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How cultural differences/similarities between immigrants and locals influencing the integration of immigrants performing unskilled labor in Denmark?

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Abstract

This research study was made in the summer of 2016 and explores the lives of immigrants in Denmark form a perspective of cultural assimilation and labor market integration.

Purpose
The purpose of this research was to compare the experiences and views of European and non-European immigrants integrated into the Danish unskilled labor market.

Design/methodology/approach
The study is structured as a theoretical framework based on Gordon's assimilation theory and the labor market segmentation theory. The work commences by outlining the scholarly literature by means of an heuristic literature review encompassing relevant works. This theory was then adapted to the realities of the Danish labor market and applied by means of a qualitative semi-structured questionnaire to European and non-European immigrants in Denmark. The experiences of the two immigrant categories have been compared with each other and with the declarations of Danes on topics of immigrant integration. Immigrants have been selected from the unskilled labor market.

Findings
The findings of the study showed a gap between the experience of European and non-European immigrants. Non-European immigrants come from culturally dissimilar backgrounds, lack linguistic knowledge, and are adopted with more difficulty by Danish people than European immigrants. This leads to category segregation and lengthy periods of integration of non-Europeans.

Research limitations/implications
The research is qualitative and, although it identified the main factors that prevent labor market integration and cultural assimilation of non-European immigrants, it lacks the wide applicability of quantitative studies. The findings may or may not be valid for the entire immigrant and Danish population.

Practical implications
This study has applications in the integration of immigrants. The host countries can use this knowledge to create better integration policies that would help immigrants become a part of the new country and contribute to the economy.

Originality/value
The research fulfills a knowledge gap that has been identified based on the literature review. This work constitutes a step toward the comprehension of immigrant life realities in Denmark.

Keywords: *Immigrant, Cultural assimilation, Labor market, Integration, Discrimination, Denmark*

2. Introduction

Globalization has turned the modern world into a global village where people can freely move from one place to another to satisfy their needs, look for better employment opportunities, study, or run from the path of wars. Their efforts may be either aimed at improving their economic prospects, reuniting with their family members, ensuring a more secure living environment, or counteracting political factors, avoiding persecution in the home country and general political instability. In most cases, people move from areas that are limited in what they wish to pursue to areas where resources are not as scarce as in their home countries.

Given the different levels of development among nations, a large number of people move to the developed countries in search of opportunities and good living conditions (Sherrif, 2010 p.61). In 2013, there were 232 million international immigrants at a worldwide level (United Nations, 2013; OECD, 2013), while in 2015 the numbers rose to 243 million (United Nations, 2015). According to the same statistics, the number of immigrants in Denmark in 2015 was 572,520, excluding the second generation of immigrants.

The different communities around the world have different cultures, which are separated by core values, and geographical and temporal barriers. Culture is embedded in the way of life of individuals pertaining to a particular community. An individual moving or rather migrating from one community to another, or from one nation to another, is therefore bound to be cast in a very different cultural setting, which in turn may dictate the association between the individual and the members of the host community (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014 p.97-99). One of the major reasons as to why people migrate is the search for greener pastures, and it is for this reason that this paper seeks to explore how cultural differences and similarities with locals impacts on the integration of newcomers performing unskilled labor in Denmark.

2.1. Research background

According to Anderson & Antalíková (2014 p.593), Denmark is experiencing the highest immigration rate in its modern history. Over the last several decades, Denmark has experienced a notable influx of immigrants primarily from non-European countries. Integration of immigrants into the host society is an issue that requires a comprehensive approach and it is a topic that has been analyzed from many points of view (Ballarino & Panichella, 2015 p.349). Theses analyses helped uncovering facts on which a number of different economic and sociological theories have been developed in an effort to understand the integration and assimilation of

immigrants in a host country. As noted by Ballarino & Panichella, there are two main processes of integration that have been established and which can be clearly distinguished form each other. The first one is assimilation, and the second one is segmented assimilation. Assimilation refers to the outcome of the process through which the culture and language of the guest group become similar to those of the groups already present in the host country and is said to be influenced by social ties (Facchini, Patacchini & Steinhardt, 2015, p.3). Segmented assimilation (Stepick & Stepick, 2010, p.2) is a somewhat controversial outcome of a process through which immigrants adapt to some norms of the host society or to some groups but not to others. Segmented assimilation has its roots in the self-perception and identity of the immigrants, namely they only integrate with the groups and norms they identify themselves with in a selective process. The common characteristic of both of these processes is that they both agree on the short-run outcomes of immigration; that is, for various reasons, immigrants experience some kind of occupational penalization in the host country ((Ballarino & Panichella, 2015 p.349).

The notion of human capital was coined by Gary Becker (Becker, 2009), working as an economist with the University of Chicago, and Jacob Mincer (Mincer, 1974), one of the forefathers of labor economics. Human capital refers to the wealth of knowledge, habits, personality attributes (e.g. creativity), and social attributes manifested through the ability of individuals to perform meaningful labor resulting in economic value. One of the major reasons that lead to occupational penalization among immigrants is that some aspects of human capital are country specific (Ballarino & Panichella, 2015 p.349). An example of country specific elements, language, is country specific and not knowing it might therefore be a significant problem for immigrants in the new host country. In addition to this, Ballarino & Panichella have also noted that, in many cases, immigrants have less knowledge when compared to the natives of the host nation, particularly the immigrants originating from developing countries. Given the difference in education from the immigrants' country of origin and the host country, in most of the Western Europe, educational certificates from the immigrants' countries of origin are, in many cases, not recognized as being equivalent or offering the same official qualifications to those issued by the host country. In these cases, the certificates must be either reviewed to be declared equivalent or the possessors must undergo a few years of training to obtain local qualifications (Ministry of Education and Science Denmark, 2016).

Besides language and formal schools certificates, most immigrants lack knowledge of how the labor market in their host country functions. As a result of this, they end up facing a verity of difficulties in finding jobs that match their skills and expectations, unlike the natives who are

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familiar with the surroundings and the specifics of the labor market. Another issue that immigrants face is the lack of familial support. Most immigrants are in urgent need of a job to sustain themselves upon arrival in the host country. Additionally, they need to earn money, out of which some will be sent back home to their families. Because of this, immigrants take on readily available jobs that usually require low level of skills and that are associated with low level of payment according to the required skill level. This is usually the case with countries where immigrants have limited or no access to welfare benefits, as noted by Ballarino & Panichella (2015 p.350).

Immigrants make significant contributions to the economy of a host country, in either direct or indirect ways. In his book on how to respond to immigrant settlement needs, Robert Vinebag (2011) notes that immigrants play a major role in the economic development of the host country. For this reason, Vinebag notes that it is incumbent upon any state that seeks to attract immigrants to provide them with every possible assistance and facilities. Drawing from the history of immigrants in Canada, Vinebag notes that there is a significant difference between the early times where immigrants were provided with almost everything by the Canadian government, to later times when immigrants were not given any attention. One of the lessons that he brings out of this comparison is that a failure to provide the immigrants with the necessary assistance visits poses problems not only to the immigrants, but to the host nation as well. When immigrants are well integrated in the host country, Vinebag notes that the host country is the one that benefits most from the immigrants' contribution. On the other hand, immigrants who do not integrate well with the host nation face enormous social, political, and economic problems. Consequently, there is a dire need of integrating immigrants in the host country, while at the same time taking into consideration factors that may limit their full integration such as cultural background, education, as well as the form of employment that is readily available to them. The factors contributing to integration of immigrants in the host country are the topic of this study.

2.2. Central problem of research

To properly set the stage for the main research problem, this study must first start by outlining several crucial aspects regarding the status and general daily lives of immigrants. The first part of this section will be dedicated to discussing the several existing categories of immigrants, by the purpose of their relocation. Out of all the categories, the study will narrow down to its target population of immigrants, who are contributing to the local economy of Denmark through gainful employment in unskilled labor tasks.

2.2.1. Immigrant categories

There are many categories of immigrants, who can be separated based on the purpose of their departure from the home country and arrival into the host country. Since immigrants change countries to escape wars, political persecution, poverty, or seek new opportunities in education, employment or find their families, it is most natural to classify them by these phenomenological manifestations they undertake. Therefore, from the standpoint of their purposes, immigrants can be divided into a few categories: (1) asylum seekers, (2) refugees, (3) students, (4) prospective employees, and (5) lost family members wishing to be once again part of their own families (Fangen, Fossan, & Mohn, 2010, p.60). The purpose of the immigrants' arrival is important because it contributes to the local labor market, and to their lives, where work plays a central part, for two reasons: firstly, most employees spend a significant number of hours per week at work (in fact, the majority of their wake time); secondly, because for humans, work is interlaced with social interactions or better chances for further integration (Chiu, Hsu & Wang, 2006). For instance, students enrolled in higher education in Denmark will, later on, have a better chance to obtain a well-paying job based on their skills and qualifications than immigrants arriving in Denmark to work, with no higher education completed and no intention to pursue further education. Due to their qualifications, unskilled prospective workers will have major difficulties in crossing over to another employment segment and will have no choice but to remain in low paying jobs, unless receiving further training or education (Wial, 1991; Dekker, De Grip & Heijke, 2002; Dayton-Johnson, Pfeiffer & Schwinn, 2009, p.2).

2.2.2. Origin of immigrants in Denmark

From the standpoint of their provenance, the immigrants in the Nordic Countries have been categorized as originating from five main regions by Pettersen & Østby (2013). These immigrants come from (1) Asia, Africa, and Central and South America; (2) North America, New Zealand, and Australia; (3) the rest of Europe; (4) the European Economic Area and EU 27; (5) other Nordic countries. In Denmark, immigrants originating in zones 3, 4, and 5 can be described as the most culturally similar to the native population due to their cultural and economic heritage. These immigrants constitute 49 percent of the total immigrant's (Pettersen & Østby, 2013). The immigrants arriving from zone 2, North American and Australia, are typically Caucasian adults and children and share many cultural characteristics with the natives, the differences being minimal other than those originating from geographical distance for long periods of time. In total, 53 percent of the immigrants now living in Denmark come from

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culturally similar regions. The rest of 47 percent arrive from Asia, Africa, and Central and South America and can be described as the immigrants who are most lacking similarity with the local culture. In total, immigrants constitute 8 percent of the population of Denmark and their descendants constitute approximately 2 percent (Pettersen & Østby, 2013). Of these, almost half are lacking cultural similarity with the locals. Moreover, immigrants between 18 and 24 years of age who are neither in employment nor education constitute 42 percent of the total immigrant population in that age segment. By provenance, immigrants who are neither enrolled in education nor gainfully employed come from Somalia (45 percent), Pakistan (40 percent), Turkey (39 percent), Poland (37 percent), Iraq (35 percent), Vietnam (24 percent), and Bosnia-Herzegovina (18 percent) (Pettersen & Østby, 2013). Despite the fact that the statistic encompasses immigrants from two European countries, it can be remarked that it leans heavily towards immigrants originating from Asia and Africa. There are two possible causes that can trigger this situation: either immigrants lack the skills and characteristics necessary to integrate, or they are not welcomed into the country, which makes their integration more difficult.

2.2.3. Factors influencing integration

The skills and characteristics necessary for integration and assimilation of immigrants can be categorized as belonging to two main categories, some of the skills and characteristics belonging to both categories at once. These categories are (a) skills necessary for employability (Shachar, 2006) and (b) skills necessary for successful integration in society and local social life (Berry et al, 2006). The skills necessary for employability can be derived from the functional aspects of work in general. When hired locally, immigrants have to be able to communicate with their peers and customers, and execute the tasks required by their role; therefore, these factors can be described as (1) speaking the local language, (2) having the skills necessary to perform skillful employment but without having higher education and (3) having the higher education necessary for highly skilled, intellectual jobs. From the standpoint of integration in society and social life, the desirable characteristics of immigrants can be (1) speaking the local language; (2) being similar to the local society and adopting the cultural norms and social habits of the locals. The second point, that of similarity with the local culture, should be further explored as it is a complex factor. Similarity to the local culture signifies that immigrants should have most, if not all, characteristics of the natives and should act similarly to the natives. This similarity is described by a plethora of factors: (1) having permanent residence (2) owning or renting a home; (3) having local friends; (4) being involved in a long term romantic relationship or being interested in the prospect; (5) attending local cultural events; (6) having a social life at work (e.g.

after hours drinks with coworkers); (7) consuming similar food and drink; (8) sharing religious and political beliefs; (9) sharing similar social values. Naturally, the agreement cannot be complete since natives themselves often do not share the exact same values, religious views or political convictions. However, the immigrants should strive for similarity with at least some part of the natives such that they can be accepted into their groups (Aronson et al, 2016, p.270).

