

The Black Lives Matter Denmark: an import of a movement?



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Abstract

This paper examines the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement in Denmark. Moreover, it clarifies the different concepts of discrimination such as racism, neo-racism, cultural essentialism, structural and institutional racism and intersectionality. We have conducted three qualitative interviews with: Bwalya Sørensen who is the founder of BLM Denmark, Nicole Frederiksen who is an Afro-Dane activist and Sade Johnson who was the co-organizer of the first BLM Denmark demonstration. Through our interviews with the informants we have analyzed which concepts of discrimination or exclusion that exists in Denmark. Moreover, we have analyzed the organizational structure of the BLM Denmark. Furthermore, we have compared it to the US, to examine which similarities and differences there are between the concepts of racism in the US and in Denmark. Additionally, we have discussed different factors for why the BLM movement has emerged in Denmark. Hence, we can conclude that the BLM movement has emerged in Denmark due to the discrimination against asylum seekers, the interest for a new Pan-African platform, a platform to compile different minority groups in Denmark to combat discrimination and the discrimination or exclusion in the form of (neo-)racism or cultural essentialism of Afro-Danes in the Danish society.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Problem Area

The Black Lives Matter movement started with a single event. In February 2012, Trayvon Martin, a Black teenager was shot and killed by George Zimmerman, a neighborhood watch captain in Sanford, Florida. Trayvon Martin was 17 years old at the time of his death and Zimmerman thought he had stolen something from a shop nearby. Zimmerman was not found guilty for homicide even though he was responsible for Trayvon Martin's death. This sparked riots, demonstrations, rallies and protests across the nation and led to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement under the hashtag *#BlackLivesMatter* (Shor, 2015).

The hashtag was created by Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi and Patrice Cullors as a response to the shooting of Trayvon Martin. First it appeared on social media sites like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram but then the hashtag developed further into the public space, which included the BLM movement demonstrations across the US (Rickford, 2016). The movement has used social media to spread awareness and has gathered people, and young people especially, to protest against police killings of Blacks (Shor, 2015). The official statement from the BLM movement and its definition is stated in the following:

“When we say Black Lives Matter, we are broadening the conversation around state violence to include all of the ways in which Black people are intentionally left powerless at the hands of the state. We are talking about the ways in which Black lives are deprived of our basic human rights and dignity... How Black women bearing the burden of a relentless assault on our children and our families is state violence. How Black queer and trans folks bear a unique burden from a heteropatriarchal society that disposes of us like garbage and simultaneously fetishizes us and profits off of us, and that is state violence.” (Black Lives Matter, 2016, cited in Rickford, 2016: 36).

As the official statement explains, the BLM movement seeks a social change that moves far beyond police brutality. The BLM movement seeks to influence the *structural racism* which

is contributing to the social inequality that the Blacks are facing every day in today's society. The BLM movement has had a massive support from different social groups and actors. The movement includes wage campaigns from trade unions, the LGBTQ-communities, other racialized groups (i.e. Asians and Latinos), White allies, feminists, the working class, low-income groups and social media savvies (Rickford, 2016).

It is relevant to discuss how racism in society affects the individual that is encountering racism, which amongst other aspects is fueling the frustration of Blacks and resistance towards White supremacy. Racism is a destructive contribution in the society, which is contributing to the alienation felt by minorities, causing them to feel inadequate and boosting a self-destructive attitude. This can eventually lead to them suffering from mental illnesses, placing them in the bottom of the socio-economic scale, leading to frustration, as this functions as an obstacle to career-opportunities and social mobility (Delgado, 1982).

Racism or *ethnic discrimination*, in a Danish context is mainly targeted on non-Western immigrants and refugees, including their descendants, primarily originated from Muslim-majority countries. In the past years, since the 1990's, the debate about 'Danishness' has been on the rise. This has been happening for instance due to the immigration in Denmark. Immigrants and refugees from different countries have sparked the debate on what Danishness is. The general opinion is that the more immigrants there are, the more threatened the Danish society and culture are. In 2014, according to Danmarks Statistik, 11.6 % of the Danish people consisted of immigrants and their descendants (COWI, 2015). Many are afraid of a multicultural society and skepticism on immigration has risen. This can be felt on the political fields, in the media and on the rise of neo-nationalism (ibid.).

Political parties, particularly in Denmark, discuss assimilation, ban of the headscarf and who should get citizenship. In the media, especially the Danish Muslims are vulnerable. One of the current leading parties is Dansk Folkeparti, *Danish People's Party*, which is a party that is against immigration from non-Western countries and they are especially against Muslims. In 2015 at the election Dansk Folkeparti got 15 more mandates than in 2011 (ibid.). This shocked many, especially because the party has extreme opinions on immigration policy. Also, new political parties have been established in the past five years. One of them is Nye

Borgerlige, *The New Civic Party*, which is a party that will even prohibit refugees from seeking asylum in Denmark. Both Dansk Folkeparti and Nye Borgerlige are against the European Union and immigration. The parties, with focus on *national sovereignty*, have been multiple times described as one of the main factors for the rise of neo-nationalism in Denmark. Racism towards Muslims can therefore be felt in the political field but also because of the hate-crime that happens towards Muslims. According to a statistic in the recent years many have been charged on §266 b, which is the racism paragraph, where people can get a fine or 2 years in jail for abusive or insulting statements towards Muslims (ibid.).

As mentioned above, racism in Denmark is mainly targeted on Muslims or people who are perceived as Muslims due to stereotypes of how a Muslim looks like. Statistics in Denmark are mostly categorizing people as ‘Westerners’ or ‘non-Westerners’, and furthermore ‘immigrants’ (born outside Denmark) or ‘descendants’ (born in Denmark). In 2016, immigrants and descendants represented 12.3 % of the total Danish population. 58 % of these are from non-Western countries, i.e. countries that are not EU28 plus, Andorra, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Norway, San Marino, Switzerland, the Vatican, Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand. Most of the non-Western immigrants and descendants are from non-African, Muslim-majority countries: Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iran and Pakistan. 18 % of all the descendants, both Western and non-Western, have origins in Turkey, 8 % in Lebanon and 6 % in Pakistan (Elmeskov and Bang, 2016). This is thus clarifying the picture of the non-ethnic Danish minority groups: mostly people originated from non-Western, non-African and Muslim-majority countries.

Due to the overrepresentation of migrants and descendants from non-Western, non-African, Muslim-majority countries, the debate about marginalized racial groups in Denmark are often focused on non-Western, Muslim and, mostly, non-African ethnic minority groups. Statistics in Denmark do not categorize people into racial categories i.e. such as Whites or Blacks (ibid.), which is the case in the US (Ghandnoosh, 2015), but rather into the categories of ‘Western’/‘non-Western’, ‘immigrant’/‘descendant’ and country of origin (Elmeskov and Bang, 2016). Therefore, there are no provided data on either the representation or the total number of Afro-Danes, Danish people who identify themselves as people with African descent, in Denmark.

In relation to the debate about marginalization and discrimination against Muslims, the debate about marginalized and discriminated Afro-Danish racial/ethnic groups is new. What first sparked the debate was an article in a newspaper. In May 2016, the Danish newspaper Berlingske published an article about the challenges Afro-Danes are facing. The article sparked a big debate about the role of Afro-Danes in the debate on racism in Denmark. The major issue in the article was the debate of the use of the Danish version of the N-word. According to the article, many Afro-Danes are describing the word as negative, and not something they want to be called (Berlingske, 2016).

Two months after the publication of the article in July 2016, the Black Lives Matter in Denmark (BLM Denmark) held their first event: a demonstration in Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark. The demonstration was not only a solidarity demonstration for the BLM movement in the US, but also a demonstration to show the ongoing issues and challenges Afro-Danes are facing in Denmark, including the usage of the Danish version of the N-word debate (Øvig, 2016). This was the official establishment of the BLM movement in Denmark and that leads us to our research question:

Research Question

Why has the Black Lives Matter movement emerged in Denmark?

Working Questions

- How is neo-racism displayed in the Danish society?
- Assuming there is institutional racism, how is institutional racism displayed in the Danish society?
- How has the Black Lives Matter movement developed in Denmark?

Chapter 2: Methodology

Research design

The purpose of our research is to examine why the BLM movement has emerged in Denmark. To answer our research question, we have conducted open-ended interviews with people who are or have been involved with the BLM Denmark such as the founder of BLM Denmark Bwalya Sørensen, Sade Johnson who is a student and co-organizer of the first BLM Denmark demonstration and Nicole Frederiksen who is a student and an Afro-Dane activist.

The reason we have chosen to write a project about the BLM Denmark is because, we find it important to write about issues that are visible in today's society. If we state the issues it is easier to work on the problems that discriminated and racialized groups face. We have ourselves all experienced racialization on a personal level and therefore it naturally appeals to us to write about racism and the BLM movement. We believe that in order to combat racism it is necessary to speak about it, and since the BLM is a current movement it was logical for us to write about it. First, we wanted to focus on the BLM movement in the US, but since we have experienced racism in Denmark as well, we wanted to know why the BLM movement has emerged in Denmark.

Social Constructivism

In our project, we will work with the social constructivist philosophy of science. Social constructivism can be defined as: *“An approach to sociological research which sees social reality as the creation of the interaction of individuals and groups”* (Giddens and Sutton, 2013: 1070). In relation to this, social constructivists also investigate how some issues are considered to be urgent by some and less important or ignored by others. This depends on how the issue is framed: perhaps as an urgent issue and therefore demanding a policy response from e.g. public institutions (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). This understanding of reality as an object that is socially constructed, and, therefore, differs from individual to

individual based on the experiences and perceptions of the individual is important for the project. Some individuals' challenges may be invisible to others. Therefore, it is important to highlight and thus raise awareness. Hence, highlighting different, possible factors, which can help us to examine the research question.

Social constructivism also has a significant impact on the concept of *race* and *ethnicity*, and how the concepts are constructing social power imbalances between those racial/ethnic-social relations and interactions (Skrentny and Patnode, 2012; Giddens and Sutton, 2013). Again, it is important to note the different realities experienced by different people. Race, or ethnicity, and thus also racism, plays a major part in the BLM movements around the world, also in Denmark. However, racism is experienced very differently by individuals in the society. By examining the racism and the following racial power dynamics experienced by the informants this will thus help us examine the research question.

Qualitative Methods

Since the BLM Denmark is still very new there is no specific list or structured information about who they are or how many people are active in the movement. This would make it difficult for us to use, e.g. quantitative methods, since the quantitative methodological approach relies heavily on surveys with a representative number of informants and we do not have resources for this. Furthermore, we lack the skills of the quantitative methodological research. On the other hand, the qualitative method is based on the informant, the subject itself and on its views, experiences and the covering of the subject's world (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2015). Therefore, we have chosen to use the qualitative method in our project. We have the resources needed for a qualitative methodological approach, since we can examine our research question with three informants and thus gain empirical data based on their experiences. Qualitative methods will hence be the favorable choice to answering the research question of the project.

