



AALBORG UNIVERSITET

MARGINALISED BY DENMARK'S "GHETTO" LAWS

MASTER'S THESIS

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Abstract

The research attempts to find different realities that surround Vollsmose – a multi-ethnic neighbourhood in Denmark listed on the Danish ghetto list. The question this paper answers is: to what extent do existing “truths” about Danish ghetto areas differ and what consequences do these portrayals lead to? The aim with this question is to highlight how the concept of “ghettos” forms people’s opinions and beliefs and the impact it has on the livelihood of the residents residing in these areas. Denmark serves as a good example of this as it is one of the few countries that uses the word “ghetto” as an official definition of certain areas of the country. The ghetto plan, which was published in 2018 by the Danish government sparked a lot of interest and criticism not only in Denmark, but also worldwide. Discussions on this topic are still very present, as it is in the following years that the big changes will take place. As the agenda for the plan is led by powerful actors in the society, with very little attention given to people residing in the referred areas, this paper’s goal is to bring external actors closer to ideas and thoughts of the ones whose lives are highly impacted by the ghetto plan. The methods used for providing this data are both quantitative and qualitative in nature, including three analyses. The first analysis includes quantitative questionnaires answered by the residents of Vollsmose, which is followed by quantitative media analysis, that demonstrates the frequency of media coverage of different topics, which are in this research divided into topics with positive and negative connotation. Finally the Foucauldian discourse analysis is used as a tool for offering a deeper insight into the Danish media content in that it analyses the way two cases – COVID-19 and a gangster video from Vollsmose – are presented and introduced to the general public. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses gets to the bottom of different internal and external “truths” surrounding Vollsmose. The results show clear distinction between how Vollsmose is perceived by its residents and the rest of the Danish society. Consequently, the dissatisfaction with the representation of the area is present to a big extent among residents. Moreover, it is shown that a need for more understanding and better collaboration between internal and external actors exists. It is concluded that the “ghetto plan”, as it is imagined now, will not be efficient at solving the problems in Vollsmose. At last, the paper addresses the problem with generalising and stigmatising minority groups and its impact on integration.

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Introduction

According to *Best Countries 2017*, Denmark is in top 10 of the most attractive countries to immigrants (“Denmark is the 10th best country for immigrants”, 2017). The qualities that brought Denmark this high position were high employment rates, equality on the job market, and economic stability (“Denmark is the 10th best country for immigrants”, 2017). According to Eurostat (“Migration and migrant population statistics - Statistics Explained”, 2021), in 2019 Denmark had 10.56 immigrants per 1000 inhabitants. For a country with a significant share of immigrants, integrating the same is of big importance. This research brings focus to one of the consequences of low inclusion of immigrants, the so-called “parallel society” (Freiesleben, 2016, as cited in Talalaeva & Pronina, 2020, p. 60). As explained later in the paper, parallel society takes shape of so-called ghetto areas in Denmark, which are categorised by certain features of the area, here also including the ethnic background of its residents (Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2020) as the most important one.

Generally, immigration policies in Denmark are getting stricter with time, as the leading party of the government, Social Democrats, agrees on stricter immigration rules with the right-wing parties, such as Venstre, that have a considerable number of seats in the government (“Udlændingepolitik | Socialdemokratiets udlændingepolitik”, 2021; “Venstres udlændingepolitik”, 2021). Some of the newest decisions that were made in 2021 that led to criticism from the left-wing parties are for example further restrictions on obtaining Danish citizenship and sending Syrian refugees back to Syria.

Denmark’s citizenship rules are already stricter than the ones of its Nordic neighbours, with the requirement of nine years spent in the country, in comparison to for example Sweden’s five (“Betingelser — Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet”, 2021; “Time in Sweden”, 2021). Moreover, in Denmark, this rule is followed by various other rules, such as requirement for being employed for at least 3.5 years before the period in which one applies for citizenship, or not having any debt to public services at the moment of applying (“Betingelser — Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet”, 2021). With already strict regulations, it is not surprising that the new law brought criticism. The law states that if a person has been sentenced to a conditional or unconditional sentence, they will be excluded from obtaining Danish citizenship; earlier it was possible for people who had less than a year of

unconditional sentence to apply for citizenship ("Bred aftale udelukker kriminelle fra at få dansk statsborgerskab — Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet", 2021). Moreover, it is being discussed whether revocation of a person's Danish citizenship will be possible in case of committed crime ("Bred aftale udelukker kriminelle fra at få dansk statsborgerskab — Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet", 2021).

Another policy that is subjected to big discussions at the moment is the decision of the Danish government – as the only government in Europe – to send Syrian refugees back to Damascus, that, according to Danish authorities, is safe enough (McKernan, 2021). As the Syrian war has been going on for more than ten years, some of the refugees that arrived in Denmark even took most of their education in the country and learned the language quite well; however, this is not taken into consideration by the authorities (McKernan, 2021).

The shift in immigration policies and stricter rules for minority groups living in Denmark is what sparked the motivation for writing this paper. The focus is brought to the treatment and representation of immigrants and descendants who are already residents or even citizens of Denmark. This is done by examining how minority groups living in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods are being presented. Accordingly, the paper starts with setting the research question it aims to answer. Following, the background information and statistics are provided to bring the reader closer to the immigration situation in Denmark. Thereafter, the ghetto concept is explained and put into the Danish context, together with other researchers' work on the same, as a setting scene for the later analysis. The analysis includes two sets of data – questionnaires including residents of one of the areas listed on Danish ghetto lists and articles from two different Danish media. These will be further elaborated on in the methodology section.

Problem formulation

This research aims at uncovering different ways multi-ethnic neighbourhoods – considered ghettos by the Danish government – are portrayed by different groups. The ways of portraying are in this research called “truths” as inspired by Foucault's concept of "truth games”, as he states that there is no single “truth” that constitutes a reality we live in, rather different “truths” depend on the subjective position we take (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 117).

Therefore, the question this research aims to answer is:

To what extent do existing “truths” about Danish ghetto areas differ and what consequences do different portrayals have?

The aim of this research is not to determine which “truth” constitutes the actual reality, but rather to bring attention to differences between internal and external “truth” about Danish ghetto areas, to what extent they differ, and finally what the possible consequences of these are. Internal “truth” is here considered to be the way residents of a ghetto area perceive their neighbourhood, while external “truth” is the way it is perceived by the rest of society. The research is conducted as a case study, including one of the areas enlisted as a ghetto – Vollsmose.

Immigrants in Denmark

According to the newest report from Danish statistics (*Danmarks Statistik*) from December 2020, 14% of all population in Denmark are immigrants (Danmarks Statistik, 2020). The biggest number of immigrants with non-Western origin arrive from the following five countries: Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Bosnia and Herzegovina listed chronologically from the country that accounts for the biggest number of people who emigrated to Denmark (Danmarks Statistik, 2020). The total amount of immigrants coming from these five countries is 356 195 (Danmarks Statistik, 2020), which accounts for around 6% of the population in Denmark. On the other side, the biggest number of immigrants of Western origin come from Poland, Germany, Romania, Norway and Great Britain, and they account for 258 158 persons (Danmarks Statistik, 2020). In the graphs below it is possible to see how immigration waves to Denmark from the above listed five non-Western countries looked like throughout the years (Figure 1).

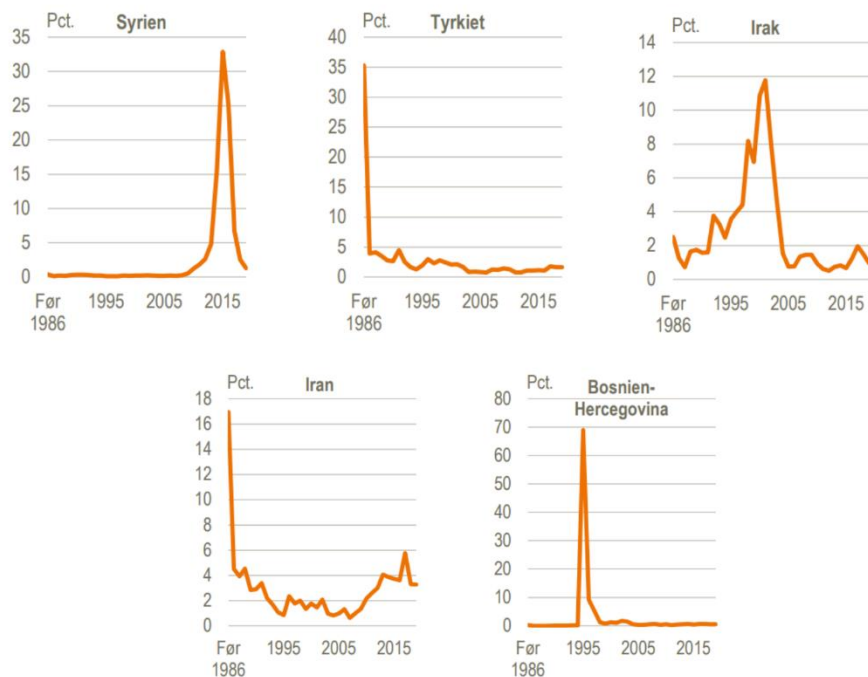


Figure 1

Figure 1 shows the migration flow from (chronologically listed) Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Bosnia and Herzegovina to Denmark throughout the years. Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2020, p. 17.

Moreover, the following figure (Figure 2) shows different reasons for immigrants getting a residence permit and the way these reasons increase or decrease throughout the years (Danmarks Statistik, 2020).

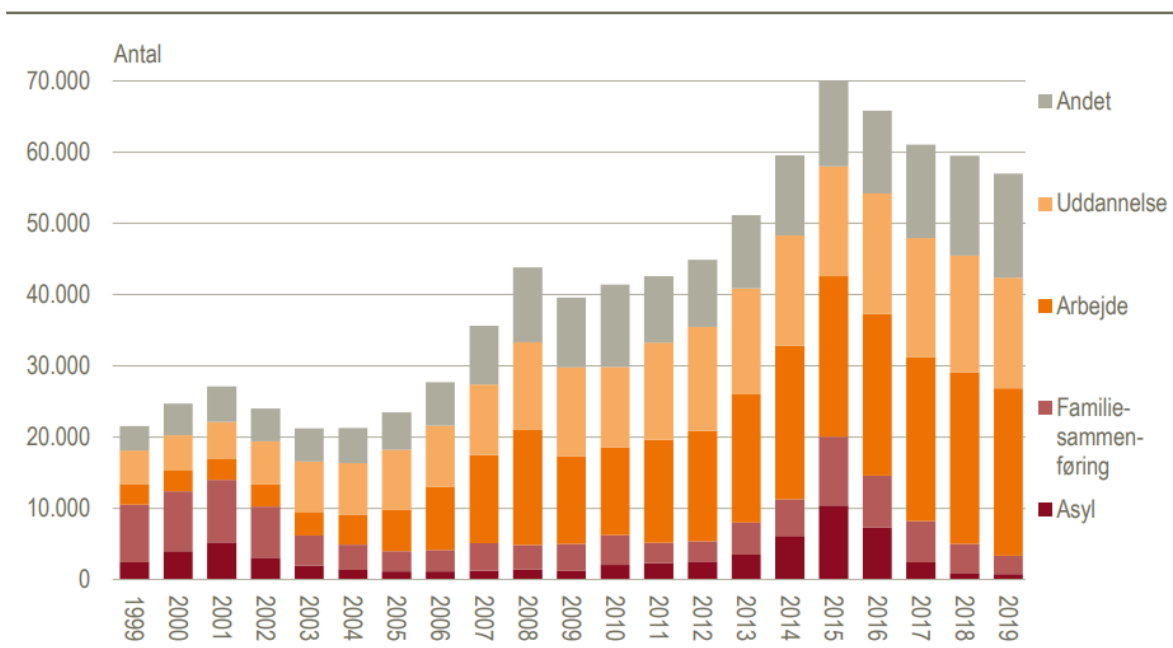


Figure 2

Figure 2 shows the basis of residence for foreign nationals. The categories on the right are, as listed from top to bottom: Other, Education, Work, Family reunification, Asylum. Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2020, p. 27.

Figure 2 clearly shows that the number of people applying for asylum declined since 2002, with the exception of years 2015-2017, which represented the peak of the European migrant crisis ("European migrant crisis - Wikipedia", n.d.). Simultaneously, the number of immigrants coming to Denmark to work or study has been inclining since 2004, which is the year of the biggest enlargement of the European Union, with as many as 10 new states entering the Union ("10th anniversary of EU enlargement", 2021). This could possibly be explained by the easier access to the Danish labour market for citizens of the EU countries or free education for citizens of the EU countries ("Tuition Fees & Scholarships", n.d.). The effect of this can also be seen in the following two graphs.

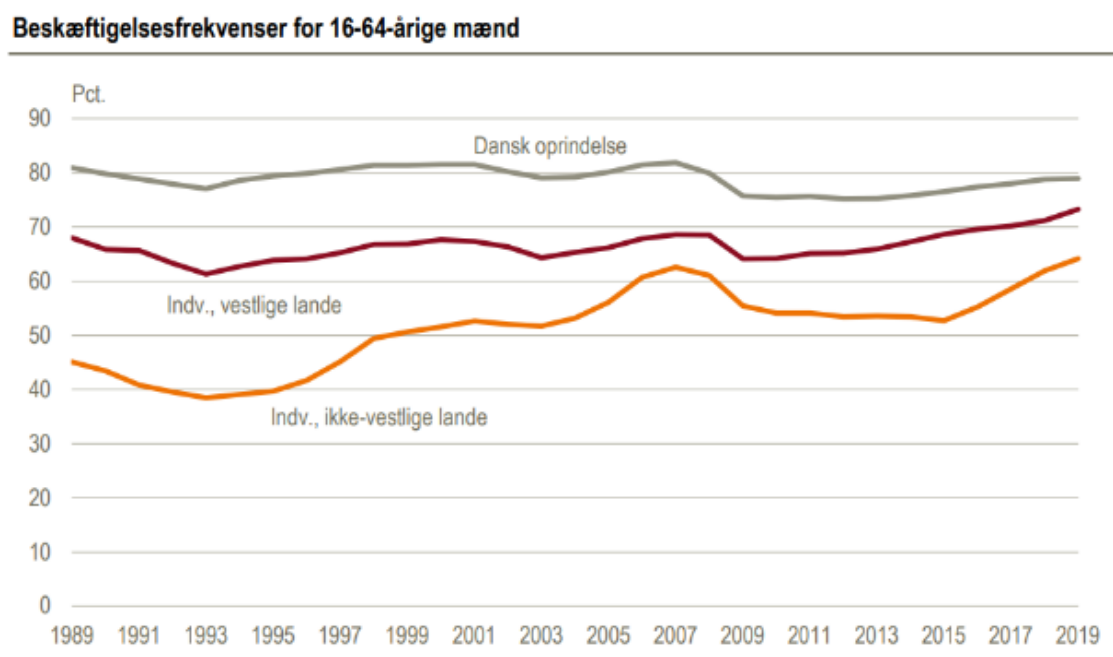


Figure 3

Figure 3 shows employment rates for men in the age group 16-64. The graph lines show the following: grey – Danish origin, burgundy – immigrants from Western countries, orange – immigrants from non-Western countries. Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2020, p. 36

Beskæftigelsesfrekvenser for 16-64-årige kvinder

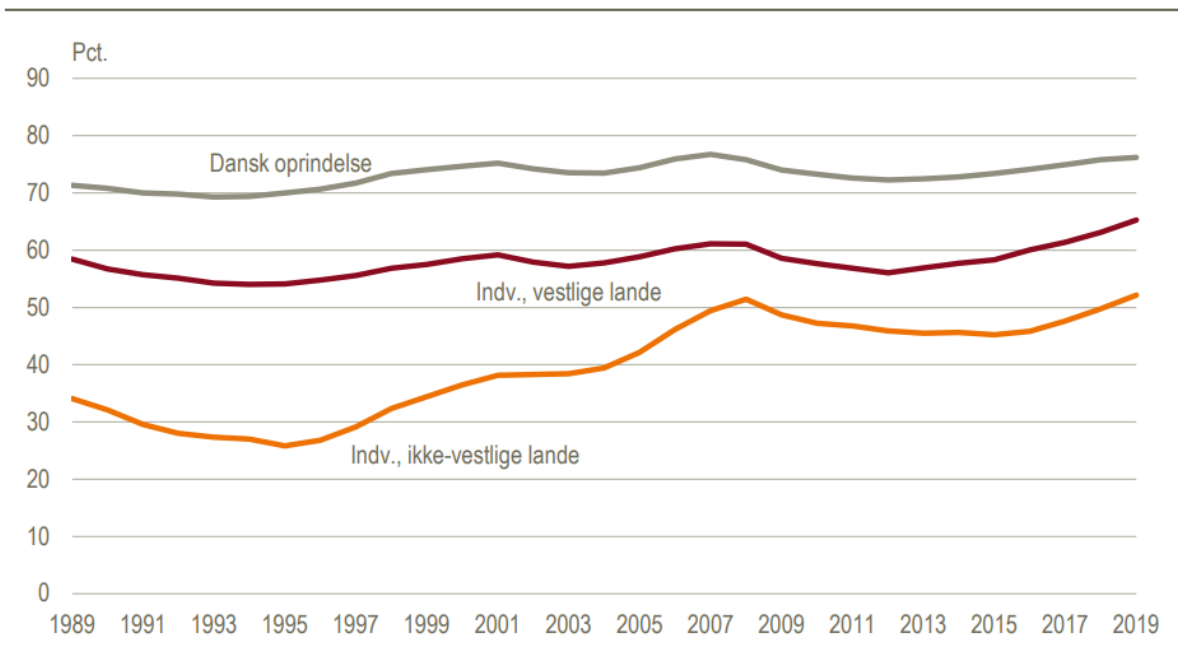


Figure 4

Figure 4 shows employment rates for women in the age group 16-64. The graph lines show the following: grey – Danish origin, burgundy – immigrants from Western countries, orange – immigrants from non-Western countries. Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2020, p. 37.

Figure 3 and Figure 4 show that employment rates among both male and female Western immigrants increased in the year 2003, and continued to rise, with exception of the year 2008 when the employment rates began to decrease, which is a consequence of the 2008 financial crisis (Amadeo, 2019). When looking at non-Western immigrants, the vast difference between the employment rates can be seen. Not only that the rates are significantly lower than the ones of people of Danish or Western origin, but they are, according to these graphs, also the group that bore the biggest consequences of the 2008 financial crisis (Danmarks Statistik, 2020).

Regarding education levels between the three groups, some differences can be seen in this area as well, which is shown in the following table (Figure 5).

