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A study on integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark

Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

An issue of integrating individuals of non-Western origin has become a central focus in Danish politics in recent years due to increased immigration which took place in the aftermath of recruiting "guest workers" during 1960s and 1970s, as well as the refugee crisis which brought many people from non-Western countries to Denmark. Particularly insistent voices from the right wing parties draw attention to supposed problems with integrating these individuals, creating an image of their negative position in the Danish society.

This study looks upon how integration of non-Western immigrants and is represented in the political discourse as well as how integration manifests itself in reality. By putting findings in both areas together, it draws conclusive points in order to answer the question of whether the way in which Danish politicians speak about the outcomes of non-Western integration in Denmark correspond with what is taking place in reality.

Discourse analysis provided a methodological and theoretical framework for analysing the data. The understanding of integration applied in this research was drawn from a relatively extensive literature review in which various theoretical perspectives on integration were included and discussed, to provide an overview of how integration can be applied as an analytical concept.

The analysis of political statements found in online articles published in biggest Danish newspapers revealed that political concerns regarding integration revolve mainly around immigrants' participation in labour market, acceptance of Danish norms and values, as well as formation of ghetto areas and crime. These issues dictated the course of the second part of the analysis, which focused explicitly on these areas. The analysis revealed that the different problems with integration, identified in the political discourse, partly correspond to what is really taking place in the Danish society. However, statistics also showed that certain other issues seem to be overlooked in the political discourse, and the analysis of changes taking place over time presented a slightly different picture of the realities of integration among individuals of non-Western origin.

Key words: integration, non-Western immigrants, political discourse.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Traditionally, Denmark was a socially and culturally homogenous country with strong traditions accompanied by a common language and religion which characterised its unified society. For centuries it was not considered a country of immigration and it witnessed only moderate numbers of migrants, who arrived from other Western and Nordic countries (Nellemann 1981).

The significant increase in the immigrant population in Denmark occurred after the 1970's at the end of the guest-worker program, when"former workers" decided to permanently settle in Denmark, and brought their dependant families to join them. It was also fueled by refugees who, for various reasons, began to arrive to Denmark in significant numbers (Entzinger 1990). As a result, the number of people coming mainly from so-called non-Western regions of the world, such as Middle East and North Africa, amount to 481 640 immigrants and descendants residing in Denmark today (Danmarks Statistik a).

Such developments have taken their toll on the Danish political scene. The issue of immigration and integration of immigrants and their children has been placed high on the political agenda during recent years, opening a debate on how to approach integration and assure a coherent functioning of the Danish society by accommodating large numbers of individuals coming from non-Western backgrounds.

Because of this, certain attitudes towards integration and immigration in general, became visible. Politicians, especially from the right wing Danish People's Party, continue to put pressure on immigration as supposedly presenting obstacles to a prosperous functioning of the Danish society. Particularly in regards to individuals of non-Western origin, integration is presented as posing certain challenges and the discourse continues to focus on faulty attempts to include them in the life of the mainstream society.

The benchmark of successful integration seems to have become one of incorporating immigrants into the society in an assimilationist manner, fully based on a complete

acceptance of everything that is Danish. Different cultural backgrounds of those who are being the object of the debate are considered problematic and working against one's ability to become a full member of the Danish society.

Having observed these tendencies, I decided to conduct a research with an objective to take a closer look at integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark. The aim is to explore how integration is presented by politicians in detail and examine whether this is indeed what happens in reality. The main research question which I want to pose is:

"How does the current political discourse regarding integration of non-Western immigrants within the Danish society correspond with what actually takes place "on the ground"?

I will first examine how the issue of integration is constructed in the political discourse. This will be done by analysing articles in online newspapers which present political opinions on different aspect of non-Western integration in Denmark. Afterwards, by using various statistical data, I will look upon the realities of integration and discuss how it presents itself in real life. By comparing findings from both sections, I will draw out conclusions on whether what is presented by politicians corresponds with what is actually taking place "on the ground".

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Introduction

In carrying out a research on immigrant integration in Denmark, I find it essential to begin by outlining a theoretical foundation for understanding its concept. In order to do so, I will look upon what is already known in the area of integration. I will present and discuss some of the existing concepts and theories relevant for studying integration, which will later on help create a framework for the analytical part of this research. It is important to note, that the discussion will, to a considerable extent, be based on a personal interpretation of the ideas behind particular theoretical viewpoints included in the review.

This review will take its point of departure in a very broad understanding of the notion of integration. It will explain the very fundamental mechanisms of integration processes before it continues to focus exclusively on immigrant integration. Theories of integration, presented in this review, have been selected from a range of different perspectives on the grounds. In my opinion they represent a set of concepts particularly relevant for conducting an analytical research. Naturally, the review is neither complete nor exhaustive. However, it contains the most frequently occurring classification, present in the literature on the subject of integration.

What is integration?

In broad sense, integration implies both forming new structures and adding elements to structures which already exist, along with creating positive relations between them. This connecting of elements in the process of building a whole unit focuses primarily on maintaining and improving cohesion within structures (Heckmann & Schnapper 2003; Li 2003). In migration studies, such an understanding of the integration concept has laid a

foundation for analysing processes which occur after an individual moves into a new country. Social sciences became interested in those mechanisms in the early twentieth century, first in the United States, from where it spread across Atlantic, to Western Europe. During 1960s and 1970s, immigration began to happen there on a significantly larger scale, and the question of how to receive and accommodate immigrants became more relevant. It has, since then, turned into an important concern in public debate, legislation, and policy-making, and became one of the central themes in social sciences (Entzinger 1990, Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003, Givens 2007, Sardinha 2009, Olwig 2011).

According to van Tubergen (2006), there is no grand theory of immigrant integration which would provide a comprehensive explanation of its mechanisms. Furthermore, although the term "integration" appears frequently in different studies, it is rarely used as a theoretical concept but rather as a narrow framework used to examine how immigrants differ from native societies (Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003; Li 2003). It has caused integration to become a term carrying strongly normative connotations, and thereby extracting a definition which could serve an academic research, requires a broad discussion on a number of theoretical perspectives.

That being said, it has to be acknowledged that integration is a complex, and often seen as intangible, multidimensional concept carrying various meanings, which depend on the approach and scientific discipline within which the concept is being discussed. However, being seen as something beneficial and desirable for the society, it always carries positive connotations. From a macro-perspective, integration is recognised as typical for social systems, where social cohesion lays at the centre - the more integrated system, the better its elements relate to one another (Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003; Sardinha 2009). It is often perceived as an interaction between an immigrant and receiving society, through which certain elements of culture are adopted and shared (Audrey 2000); as a process of inclusion into institutions, structures, and relations, with a simultaneous acquisition of rights (Heckmann 2004); as a process of learning and adopting new values (Brochmann 2003).

Since scholars seem to unanimously agree that there is no single, "right" definition of immigrant integration, finding an unequivocal definition which would entail all dimensions of integration seems to remain beyond the bounds of possibility. In a very broad sense,

integration designates who does, and who does not, belong to society (Olwig 2011; Sobolewska, Galandini & Lessard-Phillips 2017). It is described as a process of including individuals, or groups of individuals, into new societies - learning by them everything that is necessary to become members of the receiving country; as an interaction between groups, requiring "newcomers" to adjust to standards and rules of the new place they find themselves in (Brochmann 2003; Li 2003; Sardinha 2009). Most temporary studies view immigrant integration as a long two-way process, in which both receiving society and an immigrant are active participants - actions are taken by newcomers as well as by their hosts (Li 2003, Freeman 2004, Givens 2007, Sobolewska, Galandini & Lessard-Phillips 2017). Integration is therefore an intersection between strategies adopted by an immigrant and legal frameworks offered by the receiving country. It requires that adequate changes necessary to create a positive shift towards creating a coherent society are introduced by both sides (Li 2003; Freeman 2004; Ireland 2004).

Two dominant models

In my search for a more explicit definition of immigrant integration I observed that academic scholars in migration field seem to acknowledge, that immigrant integration is a notion with several, relatively distinctive dimensions. Those dimensions entail different ways in which integration tends to happen, with focus on various possible outcomes. Furthermore, in their attempts to build a comprehensive framework for understanding immigrant integration, scholars use various terms to describe the complexity of its mechanisms, such as, for instance, "assimilation", "multiculturalism", and "incorporation". These terms are often used interchangeably and in different contexts, what makes creating a clear and coherent classification yet more challenging. As the number of perspectives within the field of immigrant integration exceeds the scope of this paper, I decided to include those, which occur most frequently in the literature.