For a simple and straightforward classification of the immigrants, a four cell matrix can be utilized. Thus, immigrants can be categorized based on their most immediate and relevant characteristics, such as skill level, which directly determines employability, and cultural difference, determined by their place of origin and its local culture. Since most countries in Africa and Asia can be described as developing economies, while the countries in Europe, North America, and Australia are developed economies, it follows that Africans and Asians have fewer opportunities for education and developing skills than those in developed countries (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001). This is important to explain the resulting differences and the dynamics that can appear between Danes and immigrants with different ethnic backgrounds. Therefore, it is often the case that cultural similarity with the Danes is also accompanied by a stronger educational background, while cultural differences are also deepened by weaker cultural backgrounds. This situation creates further difficulties for non-similar immigrants and creates a favorable integration background for those already similar with the local culture.

By educational background and skills	Skilled		x
	Unskilled	x	
		Asian and African	European and Caucasian from other countries
By provenance and cultural background			

Fig. 1. Proposed classification of immigrants by skills and culture similarity

2.2.4. Political background

Those who are responsible with passing laws that can make immigrants integrate easier and faster in Denmark are the popular representatives in the government and legislative bodies. However, immigration is a known political issue in Denmark (Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008a). Moreover, it is known that in Denmark there are anti-immigration political factions for a

long time (Bjørklund & Andersen, 2002; Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008b). In fact, according to both media and scholars, immigrants are often presented as a public burden, requiring significant investments and returning little to no gain, or even consuming the financial funds of the state (Storesletten, 2003, p.23). The government claims that stricter immigration laws saved Denmark 6.7 billion euros (Reimann, 2011). Subsequent to the refugee crisis, Denmark's legislative bodies have chosen to send a very clear message that refugees and asylum seekers are not welcome into the country. To the dismay of humanitarian organizations, Denmark passed a law authorizing police personnel to search refuges and confiscate money and valuable items when these exceed 1,340 euro (BBC News, 2016; Levring, 2016; Tange, 2016). However, stricter laws and the new law that can be seen as a dire offense against human rights have little consequence to the immigrants who are already living in Denmark. Since immigrants and second generation immigrants constituting almost 10 percent of the total Danish population are here to stay, it is in the best interest of both immigrants and locals to make sure they are integrated as a useful part of the social life and economy of Denmark. If the government does not want them to say, this affects their integration by slowing it down or preventing it entirely.

2.3. Research question and research hypothesis

The main question addressed by this research is the following:

"How cultural differences/similarities between immigrants and locals influencing the integration of immigrants performing unskilled labor in Denmark"?

Drawing on the theory put forward by Gordon, this study will attempt to answer this question by proposing the following two hypotheses, which will be tested by empirical observations:

Hypothesis 1: Immigrants from European countries have better chances of faster and more complete integration than Asian and other immigrants because of their original culture.

Hypothesis 2: Asian immigrants have large cultural differences and therefore take more time to integrate than European immigrants.

The relation between immigration and employment is most important in the services(hospitality, restaurant, and catering) sectors, where many unskilled workers have been hired in the past five years. The statistics published by Statistics Denmark seem to suggest that immigrants from culturally similar countries have a better chance of employment (Statistics DK, 2015). At the end of 2014, 66.7 percent of the immigrants from western countries were employed, along with 69.2 percent of their descendants, compared to only 54.9 of the immigrants from elsewhere, along

with 57.5 of their descendants. The difference on both first generation and second generation immigrants is of approximately 12 percent.

According to statistics, the hospitality industry across Europe is among the fastest growing sectors. Europe employs over 9.5 million workers in hospitality, this number representing 4.4% of the total number of employees on the continent (Hotrec, 2015). The hospitality sector is labor intensive and mostly holds low paying jobs that require unskilled workers. In Denmark, 80 percent of the jobs in the hospitality, restaurant, and catering sectors are filled by immigrants, along with 30 percent of the jobs in the cleaning business (CPH Post, 2012). In fact, Danes avoid these jobs, while educated foreigners cannot find work suitable for their level of education, for example PhD (CPH Post, 2014), and are pushed into unskilled jobs.

In order to test the two hypotheses, the target group has been divided into two segments:

1). This workforce(newcomers) can be divided into categories as immigrants holding green card, immigrant workers, international student and asylum seekers in Denmark.

2). Employers, namely small and medium enterprises (SME), employer, coo-worker, organizations, and recruitment agencies.

Should these two forces become aligned and have common integration goals, the integration and cultural assimilation of immigrants would become straightforward. Consequently, immigrants would be successfully participating in the labor market and in the social life. In a context where even highly educated workers are locked into unskilled labor and large numbers of immigrants work in services, this study comes to question their context and possibilities of integration. The major theme of the study are immigrants working in services, and more precisely, the cultural background differences between immigrants coming from different countries in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The working hypotheses that will be tested here are that culturally similar immigrants working in services find it easier to integrate than culturally different immigrants. The next section of this paper, on the literature review, will outline some studies that focused on the integration of the immigrant workforce.

3. Literature review

The literature review section will begin by defining what is culture and migration means and later will focus on discussing the problem of migrants from a cultural standpoint. Immigrants take their culture and habits with them to their target countries and sometimes their cultural background hinders successful integration in the new social and work life.

3.1. Culture and migration

By definition, culture is considered a complex whole that includes knowledge, beliefs, law, arts, morals, customs, as well as any other capabilities and habits acquired by mankind as a member of society (Mesoudi, 2011 p.189). Within modernity, the sphere of culture is delimited through its separation from the economic and political; within the general differentiation of spheres, that constitutes "society". On the other hand, in relation to this study, migration is the movement of people from their home country to a new country, leading to temporary or permanent resettlement. Altogether, migration commonly raises questions about national identities and social membership (Batram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014). International migration or migration from one nation state to the other is broadly understood as a social phenomenon that connects with a comprehensive range of life domains such as culture, identity, economics, and politics. According to Bhugra & Becka (2005), migration contributes to the diversity and richness of cultures as well as to the formation and restructuring of ethnicities in the developed countries. Individuals involved in migration processes stand a risk of experiencing multiple stresses that can significantly impact their mental wellbeing (Silove et al, 1998; Steel et al, 1999; Ellis et al, 2008). Additionally, migration can lead to loss of cultural norms, social support systems, religious customs, problems in adjusting to the new culture, as well as changes in identity and concept of self. If immigrants are to be free of these issues, there is a need for the host country to have a framework ensuring that immigrants are well integrated into the nation (Bar-Yosef, 1968).

3.2. Cultural integration and assimilation of immigrants

Immigrant integration is the process through which a host country makes it possible for newcomers to participate in the economic, social and political life of the country (Joppke & Seilde, 2012 p.9). To enable this, the society and the government of the host country have to provide resources and instruments that will allow immigrants and their families to lead a life that is protected from discrimination of any kind. Defining immigrant integration as a process does not necessary mean that the path is unidirectional and that it has an end point. Some immigrants may take residence somewhere and choose not to become citizens of the host country. For immigrants to be considered successfully integrated into the host society, they must benefit of equal legal position as well as equal social-economic participation (Joppke & Seilde, 2012 p.9). In Denmark, knowing of the local language is one of the most important criteria that an immigrant must satisfy to successfully go through the process of integration. Apart from the language, the process of integration requires that the common values, norms,

and patterns of behavior of the Danes should be respected; integration is therefore a two-sided process. Immigrants are expected to be willing to integrate, and the natives and government of the host country are expected to make the process of integration possible (Scholten, 2011 p. 194). Assimilation, unlike integration, is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life (Kumaravadivelu, 2008 p.67). Assimilation is, therefore, the process through which the minority communities are absorbed into the ways of the majoritarian community in a multicultural society. Unlike integration, which is a bidirectional process, assimilation is a one-way process where the immigrants are expected to learn the traditions and customs of the dominant community. This calls for the immigrants modifying or renouncing their own ways as a cost of being accepted by the dominant community.

3.3. Equal treatment and integration

A definition of equal treatment of natives and immigrants has been offered by Martens (1999, p.224). Equal treatment starts from a minimum of benefits immigrants should be entitled to receive, such as pay, training, and equal access to advancement opportunities. Starting from this idea, there are four possible approaches to immigrant on the labor market, approaches that aim at establishing equal footing for the right and benefits of the immigrants and those of the natives. The first stage of inclusion would be to offer both categories an equal treatment (Wrench, 2004 p.32-33). However, the assumption of equal treatment implicitly excludes anti-discrimination policies, without necessarily being able to weed out discrimination made by employers. Creating a homogeneous playing field would be a second approach, which recognizes the need to introduce immigrant rights. A third option would be to create equal opportunities, based on recognizing that active policies are necessary for minimizing the intrinsic differences between immigrants and natives. The fourth approach is aimed at obtaining equal outcomes by positive discrimination of immigrants, by, for example, reserving positions of minorities such that they are democratically represented (Wrench, 2004 p.33-35). Some studies suggest that the proportional representation of minorities in democratic practice requires a critical mass to form through their overwhelming presence at all levels in the social, cultural life, and the labor market of the country (Matland, 1998).

3.4. Segmentation of labor market

The first relevant concept for this research is that of segmentation. Within a country, the segmentation of labor market creates two groups of employees, namely the skilled and unskilled

ones. On the international market, segmentation is described by a dual labor market hypothesis (Prior, 1979) that divides the economy into two segments. One of the segments encompasses native workers, and the other – immigrant workers. The jobs offered to natives are mostly found in a sector demanding specialized skills and sees large capital investments. The jobs available to immigrants are typically manual works and labor, with highly repetitive tasks and few intellectual challenges. Moreover, this sector is not protected against employee dismissal and layoffs and has no means of protection against abuse or employer caprices. The dual labor market hypothesis provides motivation of natives to militate for the existence of minimum wages and strictly regulated migration. These measures are aimed at avoiding companies from moving the skilled jobs into the immigrant segment (Prior, 1979 p.42). The segmentation theory also provides a potential motivation for the possible preference of employers to hire immigrants or migrants over the locals. Thus, employers are more likely to prefer malleable employees who are unlikely to challenge the status quo, but achieve the targets (Waldinger & Lichter, 2003 p.145). Therefore, their selection criteria should, in principle, by biased towards the selection of the employees with least potential to ask for better working conditions, wage raises, and such. Moreover, immigrants and especially those unskilled should be more dependent on the companies employing them than the locals. Another important factor of segmentation is the preference of natives for better paid positions, with non-trivial tasks and their disinclination to accept unskilled work (Prior, 1979 p.3), which leaves a gap for companies to fill with unskilled immigrant labor.

3.5. The influence of immigrant laborers on native employees

The analysis of how the labor market influences immigration and how immigration changes the dynamics of the local labor markets has been a topic of study for many scholars. Immigration is seen as a shock on the national or local labor supply. Therefore, multiple research studies have considered the impact of the presence of immigrants on the local wages and the levels of employment of the natives in the national and local economy (Altonji & Card, 1991; Card, 2005; Friedberg, 2001; Ottaviano & Peri, 2012). All of these research studies generally found that the presence of immigrants has little importance for the employment level and paychecks of the natives, as revealed by meta-analyses, or studies of studies (Longhi, Nijkamp, Poot, 2005; Blau et al, 2013). These findings contradict predictions derived from the simple model stating that, when all their characteristics are equal, the consequence of the presence of immigrants will be a decrease of the wages of the natives. More recent studies have explored the implications of the idea that various adjustments within the economy may change the simple predictions of this

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model. For example, the immigrant workers may have a different set of skills compared to the natives. The possibility of such systematic differences between the skills of the natives and the skills of the immigrants has been emphasized by Manacorda et al (2012) and D'Amuri, Ottaviano, and Peri (2010). In fact, immigrant workers create a background for productivity and specialization to appear across companies, instead of unhealthy competition for low paying jobs. However, this is a larger effect on the economy, mostly visible when analyzing historical data on longer periods. Another observed tendency is that technology and investments fluctuate such as to absorb immigrant human capital and adjust to their presence on local markets (Lewis, 2011; Barrett et al, 2013). Lewis (2011) found that immigrants cannot completely substitute natives, as it can be observed from the differences between their wages. However, this effect differs across cultures and geographic locations, such as the US and Spanish speaking regions. An longitudinal study following a large number of workers and how wages vary in this context was done by Foged and Peri (2013). They found that an increased number of immigrant from outside Europe, present in a Danish local area, forced the less educated Danes into more intellectual jobs by taking away the manually intensive opportunities. Instead of creating a job gap, the presence of immigrants has shifted the local labor supply and created a reallocation of the workforce across companies and occupations. Despite the new dynamics on the labor market, the natives did not lose their jobs to immigrants, now was their probability of getting employment decreased, as many of the people opposing immigration fear.