The interviews are semi-structured interviews. This means that we have some theories (see '*Theoretical Frameworks*'), which are inspired from our literature review on the BLM

movement in the US and the different cases in Denmark that are related to Afro-Danes (see '*Problem Area*'), which have provided us the ability to create some relevant questions in regard to the examination of the research question. However, since the interviews are also open interviews, the interviews are not only depending on structured questions but also open for discussion by the informants. These are crucial for our project, since the experiences experienced by the informants are essential in qualitative methods and thus provides new knowledge to the project. With the combination of structured questions and open approach in our interviews, the interviews are thus semi-structured interviews (ibid.).

Even though there is an interaction between the deductive- and the inductive approach, the interviews would rely more on the inductive approach considering that induction itself is a process, where the informants assign new data which is not controlled by theory or terms. Subsequently, by using induction, terms and theories are developed through new data (ibid.). In this manner, the research question would be examined in the best possible way. Therefore, we need the technique of *coding*.

The technique to collect and thus theorize the new and non-categorical empirical data delivered from the inductive approach during the interviews is called coding. The specific coding technique the project will rely on is the open-coding technique. With the open-coding technique we define codes and theorize them (Thisted, 2010). We will categorize the different concepts of racism into sections and hereafter code the interviews, so that we have divided the interviews into concepts. Mainly we focus on interpreting the narratives that the informants have given us during the interview. Therefore, our open-coding technical process focusses especially on conceptualizing and categorizing our empirical data (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2015; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The open-coding technique will therefore be an essential tool to the examination of the research question. With the help of the technique of coding, we can thus interpret the narratives of the informants.

This leads us to certain ontological and epistemological standpoints, which of course affects the project. From an epistemological standpoint, the project relies on interpretivism. The interviews, which includes empirics, theories and coding, are then a matter of the researcher's interpretation. From an ontological standpoint, the project relies on constructivism. This

means that the ontological position is not pre-given but rather constructed through interactions between social actors, hence social constructivism (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, the aim of the researchers is not to find an objective truth, but rather interpret the narratives from the informants to examine and finally answer the research question.

However, there are some limitations by interpreting the narratives from the informants and the use of qualitative methods. One limitation is the missing representation of the broader Afro-Dane community. Another limitation is the question of whether we can examine our research question on empirical data based on the experiences of three informants. On the other hand, there are also advantages with the use of interpretation of the informants' narratives based on qualitative methods. With the limited resources, due to both lack of skills in quantitative methodology and missing data on the Afro-Danish community, qualitative methodology can thus be a favorable choice of method in accordance to access of resources. Another advantage of the choice of the qualitative methods is the empirical data gathered from an otherwise unknown area. By using the experiences experienced by our informants, and thereby interpreting the narratives from the informants, we can thus examine and answer the research question. Therefore, the ontological (social) constructivist standpoint and the epistemological interpretivist standpoint will be the key tools to examine the research question.

Presentation of the interview informants

Name	Profession	Age	Role in the BLM Denmark	Date of interview
Bwalya Sørensen	Human-rights activist.	49	Founder of the BLM Denmark, activist	14th of November, 2016
Nicole Frederiksen	Student	25	Afro-Dane activist.	24th of November, 2016
Sade Johnson	Student	28	Co-organizer of the first BLM Denmark demonstration.	15th of November, 2016

In our project, we have chosen to not write about our informants' biographies and personal life because we want to respect their privacy. The way we got in contact with our informants was through one of the researchers, Semi Kilic, who personally knew Nicole Frederiksen and through her, he got in contact with Bwalya Sørensen and Sade Johnson. When meeting our informants, we had prepared a semi-structured interview guide, but as the interviews proceeded there were more weight on the open interview. We all had our phones to record the interviews and as the interviews proceeded we would only ask questions to the specific context they were talking about. The reason why we recorded the interviews was so that we could transcribe them later on. Our sole intention was to gather empirical data and to answer our research question. All the interviews have been held in November 2016.

We have chosen these specific interview informants (Bwalya Sørensen, Nicole Frederiksen and Sade Johnson) because we find it important to interview qualified individuals who are related to the BLM Denmark and have different perspectives on the importance of BLM Denmark. Furthermore, they all focus on different aspects of racism. While Bwalya Sørensen focuses on refugees and jails in Denmark, Nicole Frederiksen concentrates on the colonial and postcolonial history and the N-word. On the other, hand Sade Johnson focuses on the right to define your own identity.

Empirical Data

To answer our research question, in our project, we have used primary sources by collecting empirical data from the interviews we have conducted. By interviewing the founder of the BLM Denmark (Bwalya Sørensen), an co-organizer of the first BLM Denmark demonstration (Sade Johnson) and an activist mainly concerned about Afro-Danes (Nicole Frederiksen) we have gained knowledge and insight in as to why BLM Denmark was established, as viewed from their perspectives. After conducting the interviews, we have transcribed all of them, so we could go into detail and only use what was necessary for our project. All the interviews have been conducted in Danish and have not been translated to English, as all members of our group, along with the respondents, speak fluent Danish and therefore have a larger

vocabulary in said language. However, quotations we have used from our transcriptions have been translated.

We are aware that as we only have three respondents, our analysis is based on only a fraction of a larger group of people working with the issues of Afro-Danes in Denmark and the challenges they face. It is also important to note that we as 1st semester students have not been introduced to the course about qualitative methods yet. However, there is a member of the group who has had the course before and has guided the rest of the group in conducting the interviews.

As for secondary sources, we have used journal articles, books and websites as a foundation for our entire research. The secondary sources will be referred to in the next chapter, '*Theoretical Frameworks*', with the use of different scholars who have been working with the subject. All the scholars have been referred to, and their works can be seen in the bibliography.

Chapter Conclusion

To sum up, we want to examine why the BLM movement has emerged in Denmark by making open interviews with people from the movement in Denmark. We will work with the social constructivist philosophy of science to gain a better understanding of the whole consensus of the BLM movement.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Frameworks

Under this chapter, we will explain racism and what is understood by race. Furthermore, we will explain the mechanisms of racism and the notion of neo-racism and cultural essentialism. Lastly, we will clarify the theory of The *New Social Movements* Theory. These specific theories are inspired from the works in our literature review on the BLM movement, both in the US but also in Denmark and their relation to Afro-Danes.

The Understanding of Race

Racist thinking is the categorization of human beings divided by their skin color, the form of their nose, cranial dimensions, and other phenotypical elements, and even an individual's style of walking (Memmi, 1994). The categorization of human beings into different races based on phenotypical elements is not scientifically approved, but it is a social construction (re)produced through social relations. The concept of race was created for political purposes by the Whites, mainly to legitimize the slavery. The Whites were seen as the superior put in contrast to the non-Whites, which were seen as the inferior (Rogers, 2003; Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). There are those who believe they can compile sets of such traits to form coherent paradigms, which they call races. For them, the other races will be those that are impure and abominable, and their own, pure and admirable. By authorizing this peculiar superiority for themselves, they also presume to enjoy advantages of a different order: economic or political, or even perhaps psychological, or simply a measure of prestige (Memmi, 1994).

To understand race, we need to understand the concept of racialization (or to be racialized). Racialization is the categorization and defining of individuals by referring to biological or cultural characteristics. These categorizations are then maintained by unequal power balances. However, since the term race has been put to negative associations, term of ethnicity in present-day has also been used. Ethnicity is about cultural differentiation and social identity, which are drawing deep lines to the same mechanisms of race and racism: the

social unequal power dynamics. Therefore, even though ethnicity somehow is distinguished from race, the mechanisms of racism itself are still present (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015).

Some races are attributed with specific perceptions (i.e. prejudices). These perceptions are influencing the way different races are living which is reproducing traditional racial perceptions. This is allowing how some specific actions are held responsible for some races (e.g. Blacks are often responsible for their actions, while Whites are not) (McKnight, 2010). The category of White, is therefore also the normative standard, where all the others who are excluded from the White-category are in the opposition (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). The definition of White, and therefore the belonging to this category, is the definition of who are holding the power positions in the society. Racist thinking is therefore contributing to social inequality in social relations and power dynamics in our society. This creates a social hierarchy between the races with Whites at the top as the power-holders (Rogers, 2003).

The process of *othering* is also highly relevant in a Danish context. Since racialization is a form of categorization, the term othering, or being put in the category of other/being proceeded to otherness, is essential for the understanding of the mechanism of racialization. Othering is thus to place individuals out of the normative perceptions. In a Danish context, this would lead the individuals, who do not fit in the normative understanding of being a Dane/Danish (which is to be White or to be a part of the majority ethnic Danes), into the otherness/'categorized with the others'. The position of an individual who fit in the normative perceptions of 'Danishness' will then be held in a majority position, while the positions of an individual who do not fit into these will be held in a minority position. This creates an asymmetrical power relation, where majority (White) Danes have power over minority (non-White) Danes. Othering is thus also in Denmark a tool to create societal asymmetrical power relations between individuals (Thorsen, 2014). This is relevant for our project, since othering in a Danish context can be challenges that the BLM Denmark are facing. Concepts like racism, racialization, othering and mechanisms of race are applied in our analysis and discussion, where we try to understand how the informants feel racialized.

Neo-racism

Classical racism is an ideology based upon the belief that humans biologically are divided into different races that determine a person's psychological as well as physical characteristics and skills (though this has been proven to be false), followed by a hierarchy that is formed accordingly to said races (Thorsen, 2014). Neo-racism, also known as 'cultural racism', is another way of discriminating in which one does not solely focus on the physical traits and differences between the majority and the minority, but instead the spectra of differences extends to include other factors such as religion and ethnicity, where 'the other' shall be defined by cultural differences opposed to simply the color of one's skin or other physical attributes (ibid.).

Therefore, neo-racism is often contributing to the more or less subtle and implicit kind of structural racism, as it is easier for people to deny racism because it is not necessarily based on physical appearance and therefore not linked directly to the 'race hierarchy'. Moreover, people committing neo-racist actions may not even recognize their discriminatory behavior as being particularly racist or meant with bad intentions, even if said actions may still affect the marginalized groups in a harmful manner, given that the criticism falling upon the minorities supposedly are based on cultural logic (ibid.). According to a critical race theorist, professor and researcher in race and gender, Philomena Essed, the relation between neo-racism and inequality in the Western societies of today's Europe is rooted in a logic of cultural racism that goes deeper than simply defending one's own cultural identity:

“The notion of race remains largely unnamed – though not invisible – in the Netherlands and (mainland) north-western Europe. The systemic nature of racism, everyday racism, is being denied, and with that the acknowledgement that white skin color is one of the criteria of inclusion in the community of ‘real’ European nationals. But in the lived perception and in the most commonly used model of explanation for (racial) inequality in Europe, however, one does not primarily refer to skin color, but to deeper connotations of citizenship, national identity, western superiority and civilization” (Essed, 1991: 68, cited in Thorsen, 2014: 169).

This quotation puts forth some valuable points concerning race and identity in Europe, since that from Philomena Essed's perspective, clearly, race is, as mentioned, not directly a question about the color of one's skin, but more or less also a question about ethnicity and cultural as well as social heritage and values, where the differences therein may be the triggers of or the reasoning behind unjust treatment and inequality between locals and newcomers in certain parts of Europe.