Højeste fuldførte uddannelse for 25-64-årige. 2019

	Indvandrere				Dansk oprindelse	
	Mænd		Kvinder		Mænd	Kvinder
	Vestlige lande	Ikke-vestlige lande	Vestlige lande	Ikke-vestlige lande		
I alt	97 577	131 227	84 707	142 118	1 254 051	1 235 285
	pct.					
I alt	100	100	100	100	100	100
Grundskole	7	33	6	30	19	15
Gymnasial	9	9	9	9	6	6
Erhvervsfaglig	25	17	17	20	40	32
Kort videregående	9	5	7	5	7	5
Mellemlang videregående ..	18	14	24	17	12	25
Bachelor	2	1	3	1	2	3
Lang videregående	25	16	31	14	13	14
Uoplyst	5	4	3	5	1	1

Figure 5

Figure 5 shows the percentage of the highest completed education among, as listed horizontally: men from Western countries, men from non-Western countries, women from Western countries, women from non-Western countries, and finally men and women from Denmark. All the groups are in the age group 25-64. The types of education, as listed vertically, are: primary school, high school, vocational education, short-cycle higher education, medium-cycle higher education, Bachelor's degree, Master's degree, and finally undisclosed ("Dansk-Engelsk Uddannelsesterminologi — Uddannelses- og Forskningsministeriet", 2021).

Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2020, p. 50.

Finally, as the last difference, the following graph shows the average income before taxation among the three groups.

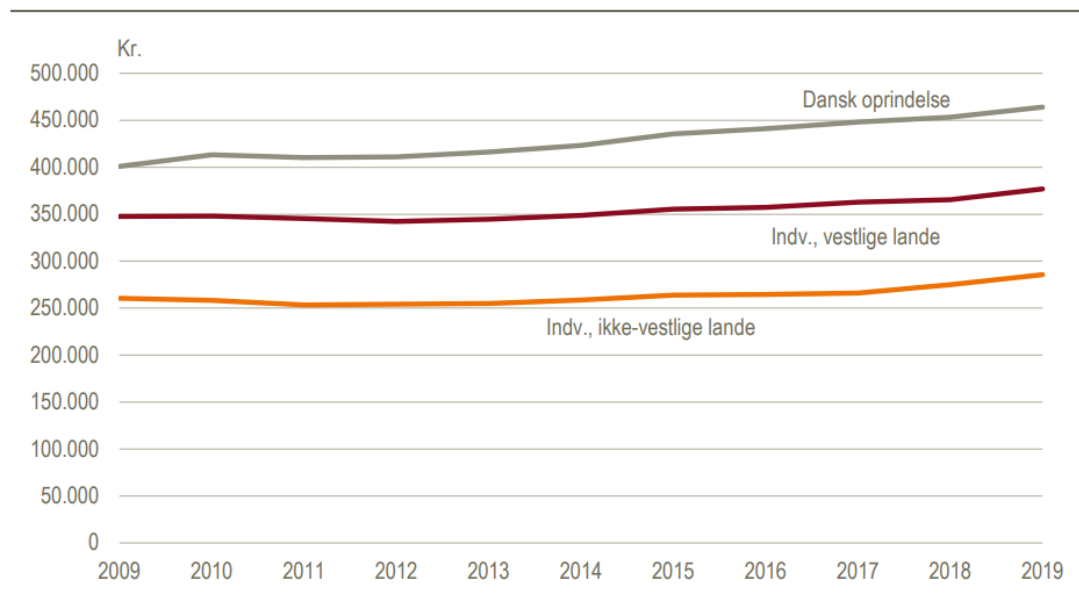


Figure 6

Figure 6 shows average income before taxation among people in the age group 30-59. The graph lines show the following: grey – Danish origin, burgundy – immigrants from Western countries, orange – immigrants from non-Western countries. Source: Danmarks Statistik, 2020, p. 73.

Figure 6 shows the clear and significant difference between the incomes of these three groups. Besides lower employment rates, this could moreover be connected to the types of jobs immigrants take and whether or not those jobs pay more or less than the sectors people of Danish origin work in. Namely, according to Danmarks Statistik, the percentage of employed men with a non-western background in comparison to men from western countries, here including Denmark, is significantly higher in commerce, transport, hotel and restaurants and cleaning, and other so-called operational services, that usually employ people with a lower level of education (Danmarks Statistik, 2020, p. 47). The same difference in percentage can also be seen among the women that are a part of the Danish labour market (Danmarks Statistik, 2020).

In the context of this paper, the above-presented statistics serve as a base for understanding the position non-western immigrants take in Danish society. Taking employment as one domain of being integrated, the data shows a clear lack of integration of people from non-western countries. It is difficult to say what exact reason for lower integration in the labour market is without more background information about the individuals who are included in these statistics, but the problem is obvious. However, this research is interested in demonstrating how the problem of lower integration is not merely a fault of immigrants but can to a big extent be

generated by the society. One of the ways this can happen is the inclusion of the ghetto concept into Danish politics, which will be elaborated on in the following part.

Ghettos in the Danish context

The "Ghetto package" and battle against parallel societies

The first ghetto list was made in 2010 and published on the 26th of October 2010 ("Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?", 2021). Ghetto lists have since been published every year on the 1st of December (Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2020). 2010 was the year when the so-called "ghetto package" was made, and it was called "The ghetto back to the society – a battle against parallel society in Denmark" (*Ghettoen tilbage til samfundet – et opgør med parallelsamfund i Danmark*) ("Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?", 2021). The first year three criteria were needed to be met in order to be enlisted on the ghetto list – labour market affiliation, registered offenses and ethnicity ("Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?", 2021). Between 2011 and 2013, the government decided on another two criteria to be added – income and the level of education, which meant that even though people living in vulnerable areas were a part of the labour market, they could still be the part of a reason the area gets enlisted, due to the low income, which is an often case among immigrants who take lower-paid jobs ("Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?", 2021). The next couple of years were marked by increased crime rates in the Danish society. However, what especially caught the politicians' attention was the gang war in Copenhagen during 2017, in which four were killed and twenty was injured in the period of five months ("Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?", 2021). This led to the passing of the "ghetto package" in 2018, which was called "One Denmark without parallel society – no ghettos in 2030" (*Ét Danmark uden parallelsamfund – ingen ghettoer i 2030*) ("Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?", 2021). Lars Løkke Rasmussen, the former Danish minister, touched upon the parallel society in his New Year speech in 2018, in which he said the following:

"[...] There are parallel societies around the country. Many people with the same problems are lumped together. It creates a negative curve. A counterculture. There where one does not take responsibility, does not use the possibilities we have in Denmark – but stands out. Holes have been made on the map of Denmark. [...] Therefore, we must drop the illusion that parallel societies and ghettos will disappear if we just give them time. They will not. When I visit, for

example, Vollsmose, the powerlessness and isolation are, unfortunately, the same as they were the last time I was there. Yes, maybe even worse. I experience that Danish rules, laws and norms fall short in the areas that are not Danish in their values. [...]" ("Lars Løkke Rasmussens nytårstale 1. januar 2018", 2018)

In the same speech Rasmussen simultaneously presented the overall goal of the “ghetto package” stating that:

“We must set a new goal of completely tearing down the ghettos. In some places by tearing down the concrete, demolishing buildings, spreading out the inhabitants and rehousing them in different areas. In other places by taking a control of who moves in. We must close the holes in the map of Denmark and recreate the mixed neighbourhoods, where we meet each other across our differences” ("Lars Løkke Rasmussens nytårstale 1. januar 2018", 2018)

Public housing will be demolished in order to make place for private housing, that investors would be interested in, family homes will be made into housing for the youth and elderly – all with the goal of not having more than 40% of family housing in ghetto areas in 2030 (“Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?”, 2021).

Ghetto list criteria

The area is considered a ghetto when there are at least 1000 residents, from which at least 50% of them comes from non-Western countries (Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2020) and when at least two of the following four criteria are met:

-
1. The share of residents in the age group 18-64, who are not a part of the Danish labour market or education exceeds 40% (calculated as the average over the last 2 years).

 2. The share of residents who are convicted of breaching criminal law, gun law or law on narcotics is at least 3 times bigger than the nationwide average (calculated as the average over the last 2 years).

 3. The share of residents in the age group 30-59, who only have a primary school education, exceeds 60%.
-

4. The average gross income of people in the age group 15-64, who pay taxes, (excluding the ones looking for education) constitutes less than 55% of the average gross income for the same group in the region.

Table 1

Table 1 shows the list of criteria the area needs to meet in order to be considered a ghetto. Source: Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2020.

Ghettos on the list are divided into three groups, “vulnerable neighbourhoods” (*udsatte boligområder*), “ghettos” (*ghettoområder*) and finally, “hard ghettos” (*hårde ghettoområder*) that include ghettos that are placed on the list for four years in a row (“Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?”, 2021).

The list of ghettos from the 1st of December 2020 can be seen below:

Område	Kommune	Beboere	Udenfor arb.marked	E & I Ikke vestlig	Dømte	Kun grundskole	Gns. indkomst
		(1.000 +)	> 40 pct.	> 50 pct.	≥ 2,27 pct.	> 60 pct.	< 55 pct.
		1. jan 2020	2018-19	1. jan 2020	2018-19	1. jan 2020	År 2019
Aldersrogade	København	2.103	32,2	69,6	2,03	63,7	52,4
Mjølnerparken	København	1.493	36,1	83,2	2,34	74,5	48,3
Tingbjerg/Utterslevhuse	København	6.290	24,3	73,0	2,19	72,4	53,4
Tåstrupgård	Høje-Taastrup	2.011	26,1	66,7	2,28	82,7	52,9
Nøjsomhed/Sydvej	Helsingør	1.093	38,5	53,7	3,00	75,1	50,8
Ringparken, Slagelse	Slagelse	1.963	38,3	57,3	2,44	70,3	57,5
Motalavej	Slagelse	1.524	39,0	51,2	2,44	71,2	59,2
Solbakken mv	Odense	1.323	37,4	55,2	2,30	60,9	57,3
Vollsmose	Odense	7.259	49,6	78,2	2,80	75,7	53,7
Nørager/Søstjernevej m.fl	Sønderborg	1.266	41,8	66,6	1,49	73,3	60,8
Stengårdsvej	Esbjerg	1.296	40,0	76,0	2,27	79,0	57,2
Sundparken	Horsens	1.517	45,0	69,7	1,60	79,2	54,8
Skovvejen/Skovparken	Kolding	2.274	38,8	65,4	2,43	70,4	58,9
Bispehaven	Aarhus	2.216	41,7	68,5	1,92	70,4	56,2
Gellerupparken/Toveshøj	Aarhus	4.965	48,3	79,3	2,79	80,0	53,9

Figure 7

Figure 7 shows a list of areas considered a ghetto from the 1st of December 2020. Source: Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2020, p.2)

The list from 2020 shows that the number of ghettos fell from 28 in 2019 to 15 in 2020 (Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2020). The reasons for the decreasing number of areas getting a place on the list are the increasing number of residents becoming a part of the labour market, less convicted residents compared to the national average and increasing level of education (Transport- og Boligministeriet, 2020). However, the decreasing number of ghettos is also the

government's aim in their plan for Denmark "without parallel society" (*parallelsamfund*) ("Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?", 2021).

The ghetto-policies in Denmark are considered discriminatory, not only by many people in Denmark but also by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, calling them "discriminatory against non-Western immigrants and descendants creating a clear differentiation between ethnic Danish citizens and non-Western citizens" (Hassani, 2020, p. 244).

Ghetto studies

The beginning of ghettos

The first ghettos appeared in 1516, and were aimed at accommodating Jews in Venice ("Hvad kan vi lære af 'betonjunglens' historie? 1. del | Eftertryk", 2019). The word's origin is theorized about, with some saying it comes from the Italian words 'guideca', 'borgetto' and 'gietto' (Wacquant, 2004, p.3) while others state it comes from Hebrew word 'ghet' which translates to reclusion (Stehle, 2017). According to Wacquant (2004), the word relates to "the forced consignment of Jews to special districts by the city's political and religious authorities" (p. 3).

Living in the 16th century Venice, in a ghetto that included '*Ghetto Nuovo*', '*Ghetto Vecchio*' and '*Ghetto Nuovissimo*' (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008, p. 347), for Jews was close to living in a prison, with their homes being located on "an isolated island enclosed by two high bridges" (Waucant, 2004, p. 3). However, Jews did not see it as a jail, rather as a "biblical 'camp of the Hebrews', a place of Holiness on the way to the Promised Land" (Curiel & Cooperman, 1990, as cited in Haynes & Hutchison, 2008, p. 348). Namely, Jews in Venice were workers who worked with finances and money (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008). The reason ghettos emerged in the first place was due to Venetians' desire to use Jews for their own economic benefits while secluding them from other inhabitants, that were kept "protected from contaminating contact with bodies perceived as unclean" (Waucant, 2004, p. 3), due to their supposed connection to syphilis outbreak (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008).

Furthermore, looking at the examples overseas, in America, the word ghetto was used to describe “the segregation of black populations in cities” (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008, p. 349). The American cities that are most often related to this word are Chicago, Detroit and New York (“Hvad kan vi lære af ’betonjunglens’ historie? 1. del | Eftertryk”, 2019). Even though Louis Wirth wrote *The Ghetto* (1920) which is by Haynes and Hutchison considered “a classic” (p. 349) in 1920, the concept of ghetto became extremely relevant for American scholars in the post-WWII years, which sparked the interest about “black segregation” and its measuring (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008, p. 350). The first time this term was used was when Josephine Williams used it in her paper “Computing the Ghetto Index” (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008, p. 350). 1966, the year of *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto*, “a landmark study” of Gilbert Osofsky (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008, p. 350), marked the beginning of the close proximity between the term ghetto and African Americans. What Osofsky was interested in in this paper was how race correlations shaped the emergence of ghettos (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008).

The connection between race and the American concept of a ghetto is also demonstrated in Waucant’s research in which he analyses an American and a French ghetto (1993). In his paper, he draws a comparison between American ghettos and immigrant ghettos in France, which are characterised by “working-class families and low-income” (Waucant, 1993, p. 367). The results showed that the black American ghetto and French *banlieue* represent two different “socio-spatial formations”, as in the prior the exclusion tool is the colour, while in the latter it is class (Waucant, 1993, p. 368). However, at the beginning of his paper, he also states that “European poverty is being Americanised” (Waucant, 1993, p. 366). Taken his findings of racial segregation in an American ghetto into consideration, this statement could be relevant in discussing Danish ghetto laws and the criteria of non-Western background they set.

What constitutes a ghetto?

Waucant (2004) lists three general elements that are often connected to the concept of the ghetto – “poverty, segregation and ethnic clustering” (p. 5). The first element, however, is criticised by the author himself, who states that not every ghetto is an area that is significantly poorer than other areas, and that the financial situation of residents in this area depends on other factors, such as “demography, state policies” and “the shape of the surrounding economy” (Waucant, 2004, p. 5). This statement can further be confirmed by Johansen and Jensen (2017)

that claim the generosity of Denmark and other Scandinavian countries when it comes to investing the welfare money into these areas.

The second element listed by Waucant (2004) is segregation, which is “a necessary but not a sufficient condition for ghettoization” (p. 6). Under segregation, it is implied that people of different “income, occupation, and often ethnicity” will most likely live in different areas (Waucant, 2004, p. 6). Segregation could in this case also imply that these areas are often found further away from the centre of the cities. Moreover, what this leads to is “traffic separation” and inadequate public transport (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017, p. 172). Consequently, these segregated areas are often seen as “functionless sleeping towns” (*“funktionstømte sovebyer”*) (Bech-Danielsen & Stender, 2017, p. 15).

The above-described segregation goes hand in hand with the third concept often connected to ghettos – ethnic clustering (Waucant, 2004). According to Waucant, however, an important distinction needs to be made between neighbourhoods, whose residents are mainly immigrants and ghettos (Waucant, 2004). Namely, as he puts it: “the one [immigrant neighbourhood] is a springboard for assimilation, the other [ghetto] is a material and symbolic isolation ward geared toward dissimulation” (Waucant, 2004, p. 7). The concept of assimilation in immigrant neighbourhoods has been addressed in Hans Skifter Andersen’s work, which will be presented on the following pages.

How are ghettos sustained?

Skifter Andersen’s research (2009) done on three examples of ghettos in Denmark (Gellerupparken, Vollsmose and Mjølneparken) showed that 18% of people moving into immigrant neighbourhoods wish to live in the neighbourhoods with less than one-third of residents that are ethnic minorities, while 41% want half of the residents to be of a different ethnic background than Danish (Skifter Andersen, 2009, p. 289). The same research also implies that proximity to family and friends is very important to the incomers with non-Danish background (Skifter Andersen, 2009), while when looking at motivation for moving into these areas among people with Danish origin, the strongest pro-reason is a low price of accommodation (Skifter Andersen, 2006). Even if there are no close relationships in the neighbourhood for a newcomer, the research still shows an increasing tendency to move into the neighbourhood that includes residents from the same ethnic group (Skifter Andersen,

2009). This is proved to have a positive effect on residents of the same ethnic group by Damm's research (2009) that shows that "refugees who lived in an ethnic enclave earned substantially more than non-enclave members" (p. 305), which is owed to the increasing tendency of sharing information between the countrymen.

This phenomenon is explained by the spatial assimilation theory, which states that "immigrants often start their career in the new country by moving to enclaves, but that they often move out again..." (Skifter Andersen, 2009, p. 282-283). The parallel can be drawn between this statement and what Waucant (2004) calls "a springboard" as cited above in the text. Using multi-ethnic neighbourhoods as a safe haven at the beginning of an immigrant's life and leaving it once they are in a better financial and social situation is also concluded to be an often case (Skifter Andersen, 2009). Not only there are economic differences between the ones who move in and out of the area, but the level of integration and sufficiency in the Danish language are as well much higher among the ones who move out (Skifter Andersen, 2006).

In one of his papers, Skifter Andersen (2016) addresses the development of multi-ethnic neighbourhoods from a different perspective. He argues that "white flight" and "white avoidance" often emerge in these areas (Skifter Andersen, 2016, p. 300). The two terms imply increased numbers of white residents moving out of the multi-ethnic neighbourhoods (Skifter Andersen, 2016). Consequently, not only that this leads to a bigger share of immigrants living in these areas, but it also allows for more immigrants to move in, since they get easier access to the accommodation that often tends to be cheaper than in the other areas (Skifter Andersen, 2016).

Ghettos as a sign of power relations

A ghetto is "a product and instrument of group power" (Waucant, 2004, p. 5). The concept itself gives power to one group of people while taking it from the other. This is also explained by place stratification theory, which focuses on the development of living space under the influence of powerful groups, that "manipulate space to maintain their physical and social separation from groups they view as undesirable" (Pais et al., 2012, p. 260). It argues that "racial/ethnic minorities are sorted by place according to their group's relative standing in society" (Alba & Logan, 1993, p. 1391 as cited in Charles, 2003, p. 182). For example, since 1998, the refugees that arrive in Denmark are not allowed to choose their residing areas by

themselves but are rather given certain accommodations chosen by local authorities for the first three years of their stay in Denmark (Skifter Andersen, 2016). Therefore, multi-ethnic neighbourhoods and separation of residents based on the ethnic background and race is an institutional process as much as it's individual, in that "all levels of government, as well as the real estate ... played critical roles in creating and maintaining a dual housing market" (Charles, 2003, p. 181).