On a very general level, the majority of scholars distinguish two main models of integration: *multiculturalism* and *assimilation*. These terms have gained so much popularity, that they are often used by policy-makers who engage in discussions on the intended outcomes of integration. The main difference between the two lies within the results to be achieved

through integration processes (Kymlicka 1995; Koopmans & Statham 1999; Givens 2007; Sobolewska, Galandini & Lessard-Phillips 2017). *Multiculturalism* assumes that immigrants become full members of the receiving society, but at the same time preserve, and further develop, their cultural identity, thereby contributing to building a diverse, multicultural society. This model, entailing cultural pluralism, was popular among many countries during 1980s. *Assimilation* model, on the other hand, expects immigrants to assimilate to the receiving society through dropping their cultural and religious customs, and becoming socially and culturally unified with their hosts (Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003)

Confusingly enough, the existing literature on the subject also shows, that assimilation is frequently used as a synonym for integration. Over time, public opinion in European countries seems to have moved away from multiculturalism in favor of cultural assimilation, and since 1990s, many countries, which originally followed the multicultural model, started to turn towards a nation-building idea of integration (Favell 2001; Sardinha 2009). As a result, assimilation began to be seen as a standard model of integration (Zick et al. 2001; Sardinha 2009; de Leeuw & van Wichelen 2012; Sobolewska, Galandini & Lessard-Phillips 2017). Due to a common belief that cultural differences of people with non-Western backgrounds are too extreme to be bridged with European culture and values, the majority of academics have adopted conformity as a reference point when looking upon immigrant integration. Immigrants are to abandon certain elements of their culture in order to fully assimilate to the mainstream, dominant culture of the receiving society, which is considered a standard benchmark for integration, with no room or respect for differences. Conformity has therefore become to be seen as the most desirable and logical outcome of the integration process; thereby it marks its success (Entzinger 1990; Audrey 2000; Li 2003). Critics of such an approach, however, point out to the fact that adopting conformity does not acknowledge the complex relationships between integration and diversity. Scholars who have adopted conformity are said to be normative in their viewpoints, taking a convenient approach to integration, where only standards of the general society are considered acceptable, and cultural differences are not allowed (Li 2003). This, however, does not deny the fact, that different ideas behind assimilationist model of integration constitute a foundation for understanding and analysing integration processes from a theoretical perspective. Therefore, these studies are included in this review.

Many dimensions

Regardless of the model one chooses to adopt, scholars unanimously recognise multidimensionality of immigrant integration (assimilation). The complexity of the concept has led to a situation, where what certain scholars recognise as falling under one dimension, others either disregard completely, or analyse through a different theoretical lense. Creating a unified, uncontested overview is though not possible. Therefore, in an attempt to provide the most comprehensive review possible, I decided to accumulate different, cross-cutting perspectives and systemise them according to similar or common features.

The most frequently recurring classification distinguishes between two main dimensions: *structural* (also called institutional) and *normative* (socio-cultural) (Lockwood 1964, Hamburger 1997; Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003, Gold & Rumbaut 2006, Sardinha 2009, Fokkema & Haas 2011). Structural assimilation implies economic as well as social participation on an institutional level: labour market and education, health care system, and acquisition of rights and statuses. Many scholars focus strongly on the economic element of structural assimilation, suggesting that economic participation is a prerequisite for immigrant's ability to become a full member of society. Normative assimilation, on the other hand, seems to be way more complex and not as directly defined as the structural. In broad sense, it entails changes in cultural orientation and identification of an individual, often referred to as *acculturation*. Acculturation, in contrast to the traditional understanding of assimilation, implies that a complete adaptation to values and cultural patterns of a receiving society, with a simultaneous abandonment of group identity, is not a requirement for successful integration. It suggests instead, that immigrants gradually internalise the values and elements of a new culture while preserving, to an extend, their cultural identity. Furthermore, ideally the process of acculturation should be mutual and symmetric, meaning that the receiving society overtakes some elements of the immigrant culture as well (Faist 2000; Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003).

In addition to the primary and most frequently reappearing division of integration into its structural and normative dimensions, other ways of categorising its different aspects can be found in the literature. According to Heckmann and Schnapper, there are four dimensions of

integration: *structural*, *cultural, social,* and *identificational*. Structural integration, similarly to others, is here seen as acquisition of rights and statuses. Cultural integration, once again referred to as "acculturation", is a precondition of one's participation, and "*refers to processes of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change of persons*" (Heckmann & Schnapper 2003: 10). Social integration focuses on individuals' relations with others; it does not only take place in terms of participating in the labour market, housing or education (this is social participation on an institutional level), but also implies social interactions with native population: their membership in social groups, friendships and marriages, as well as participating in various social and political activities. Through these, individuals learn how to conform to social norms and values, what is crucial in avoiding spatial segregation of ethnic minorities. The last dimension, identificational, looks upon immigrants' feelings of belonging and ways in which they identify themselves as members of particular groups and societies, mainly through social relationships with mainstream society (Heckmann & Schnapper 2003). The notion of identity has been pointed out to by other scholars as well. Sayad, for instance, suggests that integration is all about identity, and that the process of becoming part of a receiving society is a process of moving "*from the most radical alterity to the most total identity*" (Sayad 2004: 216). He sees national identity as a key concept in process of integrating individuals into new societies, and argues that adopting values and norms associated with it determines whether one becomes a member of a new society (Sayad 2004).

Penninx and others, who similarly to other scholars acknowledge the importance of social and cultural dimensions of immigrant integration, also distinguish and thoroughly discuss two other aspects: *political* and *economic*. In order to include newcomers in the society, the institutional framework needs to undergo certain changes, which also transform the modes of societal cohesion. From their perspective, political integration can be broken into four main themes: political rights, identification, norms and values, and participation. Although this classification resembles one done by Heckmann and Schnapper, the main distinctive difference here is, that the way one identifies themselves in the new society is mainly based on the rights they receive, rather than social relationships. Therefore the identification aspect falls under political integration, rather than social or cultural (Penninx et. al. 2006). Economic integration, which has also been strongly emphasised by other scholars, such as Entzinger and Biezeveld, for instance, focuses on economic performance of an immigrant and their

influence on the economic situation of the receiving society. It looks upon individual's ability to sustain themselves, as well as the efforts made in order to gain such an ability. Economic integration, thereby, becomes a dimension which looks at the activities a person engages themselves in, which aim to make them financially independent (ibid.).

It can be quite easy to observe, that the foundation for theorizing about integration consists of several cross-cutting themes, where different studies include, and put focus on, its different dimensions. Scholars suggest, that it has not yet been determined, how different dimensions correlate with one another. According to Entzinger and Biezeveld, there might exist certain relationships between the different dimensions, but changes falling under one dimension do not necessarily imply changes happening in another dimension. Therefore, the impact of one dimension on another is still unknown (Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003).

As it can be seen, the multidimensional character of integration concept makes it relatively challenging to determine what one should look upon when analysing the processes, and results, of immigrant integration. A rather wide range of perspectives and angles, from which integration can be understood and analysed, does not provide a concrete answer to the question on what integration entails. Thus, I will begin the next chapter by explaining how the different perspectives presented above shaped my understanding of immigrant integration, which I will then follow and apply in the analytical part of my research.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter I will explain how the research has been conducted, as well as present certain methodological choices I have made. In the first part, based on the literature review in the previous chapter, I will shortly outline my understanding of the concept of immigrant integration, as it will drive the course of my analysis later on.

I will continue by introducing discourse analysis as a chosen approach for conducting my research. In the discussion, I will outline the different concepts and understandings which will shape a framework for the first part, focusing on political statements on immigrant integration. Subsequently I will discuss the overall methodology applied in analysis - I will explain my choices behind approaching the research in the way that I have, present the sources, and discuss why I decided to focus on non-Western immigrants.

In closing, I will provide an explanation of different methodological considerations I have faced throughout planning, carrying out, and completing the research, and briefly discuss my personal dealings with the subject of inquiry.

Theoretical Framework - integration

The concept of integration is of utmost importance in this thesis, as it informs the main subject of the research. As seen in the literature review, academic scholars have not yet managed to unanimously agree on a single definition of immigrant integration, which would provide a comprehensive framework for analysing it. Therefore, this discussion will be to a

considerable extent dictated by my personal interpretation of different theoretical perspectives discussed in the previous chapter.

As mentioned before, the multidimensionality of integration and its many definitions, among which none seems complete or exhaustive, make it challenging to draw a clear line along which the notion of integration can be used as an analytical concept. Considering the main question posed in this research, focusing on how the current political discourse regarding integration of non-Western immigrants corresponds with what actually takes place "on the ground", I found it important to include a relatively broad definition of integration. Taking a narrow approach which would, for instance, only focus on the economic inclusion, could pose a threat of many other possibilities to be excluded. When analysing discourses, where many statements are to be looked upon and where outcomes strongly depend on the personal interpretation of the researcher, the unpredictability factor is present. It means that when having made the choice of looking upon a certain area which is constructed discursively, I agreed to the fact that I cannot anticipate how the subject will be represented in the discourse, and which aspects of it will be covered. Therefore, adopting a narrow definition beforehand posed a significant methodological obstacle to conducting a thorough analysis which would look upon all aspects of integration, discursively identified as relevant. By approaching my analysis with a relatively broad understanding of integration, I chose to leave room for exploring all aspects which could possibly come up during analysing political statements.

That being said, I take the starting point in Olwig and Sobolewska who, as presented in the literature review, argued that integration determines who does and who does not belong to a given society. From this perspective integration is seen as a prerequisite for an individual, or group of individuals, to be considered full members of a society - being "integrated" is seen as a positive state, which everyone should seek to achieve. However, integration is also seen as a two-way process, in which responsibility for its results lays not only with an immigrant but also with the receiving society, lead by its government and institutions. Such an understanding of integration processes provides a broader framework for analysing the content of different political discourses, and helps establish which elements are considered crucial for successful integration to take place.