Subsequently, one can conclude that neo-racism is directly linked to racialization and othering as it is a manner of dividing individuals into groups and subgroups, forming a hierarchy in which some people might be above others based on cultural markers. Even if neo-racism does not seem to clearly show differentiation based on biological traits, it is still a way of dividing people into 'us' and 'them' and justifying certain behaviors of the majority towards minorities by social traits. If taking into account, that the 'cultural logic' used by neo-racists is solely a cover for biological differentiation, one can argue that neo-racism is directly linked to racialization and the enactment of it. Neo-racism can be used as the interview informants not only talk about racism in relation to discrimination based on their race and skin color, but also based on differences in religion, ethnicity and culture.

Cultural Essentialism

Though it is still important and worth mentioning the critique that has faced critical race theorists and the term neo-racism. In an article published by Siebers and Dennissen (2015), they discuss the situation of foreigners and immigrants in the Netherlands (Essed has as well been discussing a Dutch example, as we see in the quotation), and they criticize critical race theorists, as they do not believe that it is appropriate to put the situation of inequality between Dutch locals and immigrants under the same term (racism, from where cultural racism derives essentially) as the biology-based racisms like the colonial or the anti-Semitic. Siebers and Dennissen argue that critical race theorists are using the term racism in a universal sense which gives no real contribution in order to understand the Dutch discourse properly (Siebers and Dennissen, 2015).

Instead, they argue that terms like *cultural essentialism* and *cultural fundamentalism* fit the purpose of a better understanding, as they are both terms that focus on the division between cultures (a sort of anti-multi-culturalism, if you could say so), where Siebers and Dennissen define cultural essentialism as:

“[...] a system of belief that maps the world into reified homogeneous, bounded and static cultural communities, existing side by side, defining the essence of an individual’s identity as belonging to such a community” (Siebers and Dennissen, 2015, 473).

Which does not necessarily involve exclusion and oppression, though, as they argue, cultural essentialism can cause ‘cultural anxiety’, and often when the feeling as if one’s culture and identity is being threatened, cultural fundamentalism can develop, and this, as they inform us in their article, involves the inequality and injustice of oppression and the alienation of newcomers and generally those who are deemed outsiders as their cultures are considered incompatible (ibid.).

We find this study of Siebers and Dennissen very relevant to our project, as we are trying to gain understanding concerning the BLM Denmark, but as Siebers and Dennissen mentioned: one cannot adopt the notion of US- or UK-based racism onto the situation in the Netherlands, particularly considering the different perceptions of the term given the different histories of each country.

This is very relevant to us, as we consider the Netherlands and Denmark to be countries alike one another, especially when discussing the discourse concerning immigration and refugees in both countries, as well as the political and public debate about the incompatibility of Islam and Western cultures. We find it necessary to take the argumentation of Siebers and Dennissen into account, as we have noticed that the BLM Denmark has portrayed themselves as being in support of other minority groups such as refugees, and therefore the movement in Denmark might be fighting against injustices based on completely other premises than what they are fighting against in the US. Still, it is important to note, that whether one is arguing for neo-racism or cultural essentialism, both are still a way for the majority to divide the majority from the minority, othering the minority through stigmatization and denying them

equality to the majority, simply because ‘they’ are not ‘us’. So even if the term changes, it does not change the discourse of division, whatever this division might be based upon.

Structural and Institutional Racism

To understand the notion of racism in a societal context, and thus moving away from a more person-based understanding of racist targeting, we must include structural and *institutional racism*. Rogers (2003: 38) defines structural racism as: “*The norms, values, or standards assumed by the dominant society which perpetuate racism*”. Furthermore, institutional racism is defined as: “*The way in which institutions – Housing, Government, Education, Media, Business, Health Care, Criminal Justice, Religion – perpetuate racism*” (ibid.). The distinction between structural racism and institutional racism is weak, however, we still need to distinguish between the two concepts since the two concepts affects the notion of racism in a societal context in different ways.

Structural racism affects the notion of racism in a societal context in a more *informal* way of understanding. It is not racism in the legal or illegal manner but rather it is racism expressed through norms and discourses. Thorsen (2014) defines structural discrimination, hence structural racism or structural ethnic discrimination, as:

“[...] normative, discursive and formative. Is meant here as discrimination that is implicit in norms, rules and normative expectations to conduct. Structural discrimination is embedded in institutional and linguistic practices and discourses about otherness, which forms and affects individual conduct and expression. Structural discrimination always exists in an asymmetrical power relation, it could be the result of informal institutions, and practices, habits, traditions and norms and can have its starting point in social, institutional, historical, and/or contextual structures, views and systems. In particular, I would like to emphasize that structural racism is set to be underlying or constructing in relation to institutions and practices” (ibid.: 173-174, author’s translation).

Structural racism is thus the underlying construction of institutional racism. Therefore, institutional racism is deeply rooted in structural racism. Institutional racism affects the notion of racism in a societal context in a more *formal* way, e.g. laws and/or regulations that are deeply rooted to racism. Thorsen (2014) defines institutional discrimination, such as institutional racism or institutional ethnic discrimination, as:

“[...] an expression for structural discrimination and a place where abstract frames and structures become a part of a formalized practice. Institutional discrimination is understood as a result of or an effect of rule-based (institutionalized) actions. and expressed through laws, regulations, rules or in other ways through one or more institutions formal processes and channels” (ibid.: 173, author’s translation).

As we know from the BLM in the US, the movement tries to raise awareness of the structural racism. Since institutional racism is rooted in structural racism, the BLM US is also concerned about raising awareness of institutional racism (Rickford, 2016). It could therefore be interesting to do research on structural racism (and institutional racism) in a Danish context related to Afro-Danes and the BLM Denmark. Structural and institutional racism is used in our analysis when talking about racism in our everyday life and how racism is sometimes expressed unconsciously.

The *New Social Movements* Theory

Social movements can be defined as:

“Collective attempts to further a common interest or secure a common goal through action outside the sphere of established political institutions. Social movements seek to bring about or block social change and normally exist in relations of conflict with organizations whose objectives and outlook they frequently oppose” (Giddens and Sutton, 2013: 1070).

The New Social Movements (NSM) theory, is a theory within the subject of social movements. Since the late 1960s there has been an increase in NSMs worldwide. Among these, examples are student organizations, civil rights and feminist movements, and other

similar movements related to modernism and progress. Some of the elements in the NSM theory includes (della Porta and Diani, 1999; Giddens and Sutton, 2013):

1. new issues, which are related to post-industrial society with post-material values,
2. new social constituencies with focus on creative and artistic fields, and education,
3. an open, fluid organization form with participatory inclusiveness, and anti-ideological approach,
4. new organizational forms with non-bureaucratic, anti-hierarchical, non-centered power, or even with some cases decentralized leadership, and attention towards the public sphere rather than the state,
5. an intersectional approach regarding solidarity, and
6. new action repertoires with focus on non-violent, direct actions, and media, especially in recent years' social media.

The latter also shows a sign of increase in participants from especially middle-class people. An essential new feature of the NSMs are therefore the network approach. NSMs are also deeply interested in reclaiming the identity of the individual, and are therefore against any forms of manipulation and alienation from political-administrative interventions (ibid.).

The BLM US shares many similarities with the NSM theory, which is the reason for our use of the NSM theory. The BLM US includes: international establishments, fluid structure form, no direct leadership, an intersectional focus which includes the LGBTQ, feminists, members of trade unions, Whites allies, other racialized groups as allies (i.e. Asians and Latinos), low-income groups, etc., no specific political ideology and autonomous from political institutions, non-violent methods such as peaceful demonstrations, and the use of social media, which also was the foundation of the movement (Rickford, 2016).

NSM can be related to racism, as racism can have a role in the emergence of a new movement. Racism affects many people and if people decide to make a change, they gather in hopes of a change. The NSM theory will be applied both in the analysis and the discussion to look at whether or not BLM in Denmark is a movement or simply a platform.

Intersectionality

As mentioned before, intersectionality heavily influences the BLM movement. Quraishi and Philburn (2015) also stress the term intersectionality. The term originated from Kimberlé Crenshaw, a feminist theoretician, American civil rights advocate and leading scholar in the field of Critical Race Theory. With her studies of the complex struggles Black women were facing (in the time of her research), namely a combination of sexism and racism in the workplace, she developed intersectionality. Racism does not operate independently, but rather it interacts with other aspects of identities of an individual (e.g. gender, sexuality, class, geographical location, ability, religion, etc.).

These crossing elements of identity therefore creates a complex system of oppression and discrimination (e.g. racism, sexism, LGBTQ-phobia, classism, ableism, etc.): the elements of identity, and therefore possible discrimination forms are therefore interrelated, and do not act independently (ibid.). Therefore, it is crucial for the BLM movement to not only fight against anti-racism, but also all the other forms of discrimination individuals can meet. This also plays a major role for how the BLM movement have gained so many different allies (Rickford, 2016).

Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, we have explained what racist thinking is: how human beings are divided based on their appearances and how the race-hierarchy is understood, where the Whites are superior and the non-Whites are inferior. Also, we have clarified that race and racism is a social construction. Furthermore, we have defined racialization or to be racialized as both a cultural and biological thinking. We have also defined the mechanisms of racism where the White are holding the power positions in society and how racist thinking is contributing to social inequality in social relations.

Neo-racism, or cultural racism, is in our chapter outlined as something that has to do with a person's cultural background such as the religion or the ethnicity of the person. Lastly, we

have described what social movements are defined as. It was explained that social movements are collective attempts to further a common interest and to secure a common goal outside the sphere of established political institutions.

Chapter 4: The Emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement in Denmark

Analysis - Part 1

In the first part of the analysis, we have theories from our *'Theoretical Frameworks'* which are coded via the interpretation of the narratives and then analyzed according to the theories we have. These theories are all important when looking at the understanding of the key concepts and when analyzing them.

Racism

Racist thinking is when humans are categorized and divided by skin color, biological features or other phenotypes (Memmi, 1994). As mentioned before, it is a social construction and were created for political purposes. The Whites are seen as superior in contrast to the Blacks who are seen as inferior (Rogers, 2003). In other words, people get racialized (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). When looking at it in a Danish context, it is also when people are put in the category of 'other/being proceeded to otherness' (i.e. 'non-Dane') (Thorsen, 2014).

Talking about the differences between racism in Denmark and in the US, Nicole Frederiksen stated: *"Let us say that it (racism, etd.) in the USA [...] it is quite brutal, like, they are literally being openly murdered because of their skin-color"* and *"[...] in the US it is 100 % like that, it is the visible differences: it is the skin color, more than the culture"*. Nicole Frederiksen says that in the US, Blacks are literally being killed because of their skin color rather than culture (see *'Theoretical Frameworks'*). Though she does not state it in her interview, this can be explained by White superiority, where they suppress the Blacks. This creates a distance or as Thorsen (2014) calls it: othering.