3.6. The influence of migrant laborers on local businesses

Study by Malchow-Møller et al (2013) exploring the dynamics of labor markets in the presence of immigrants. These researchers surveyed immigrants employed in farms for a period of 28 years. The data of the employees was compared with the economic productivity of the employer and the study found that farms employing immigrants are larger than other farms and at least as productive. As estimated by the number of new jobs and total farm revenue, the farms employing immigrants were more successful. These findings suggest that immigrants are extremely beneficial to the local economies (Malchow-Møller et al, 2013).

Only a few studies explore the dynamic effects of immigration through statistical methods. Cohen-Goldner and Paserman (2011) found that the effects of the presence of immigrants on the local labor market vary in time. However, it is not clear whether the effect is caused by the adaptation of the natives to the new conditions or to the adaptation of the immigrants to the local conditions and to the adjustment of companies' investments (Cohen-Goldner & Paserman, 2011 p.3). Since the study divided local workers into categories and followed them over time, it is not

clear whether locals and immigrants moving inside the country or to new positions have influenced the overall dynamics. Details regarding the paychecks and occupations of individual workers are not known. In fact, most studies fail to look at individual's careers and occupations on the labor market in aggregate and, such as is the case of Peri & Sparber (2009). Therefore, the factors that motivate and influence the motions within the society, into new jobs, or into new parts of the country, of immigrants and natives are unknown (Peri & Sparber ,2009 p.1).

3.7. Structural and Individual Barriers for Integration

According to Heilbrunn, Kushnirovich and Zeltzer-Zubida (2010), the immigrants in the process of integrating into the local workforce and participating in the labor market meet two kinds of integration barriers in Israel. These barriers can be characterized as objective and subjective. The objective barriers, firstly theorized by Light and Rosenstein (1995), are disadvantages related to the resources the immigrants have, such as competition, issues arising from the macroeconomic environment of the country, the absence of social networks for support, lack of experience (working or situational) in the host country, variances in mentality, lack of adequate work due to the host country's labor market structure, and language difficulties (Heilburnn, Kushnirovich and Zeltzer-Zubida, 2010 p.246). The second group of barriers, the subjective issues, is related to disadvantages that hinder immigrants' progress and wellbeing inside the labor market. These are the prejudices of society, expenditures necessary for searching for work (e.g. the required time and technological equipment for information search, adequate clothing for interviews, help in writing applications), the limited availability of sources of information, lack of familiarity with the corporate job offerings in the country, the absence of education or professional skills that are sought by the labor market, initial settlement resources, and physical distance between residence and the workplace (Heilburnn, Kushnirovich and Zeltzer-Zubida, 2010 p.246).

Whereas the first category of barriers is related to personal shortcomings, lack of skills, or general inadequacies of a kind or the other, the second category of barriers pertains to the environment. Here, individuals have little or no influence which they can exert to improve the situation (Ibid). The authors concluded that the various groups of immigrants they studied came across different integration barriers in the labor market. These barriers depended on their location of origin. Thus, immigrants coming from the countries in the former Soviet Union mostly faced objective barriers, connected with their skills, education, competition, or language problems. On the other hand, immigrants from Ethiopia, a country separated by a greater

cultural distance from Europe, mostly faced subjective barriers, dealing with their knowledge of the local labor market and culture.

> "*Although all immigrants were disadvantaged in the labor market, the mode of how immigrants dealt with the barriers derived not only from the novice status of immigrants but also depended upon particular characteristic of the immigrant ethnic group, which is especially important when relating to visible minorities*" (Heilburnn, Kushnirovich and Zeltzer-Zubida, 2010 p.251).

It can be the case that immigrants from the former Soviet Union were relying on their individual abilities. Consequently, to them it was more important to overcome lack of education, or linguistic deficiencies. African immigrants, on the other hand, were perhaps separated by a large cultural difference and therefore had difficulties in settling into their new niches. This separation hints at a separation between the two immigrant types into two separate groups.

Along with cultural differences, there are other differences between immigrants based on their period of residence into their new country. These differences can perhaps be explained by their cultural adaptation period. To explain those differences, the following section will discuss the strategies undertook by immigrants who are in different stages of migration.

3.8.   Migration Stages and Adaptation Strategies

This section is dedicated to the phases of migration, as they have been documented and theorized by Friberg (2012). As Friberg noted, immigrants adopt different adaptation strategies, depending on the phase they are in. Gordon described migration as a continuous process of immigrant arrival into new host countries (1978). In this process, immigrants are said to be completely assimilated into their new society. However, there have been some confusion and unfounded belief regarding the temporal scale of the new European migrations and how fast they move (Favell, 2008). Friberg theorized that there are three migration phases, and each of them is characterized by its own specific adaptation strategies.

During the first phase (Friberg, 2012 p.11), immigrants have limited or no control over their own situation. Migration can be regarded from a strictly instrumental perspective, being a mean toward solving problems or acquiring new resources (e.g. better financial means, jobs) or as a method to fulfill one's wishes or dreams (e.g. a better residence, commencing a business venture, purchasing a new car). In such cases, the migration process is a means to an end, and therefore it is rarely intended to be of permanent nature. Consequently, immigrants may not desire to integrate, since they believe they will soon return to their countries of origin and their

stay is temporary. This first stage is strongly dependent by employers. For example, there are cases where employers seeking temporary or unskilled workers are offering them residence as part of the job pack (Friberg, 2012 p. 234-238).

In the second phase, migrants can be described as transnational commuters. This phase is said to be well described by the attribute of permanent temporariness. In other words, immigrants are in an in-between state, frozen halfway between their place of origin and their new host country. They are incapable of returning to the origin country and unwilling to integrate into the host country. This second phase can be seen as stalling or stagnation (Friberg, 2012 p.11). The original plans that caused the immigrants' departure from their home country vanished into their process of fulfillment because of their own extension in time. Such situations can lead to frustration of the goals left unaccomplished and sees a low integration into the labor market. During this phase, immigrants have a tendency to become enrolled in registered employment; however, they are assigned marginalized positions in the labor market. Despite this, frustration can cause progress and it is therefore not necessarily a negative situation. On one hand, frustration can be a reason to return home; on the other hand, it can create pressure for immigrants to integrate (Friberg, 2012 p. 234-238).

The third stage of migration is the definitive phase of settling down. In this situation, immigrants decide to leave their home country behind for good, and craft a better future for themselves in their new host country. Typically, immigrants have or will shortly achieve financial stability to support their goals and living locally. This financial stability, in turn, encourages them to consider a definitive future in the host country (Friberg, 2012 p.12). Moreover, integration begins to rise as a high priority to them; integration, in this case, refers not only to the labor market, but also to a much more general context, that of social life. If they are deciding to remain, immigrants no longer fear to create local ties, make friends, and do everything together with the natives. Along with the settlement decision, their patterns in spending start to change, shifting towards 'economic and social expenses' (Friberg, 2012 p.12). In this phase, immigrants can be willing to invest in obtaining local credentials and qualifications that would allow them a better upward mobility in the labor market. This aspect is also suggested by the behavior of second generation immigrants, who have no plans to leave and consider themselves as being locals. However, full time employment and financial stability are not the only factors that determine the integration of immigrants to be completed expenses' (Friberg, 2012 p.12). In which case, the natural question is what determines complete integration into the local labor market.

From the standpoint of a social or ethnic minority, complete integration regards joining social groups, assuming political responsibilities inside the new society, participating into the public affairs, and having strong social connections that make the immigrant indistinguishable from the natives. These conditions are equivalent to the complete overcoming of all objective and subjective disadvantages the immigrants had at arrival into the country. Moreover, they consider their future as belonging with the host country. For individual integration into the labor market, if these conditions are fulfilled, it means that all the objective and subjective disadvantages accompanying the immigrants into the country have been overcome. At this point, the individual has enough knowledge and understanding regarding the local customs, rituals, public affairs, or public institution that allow the immigrant to safely and autonomously navigate the rules and the geography of their new location. Additionally, the immigrant has complete capabilities to interact of the natives as their equal.

4. Methodology

Research methodology is central to the scientific effort because it is based on a set of rules and instructions that ensure the reliability of data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Consequently, the methodology is often utilized to evaluate the correctness of conclusions in research activities (Kothari, 2004 p8). Bearing on this idea, the current chapter will outline the most used methodologies used in social science, compare and contrast them to find their similarities and differences. Following this comparison, the chapter will narrow down to the most suitable research methodology for this case and select the most applicable and suitable one for the research goals. The selected method will then be used as the foundation of the analysis of the primary data collected in the course of this research. Subsequently, the data will be used to test the main hypothesis and validate or falsify it. The methodology is the main feature offering rigor to scientific endeavors, it is important to start by distinguishing between the notions of methodology approach and paradigms, and present the general purpose of a methodology. Subsequently, the types of research designs will be discussed. Finally, the application and explanation of the choice of the methodology used in this paper will emerge.

4.1. The Qualitative method

In this research, the employed qualitative methods aim at exploring social problems. The qualitative approach constructs a complete image of the findings by analyzing verbal and written statements, reports, participant background, and creates a study in a natural setting. Generally, qualitative methods are primarily used when they investigate processes, as opposed to

outcome, and are focused on uncovering and understanding meaning. These methods are based on descriptive field work, with inductive elements (Bryman 2012: 366).

This method will enable the research to describe contextual information, such as emotions, experiences, or tone of voice. Since the central problem of the research requires an in-depth understanding, qualitative methods are particularly suitable, as opposed to quantitative methods. This research is aimed at uncovering aspects of the social life, and its main outputs for analysis are words and declarations.

4.2. Interviews and pilot interviews

A conversation between two or more individuals, conducted with the purpose to ask questions and extract declarations is an interview. Interviews are useful for obtaining accurate empirical data (Bryman, 2012: 436). Therefore, the interviewer must ensure the comfort of the interviewee within the setting and the topics of discussion. Moreover, the purpose of the interview must be clearly explained. Bryman theorized three types of qualitative interviews, namely, structured, semi-structured, and unstructured (Bryman, 2012). This research uses semi-structured interviewing techniques.

To obtain a wider and better comprehension of the field, the researcher conducted a pilot interview. This setting enables researchers to identify various omitted problems and allows for review and restructuring of the questions and interview, for better performance in the following sessions. Pilot interviews have several advantages, such as allowing interviewers to gather experience and highlight the questions that require reformulation (Bryman 2012: 263; 474). Furthermore, pilot interviews underline limitations and weak points in the interview design, thus offering the change to revise the implementation of the tool (Turner 2010: 757). The pilot interview together with the semi-structured interview have helped the researcher in this case to understand and navigate how immigrants perceive integration, how much afford they putting into it to integrate with Danish society, and the outcomes of it.

4.3. Semi-structured and focus group interviews

The most broadly used interviewing technique in social science is that of semi-structured interviews (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006: 315). These interviews employ open ended questionnaire in order to investigate the opinions and views of respondents (Bryman 2012: 471; Seidman 2012: 14). During interviews, the interviewer may add questions to the questionnaire, according to the dialogue (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006), which provides a flexibility and adaptability (Bryman 2012: 436). Despite the flexibility, all questions are relevant for the chosen

topic. The constructivist approach emphasizes the way respondents interpret the subject (Bryman 2012: 14; 212). These interviews are suitable for use in single respondents or group interviews, such as focus groups. In the latter setting, semi-structured interviews can obtain a broad range of personal experiences (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006: 315).

A focus group interview promotes discussion that investigates a specific theme (Kitzinger & Barbour 1999: 4; Vaughn, Schumm & Sinagub 1996: 4). A focus group is an informal gathering of individuals who come together to discuss their opinions on a given topic. In some cases, the interviewer also plays the role of the moderator, while in other cases the research circumstances do not allow a moderator to be present.

4.4. The function of a gatekeeper

A gatekeeper is an individual assigned to restricting access to institutions, such as those that may be of interest to the research. The gatekeeper can restrict or provide access; in the latter case, the gatekeeper will also introduce the researcher to aspects of interest in the research field. The gatekeeper may introduce the researchers to the participants in organizational contexts and vouch for him/her. Both gatekeepers and contact persons may commit errors related to ethics or access and recruitment. For instance, they may filter out critics of a certain idea, recruit individuals who do not meet the participation criteria, or provide insufficient information to respondents (Kitzinger & Barbour 1999: 10). The gatekeeper was contacted to help the researcher to establish contact and schedule meetings with the asylum seekers. Once the meetings were accepted, he arranged the meeting schedule with the asylum seekers, establish all the required setups.