It is generally acknowledged that integration is a multidimensional concept and this is how it will be understood and used in this research. Since the statements which will be analysed later on are constructed discursively and information they carry can take various forms, I find it important that the definition leaves room for interpretation. Therefore, the theoretical area of immigrant integration for this research consists of three main dimensions, which will build a framework for analysing integration later on:

1) **Structural** - includes economic and social integration on an institutional level, participation in labour market and education, as well as acquisition of legal rights and statuses. Here, the main focus is put on the economic performance of immigrants: their ability to provide for themselves, and not depend entirely on help from the state. It also considers any activities that immigrants engage in, in order to become financially self-sufficient.

2) **Cultural** - assesses the relationship between individual's cultural values, and norms and values followed by a receiving society. In other words, it looks upon a gradual internalisation of new values, as well as adjustments in one's behaviors and attitudes, so they are more corresponding to those of a mainstream society. It does not, however, imply a complete abandonment of one's original values - more focus on acculturation, rather than assimilation.

3) **Social** - looks upon relationships which an individual develops with other members of a society. Focus is put on the character of connections an immigrant has with an immigrant part of population, and with the mainstream society. It assesses relationships such as friendships, marriages, volunteering, hobbies, and all other forms of social interactions, as well as residential circumstances which can define one's contacts with certain parts of the society. These interactions are seen as crucial for integration in a way that they prevent social segregation and exclusion of minorities, and thereby contribute to creating a coherent society.

These three dimensions form a theoretical framework for analysing immigrant integration in Denmark. It will shape the process of examining political discourse on integration as well as

the discussion on the results of its processes so far. I am aware that it is quite broad but, as I mentioned before, in order to perform a comprehensive interpretation of the meaning created through different discourses, I find a rather extensive understanding of the integration concept necessary to be applied.

Discourse Analysis

Let me now present the approach I decided to adopt in order to complete the first part of my analysis, which is to provide a critical overview of political attitudes towards integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark. In this section, I will first introduce the main assumptions of Discourse Analysis (DA), and move on to the particular line within the method, which I decided to apply in my analysis. Since theory and method are intertwined in DA, I will also discuss the different philosophical premises and theoretical models of the chosen approach, in order to explain how it has created an analytical framework for the research.

Discourse theory - main assumptions

To begin with, it must be acknowledged that DA is not a single approach, but rather a set of various, multidisciplinary approaches, which differ according to different scientific areas. Literature distinguishes three major lines within DA, but since there are no clear boundaries between them, it is possible to combine different elements of those approaches in order to create a suitable framework for conducting critical analysis. The most important feature which is common for all three approaches, is that they are rooted in social constructionism, assuming that knowledge about the world is not an objective truth, and that social world is produced through discourses (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002). Keeping that in mind, I will now continue to present the one I decided to apply in my research.

The chosen approach was developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe who named it a *discourse theory*. It takes its point of departure from the poststructuralist idea, that the social world is constituted by discourses through meaning - a web of processes which take place in

order for the meaning to be created. This meaning, due to instability of language, can never be completely fixed, and neither are the social phenomena which are seen as discursive constructions. In contrary to other perspectives on discourse, Laclau and Mouffe do not distinguish between discursive and non-discursive elements of the social; everything is discursive, including individuals, economy, infrastructure, and national institutions - discourses are the constitutive force in the social world (ibid.). In order to provide a better understanding of this fundamental feature behind DA, I will shortly discuss the four main concepts within the discourse theory: *discourse*, *language, politics,* and *power*.

Discourse is here understood as *"the fixation of meaning within a particular domain"* (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 26). Meaning is created through different signs which gain meaning by being different from one another. The ways in which discourses are produced involve finding and creating a meaning around a *nodal point*, which constitutes a central sign, around which other signs are created and ordered. Discourse comes into sight when signs become fixed as *moments* through their relations with other signs, while other possible meanings become excluded. According to Laclau and Mouffe, discourses are never so complete or fixed, that there is no room for change. They argue that there are always other meanings, which can potentially challenge and influence the current structure of the existing discourse and that meaning itself can never be unambiguously fixed. From that perspective, discourse is understood as temporary and indefinite, and there is always an ongoing struggle over which discourses should prevail. Individuals are continually trying to fix the meanings by situating them in certain relations to other signs (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002).

Language certainly plays a crucial role in discourse theory. According to Laclau and Mouffe, language is the means of accessing reality, and everything that exists becomes meaningful through language. Using language is a social phenomenon which determines how we position signs, and thus create new meanings. It is fundamental for social world to exist and any changes in it cause changes in the social world as well (ibid.). However, it is important to understand that discourse does not only entail a use of language - for Laclau and Mouffe, discourses are material. Thereby, all social phenomena, as well as institutions, for instance, are seen as discourses, and are organised in accordance with the same principles as language. From that perspective, whatever happens in the society gains its meaning through its relations with other actions. Laclau and Mouffe suggest that discourses are systems of meaning which

mediate our access and relationships with all physical and social objects, so the way we see and understand them hinges on the discursive context they are placed in (ibid.).

As I have pointed out earlier, meaning which is produced through discourses is neither fixed nor complete, and can always be changed. According to discourse theory, such acts during which meaning undergoes changes should be seen as political. Politics, according to Laclau and Mouffe's theory, is a concept referring to *"the manner in which we constantly constitute the social in ways that exclude other ways"* (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 36). It is seen as a social organisation which is an outcome of constant political processes; organisation which can be changed as the discourses become different according to shifts in our actions, which are here seen as temporary structures of meaning. This organisation of society can be done in different ways, what can be observed in a struggle among various actors fighting over which discourse should prevail. Other times, however, social practices are so deeply established, that they seem natural and it becomes hard to acknowledge the existence of alternatives. In discourse theory, if a discourse is so intensely entrenched, it is to be considered *objective*. A division between what is seen as objective and what is not is fluid, however, and new discourses can appear and influence the existing structures at any time (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002).

When looking upon discourses and how politics shape the organisation of society, power relations ought to be considered, as power is seen as a crucial component in the processes of creating meaning. Laclau and Mouffe have taken from Foucault's concept of power, who considers power to be creating the social rather than being something that people can simply possess. From Laclau and Mouffe's perspective, power is productive as it creates knowledge, people's identities, as well as determines how people relate to one another in social settings. It is also contingent - meaning created by power is not fixed, and can always be transformed by other meanings. This means that social order created by power is not fixed either, and power contains all other alternatives to the order which people live in accordance to. Furthermore, power is closely related to politics. In discourse theory, politics refer to the contingency of the objects created by the power, such as society and individual or group identity. It is when one forgets that the social world is created by power and politics, that we take an objective vision of the world (ibid.).

These concepts are crucial for a good understanding of the main assumptions behind Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, as well as how discourses are created and how they relate to other discourses. I will now shortly discuss which elements of the discourse theory will be used in the analysis.

Analytical framework for this research

Discourse analysis offers a range of approaches for analysing how people speak about different phenomena. Discourse theory, which will drive the analytical part of this research, focuses on many concepts and relationships between them, which allow creating a broad frame for analysing the use of language among various actors. Thus, I decided to narrow the discussion down to several central points, which will also create an analytical outline for my research.

Firstly, the aim of conducting discourse analysis is not to examine reality, but rather to look upon what is being said and what social consequences different discursive constructions entail. As I have already mentioned, discourse theory takes its point of departure in the view that everything in the social world is conditional - possible but not necessary, and that it can always undergo changes. In order to make sense out of different meanings created through discourses, one must look at possibilities and alternatives which are not included in a given discourse. Different discursive structures we create always have other possibilities and every discourse can always be undermined by what lies outside its boundaries. Those other meanings, however, are neither fixed nor completely fluid, as all structures are set by, and dependent on, earlier structures. When analysing a discourse, one ought to look upon not only what is being said, but also what is left out, in order to identify what impact a given discourse has or can have on a society (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002).

A crucial element of discourse theory is its view on society. Although it seems that *"we continuously produce society and act as if it exists as a totality, and we verbalise it as a totality"* (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 39), according to Laclau and Mouffe, this totality is an imaginary concept, which they call a *myth*. From their perspective, societies are objective entities which can never be complete. They consist of meanings which we create through

discourses, by placing different signs in relation to one another in a way that they never create a finished totality. Nothing has a stable position in a society, and everything is variable. There is never a single discourse strong enough to establish itself as the only and right discourse, and there are always other conflicting discourses. This potentially gives an infinite number of possibilities for how society can be created and understood. Although totality is a myth, it often appears as inevitable in the everyday life of a society. More importantly, it creates a platform for political discussions. Therefore, the aim of discourse analysis is to identify and discuss these different myths created through discourses. It is to look at what statements about the society as objective truths are present and what potential influence they might have, in the political struggle over which understanding of the society should prevail (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002).

Secondly, when carrying out discourse analysis, it is important to acknowledge the position of subjects of the discourse, not only the actors participating in creating it. In Laclau and Mouffe's theory, discourses always designate certain positions for subjects to occupy. Holding a certain position requires from one to act in certain ways, which are determined by a set of expectations towards that particular position. From that perspective, subjects are non autonomous objects, but are always determined by discourses. As well, a given subject is never placed in a fixed position - it is assigned various positions, given by various discourses, and can occupy many different positions at once. This refers, once again, to the changeable character of discourses and the meanings they carry - nothing is ever an objective truth, and everything can always be reshaped, also the position carried by a subject of the discourse (ibid.). In this research, these positions could be: an *immigrant*, an *outsider*, a *newcomer*, etc.