To look at another perspective of othering, Nicole Frederiksen mentions Mary, an activist friend of hers:

“Someone like Mary, she says: “Yes, I am Afro-Danish, but I am also, I am from Uganda. I came to Denmark when I was eight to nine years old [...], but it is Denmark that has made me the person I am today”, right? In that way, they try to make the notion of Danishness a bit broader or a bit more diverse and then say: “Yes, I am born and raised in Denmark, but then why does it have to affect my Nigerian roots, I am also Nigerian”, for example, right? And then there are some people who choose to say: “But even though I have these roots or the cultural background: even though I look as I do, I am still Danish. I am born and raised here, I went to a Danish school, I eat Danish food, speak Danish, have Danish friends”, and so on and so on, right? Then there is that battle about making the notion a bit more varied than just saying that a Dane is a White person with blue eyes, right?”.

As stated above, it is seen how Nicole Frederiksen explains how Mary is trying to minimize the distance between being seen as ‘foreign’ and feeling Danish. Instead of this being an example of othering, this is an example of how some people is trying to break with racialization and the creation of an ‘us’ and ‘them’.

To turn the attention to the Danish society and how racism is experienced in Denmark, Nicole Frederiksen talks about the use of the N-word: *“But from our perspective it is a huge problem that they continue to use a word that has that connotation it has, to define us with”.* This is another example of how racialization and othering is being expressed in today’s society and how some people are seen as superior to others. This, again, creates a notable difference between two groups and increases social inequality which also shows that some races are more privileged than others (i.e. White privilege).

Structural and Institutional Racism

As mentioned earlier, structural racism is the notion of racism expressed through informal norms and discourses, i.e. informal practices. Institutional racism, on the other hand, is the notion of racism in the manner of racism expressed through formal institutional settings, e.g. laws, regulations and/or rules, i.e. formal practices (Thorsen, 2014). One of the key factors that are leading the continuing emergence of the BLM movement in the US, is the awareness

of police killings of Blacks (Rickford, 2016; Shor, 2016). As the official statement from the BLM movement states: “[...] *we are broadening the conversation around state violence to include all of the ways in which Black people are intentionally left powerless at the hands of the state.*” (Black Lives Matter, 2016, cited in Rickford, 2016: 36).

The purpose of the BLM movement is not only about changing the multiple cases of exercised injustice on individuals, but rather seeks to change the structures, that are producing and reproducing these exercised injustices, resulting in i.e. police killings of Blacks (ibid.). Hence, changing the structures of structural and institutional racism. Therefore, it is interesting to examine how structural and institutional racism in a Danish context are factors of the emergence of the BLM Denmark.

Specific stereotypes about Afro-Danes is channeled in structural racism which Afro-Danes encounter. As Nicole Frederiksen states, the visibility of a different skin color results in certain stereotyping:

“But the skin color, that is a visible difference, let us start with that. In this way, you can get racialized [...]. There are also some completely deadlocked stereotypes in relation to how Black is, for example: “African men are aggressive”, “primitive” and “African women are prostitutes” or “African men are bottle collectors” or stuff like that”. And: “The racism I have experienced [...] it is based on my skin color, but it quickly turns into something like: “Oh, but where are your spear and shield at?””.

According to Nicole Frederiksen, the Danish N-word debate is a good example of structural racism in Denmark:

“Let us put it like this: from the perspective of ethnic Danes (Whites, edt.) it is no problem. But from our (Afro-Danes’, edt.) perspective it is a huge problem that they are still using a word which has that connotation it has, to define us with. Because I do not want to be called the N-word, fuck no, with that history Denmark has had and the way the word has been used, structurally and systematically, how can you then still maintain the word to describe me with? I mean, you use it as it is the norm, like it is common, like: “But you are the N-word”. No, I am freaking fucking not, I am not the N-word, no. It is: “No, I am not, I am Nigerian”, I then say. Or: “I am half

Nigerian” or “Just call me Black. What is the problem?”. “But at that time (in the past, edt.), then it was the N-word bun (Danish bun with chocolate coating, now cream bun, edt.)”, yeah, wonder why? I mean, again it is just structural racism at the highest”.

As the statements from Nicole Frederiksen show, structural racism is an existing phenomenon in Denmark. Prejudices against non-Whites and continuous debates with deep roots in racism, such as the Danish N-word debate, clarify how racism is circulated through informal practices via norms and discourses in a Danish context.

Unlike practices in the US, Denmark does not collect any statistics based on or categorized into racial or ethnic backgrounds. While statistics in the US are showing clear patterns of different treatment of individuals based on race/ethnicity and thus approximate to institutional racism (Ghandnoosh, 2014), these statistics are not provided in Denmark which makes it difficult to examine the subject. As Nicole Frederiksen states: “[...] *even though we, as the African minority, experience institutional racism, then there is no statistics on it [...]*”. However, Bwalya Sørensen states that violent forms of police brutality are happening against asylum seekers in Denmark and this will be stressed later.

Neo-racism

As aforementioned in the theoretical framework, neo-racism is a type of discrimination that stands out from classical racism, as one is not being discriminated based upon biological characteristics. Instead, racialization and othering enacted by neo-racists is justified in accordance to factors such as ethnicity and religion, in which the victim of this kind of discrimination is being differentiated in a more cultural context, as this person might seem to stand out from the majority (Thorsen, 2014). According to some critical race theorists, neo-racists of today may not even be aware of their racist actions, and in some communities, racism based on culture is even denied, despite the lack of inclusion of foreigners into local communities, where inequalities are cultivated by differentiations that go deeper than simply the color of one’s skin:

“But in the lived perception and in the most commonly used model of explanation for (racial) inequality in Europe, however, one does not primarily refer to skin color, but to deeper connotations of citizenship, national identity, western superiority and civilization.” (Essed, 1991: 68, cited in Thorsen, 2014).

Throughout our interviews, we have discovered that the notion of neo-racism is significantly relevant, as the work completed and stand taken by the BLM Denmark has a rather more intersectional approach to inequalities in Danish society than solely fighting against discrimination enacted towards the Afro-Danish community, as all of the three women discuss racist actions committed against minorities other than the Afro-Danes.

In our interview with Bwalya Sørensen, she speaks of the treatment of a Moroccan immigrant by the Danish police in jail: *“When I entered, he was swollen, his elbow was doubled in size [...] that is how much they had beaten him,”* and during the interview, she refers to several of her experiences of ill-treatment of Arabs, as well as the indecent treatment of homeless bottle-collectors of African origins. These anecdotes of hers as well as the statement beneath, supports the theory of neo-racism, as certain injustices perpetrated by the Danish police cannot simply be explained by only the notion of classical racism (such as colonial racism and anti-Semitism), as the discourse when it comes to asylum-seekers and immigrants (especially those who are in jail) is not just a question of Black and White or the social construct of race, as it might be in other parts of the world, such as in the US. In one of the quotations used previously, this point is also being expressed by Nicole Frederiksen in the interview:

“Let us say that it (racism, etd.) in the US [...] it is quite brutal, like, they are literally being openly murdered because of their skin-color, whereas here in Denmark, here it is more that ignorance or, like, fear of the unknown [...]”.

This brings us back to the movement of the BLM Denmark opposed to the BLM in the US, as the term racism plays a different role in Denmark than in the US. Considering that racist

actions in Denmark and by the police can be committed based on cultural variances rather than biological, this supports the theory of neo-racism. Hence, this makes the work of the BLM Denmark stand out, since they are fighting with the same aim of acquiring more equality for minorities. Their fight is not against only race-based racism, but cultural-based racism as well. Bwalya Sørensen gives a very clear statement on this matter:

“[...] I know that it is called Black Lives Matter because I want a brand that I know people will react to. Those who I help the most are in jail and they are Arabs. It could just as well be called Brown Lives Matter [...] so I see one Nigerian and eight Arabs as well, it was in connection to that that I made Black Lives Matter and started an event.”

The BLM Denmark is thus not only a struggle in the name of equality for Afro-Danes, but it is a group of activists that is generally fighting for better conditions for minorities in Denmark. At one point during our interview with Nicole Frederiksen, she discusses why the BLM US has started to reach out to other minorities as well, which also outlines the reasons for why the BLM Denmark has included helping more minorities:

“[...] I actually think that since Black Lives Matter in the US emerged, they have also started to move in the direction where they include other minorities, because principally, they experience the same but just on different bases [...]”

And Sade Johnson mentions as well: *“[...] the most problematic mode of discrimination right now is islamophobia, right? And Islam is a wide-ranging religion [...]”*. All together, these statements laid out by these two activists support the idea of neo-racism, because discrimination can be based on religion or other factors that define a minority, and not necessarily just skin color.

Cultural Essentialism

Returning to the theoretical framework, the term *cultural essentialism* was coined as:

“[...] a system of belief that maps the world into reified homogeneous, bounded and static cultural communities, existing side by side, defining the essence of an individual’s identity as belonging to such a community.” (Siebers and Dennissen, 2015: 473).

This term is used by Siebers and Dennissen as an alternative to the theories of race and neo-racism, as to avoid putting colonial racism and anti-Semitism in the same box as the hostility towards immigrants and refugees in Europe, because it is not simply a question of race and biology. Although one could argue that cultural essentialism and neo-racism is the same, it is important to emphasize that cultural essentialism has come to be because of the necessity of a complete division between racial discrimination and cultural discrimination, ruling out the theory of neo-racism as it is connected to classical racism. Therefore, the idea of cultural essentialism might seem to be fitting into our case study, as the BLM Denmark is operating in a multi-faceted country when the discourse goes on multi-culturalism and discrimination.

At one point in our interview with Nicole Frederiksen, she tries to explain her perception of multi-culturalism and the stand of White-Danes in relation to said multi-cultural society:

“I do not think that they (White-Danes, etc.) fear being multi-cultural in that way, but more so I think that they have a hard time defining themselves. What are they in relation to the multi-cultural? And it is because of that that they, like, distance themselves from it, right? Because [...] these ‘Danish’ values, what are they after all? [...] they use universal values and call them Danish. [...] I do not think that they are afraid of the multi-cultural, I think more so that it is the consequence of all this multi-culturalism [...] they have difficulties with differentiating themselves or stand out in one way or another”.

This statement is very relevant in relation to cultural essentialism, as cultural essentialism is arguing against multi-culturalism, though without arguing *for* unequal treatment between homogenous groupings. Pure cultural essentialism cares for the preservation of these homogenous groups of distinctive cultures (however each culture may be defined - and in this

case one could argue that cultural essentialism is a matter of subjectivity). Examining the discourse of inequality and injustices committed against minorities (oppression is also a useful term in this case), there is a need for understanding how does cultural essentialism play an important role in the understanding of Nicole Frederiksen's statement about the Danish situation.

As mentioned earlier in the theoretical framework, we noted that when the separation between homogenous groups is threatened (when multi-culturalism threatens cultural essentialism), *cultural anxiety* can develop from the said merging of cultures. This anxiety does not necessarily originate from fear of the unknown, but from the fear of the possible threat of one's culture and this fear can lead to what is called *cultural fundamentalism*, which promotes unequal treatment when necessary in order to protect one's own culture and identity. Nicole Frederiksen's statement is in this case highly relevant to understand how multi-culturalism threatens the identity of the individual from the perspective of a cultural essentialist.