As Stehle (2017) sees it, there is a distinction between "them" and "us", which she refers to as "an agent that is supposed to fix the "problem"" (p. 58). The "problem" in this context is considered "problem zones", meaning ghettos (Stehle, 2017, p. 58). The same narratives are found in Simonsen's discourse analysis of the Danish government's documents regarding the so-called "ghetto plan" (2016). In *Ghetto-Society-Problem: A Discourse Analysis of Nationalist Othering* Simonsen argues that differentiating between "us" and "them" is seen in all the documents analysed, from the very beginning, as for instance in the title of the plan "Return of the Ghetto to Society" (Simonsen, 2016, p. 11). This consequently leads to emerging of "parallel society – a term for the segregated immigrant societies, mainly Muslim and with non-Western backgrounds, that are perceived as a threat to national and cultural unity" (Freiesleben, 2016, as cited in Talalaeva & Pronina, 2020, p. 60). Simonsen argues that ghettos are presented as a threat to society, in that they represent the places where Danish values cannot be found (Simonsen, 2016). Therefore, ghettos represent a "deviant and problematic identity" (Simonsen, 2016, p.11). Moreover, interesting emphasis was put on the first three ghetto criteria and their connectivity. Namely, Simonsen underlines the problem with the lack of Government's arguments for why exactly residents' non-western background, low employment and a high number of criminal offenses are together considered important measures – because connecting the three units interrelates them in a prejudiced way (Simonsen, 2016). One of the areas that the Danish government defines as a threat to Danish values, and simultaneously the area of interest of this case study is Vollsmose, which is presented in the following part.

Vollsmose

Vollsmose is a neighbourhood placed four kilometres northeast from the centre of Denmark's third biggest city – Odense ("Vollsmose", 2021). The area was listed as a "hard ghetto" on the latest official ghetto list from the 1st of December 2020 ("Hvem er på ghettolisten 2020?",

2021). With its two kilometres of area, it is Denmark's biggest ghetto area, which consists of nine housing departments, from which six of them are enlisted as hard ghettos ("Vollsmose", 2021). At the time of writing the number of residents of Vollsmose is 9.100 ("Vollsmose i forandring - Fremtidens Vollsmose", 2021). Among its residents, one can find approximately 80 different nationalities, with the percentage of residents with non-Western background is around 68% ("Vollsmose", 2021). Vollsmose was built between the 1960s and 1970s, and its aim was to provide residents of Odense with good housing for everyone ("Vollsmose", 2021). The area is characterised by big building blocks that are surrounded by green areas.



Picture 1

Fyns Almennyttige Boligselskab, source: <https://fabbo.dk/nyhed/ministeriet-har-godkendt-udviklingsplanen-for-vollsmose/>



Picture 2

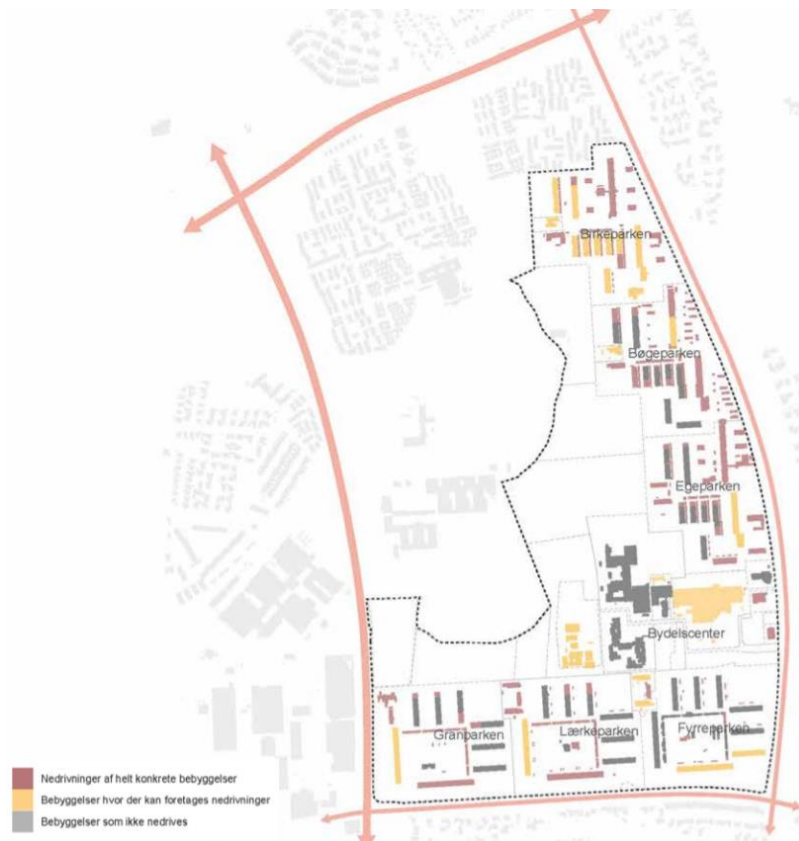
Colourbox, source: <https://www.odense.dk/presse/pressemeddelelser/pressemeddelelser-2019/boligminister-godkender-plan-for-vollsmose>



Picture 3

Andersen, 2020, source: <https://fagbladetboligen.dk/alle-nyheder/2020/juni/beboere-far-eget-corona-testcenter-i-vollsmose/>

The Vollsmose area has been in recent years often mentioned together with “the ghetto plan” (*ghettoplanen*) that includes demolition of 1000 residences in the area, from which the first is planned to take place at the end of 2021 (Bergman, 2019). The aim of the renovation of Vollsmose is to make the area “attractive and well-functioning for citizens and investors” (“Vollsmose i forandring - Fremtidens Vollsmose”, 2021). The renovation will include “demolishing of 1000 public housings and renovation of the remaining public housings, together with building of 1600 new private housings that will have business and municipal purposes” (“Vollsmose i forandring - Fremtidens Vollsmose”, 2021). The six residence complexes that will be demolished are Birkeparken (200 residents), Fyrreparken (26 residents), Granparken (160 residents), Lærkeparken (136 residents), Egeparken (191 residents) and Bøgeparken (287 residents) (“Birkeparken Helhedsplan - Fyns Almennyttige Boligselskab”, 2021). The geographical position of the six areas can be seen on the map below (Fremtidens Vollsmose, 2019).



Map 1

The map shows six residential areas, together with the town centre (*bydelscenter*). The markings are the following: red – buildings that will be demolished, yellow – buildings where demolition can be carried out, grey – buildings that will not be demolished. Source: <https://www.fremtidensvollsmose.dk/udviklingsplan/>

Citizens' initiatives

The infamous ghetto plan triggered many reactions among people in Denmark, some of whom decided to start their own initiatives in order to demonstrate their dissatisfaction. One of them is Almen Modstand (“General resistance”), an organisation that fights against the ghetto law, ghetto lists and law 38 (“Almen modstand”, 2021). Law 38 was passed on the 22nd of November, 2018 and it is the law that makes demolition of public housing in vulnerable areas statutory (Folketinget, 2018).

As a part of their initiative, Almen Modstand have proposed a citizens' initiative to the Danish government, which at the time of writing has 55 583 signatures ("Ophæv loven om nedrivning og salg af almene boliger og afskaf de såkaldte "ghettolister"", 2020). With this citizens' initiative Almen Modstand proposes abolition of the law 38 and ghetto lists together with the three categories they include

(udsatte områder, ghettoområder and hårde ghettoområder)

("Ophæv loven om nedrivning og salg af almene boliger og afskaf de såkaldte "ghettolister"', 2020).

Another organisation that is very vocal about this matter is also Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke. One of the initiatives they have started is adding individuals' names to posters that promote support for residents of the areas influenced by the ghetto plan. The title of the poster is "Coercion and discrimination – not in our name!" (*Tvang og diskrimination – ikke i vores navn!*) ("Tvang og diskrimination – ikke i vores navn! | Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke", 2021). The names are added by signing a petition and they make the background of the poster, as seen on Picture 4.



Picture 4

Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, source: <https://www.ms.dk/ikkei voresnavn>

Theory

The following part of the paper presents the theoretical background this research is built on. The first theory – labelling theory – provides the reader with an understanding of what labelling

of certain groups is and what its consequences are. The second theory – the Propaganda Model by Herman and Chomsky – gives insight into a different field this research is focusing on – the media influence. This theory provides the tools that are used in the analysis of the Danish media and how the media corporations’ features affect their standpoints. This will be strengthened by the Foucauldian discourse analysis, which puts emphasis on power relations in society and their effect on the construction of the same. The complementarity of the three theories is illustrated in Figure 8 below.

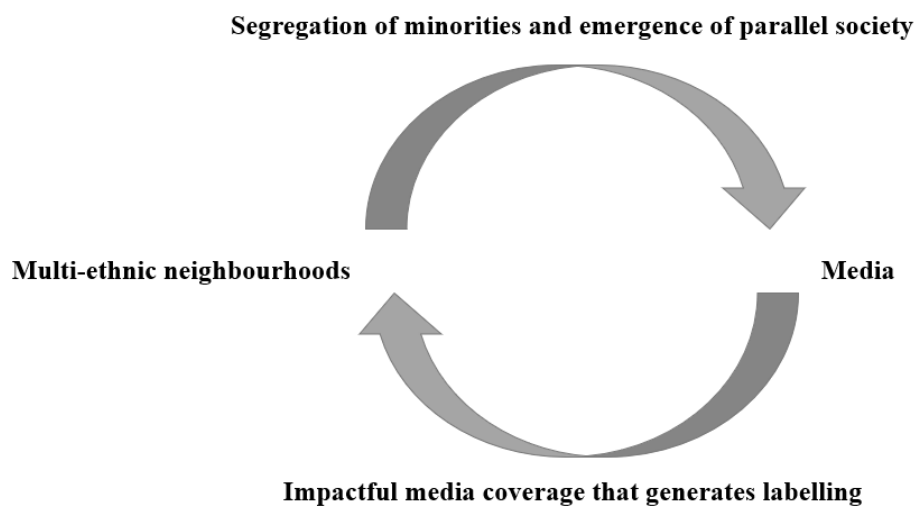


Figure 8

As shown in Figure 8 above, segregation of minorities that often comes as a consequence of ethnic enclaves, by sparking the interest among the media, leads to media coverage that is impactful in either a positive or negative way and that develops different perspectives among the society. These different perspectives that are built with the help of the media can further increase the process of segregation by putting negative labels on individuals living in these areas. Increased segregation leads to a more apparent parallel society, which, again, leads to even more media coverage and so forth. How media contributes to the labelling of minorities and what consequences it might have will be further elaborated on in the following parts.

Labelling theory

Labelling theory talks about the relationship between society and one’s deviant behaviour, in that it sees “deviance and deviants as social constructions that result from a process of

interaction” (Triplett & Upton, 2015, p. 276). It emphasises the effect of society’s response to someone’s behaviour that is labelled as being deviant (Triplett & Upton, 2015). The foundation of labelling theory can be clarified by the following statement of one of the main labelling theorists, Howard Becker:

Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them outsiders. [...] Deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others [...] The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

(Becker, 1963, as cited in Tierney, 2009, p. 91)

Therefore, according to Becker, what is important is not the rules that are being broken, but rather the way society understands the world and its rules (Tierney, 2009). For instance, he underlines the example of fights between young people, that would in low-income neighbourhoods be seen as “evidence of delinquency” by the police, while they’d be “evidence of high spirits” in wealthy areas (Thompson, 2016).

Labelling theory includes therefore two actors – the one who labels and the one who is being labelled; the latter most often being less powerful individuals in the society labelled based on generalised assumptions (Thompson, 2016). The problem arises when labelling leads to negative consequences, such as for example deviant behaviour among those who are initially labelled as deviant (Thompson, 2016).

Becker presents five stages of the process in which a deviant label becomes a “master status” of the individual (Thompson, 2016). These five stages will be presented through the example of labelling minorities in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods of Denmark. The first stage is “publicly labelling” an individual or a group, which, if negative, often leads to refusal of the individual or the group by society (Thompson, 2016). For instance, labelling minorities as a group among which there is increased crime leads to Danish society developing a negative attitude towards the group based on a general assumption. The negative attitude of the more powerful group can lead to “further deviance” (Thompson, 2016), in that labels that are given to a group become a part of their behaviour. The third stage is “official treatment of deviance” (Thompson, 2016), which could in the Danish context be the establishment of the concept of ghettos and official

use of the word in politics and law. “Deviant career” (Thompson, 2016) begins when an individual that is labelled as deviant becomes a part of the deviant group as a way of embracing their deviant identity. Finally, after this stage, the deviance becomes one’s “master status” as one’s relationships are found only inside of the deviant group (Thompson, 2016). For instance, minorities who are labelled as deviant will most likely be surrounded by people with the same perceived identity, either because of the similarities or conflict with the ones who placed the labels on them.

However, research shows that labels given to groups often can be downgraded by familiarity, meaning one that has contact or is in any way related to the labelled group might have a less stereotypical opinion about the group (Rucker et al., 2019). This explains potential increased open-mindedness and welcomeness towards minorities among Danes who live in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. Minorities and immigrants are often a target of labels, that, as research shows, have a vast influence on society’s attitude towards them (Rucker et al., 2019). Drawing a connection between labelling immigrants and deviance, Rucker et al. Conclude that “while all groups were perceived to have violated the law, relatively negative group labels elicited greater levels of prejudice [...] toward unauthorised immigrants” (Rucker et al., 2019, p. 1155).

The media is often a reinforcer of labels, argue interactionists (Thompson, 2016). The often excessive portrayal of certain groups of society leads to the emergence of “moral panic”, or in other words evoking concerns among the general public that are a consequence of the media portrayal (Thompson, 2016). This way the “folk devils” - individuals and groups that are seen as threatening to society, are made (Thompson, 2016). The role of the media in presenting a certain reality and the problems that come with it will be further elaborated on with the help of the Propaganda Model by Herman and Chomsky on the following pages.

The Propaganda Model by Herman and Chomsky

Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky first presented the propaganda model in 1988 in *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. The propaganda model was used by the authors to explain mainly the media in the United States (Herman & Chomsky, 1994); however, its essence can be applied to most of today’s worldwide media. Firstly, the authors define the mass media as “a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace”, with its functions being “to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate

individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society” (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 1). The last section of the explanation, which talks about the values and beliefs the media enriches the society with is of particular interest for this paper, since one of the focus points of this research is looking into possibly different perspectives various Danish media brings about ghetto areas in Denmark.

According to Herman and Chomsky (1994), there are five filters, which facilitate which news will be published (p. 2). The first filter is “size, ownership and profit orientation of the mass media” (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 3). In the research made about the US media, it is shown that no matter the big numbers of media entities, more than half of the news were administrated by a very small number of the biggest media corporations (Bagdikian, 1987 as cited in Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 4). Consequently, the news agenda is set by the “big fish” in the media branch, serving a “dominant elite” (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 1).

The second filter is “the advertising license to do business” (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 14). The authors argue that advertising media, even though essential, changes a “neutral system” the media should stand behind (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 14). Likewise, the media’s success and maintenance are dependent on the advertisers, who choose their clients based on their, typically, conservative beliefs (Herman & Chomsky, 1994).

The third filter, “sourcing mass media news”, talks about the importance of choosing significant news and reliable news sources (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 18). It is crucial for the media to have a “powerful source of information”, which usually includes big corporations or government (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 18). Reasonably, this leads to the media leaning towards to the direction of their sources, due to their mutually beneficial relationship (Herman & Chomsky, 1994).

The fourth filter is “flak and the enforcers” (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 26). “Flak” is by the authors defined as a “negative response to a media statement or program”, and is one more example of power relations in the media world (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 26). The damage “flak” does to media companies depends on its size, which furthermore depends on its enforcers, which are often big corporations or, not so rarely, governments (Herman & Chomsky, 1994).

The fifth, and final filter, is “anti-communism as a control mechanism” (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 29). The central concept in this filter is a common enemy, that “the populace is being mobilized against” as a way of “political-control mechanism” (Herman & Chomsky, 1994, p. 29).

Foucauldian discourse analysis

Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) puts power relations in the centre (Powers, 2009). Power is “a network of interacting forces that are goal-driven, relational, and self-organised” (Powers, 2009, p. 28). Power is realised in the specific contexts or situations in which it has an impact on human lives and it takes the form of “the strategies and practices in and through which the force relations take effect” (Powers, 2009, p. 28). The tool which power is passed with is discourse (Powers, 2009). For Foucault discourse is a set of “rules, divisions and systems of a particular body of knowledge” and “techniques and practices through which objects, concepts, and strategies are formed” (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 114). According to Foucault, discourse is “controlled, selected and organized” in accordance to “procedures”, that produce a true or false statement (Foucault, 1972 as cited in Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 114-115). These statements produce the “semantics of the words in use”, which furthermore “relates them to the objects and strategies of acting towards and thinking about things and persons” (Diaz-Bone et al., 2008, p. 12). FDA will in this research be used as a tool for examining exactly these ways of thinking. The aim of FDA is to uncover hidden symbols and messages behind the media articles. This will be done by using four domains of FDA – problematisations, technologies, subject positions and subjectification (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 118).

Problematisation is the starting point of FDA, as it focuses on the “problematic” entity in the reality, which is the object of discourse (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017). Problematisation highlights constructions and power relations (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017). Technologies focus on the government of ourselves and the general society, as they represent “practical forms of rationality” (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 118). Therefore, Foucault argues that there is no single truth, rather technologies are “truth games”, that can be performed on a bigger plan, such as a political one, or on a local plan, in the shape of smaller interaction (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 117). The third domain, subject

position, offers “positions from which a person may speak the truth”, providing them with a specific version of reality and a so-called “moral location”, that serves as a “practical technology for speaking the truth” (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 117). Finally, according to Foucault, subjectification “refers to the making of subjects through technologies of power and self” (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017, p. 117). This self-formation process happens in accordance with the so-called “truth games” and is affected by them. In Figure 9 below, the main domains and the main questions they focus on are presented. These will as well be used as a tool for the analysis of the media content.

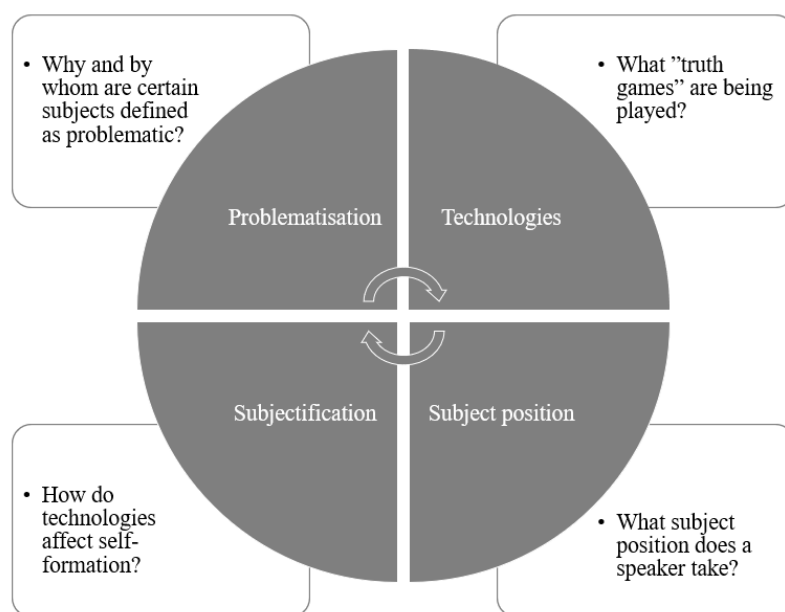


Figure 9

Methodology

Interpretivist paradigm

Interpretivist paradigm with its constructivist and interpretivist ontology and epistemology backs up the idea of “truth games” by stating that there is not only one reality, but rather numerous different realities that are socially constructed (Dean, 2018). Interpretivists argue that “data cannot be collected or removed from the context” (Dean, 2018, p. 3). Moreover, the real truth can not be “measured or determined” (Pham, 2018, p. 3). The paradigm therefore

supports the research's idea and its theoretical background that focus on multiple co-existing "truths" about Vollsmose that are present in the Danish society. Moreover, as this research is conducted as a case study, its aim is not to offer a pervasive picture of ghetto areas in Denmark, but rather to comprehend "the phenomenon and its complexity in its unique context" (Creswell, 2007 as cited in Pham, 2018, p. 3).