When looking at how an individual can be structured discursively, one needs to include and investigate the concept of identity. As described earlier in this section, nodal points around which signs are created, are the driving force behind the production of discourses. According to discourse theory, these nodal points, together with a cluster of different signs carrying meaning, are at the center of one's identity. During discursive processes, such identities are negotiated, reshaped, accepted or refused, depending on what signs are assigned to them, and therefore identities are social creations (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002). When identifying oneself, or being identified, with a certain category, discourses provide sets of certain rules which must be followed in order for an individual to be able to become a part of that

category. Identity is thus constituted through discursive practices during which it is also determined what identity one ought to be assigned. It is the *representation* of the subject, that decides which identity it acquires (ibid.).

Lastly, I find it crucial to look upon the concept of group identity, since the political discourse treats immigrants as a group, rather than on an individual level. For Laclau and Mouffe, group identity develops in the same way individual identity does. From their perspective, social space can be divided into various identities, and there is no one objective way to perform such a classification (ibid.). Group formation is here understood as a *"reduction of possibilities"* (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002: 44). People become participants of a given group through similarities between them, with a simultaneous disregard of alternative possibilities of identification. However, in the discourse theory, groups are not socially predetermined, which means that they only become to exist when they are spoken of - constituted and acknowledged through discourse, and always in contrast to other groups. Group identity is then established through meaning filled into differences with respect to other groups. In that way, ways in which society is understood, and especially the prevailing understanding of different groups, strongly influence actions and decisions made within the society (Jorgensen & Phillips 2002).

In discourse theory, identity plays a crucial role in how a researcher is to approach the analysis. The starting point is to look for the nodal point(s) around which identity is created - this is the signs or concepts which are seen as most relevant, and are the central focus of the discourse. Once the nodal points are identified it will be possible, by looking at different articulations and representations, to explore the different understandings present in the discourse. Looking at what meanings are placed around those nodal points will allow to gain a better understanding of how different discourses struggle to become the prevailing one in the society (ibid.).

These are the points which will drive my investigation of the nature of the political discourses on integration, and and attempt to identify the prevailing ones. By deconstructing political statements, I will explore how discourses produce meaning and place people in certain social and cultural categories.

Methodology: choices regarding focus, sources, and materials

The main objective of this research is to examine whether there are any discrepancies between what politicians in Denmark say about integration outcomes, and what is really taking place "on the ground". I chose to look at the political discourse in particular because I got an impression that immigration issues are presented in a relatively negative light by the political scene in Denmark. Moreover, politicians are the ones who hold a lot of power in regards to the situation of immigrants, and thereby their statements hold a considerable meaning in terms of shaping opinions among general public.

Therefore, performing discourse analysis seemed to be the most suitable choice for conducting the first part of the analysis, in which I looked upon how integration and its results is represented in the political discourse. For that purpose, I searched for sources which would deliver statements from Danish politicians, on which I could then perform my analysis.

I chose to look at articles from the biggest Danish newspapers, which get published online. Focusing on the most popular ones was dictated by my choice to look at sources which get the biggest publicity and carry the smallest risk of being biased, what is often observed among tabloids. Therefore, I limited my search to three main newspapers: Jyllands-Posten, Politiken, and Berlingske Tidende. Throughout my research, however, I realised that Jyllands-Posten had almost no coverage of integration issues. Presumably due to the cartoon controversy of 2005, it was no longer willing to focus on immigrant issues as much. As a result, most of the articles included in this research come from Berlingske Tidende and, to a lesser degree, from Politiken. They either include interviews with politicians or open letters from them. In order to get the most recent picture of how integration is perceived on the political scene, I limited my search to articles between January 2016 and May 2017.

Initially, I wanted to focus on integration in general, without limiting myself to any particular group. I was interested in examining whether politicians in Denmark acknowledge discrepancies in integration outcomes between persons belonging to different groups. During

a preliminary search for data, however, I discovered that exploring integration from such an angle was not possible as the political discourse did not include discussion on integration of immigrants coming from Western countries. Asylum seekers were also outside the picture, which can be explained by the fact that integration is a process which takes place over time and one cannot in fact speak of integration outcomes in relation to persons who have recently arrived and do not have the same legal position. I observed that the political discourse focused solely on "immigrants of non-Western origin". Moreover, in many cases refugees were spoken of in similar terms, and they were not acknowledged as a separate independent group. Therefore, in the analysis I look upon integration of persons coming from non-Western backgrounds, including refugees, immigrants, and their descendants as well. The reason behind including the latest is to better illustrate the results of integration processes - differences between generations can be the best way to show changes which happen over time. In the analytical part, I will either speak of "immigrants" or "descendants".

Methodological considerations

One of my main concerns regarding this research was that it touches upon a broad subject which can certainly be explored in a myriad of ways. As it could be seen throughout the literature review chapter, the notion of integration carries a lot of meanings and according to some it is challenging to even use it as an analytical concept. Moreover, my decision to conduct discourse analysis, which as a methodological approach gives a potentially endless range of possibilities for conducting analysis, brought even more reflections on how to tackle the subject of my research. These and other considerations made me realise that it is important to provide a brief clarification of some of my personal dealings with approaching this study.

As I explained earlier, I decided to treat immigrant integration in a relatively broad manner. I am aware that this might pose a risk of obtaining results which might not seem sufficiently explicit. However, considering the fact that I chose to perform discourse analysis, I made the decision to remain open for what it might result in. My intention was not to look for certain tendencies in the political discourse on integration and analyse whether they correspond to

the theoretical outline I would have created. Instead, my objective was to look at what was being said and extract the elements which were identified as relevant. For that reason, I saw having a somewhat extensive understanding of what immigrant integration entails, as beneficial rather than limiting.

Furthermore, the purpose of conducting discourse analysis is not to analyse why politicians might think of integration in one way or another. Neither it is to discover the reality. It is to analyse what is being said and how it might affect how the subject of the discourse is perceived and understood by the rest of the society. Therefore, as a researcher, I do not make an attempt to determine which of the things which are being sad are right, and which are wrong; instead, I look upon how the reality is represented through the different statements, and try to extract patterns among the various discourses on immigrant integration. I make an attempt to determine general attitudes towards the subject under discussion. These statements, however, do not reflect the reality itself; instead, they reflect how the reality is understood and perceived by those who engage in the political discourse on integration.

In doing so, I am aware that it is often challenging for the researcher to distance oneself from the analysed material. For me personally, coming from an academic and professional backgrounds where the issues of immigration and integration are understood and dealt with in a positive manner, analysing the statements given by Danish politicians was quite tricky in terms of objectivity. As well, although Laclau and Mouffe's theory is presented as an objective representation of the reality, I have also found it challenging to deal, on an analytical level, with the social constructionist approach to the study. When taking a starting point in the assumption that reality is created through discourses, and it is never fixed or complete, how do I, as a researcher, position myself towards creating meaning myself? This question has remained unanswered, but it repeatedly triggered my reflexivity when analysing the material. Looking upon the data collected for the analysis, I worked on remaining critical in my analysis, taking the discourse theory and my understanding of the concept of integration as lenses for looking upon the statements.

CHAPTER IV

Field of Inquiry

Introduction

As I have already mentioned, the subject of this research, and its main focus, is immigrant integration. Before I begin to analyse how the current political discourse on immigrant integration corresponds with what is actually taking place in Denmark, I find it important to look upon how immigration and integration debate came into being and changed over time. In the following section, I will present an abridged overview of changes and developments which have taken place within the Danish society and politics, in order to set up a framework for analysing the situation we are witnessing today.

In the first section I will deal with the historical developments in the immigrant area, which will show how Denmark has gradually became a country of immigration. In the second section I will take a closer look at when and how Danish political scene began to speak of integration - from how the term began to be used in Denmark, to ways in which it is now almost exclusively assigned to immigration area. Finally, I will examine how political attitudes towards immigration and integration have changed throughout the time.

This chapter will serve as a historical background for a better understanding of the situation of immigrant integration in Denmark.

First changes in Danish homogenous society

Until few decades ago, Denmark had taken pride in their high level of social and cultural homogeneity, defined mainly by a common language, religion, and ethnic origin (Johncke 2011). Certain social, political, and economic developments during the eighteenth and

nineteenth century had led to a strongly unified Danish society. The idea of "being Danish" assumed individual freedom with focus on social engagement, solidarity, and equal rights for all citizens. Danish welfare system, closely associated with a predefined set of social and cultural values, had remained unchallenged for centuries, due to uniformity of the Danish population and the common goal to live according to the notion of "Danishness" (Olwig & Paerregaard 2011).