4.5. Sampling strategies

Quantitative and qualitative approaches differ in sampling strategies. Quantitative methods employ random sampling, which is unsuitable for qualitative methods. This study uses purposive sampling, where participants are selected based on meeting minimum criteria for participation (Bryman, 2012: 418). Another sampling option implies the need for the researcher to create topic-specific samplings that include different groups with different relations to the topic (Kitzinger Barbour 1999: 7). In this case, two complementary samples have been used, namely immigrants and natives. Furthermore, the immigrants were subcategories by their country of origin and their employment status here in Denmark. In terms of natives, only those who work/involevd in the service industry was chosen. Purposive sampling means here that participants share common characteristics, and they are separated into groups according to these characteristics (e.g. nationality, purpose of immigration).

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4.6. Ethics

This section is dedicated to ethical issues imminent in interviews and participant observation and will describe the ethical concerns of this research.

In most qualitative research requiring human interaction, an ethical approach is necessary. The researcher must be careful to respect the participants and their views. One of the manners to ensure research ethics involves the standardized treatment of the data. Besides that, this project applies Phronesis (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2008: 79-99). The standard method is known to consider all situations, however individuals are not predictable. Consequently, the standard method may result in inadvertent and accidental lack of ethics (Ibid). Phronesis, otherwise called the common sense method, ensures that the researcher understands the context and behaves such that he/she ensures maintenance of ethics (Ibid). Either method has advantages and pitfalls; therefore, both were applied throughout this research.

This project employed the standardized method by an understanding of the context and field and a clear explanation of the topic to the participants. The standardized approach was employed in interviews as an adapted version of standard ethics, a choice well justified in the context of an overall adaptive methodological approach. This approach was useful in the introductory interview stage. Since the research involved interviewing asylum seekers, it was taken into consideration that they might have been traumatized. Phronesis was applied in the interviews to mitigate this effect. All other emerging concerns were dealt with appropriately with the circumstances. However, this does not preempt researcher bias, which will be covered in the next section.

4.7. Limitations and bias

Several biases can arise in the interpretation of qualitative data (Bryman, 1988). During data interpretation, objectivity is ensured by the researcher ability to extrapolate statements correctly. In the area connecting theory and applications, it must be noted that some theories predict fixed outcomes. Lastly yet importantly, some conclusions do not generalize well (Bryman, 1988: 71). Moreover, focus group interviews are not equivalent to statistical analysis (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999), which makes generalization problematic. This project employs qualitative data, which is not free of bias. Some limitations of this research have been highlighted in the analysis section.

All interviewed asylum seekers live in Avnstrupvej asylum center, a limited geographical area; this may mean that asylum seekers are not representative for other asylum seekers in Denmark. However, asylum seekers are not the main focus of research. Despite the asylum

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seekers' ability to speak at least one common language with the researcher, there may have been some language barrier that did not allow them to completely grasp all nuances of the questions. A possible limitation of the study is that it was performed during the summer season as the officers from labor unions could not be contacted. Moreover, the researcher's native language is not English, following that some language barrier may exist in the presentation of the results. The questionnaires have been distributed through social network groups, and therefore there was no control over the sample. It is possible that some immigrants in various stages of integration have been missed.

5. Data

The empirical data and collection methods will be introduced in this section, to show that the interview setting has been in line with the methodology.

5.1. Pilot interview

The pilot interview involved discussing with Ram, an immigrant originating from Nepal. For this purpose, Ram was approached directly by the researcher, who established the time and date of the interview such that it did not clash with Ram's schedule. The interview was conducted face to face and was based on 10 pre-planned questions. To these questions, the interviewer added 8 more questions during the interview. The questions that have been added later were added for clarifying Ram's statements and exploring the aspects that were not predicted in the planning phase. The interviewer explained Ram in advance the details and purpose of the interview, so as to give him the opportunity to choose whether he wants to participate in the study. However, Ram was very eager to participate and talk about his experiences.

Ram has been living in Denmark for the past six years. He has been working in the service industry for the whole time. However, he arrived in the country as a student. Although Ram could not speak Danish, he was very open to carrying the conversation in English, a language he declared using even when discussing with the natives. Since the interview was conducted face to face, Ram had no difficulties in focusing on the discussion. He seemed vaguely stressed, but was very eager to communicate and visibly comfortable with the presence of the interviewer. The stress signs he was showing were either because of tiredness, because Ram had recently returned from work, or because of the nature of the conversation, which stirred some relatively unpleasant memories. This aspect will be fully detailed in the analysis and findings section. The conversation with Ram highlighted mostly known or foreseeable issues.

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The duration of the interview was of 37.15 minutes; given that Ram only spoke English, the interview did not require translation from Danish to English before being incorporated into this research. However, some language barriers should be taken into consideration as Ram's English, albeit fluent, was not close to bilingual. It should also be noted that Ram did not require any of the questions to be repeated of rephrased. The interviewer took this as a sign that Ram understood all questions clearly. However, there is no guarantee that Ram was able to express himself in English perfectly and therefore some of the finer nuances of his responses may be subject of minor inaccuracies because of this. The interview was recorded for its entire duration. Due to the possible limitations, the data was handled with caution. The key words he used were taken to have the most general and known meaning. It was assumed that the subject is not familiar with the subtleties of the language. The effects of this limitation will be appropriately treated during analysis and conclusion.

5.2. Focus group interview

The theoretical framework presented in the theoretical methodology section has been implemented here as follows:

1. The focus group interview with three asylum seekers was aimed to understand are the problems they are facing if they seek to get work permits in Denmark and whether they can get employment, and how it effect their integration possibilities.
2. During the interpretation of unusual effects, the researcher considered the discrepancies observed during the focus group.
3. The statements have been cross checked with data obtained from the focus group interview with asylum seekers.
4. The focus group interview provided findings that will be considered together with the rest of the data,

The focus group interview focused on the issues of asylum seekers present in Denmark. In the analysis, the focus group interview will be kept separate from the rest of the research for a few reasons. Firstly, asylum seekers have no work permits and therefore they are not within the demographic target of this study, however they are fall into immigrant category.

5.2.1. Respondents (Focus group)

Maza (Respondent 1), from Syria, the medicine undergraduate who has been living in Denmark for five months and Nicolay (Respondent 2), from Serbia, a graduate in philosophy are both in phase one of the process for obtaining refugee status. Tariq Ahmed (Respondent 3), from Bangladesh, has been living in Denmark for four years and is now in phase three of the

process. All three participants can speak English almost fluently. None of them speaks Danish and do not have work permit. The answers are presented either as verbatim quotes, signaled by a combination of quote marks and italic font, or as very close paraphrasing with maintaining the style of the answers and the vocabulary.

The focus group interview took place face to face, at the current residence of the refugees. This was the Asylcenter Avnstrup, Avnstrupvej 1, 4330 Hvalsø. It was impossible to estimate or find out the exact number of asylum seekers that the center held at the date of the interview, due to the larger number of refugees arriving into the center in the past days. However, it is known that the refugee center held approximately 500 refugees in February 2016. At present, it is expected that this number has increased.

The interview was conducted in English. Prior to starting the discussion, the three refugees were carefully explained the content and purpose of the discussion. The interviewer ensured that their accord is given freely and they agree to participate in the study. However, a few limitations must be taken into consideration. Although the interview was conducted in English, neither of the participants was extremely knowledgeable of the language. However, they were semi-fluent in conversation. For this reason, the analysis takes into consideration possible minor differences between their statements and their meaning. Furthermore, they requested the first question to be repeated, which may be a sign of incomplete understanding of its meaning. Another limitation is that the focus group was conducted in the refugee center. There was no privacy, a lot of background noise, and unknown persons were walking in the background several times during the focus group. Knowing that this will be the case, the researcher only asked 4 questions for the focus group participants. Three of the questions were aimed to explore the perception of the participants in regards to their new country, language, and education opportunities. The fourth question was dedicated to finding facts about their integration status. The focus group lasted 28.12 minutes and was recorded in its entirety.

5.3. Structured questionnaires

The structured questionnaires were constructed based on the theory. Their construction method was relatively straightforward: the researcher identified the main characteristics enabling integration of immigrant in the labor market and cultural assimilation and created questions that are relevant to each aspect. They were made under the assumption that integration and assimilation involve both parties: the immigrants have to want to be included in society and the natives must be willing to welcome them. Only under these circumstances the two groups can

have enough interaction for complete assimilation and integration into the labor market. Therefore, the questions were aimed at testing the opinions of the two groups on the aforementioned subjects. The questionnaires had closed and open questions, and mandatory and non-mandatory ones. They were released via a web interface(Google Form) and invitations were sent through social network (mainly different Facebook groups) by the researcher to the participants. The questionnaires remained online for 7 days and gathered 10 Danish and 17 immigrant responses. All respondents were briefed prior to answering the questions regarding the content and the purpose of the research. The researcher ensured that they are comfortable with answering the questions and with offering their perceptions. This was done to minimize potential conscious or unconscious bias in their responses.

5.3.1. Demographics

The demographic section presents a short overview of the questioner respondents. Out of 17 total respondents from the migrants, three are still enrolled in undergraduate studies, while the others work in services. Another seven have completed their undergraduate studies, eight completed masters, and two have some college diploma. All four students respondents come from European countries. The respondents come from the following countries: Afghanistan (one respondent), Bangladesh (two respondents), Bulgaria (one respondent), India (one respondent), Iran (one respondent), Italy (one respondent), Lebanon (one respondent), Lithuania (one respondent), Nepal (two respondents), Nigeria (one respondent), Pakistan (two respondents), Romania (one respondent), and Spain (two respondents). In total, eight respondents are of Asian origin, six are Europeans, and one is from Africa. Since the working hypothesis compares European with non-European immigrants, the respondents of Asian and African origin will be considered as pertaining to the same group.

In terms of numbers, most respondents have been living in Denmark for one to three years. The respondents working in services have the following jobs: most of them work as kitchen personnel, followed by cleaners, bar personnel, and managers.

Out of 10 total Danish respondents, 60% have undergraduate studies, 30% have master's degrees, and 10% has some vocational or high school diploma; 40% of Danes have been working in services for three to five years, another 40% for more than five years, and 20% for one to three years.

5.4. Biases in the data

As is the case with any qualitative research, empirical findings are subjected to potential biases. These biases can come from two sources: the respondents and the researcher. While the former can be only partially under control, the second has been thoroughly taken into consideration.

The respondent bias can come from the way they interpret questions, situations, and the opinions that they have. It should be noted that opinions are intrinsically subjective. However, they always reflect the life experience of the subjects and therefore they are relevant for the study because the feelings of the subjects directly affect their inclination to integration. Since this is social research, it takes into consideration the subjects' perception of the world and their context. It was noted that respondent bias can be voluntary or involuntary (Ekman & O'Sullivan, 2006), conscious or unconscious (Pollard-Sacks, 1999). Conscious bias was verified by cross-checking the respondent affirmations and validating them against the rest of the responses. However, this approach cannot account for individual differences between participants generated by their personalities and views of the world.

The researcher bias can come in two forms. The researcher may either influence the respondents, voluntarily or involuntarily, the way he is phrasing the questions. Therefore, the questions were checked during the pilot interview and updated such that they did not suggest predetermined responses to participants. The other potential researcher bias can arise from his interpretation of the participant answer. To prevent this, the responses were analyzed for their most basic meaning (the most general way the responses can be interpreted). Subsequently, the main themes of the answers were centralized by thematic coding and compared with the preset theory in order to find the most common themes about which respondents generally agree as being their experience. However, this was done such that it did not remove the individual character of the analysis – the participant answers were not treated in aggregate.

5.5. Representativeness

Since this is a qualitative as opposed to a quantitative study, the sample selected for interviews is not large enough to be considered representative of the field. However, this study does not propose to address quantitative questions, but extrapolate from the main themes appearing in participant response by induction. Furthermore, due to the nature of the structured questionnaire, this study gathered more answers than customary expected in qualitative studies. Another point is that of asylum seekers, who are not within the target of this research.

Since they are not integrated in the labor market, they are not part of the target of the study. Their presence in this study is simply for comparative purposes with the answers of the immigrants.

6. Theory

The theory chapter will present the main concepts related to the assimilation and integration of immigrants, as an applied case based on the original scholarly theory. The theoretical concepts in this analysis have not been pre-built, but extracted and evolved during the course of the study.