Despite the fact that one set of data for this research includes quantitative questionnaires, that usually go hand in hand with the positivist paradigm (Abdulkareem et al., 2018), the data collected through them includes participants' beliefs, interpretations and opinions, hence making their reality subjective and constructed by their own positions.

Data and method

The data used in the analysis part of this paper consists of questionnaires and online newspaper articles. Both types of data focus on one ghetto area in Denmark – Vollsmose. A questionnaire is chosen as one set of data because one important variable in this research is a representation of the residents' opinions about the area, that has the aim to present the situation in Vollsmose as seen by the insiders – the internal "truth". This will be backed up by the content analysis of the media. While a questionnaire focuses on the smaller group of Vollsmose residents, the media analysis brings to the table a side of the story that the rest of the Danish society sees – the external "truth". The analysis includes two types of media – the local newspaper from Vollsmose (Vollsmose Avisen) and Danish media that operates on a national level. The aim of examining both types of media is to reveal any possible differences in the way Vollsmose is presented in the two. The following parts bring further explanation and justifications of the chosen data sets.

This research includes both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data in a form of questionnaire answers serves the purpose of finding positive or negative tendencies among residents' impressions of Vollsmose. Moreover, the quantitative analysis of media content, which presents the categorisation of one set of media articles that talk about Vollsmose, acts as a setting scene for the qualitative discourse analysis of the media. Discourse analysis brings more in-depth examples of how internal and external "truths" about Vollsmose differ and what the consequences of these differences are. All the analyses are compatible with each other and

together they provide a complete visualisation of the differences between the “truths” (Figure 10).

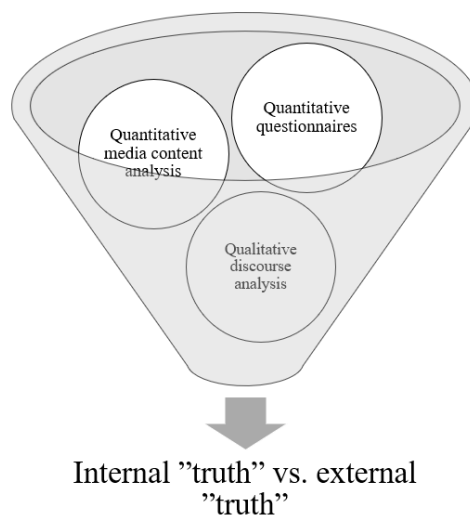


Figure 10

Questionnaires

The questionnaire was written in Danish. 20 questions collect personal answers, that are specific to an individual and depend solely on their views, thoughts and opinions. The questionnaire includes four different areas of interest. Firstly, the general, demographic questions are asked, such as age, gender, nationality and ethnicity and occupation of participants. The participants are asked to provide this information in order to get an overall picture of participants and possibly determine whether these are in any way connected to the tendencies found.

The next section of the questionnaire is interested in residents' satisfaction with Vollsmose as a neighbourhood. This section includes the following questions:

- (1) *Are you satisfied with your living situation in Vollsmose?*
- (2) *Do you generally feel safe in Vollsmose?* Followed by *If you answered "no", please explain your answer.*
- (3) *Have you ever been judged because of the choice of your neighbourhood (for example: have you ever had to defend Vollsmose to someone, or has it ever affected your job search)?*

The aim of the questions above is to get an overall picture of the residents' opinions about their neighbourhood and possible experience with being treated differently because of the area they live in. Question (3) brings the questionnaire answers closer to the media analysis and provides an opportunity to show the interrelation between the residents' experiences and the overall standpoint of the society represented in the media. This focus continues in the following two questions, which give insight into how residents feel about their neighbourhood being portrayed in a specific way by the government, media and eventually society. The questions are following:

(4) *Do you think that the word "ghetto" (and its connotation) reflects the real situation in Vollsmose?* Followed by *Please explain your answer.*

(5) *When you read about Vollsmose in the media, do you think that the area is presented in a fair/appropriate way?* Followed by *Please explain your answer.*

Question (5) is furthermore connected to the second part of the analysis and is being used as background data for the content analysis of the media.

The last section of the questionnaire talks about the "ghetto plan" and demolition. It consists of five Likert scale questions and one multiple choice question. The Likert scale questions offer five answers including "Completely disagree", "Disagree", "Neither agree or disagree", "Agree" and "Completely agree". They are as follows:

(6) *I think that the "ghetto plan" is unfair towards the residents of Vollsmose.*

(7) *I think that the "ghetto plan" is discriminating.*

(8) *I think that demolition is a good strategy for solving the problems around "ghetto" areas.*

(9) *I think that demolition will help to prevent "parallel society".*

(10) *As a resident of a "ghetto" area, I feel like I am being seen and heard in the demolition case.*

The final, multiple-choice question is the following:

(11) *Which of the following methods would you choose as a better solution than demolition to make Vollsmose a better place to live in?*

The possible answers are: *I don't think the area needs to be improved, I think that demolition is the best way to do it, traffic links (construction of new roads and better public transport), mixed functions (new shops, public institutions, municipal workplaces, cultural happenings),*

attractions (cultural, sports and leisure facilities), renovation of buildings and architectural upgrade, transformation of outdoor spaces, developing of the image (development of own media or collaboration with the national media, events, investments), establishment of communities (for example housing associations), Other. If participants chose *Other* they are in the question below asked to share their ideas. The answers were chosen from *Fra ghetto til blandet* by Bech-Danielsen and Stender (2017, p. 169-202).

The last set of questions puts focus on the currently widely discussed topic. The “ghetto plan” is led by the politicians and executed by big housing organisations, both very powerful parties in this case. The majority of information and knowledge that reaches the Danish society comes from the two. Therefore, these questions seek to uncover what the victims of this plan think about its efficiency and execution. Question (10) attempts to bring attention to the problem of disregarding the opinion of people, whose lives are directly affected by this plan. Question (11) serves as a tool for finding other possible solutions that would be less harmful to the residents, but also both environmentally friendly and more economically efficient.

Eventually, at the end of the questionnaire participants were given the opportunity to share any thoughts or comments they had about the case, that were not asked in the questions.

Participants

Participants in this research were residents of Vollsmose. The questionnaires were therefore shared in the Facebook group – “Fortællinger fra ‘Mosen” (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/245907385972338>). The group is led by the Vollsmose residents, and it is used as a common place where they can share their experiences and glimpses of their life in Vollsmose. There are 369 members in the group. Often members share articles that talk about Vollsmose, news about events happening in the area or they simply ask for help from their neighbours. Further criteria for the participants, rather than them being residents of this area were not set. There were 50 participants in total. On the charts below the division of participants based on their age, gender and nationality and ethnicity is presented:

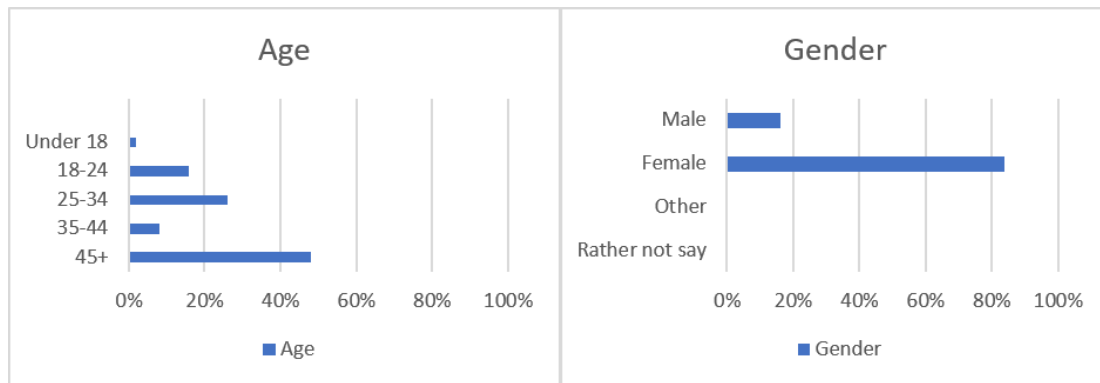


Chart 1: Participants' age

Chart 2: Participants' gender

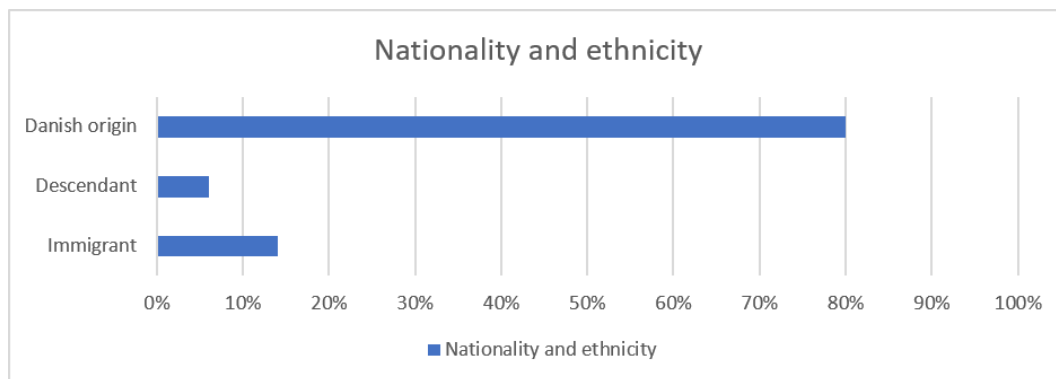


Chart 3: Participants' nationality and ethnicity

Categories used in Chart 3 are taken from Danmarks Statistik (2020). By its definition it follows: people of Danish origin are people who, no matter the place of birth, have at least one parent who is both a Danish citizen and is born in Denmark; descendants are people who are born in Denmark, but neither of their parents is a Danish citizenship nor were they born in Denmark; immigrants are people who are born outside of Denmark, while neither of their parents are Danish citizens or are born in Denmark (Danmarks Statistik, 2020, p. 11).

Media content analysis

The second part of the analysis includes media content analysed in two ways – quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative content analysis analyses communication in a “systematic, objective and quantitative way” (Kerlinger, 2000, as cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 2010, p. 156). It is used for various purposes, from which two of them are of significant importance to this research. These are “comparing media content to the “real world” and “assessing the image of particular groups in society” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010, p. 158).

The content analysis was conducted in accordance with Wimmer and Dominick's outline in *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (2010). After formulating the research question, the next step to take is to "define the universe", meaning defining the "body of content" that will be analysed (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010, p. 160). The body of content of the quantitative analysis is article titles. Firstly, I analyse online newspaper articles from the national Danish media found on Google News. Secondly, the articles from Vollsmose Avisen are chosen from the newspaper editions that can be found online (<https://issuu.com/mediehusvollsmose>). In the process of sampling (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010) the following criteria were chosen: the articles about Vollsmose found on Google News are written in the time period from January 2020 to December 2020, they are sorted by date, duplicates are hidden and the first 50 articles are chosen (which equals to first five pages of Google News search) and the specific criteria for which media is included in the analysis, like for example the political stance of the newspaper, is not set; the articles from Vollsmose Avisen are taken from six issues, published in the time period from January 2020 to December 2020, which equals roughly 50 articles (one article is published in January, one in February, two in June, one in August, one in November and one in December.) and only articles written by the newspaper journalists and the ones mentioning happenings in the area are included in the analysis (hence, no food recipes or short insights from vollsmose.dk that can be found in every issue).

The unit of analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010, p. 164) includes article titles. In the analysis the categories will be made based on the words articles include and what they refer to. The analysis uses "emergent coding" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010, p. 165) meaning that the categories will be made after the content has been analysed and specific units found. As for the "quantification system" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010, p. 167) the analysis is carried out on a nominal level by counting how common the specific units are.

The second part of the media analysis is carried out with FDA as a tool. This part includes two cases, each including two articles – one from TV2/Fyn and one from Vollsmose Avisen. Discourse analysis looks deeper into articles as a whole and examines differences between them in accordance with the five filters of Herman & Chomsky, the domains of FDA as presented in Figure 9 and finally labelling theory. In this part of the media analysis, not only titles are analysed, but also the body text.

Analysis

Analysis I: The residents' standpoint on Vollsmose

The following part analyses the data collected through questionnaires that were shared with residents of Vollsmose. The analysis examines eleven answers presented in charts (Chart 4 to Chart 14) and tables (Table 1 to Table 4), that are furtherly elaborated on by the researcher. Charts include the question the results belong to, a list of possible answers participants could have chosen from on the left side, and numeral indications of how many participants chose a specific answer between 0% and 100% at the bottom. The first section of the analysis focuses on the opinion of the residents on the general living situation in Vollsmose.

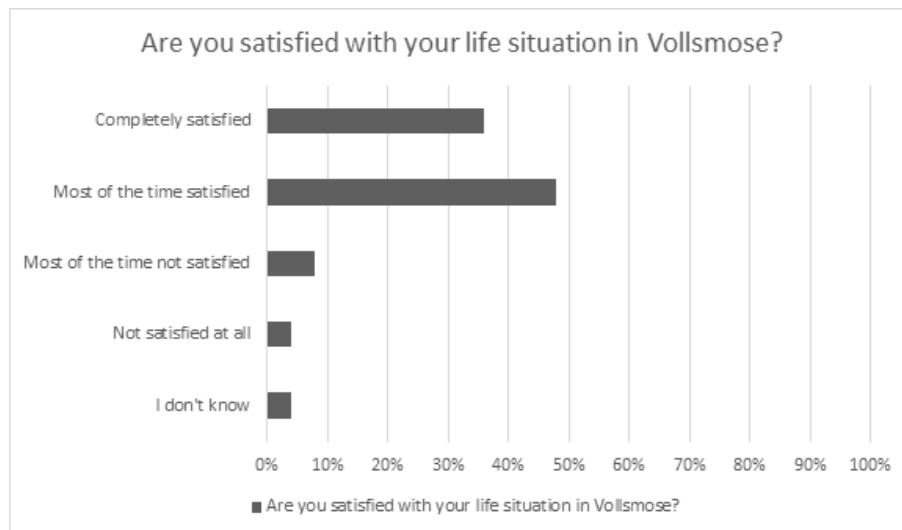


Chart 4

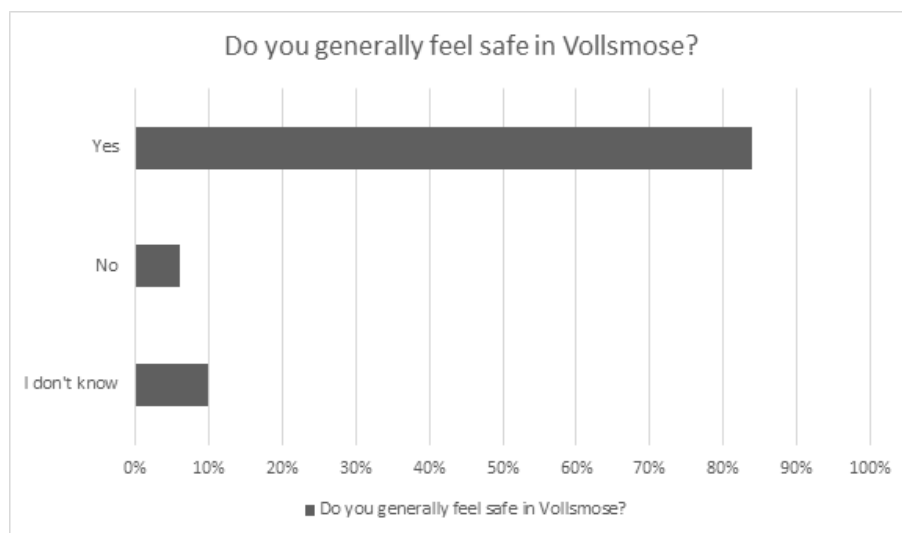


Chart 5

The following table shows the explanations participants who answered “No” provided for their answer.

Summarised explanations by people who answered “No”
1. One must take care of oneself first.
2. One is harassed by young people with an immigrant background.
3. I feel insecure when I go out, primarily because of young boys.
4. One is being bullied.

Table 2

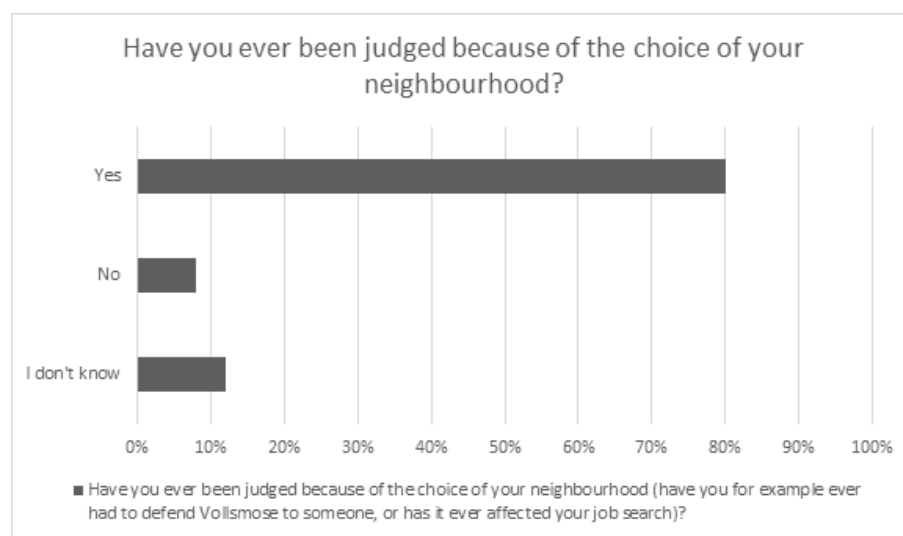


Chart 6

Charts 4, 5 and 6 imply general positive tendencies in residents’ opinions about Vollsmose. As Chart 4 shows, 84% of participants are either completely (36%) or mostly (48%) satisfied with living in the area. The reasons for 48% of people not being completely satisfied were not provided by participants. However, not feeling safe can perhaps be disregarded as one of the reasons, since Chart 5 shows that 84% of Vollsmose residents feel comfortable and safe in the area. The tendency to not feel safe is seen more among younger people. Most of the participants who stated that they don’t feel safe in the area are in the age group 25-34. Out of 84% of residents who stated that they feel safe in Vollsmose, over half of them, more precisely 52%, is in the age group 45+, however, this can be explained by an overall representation of older people in the participant group (Chart 1). Moreover, explanation (2) for answering “No” comes from an older man (age group 45+). The other explanation that addresses feeling insecure because of young boys (3) comes, however, from a younger woman (age group 18-24).