This homogenous character of the Danish society began to change slightly in the late nineteenth century, when Denmark faced the first noticeable influx of immigrants, as many poor farm workers from Poland and Sweden began to relocate in search for jobs. However, since they came from countries which shared similar values to those present in Denmark, their arrival is rarely acknowledged, as it did not undermine the fundamentals of the uniformity of the Danish population (Nellemann 1981; Willerslev 1983). Truly considerable changes began to take place only few decades later. In the second half of the twentieth century, mainly due to economic reasons and decolonisation, significant numbers of people from many parts of the world began to relocate on a large scale, turning most countries in Western and Northern Europe into countries of immigration (Entzinger 1990). In Denmark, similarly to other European countries, 1960s and 1970s were characterised by a great need for manual labour. That was due to the post-war labour shortages caused by out-migration before the 1960s, fueled by lack of willingness to undertake jobs which were considered unattractive by the native Danish population (Olwig 2011). The huge demand for labour could not be met through recruiting workers across Western and Southern Europe alone. Such circumstances required that Danes had to seek labour outside Europe, what brought thousands of people from the Middle East, Pakistan, and North Africa to take jobs as unskilled workers in Danish factories (Olwig & Paerregaard 2011; Casey 2014).

The process of recruiting "guest workers" continued until 1973, when suddenly Denmark faced economic recession due to rising oil prices, and unemployment skyrocketed. Although labour migration was stopped, many guest workers decided to establish themselves in Denmark, and as they began to send for their families to join them under family reunification programs, the numbers of people with foreign background continued to increase. As a result, next ten years were marked by a continuous growth of the immigrant population from non-Western countries, until it reached around 50 000 in 1983 (Udlændingeservice 2008). In

the meantime, Denmark also faced an influx of political refugees and individuals seeking asylum during the 1980s and 1990s, from countries such as Vietnam, Iran, Iraq, the Balkans, Somalia, and other areas marked by unstable political situation. Moreover, foreign students and skilled professionals also began to consider Denmark a desirable destination (Entzinger 1990; Olwig & Paerregaard 2011). All in all, the number of people of non-Western origin had increased to approximately 240 000 in 2008, and more than 100 000 descendants of this immigrant population (Udlændingeservice 2008).

The beginning of integration debate

Such developments of immigration situation made many recognise, that guest workers were to become permanent members of the Danish society. The foreign labour migration of the 1960s and 1970s gradually caught the attention of policymakers. They came to understand that policies which had previously been focusing on temporary accommodation and promoting repatriation among the guest workers, had now to be replaced by policies aiming at accommodating these individuals into the Danish society, and helping them settle (Entzinger 1990).

Initially, it was unknown, how the state could approach this phenomenon. Although the word "integration" had been part of the Danish language since the nineteenth century, at the time when immigration began to turn into an important issue, it was not used often. Integration was generally referred to as "incorporation", "absorption", "assimilation" or "adaptation" of something into a whole. It only became more commonly used in the Danish language by the mid-twentieth century, when it began to appear in public debates, carrying different meanings referring to different mechanisms of the developing society. During the 1950s and 1960s, "integration" was used in relation to the economic, political, and military integration of Europe, and later it referred to debates on the European Common Market. It was also present within pre-school pedagogy (Olwig & Paerregaard 2011). Only years after the economic recession and a large influx of immigrants and refugees, policymakers, journalists, and social scientists began to look upon the concept of integration as relevant for incorporating those individuals into the Danish society. Since the 1990s, as the aftermath of foreign labour

migration, "integration" has been once again re-defined and became a matter of public concern. The focus changed towards a more specific understanding, which applies directly to the area of immigration and ways of dealing with individuals new to the Danish welfare system (ibid.).

Integration became a particularly popular concept by the end of 1990s and beginning of 2000s. The prevailing view on non-Western immigrants and refugees was that they came from countries with very different understandings of the main principles of democracy, participation, and labour market. Those supposed discrepancies attracted the attention of politicians, academics, and general Danish public, who began to speak about the "integration problem" (Emerek 2003; Penninx et.al. 2006; Casey 2014). Danes, who saw themselves as belonging to a homogenous society with shared principles, perceived immigrants as inherently different, and thus a threat to the Danish welfare system and its order of things (Stolcke 1995; Casey 2014). The perceived problems of having and integrating a considerable number of non-Western immigrants into society has within time become conceptualised as a matter of culture. Primarily due to the common perception of great differences between their cultural backgrounds and the Danish core values of freedom and equality, there was a general attitude, that these cultural discrepancies prevented immigrants from becoming correctly integrated in Denmark Seeing them as culturally different, and thus not corresponding to ethnically and culturally homogenous Danish population, posed the main obstacle against their acceptance (Gudrun Jensen 2011, Olwig & Paerregaard 2011; Sjørslev 2011).

The "integration problem", as I have already mentioned, has been closely linked with the ideas behind the welfare system. "Danishness" and the welfare state are by many seen as inseparable, and the notion of being Danish strongly influences the different dynamics within cultural and social settings. In that way, the welfare state plays an important role in building a framework for how immigrants and refugees should be integrated. Having culturally defined interests and values, which are seen as necessary for an efficient functioning of the Danish society, mean that immigrants who want to become integrated, must not only feel Danish, but also "do Danish", and in accordance to a set of rules and principles determined by the welfare state (Johncke 2011). According to some, such a strong interconnectedness between what is understood as being "the real Dane" and the welfare state, caused all efforts to integrate

non-Western immigrants focus on their distinctiveness and inability to become integrated, somewhat pushing them into a marginal position of not belonging to the Danish society (Olwig & Paerregaard 2011; Olwig 2011).

Following the recognition that immigration was about to increase even further, the "integration problem", and its alleged threat to the coherence and integrity of the Danish society, became increasingly important in the political and public debate (Henkel 2011). During the past 40 years, the political attitudes towards immigration and integration have been changing along with shifts in political settings. These shifts are necessary to consider when trying to understand how political perspectives on immigration and integration have transformed into what they are today.

Shift in political attitudes

Until the 1970s and 1980s, before Denmark began to realise that temporary foreign labour migration was about to turn into a long lasting issue, migrant policies were based on a relatively stable cross-party consensus. The more restrictionist attitudes among the centre-right parties (Liberals, Conservatives, and the Social Liberal Party) played central role in drawing focus to immigrant and integration issues. Although those parties were strong electorally, they were not as strong in a coalition bloc and, as a result, often had to rely on radical right-wing parties (with biggest Progress Party). Those collaborations fueled the restrictionist positions towards immigration issues (Green-Pedersen & Odmalm 2008). It was not until the 1980s that immigration and integration started to turn into a highly politicised on Danish political arena (Hamburger 1989). In 1983, parliamentary majority passed a new liberal immigration law which met with the objection from only one side - the Progress Party. During next few years, asylum seekers were given more rights, family reunification became easier and more accessible, and it it was no longer as easy to expel unwanted immigrants (Brøcker 1990). Thereupon, right-wing parties raised even stronger voices against liberalisation of immigrant law. Erik Ninn Hansen, the Conservative Minister of Justice at that time, declared that the law posed a threat to Danish nationality (Green-Pedersen & Odmalm 2008). As immigration especially from Middle Eastern countries increased, politicians from the Conservatives and Liberals, adopted a critical line

seeded by Hansen, and brought about revising a new, more restrictive law, which in the end managed to be passed in parliament with help from Social Democrats (but without the support of Social Liberals). The general attitudes of the right-wing parties, which began to be more visible on the political scene, were focusing on tightening the immigration law. However, they did not manage to push their agenda through, and the broad consensus on the policies remained relatively unchanged. By the end of the 1980s, although more light had been shed on immigration issues, it was still a minor issue (ibid.).

Starting from the early 1990s, the political discourse on both immigration and integration began to change once again. Both issues underwent even more profound process of politicisation, especially after government change in 1993. The government, supported by left-wing parties, continued to work towards more liberal immigration policies, whereas right-wing proposed only temporary residence permits for asylum seekers, showing that they had begun to change their positions on the matter (Jensen 2000). The Progress Party placed immigration issues high on their agenda. However, the Danish People's Party, which in 1995 emerged from the Progress Party, focused almost exclusively on these issues. Their voice became particularly strong after their success in 1998 election (Green-Pedersen & Odmalm 2008).

In the aftermath, confrontation between right-wing parties and the government became more apparent. The Liberals and their new leader, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, realised that moving immigration and integration issues higher on their agenda, could be a way to obtain a stronger position and win government power (Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup 2008). Consequently, their position on immigration changed dramatically between 1993 and 2001. When looking at Venstre's program from 1995, one can find that they focused on immigrants' rights under their considerably liberal approach, whereas the program from 2006 focused more on how Denmark should pose more demands towards them, in terms of both cultural and economic aspects. Moreover, when looking at the debate revolving the 1983 liberal immigration law, it was only the Progress Party who had made attempts to reopen the debate and question the law; from 1993, the Liberals and Conservatives began to be more critical about the law as well (Holm 2005).

Altogether, the period up until 2001 was characterised by a constant clash between the Liberals and the Conservatives, and the centre-left government. The government was trying to end the ongoing political conflict by agreeing to certain tightenings in the area of immigration and integration, and taking a more restrictive direction. During the 2001 election campaign, those issues were seen as crucial; as a result, the Liberals and Conservatives formed a coalition, supported by the Danish People's Party. No longer was their need to avoid conflict with the Social Liberals, which was present during the 1980s - different policy measures on immigration and integration, which had been addressed by both sides, could now be implemented. In terms of integration, the focus was mainly put on labour market participation, as best way to integrate immigrants into the Danish society. The system was to provide a fair social assistance, although in terms of non-EU immigrants, the special level of assistance was lower, and was meant to serve as a way for them to accept low-paid jobs. It was mainly a consequence of post-1993 changes in immigration and integration policies, which brought many parties considerably closer to the position of the Danish People's Party (Green-Pedersen & Odmalm 2008).