The threat lies within the stripped possibility to distinct oneself from others and thereby define oneself clearly (this can also be said for groups in general), as one's identity relies heavily upon one's personal culture and role in society. Thus, by merging cultures, the cultural frame in which the individual exists is wiped out (or weakened), leading to what one could call an existential dilemma, and therefore the anxiety comes to be. This uncertainty must be avoided according to cultural existentialism, leading to cultural fundamentalist thought bringing forth measures of othering, which to critical race theorists would term racialization, as one could argue that racialization is simply othering based on race (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). This creates the dimension of 'us vs. them', hence preserving the obvious distinctions between cultures and identities.

Regarding the experiences of Nicole Frederiksen from the perspective of this theory based solely on cultural differences, does quite change our understanding of racism and of how it is enacted, as now we have the possibility to even question whether or not an action is even racist at all, or if it is actually what could be described as a defensive mechanism carried out by cultural fundamentalists to not feel lost in an ever-changing multi-culturalist setting.

Therefore, the setting in which the BLM Denmark has been founded is certainly different from that of the US origin. Taking into account the European context is important for the activist work of BLM Denmark, as a better understanding for why some people are stigmatized gives more effective solutions. Hence, if discrimination is culture-based and not race-based, one will be better off finding the best fitting solution by handling oppression as a product of cultural anxiety and cultural fundamentalism which stems from fear, rather than fighting an ideology that believes that nature has created a natural hierarchy divided by biological markers. During our interview with Nicole Frederiksen, she comments on the role of discrimination in European context:

“[...] also in relation to culture. I think that it is this sort of a discourse that keeps being uprooted: “Well, okay, that woman with the headscarf: that must be a sign that she has another culture: she does not support democracy”, [...] it is not as much based on skin color or race in Denmark. It is more culture, I think.”

Ultimately, the Danish society shapes and challenges these activists of the movement in other aspects, as they are not only responding to the shaping of a racial hierarchy, but they are as well trying to push back against people who believe that their existence in Danish society threatens certain factors somehow contribute in forming the society that shapes the individual. Multi-culturalist individuals, including Afro-Danes, are dealing with a more complex situation than simply race-related injustices committed against minorities. These cultural and social frameworks of society must become transparent so to reach a state of equality.

Intersectionality

In this section of the analysis, we have taken out the parts where the interview informants talk about intersectionality: racism that has something to do with gender, sexuality, class, geographical location, ability and religion. Intersectionality is another form of racism: racism does not operate independently but it interacts with different factors of the identities of an individual. These are intersectional elements of one identity and this creates a complicated system of different forms of discrimination (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015). The BLM US

operates on an intersectional level, since it does not only focus on anti-racism but also other patterns of racism that one can meet.

In the BLM movement in the US, they want to include the LGBTQ, the disabled, poor people, immigrants and people in jail. This quotation (which has been used before) shows the intersectional approach that the BLM movement has in the US:

“[...] I actually think that since Black Lives Matter in the US emerged, they have also started to move in the direction where they include other minorities, because principally, they experience the same but just on different bases [...]”.

Above, Nicole Frederiksen talks about how the BLM movement in the US is including other minorities rather than just Blacks, because they experience the same discrimination and racism, but in different circumstances and on different levels.

Furthermore, Nicole Frederiksen states that Bwalya Sørensen has created the BLM page because of the racism that all minorities experiences and not only the African minority:

”[...] to say: “Hey, it is not just BLM, it is generally minorities in America who actually experience the same just in different ways”. And so here in Denmark, I also think that is why she, Bwalya whatever her name is [...] I cannot pronounce her name. But it is her: she created the page for that very reason, not only because there must be a focus on the African minority in Denmark, but there must also be a focus on other minorities in Denmark.”.

If there was a focus only on the African minority, one could state that, the BLM DK movement would be more focused on neo-racism and cultural essentialism, but now that it is clearly focusing to include other minorities as well, the approach is more intersectional, hence other minority groups such as Muslims, Jews, Browns, and the LGBTQ will be included.

The emergence of BLM Denmark, according to Nicole Frederiksen, has happened because there are many minorities that face discrimination and do not get their voices heard:

“So, to say, unveil them and say: “Yes okay, it is not just Black people, but it is in general. There are some minority groups worldwide: whether they are homosexuals, Blacks, Muslims and Jews, you name it, who are still more or less suppressed”, and it is that is it, they are trying to get up, something like what is it called? In the agenda again, right. Why has it become so easy for them to get around the world because of course there are some groups who are oppressed in Denmark, as there is in Sweden as there are in the US, it is just different words, and it is some other [...] facets, if one can say so, right.”.

Here as well there is an intersectional approach, because besides African people facing discrimination and racism, there are other minorities such as Jews, the LGBTQ and Muslims. The reason it has been so easy for BLM to expand around the world is because there are discriminated minority groups all over the world. The BLM movement has grown because of the intersectional racism there is to be found all over the world. Nicole Frederiksen states that the discrimination that is to be found in Denmark, is also to be found in Sweden or in the US, but it just appears differently.

Furthermore, Nicole Frederiksen thinks that racism is met in different ways but at the end of the day it is the same problem:

“Uh, of course I can meet it in another way [...] so I can, for example, experience racism in a different way than how you experienced it [...] for example the way you encounter racism is different than mine, but basically it is the same problem. It has just again just some other faces in whichever racism or who it is going to affect: the minority group, you are from, right. So, I think that is why it has become so intersectional, as you say, right.”.

Racism is met differently depending on who you are, you might experience it in another way than others do. You might experience it implicitly or explicitly, in a higher or lower degree but it is still there. The racism is therefore intersectional, because it is experienced in different ways depending on which minority group you are from: if you are Black, Muslim, Jew or the LGBTQ or some of them at the same time for instance.

Moreover, Nicole Frederiksen acknowledges that the BLM movement have some supporters:

“I think here and now, that there are some supporters of Black Lives Matter: there are some who support it like, uh, I cannot pronounce her name, but she made that Facebook page with Black Lives Matter DK, uh, and it is a start, you could say, right.”.

Though Nicole Frederiksen acknowledges that there are supporters, she does not see the BLM movement as an official social movement. But she reckons that the Facebook page is a start, as she states: *“I do not see it as an official movement in Denmark, but it may be that we will need it later.”.*

In the interview with Sade Johnson she talks about intersectionality:

“So, I would say that I feel that there is a lack of intersectionality. I think it there is a lack in the Middle Eastern debate scene, and the feminist forums etc. to reach out to the Afro-Danish environment, and vice versa do you think so? One should, one should enter into a dialogue and also cooperate because it is some of the same things that you are facing and we are all affected by the racism.”.

Sade Johnson thinks there is a lack of intersectionality cooperation between the different minority groups. What we can extract from here is that there should be more of an intersectional approach towards racism. There should be a cooperation between the Middle East debate scene, the Feminist forums and the Afro-Danish environment. Also in the BLM US movement, there is a cooperation between the different minority groups. The BLM US movement has highly intersectional approach and that is what we is lacking here in Denmark, according to Sade Johnson.

In these interviews, with Nicole Frederiksen and Sade Johnson, the intersectional approach is also very clear. Sade Johnson says that there is a lack of intersectionality in the Danish public debate. She believes that the minorities who face intersectional racism should cooperate and together combat the different forms of discrimination they all face. Middle Eastern relates to the geographical location, Feminist forums to the gender-based intersectionality and

Afro-Danes also to the geographical location, so therefore again one could argue that it is the intersectional racism that is expressed.

In the interview with Nicole Frederiksen she says that the BLM Denmark Facebook page was created in order to combat the intersectional racism that all the minorities face and not only the African minority. Besides African people there are other minorities such as Muslims, the LGBTQ and Jews who face discrimination and do not get their voices heard. The emergence of BLM around the world, including Denmark, has been because there are discriminated minorities globally. Discrimination does not only happen in one place, because the discrimination you find in Sweden is also in Denmark or in the US. Discrimination just appears differently but at the end of the day it is the same problem.

New Social Movements

Giddens and Sutton (2013) define a social movement as a response to social inequalities happening in society. When this happens, people gather as a result of having a common goal: to make a change in society. In our interview with Nicole Frederiksen, she stated the following about BLM in general:

“Because there are so many minority groups who are still being suppressed and who does not have that voice and it is what Black Lives Matter wants to give them: they want to empower this voice one way or another”.

According to Nicole Frederiksen, minority groups on a global plan, are in some way or another being suppressed and she feels that the BLM movement is a way for them to have a voice and voice their opinions. The BLM movement is a place where people express themselves and the movement empower and encourage the minority groups to stand up, fight for their rights and to make a social change. When going into specifics and talking about the BLM Denmark, Nicole Frederiksen refers to them as a ‘Facebook page’:

“I think here and now – there are some supporters of Black Lives Matter, there are some people who support it, like, I cannot pronounce her name – but she has created that Facebook page with Black Lives Matter Denmark and that is a start, right?”.

Here, Nicole Frederiksen talks about the fact that BLM Denmark was established as a Facebook page rather than a NSM. Furthermore, Frederiksen does not perceive Black Lives Matter Denmark as an actual social movement: *“I do not see it as an official movement in Denmark, but it could be that we need it later”*.

Sade Johnson agrees with Nicole Frederiksen and her perception of the BLM Denmark:

“Then there is Bwalya who makes the activist platform, BLM Copenhagen, right? Like that, or Denmark, I think it is called. Who brings up the political atmosphere, right? And tries to make concrete, like, activist initiatives”.

Sade Johnson thinks of the BLM Denmark as an activist platform and she credits Bwalya Sørensen for taking up the issues that can be seen in the Danish society today. The founder of BLM Denmark, Bwalya Sørensen, also talks about BLM Denmark as a platform rather than a social movement as Nicole Frederiksen and Sade Johnson do: *“We talk about Black/White, but it was not only that. So, when you talk about Black Lives Matter, they all have to own it and I facilitate a platform”*.

Whether or not the BLM Denmark can be described as a social movement will be discussed in the next chapter.

Analysis - Part 2

In the second part of the analysis, we present theories which are developed through our coding technique of the interviews. These theories are not from the theoretical frameworks, but new theories conceptualized via open-coding with the gained empirical data. These theories are also factors of the emergence of the BLM Denmark and, therefore, crucial to include and are thus tools to examine the research question.

Post-colonialism

During the interview with Nicole Frederiksen we noticed that she kept referring to *post-colonialism*. This we find interesting because we did not think of this as a factor before we conducted the interviews. Postcolonial theory is a theory that stems from a context of racial oppression. Postcolonial scholars seek to understand the aftermath of centuries of colonization and abuse of the colonized countries and the effect it had on their cultures and identities (Routledge, 2016). The way in which Europe has perceived Africa was, and sometimes still is, laced with racism (Olusoga, 2015).

Nicole Frederiksen talks about how she, although living in Denmark, feels a connection with the Blacks in the US because of the transatlantic slave trade. Hence, she feels that Black people all share the same past and when police brutality is exercised on Blacks in the US she feels solidarity. This can be another reason as to why the BLM movement has emerged in Denmark, as the Afro-Danes experience the same hate exercised against them and to support the community in the US, the movement has emerged in Denmark:

“[...] but we have a shared past, you know in the Transatlantic slave trade and it is what we see in the US today, it is a clear evidence on the US history, like police brutality exercised on Afro-Americans today is an expression for slave trade back then.”