Finally, Chart 6 shows that 80% of residents felt judged based on their address. This could potentially be the consequence of differences between internal and external “truths” about the area. For instance, one of the participants elaborated on this topic later in the questionnaire, where they stated that – according to the outsiders – it seems almost “insane” to voluntarily settle down in the area; the attitude is to a big extend impacted by excessively negative media coverage.

The next two questions focus on the way external “truths” about Vollsmose are perceived by the insiders.

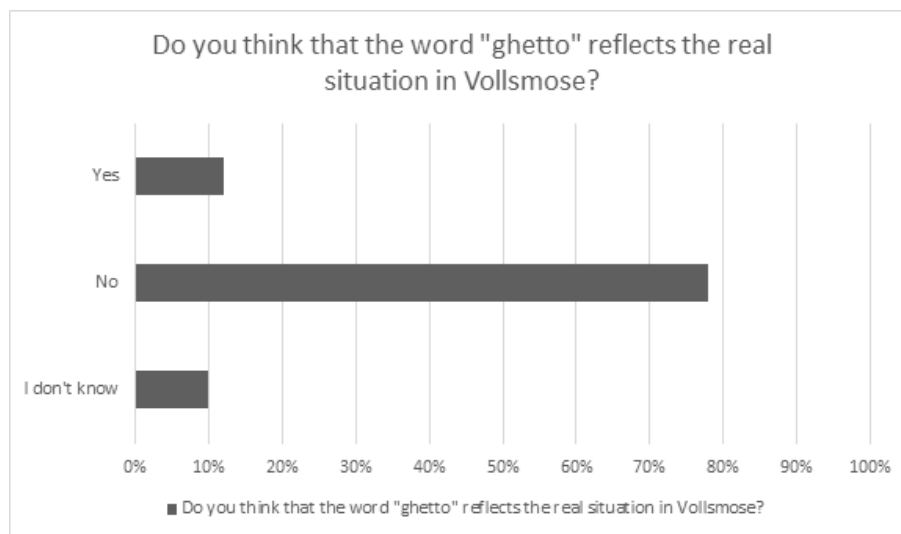


Chart 7

The most often explanations of “Yes” and “No” answers on this question are presented in the table below. Not all the answers are listed; rather they are summarized based on the similarities they have, to make it systematic and avoid repetitions.

Summarised explanations by the people who answered “Yes”
1. There is often disturbance, especially by the youth.
2. There are many people without a job.
3. There are many people with another ethnic background, and they live by their own cultural rules.
4. There is often a lot of crime.
Summarised explanations by the people who answered “No”

5. The word “ghetto” has a too negative connotation, that does not resemble the reality of Vollsmose.
6. There are no “ghettos” in Denmark.
7. The word “ghetto” is associated with the Jews in the 2 nd World War.
8. There are no more problems in Vollsmose than there are in other parts of Denmark.
9. Vollsmose is a beautiful and safe place to live with a diverse, multicultural environment, which is seen as a positive factor, rather than a negative.
10. The media makes it sound worse than it is.

Table 3

78% of participants do not see Vollsmose as a ghetto area, while 12% of them do. When comparing the explanations why Vollsmose is or is not considered a ghetto according to the participants, the same aspects are sometimes presented in different ways. For example, explanation (3) and explanation (9) talk about the same component of Vollsmose, however, they are seen from two completely opposite points of view. While one participant sees people with other cultural backgrounds as almost disrespectful towards the rules and values of Danish society, other participants see the multicultural environment as a positive side of living in Vollsmose. Answers 1-4 state some of the ghetto criteria set by the Danish government as the reasons why Vollsmose should be considered a ghetto (e.g., low employment, different ethnic background). This raises the question of whether these explanations came as a result of the Government’s presentation of the ghetto areas or one’s experience as a resident in Vollsmose. The possibility arises that these characteristics would not be listed as problematic or even recognised by the residents if Vollsmose was not listed on the ghetto list.

Interestingly, 30% of people who stated that the word “ghetto” does resemble the real situation in Vollsmose belongs either to the group of immigrants or descendants. This can be considered a big representation, taken into consideration that immigrants and descendants make up only 20% of the participants. Moreover, it is mostly the participants in younger age groups who answered “Yes” to this question. Comparing this to Chart 5 and the number of younger participants who do not feel safe in Vollsmose, a certain pattern can be seen. Even though the choices are not elaborated on, it might be perhaps that due to the style of life of younger and older people, they have different opinions about this matter. However, further research needs to be done on this subject.

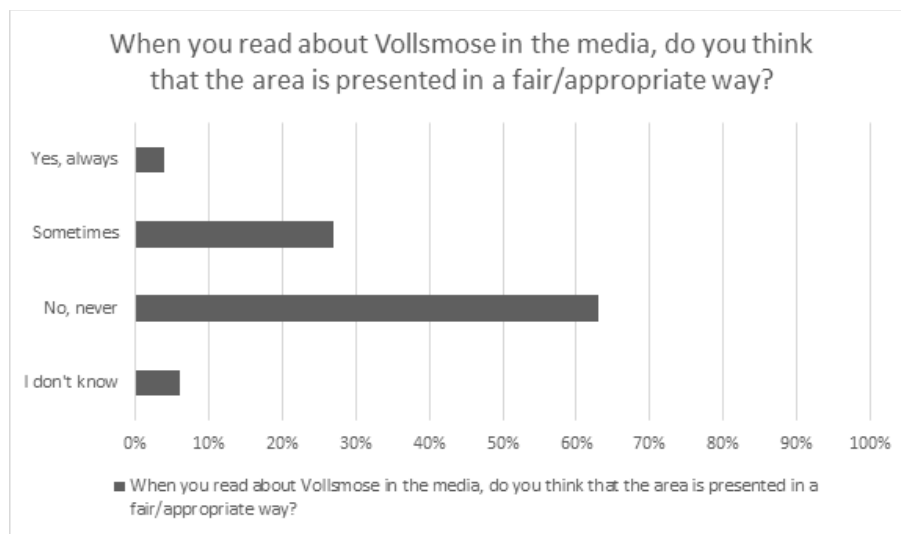


Chart 8

Summarised explanations of the answers
(1) The media focuses only on the negative sides of Vollsmose, like crime, disturbance and now corona, while the good sides are never covered.
(2) Vollsmose is a very nice and safe area.
(3) The media coverage of Vollsmose is very prejudiced and is used to promote racism.
(4) Vollsmose is used as a political tool that politicians and the media use when it fits them.
(5) No one talks about the good social community Vollsmose has.
(6) It depends on what type of media it is.
(7) All the negative news creates resentment to become a part of society.

Table 4

Table 4 offers a list of summarised explanations of participants' answers in chronological order from the one that was used the most to the one that was used the least. The main argument of 53% of participants was that the media focuses only on the negative sides of Vollsmose (1). They state that many activities are happening in Vollsmose that are never talked about. However, 2% of them argue that negative sides that are presented are not exaggerated, while still agreeing that there should be space for more positive stories. Negative labelling leads to preventing residents of Vollsmose from trying to become a part of the Danish society, as a certain feeling of resistance emerges (7). 15% of participants argued that the media coverage of Vollsmose is inaccurate because Vollsmose is a "nice and safe area to live in" (2). 21% of participants believe that Vollsmose is used by the government and the media as a tool for

sharing their ideology and that the media coverage is often used to increase racist attitudes among the society members (3 and 4). 7% of participants named good social community as one positive side of Vollsmose that the media never talks about (5). Finally, 2% of participants stated that the coverage of Vollsmose depends on the type of media (6). This will be further analysed in Analysis II of this paper.

Further research on media coverage should be conducted in order to find the real reasons for the largely negative representation of the area. Arguably, the positive sides of Vollsmose – initiatives by residents or different event – stated by the participants are not of big importance to the national media. However, negative sides, often connected to a crime, frequently appear in the national media, even though these crimes might not have a big impact on the rest of society. Whether or not small crimes are more frequently covered when they happen in Vollsmose, rather than in other areas of Denmark is another aspect that needs to be further researched.

Nevertheless, in explanations provided by participants, it is apparent that the residents of Vollsmose are very closely tied to the area, as well as highly engaged in it. For instance, some of the answers refer to Vollsmose as “home”, and there are many that use the pronoun “we” when talking about Vollsmose, which confirms the overall feeling of community participants feel. All in all, a strong protective attitude can be seen among the answers.

The following part demonstrates the position of residents in the “ghetto plan” debate.

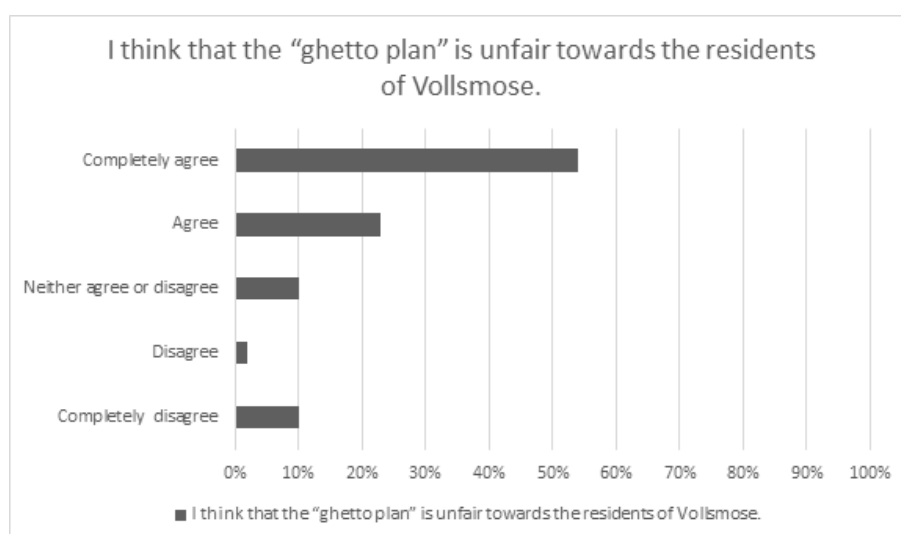


Chart 9

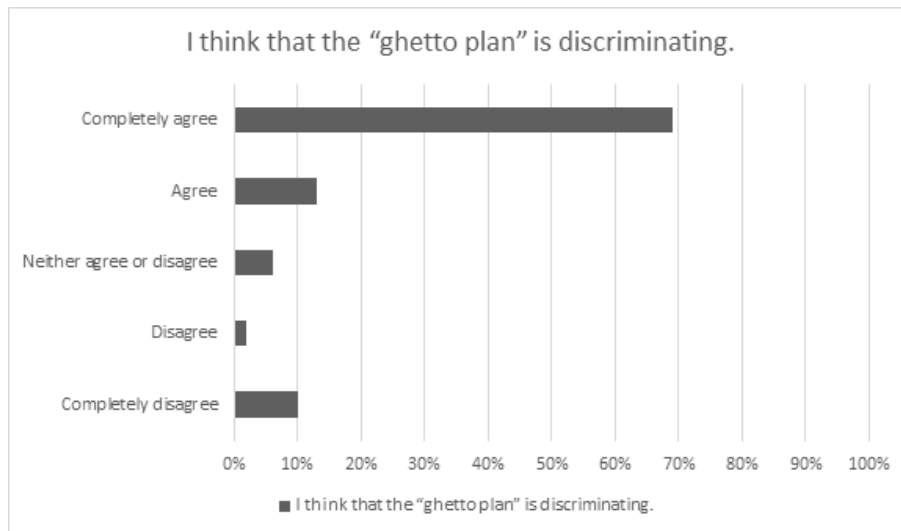


Chart 10

Chart 9 and Chart 10 are opening questions of this section that focus solely on residents' feelings about the ghetto plan. While 69% of participants completely agree that the ghetto plan is discriminating, noticeably fewer people (54%) completely agree with the statement that it is unfair towards the residents. On the other side, an interesting pattern can be seen in Chart 9 and Chart 10 in connection to Chart 4. In both cases, among participants who completely disagree with the ghetto plan being discriminating and unfair, 80% of them stated that they are completely or most of the times satisfied with their living situation in Vollsmose. The remaining 20% of the participants, in both cases, answered that they are most of the time unsatisfied with their living situation in Vollsmose.

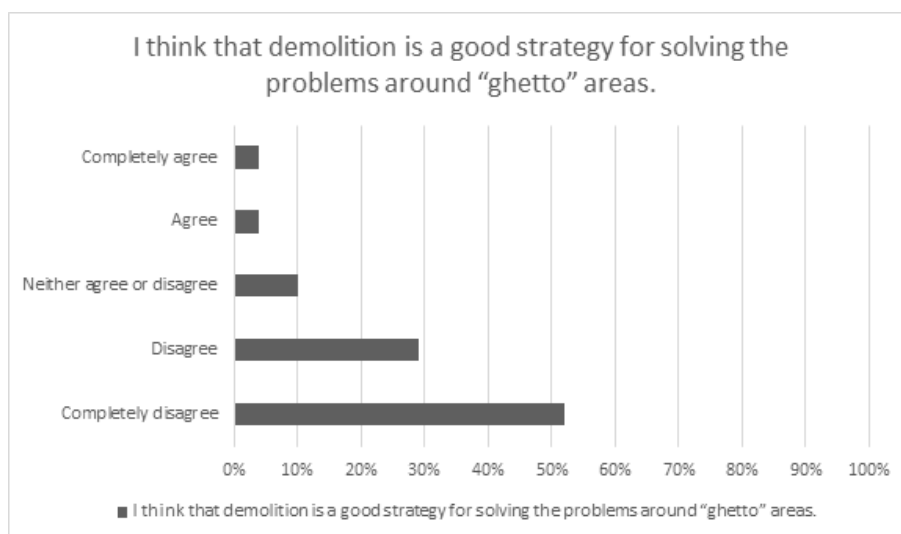


Chart 11

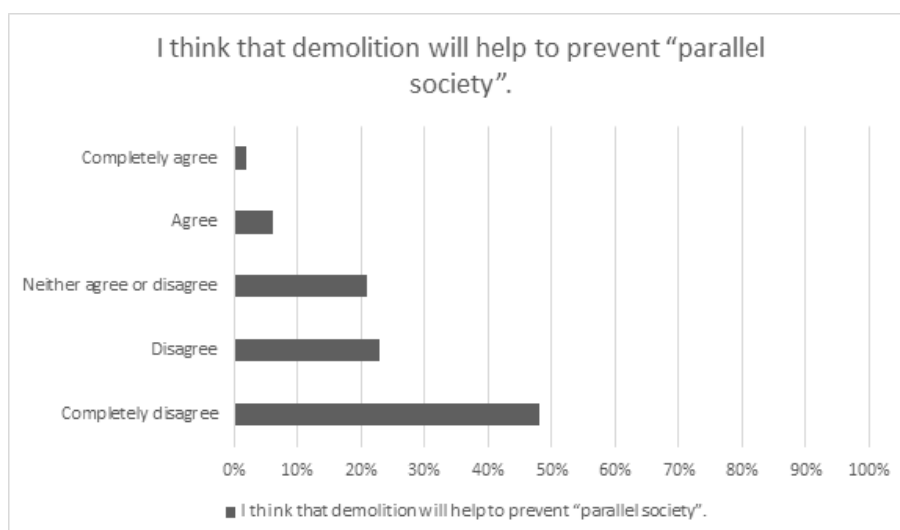


Chart 12

81% of participants disagree with the statement that demolition is a good strategy for solving the problems surrounding ghetto areas, while 71% of participants also disagree with it being a good strategy for preventing “parallel society”. The difference of 10% could be explained by the fact that even though rehousing individuals to different areas might increase integration of immigrants and descendants into Danish society, it would still not solve problems such as low employment, lower income, lower level of education or increased crime, that enlisted Vollsmose on the ghetto list in the first place. The percentage of people who neither agree or disagree with the statement that it will help to prevent “parallel society” is double the amount of people who marked the same on Chart 11. 8% of people who agree or completely agree with both statements in Chart 11 and Chart 12 have either stated that the word ghetto resembles the real situation in Vollsmose or they marked “I don’t know” (Chart 7).

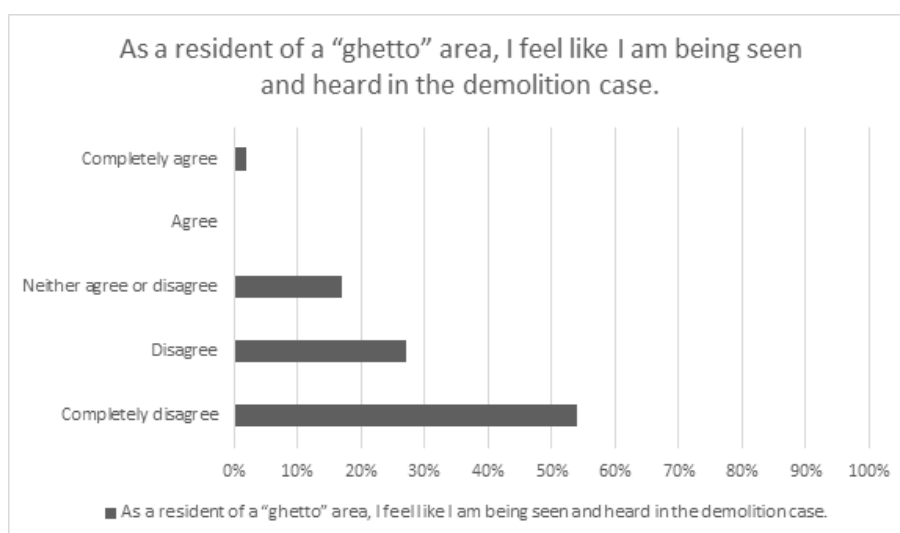


Chart 13

Chart 13 clearly indicates that almost none of the participants, no matter their opinion about the ghetto plan, felt like they were seen and heard in this case. 81% of participants do not feel like their opinions were heard, 17% of them did not state where they stand on this question, while 2% stated that they agree with this statement. 63% of people who did not state where they stand on this scale, either didn't state their opinion, agreed or completely agreed with the statements from Chart 11 and Chart 12, while 19% of people who disagree or completely disagree with this statement, did not state their opinion about the statements in Chart 11 and Chart 12. 2% of participants who have felt completely heard and seen in this case have also stated that they completely agree with the statements in Chart 11 and Chart 12. What this implies is that the whole ghetto plan, which is run by external actors is run without agency or insight from the internal actors.

The final chart in this part of the analysis brings different ideas Vollsmose residents have about making the area a better place to live in.