6.1. Theory of structural assimilation

Structural assimilation was defined as the complete integration of a non-native ethnic group into the local population of a new country. This is achieved by offering the new ethnic groups equal opportunities and equal status with that of the natives. When structural assimilation has been achieved, immigrants will have equal access to education, employment, public institutions, close social connections, social cliques, and local organizations. In Milton Gordon's theory, structural assimilation is the second of seven stages of assimilation (Gordon, 1964). Gordon posited that during this stage, first and second generation immigrants join organizations, social cliques, and the civic life of the host society. In general, he described these steps as mediating the path toward a complete normal living in the new country, including earning their living, participant in and influencing the local political life. Moreover, in this stage immigrants would have all their social needs fulfilled by the local society. Thus, they would have friends, receive visits at home, pray, and participate in recreation activities with the rest of the community. Structural assimilation provides the background for a further description of integration of immigrants with the labor market. This occurs because the circumstances and factors that appear during the structural assimilation stage also promote access to better employment and education meant to favor acquiring new skills and specialties. In his work, Gordon proposed that these relationships of the newcomers with the local society should be divided into two major categories, each with a total of four factors. The main categories are primary relationships and secondary relationships (Gordon, 1964 p.37).
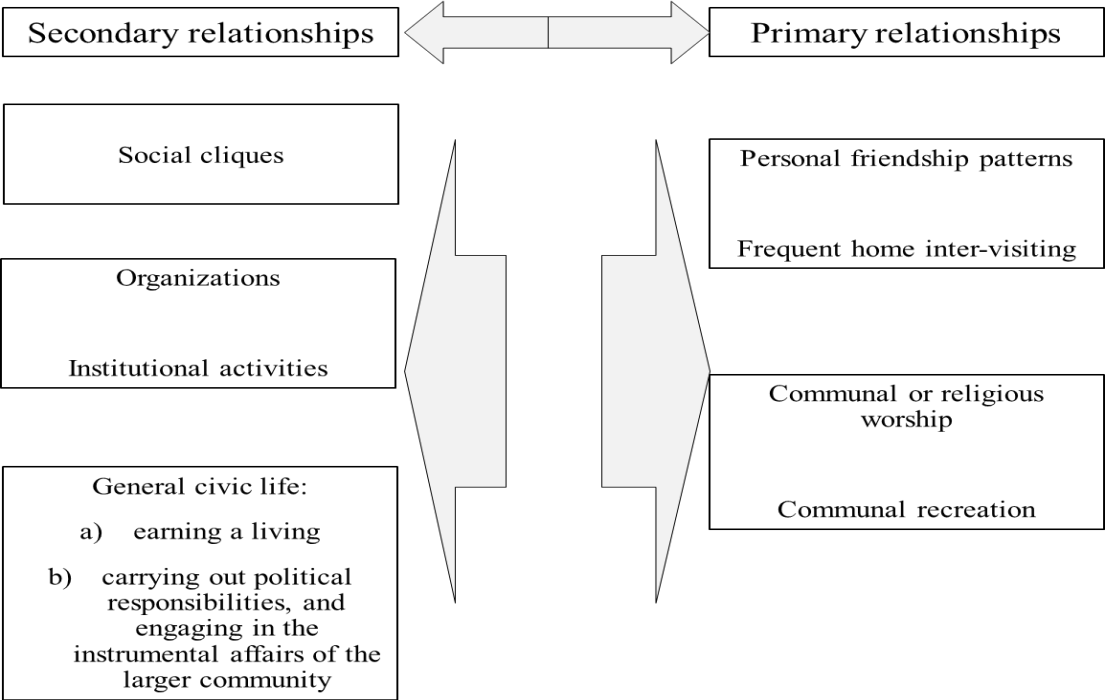
Gordon (1978) described the primary relationships as being warm, close exchanges that nurture the social and psychological needs of the immigrants. These relationships help immigrants to pass over possible past traumatic experiences and feel welcome and at home in their new country. Gordon's categorization into factors of the two categories starts from the smallest and

progresses to the largest level. The very first factors are those providing close social connections, such as friendships, which provide close psychological support to these individuals. Moreover, friends can act as role models and introduce the immigrant further into the local society. Scholars have noted that the role of friendship is especially important during adolescence (Quillian & Campbell, 2003); thus, their friendships induce a sense of self in second generation immigrants. The next among primary relationships is frequent courtesy visits at home. These visits help immigrants catch local roots by providing them with an association between their new residence and the concept of 'at home'. The next factor includes an even wider category of connections, namely those obtained from religious worship or congregation (Gordon, 1978). The acts of worshipping and congregation facilitate the integration of immigrants in a larger category of new connections. If the religion of the immigrants is the same as the one in the new country, it will play a role in forming tight connections between him or her and the community. Finally, the factor encompassing the widest category of connections is communal recreation (Ibid). Recreation is facilitated by public events where immigrants can meet new people and tie friendships connections with the locals. The ability to be present at such large events without fear of judgment or discrimination means that the immigrant is not only accepted in his or her close circle of friends, or in church, but also in the local community at large (Gordon, 1978 p.208). This acceptance is important because public events are not dissimilar from trivial life events such as traveling or shopping for food and contributes to promoting a climate of complete tolerance and acceptance. In this way, immigrants will develop closer ties with more and more members of the host society and their connection circle will expand (Brown, 2006).

Each of the factors in the first category is closely mirrored by a factor of the same scale in the category of secondary relationships. These secondary relationships extend the circles of immigrants are related to public rather activities and work rather than friends and close social ties. According to Gordon (1978), the ties of secondary relationships are colder, more remote, and official in character. From the smallest to the largest circles, these secondary relationships are social cliques, belonging to organizations (from labor unions to non-governmental and humanitarian organizations), institutional activities, and a larger, generic social life. The latter includes earning a living, performing political responsibilities, and engaging in activities meant for achieving a purpose in the larger community (Ibid).

6.2. Applied structural assimilation

The previous section described a framework which will be adapted in this study. Some of the factors of the original theory will remain unchanged, while others have been integrated as a single horizontal category.

| Secondary relationships | ⟷ | Primary relationships |

| Social cliques | | Personal friendship patterns |
| | | Frequent home inter-visiting |

| Organizations | | |
| Institutional activities | | Communal or religious worship |

| General civic life: <br> a) earning a living <br> b) carrying out political responsibilities, and engaging in the instrumental affairs of the larger community | | Communal recreation |

Theoretical framework of this study, adapted from Gordon's theory of structural assimilation.

Based on the interviews with the immigrants, this adaptation fully reflects all the aspects of their experience. This project applies several elements of the inductive approach. Therefore, it adjusted the theory in order to perform a suitable analysis of the collected data. At the same time, Gordon's original theory was intended to model the stages of assimilation. However, this study had to adjust this framework to make it applicable to the factors of structural assimilation, the second stage of the theory, in order to connect it with the principles of integration into the labor market. The aim of this study is to detect the factors favoring integration during the process of structural assimilation, and at the same time, the factors that hinder it. As discussed, Gordon's theory divided these factors into eight total categories. However, this project will divide the factors into total five categories. Three of these categories are each composed of two factors instead of one, due to the limitation of applicability of the theory to the experience of immigrants. Thus, several larger categories encompass two equivalent factors, such as friendship and home visits.

There are five domains resulted after the adaptation of the theory and the first two belong to primary relationships. The first domain is that of very close social ties and includes friendships and home visits. The second refers to informal communal activities such as worshipping and recreation. The next three factors belong to the category of secondary, more official and colder relationships. These are social cliques that immigrants associate themselves with, organizations and institutional activities, and the general civic life. While the first two factors allow immigrants to integrate in society, the latter three allow them to influence society from the inside. The primary relationships secure nurturing social ties and are beneficial for mental health, whereas the secondary relationships promote social involvement of nature of obtain better rights, inclusion, and are beneficial for social recognition and standing.

7. Analysis and findings

The purpose of this chapter is to present the field findings of the researcher, compare them with the established theory and either confirm or falsify the working hypotheses based on these findings. This research was made in the third quarter of 2016 and included a pilot interview with an immigrant, a focus group with asylum seekers in Denmark, and structured questionnaire comparing the experiences and opinions of natives and immigrants regarding integration and assimilation. By nature of work the researcher cannot take any other information than that obtained through interaction with the subjects, this analysis follows the principles of social constructivism (McKinley, 2015).

The chapter is structured into two main sections. The first section is dedicated to asylum seekers, which are not within the main demographic target of this research, since, none of the asylum seekers had legal work permit. The second section is mainly dedicated to the pilot interview and the answers of the structured questionnaires.

7.1. Asylum seekers

In order to elaborate on the decision to remove asylum seekers from the target demographic, it is necessary to understand the official procedure refugees must undergo before obtaining legal work permit.

7.1.1. Work permits requirements

For asylum seekers to obtain permission to work in Denmark, they must meet several requirements. Upon establishing that these requirements are met, the Immigration Service will

grant work permission. These requirements are: the asylum seeker must be over 18, have their application for refugee status already approved, and comply with standard employment and salary terms (New to Denmark portal, 2015). In order to receive this status, the asylum seekers must have their identity established, have at least 6 months since they applied for asylum, and the Immigration Service must have decided that the immigrant can remain in Denmark (New to Denmark portal, 2015).

Only after meeting all these requirements they can start working. Since this research explores the integration premises for immigrants, those outside of the labor market cannot be taken into consideration since integration throw employment does not apply to them, also none of the focus group respondent do not carry a lawful work permit.

7.1.2. Asylum seekers opinion about Denmark and its policies

When asked of their opinion on Denmark, the three respondents had difficulties in responding the question. None of them elaborated on the subject. The question aimed at understanding the current unfulfilled needs of the respondents asked them what the things they miss the most from home are. While respondents 1 and 2 declared they miss home and they miss their family, respondent 2 declared he is fine. Respondent 1 declared he does not like living in the camp, but respondent 3 declared believing that "*Denmark is a safe country"* for him.

The next two questions were aimed at finding whether authorities are making any efforts to prepare asylum seekers for their future job search. Firstly, they were asked what their opinion on the Danish language school offered by the Immigration Services is. Respondent 2 thought "*it's totally stupid*" and he did not like that they also teach him about trivial ideas like "*don't throw trash from the window.*" This is expected since studies (Mahat, 1998; Del Prato, 2013) found that demeaning situations hinder learning and consequently students may cope with the stress either by avoidance strategies. Respondent 1 declared that "*I go to school three times a week. It's a little difficult to learn."* Respondent 3 agreed that Danish is difficult to learn and declared that he can learn if he would try hard. However, all of them agreed that if they will not receive Danish resident permits there is no point to learning the language.

Vocational training is extremely useful for the successful reintegration of expats. During such courses, the authorities may train these people in topics that are sought after and necessary for the local labor market (Dörr & Faist, 1997; Crul & Schneider, 2009). When asked whether they receive vocational training in the camp, all three respondents declared that Red Cross officers

are not that helpful. All respondents were interested in working and wanted to know how to get a legal work permit. They are not aware or know of anyone who already obtained the work permit. This observation confirms that encamped asylum seekers have a vanishingly small chance of obtaining work. All respondents agreed that lacking a personal home address and the lack of information are the major issues preventing them to get the work permit.

Regarding their future and aspirations, the respondents were asked whether they would be interested in learning the Danish language and culture, assuming that they would receive the opportunity to work in Denmark. Both Asian respondents answered that they are open to learning if that would help them in their future lives. Respondent 2 declared "*I know everything about Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Spain, France I am from Europe, I know everything."* On an aspirational plane, they were asked whether they think local jobs would change their lives. Respondent 1 replied that ''*Yes, I think the job will change my life. When I will get a job I will meet with people, I might make some new friend, they might help me with my further education maybe find me better job.*'', while Respondent 2 declared "*100%. I can have apartment, start family be more productive.*" Respondent 3 agreed with them ''*I think that if I can find a job it will change my life, eating and sleeping at the asylum camp is not life. When I will start work I can make money, buy thing I like, pay tax to the government so they can also benefit from me and I can also benefit from work, It can change my life, change my thinking, change my mentality.*''

7.1.3. Asylum seekers integration possibility

On being asked what they miss from home, both Asian respondents declared they miss family, and dislike living in the camp respectively, which denotes lack of adaptation to the conditions. However, it should be noted that the lack of adaptation refers to the conditions in the camp, where there is little privacy and no opportunity to start building a life. Therefore, they cannot be extrapolated and considered lack of adaptation to the Danish society. The European respondent seemed to be better adapted to camp conditions, since he declared that he has no complaints.