Furthermore, she says:

“We know, like, ask any African and he or she will talk about slavery for ages, all Africans know what it is, what it is about and what happened back then. And why they did it. So, it is a part of our self-understanding and of course we have it with us.”

She says that every Black person is knowledgeable about the slavery and the reasons for it. This, she feels, will always be a part of her self-awareness.

Problematically, she explains that people in the Danish society cannot seem to link post-colonialism to racism today: *“[...] it is difficult for them to draw a parallel between Danish slave trade and what consequences it has on the African minority today, it is a little*

bit tricky.”. This is because, in general, Danes are not as aware of the fact that Denmark was a part of the Transatlantic slave trade, as people in the US perhaps are.

Refugees and Asylum Seekers

In the US, cases of police brutality have resulted in numerous killings of innocent Blacks (Ghandnoosh, 2015). This is not the same case in Denmark, since there are no reported killings like there is in the US. In Denmark, the focus is on the police brutality exercised against asylum seekers at the Danish-German border as Bwalya Sørensen explains:

“Really, really depending if you hit the right days. With the right police officers on duty, you get a decent treatment, but you still go to jail. If you come when there is a Nazi-team on, they beat you to the ground. They (the asylum seekers, edt.) were totally scratched and totally swollen and beaten up (by the police officers, edt.). “Why you coming to my country!?””, and swear and I do not know what. Such a brutality and mistreatment. You could see people, the color of their teeth was a totally different color. he had to go to the dentist and get his teeth fixed because of the Danish police at the border.”.

In the above section the police brutality towards asylum seekers displays the neo-racism that exists, since the intense violence is enacted towards the asylum seekers, who have a different ethnic background and skin colour than the police. Bwalya even says that if there is a “*nazi-team on*” you get beat up to the ground and this implies that there is a form of racism going on, since the nazis were also racist towards minorities with other ethnic backgrounds or skin colours.

Ellebæk is a high security jail for rejected asylum seekers and not actual criminals:

“[...] the public has been told this jail is full, is for rejected asylum seekers, not criminals, if you are a criminal, you are not allowed to be there, um, so you must serve a common Danish jail um so it is very important they are not criminals [...] .”.

The fact that the police have a jail for non-criminal, rejected asylum seekers shows the institutional racism which is existing. This can be legitimized because of the formal institutions i.e. laws and regulations which are legitimizing these acts and possibilities.

Bwalya Sørensen explains how the asylum seekers would experience deprivation of their freedom, about a week or 10 days before they were sent back to their own countries. She emphasizes how it is not okay to deprive someone of their basic human rights. Therefore, she thinks that in their last 2-3 weeks in Denmark one should instead hold their hands, drink tea with them and tell them that there are some people in Denmark, that thinks about them and knows that despite the fact that they have a real case, they will be sent home:

“So, it is something like when people were taken from us so we knew within a few days, a week, ten days, because you do not lock people up. The jail is for criminals you do not just detain people from their freedom it is a big, big thing so it does not just happen. But that is why I thought, I figure that the last 2-3 weeks they are here, we can hold their hands, have a cup of tea, it is stressful, they have invested, borrowed money to get over the Mediterranean Sea, and now they have to go back again, you can just hold their hands in the last time and just say: “We are some people in Denmark, who cares about you, who are thinking of you and know that sometimes even if you have a real case then you will still be sent home.””

The fact that the police allows themselves to lock people up in jail, shows institutional racism exercised against the minority. They literally, without the asylum seekers committing any crime, lock them up just because they are (rejected) asylum seekers. This is a deprivation of their freedom and it is not normal to do.

Furthermore, she explains how Eritreans and Syrians get their asylum without a problem, whereas others struggle to get asylum or do not even get it at all. Some people say that they face 11 years in jail if they are sent back to their countries. Also, some people tried to pretend to be Syrians and they got caught by language-experts, who could hear by their accents that they were from e.g. Tunisia:

“Today it is just all Eritreans, all Syrians, it is very, very rare and perhaps inside the UN quotas there will be some of the others. But it exists, I have sat with people who

say: "I face 11 years (in jail, etc.), when I come back. 11". And he is not in doubt and I have no doubt. There are some there, everyone has told me that we could see on television all Syrians they have poured over the border, so we went to Turkey also we just followed with the Syrians and then when we reach as far, they say: "I am from Syria", but their voices were recorded. They have some language experts and then they say: "No, that accent, it is from Tunisia, you are not from Syria", or: "You are actually, not only are you from Syria, you are from Aleppo or you are from [...] we could hear it on your accent.""

There is an obvious racial discrimination towards the people who are not from Eritrea and Syria. Everyone who are not from there, do not get their asylum and some people have lied to get their asylum. Again this shows the neo-racism there is towards people that have a different ethnicity than Eritreans and Syrians.

In the section beneath, on one hand Bwalya Sørensen explains how she understands why the police comes to take people, 10 days before they are supposed to be sent back to their countries. On the other hand, she is against the fact that they are held back by the police for 6 to 11 months. She explains how she was shocked because some of the asylum seekers, for instance an Iraqi man, wished to go to another country, such as Germany, because there they have either friends or relatives. Some of the asylum seekers does not want anything to do with Denmark at all:

"So, I can understand a week before you are coming, 10 days before you are coming and that you keep track of people. I can understand it, but I cannot understand when it is six months, eleven months and it burst into self-oscillation, yes. It was certainly the idea, I would [...]. I get in there, what I found was not it. I got a shock. A shock. Because there are people that have no plans to come to Denmark. They have no interest in Denmark, they just want to travel from Finland to Germany: "I am an Iraqi asylum seeker: I have not seen family or friends in a whole year. My best friend came to Germany, I want to travel to Germany so I can just see one person from back home". He reaches Denmark, they jailed him for 3 months."

The deprivation of the asylum seekers freedom is shown again in this section. It is quite interesting to see how the asylum seekers are captivated for months because they are going to be sent back to their countries. Again, these actions unfolds the institutional racism that occurs.

Bwalya Sørensen also talks about a man from Palestine who had fled to Lebanon in 1967 with his family, where he grew up in a terrible refugee camp:

“A Palestinian that, they get a tolerated stay, because they are not from Gaza [...]. The family had fled to Lebanon. He grew up in a refugee camp which was unbearable. He cannot borrow (money, etc.) for a car: there are so many rights they do not have [...] it is rubbish. Well, he has to have a Lebanese friend if he is to take out a loan or buy a car. He cannot even own a car. So, and they say regions of origin, region of origin and it is not 5 years, 2 years. The family has been there (in Lebanon, etc.) since ‘67. So then, it is a lifetime, you can never buy a car. That is not freedom and it is not, but that is the way it is. [...] Sweden says: “You come from a safe country, you come from Lebanon [...]”. But because he is Palestinian, they cannot throw him out. So, he gets a card, some kind of kind just like some Iraqis have here (Denmark, etc.), with a tolerated stay. So, he has been in Sweden with an apartment. They do not put them in camps, like here. It is much, much better. He lives in a apartment, but it is difficult to cross borders. But he would like, he has been in Malmö and wants to go back home, he lives north of Helsingborg. He stands on the platform. I have tried it before, there are many people at Malmö station, it can go wrong. He sits there and he can suddenly see water. He thought: “Oh no, I am on the way to Denmark, oops”. He tried to get over, he could see in Taastrup, he approached the police [...] he can see the guards at Kastrup. He says: “What should I do, what should I do.” The train runs again. He goes to the Central Station and says: “Where is the police?”. There is one in the station, he walks over to them and said: Look here, this is what has happened”. They arrest him. 2 and a half months.”.

As the quotation above might suggest, it can be considered that the police in Denmark have in some cases used excessive force against people of color/non-White Danes in Denmark and imprisoned people just because they accidentally came to Denmark. In Sweden, on the other

hand, they have better conditions and are treated like human beings, since they get their own apartment and live a normal life. The institutional racism is enacted again towards an asylum seeker and instead of sending him back to Sweden the police used force and locked him up.

Bwalya Sørensen elaborates on how Palestinians who have accidentally crossed the border unintentionally have been punished with four weeks of jail. Not one single judge has ever released the Palestinians. And it is a jail filled with Black and Brown (Browns in Denmark are considered to be people who have origins in the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia) people. The only ones that are White are the jail-guards. Bwalya Sørensen says that the Red Cross are White and they are let in just like that, with keys to unlock the prisoners and to do activities with them, while others are getting scanned, checked and such:

“Palestinians who crosses the border in the strangest ways, anyone, there has not been one time that the judges have ever said: “You are released”. Not one. As my cover picture has been, with 4 fingers (four fingers held up in front of her face, etc.). 4. 4 weeks, they all got. And it does not matter if you just say: “They found me and I was [...]”, it is not a story, it is not a single, the judges has never released anyone. And there is a jail filled with Black and Brown people. No Whites, the only White people are the guards. And I have a group, we were scanned and everything and I have to take everything off each time. The Red Cross is White and they can just walk in. They will not be scanned and are given keys and they can even go up and open up the prisoners into doing activities. And they wander around. So, do not tell me there is not something wrong with the Danish justice system, it is so race, it is so racist and the worst is that is not talked about. And the worst thing is that my co-activists show them again and again and so we say is not called Negroes. Fuck [...] calling me Negro. Just out of jail with us.”

This can be considered neo-racism, where there is racism based on the color of one's skin and which country you are from. She says that there is something wrong with the Danish justice system, it is racist and no one is talking about it.

Bwalya Sørensen also describes the story of the Afghan asylum seeker who ate a razor blade and bled, because he was rejected and could not get asylum. She describes how the other

inmates were affected by the situation: they had all been locked up, while they anesthetized him to send him back to Afghanistan. They were all in deep shock and truly traumatized. He had tried to be sent back home four to five times before and he had fought against the brutality in the airport, where they had to bring him back again. The last time they had rented a flight, where they put him in. Bwalya Sørensen explains how it is weird that we have not heard of the Afghan man's story beforehand, since his fight against the police has happened four to five times prior to the incident where he ate a razor blade:

"Have you read about the Afghan who ate a razorblade and bled? Our, I regularly visit his neighbor. And he came out, and those guys came out the day we were visiting. Their mouth was completely cracked, usually they have been, if they are to have visitors, they have showered. So, they just look like something that was a lie. They could not sit down, very shortly: "Would you like some tea?", "No". Like this. Deeply traumatized. Deeply in shock. "Oh, what happened?", "They locked us inside and they dragged him, we could hear it, dragging him [...]". So, it was us and it has happened four to five times before, he had just fought back in the airport so they brought him back. This time, they had rented a plane, that they put him in. All the other times we have never heard of it. There has never been said anything, somewhere, there is someone who [...]"

In the scene from the section above, it can be considered that the police had used excessive force due to the use of anesthetization in the deportation process. The usage of excessive force on asylum seekers by the police can be legitimized via formal institutions, i.e. laws and regulations (Thorsen, 2014; COWI, 2015). Therefore, institutional racism in Denmark can be visible in the police's encounter with asylum seekers.