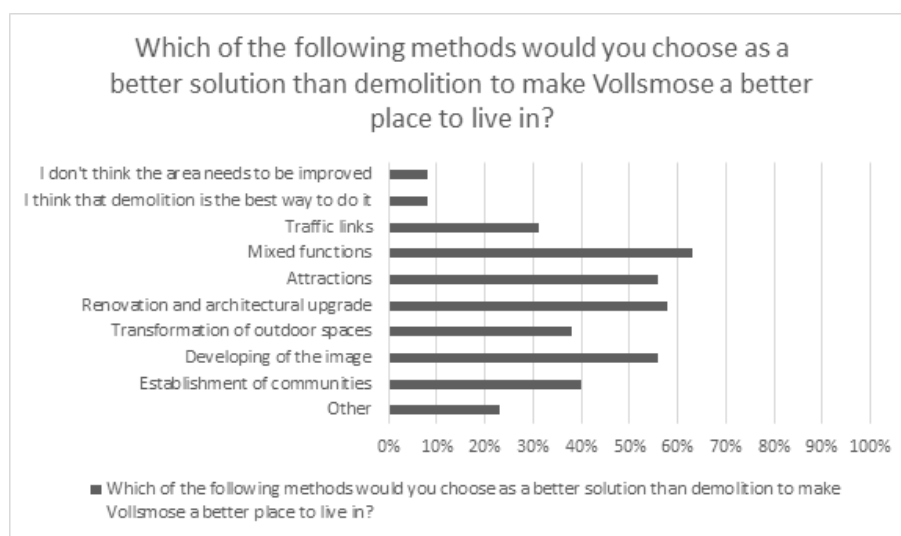


Chart 14

Even though throughout the questionnaire the positive tendency was found among the answers, not so many participants think that Vollsmose does not need to be improved. More precisely, only 8% of participants believe Vollsmose should stay the way it is now. The best option, according to 63% of participants, would be mixed functions, including public institutions, municipal workplaces, cultural happenings and new stores. This is followed by renovation and architectural upgrade, that 58% of participants voted for. 56% of participants believe that Vollsmose could be improved with the help of various attractions, including culture, sport

and leisure facilities, together with developing of a better image of the area with the help of their own media or collaboration with the national media, events and investments. 40% of people chose the establishment of communities as a way to improve Vollsmose, while 38% of people think that transformation of outdoor spaces would help this cause. Improvement of traffic by the construction of new roads or better public transport is seen as a solution by 31% of participants. 8% of participants agree that demolition would be the best strategy for improving the area. The recommendations of 23% of participants who answered “Other” are offered in Table 5 below.

Other recommendations provided by participants
(1) Harsh punishments for gang crimes or removing gangs completely from the area.
(2) Working with discrimination on the labour market. Many people with good education can't get a job due to discrimination.
(3) We have had plenty of renovation and changes for no one's benefit. Why aren't we just allowed to live and have a normal life?
(4) Abolish the ghetto plan and increase the standard up for housing renovations to the same level as private owners would demand.
(5) Help and support for people who need it, e.g., help with finding a job.
(6) Better collaboration with the police and civil society. More hope for the good in the ones who are challenged – many of them want better, they just never learned differently.
(7) Vollsmose needs time to evolve.
(8) One could divide the area into smaller areas, in which residents would have resident communities and would work on the problems together.
(9) More support for the local businesses. SSP functions should be occupied by local residents who know the area.
(10) Abolish the ghetto law.

Table 5

Table 5 implies that changes that would make Vollsmose a better area are more social, rather than geographical and physical. The answers revolve around exactly those problems that will not be solved by demolishing buildings and rehousing individuals, such as discrimination on the labour market (2) or more support for and collaboration with immigrants (5, 6, 9).

The analysis demonstrated that internal and external “truths” about Vollsmose are very different according to the participants. Too many positive sides are disregarded and too many negative sides are highlighted. Constant negative coverage of the area is – as believed by the participants – used as a tool by the authorities to gain adherents of their ideology. How Vollsmose is presented and perceived by external actors is an exaggeration of the reality as perceived by the area’s residents. Lastly, the analysis shows that the ghetto plan, together with demolition and rehousing of residents, is not a good way to go about the problems surrounding the area. In order to make Vollsmose a better area it is essential to find solutions to social problems that people in the area face. Furthermore, there is a need for better collaboration between internal and external actors, as well as taking residents’ opinions into consideration when proposing solutions for the area.

Analysis II: Media content analysis

Analysis II.I: Quantitative content analysis

The quantitative content analysis of media was carried out by finding codes in article titles and categorising them based on their similarities. The overall picture of the categories found both in national Danish media and in the local Vollsmose newspapers can be seen below in Table 6 and Table 7. The colour indicates whether the article title has a positive, neutral, or negative connotation, as perceived by the researcher. Therefore, red indicates negative connotation, yellow indicates neutral, while green indicates positive connotation.

CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	NO. OF ARTICLES
CRIME	DEADLY SHOOTING/SHOT DEAD	8
	SHOOTING/SHOOTING EPISODE	6
	HOMICIDE	4
	KNIFE ATTACK	1
	GANGSTER VIDEO	4
	INVESTIGATION	1
	FIGHT	2
LAW	INFRINGEMENT	4
	RELIGIOUS LAW	3
CORONA	CORONA INFECTION	3
	NEW TEST PLACE	2
ACCIDENT	CAR CRASHING	2
LABOUR MARKET	NO WORKERS IN VOLLSMOSE	1
CHANGES	NEW CLINIC	3
	KINDERGARDEN AND SCHOOLS	3
	NEW SEWING SHED	1
OUTSIDE ACTORS	POLICE AND MAYOR CANDIDATE	1
	MINISTER'S VISIT	1
		50

Table 6

CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	NO. OF ARTICLES
INITIATIVES	AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE	3
	COMMUNITY INITIATIVES	7
	HAPPENINGS IN THE AREA	2
	SPORT	4
OUTSIDE ACTORS	MAYOR	3
	POLICE	2
	MEDIA	1
CORONA	CORONA INFECTION	3
	CORONA TEST	2
CRIME	SHOOTING	1
	RESIDENTS AGAINST CRIME	3
CHANGES	KINDERGARDEN AND SCHOOLS	4
	CHANGES IN THE AREA	3
INTERVIEW	INTERVIEW WITH RESIDENTS	4
THE GHETTO PLAN	VOTE	3
		45

Table 7

With the symbolic use of colour and indication of the number of repetitions of certain codes, Table 6 and Table 7 clearly show different overall tendencies among the articles from Danish national media and the ones from Vollsmose Avisen. While 76% of articles from the national media includes purely negative content, only 4% of articles in Vollsmose Avisen is negative. 14% of article titles of national media are considered to be neutral, while Vollsmose Avisen accounts for 22% of the neutral titles. Finally, 10% of articles from

the national media brings positive content, while 74% of articles in the local newspapers are positive.

There are four categories both types of media include – CRIME, CORONA, OUTSIDE ACTORS and CHANGES. Category CRIME includes articles that focus on criminal acts happening in Vollsmose. In June 2020, a shooting that ended with death happened in Vollsmose, which directed a lot of eyes towards the area. Besides that, some of the articles mention unrelated knife attacks or shootings that happened throughout the year. The next category, CORONA, includes articles that talk about increased COVID-19 numbers among the residents in Vollsmose. OUTSIDE ACTORS are considered to be the police, the mayor of Odense or Danish ministers, who work with or in the Vollsmose area. Finally, CHANGES is the category that includes different changes that took place in Vollsmose, including either physical changes of the area, social or business changes. The changes that are mentioned are mostly positive changes.

A comparison can be made between these tables and participants' answers in the previous analysis. The first explanation of why media coverage of Vollsmose is flawed is the lack of presentation of positive sides (Table 4). This is also the case in Table 6. While Vollsmose Avisen includes 16 articles in total talking about initiatives and happenings taking place in Vollsmose (INITIATIVES), which is 36% of all articles, the national media includes only 4 articles, which is only 8% (CHANGES). Category CRIME, which in the local media counts 52% of all the articles, in Vollsmose Avisen includes only 9%, in which 3 out of 4 articles bring the more positive side of the story, as they talk about the residents' fight against crime, collaboration with police and authorities etc.

The media's tendency to bring opposite sides of the stories about the same event can easily be found in the examples presented in Table 6 and Table 7. For this reason, the quantitative analysis is supported by the FDA of the two cases – COVID-19 and a gangster music video. Both cases are presented in TV2/Fyn and Vollsmose Avisen; however, from a different standpoint. The two cases will be presented through the four domains of FDA (Figure 9), which will be used as a tool for underlying internal and external "truths". Therefore, the following discourse analysis aims at identifying the ways Vollsmose is being presented by the outside audience and the inside audience; whether these ways differ, and if so, what possible impact do they have on labelling of Vollsmose residents. Firstly, both media enterprises will be

presented through Herman & Chomsky's five filters (Herman & Chomsky, 1994), as this will be used as a fundamental explanation of how the two operate.

TV2

Size, ownership, and profit orientation

TV2 Fyn is a local edition of the news media TV2, which was according to Slots- og Kulturstyrelsen (SLKS), after B.T. the second biggest written news media in 2019, with the total of 1 873 000 weekly readers; it is followed by dr.dk, which counts 1 865 000 weekly readers (Slots- og Kulturstyrelsen, 2020). This means that around 32% of people living in Denmark get their weekly news from TV2. Moreover, TV2 is in close relation with the government; as it is a state-owned media corporation ("TV", 2020).

Advertising

According to TV2's homepage, the media company "lives off advertising sales" ("TV2", 2021). However, more detailed information about who advertises the company was not found.

Sources of information

The "ghetto" plan was issued by the previous government and is further put into effect by the current one. Taken into consideration the listed traits of the media-sources relationship, it is logical to expect that the media, which is also run and controlled by the government, will underline the authority's standpoint.

"Flak"

"Flak" could here be taken as a criticism of the society, herein people who have chosen the government. Likewise, "flak" could be a direct or indirect criticism from the government, that could take shape in a change of media policies or nature of the relationship between the two.

Common enemy

In the context of this paper, the common enemy will be identified as residents of Vollsmose, herein especially including immigrants, descendants and non-ethnic Danes.

Vollsmose Avisen

Size, ownership, and profit orientation

Vollsmose Avisen (*The Vollsmose Newspaper*) is, as indicated by its name, a local newspaper. It is published by BoligSocialt Hus, which is an organisation that operates within social housing in five areas of Odense, including Vollsmose (“BoligSocialt Hus”, 2021). It is the newspaper for Vollsmose residents, but also from them, since a number of them actively participate in the publishing of the paper, with writing texts, bringing new ideas etc. (“mediehusvollsmose – Issuu”, 2021).

Advertising

Vollsmose Avisen does not include advertisements. The paper is financed by The National Building Foundation (*Landsbyggefonden*), housing organisations and Odense municipality (“mediehusvollsmose – Issuu”, 2021).

Sources of information

Sources of information for Vollsmose Avisen are not officially listed. However, it is primarily internal actors – herein including residents of the area and authorities and the police department of Odense municipality – that are mentioned as sources or even interviewed for some articles.

“Flak”

As Vollsmose Avisen is an internal newspaper, which is read by the members of the Vollsmose community, it is perhaps residents themselves – the ones who believe that stories covered by Vollsmose Avisen are not truthful – that could be consider the enforcers of “flak” in this case.

Common enemy

It could be argued that – at least in the following two cases – the “common enemy” of Vollsmose Avisen took a shape of all negative forces going against Vollsmose. As it is described by the newspaper itself, Vollsmose Avisen “strives to make Vollsmose an even better area to live in” (<https://issuu.com/mediehusvollsmose>). Therefore, anything that goes against this idea, could be seen as a potential “common enemy”.

Analysis II.II: Foucauldian discourse analysis

Case I: COVID-19

As a phenomenon that has been capturing the interest of many and filling everyday news on the global plan since the beginning of 2020, COVID-19 represents one of the biggest problems of today’s world. It comes with increased control of the society, increased fear of the unknown

and consequently increased distrust between the groups of the general public. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the group effort was much emphasised by authorities as one of the ways to stop the spreading of the disease. Generally, during the last year the concept of *samfundssind* (“community spirit”) was essential; even so much that it was declared as the word of the year in Denmark (Ørtz Christiansen, 2020). *Samfundssind* implies that one takes into account society’s interests more than its own (Den Danske Ordbog, 2018). Therefore, the increased emphasis put on community and common effort makes COVID-19 a perfect “tool” for antagonising Herman & Chomsky’s “common enemy” – groups of people who directly or indirectly do not become a part of the common effort of the society to fight COVID-19 infection. Moreover, it is an example of Foucault’s problematisation concept, as it gives a possible explanation for why these groups of people who tend to have increased COVID-19 infection among their members are seen as problematic for and by society. Not surprisingly so, research showed that COVID-19 led to an increase in xenophobic behaviours (“COVID-19 stoking xenophobia, hate and exclusion, minority rights expert warns”, 2020). These behaviours appear as a consequence of certain groups being labelled as carriers of COVID-19, due to greater numbers of COVID-19 cases among their members. This is illustrated by the following articles.

Smitteudbrud i Vollsmose: - Det er ret alvorligt

Det seneste døgn er smitten med covid-19 steget markant. Odenses borgmester Peter Rahbæk Juel (S) kalder det for et alvorligt tilfælde.

Title 1

Article from TV2 / Fyn. Appendix I. Translation: *Infection-outbreak in Vollsmose: - It is quite serious. In the last 24 hours, corona infection has increased drastically. The mayor of Odense, Peter Rahbæk Juel (S) calls it a serious case.*

Tusinder tager testen for at bremse smitte

Rigtig mange beboere lader sig teste, og nogle smittede er fundet i Vollsmose, viser de foreløbige resultater fra det midlertidige testcenter i bydelen. Testcentret er åbent resten af ugen.

Title 2

Article from Vollsmose Avisen. Appendix II. Translation: *Thousands get tested in order to reduce infection. A lot of residents got tested, and a number of infected are found in Vollsmose, the results from the test centre in Vollsmose show. The test centre is open for the rest of the week.*

Title 1, with its alarm message, is an example of how labelling theory's concept – "moral panic" – emerges. With the word "serious" used two times in two a three-line-long text, while being emphasised by the word "quite" in the first line, the introduction to the article already increases the probability of the readers' negative attitudes towards residents in Vollsmose. Moreover, there are two ways increased infection is talked about in these titles. Title 1 talks about "infection-outbreak", while Title 2 talks about "reducing infection", putting more emphasis on the positive direction the situation is developing in, while not neglecting the fact that the numbers of infection have risen, as stated in the rest of the text. Therefore, Title 2 suggests that the situation is already under control, even though it is problematic. On the contrary, the phrase "increased drastically", used in the second line of Title 1, indicates the loss of control and unmanageable spreading of the virus feared by many.

Another difference is seen in the way these articles label the group that is being talked about. Title 2 – even though informing of increasing numbers of infected people – formulates this in a way that even praises people for trying to get a hold of the situation. "Thousands get tested" is a phrase that gives agency to residents of Vollsmose, who are in this case seen as the "protectors" saving others from getting infected, by getting themselves tested. On the other hand, in the TV2 article this agency is taken away from them. The differences between the choice of words and general impressions the articles give off are examples of what Foucault calls technologies, or "truth games". Having a group that is at fault for spreading the infection and putting the society at risk and having a group that is almost seen as "rescuing" others by getting tested themselves are two very different "truths" and realities that are being presented. The technologies used are connected to the subject position the speaker – in this case, the writer of the article – takes. TV2/Fyn in this case functions as a message carrier that is trying to warn people about the problematic situation in Vollsmose, that could affect the rest of the society. This role is defined by the version of "truth" they are faced with – increased numbers of infection in the area. On the other hand, the writer of the Vollsmose Avisen article sees the situation in a different light – an increased number of people who are determined to take a test in order to reduce infection. The writer acts here as a helper who guides residents of Vollsmose to what they need to do.

The impressions that are given by the two titles continue also in the body texts of the articles. The article from TV2/Fyn continues down the more negative lane, using the variation of the phrase "quite serious" five times, while the phrase "increased drastically" is used three times

in the whole article. On the other hand, the article from Vollsmose Avisen offers a more “relaxed” approach, using the statement from the chief of the medical department of Odense Municipality, which claims that there is no need to feel unsafe in Vollsmose, as long as one is following the COVID-19 guidelines. Moreover, the article also praises residents of Vollsmose for sharing information with others and getting tested.

The division of “blame” is also one point of differentiation in these articles. While Vollsmose Avisen mentions Aarhus and Ringsted as other spots in Denmark where the infection is increased, TV2/Fyn seems to emphasise and exclude the problematic situation in Vollsmose, by stating, among other things, the following:

““It is a quite serious outbreak of infection, when we can see that there are so many cases of new infections in just one day in a single district”, he [Peter Rahbæk Juel (S)] says”.

Quote 1

From TV2/Fyn article “Smitteudbrud 50 Vollsmose: - Det er ret alvorligt”. Appendix I.

Quote 1 puts emphasis on singularity and distinctiveness. Talking about COVID-19 infection being increased “in a single district” and “in just one day” labels once again the group as a common enemy and the situation as very serious and rapidly evolving. Moreover, later in the text, it is also said that Vollsmose has already been subjected to sharpened focus, due to its infection numbers, pointing out that the same mistakes that led to this case of increased infection were made in the past; therefore, presenting the situation as a never-ending cycle. Presenting actors positively or negatively has a consequence on the final “self-formation” process in the domain of subjectification. Putting blame on the residents of Vollsmose could have a more negative effect on reducing the infection and possibly lead to resistance among residents. On the other hand, applauding the residents for taking control of the situation and striving to reduce the infection emphasises the common interest of the group and invites others, who might have not been a part of it, to join the initiative.

However, TV2/Fyn does offer an explanation for why increased infection happened precisely in Vollsmose. The increase in the numbers of COVID-19 cases is seen as a result of density in the area. A household in Vollsmose, and areas similar to it, includes on average more family members than in the rest of Denmark. Therefore, the infection happens more quickly in these areas.

Case I demonstrated how Herman & Chomsky’s common enemy concept works in reality. In the times when common interests and effort are suggested to be the ways in which we can prevent the problem that has a negative consequence on a global scale, it is with ease that the blame is put on certain groups in society when they are labelled as ones who are at fault. The case also illustrated two ways one can approach this group in the situation of crisis – negatively and critical as it was done in the TV2 article or optimistically and motivational as it was done in Vollsmose Avisen. The way this situation is approached is important, because, among other things, it leads to different consequential behaviours by the ones who are being labelled. Finally, in the figure below (Figure 11), Case I is presented through the four domains of Foucauldian discourse analysis, as it presents different “truth games” found in the analysis.