To conclude, in the aftermath of the politicisation of immigration and integration, as well as the government change in 1993, more restrictive positions began to emerge. After 2001, immigration and integration policies became yet more significant, and were put at the centre of Danish politics. Due to shifts in political power and influence over the 1990s and 2000s, the question of how to deal with immigrants and integrate them into the society has led to a certain dose of uncertainty in regards to how to approach the "integration problem". With the Danish People's Party's crucial role in the contemporary politics in Denmark, the discourse on immigration and integration continues to focus on restrictive attitudes in the political debate.

CHAPTER V

Analysis

Introduction

As I have stated before, the purpose of this research is to explore the field of integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark, by looking at whether there exist any discrepancies between the political discourse and what is actually taking place. It is to explore whether the picture of how those individuals have been integrated in Denmark, presented by politicians, is reflected in what can be observed in the Danish society. I will aim to search for an answer to the following question: "*How does the current political discourse regarding integration of non-Western immigrants within the Danish society correspond with what actually takes place "on the ground"?*

In the first part, I will focus on how immigrant integration is discursively constructed and presented among politicians in Denmark. Keeping in mind, that the purpose is not to discover reality but to analyse how the subject of integration is spoken about, this section will include discourse analysis on political statements. It will be performed on a number of articles from the biggest Danish newspapers available online, mainly Berlingske Tidende, which has had a substantial coverage of integration area during recent months. As I have explained in the methodology chapter, the analysis will include, to a large extent, my personal interpretation of the statements, due to the character of the chosen method. With the overall purpose of answering the question *"How are Danish politicians speaking of integration in Denmark?",* I will look at how integration is spoken about, what is believed to be crucial for integration in Denmark, and whether politicians acknowledge any particular problems in this area.

In the second part, with the purpose of answering the question *"What are the realities of immigrant integration in Denmark?",* I will investigate what is actually happening "on the ground", in conjunction with integration in Denmark. I will look upon statistics focusing on how non-Western immigrants function in the Danish society. The exact content of this part of

the analysis will be strongly dictated by the outcomes of discourse analysis. Based on the issues regarding integration, identified in the political debate as most relevant and pressing, I will, to a large extent, limit my analysis to these spheres, in order to be able to draw conclusions later on.

Political views on integration

As I have discussed in previous chapters, Danish political scene has shifted its focus a lot towards integration issues during recent years. Media coverage presents a quite stormy debate on the results of integration processes, targeting mainly individuals with non-Western backgrounds. A considerable amount of politicians have expressed their opinion on the matter and it demonstrates how important the areas of immigration and integration are in Danish politics. Let me begin the first part of the analysis by looking at what different understandings of integration are present in the political discourse. Next, I will examine particular standpoints, and seek to identify political attitudes towards integration processes in Denmark.

In order to explore how integration is constructed in the political discourse, I decided to begin by shedding light on different opinions on integration in general. I believe that finding out what politicians think a successful integration should be like will allow me to obtain a better understanding of which of its aspects they mostly focus on. Although finding sufficient data to provide a profound and thorough explanation for it was not possible, it is to outline the very general picture of how integration is perceived on the Danish political scene. The gathered material revealed, that opinions on how integration ought to function in Denmark differ among politicians and there is no single unanimous voice in that area.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, the former Prime Minister and leader of the conservative-liberal party Venstre, once said:

"I have said very clearly today that integration is also a responsibility for the individual immigrant and should take place under the conditions of Danish society. It does not mean that we all must be the same, but there are certain basic values that everyone must respect. These are freedom of expression, equality of women and men, and that we keep religion and politics separate in Denmark" (Egelund & Kaufholz 2004).

Back in 2004, few years before the so-called European migrant crisis, the Danish leader spoke about immigrant integration as of a process which must take place in accordance with Danish values and beliefs. By using the word *"also"* he indicated that the active role of an immigrant in integration through absorbing what is Danish, is not the only drive behind integration processes. He acknowledged that the responsibility lies elsewhere too, most likely within the state or the government. However, by saying *"it does not mean that we all need to be the same"* he also highlighted that the preferred model for integration is not the one of assimilation, as those who are to be integrated can maintain a part of their personal identity. Is this view shared by the other politicians, and has it survived till today? What does it mean to be integrated in 2017?

The way in which Inger Støjberg, the Danish Minister for Immigration and Integration, spoke about integration seems to show that integration is all about what an immigrant is obliged to do:

"You must of course learn the language, adopt the Danish value set and support yourself and your family. [...] I believe that one has a commitment to accept the country in which they live. One has a huge and unambiguous obligation to take on the foundation of freedoms which generations before us have laid" (Bloch 2017).

Following the words of Støjberg, a politician occupying possibly the most important position in relation to the situation of immigrants in Denmark, integration was presented as requiring from an individual to follow all the social and cultural rules of the mainstream society. She also pointed out that it is crucial to *"go into a job as soon as possible and become part of a Danish culture, where one contributes positively to the society"* because *"to work is the best way towards integration"* (Poulsen & Støjberg 2017). Once again, the well being of the mainstream society was strongly focused on, and there seemed to be little or no consideration for the position an individual holds within it. Furthermore, as long as fully accepting the norms present in a given country is crucial for one to become a potentially equal member of its society, the question remains of whether there is room for immigrants to perceive their cultural identity, which most often comes with a set of certain values. Støjberg's words revealed that she seemed to hold a significantly different opinion from Fogh Rasmussen, and thus did not leave a lot of room for the two-way character of integration. From her words one can read that integration is about a full acceptance of norms and values of the receiving

society, what gives little or no opportunity for concession. This can clearly be seen in her words: *"for me, integration is not that we all bend a little to each other and meet in the middle"* (Beck Nielsen 2017); *"it is not a question of each of us moving a little. No, Denmark is Danes' country, and here we live according to our values"* (Borre 2016). Integration is though not spoken of as of a process in which both an immigrant and the receiving country make an equal effort to maintain societal coherence; it is rather a process in which individuals are forced to adopt all new values and norms they find themselves in, if they want to become members of the Danish society. Although Støjberg did not directly address such a position, by saying *"here we live according to our values"*, she seems to have meant, that the values of those who arrive will neither be acknowledged nor accepted, and therefore should be abandoned. Such a view is highly divergent from the one shared by Anders Fogh Rasmussen.

On the centre-left, Dan Jørgensen from the Social Democrats presented a slightly different view on what it means to become integrated. He said:

"I could not dream of saying that people should eat some food if they do not want to. It is assimilation, and I do not support that. Integration is something else. We do not ask people to leave their identity and culture away, unless it is in the culture in which a man man can beat his wife, etc." (Borre 2016).

Here, a somewhat multicultural view on integration, in which immigrants are allowed and sometimes encouraged to perceive their cultural identity in building a coherent society, seemed to break through. Jørgensen continued, however, by saying:

"But if you don't know the language, do not participate in democracy, come from a place where you are not used to trade unions, and you think it's better not to pay taxes because the money goes into the pocket of a dictator, then we need to say that you should back up on these things. Otherwise, the whole things can collapse" (ibid.).

We are clearly dealing with the already-mentioned question of an extent to which a particular set of Danish values determines whether we can consider an individual to be well integrated into the society. Since, according to Jørgensen's words, integration should focus on both individual identity and culture, and the mainstream values in the receiving society, a question of how one shall balance the two, arises. When asked whether an individual must feel a Dane in order to be well integrated, Jørgensen replied:

"Yes, I think so. But it should not be in contrary to the culture one comes from. One can be both. [...] I think that one can continue to be a Pakistani, but also be a Dane. [...] You should be allowed to be that, and it should be part of your identity, but there must also be the element that you are Danish and part of the Danish community" (ibid.).

The words *"one can be both"* show, that in a successful integration there is room for one's personal identity, and the elements of the background they come from. Being integrated does not necessarily entail abandoning the entire culture one comes from, but rather being able to accept the essential aspects of the Danish culture and incorporate them in their own. Although such a perspective does not directly point out to multiculturalism, it definitely implies that assimilation is not necessary - one can indeed be only "half" Danish, and still function in the Danish society on equal terms, while preserving elements of their original cultural identity.

On the right wing, the multicultural model of integration clearly does not seem to be in favor at all. Martin Henriksen from Danish People's Party seems to hold a strong and explicit standpoint on what integration in Denmark means and ought to entail. He had previously expressed his opinion on what it means to be Danish, which triggered a rather turbulent discussion in the media on who can be called a "true" Dane. In relation to integration, Henriksen explicitly said that: *"the goal is assimilation rather than integration"* (Henriksen 2016). He explained it further by saying: *"it is the foreigners who need to adapt to Denmark and our form of society, norms, and values. Not the other way around"* (ibid.). Henriksen's views on what it means to be integrated seem transparent: the responsibility for becoming part of the Danish society lies entirely on shoulders of those who are new to it, and there is no talk about how their identities and cultural backgrounds can possibly operate in the new situation they find themselves in. Such an attitude can especially be seen in Henriksen's statements on islam. In another interview he said:

"You have to detach from some of the rules and cultural norms that are in Islam in order to become Danish. If there is someone who has taken all that is Danish to oneself, and who does not allow to be ruled by Sharia or by the foolish religious and cultural norms, then I will not rule out that one with a muslim background can become Danish" (Bloch 2017).