Pan-Africanism

When dealing with a term like Afro-Danish, we cannot but help to question the prefix 'Afro', as it is an indication to a defining factor of the identity of the minority existing in Denmark. As Africa is a great continent we do certainly wonder what it really means to be 'Afro', and how people with origins scattered across this vast mass of land relate to each other after all, despite possibly having completely different cultural heritages and historical backgrounds.

Though, shortly, to acquire some insight within the studies of *Pan-Africanism*, we believe that certain facts about Pan-Africanism add great value to our understanding of the activists we interviewed, as they are Afro-Danes. A sense of Pan-Africanism and common ‘Afro’-identity is expressed by the informants, since all the informants defines themselves as Afro-Danes. Pan-Africanism is also expressed via unification of the common history of people of African descent, as Nicole Frederiksen is referring to the common history of people of African descent and furthermore referring to them as siblings. When asked about her view of the first BLM Denmark demonstration in June 2016, she states:

“It was more like solidarity [...] I did not attend with aim of getting a new BLM Denmark, but more about create the awareness: “HALLO, try to see over here, we are also a minority in Denmark, we sympathize with our distant cousins and brothers, sisters in USA!”. Because we also experience racism on another way than what they (non-Whites in the US, edt.) do.”.

When asked about her views on the BLM Denmark in relation to the BLM US, Nicole Frederiksen refers to the common history of people of African descent as mentioned in a quotation earlier: *[...] but we have a shared past, you know in the Transatlantic slave trade and it is what we see in the US today,”.*

Firstly, as we have researched sources on the Pan-African identity, we have found out that Pan-Africanism is a bi-product of colonial times and the attached racism, as the African identity by some is considered to be a gift given by the Europeans (Mazrui, 2009a). In his book, the Kenyan, Ali A. Mazrui (2009a) includes a quotation by Davidson Nico, a poet from Sierra Leone, saying: *“You are not a country, Africa, You are a concept Fashioned in our minds [...].”* (Mazrui, 2009a: 29). Here he is referring to the belief that Africa was Africanized by European colonialists, as the African identity became apparent when the color of one’s skin suddenly defined who one was and one’s position in society. Basically, as pointed out by Mazrui, it was the Europeans who mapped the World, who mapped Africa, and who decided that all people of dark skin color should be generalized as Africans (ibid.) This factor is further emphasized by the quotation of the Africanist, Melville Herskovitz: *“It*

is thought of as a separate entity and regarded as a unit to the degree that the map is invested with an authority imposed on it by the mapmakers.” (Mazrui, 2009b: 35).

Moreover, in the book, Mazrui explains how the dehumanization of Black Africans by racism has contributed to the unison of ‘fellow Africans’, as they through their common suffering found solidarity by suddenly being able to relate to each other. As aforementioned, the color of one’s skin was not given much particular value until:

“Africans all over the continent, without a word being spoken either from one individual to another or from one African country to another, looked at the European, looked at one another, and knew that in relation to the European they were one.”
(Nyerere, Julius K., cited in Melville J. Herskovits, “Does 'Africa' Exist?” Symposium On Africa (hereafter referred to as Symposium), Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., 1960, p. 17., cited in Mazrui, 2009a: 31)

This sentiment of collectivity is considered by these scholars to be the very first spark of Pan-Africanism. The European arrogance towards South-Saharan Africans incited the reaction of Black consciousness, as stated before: Europeans made it matter whether one was Black or White (ibid.) Furthermore, another important aspect of Pan-Africanism as opposed to Pan-Europeanism, is the question of a national feeling and how this nationalism of Pan-Africanism has come to represent a whole continent and the descendants of it. In this case, it is argued, that within the borders of Europe, sovereign nations were threatened by other European rulers, whereas the threat to African nations came from an entirely different continent (Mazrui, 2009b).

Therefore, by acknowledging that the African identity was emphasized and underlined through the European generalization of Black men and women in the Sub-Saharan region, we can now explain that what started out as a generalization based on color and territory has become more notably affirmed by Africans (and descendants) themselves, as Pan-Africanism seeks to strengthen the somewhat ‘national’ feeling of oneness amongst Sub-Saharan Africans (ibid.)

Taking into consideration these pieces of information when discussing the case of Afro-Danes and the BLM Denmark activists, we can now acquire a clearer picture of the sentiments behind the social movements in Afro-communities and the meaning of the prefix 'Afro'. It also benefits us when elaborating on what it means to have an afro-identity. When Nicole Frederiksen considers Afro-Americans as her: "*brothers and sisters*", it indicates that the national feeling of unison by Pan-Africanism extends to the Afro-diaspora made up by expatriates and descendants. It seems as if remains of colonialism and racism both continuously reasons solidarity amongst Afro-identities, as well as make people of Black skin color define themselves in relation to the rest of society.

Chapter Conclusion

We have divided the analysis into two parts. In the first part of the analysis we used our interviews to examine how different kinds of racism is exercised in the US and in Denmark, examples of intersectionality and the interview informants' perception of the BLM Denmark.

We found out that in the US, racism is sometimes exercised through violence and killings of Blacks especially, whereas in Denmark it is a more subtle racism. For example, Nicole Frederiksen mentions that the way she faces racism is first based on her skin color and then it turns into stereotyping instead of brutal (physical) racism. In the Danish society, structural racism is often exercised through the use of the N-word and other derogatory words. In today's society, there are still people that does not see anything wrong with using the N-word, as they do not associate the word with colonialism and slave trade and do not realize what kind of connotation it has. Moreover, though institutional racism is not as brutal as in the US and as frequently used, Bwalya Sørensen still refers to incidents where asylum seekers have been mistreated by the Danish police. This supports the theory of neo-racism, as it cannot simply be explained by the color of one's skin (Black/White).

Racism in Denmark plays a different role in relation to the US. Racism in Denmark can be more classified as neo-racism, which rather focus on cultural differences than phenotypical differences. Discrimination against ethnicity or culture, is much more common than

discrimination against race. The discrimination is exercised via any perception of non-Danishness, such as religion, culture and cultural norms. Therefore, cultural essentialism is also crucial in the Danish context, since discrimination based on the 'other' culture seems to be the most significant type of discrimination. As the informants have experienced, this leads to a fear of multiculturalism by the majority ethnic Danes in Denmark, since multiculturalism can lead to disappearance of the supreme, homogenous, 'ethnic Danish' culture.

The BLM movement both in the US and also in Denmark can be seen as intersectional. In the US, the BLM movement are trying to include different exposed and vulnerable social groups, such as the LGBTQ. As Nicole Frederiksen talked about, the BLM movement include different minority groups because they all experience discrimination in some shape or form. According to Nicole Frederiksen, she also sees the emergence of the BLM Denmark as intersectional, as she sees it as a platform that does not only supports the African minority. Sade Johnson feels that there is a lack of intersectionality between the different minority groups and she feels that there should be more cooperation between them, then there is at this moment.

Even though it will be discussed later if the BLM in Denmark can be described as a social movement or resource platform, the BLM Denmark still shares many similarities with the NSM theory. For example, the BLM Denmark is open and fluid in the sense of not being heavily structured or having any established board, which also includes the elements of non-bureaucracy, anti-hierarchy and non-centered power forms which is found in the NSM theory. Furthermore, the BLM Denmark shares an intersectional approach, non-violence and use of social media, i.e. Facebook, which are to be found in the NSM theory as well.

As for the second part, the different types and elements of racism, cultural essentialism and NSM are not the only fundamental elements of the BLM Denmark. Post-colonialism, refugees and asylum seekers and Pan-Africanism are also essential parts of the BLM Denmark.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this discussion we will try to answer our research question: *Why has the BLM movement emerged in Denmark?* This we will do by comparing different concepts of racism in order to discuss why the BLM movement has emerged in Denmark. We want to compare the different concepts of racism and discuss whether the different concepts exist in Denmark and try to look at why these concepts have led to the emergence of the BLM Denmark. We will hereafter compare the BLM movement in Denmark to the BLM movement in the US. Additionally, we want to discuss if the BLM Denmark is a social movement or simply just a platform. Finally, we want to discuss whether the racism in Denmark can even be considered racism at all.

Structural and institutional racism

Stereotypes that leads to both institutional and structural racism is one of the factors that have led to the rise of the BLM movement in the US. Blacks are seen as criminals looking from the perspectives of some police officers, since there have been so many killings of Blacks. This stereotyping form of racism can also be called structural racism, since it is rooted in the structure of society and institutional racism because of the police brutality in the US. The initial rise of the BLM movement in the US was the killing of a Black innocent teenager, Trayvon Martin.

Structural and institutional racism are factors that contributed to the emergence of the BLM movement in Denmark as well. In the interview, Nicole Frederiksen stated that the skin color of the Afro-Danes resulted in stereotyping. The Afro-Danes were racialized and stigmatized based on the color of their skin. She mentions different stereotypes such as: Black men are aggressive, primitive, African women are prostitutes or African men are bottle collectors. This stereotyping leads to both racial discrimination with deep tracks to structural racism and institutional racism.

Another way structural racism can be seen is in the use of the N-word. In the interview, Nicole Frederiksen states that the N-word is used in Denmark as a common word to describe Afro-Danes and she believes that this is a negative thing, since it has a connotation with the colonial history Denmark has had with slavery. The use of the N-word reflects the structural racism and informal form of racism there exists in Denmark, since it is somehow socially acceptable to still use the N-word about Afro-Danes.

Institutional racism is also happening against the asylum seekers. For instance, if you are a refugee or an asylum seeker you do not have the same rights as a citizen with asylum or citizenship. For example, the asylum seeker cannot own their own company or work before they have an agreement with The Danish Immigration Service and if they do work before getting an agreement, they can get jailed for up to one year and get a fine as well. Also, the asylum seeker has to have been in Denmark seeking asylum for 6 months, before applying for a job (Ny i Danmark, 2016). The usage of excessive force on asylum seekers by the police which can be legitimized via formal institutions, i.e. laws and regulations (Thorsen, 2014; COWI, 2015) can be considered as institutional racism. Therefore, institutional racism in Denmark can also be visible in the police's encounter with asylum seekers.

Structural racism, as it exists in the US, does also exist in Denmark. Prejudices and stereotypes against non-Whites are enacted via norms and practices in everyday life. In the US, the BLM movement is focusing more on the police killings, whereas in Denmark the focus is more on the every-day structural racism that is experienced. Also, the focus in the BLM movement in the US is more on the actual shootings of the Black people, but in Denmark there is the intersectional racism enacted towards the Muslim community, the asylum seekers and the refugees. What exists in both countries is the fact that Blacks are stereotyped in the US and that same, but implicit, structural stereotyping exists in Denmark as well. The stereotyping does not only happen towards Afro-Danes in Denmark, but also towards the Brown.