The third question, about the Danish language school, revealed that Asian immigrants consider Danish difficult because it is not a phonetic language, which increases the barriers for adaptation and consequently reduces the cultural transfer that would be gained by interaction with locals. Yet the linguistic barrier is not alone. The European refugee refused continuing linguistic studies due to being taught mundane things. However, these teachings also hide a deep-seated prejudice against immigrants. It is a major assumption to consider that all immigrants would need to be instructed against discarding trash from the windows of the

establishment. When asked about the language, all three respondents provided answers that suggested the following observations: (1) the language is not very easy to learn (2) they have the availability to learn, however incentives are necessary, such as the goal of studying so that they can use the language in later work (3) work permits are considered remote and inaccessible goals, otherwise the respondents would study (4) prejudiced and demeaning practices hinder learning and reduce integration desire. When asking if asylum seekers would be open to learning Danish language and culture if they had work prospects, showed that both Asian refugees were open to learning about the culture and language on the condition that would be provided an opportunity to work. The European refugee reaffirmed his knowledge of the European culture with this occasion. Questions on the vocational training in camp and on the perception of asylum seekers on the life-changing consequences of working, were aimed at understanding whether refugees are prepared for work during the camp and their views about obtaining permission to work respectively. Their answers revealed that they are not receiving proper support, and obtaining a work permit is a remote dream. All three respondents shared the belief that jobs would radically change their lives for the better.

The answers of the asylum seekers reveal a neutral opinion on Denmark, and specifically about the Danish integration policy, since none of their answers to the first question were emotionally charged. In fact, they presented a few facts rather than opinions.

7.2.   Immigrants with work permit

The main portion of this study is based on two structured questionnaires and pilot interview aimed to uncover relevant information regarding the factors affecting immigrant integration in Denmark throw unskilled labor market. All spelling and grammar belong to the respondents and have been kept in original. This section is structured into demographic details of respondents and two sections following the theory that has been proposed based on Gordon's 'structural assimilation'. The first section will contain the analysis of the answers related to secondary relationships which contains 'social cliques', 'organizations and institutional activities' and 'general civic life and later is primary relationship namely friendships and inter-home visiting, and respectively worship and recreation.

7.2.1. Secondary relationships (Social cliques)

Social science defines social cliques as groups where individuals are interacting on a regular basis and more intensely as compared to different individuals in the same setting (Salkind, 2001 p.150). Therefore, these groups are important for communication and adaptation in the process

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of immigrant integration. Based on this definition, cliques can be informal groups that congregate for leisurely activities, or informal groups in work settings where coworkers preferentially congregate based on their similarities and sympathies.

From a standpoint of social integration, some of the non-European immigrants felt free to do all the activities available for citizens. Other answers ranged from observations that integration is based on similarity with the locals to instances of open discrimination. Multiple respondents pointed to the major disadvantage of not knowing the language. Respondent 9(India) declared that *"I would fell more comfort if i could speak the danish language."* This was confirmed by Respondent 1(Iran): *"if you can speak danish, dress like them its always easy, otherwise its difficult.* However, this is not the only difficulty preventing immigrants from joining local social circles: *"….. Danes could sense that I am not form here, so they were not that friendly"* said Respondent 14(Nepal). This situation was confirmed by Respondent 10(Pakistan): *"…. I am not welcome some of the nightclub her in CPH, because of skin color."* However, in rare cases immigrants are able to form meaningful relations that help them integrate easier and faster. Respondent 14(Nepal) also noted that:

"One of my good friend is danish, we become close friend for last one year. it takes time make real friendship with danes. but I have some good friends from other nationality, like india bangladesh. and its always easy to make friend with them compare to danes for me."

The lack of ability to communicate with the natives and join their social circles is disadvantageous for immigrants. Thus, studies have found that membership in a clique brings social advantages to members (Kwon, Lease & Hoffman, 2012). Members of cliques receive preferential treatment, a superior social standing, and preferential selection for activities. Moreover, membership in a social clique requires members "a developmental stretch in social skills" (Cotterell, 2013), meaning that members have to adapt in a way that is more effortful than the behavior toward close friends. This point was confirmed by Ram, who described the relation with his colleagues as "*…. they use to make coffee and food for me, but it wasn't like we used to sit and had a long discussion about how was my day and such!"*

However, immigrants are usually declined the advantages of social cliques. Instances of discrimination spread into the daily lives of non-EU immigrants, as showed by their statements. Despite the possibility that answers about lack of friendliness may be misinterpreted and are due to different culture, these examples demonstrate that the immigrants were able to compare

the treatment they received with the treatment their colleagues received. Respondent 11(Lebanon) declared that *"I could not take small break during work time"*.

This suggests a misunderstanding between immigrants and natives. Respondent 7(Dnaes) of the Danes indicated that *"I have 2/3 immigrants working at my restaurant. They are not that demanding and work heard, I like them."* The respondent indicated he enjoys the availability of immigrants to work hard. However, from the immigrant standpoint, there may be plenty of reasons to be unsatisfied; their availability to work hard should not mean that they have no need of breaks or extra income.

Immigrants have indicated that they prefer to congregate in leisurely setting with co-nationals in proportion of 47% (respondents from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Italy, Lebanon, Nigeria, and Pakistan)and with any other ethnicity in proportion of 17%. The rest either prefer to associate with Danes or immigrants from other states. In work settings, 35% of them preferred co-nationals (respondents from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Italy, Lebanon, and Pakistan), and 24% preferred Danes (Iran, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan.)
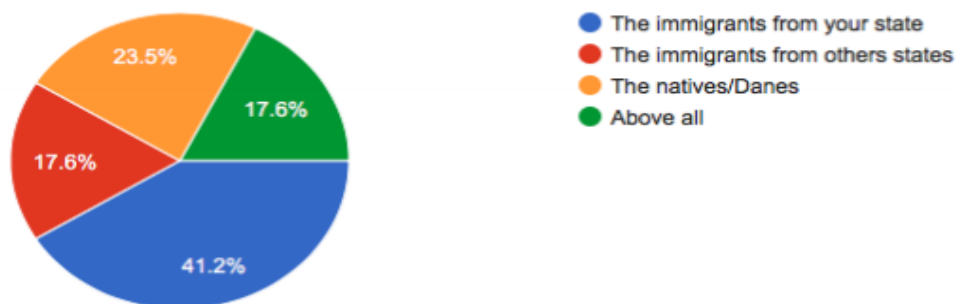

Fig.6. Workplace relationship preferences of immigrants

However, it should be noted that the Nigerian respondent misinterpreted the question and thought that it refers to facts instead of preferences: "*I do understand my country people better. In my working place, I have no choice.*" On the other hand, Respondent 14(Nepal) has a positive perception of Danes "*I like work with danes because they follow system*." One of the European respondents 4(Romania) declared that she has an extremely positive perception of Danes:

"*Primarily because I work in a pretty multicultural space, and the people are from all around the world. I love bonding over different stories of migration, and different ways of relating to the*

Danish culture. I also love the Danes, I find them friendly and polite. Two of my best friends are Danish, but they either have lived abroad or are very keen on multicultalism."

Therefore, views may vary widely between immigrants according to their experiences and perception. Consequently, perceptions and experience will influence the behavior (Dijksterhuis & Bargh, 2001) of immigrants. For example, Respondent 10 from Pakistan indicated that he prefers his co-nationals because he knows from past experience that "*I can't get along with people from other country*."

On the question of whether Danes prefer European to non-European immigrants, their opinions were divided. Respondent 1(Danes) believed that "*People are people*", whereas Respondent 3 spoke of "*great experiences with both cultures*" and Respondent 4(Danes) did not believe in ethnic separation at work "*Working environment is not based on ethnicity, but respect for the actual work and individuals. No matter ethnicity.*" However, Respondent 6(Danes) felt closer to Europeans because "*Its easy to communicate with them since we have almost smiler(similar) culture, lifestyle and language*" and Respondent 7(Danes) noted the cultural similarities of European countries "*eu immigrants and danes has very little difference in terms of culture, religion, way of living.*"

While the opinions of Danes about immigrants are positive and the opinions of immigrants about Danes are divided between positive and negative, the fact remains that non-European immigrants are subject to segregation and cut off from the benefits offered by social cliques.

7.2.2. Organizations and institutional activities

The organizational and institutional side of integration encompasses the aspects related to immigrants pertaining to labor unions, syndicates, mutual help societies, universities, and similar institutions. Such institutions and organizations facilitate integration by protecting or offering rights to immigrants (Loue & Sajatovic, 2011 p.511). Moreover, they can be sources of social relationships. However, lack of language understanding and not being able to mix with natives deters immigrants from forming useful relations in organizational and institutional settings, as Ram noted. He did not meet any Danish friend during his studies "*because I was studying in English medium, so in our class, we only had the international student.*"

Out of the total immigrants, 65% declared that they were not treated unfairly by Danish authorities, or "*At least I don't think so*" (respondent 15, Lithuania). However, 24% declared that they have, namely those from Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Iran, and Lebanon. When asked to

provide an example, the Lebanese said "*when I was at the asylum camp*." The last statement confirms the findings in the interview with the asylum seekers, who declared that *"Red Cross officers are not helpful"* in regards to helping them integrate.

All European respondents declared that they have not been treated unfairly by Danish authorities to the best of their knowledge. This is confirmed by Ram's declarations, in the pilot interview. Despite slight discrimination at work and by his neighbors, Ram reported never to have been discriminated by any government officials. However, it is not clear whether this is the case because of lack of contact with government officials. For example, Respondent 13 from Afghanistan indicated that "*sometimes in the asylum camp, read cross officers did not care about us.*"

Local organizations can take the responsibility of leading the society towards more integrative policies (Hing & Johnson, 2007). This would be easier if Danes would require authorities more equal treatment for immigrants. Indeed, according to the declarations of the Danes, they are aware that immigrants are not treated fairly. When asked of their perception and whether they think that immigrants are treated fairly, 80% of the Danes answered no and only 20% thought that immigrants receive fair treatment. When asked to provide examples, Respondent 2(Danes) said that "*Gets paid less, because where they come from, they don't get paid much. So maybe their boss thinks its OK to pay them less.*" Respondent 5(Danes) shared this view by declaring that "*Because most immigrants outside EU have other working ethics, most employers wrongly take advantage of these persons.*" Respondent 6(Danes) also made the same observation "*I have experience that people for Asia or Arabic countries are most likely to be the victim of these inequality at work place. probably because of lack of their knowledge about how labor market works/rules and regulation, make them accept lower wages, bad working environment.*" However, not all Danes share same believed. For example, Respondent 7(Danes) believed that immigrants are treated fairly: "*immigrants who are were about their rights is normally treat fairly.*"

When enquired about organizational settings, non-European immigrants perceived Danes as "*very difficult to deal with*" (Respondent 2, Nigeria) or "*very strict about responsibility. Most of the time not that helpful*" (Respondent 1, Iran). When asked about instances of discrimination or unfair treatment from authorities, the open-ended responses spoke of "*sometimes in the asylum camp, red cross officers did not care about us*" (Respondent 13, Afghanistan) and "*my contact person was never interested to listen to my problems*" (Respondent 11, Lebanon). Therefore, with the presented data It is difficult to find a side since booth party has quite contrast opining.

7.2.3. Civic life

The civic life includes the activities through which individuals procure their earnings, vote, or participate in politics (Stepick & Stepick, 2002). Through their civic activities, immigrants can influence the status quo of the host country, and change laws and mentalities. Without a strong presence in politics and the decision making bodies of the country, immigrants cannot secure better policies and social rights.

7.2.4. Work environment

Out of the total non-European immigrants 59% declared that their work environment is not open and friendly, but 41% considered it friendly and very friendly; on the same question, all European respondents declared various degrees of friendliness and none considered their workplaces hostile.

Out of the total respondents, 65% were discriminated by employers, namely those from Iran, Pakistan, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Lithuania, Spain, Nigeria, Bulgaria, Italy, Pakistan, and India. This shows that most non-European respondents felt discriminated against at some point in their lives by employers. This situation is similar to that of European immigrants, who felt discriminated against at some point in either their work or leisurely activities. However, none of the Europeans responded that their work place is not friendly at all and most of them declared that their work place is very friendly. This comes into contrast with the perception of non-Europeans. Indeed, this observation confirms theoretical works suggesting inequality of treatment between the two immigrant categories, based on their ethnicity (McLaren, 2001 p.1).