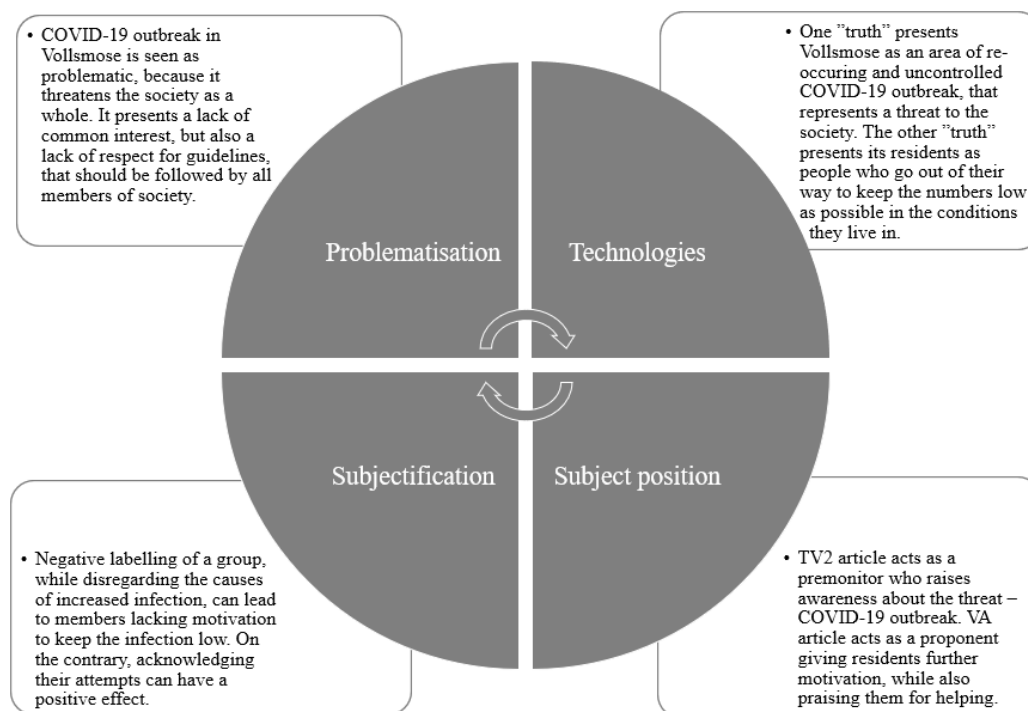


Figure 11

Case II: Gangster music video

The second case involves a song called “Black on black” (*Sort på sort*) by Chatle, a hip-hop artist from Vollsmose. The way the area is presented in the music video triggered much critics among politicians and the general public. “Black on black” talks about the life of gang members in Vollsmose. Following the usual rap trends, the song mentions weapons, drugs, protest against police, close relationships between the gang members etc. Many of these symbols were

also explicitly shown in the music video. The pictures below show some scenes from the official music video, which was after negative feedback deleted from YouTube.



Picture 4

YouTube/Anders Høgh , source: <https://nyheder.tv2.dk/lokalt/2020-11-23-ny-dansk-musikvideo-forarger-paa-christiansborg-kaldes-grov-provokerende-og>



Picture 5

YouTube/Anders Høgh, source: <https://nyheder.tv2.dk/lokalt/2020-11-23-ny-dansk-musikvideo-forarger-paa-christiansborg-kaldes-grov-provokerende-og>



Picture 6

Chatle/Spoonz/YouTube, source: <https://www.kulturmonitor.dk/ny-musikvideo-med-vollsmose-rapperen-chatle-anklages-af-politikere-for-at-forherlige-vold-og-kriminalitet/>



Picture 7



YouTube, source: <https://www.tv2fyn.dk/odense/kendt-forsvarsadvokat-her-overtraeder-vollsmose-video-loven>

The politicians' concern with the music video was mainly promotion and glorification of gang life. Some stated that it obviously functions as a "recruiting process" for new members. Various politicians from both left- and right-wing parties called the video "vulgar, provoking, transgressive". The criticism, however, has also come from the residents of Vollsmose, especially emphasising the death of a 21-year-old Abdinur, whose unfair death was the consequence of a gang-related shooting that happened only a couple of months before the "Black on black" video came out (Wiersøe, 2020). On the other hand, many people from the music industry stood by Chetle's side, like for example Mike Spooner, a director of the video, who explains that all the criticism comes due to lack of "gangster rap" knowledge on Fyn (the

part of Denmark which Vollsmose is located in), stating that “there are thousands of videos exactly like this one on YouTube from all around the world” (Wiersøe, 2020). It is important that people understand that, just like in any other video, many scenes in “Black on black” are exaggerated, states Universal Music Group – UMG, that stood behind Chatle’s video (Wiersøe, 2020).

Gangsterrap fra Vollsmose: - Den forherliger våben, narko og kriminalitet på et helt absurd niveau

En video med rapperen Chatle fra Vollsmose har ført til skarpe reaktioner blandt politikere, politi og borgere i bydelen. Den professionelt udførte video bliver beskyldt for at forherlige bandemiljøet i Vollsmose. Instruktøren og en hiphop-ekspert forsvarer videoen.

 [Lyt til artiklen](#) 



Title 3

Article from TV27Fyn. Appendix III. Translation: ***Gangster rap from Vollsmose: - It glorifies weapons, drugs and crime on a completely preposterous level.*** A video of rapper Chatle from Vollsmose has led to reactions among politicians, police and residents of the area. The professionally performed video is being accused of glorifying the gang environment in Vollsmose. The producer and a hip-hop expert defend the video.

” Jeg synes, at der en værdi i, at os der ikke lever i de her miljøer, at vi gennem de her videoer får et indblik i hvordan, der kan være i de udsatte områder

Kristian Karl, skribent, Soundvenue

Quote 2

From TV2/Fyn article “Gangster rap from Vollsmose: - It glorifies weapons, drugs and crime on a completely preposterous level.”. Appendix III. Translation: *“I think that there is value in the fact that we, who do not live in these environments, through these videos gain an insight into how it can be in the vulnerable areas.”*

There are two reasons why Quote 2 is problematic in the context of external and internal “truths” about Vollsmose. The quote is included in TV2’s article as a pull quote, meaning it is taken from the text and written in a bigger font. Therefore, it catches readers’ attention. Next to this pull quote, there is another statement from Kristian Karl, the writer at Soundvenue, a Danish music magazine. He explains that the video shows “a hard side of Denmark, which many don’t want to be known by”. Firstly, what could be seen as problematic is the generalisation of the area. Unlike the quote found earlier in the article, which states that the video obviously includes exaggeration, this quote completely dismisses that idea, by stating that what is called “vulgar and transgressive” in this video is actually possible to happen in Vollsmose. Hence, the possibility of “moral panic” emerges. Secondly, while not only making a clear distinction between “us” and “them”, but it also represents “them” in a degrading way. As seen in Picture 5, most of the people in the music video are people who are considered minorities. Ultimately, what is being said is that it is the people in the video that represent the “hard side of Denmark” that many in the society don’t want to identify with, which leads to increased labelling of minority groups by the Danish society.

Chatle’s song was met by criticism, not only from the politicians but also residents of the area, who decided to respond to it by symbolically presenting a colourful Vollsmose as opposed to it being “black on black”. The article is titled “Our Vollsmose is filled with colours” (*Vores Vollsmose er fyldt med farver*).



Title 4

Article from Vollsmose Avisen. Appendix IV and V. Translation: ***Our Vollsmose is filled with colours.** Many residents of Vollsmose sighed heavily when a certain music video recently led to negative headings in different media and harsh statements from politicians. Bad publicity of Vollsmose – again and again. For that reason, newspapers’ volunteers have found a lot of pictures from the archive, that show a very different side of Vollsmose.*

Title 4 shows a complete contrary to the music video. Using the symbol of colours as something that indicates the richness of life, happiness, something interesting and exciting, the residents aim at rejecting the idea that a black-covered Vollsmose is home to gangsters. The title begins with the possessive pronoun “Our” (*Vores*), which can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it could imply a tight-knit community and close relationships people have with their neighbours and fellow residents of the area. Secondly, it could be used as a way to differentiate between “us” and “our Vollsmose” on one side and “them” and “their Vollsmose” on the other. This is also suggested by the following line from the article (as translated by the researcher):

It might be that some are proud to show Vollsmose’s worst sides – wrapped in a well-produced music video – and confirm all the prejudices we fight so hard to eliminate. But the “gangster” picture is far away from that Vollsmose, that is our home. [...] It is not “black on black”, rather all sorts of colours.

Quote 2

From Vollsmose Avisen article “Vores Vollsmose er fyldt med farver”. Appendix V.

“All sorts of colour”, mentioned in the final part of Quote 2, represent all the diversity that is found in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood like Vollsmose. It represents many different nationalities and many different sorts of people residing together in one area and sharing their

everyday lives with each other. Each person is one colour, which ultimately makes Vollsmose a colourful place. This is also seen on the cover photo of the article, which shows people of different ethnicities, genders and generations engaging in common activities, as they certainly do in any other neighbourhood in Denmark. Moreover, in Quote 2 the use of the word “home” appears again in the same context and with the same symbolism as it did in some of the answers in questionnaires (Analysis I, Table 4). Yet again, this indicates that Vollsmose is more than what people from outside of the area tend to present it as.

The article in Vollsmose Avisen was probably read and seen only by the residents of Vollsmose. To the rest of the Danish society, Vollsmose is, in this case, the area of Denmark ruled by gangs, drugs and crime. Slightly more than 9000 people are labelled on the basis of a music video that represents a life of only a small number of individuals in the area. Worse still, with all the prejudices Vollsmose residents have been facing for years, some might see “Black on black” as yet another example of the “parallel society” many try to diminish. This case does not aim at arguing for or against the music video. It merely aims at demonstrating how different two sides of the “truth” are and the extent to which Vollsmose as an area can be perceived as two completely different realities. Putting creating freedom aside, for the powerful group that attempts to fight the cultural differences and make Denmark more homogenous, this music video will be used as a tool – needless to say a useful one – for communicating their ideologies and turning the society against the “common enemy”. Finally, in the figure below (Figure 12), Case II is presented through the four domains of Foucauldian discourse analysis, as it presents different “truth games” found in the analysis.

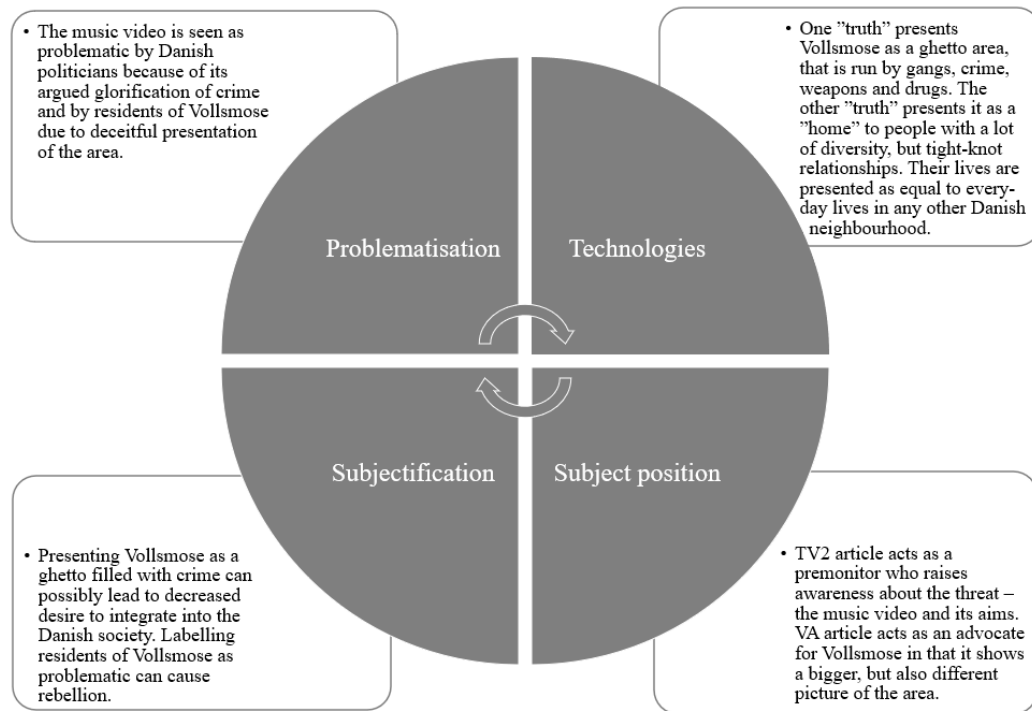


Figure 12

Discussion

Before discussing the results of the paper, it is important to address the limitations of this research. Firstly, as this research was conducted as a case study focusing on one multi-ethnic neighbourhood in Denmark, it does not bring general conclusions regarding all the other multi-ethnic neighbourhoods or their residents. This research merely demonstrates different standpoints found when talking about Vollsmose – which could possibly be applied to other areas as well. Secondly, certain limitations are found in the choice of participants. Facebook group “Fortællinger fra ‘Mosen” in which the questionnaire was posted, has less than 400 members. Therefore, it needs to be kept in mind that the answers provided came from a smaller sample group. Therefore, bigger research including more participants should be conducted on this topic.

However, regardless of the mentioned limitations, the research succeeded at presenting various “truths” about Vollsmose that are found among different groups of Danish society and their possible consequences.

The three analyses illustrated obvious dissimilarities between internal and external “truths”. While Vollsmose is by some described as a “nice and safe” neighbourhood, full of diversity and helpful neighbours with tight relationships, for some, Vollsmose is merely a ghetto area, filled with a crime that is promoted in a “vulgar, provoking, transgressive” way, mostly by people with other ethnic backgrounds other than Danish. The second label, shared by many external actors, establishes a certain identity for all residents of Vollsmose, labelling them as a part of the society that needs to be taken measures against, or in other words – a common enemy.

The research demonstrates overall satisfaction with Vollsmose among participants of this research. Disagreement with external “truths” about their neighbourhood is present among most of the participants, and the main argument for their dissatisfaction was the media’s tendency to make mention of only negative and crime-related happenings in Vollsmose. There are a few reasons why media is seen as problematic in the portrayal of the area.

Firstly, as seen in Case I and Case II, negative portrayal of certain aspects of the area puts a negative label on the whole group of residents living in Vollsmose. This is particularly problematic when it comes to minorities. Seeing the “Black on black” music video from Case II can easily make someone think that there is an overall tendency among residents of Vollsmose who belong to minority groups to disrespect Danish values and refrain from integrating. In reality, the number of “problematic” individuals is significantly lower than the number of the ones who would otherwise not be seen as “problematic”. However, by constantly emphasising negative observations the label only a few deserved to get is easily put on the group as a whole.

Secondly, as an external actor, one collects information from the area only through the media. Therefore, the way media portrays a certain situation is the only way external actors gain knowledge and consequently form their opinions about the subject. This can be problematic when the media filters the news and brings mostly negative news to the public eye, as seen in the quantitative analysis of the media. Table 6 and Table 7 show a clear distinction between the focus of the two media analysed. Understandably, Vollsmose Avisen will include more stories about their residents’ personal successes or initiatives in the area, that are not relevant for any other part of Denmark; it is also understandable that there is only a certain amount of space the national media has for every individual case and the need for filtering information is big. However, the overall negative portrayal of Vollsmose and its possible aims with it can be discussed. Discourse analysis of a bigger sample could demonstrate the way Vollsmose is used as a tool by the media giants and the government, which is slowly becoming more anti-immigration by nature; or the frequency of covering crimes that happen in Vollsmose compared to other areas of Denmark.

Finally, the power national media have over society is enormous. Either consciously or unconsciously all the opinions found in a society are influenced, if not completely formed by the media. The analysis showed that TV2 is the second biggest media corporation in Denmark that is run by the most powerful group in a society – the government. Size, ownership and sources of information are all very influential when we talk about the “truths” the media produce. With the government, in which immigration policies tend to be of right-wing nature – as seen in the ghetto plan itself – it is not surprising that media giants will support the same ideology. The idea that Vollsmose is used as a tool for supporting these ideologies is not unlikely. Labelling a multi-ethnic neighbourhood as problematic and even threatening to

Denmark and its values, not once but constantly throughout the years, definitely gives a certain identity to the area.

On the subject of the ghetto plan, which includes demolition of housing residences and replacement of residents, the analysis showed that many doubt its effectiveness. The ghetto plan is a path of least resistance in that by rehousing individuals, problems such as crime and unemployment might not be accumulated in one place, but they will in all probability not be completely solved. Problems found in areas like Vollsmose are not of a geographical, natural or architectonic nature, but rather social. As it is also stated by the participants, members of minority groups do not need to leave the area in order to integrate better, but rather they need to be given proper tools for doing so. For instance, it was mentioned by the participants that better collaboration between Vollsmose and authorities is needed, as well as the idea that specific job positions that work with improvement of the area should be given to the residents like the ones who are more familiar with it. Generally, the need for more inclusion of residents in decision and policy making is obvious from this research. Not only that it would help residents with stating their opinions and being heard, but it would help the authorities to find more efficient and less harmful solutions to the problems.

Altogether, this research demonstrated a strong power hierarchy between internal and external actors. Both analyses showed the inferiority of Vollsmose residents on one side and the superiority of the Danish media and authorities on the other. The question therefore arises: how are problems in Vollsmose supposed to be solved when the area is not receiving any help from external actors that could potentially make a difference? With power relations as they are now, the fight against negative labelling of the area and its residents seems almost impossible. For that reason, in order to solve problems in Vollsmose, better understanding and collaboration needs to be present. Integration is a two-way street – willingness for integration needs to come from both sides. In order for people to get integrated, they need to feel like they are welcome to integrate. Here, putting negative labels on Vollsmose can be seen as an inhibitor, that will prevent people from integrating into the society they are not welcomed to.

One will always find individuals who do not wish to integrate. However, this paper shows that the generalisation of the whole group based on those individuals can have a negative consequence on the integration process of the ones who have the desire to do so. Individual cases need to be examined separately in order for each individual to get fair treatment.

Finally, the first and the easiest step to solving the problems surrounding ghetto areas is to simply stop calling them ghettos. Here, I go back to the words of Waucault who stated that “an immigrant neighbourhood is a springboard for assimilation, while ghetto is a symbolic isolation that leads to dissimulation” (see page 14; Waucant, 2004, p. 7). This statement explains in simple ways the basic reason why calling these areas ghettos is problematic; particularly for the reason that many participants in this research stated that Vollsmose does not resemble the concept people often connect with the word “ghetto”. Words and their connotations have a strong impact on how we see the world. Explaining Vollsmose simply with the word “ghetto” will often be enough for people to get a certain – and based on this research, very wrong – idea of the area.

Conclusion

This research has brought focus to different constructed realities about one of Denmark's ghetto areas, Vollsmose. The question of how different these realities, or "truths", are and what do the differences lead to sets the stage for the analysis that connected various perspectives. By combining both quantitative and qualitative and primary and secondary data, different internal and external "truths" were demonstrated.

The results proved that the difference between internal and external "truths" is obvious and rather immense. What this calls for is more understanding and less negative group labelling. The combination of the two will eventually lead to more and better cooperation between internal and external actors, finally ending up in an increased integration rate. It is important to remember that open borders don't mean much if the integration process doesn't take place once they're crossed. The perceived openness Denmark shows to the rest of the world needs to also be evident to immigrants who have already arrived and settled down. The never-ending circle of negatively labelling segregated minority groups (as seen in Figure 8) that leads to even more segregation needs to be stopped.