Simply put, becoming integrated means becoming Danish and in order to achieve that, one *"have to"* meet certain requirements, such as leaving parts of one's culture behind, especially

in case of Islam which is here seen as particularly divergent from what it means to be Danish. The fact that Henriksen used the word *"foolish"* for describing norms which are characteristic for Islam might suggest that he perceives everything lying outside the Danish culture as inaccurate, what would explain his strive for assimilation. Furthermore, having abandoned these original cultural norms, one is also obliged to *"take a large part of the Danish cultural package if one wants to be Danish. Language, culture, traditions, celebrations, participation in society's life, norms, values, etc."* (ibid.). Such a presentation of what integration is meant to be shows, that the desired model for integrating immigrants in Denmark is the one of assimilation, where preferably no elements of one's original culture remain.

Integration outcomes in Denmark

In the above section I discussed some of the political opinions on integration in general. Attitudes present among politicians differ primarily on the issue whether an individual should be allowed to preserve elements of their cultural identity. Regardless of which political party these politicians come from, their opinions share a common denominator - becoming integrated requires that one accepts and lives in harmony with Danish social and cultural norms and values. One needs to have respect for Danish rules, accept the Danish democratic system, and be able to provide for their family. Is this what politicians see as happening in Denmark today? In this section I will explore how integration outcomes are understood and represented in the political discourse.

During my search for relevant articles, I found it relatively challenging to find many statements which would be of a positive tone. This can perhaps be justified by a tendency to publicly debate problems and challenges rather than what works well, so predominance of negative views can be considered a natural phenomenon. However, single voices were raised which seemed to be more optimistic, and I will begin by presenting those.

Inger Støjberg who, as we just saw, seems to hold a relatively definite and strong opinion on what it means to be an integrated member of the society, spoke quite positively about immigrants' activities towards obtaining a job:

"Today, more than half (of immigrants) are declared job pairs, and almost every third comes out in a business-oriented offering, where they have concrete experience with the Danish labour market. [...] It is going the right way" (Poulsen & Støjberg 2017).

In other interviews she said: *"it is not that I don't want to talk about things that are going well. Because there are many more who participate in the labour market"* (Bloch 2017); *"when it comes to getting immigrants in work, and some of the good examples, there are plenty of"* (Borre 2016). Being a member of the job market or aiming to become one is here clearly seen as a positive thing, and Støjberg seems to have felt positively about the developments in this sphere having used expression such as *"good examples"* which she sees *"plenty of"*. One cannot read from Støjberg's words, however, whether that means they can be considered well integrated into the Danish society. I can only speculate that by seeing things *"go the right away"*, she might see potential in the ongoing integration processes.

My attempt to establish whether there were more positive statements towards immigrant integration in Denmark did not prove to be particularly successful. During the discussion about a rather controversial gender-divided swimming training at the swim club in Copenhagen, Ozlem Cekic from Socialist People's Party expressed her enthusiasm towards new developments which allow to include girls in activities that many of them had previously not been able to take part in. When asked whether one can speak of successful integration in Denmark, she replied: *"yes, I think it's a step in the right direction"* (Gottschalck 2016). Here, however, she presumably referred to this particular project rather than integration in general, so her point of view on the overall outcome integration remains rather unknown.

During preliminary analysis of what politicians have been saying about integration's functioning in Denmark, I could not resist the impression that the overall tone of those statements was relatively negative. I will now look upon this negative side of political statements and then continue to explore which aspects they put most focus on and considered faulty.

When discussing integration situation in Denmark, Lars Løkke Rasmussen said that *"what we have today, simply doesn't work"* (Ritzau 2016). Prime Minister's statement did not stand alone. When asked about how she felt about integration's realities, Inger Støjberg replied: *"I am deeply worried"* (Bloch 2017). According to Jacob Mark from the Socialist People's Party, *"there are challenges with integration"* (Politiken 2016), whose point of view was followed by Orla Østerby (Conservative People's party), who said that *"the biggest problem at the moment is refugees and integration"* (Jørgensen 2017). In these statements integration is directly presented as insufficient and challenging. The word *"failed"* also appeared in various contexts. Inger Støjberg who previously spoke about integration developments going the right way, also said: *"we have seen failed integration in Denmark over last 30-40 years"* (Bloch 2017). Jørn Neergard Larsen, Minister for Employment under Rasmussen's government, seemed to have agreed with her when he said that *"the figures show that integration has failed"* (Larsen 2016).

Out of these statements, which clearly point out a faulty integration, certain words drew my attention. First of all, how shall one interpret Rasmussen's statement saying that things do not *"work"*? Is it the system or is it immigrants who do not meet the expectations posed towards them? Secondly, how can *"problems"* be defined, and what does a *"failure"* of integration mean? The main question I would like to pose here is whether the perceived problems in the integration field lay within the system or whether they are perceived to be immigrants' responsibility. In order to explore possible answers to my questions, I will now proceed to the specific problems within integration, identified in the political discourse.

I will begin with Mette Frederiksen (Social Democrats) who spoke about the historical background which according to her has led to "failed" integration:

"If we [...] had listened to them already in the 80s and 90s, we would have led a whole different refugee and immigration policy in Denmark that would have benefited every refugee [...] We could have established a better integration. [...] Most of us were wrong" (Schmidt 2016).

Let me collate Frederiksen's words with some other statements. Inger Støjberg said: *"it is obvious that integration has failed through changing governments"* (Domino & Nielsen 2017). According to Kristian Thulesen Dahl, the leader of the Danish People's Party, *"the integration line that many of the parties have, has been marked by errors"* (Dahl 2017), and

he was followed by his colleague Martin Henriksen, who said that *"30 years of integration policy has failed"* (Henriksen 2016). Lastly, Eyvind Vesselbo (Venstre) said:

"The Queen has stated [...] that we have underestimated the challenge of making integration successful. We thought it would just go by itself. But this is not the case, the Queen is quite right. [...] We continue to make the same mistakes as in the last 25 years. [...] Had we listened back then, a lot might have looked different now" (Vesselbo 2016).

In these statements, politicians point towards a faulty system as not having been able to provide an adequate framework to guarantee a successful development of integration mechanisms throughout years. Wordings such as *"if we had listened"*, *"we have underestimated"*, or *"we were wrong"* indicate that some politicians might assign potential responsibility for what they believe to be failed integration to themselves - those being a part of the Danish political scene. If that was the case, however, and if the challenges in the area of integration would depend on the quality of the integration system and the policies it offers alone, where would the role of an immigrant in the process be?

The same interview, in which she expressed her concern with how different parties and politicians had not reconsidered integration policies decades ago, revealed that Mette Frederiksen also said: *"due to our long-term failed policy of integration, there are many with a non-western background who unfortunately do not contribute much"* (Schmidt 2016). Here one might argue that Frederiksen, similarly to others, pointed towards a system being perceived as faulty, and which is seen to be holding integration back from succeeding. However, this time the direct link between policies and immigrants' role in the process was made. By saying *"they do not contribute much"* the shift from *"us"* to *"them"* was made. Such a way of expressing oneself seems to be placing a big part of responsibility for failed integration on immigrants' shoulders, not only blaming the faulty system.

In order to explore this possible relationship, I will now discuss the different aspects that politicians paid attention to, and try to answer a question: what are the exact problems they see in regards to integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark? In doing so, I will look upon more specific areas, which seemed to stood out in the discourse - employment, values, and closely related to them issue of Islam.

Employment

During the initial analysis of the gathered articles I realised that employment appeared frequently in the statements given by politicians. Considering how they put pressure on employment being the prerequisite for becoming a full member of the Danish society, I was not surprised to find out that this aspect was also mentioned repeatedly in the discourse on the outcomes of integration processes. Inger Støjberg, who has extensively discussed integration in general, said:

"We haven't been good enough to get refugees and immigrants into work. [...] Only half of non-western immigrants are in work, whereas for people of Danish origin there are three out of four. And only three out of ten refugees and family reunions are in work after three years of participation in the integration program. [...] This is not good enough" (Poulsen & Støjberg 2016).

By using the word *"only"*, Støjberg pointed out to how the results of introducing immigrants to the job market are not satisfactory, and represent an unsuccessful outcome of integration policies. She emphasised it by saying: *"there are too many who are out of the labour market"* (Bloch 2017), followed by Pia Kjærsgaard from Danish People's Party, who said: *"too many with non-western background are still outside the labour market"* (Kjærsgaard 2016). Interestingly enough, they did not define what a satisfactory employment rate would be; instead, Støjberg compared the results among non-Western immigrants to persons of Danish origin. Therefore, I will allow myself to deduce here, that when treating employment as a determinant of integration, the view which prevails here is the following: integration is considered in collective terms, rather than individual. Politicians seem to see job market participation as a sign of one's integration, but the outcome is considered to be a collective feature - half of immigrants being employed is still *"not good enough"*. Furthermore, I deduce that comparing the employment rates among non-Western immigrants to rates among ethnic Danes in order to measure integration, once again creates the "us-them" paradigm, where being integrated means being more "Danish". From a theoretical perspective, focusing on employment as a determinant of integration, and raising concerns revolving around

economic reasons and a potential burden of faulty integration for the receiving society, refers to the structural dimension of integration.