This situation agrees with multiple studies showing that immigrants are often discriminated against in their host countries (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Joseph, 2011; Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013). In fact, this situation is encountered more often than not and leads to serious mental health issues such as generalized anxiety (Joseph, 2011 p.1). However, some scholars suggest that perceived discrimination is not always a consequence of behavior aimed at discrimination (Phinney et al, 1998 p.3). On the topic of discrimination at work, during the pilot interview Ram declared that his employer rewarded his efforts. However, his colleagues were displeased with his presence at first. Moreover, Ram gave the example of a friend who hadn't been as fortunate. On the subject of unfair employer practice, Ram mentioned the case of one of his friends, whose employer took advantage of his disfavored status, lack of knowledge, and most importantly lack of leverage for obtaining their employment rights:

"*… a friend of mine use to work while he has the limited work permit of 60 hours. One of the month my friend did not get his money because the owner said he is out of Denmark, he will pay him when he will come back. Next month the owner said to him that he couldn't pay him two moths money because it's 120 hours in total and he never paid my friend. After three months my friend quit that job.*"

Ram revealed that intense competitiveness on the labor market for immigrants is one of the problems that facilitate unethical employer behavior. Immigrants must take whatever offer they can get; later on, they are not listed to by their employers or, in Ram's words, "*… the ability of the worker make those service company to take less care of their worker….*"Ram believes there is little that immigrants can do to address this communication gap and obtain their rights based only on discussion with the employer. Thus, unethical employers are unwilling to negotiate unless being forced:

"*Maybe, if you go to the labor union or find a new job[…]my wife recently start to work for one of the big service company, and according to the contract she should get 150dk for work and 30dk for manage other people work, but at the end my wife only got 150dk per hour. When she went to talk to them, they said that's a mistake. They will only pay 150dk per hour. Now my wife is looking for another job.*"

Regarding work life, Respondent 1 from Iran perceived Danes as "*…. Most of the time not that helpful.*" However, Respondent 16 from Spain has a different perspective "*I have worked with lots of them and currently doing as well. It's always very from person to person. but overall I am happy with them.*" Regarding work life discrimination, most immigrants from both European and non-European countries reported instances of unfair treatment. Respondent 2 from Nigeria *"got bad food served"*, whereas respondents 6 and 10 from Pakistan said that Danes *"were not friendly"* and *"They never shared tips with me"*. This situation is also present in Europeans. Respondent 15 from Lithuania "*had to do all havy work*" and Respondent 16 from Spain declared that "*I think as immigrants we get less facility at work place compare to danes.*" This is confirmed by Ram's declarations. During his time as a dishwasher, the working arrangement was such that his colleagues were supposed to help him; however, they never did so, which caused some quarrels. Until standing on equal footing with the natives, immigrants are not completely integrated in society.

However, when Danes were asked of their views regarding immigrants in the workplace, their answers revealed tolerance, openness, and inclusion. Respondent 6(Danes) declared that "*I*

have co-workers from Spain and Italy and really fun while I am with them.", and respondent 7(Danes) stated that "*I have 2/3 immigrants working at my restaurant. They are not that demanding and work heard, I like them*". Respondent 8 shared their views "*8 yes, I am really happy. I have two guys from Nepal and they are crazy good at their work and very friendly.*" However respondent 10 noted that despite cultural differences, Asian immigrants are very adaptable: *"Sometime its a little difficult to communicate when they arrive but with time it's no longer an issue. I think immigrants from India, Nepal, Bangladesh countries like that are very adaptable and quick learner."*

7.2.5. Political activates

When it comes to political activities, these are important for immigrants for their life changing implications. By active involvement in politics and civic life, immigrants can obtain better rights and freedoms (Voss & Bloemraad, 2011). When asked whether they get involved in immigrant related political issues, 50% of the Danes have declared that they do not. Out of those declaring they do or would get involved in immigrant rights issues, Respondent 5 answered that "*I demonstrate - and complaint. But nothing crazy*" and Respondent 9 declared that "*I try to be updated about the recent rules and laws, but I never had the chance to involve any demonstration or meetings. Provable because my situation does not effect by the change of migration policy.*" On the same topic, Respondent 1 from Iran declared that language barriers prevent him from doing so despite his wish "*Not at the moment, because I don't understand the language. But I would love to.*" This was confirmed by Respondent 13 (Afghanistan) and 15 (Lithuania) who would like to be involved in politics but cannot do so because of language barriers. Respondent 11 from Lebanon is scared to get involved in politics due to previous experience in his home country "*no I don't want to. Because I have very bad experience from my home country."* Therefore, the fear of retaliation is an aspect preventing active implication of immigrants in militating for rights. Other two respondents (Respondent 2 from Nigeria and Respondent 6 from Pakistan) declared implication desire but are kept from doing so by insufficient time. The only respondents who did not have an interest in politics was Respondent 5 from Italy "*I am not really interested in politics*". Although most immigrants are interested in politics, they are either incapable of militating for rights due to not knowing the language or due to lack of time.

7.3. Primary relationships

7.3.1. Friendships and inter-home visiting

Friendship patterns are the root of social life. Friendships provide psychological support to individuals and through them people obtain information, social advantages, and self-esteem, thus constituting a basic human need (Maslow, 1943). Therefore, friendship patterns reveal the desires and preferences of individuals. When asked whether they were able to develop close personal relations with Danes or immigrants from other states, 65% of immigrants responded affirmatively, however only 29% of the total immigrants were non-Europeans. Another question was whether immigrants have any family member or friends who have married a Dane or someone who is not from their ethnic group in Denmark. To this question, 35% answered yes, but only 23% were non-Europeans. The Danes asked about which immigrants coworkers do they feel more comfortable going out with preferred European immigrants over non-European in proportion of 60%.

Immigrants and Danes are separated by both cultural and linguistic barriers. According to Respondent 12 from Nepal, "*it was difficult at the beginning when i came here I could not talk to them, but over time I have understand what to say and how to response.*" When it comes to friendships, it can be said that most immigrants prefer their own nationality. Respondent 13 (Afghanistan) declared "*I love my own people and culture*", an opinion shared by Respondent 9 (India) "*it's always easy with my own people*", whereas Respondent 8 (Bangladesh) emphasized his lack of knowledge about the new country "*I have no idea how the system work here in Denmark, so I need a little time to have a understanding about everything.*" Respondent 11 also preferred people based on similarities "`*I fell more comfortable to deal with people who has same believe as I am.*" However, Respondent 12(Nepal), who was open to befriending any ethnicity, spoke about the role of culture "*If you know different people and their culture then its always easy.*" Respondent 6 (Pakistan) realized the need to learn the language and the local policies "*Because of, I could learn in Danish language from my colleague. Also I can easily understand this culture from them. ... , I have to know about these views.*" These findings agree with previous studies (Furnham & Alibhai, 1985). where the friendship network of a sample of 140 students uncovered strong preference firstly for co-national friends, secondly other ethnicities, and third host ethnicity, while the preferred companion data showed co-nationals first, then host nationals and finally 'other' nationals. The findings also confirm what was suggested by the pilot interview with Ram from Nepal. When asked what he thinks of

integration, Ram mentioned communication barriers. People in the capital are more open to strangers; however, they are reluctant to speak English, which poses communication barriers:

"*There is a problem in Denmark, for example, I am waiting for the bus at the stops, and a Dane come and me, what time the bus is coming or how much the ticket cost if I told him/her sorry can you speak English? They would say it's okay. Therefore I can't continue a conversation with them because I can't speak Danish, on the other hand, they will not talk to me probably because they are not good in English or don't wanna speak. But I think integration need everywhere, work school, society. If we can't communicate with each other, then it's not gonna happen, therefore language is the key barrier to immigrants to integrate into Danish society. Danes can be very close* [closed] *minded*."

Therefore, lack of communication or the possibility to communicate often isolates immigrants. However, upon asking the natives whether they are willing to integrate immigrants in their social lives, they all agreed. This creates a significant contrast with the declarations of non-European immigrants. Yet this gap may be explained by a gap between the declarative and factual levels in Danes. Most of them prefer to befriend European immigrants over non-Europeans because of cultural similarities. Some responded declared that they equally integrate immigrants, and they either declared that they had good experiences with all cultures or they try to remove their own biases. However, out of ten respondents, six would prefer integrating European immigrants into their social lives over non-Europeans "*because of eu immigrants and danes has very little difference in terms of culture, religion, way of living*" as noted by Respondent 7 (Danes).

All European immigrants have been able to develop close personal relationships or romantic involvement with other immigrants or Danes, or declared that either them or someone close are married with other immigrant or Danes. In opposition, most of the non-European immigrants have declared that they have not been able to form romantic or close personal relationships with either other immigrants or Danes, and that neither them or anyone they know is married with a Dane. On the topic of making friends, Ram made an insightful observation during the pilot interview. Although one of his neighbors only knocked on his door to complain about the food smell, behavior varies greatly with the personal convictions and the knowledge of each person:

"*When I was leaving in Norrobro our neighbors was an old Danish couple. They were really nice with us. They used to invite us for coffee; we use to invite them for dinner. Probably because they were working out of Denmark and they speak good English; the Danes who have*

been out of Denmark knows about the different culture, and people are the once easy to mingle with, and they are very friendly."

Indeed, cultural awareness is known to be a factor positively influencing openness to other cultures (Black & Duhon, 2006). When individuals have better cultural exposure they becomes more knowledgeable and understanding of the norms of other cultures and consequently more likely to tolerate multiculturalism.

Therefore, it can be concluded that successful integration also requires availability from the locals and openness to experience. In this way it can be said that integration is a two-way road requiring efforts from both sides. However, each side is more likely to make such efforts if they perceive the relation relevant due to similarities bringing them closer.

Comparing their answers from the standpoint of social relationships, it can be observed that non-European immigrants prefer to associate with their co-nationals. Respondent 10 from Pakistan declared that "*I can't get along with people from other country.*" Non-Europeans have felt discriminated against in daily life circumstances, respondent 13(Afghanistan) confirmed that he was discriminated at work "*They never appreciate my hard work*". Only the respondents from Afghanistan, Lebanon, Pakistan, and Nepal knew someone who is in a mixed marriage and only those from Nepal, Pakinstan, Nigeria, and Bangladesh have been able to form a close or romantic relationship while in the country. Europeans have been able to form close or romantic relationships with Danes. This is confirmed by the Danes, where Respondent 8 said that "*my boyfriend* [is] *from Spain.*" In aggregate, European immigrants report that they felt they received better treatment compared to non-European immigrants.

Ram and his colleagues used to have staff parties organized by the business owner. He declared that the team members had "*good understanding*" with each other and were all new. This relationship was built in time. One of his colleagues, in particular, was interested in understanding Ram's culture. According to Ram, this interest was generated by the fact that the colleague was Australian, coming from the same geographical distance as Ram himself. Moreover, the colleague was interested in Ram's dedication to his work. In the present, the same colleague is Ram's business partner and they own a restaurant together. Although the finding cannot be generalized, it should be noted that their common distance and separation from the local culture encouraged the two colleagues to form a closer connection. This situation can be described as being pulled together by separation from the rest of the society. Therefore, their similarities brought them together. This finding is shared by the non-European immigrants

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and by Danes. Respondent 2 from Pakistan declared that "*I do understand my country people better*". Respondent 6 of the Danes declared preference towards European immigrants because "*Its easy to communicate with them since we have almost smiler culture, lifestyle and language.*" Social psychology theory confirms this finding, namely that similarities favor friendships (Aronson, Wilson & Akert, 2016). However, integration of immigrants in groups that have no common ground with the natives can disfavor and discourage the integration of immigrants and their absorption into the local culture. If the social needs of immigrants are fulfilled by other means than interaction with the natives, they should be subsequently less likely to seek the companionship of the locals (Aronson, Wilson & Akert 2016). It is not clear whether this segregation will stop after the first generation of immigrants or will propagate through the following generations. However, it can be hypothesized that the following generations will achieve complete integration if they are exposed to sufficient contact with the locals, much in the same way that integration is achieved (or not) by the first generation.

Regarding inter-home visiting, non-Europeans receive visits at home. When asked about the frequency with which they receive visits at home, 58% of all immigrants declared this occurs once a month, and 18% once every two weeks.
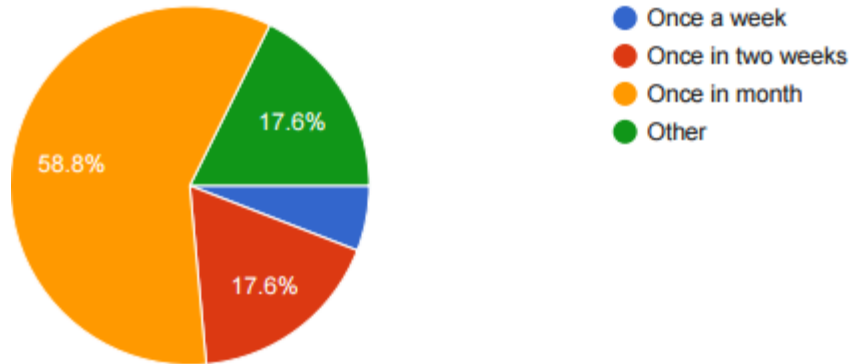

Fig.3. Inter-home visiting frequency for immigrants

Some of them, such as Respondent 8 (Bangladesh), feel "*little uncomfortable because of understanding gap*". Respondent 1(Iran) confirmed the cultural differences, but in a positive manner "*It is always very enjoyable! Because most of the time they have different way of doing things then us*." However, it should be noted that non-European immigrants have no Danish friends. Therefore, they receive visits from either co-nationals or other immigrants. For this reason, inter-home visiting, despite being predicted by Gordon's theory and despite being present does not help them greatly to integrate with the natives. As noted by Respondent 10

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from Pakistan, "*most of the guys are from Bangladesh, which in nothing new for me. so i am comfortable*." However, the data cannot be supported by secondary data findings because there no available studies or theoretical papers on inter-home visiting, this topic being neglected by scholars.