Finally, we must remember the importance of handling individual cases separately. There are many individuals among refugees, immigrants and descendants that have a desire and will to integrate and become a part of the Danish society and culture. Their efforts should not be degraded or disregarded based on how someone else chose to live their life. In order for the integration process to move in the right direction, there needs to be more space for openness and less for generalisation.

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Appendix I

Smitteudbrud i Vollsmose: - Det er ret alvorligt

Det seneste døgn er smitten med covid-19 steget markant. Odenses borgmester Peter Rahbæk Juel (S) kalder det for et alvorligt tilfælde.

Lyt til artiklen 



Borgmester i Odense Kommune, Peter Rahbæk Juel (S) håber, at smittetallene i bydelen Vollsmose igen vil falde med nye indsatser. Video: Jakob Risbro
Redigering: Julie Lapp

🕒 15. dec 2020, kl. 19:30

BEMÆRK: ARTIKLEN ER MERE END 30 DAGE GAMMEL



JULIE SCHUSTER LAPP

Siden sidste uge er antallet af smittede med covid-19 steget over hele Fyn, men særligt i den odenseanske bydel Vollsmose har der været en markant stigning. Incidenstallet gået fra 667,2 mandag til 853,1 tirsdag.

Og det er bekymrende, lyder det fra Odenses borgmester, Peter Rahbæk Juel (S).



- Det er et ret alvorligt smitteudbrud, når vi kan se, at der er så mange nye smittede på bare ét døgn i en enkelt bydel, siger han.

Flere smittes i tæt beboelse

Det er ikke til at sige, hvad den konkrete årsag til smitteudbruddet er.

- Vi ved generelt, at i boligområder, hvor man bor tæt sammen, og hvor der bor mange i lejlighederne, kan det gå rigtig stærkt. Det har vi set i andre boligområder i Danmark, og derfor er vi også i tæt samarbejde med de kommuner, der har boligområder af den her karakter, siger Peter Rahbæk Juel.

” Vi ved generelt, at i boligområder, hvor man bor tæt sammen, og hvor der bor mange i lejlighederne, kan det gå rigtig stærkt

Peter Rahbæk Juel (S), borgmester i Odense Kommune

HVAD ER INCIDENTSAL?

Se mere ▾

massiv testindsat i området, hvilket der også er i denne uge, siger borgmesteren og understreger, at det er de samme indsatser som i resten af landet, så som afstand, selvisolation og afspritning.

Vollsmose har tidligere været genstand for et skærpet fokus på grund af høje smittetal, og Odense Kommune arbejder på at bremse smitten ved blandt andet at oversætte sundhedsanbefalingerne til andre sprog.

- Gennem flere uger har vi haft ekstraordinære indsatser i Vollsmose, hvor vi har kommunikeret på forskellige sprog både i tekst og lyd. Der har været

Det går op og ned

Selvom smitten er steget så markant siden mandag, har der været en effekt af de tiltag, der tidligere er blevet sat ind.

- Tallet er faldet over en række døgn i Vollsmose, og så er det steget igen på det seneste. Så det går lidt op og ned, og derfor er situationen også ret alvorlig, for vi skal ikke have mange af de stigninger, før vi kommer tilbage på de smittetal, vi så i Vollsmose for et par uger tilbage. Men det, der har den største effekt, er den adfærd, vi hver især har, understreger Peter Rahbæk Juel.



Udover kommunikation på flere forskellige sprog, har borgmesteren skrevet til trossamfundene, foreninger og nøglepersoner i Vollsmose for at gøre dem opmærksomme på alvoren ved smitteudbruddet.

- Der er håb om, at hvis alle gode kræfter hjælper hinanden, så kan vi få presset det tal ned både i Vollsmose og resten af Odense.

TILTAG I VOLLSMOSE VED SMITTEUDBRUD:

Der har siden marts måned været løbende og fortsatte tiltag i og omkring Vollsmose:

- Nyheder på Aula og MitBarn om situationen og forholdsregler.
- Materialer opsat i daginstitutioner og skoler om afstand/ændringer af måder at aflevere på
- Nyheder på Vollsmosesekretariatets hjemmeside + facebookside
- Opslag i Vollsmoseavisen med Sundhedstyrelsens retningslinjer på flere sprog.
- Deling af Sundhedsstyrelsens oversatte materialer til netværk, Vollsmosesekretariatet, SSP, UngOdense, foreninger i området.
- Opdatering af skiltning omkring testmuligheder i Vollsmose Torv.
- Møder i arbejdsgruppe på tværs af forvaltninger og organisationer omkring, hvad der kan gøres.
- Nøglepersoner i området lavede deres egen film, som de selv delte. Et sted blev den delt i en gruppe med 4000 medlemmer. Tilbage melding er, at den er kommet massivt ud.
- Ligeledes er der løbende lavet mindre film af netværk og frivillige i området, som har oversat gældende retningslinjer og formidlet via video.

Desuden er der af flere omgange oprettet centralt placeret testcentre i området, der har været bemandet af personale fra Odense Kommune og OUH.

Desuden:

- Annonce og artikel i Vollsmoseavisen om stigende smitte.
- Retningslinjer omkring, hvordan man kan afholde fredagsbøn ud fra retningslinjerne er omdelt på flere forskellige sprog.
- Oprettelse af yderligere teststed i området – så der nu er testmulighed onsdag og søndag.
- Opstart af undervisning til netværk og særlige grupper i området. Gennemført af Odense Kommunes hygiejnenetværk.

Kilde: Borgmesterforvaltningen i Odense Kommune

Appendix II

Advertisement



LÆS OGSÅ: Nyt team skal tættere på side 3 • Politiet vil genoprette tryghed side 8 • Til minde om Abdlnur side 9

Tusinder tager testen for at bremse smitte

Rigtig mange beboere lader sig teste, og nogle smittede er fundet i Vollsmose, viser de foreløbige resultater fra det midlertidige testcenter i bydelen. Testcentret er åbent resten af ugen.

Tekst: Signe Lene Christiansen

Mere end 1.400 mennesker har på halvanden uge været forbi de hvide telte på parkeringspladsen foran Ældrecenter Øst for at blive testet for coronavirus. Testcentret blev midt i august oprettet midlertidigt for at forebygge smittespredning, da halvdel af en håndfuld nye coronatilfælde i Odense på det

tidspunkt blev konstateret blandt beboere i Vollsmose.

Ifølge sundhedschef i Odense Kommune, Charlotte Scheppan, viser tallene, at det midlertidige testcenter i høj grad bliver brugt af borgere i lokalområdet. Hun kan ikke oplyse, hvor mange smittede, der præcist er fundet. Men ud af de omkring 1.400, der indtil videre er blevet testet, er der fundet nogle smittede.

- Det er få procent og ikke

store tal. Så der er ikke grund til at være utryk i Vollsmose, hvis man sørger for at følge de forskellige anbefalinger om blandt andet håndhygiejne, isolation og afstand. Man skal være opmærksom og sprede det gode budskab om at blive testet, oplyser hun og uddyber:

- Der er ikke noget, der tyder på, at smitten blandt beboere i Vollsmose stammer fra større forsamlings, for der er stor spredning i baggrunden for smittetilfældene. Dog viser tallene, at der er en del flere unge, der er smittet, end der for eksempel var i foråret. Så det er signal til de unge om, at de skal huske at

- At mange beboere lader sig teste giver mulighed for at opspore og stoppe smittespredning

Charlotte Scheppan, sundhedschef i Odense Kommune

holde afstand og droppe de store forsamlings.

Spred budskabet, ikke smitten

De seneste uger har der været eksempler på lokale udbrud af

coronasmitte for eksempel i Aarhus og Ringsted. Antallet af smittede i hele Odense er da også steget de seneste uger, og netop et lokalt udbrud ønsker Odense Kommune at undgå ved at sætte ind med forebyggende tiltag og ekstra kommunikation om forholdsregler.

At mange beboere lader sig teste giver mulighed for at opspore og stoppe smittespredning, forklarer Charlotte Scheppan.

- Noget tyder på, at man har været rigtig god til at dele informationen om at blive testet. Det er rigtig godt, for så kommer dem, der måske ellers ikke ville blive testet, og på den måde er borgerne med til

at passe på sig selv og hinanden, siger hun og minder om, at hvis man har symptomer på coronavirus skal man blive testet og være særlig opmærksom på at vaske hænder, bruge mundbind og holde afstand.

- Og så skal man huske at gå i isolation også ved lette symptomer og ikke først, når man har svaret på sin test, påpeger sundhedschefen.

Det er foreløbigt muligt at blive testet i det midlertidige testcenter i Vollsmose til og med søndag den 30. august. Der er åbent alle ugens syv dage kl. 10.00 - 13.00, onsdag også kl. 15.00 - 18.00. Man skal blot møde op med sit sundhedskort.

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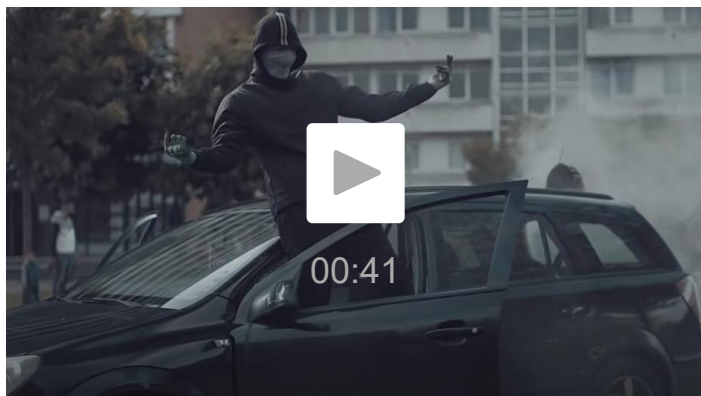
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Appendix III

Gangsterrap fra Vollsmose: - Den forherliger våben, narko og kriminalitet på et helt absurd niveau

En video med rapperen Chatle fra Vollsmose har ført til skarpe reaktioner blandt politikere, politi og borgere i bydelen. Den professionelt udførte video bliver beskyldt for at forherlige bandemiljøet i Vollsmose. Instruktøren og en hiphop-ekspert forsvarer videoen.

Lyt til artiklen 



En rap optaget i Vollsmose bliver beskyldt for at forherlige bander og vold. Video: Video: Youtube/Anders Høgh

 23. nov 2020, kl. 15:22

BEMÆRK: ARTIKLEN ER MERE END 30 DAGE GAMMEL



FRANK WEIRSØE
Journalist

Våben, skyderier, stoffer, kontanter, kampsport og masser af maskerede mennesker. Det er nogle af ingredienserne i videoen "Sort på sort" med rapkunstneren Chatle, der udkom for få uger siden på Youtube og en lang række streamingtjenester.

**LÆS OGSÅ****SSP advarer:** Bander opruster med voldsforherligende rap-videoer

- Det her forherliger våben, narkosalg og kriminalitet på et helt absurd niveau - alt det vi forsøger at slippe af med i Vollsmose. Jeg bliver rystet, vred og ked af det, for bandekriminalitet koster liv. Vi havde jo episoden med drabet på Abdinur Mohamed Ismael i sommer, som politiet fortsat kæmper for at opklare. Og så kommer den her video, hvor de synger, at hvis de snakker, kan de blive skudt, siger Thomas Skov Jensen.

Promoverer kriminel livsstil

Ifølge TV 2 Fyns oplysninger optræder der flere personer i videoen med tilknytning til bandemiljøet i Vollsmose, og det bekymrer Odenses borgmester.

Se videoen Sort På Sort (Officiel Video)

- Min bekymring er, at det her et nyt virkemiddel, hvor man vil gøre reklame for den kriminelle livsstil, man fører. Jeg er optaget af, at unge ikke bliver en del af bandemiljøet, og der synes jeg, at det er dybt bekymrende, at man producerer en video, der indirekte eller direkte er styret af banderne. Der medvirker tilsyneladende bandemedlemmer med et budskab, der er voldsforherligende og med trusler mod folk, der vil snakke med politiet, siger borgmester i Odense Peter Rahbæk Juel (S).

På Christiansborg vækker videoen bestyrtelse hos Venstres næstformand.

- Det provokerer mig helt afsindigt. Det er jo en rekrutteringsvideo til bandemiljøet, og det er pivhamrende kriminelle mennesker, og når man ser en video som den her, så er man ikke i tvivl om, at der er brugt relativt mange penge på det her. Og der er det jo interessant at få at vide, hvem der står bag, siger Inger Støjberg.



Borgmester er bekymret for, om videoen virker som reklame for banderne.

udgivelsen, og har betalt for optagelse, redigering og produktion af videoen.

- Tanken var at vise Vollsmose frem set fra Chatles øjne. Der er selvfølgelig lagt en masse på, som man ofte gør, når man laver musikvideoer – man kan vel sige, at overdrivelse fremmer forståelsen. Men kort fortalt, er det ligesom at lave en dokumentar om et belastet område, hvor man ser nogle ”skyggesider” af samfundet. Denne side prøver Chatle af vise ud fra hans fortælling og kunstneriske frihed, skriver produkt manager Tobias Lehmann fra UMG.

LÆS TEKSTEN TIL "SORT PÅ SORT".

Se mere ▾

Filminstruktøren Mike Spooner har klippet "Sort på sort". Han står bag flere videoer med rappere og mener, at videoen fra Vollsmose er en del af en stor og velkendt genre.

- Det er måske et nyt udtryk på Fyn, men gangsterrap har eksisteret siden 80'erne. På Youtube findes der tusindvis af denne type videoer fra hele verden. Den er et symptom på et dybereliggende problem, og det tror jeg godt, at politikerne er klar over. Og hvis man går efter at censurere kunstneriske udtryk, så går man efter min mening langt over stregen, siger Mike Spooner.

” Det er måske et nyt udtryk på Fyn, men gangsterrap har eksisteret siden 80'erne.

Mike Spooner, instruktør på "Sort på Sort"

Grov og grænseoverskridende

Inger Støjberg er dog ikke den eneste politiker, der finder videoen stødende.

- Jeg synes, det er en grov video. Det virker som en forherligelse af bandemiljø, hvis unge ser det, så tænker jeg, at de måske synes, at det der bandemiljø, det er meget fedt. Der er noget maskulinitet over det, og det bryder jeg mig faktisk ikke om, siger retsordfører Karina Lorentzen fra SF.



LÆS OGSÅ

Socialt udsatte: Hver femte føler sig truet af bander

- Det er voldsomt grænseoverskridende og provokerende at se de unge bandetyper på den måde provokere og give det etablerede samfund fingeren. Den voldsforherligelse og negligering af samfundet omkring Vollsmose, der reelt holder bydelen oven vande viser, hvor fejlslagen integrationen er. Derfor skal der også slås langt hårdere ned på bandernes og deres vanvittige adfærd, siger Peter Skaarup fra Dansk Folkeparti.



Musikskribent Kristian Karl mener, at videoen "Sort på sort" er voldsom, men viser et nødvendigt billede af et hårdt miljø i Danmark. Video: Fotograf: Redigering:

Værdifuldt indblik

TV 2 Fyn har vist videoen til en kender af rap og hiphop i Danmark. Han forstår godt, at nogle kan blive forskrækkede over udtrykket, men han mener samtidig, at den omtalte gangsterrap har en vigtig funktion.

- Det er meget rå, og jeg har set mange af disse videoer, men den her viser uden filter en hård side af Danmark, som mange ikke vil kendes ved. Men de her miljøer findes, og hiphoppens forsvar vil altid være, at de her miljøer findes, det er jo sådan det er, siger Kristian Karl, der er skribent på musikmagasinet Soundvenue og fortsætter:

- Jeg synes, at der en værdi i, at os der ikke lever i de her miljøer, at vi gennem de her videoer får et indblik i hvordan, der kan være i de udsatte områder.

” Jeg synes, at der en værdi i, at os der ikke lever i de her miljøer, at vi gennem de her videoer får et indblik i hvordan, der kan være i de udsatte områder

Kristian Karl, skribent, Soundvenue

Instruktøren af videoen tror heller ikke på, at en video kan være med til at skaffe nye bandemedlemmer.

- De unge, der søger mod bandemiljøet, er nogen der i forvejen er i miljøet og i forvejen er i risikogruppen, og har noget arv og miljø med sig. Kunst er ikke med til at skubbe nogen ud



Instruktør Mike Spooner tror ikke på, at videoen tiltrækker nye bandemedlemmer Video: Fotograf: Redigering:

Betjente i aktion

Udover at vise våben og skyderier har filminstruktøren også klippet scener med politi på arbejde ind i videoen. Tillidsmanden hos Fyns Politi er rystet.

- Jeg synes, at der er en forherligelse af nogle bandemiljøer, og jeg er rystet over, at nogle af vores medlemmer er klippet ind og medvirker i den uden at have givet samtykke, siger Per Svanegaard Nielsen, der tillidsrepræsenterer for politibetjentene på Fyn.



LÆS OGSÅ

Politisk forslag: Indsatsen mod bandekriminalitet skal styrkes

Filminstruktøren forsvarer dog, at politibetjente optræder i videoen.

- Politiet er en del af fortællingen. De bor i et område, hvor politiet ofte dukker op, og det hører med til historien. Det er også en del af det her nummers tema, at der er interaktion mellem dem og politiet. Det er del af pakken, fordi det er virkeligheden og sandheden, at de dukker op, siger Mike Spooner.



Mike Spooner forsvarer, at almindelige betjente er klippet ind i videoen "Sort på sort". Video: Fotograf: Redigering:

Politi undersøger video

Fyns Politi er i øjeblikket ved at foretage en juridisk vurdering af indholdet af videoen. Før det er afklaret, ønsker politiledelsen ikke at stille op til interview.

TV 2 Fyn har været i kontakt med Chatle, men han har ikke ønsket at deltage i et interview om sin video.

DØGNETS MEST LÆSTE



Søndagens smittetal: Kun én fynsk kommune er under bekymringsgrænsen



Genåbning nærmer sig: Rekordmange forventes testet inden tirsdag



Smitteramt bydel: Endnu en lille stigning i Vollsmose

Appendix IV

Advertisement

Den nye præst i Vollsmose Kirke vil være en god nabo for alle - uanset tro

Side 8

Til sommer slår Odinskolen dørene op for bydelens skoleelever, der bliver samlet ét sted

Side 3



BORGERJOURNALISTER: VOLLSMOSE ER MEGET ANDET END GANGSTERS OG GUNS **SIDE 6-7**

Vores Vollsmose er fyldt med farver



LÆS OGSÅ: Nyt look til velkendt avis **side 4** • Lav dit eget nytårspynt **side 10** • Pas på, når du fyrer af **side 10**

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Appendix V

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6 • Vollsmose Avisen 264 • 16. december 2020

16. december 2020 • Vollsmose Avisen 264 • 7

Vores Vollsmose er ikke 'sort på sort'



6-7 / 12



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