Racism, neo-racism and cultural essentialism

In the US, Blacks are being killed based on the color of their skin. In the interview with Bwalya Sørensen we can see that the police do capture Browns and Blacks in the jail of Vridsløselille and the only Whites in the jail are the Red Cross workers and the guards. If what is happening in the jail of Vridsløselille is based on the color of one's skin, then this would be considered as institutional racism, which is the same racism that has contributed to the emergence of the BLM in the US. Bwalya Sørensen created the BLM movement in Denmark, because she felt there was a racism towards Browns and Afro-Danes who are in jail, but not guilty. This could be one other factor that has contributed to the emergence of the BLM movement in Denmark.

Neo-racism and cultural essentialism exists in the US since there are hate-crimes against Muslims (Lichtblau, 2016) and we could also mention the President-elect Donald Trump, who wants to ban Muslims entering (Washington Free Beacon, 2015) and deport immigrants from the US (C-SPAN, 2015). One could also argue for the fact that racism in form of neo-racism or cultural essentialism exists in Denmark as well. Nicole Frederiksen says in her interview that the headscarf is also associated with something distant and different from the Danish culture (quotation is used before): “[...] *that woman with the headscarf: that must be a sign that she has another culture: she does not support democracy [...]*”, she says that one could think. Based on this statement Nicole Frederiksen argues that the racism in Denmark is not based on skin color or race but rather on culture and religion instead. We can additionally argue that the racism in Denmark is more based on culture and religion rather than one's skin color, since Muslims, and especially female Muslims with headscarves, are a marginalized group.

The core mechanism of neo-racism is a subject to the same mechanism of biological racism - asymmetrical power dynamics which leads to a racial hierarchy, or in a neo-racism sense a

cultural hierarchy. However, cultural essentialism differs since the focus relies on anxiety for multi-culturalism, which leads to cultural fundamentalism rather than societal racial or cultural hierarchies. Cultural fundamentalism, however, is still a subject to discrimination or exclusion based on the 'otherness' of an individual. As mentioned earlier, Siebers and Dennissen developed cultural essentialism because of the distancing of US and UK contextual racist history due to colonization.

It would be inappropriate to name the discrimination against immigrants and descendants in the Netherlands as racism due to colonial history. Even though the argument of the use of cultural essentialism can be relatable to the post-WW2 immigrants and descendants in Denmark, it is hard to argue in the same manner for Afro-Danes. Denmark had a colonial history and was involved in the slave trade. Even though the most of these took place in the Virgin Islands in the Caribbean, African slaves in Denmark was also an existing phenomenon. Racial slurs from the colonization like the N-word was also adopted in Danish, and is still in present time up for debate (the persistence of racial slurs from the colonization in present times can also be found in McKnight, 2010; Rogers, 2003). Afro-Danes do not necessarily descend from the colonies or the slaves but they are still facing discrimination, stereotypes and racial slurs originated from the colonial, slave history. Discrimination against Afro-Danes often have traces of colonial past, e.g. the Danish political debate about the usage of the N-word. Therefore, there is no clear distinction between (neo-)racism and cultural essentialism/fundamentalism when it comes to the discrimination against or exclusion of Afro-Danes in the Danish society.

Although it is expressed through different expressions like racism, neo-racism and cultural essentialism/fundamentalism, discrimination or exclusion based on otherness in form of race, ethnicity, religion and/or culture and cultural fundamentalism due to anxiety towards multi-culturalism are existing phenomena in Denmark. It seems that minority ethnic groups, including Afro-Danes, experience discrimination based on their race, ethnicity, culture, cultural norms and/or religion. It can be discussed which kind of discrimination (racism, neo-racism, cultural fundamentalism) a person of color/non-White can encounter in

Denmark, this has to be decided within the given context. However, although there can be a disagreement on which form of discrimination the act is founded on, discrimination based on the perception of non-Danishness in the sense of race, ethnicity, skin color, religion and/or culture is an existing phenomenon in the Danish society.

Intersectionality

The BLM movement in the US has an intersectional approach, where the focus is to include the LGBTQ, Feminists, members of trade unions, White allies, Asians, Latinos, low income groups and disabled individuals. In other words: the intersectional racism interacts with other aspects of identities that an individual can have, such as the gender, sexuality, social class, geographical location, religion and ability. In the three interviews, all the interview informants Sade Johnson, Nicole Frederiksen and Bwalya Sørensen argue for the fact that the movement in the BLM Denmark also has an intersectional approach to inequalities in the Danish society, rather than just fighting for the rights of the Afro-Danish community, because racist actions are primarily committed on different minority groups such as Muslims and Brown people.

But Sade Johnson also says that in the Danish society there could be more of a co-operation within the society, like there is in the BLM movement in the US. According to Nicole Frederiksen the BLM Denmark page was created for all minorities rather than just Blacks and the BLM movement has emerged to Denmark because there are many minorities who face discrimination and racism. They experience racism on different bases and in different ways but at the end of the day it is the same problem, as intersectionality assesses. Nicole Frederiksen states that the BLM movement has emerged throughout the world because of the discrimination towards minority groups globally and not only in the US.

Othering

In the interview with Nicole Frederiksen she also describes how Mary, another Afro-Dane, tries to break with the othering or the racialization and the creation of an 'us' and 'them'. In Denmark, the othering and the creation of the categories 'us' and 'them' are very clear. There is the debate of 'Danishness' in the political sphere and it is a major topic in Denmark in general. People, like Mary (mentioned in one of the quotations in the analysis) feel like they have to explain why they are Danish as well as e.g. Ugandan.

The establishment of the BLM US was mainly because of the killings of Blacks, but the emergence of the BLM Denmark, according to Nicole Frederiksen, was to have a platform for all minority groups. The BLM US has developed into being more intersectional (Black Lives Matter, 2016; Rickford, 2016), but in the beginning, it was only against the systematic violence and racism towards the Blacks only. In other words, one could say that the racism in the US is institutional whilst in Denmark it is structural.

New Social Movements

Nicole Frederiksen does not identify the BLM Denmark as a NSM, but as a Facebook page. She argues that there are people who support it, but she does not perceive it as an actual social movement. On the contrary Sade Johnson thinks of the BLM movement in Denmark as an activist platform and so do Bwalya Sørensen. She thinks of the Facebook page as an activist platform that she is a facilitator of. The BLM movement in the US is a movement rather than just a Facebook page, since they have had numerous of protests worldwide, they have a webpage and their platforms on Facebook are more popular and active. In Denmark, there has only been one demonstration and the Facebook page has only around 800-900 likes, whereas in the US one of the Facebook pages has more than 300,000 likes. On the other hand, you could argue that Denmark is a considerably smaller country than the US and therefore the like-page and the demonstration can be considered a NSM.

The informants define the BLM Denmark as a resource platform, while the BLM Denmark shares a lot of similarities with the characteristics of the NSM theory. Therefore, the BLM Denmark can be defined as either a resource platform or a social movement, in the sense of the NSM theory. This relies on which definition one would use on the BLM Denmark. Even though there can be a disagreement in the definition of the BLM Denmark, there is still a notion of organizing of different groups with more or less the same aims.

Moving beyond: Pan-Africanism versus Refugee Solidarity

In the second part of the analysis, we have developed theories through our coding technique of the interviews. These theories are not delivered from the theoretical frameworks, but are later conceptualized with the coding. These theories are also factors to the emergence of the BLM Denmark, and therefore moving beyond the different types of racism, cultural essentialism and the NSM theory.

One of the theories, is the theory of Pan-Africanism, deeply rooted in post-colonialism. Sade Johnson and Nicole Frederiksen are arguing for the theory of Pan-Africanism as a major factor for the emergence of the BLM movement in Denmark. The prefix ‘Afro’ identity, meaning people who are identifying themselves as people of African descent, identified by Afro-Danes, gives a feeling of a global Afro unity. This, can also be seen with the expressions of ‘common Afro history’, referring other people of African descent groups as brothers, sisters and cousins and a goal on awareness of decolonized minds (related to post-colonialism), with the awareness of global African common history, solidarity and liberation. In a Pan-Africanist view, the BLM Denmark is thus a movement (or platform) to show support and solidarity with other Blacks globally, especially solidarity with the BLM movement in the US.

Another of the theories, is the theory of solidarity with refugees and asylum seekers in Denmark. Bwalya Sørensen is arguing for this theory. The harsh conditions refugees and

asylum seekers are encountering in Denmark, has led to the emergence of the BLM Denmark. Rather than being a solidarity movement with the BLM in the US, the BLM Denmark are seeking for more solidarity with refugees and asylum seekers in Denmark, and thus raising awareness on the conditions of refugees and asylum seekers.

Even though the BLM Denmark (and US) has an intersectional approach, the main focus of the movement itself vary. While the Pan-Africanist views supported by Sade Johnson and Nicole Frederiksen would argue for solidarity with other Blacks, and thus also the BLM US, and perhaps also arguing for the right to define Afro/Black identity, the view supported by Bwalya Sørensen relies more on solidarity with refugee and asylum seekers in Denmark. This shows that, even though the informants are working for the same cause they are still influenced by different perspectives.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In conclusion, the BLM has emerged in Denmark, with traits of a new social movement, because of the discrimination towards several minorities and not only towards Afro-Danes. Our research has led to different factors which all have contributed to the emergence of the BLM movement in Denmark. Therefore, in order to answer our research question: *Why has the BLM movement emerged in Denmark*, we need to highlight the different main factors.

One of the factors that have led to the emergence of the BLM movement in Denmark is structural racism which is exercised through norms and can be seen when racist words are being used, such as the N-word in Danish political debates. The BLM movement has emerged in Denmark because of the institutional racism there is against asylum seekers. The asylum seekers do experience discrimination and racism as well, but there have not been a platform for them.

Bwalya Sørensen works with the non-criminal, imprisoned asylum seekers and she felt a need for a platform. Therefore, she created the BLM Denmark. She also mentioned that the BLM movement just as well could be called 'Brown Lives Matter'. Since the trademark 'Black Lives Matter' is well-known, it can be used to the advantage of the BLM Denmark. Though it is a popular trademark originating in the US, it does not necessarily serve the same purpose as that of the BLM Denmark.

However, as mentioned before, while Bwalya Sørensen sees the BLM Denmark as a solidarity movement with asylum seekers, Nicole Frederiksen and Sade Johnson describes the BLM Denmark as a Pan-African platform. Therefore, one factor for the emergence of the BLM movement in Denmark could also be the need for or a interest in a new platform which can provide Pan-African resources and interests.

Another factor for the emergence, is the existing intersectional racism towards minorities in Denmark, such as the Muslim community and other minority groups with origins from the Middle East, North Africa and South Asia. There has been no platform to express this

discrimination and racism towards minorities like these and the BLM movement could be a platform for this group of people.

In the US, the BLM movement has been established due to the violent and brutal killings of Blacks, but it has emerged in Denmark as a backlash to the racism Afro-Danes encounter. They, for example, experience discrimination based on their Afro-identity which is expressed via racism, neo-racism and cultural essentialism.

Future suggestions for further research could be:

1. Institutional discrimination against refugees and asylum seekers in Denmark.
2. Pan-Africanism in Denmark.
3. Transnational activism: the adoption of other movements, i.e. the BLM Denmark is adopted by the BLM US.
4. Collect quantitative data on discrimination against Afro-Danes: providing statistics for the Afro-Danish community.

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