7.3.2. Communal activities

All non-Europeans except for two are religious people and practicing religion. When it comes to religion, all those religious declared to associate themselves with other nationalities during worshipping and mass. All Europeans except for one were not religious and all declared themselves comfortable with attending public events with other nationalities. This comes into contrast with the non-Europeans, who were in majority religious and practicing. An important difference between the groups is their view on religion: non-European immigrants are all religious except one, while none of the European immigrants are religious except one. Of all immigrants, 88% answered that they are openly associating themselves with any other ethnicity or would do so when it comes to attending church and worshipping.

Religious beliefs are closely associated with personal values, it may be the case that European and non-European immigrants have somewhat different values. Additionally, religious views are an important part of the individual identity, even when individuals identify themselves as being irreligious or atheists. Throughout history, there were many clashes between different groups over religious matters. Even in modern times religious conflicts still exist. In this case, the group holding religious views closer to those of the locals has the upper hand during integration processes based on similarity. In developing economies, religion plays multiple roles: social, moral and cultural (Crabtree & Pelham, 2009). The study of Crabtree and Pelham reveals that "*religion provides an emotional boost to the world's poor*". In developed countries, these roles are typically associated with other institutions than the church. It follows that people originating from developed economies will have different expectations regarding a great variety of different institutions and social circumstances from those originating in developing economies. In developed countries, religion has a more spiritual and more distant role, whereas in developing countries it is embedded in everyday life. This is evidenced by the affirmation of Respondent 11 from Lebanon, who declared that he wishes that Danes would "*believe muslim are not problem."*

Another aspect of communal activities is that of public events, such as concerts, shows, and other types of recreation. When asked whether they are comfortable with attending such public events, all immigrants agreed. All respondents declared that they are comfortable with attending

public events together with other nationalities. Studies have confirmed that recreational activities, when done openly and without fear of judgment, contribute to the acculturation of immigrants (Yu & Berryman, 1996), and their self-esteem. These findings are applicable to both indoor and outdoor activities. This is especially valid for physical activities and sports recreation for the settlement of young immigrants of second generation immigrants (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). Thus, studies have showed that recreational activities and sports facilitate communication between immigrants and natives. Immigrants and particularly young ones use these opportunities to adapt their linguistic behaviors and to adjust to their new country (Bhatnagar, 1980).

8. Discussion

This paper started from the premise of cultural assimilation and integration into the labor market of the immigrants in Denmark. Based on existing theory, the research proposed a number of factors facilitating immigrant integration, namely knowledge of the local language and sharing similarities with the natives (i.e. residences, habits, social connections, a social life, sharing political and religious views). These factors can be either intrinsic to the immigrants or learned through the interaction with the natives. Thus, the working hypotheses were that immigrants coming from remote parts of the world and distant cultures have larger differences from the natives when compared to European immigrants.

The findings showed several similarities but also differences between European and non-European immigrants. Thus, when coded for meaning, the answers to both closed and open ended questions of both categories of immigrants revealed the following underlying themes:

- Discrimination
- Limited integration efforts from Danes, either authorities or individuals
- Lack of friendliness from Danes
- Lack of helpfulness from Danes
- Difficulties in dealing with natives
- Language difficulties
- Limited social connections in general
- Limited social connections outside immigrant circles
- Lack of local romantic connections
- Lack of fair treatment
- Equality issues

However, there are major differences in their declarations. The European immigrants are more open to forming connections with the locals, are discriminated more rarely, can form romantic relationships with the Danes, are more knowledgeable regarding the policies of the new country.

Based on the declarations of Danes, they are also more welcome in the society because of their similarities. Non-European immigrants would need being welcome and able to learn much more than Europeans, who already have a culturally similar background. However, they are discriminated more often, are less open to dealing with the natives, and consequently have fewer opportunities to learn and adapt. These opportunities, as they pertain to primary and secondary relationships, are elaborated next.

8.1. Secondary relationships

Secondary relationships are important from three major points of view in the lives of immigrants. Firstly, they facilitate cultural exchanges between the immigrants and the host nation. Secondly, they are of great helpfulness when it comes to making new friends and social relationships. Thirdly, they offer various collateral opportunities for employment coming from recommendations originating in the social circle. However, the immigrants cannot readily integrate in society without first learning the local language. As pointed out by asylum seekers, questionnaire respondents, and even Ram, the language is very difficult. Yet not knowing it makes social integration impossible. The comparison of the experiences of Ram and the other immigrants reveals that he is an epitome of immigrants and his experiences are representative for the non-European immigrants. Ram's opportunities for integration were scarce even when it came to his studies. During school, Ram studied in English and his class was composed of international students. He declared to have made good friends there. When he was asked whether he has any Danish friend or acquaintance other than those from school or work, Ram disclosed that he has no such friends. When going out for shopping or to socialize, Ram reported to have had few occasions to interact with the natives because of the language barrier. He also declared to be willing to try to meet Danes, if only he knew the language. However, Ram declared that Danes cut conversations shortly when they discover his lack of Danish speaking skills. From the standpoint of the locals, his inability to speak Danish may be perceived as being equivalent to a short duration stay. If unknown locals consider Ram to be a tourist or someone planning only a short stay in Denmark, they would naturally be unwilling to invest time in getting acquainted, and much less friends. As noted by Irvine (1989, p255), language is essential for the cultural system of ideas about society, moral, and politics. Without learning the language, the immigrants, either Europeans or non-Europeans, cannot hope to take part in the local politics, acquire more rights, or change mentalities. To this it should be added another problem. Although Danes show lucidity through their answers and know that immigrants are not treated fairly, they particularly insist that immigrants only deserve to use the local

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resources if and only if they work. According to Respondent 2, immigrants should be given rights "*as long as they show appreciation and makes an effort. maybe that should only get at share if they contribute to the society*". Respondents 3 and 4 thought "*Yes if they pay there* [their] *taxes*" and "*It's fair and only makes sense. If people are willing to work.*" However, it is clear from both the local procedures and the answers of the immigrants that findings a place to work is very difficult for most immigrants and impossible for asylum seekers. Since Danes are not well informed regarding procedures for immigrants, they cannot know that aspect and should be told in order to find out. Yet there cannot be any communication between the two social categories due to language barriers. Moreover, it should be noted that almost all immigrants have a high level of education – either completed undergraduate studies or master programs. However, they are working in unskilled jobs and manual labor. This shows that inequality is very deep-seated in the Danish society and immigrants have a long way in front of them until they can earn their places in this society.

8.2.   Primary relationships

Most of the time, the dynamics of social life are extremely fluid, which means that it is impossible to draw a clear, straight line between different categories of relationships. For example, relationships starting at work, in an institutional setting, are not relationships with that institution but with the people serving it, who form a social connections, congregating around a purpose. However, these relationships never stay in the original setting. It is not uncommon that general social relationships overflow and leak into the primary relationships area. Thus, work colleagues can become friends after a while. However, non-European immigrants have reported instance of discrimination both at their work places and in more general settings. Although this finding primarily related to civic life, a secondary relationship, it also carries significance for primary relationships, which suffer and are diminished because of it.

There is a notable difference between the answers of the non-European immigrants. Some of them are characterized by openness and willingness to adapt, while the others are not motivated to integrate. Whether this is because of personal belief, attitudes, and disposition, or a consequence of the treatment they received since arriving in the country, it is not clear. However, it should be noted that some of them migrate for reasons other than their own accord. In their case, running away from wars and poverty is not equivalent to migrating because they wish to be elsewhere than home. Moreover, some of them may arrive with a traumatic background, anxiety, or depression. All these conditions are known to affect dispositions and personality by making individuals less open and causing social withdrawal (Rubin & Burgess,

2001; Cuijpers, van Straten & Donker, 2005). On the other hand, non-European immigrant responses have suggested widespread prejudice against them, preventing them from easily making native friends or romantic relationships.

Because non-European immigrants have limited to no connections with the natives, their inter-home visiting patterns reflect this problem. They are only receiving and giving social calls at home to their immigrant friends. This prevents them from forming suitable connections in the host country. In general, their primary relationships are limited to those with immigrants from their home countries. Consequently, they have difficulties in learning the language and culture, and finding out relevant details about the organization of the local policies and government.

Integration and assimilation are both two-way processes that require efforts from both sides in order to work. However, the responses of Danes and non-European immigrants suggest that in some cases none of the sides is taking the effort. Successful integration requires openness to experience from both locals and immigrants. They all must be willing to mix in social circles and create meaningful relationships in order for immigrants to be integrated. Despite the fact that natives declared that they are perfectly open towards befriending immigrants, their responses have also suggested that they are less likely to befriend non-Europeans. Moreover, they have very little understanding regarding the situation of immigrants. For example, all Danes insisted that the immigrants are only welcome if they contribute to the economy by working. However, immigrants cannot do so for a long time after arrival into the country because of the necessity of all legal and casual settings. This problem is even more prominent for asylum seekers.

9. Conclusion

The study revealed that non-European immigrants are more isolated in the Danish society, they have limitations due to lack of linguistic knowledge, see more instances of discrimination from both public authorities and individuals, and are less interested in creating social connections with the natives, which they see as unapproachable. Non-Europeans show a tendency to associate with their co-nationals, which makes their integration difficult and lengthier due to the absence of close personal relationships and friendships. European immigrants have much more frequent and meaningful social, even romantic, connections with Danes. This creates a background for them to stay and adapt.

Despite declaring tolerant views and expressing desire for social equality for all inhabitants of the country, the Danes declared that they are more likely to create social connections with European immigrants, which they see as more socially and culturally similar. This tendency

makes it difficult for them to absorb non-Europeans and pass habits and culture to them, since there is little interaction between the two groups. European immigrants, preferred by Danes, already share a significant similar portion of their cultural background. Therefore, they are better prepared to adapt to the new realities of a different country, and they are adopted easier by Danes.

Therefore, the findings confirm the hypotheses proposed in the beginning of the study. To summarize the findings regarding *primary relationships*, non-European immigrants have fewer native friends and acquaintances, leading to slower integration. They learn the language with more difficulty due to lack of interaction, and learn about the culture and local habits slower than EU immigrants.

Danes indicated they believe it is easier to form a romantic attachment with a European immigrant. When asked about the problems they would solve for immigrants in Denmark, all respondents replied with ideas of equality, integration ("*making friends*"), and removing the language barrier. The answers of Danes have two common characteristics. Most of the Danes are biased toward preferring European immigrants. Consequently, this should make integration easier for Europeans due to social similarities. Additionally, they believe in equal rights and obligations for immigrants, from the standpoint of *secondary relationships*. However, this is in conflict with the experiences and declarations of immigrants, and may point to a limitation of this study. Since it is not a quantitative study, the findings may not be significant for the entire population, and hence the selected sample may be composed by particularly tolerant Danes, whose views may not reflect the opinions of all Danes. Another alternative is that the respondents have tried to modify their answers to preserve their self-esteem; this is a possibility according to the theories of social psychology (Aronson et al, 2016). The fact remains that there is incongruence between the declarations of the natives and the experiences of the immigrants, which should be explored in future studies. The experience of the non-Europeans, conflicting with the declarations of Danes, is that they are not welcomed into local social cliques and discriminated during their general civic life. Consequently, they cannot make a significant impact on the local politics, obtain more rights, or access better jobs.

Thus, based on the findings of this study, both Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 are confirmed. Non-European immigrants have a much more difficult integration process because of three main reasons: language barriers and difficulty in learning the new language; discrimination, as reported by them; lack of acceptance by Danes, as reported by the Danes who are more open to relationships with Europeans.

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11.   Appendix

- Pilot interview
- Focus group interview
- Immigrants respondent answer
- Danes respondent answer