver 3 måned, hvis man deler over 6 børn og over 90 dage så kommer man i minus altså, uanset, hvor meget det er.

I: Mm, ja, så altså er der nogle specielle regler med madpakker i skolen? Hvad man skal have med

A: Jamen øhm, alle uden undtagelse skal have frugt, skal have grøntsager, skal have fiberkost i deres madpakker og de spiser det, altså hvis alle børnene skal have et stykke frugt til deres madpakke, så har vi hvad? 6 gange 5, 30 stykker frugt om, om ugen og gange med 4, så er vi oppe på 120 stk frugt, ik? Det ..

I: Ja, det er meget frugt.

A: Til 2 kroner stykket. Så det ikke kun frugt. Og når vi laver varm mad, så prøver vi at lave store portioner således at vi spiser, at vi kan dele det over 4 dage, så tit spiser vi mad der 2 eller 3 dage gammelt, ik?

I: Jo

A: men hvis vi ikke gør det sådan her, så bliver det svært.

I: Ja, det er klart. Mm... Gør I noget specielt for at finde tilbud eller for at finde den billige, det ved jeg ikke, spurgte jeg lige om det her før? Nej.

A: Det er vi sådan set nødt til, for at kunne få pengene til at slå til. Vi er nødt til at holde øje med tilbuddene og så også handle i de etniske butikker, fordi det er lidt billigere der, især frugt og sådan noget.

L: Vi har også snakket om at I jo har været rigtig hårdt ramt, fordi I jo måtte flytte, fra den lejlighed i boede i Slangerup og hertil ikk, så I er nogle af dem der har været rigtig hårdt ramt.

M: Jeg synes det her hus har været bedre end det andet.

A: Det er ikke blevet billigere at flytte hertil. Om ikke andet, vi har noget familie der er tæt på, som vi kan henvende os til, hvis det bliver nødvendigt. Tag f.eks. boligstøtte, da vi boede i Slangerup der var den på 3500 og nu er den på 1400.

[youngest child laughing]

A: Det er ham der altid får os til at glemme vores problemer faktisk.

L: Hvad sagde du boligstøtten var på 3500?

TO: Ja, altså det er røget ned på 2000, lidt over 2000 røg de ned i boligstøtte. Derovre var den på 3500 her er den på 13-1400. Når det kom hver måned og blev trukket af huslejen, så kunne man mærke det dengang, men udgifterne var store.

A: Han begyndte at tale om det der udgifterne, hvor meget indtægter, hvor meget udgifter, jeg sagde det kommer vi til det der spørgsmål, det kommer vi til senere.

I: Og hvordan da I skulle flytte, hvordan fik i råd til nye møbler?

A: Det er de samme som de havde i det gamle. De har ikke købt noget nyt

I: Ok. Og var det nogle møbler I havde fået af kommunen?

A: Noget af det er fra kommunen, men ikke f.eks. sofaen og de her ting, det har vi skaffet fra den blå avis.

I: Nu sidder de her så alle sammen [the children]

TO: Ja det er svært, for de forstår både arabisk og dansk.

I: ja, de forstår det hele.

I: Men der er ikke nogle af børnene der går til fritidsaktiviteter?

A: Jamen, altså, det er kun Aa [ed.] der går til fodbold, de andre går ikke nogle steder, går ikke til noget.

M: Jo til sommer.

I: Når det bliver sommer.

L: Hva så Moussa [ed.], hvad skal du gå til? Skal du også til brydning? Eller Taekwondo?

M: Eller kungfu

L: Det tror jeg faktisk, kungfu er der ikke i Frederikssund.

M: Jo der er.

TO: Ved I om der er et hold der? Stort hold eller lille hold?

M: Jeg ved det ikke, jeg ved bare der er nogle af mine venner der går der.

K: Så kan han da godt gå til dans

L: Skal han gå til dans sammen med dig? Det kunne være hyggeligt.

TO: Han bliver vinduesvisker i vores bil, vi sætter ham foran, ikk?

[laughing]

L: Hvor længe har I boet i Frederikssund nu? Mere end to år?

A: 3 år.

I: Så I har oplevet at gå fra kontanthjælp til integrationsydelsen

TO: Ja, det mærkedes meget kraftigt. Men man har også en familie her, man har en far og en bror og en søster. Far med kone.

I: Det er dejligt, alle sammen her?

A: Ja alle i Frederikssund.

TO: Og søsteren har været her vist i 20 år. Hendes børn de er født her.

L: Vi har snakket med nogle niecer i telefon og sådan noget.

I: Hvordan vil du beskrive skiftet fra kontanthjælp til integrationsydelse?

R: Det er meget forringelse i vores livsstil og situation, økonomiske situation efter reducering af ydelse. Førhen kunne vi få vores økonomi til at holde, at hvis børnene f.eks. ønskede sig noget, så

kunne vi skaffe det, hvis de ønskede at tage på tur, så kunne vi tage dem det, sådan nogle ting, altså aktiviteter til børnene, der kunne vi godt sørge for, omend ikke det hele, men der var mulighed for det. Nu kan vi dårligt få det til at lå til det allermest nødvendige.

I: Måske, skal vi ta' det her?

I: Nu kommer vi til det her [schedule with expenses and income]

A: Jeg får 6.700 på kontoen og min kone får 5.500. Hver tredje måned får vi 13.000 kr. i børnetilskud, altså 9.000 for de fire og 4.000 for den lille.

I: Så 13.000 det er...

TO: Det er 4.300 [unclear]

I: Ja, jo. Og boligstøtte, det var 13-1500?

A: Det er rigtigt at det ligger på det her 13-1400 kr, men det sidste brev vi har modtaget fra Udbetaling Danmark mener de at vi har fået for meget i en periode, og derfor skulle vi betale 3000 tilbage. De havde afregnet med os på forkert oplysning eller sådan noget, så møg irriterende, ikk?

L: Men har I fået socialpædagogisk [unclear] plads? Børnehaven

A: Ja.

L: Godt

I: Og hvad med udgifter til bolig, husleje, el og varme osv?

A: Det er fordi familien kun har boet her i 1,5 måned, så har de ikke rigtig en klar idé om deres udgifter. Men de ved at 6.500 det er huslejen, derudover, så betaler man separat vand, varme, el og spildevand.

I: Og det ved I ikke endnu?

A: Nej, det har vi ikke fået... Jeg ved ikke om der er nogle standard størrelser til familier f.eks. der bor, der består af så mange børn har det skal koste så meget i gennemsnit per person, eller?

TO: Det er svært, det svinger jo meget, afhængigt af hvor økonomisk eller hvor besparelse bevidst, eller hvad skal man kalde det, familiens hensyn til det her.

A: Vi har faktisk lige fået en regning på 3000 og noget, jeg tror det er fra gas, men jeg ved ikke om det er det. Jeg har ikke betalt den endnu.

(Adam take out a bill]

A: Jeg har talt til min sagsbehandler, spurgt hende om hun vil afdrage det for mig.

[looks at the bill]

TO: Ja det er spildevand. Det er forsyning. Om det er vandforsyning eller om det er spildevand.

L: Jeg ved ikke om det kommer sammen, eller om det kommer hver for sig. Nej det her det er drikkevand.

TO: Det er drikkevand? Jeg har ikke mine briller med.

[laughing]

L: Nej det er dem begge to her, der er også spildeafgift her og vandaflledning, så det her det, det er den samlede.

TO: Ok, og det er for perioden 13.2-30.6

L: Det er ca. et halvt års forbrug

TO: Jeg tror man kan sagtens ringe til forsyningen og sige man vil betale månedsvis i stedet for, så er det lettere.

L: Ja, ja det kan man sagtens. Ja så det indgår i deres budget. Ja det er jo mange penge at betale på en gang.

TO: I sær hvis man ikke har sparet sammen.

TO: Altså, selvom familien ved det, det skader ikke at nævne det igen, at varmen den gælder både for opvarmning af huset og det varme vand, så de ikke tror at vand varme den tages med i den her [unclear]