The economic concerns regarding integration were also pointed out by Lars Løkke Rasmussen, who said: *"we get thousands of people in, who do not even have a prognosis to live up to the overly low employment rate we generally see for non-western immigrants"* (Bloch & Kildegaard 2016). By using the word *"generally"* when speaking of certain realities in relation to a particular group of people, Rasmussen made his statement gain a notably definite tone. He seemed to have a clear image of how non-Western immigrants integrate in Denmark and it is a negative one, in which these individuals are plainly placed in a separate, disadvantaged group once again.

Furthermore, another alleged problem within employment of immigrants has been pointed out in the discourse. Mette Frederiksen said: *"there are too many immigrant women who do not speak Danish. Do not go to work. The employment rate for foreigners is way too low. And it costs"* (Frederiksen 2016). Her statements seems to point towards several issues. Firstly, Frederiksen confirmed the words of her predecessors - immigrants are not a part of the Danish job market on a satisfactory level. She also seems to have made a connection between linguistic skills and ability to work. Moreover, she drew attention to unequal participation of immigrant women, who remain unemployed more often than men; she directly used the words *"inequality between men and women"* (ibid.) when speaking of lacking integration. Secondly, the words *"and it costs"* show, once again, that the faulty economic integration of immigrants is perceived through its burden on the national economy.

Such a concern was also expressed by Inger Støjberg who said: *"we are challenged, and if we do not address it, there will be a very big financial bill ahead of us"* (Bloch 2017). The fact that both women point out to how immigrants' absence on the job market puts pressure on the state, tells us a lot about how they possibly view economic integration. It is not as much about individual's disadvantaged position due to limited access to the society through lack of work; it is rather considered a problem for the society, which cannot benefit from one's economic contribution. Thus, I deduce that integration is here seen as a one way process, in which an individual is expected to fulfill certain expectations towards them. Lack

of fulfilling these expectations translates to one's failure to become an integrated member of the Danish society.

Values

In one of the interviews, where *"failed integration"* was seen as one of Denmark's biggest problems, Inger Støjberg said:

"I think this is a very, very big problem, and it is worries me inconceivably, that there are too many who do not see themselves as part of the free society we have. [...] And there are too many who have not got Denmark and the value set we have, under the skin" (Bloch 2017).

From the tone of this statement I can read, that Støjberg seems to perceives one's identity as a potential obstacle towards becoming a member of the mainstream society. By directly using the word *"values"* in relation to what is considered fundamental for the coherent functioning of the Danish society, Støjberg expressed her point of view, that a considerable amount of individuals do not follow, or identify themselves with, the values that are generally accepted. Words *"[they] do not see themselves as.."* indicate that she sees the lacking integration in this sphere to be for the most part caused by individuals' personal attachments to their culture and country of origin, and insufficient attachment to the Danish culture; perhaps also due to poor willingness to adopt the broadly accepted set of values. This can also be seen in a further explanation, which read: *"they have not taken the equality and freedom-based society that we have in Denmark, to themselves. And that, I think, is deeply worrying and sad"* (ibid.). Støjberg seems to see equality and freedom as the primary values which ought to be respected and followed. Thus, integration which is here perceived as unsuccessful is to a great extent dictated by absent or insufficient acceptance of these values by people coming from non-Western countries.

In another interview, Støjberg made a direct link between issues with respecting Danish values and lack, or failure, of integration:

"When integration has failed, it is first and foremost because we have neither had the will nor the ability to stand behind our values and demand that, as a newcomer to Denmark, one has an obligation to provide for themselves and take our set of values to themselves" (Borre 2016).

Here, two things can be observed. Once again, a collective responsibility of the faulty system having caused an unsatisfactory integration situation is pointed out. This can be seen in Støjberg's usage of word *"we"*. This time, however, it directly refers to immigrants' responsibility as well - the system's fault is seen in lack of putting pressure on immigrants to become more active in honouring the Danish values.

As a continuation to this discussion, I will look upon the notion of "Danishness" which once led to a controversial debate in the media. One of its main actors was Martin Henriksen who said:

"The influx of especially non-Western immigrants has for many years been too violent and there are far too many immigrants in this country who really do not want to be Danish. These are the sad realities. [...] many non-Western immigrants come from a cultural, social and economic background, which differs greatly from life and values in this country" (Henriksen 2016).

Henriksen expressed his view that non-Western origin, which characterises a big part of immigrants coming and residing in Denmark, differs considerably from what is accepted as common for Danes. In his explanation, he placed cultural differences in the leading place. His choice of words can point towards several other things. Firstly, expressions such as *"too violent"*, *"far too many"* give an overall negative tone to his statement, which shows that he seems to be holding a relatively pessimistic view on how individuals of non-Western origin integrate in the Danish society. Secondly, by saying *"[they] really do not want to be Danish"*, Henriksen let out his point of view on the efforts such individuals take in order to become a part of the society. This refers to the aforementioned stormy discussion on "Danishness". As mentioned before, the view is that to become a full fledged member of the Danish society is to become Danish. According to Henriksen's words, becoming Danish is not what immigrants are willing to do, and therefore they somewhat refuse to become integrated as well. Their refusal to abandon the elements of backgrounds they come from seem to be therefore seen as a refusal to become integrated.

Pia Kjærsgaard appeared to have followed such reasoning. According to her, *"we face major challenges in integrating large groups of citizens who do not feel a special attachment or loyalty for Denmark, Danish culture and Danish traditions"* (Kjærsgaard 2016). I see her statement as in connection to the above discussion on how integration issues might be caused

by individuals who supposedly do not carry an intention to become a part of the mainstream society. Those who *"do not feel"* are seen as those who do not actively seek to become integrated. Pointing towards the lack of *"loyalty"* among them can be seen as moving responsibility for failed integration entirely on the shoulders of these individuals. From a theoretical perspective, focus on values and lack of their acceptance refer to the cultural dimension of integration, where values and norms followed by an immigrant differ from those of the receiving country, thus causing a clash.

Seeing such statements among politicians who belong to right-wing parties might not seem entirely unexpected. Thus, in order to get a presumably more objective views about the role of Danish values in integration processes, I searched for opinions on that matter on the left side of the political spectrum as well. To my surprise, the attitudes I found there did not differ as much as I would have expected. When asked to comment on the prognosis saying that by 2050 almost 20 percent of the Danish population will consist of immigrants and their descendants, Dan Jørgensen (Venstre) replied: "o*ur identity, our culture, and our values are under pressure"* (Borre 2016). He continued by saying:

"We should not be afraid of things just because they come from the outside [...] We are a country where we trust each other and that's why everything else can work. [...] But more foreigners and refugees who come here and do not yet carry the Danish values, can oppress the trust. If it should work, they must be part of that trust culture, and I can see it's under pressure" (ibid.).

Jørgensen's statement shows several points. By saying *"we should not be afraid"*, he seems to openly admit that immigration does not need to be considered in negative terms. Although the word "integration" has not been used in any of the aforementioned statements, saying *"if it should work"* gives one an idea that it is the position of immigrants in Denmark he is focusing on. Similarly to others, Jørgensen acknowledged that integration focuses first and foremost on values, among which he listed trust as the most important for Danes. People who come to Denmark and are perceived as coming from different, presumably non-Western backgrounds, are considered a potential threat. Here, however, the over-negative tone was not as present: by saying *"yet"*, Jørgensen seems to leave room for improvement, where integration can be reached through adjusting immigrants to norms present in Denmark. It

shows his perspective that although big numbers of immigrants from non-Western countries pose a challenge and a possible threat to a coherent functioning of the Danish society, integration is still possible.

In a strong connection to the discussion on cultural values, an issue of Islam in integration came into picture. Mostly expressed on the right side of the political spectrum, it seems to raise tenacious concerns about the outcomes of immigrant integration in Denmark, and for that reason I decided to include it in the analysis.

Inger Støjberg had an explicit explanation for why Islam seems to be such a big concern in regards to integration: *"there are a lot of Muslims who respect our values, but there is also a group that does not respect our values, and this can not be ignored"* (Borre 2016). She made it clear that it is not the general Muslim population that is considered to face issues in terms of integration processes, but rather a part of it. As I have mentioned before, Islam was brought up in relation to certain problems with adapting to Danish values and this is exactly what Støjberg pointed out to.

She took it a bit further and explained that what makes Muslims so hard to integrate and so different from what is generally accepted and believed in: *"social control, honor-based violence and honor killings are primarily a Muslim phenomenon and it does not help to turn our eyes away because we are afraid to step over people's toes"* (ibid.). The extremely negative tone of her words shows that Muslims, due to differences with what is seen to be a Danish set of values, are indeed considered the most problematic group, in terms of becoming integrated in Denmark.

As I have discussed earlier in this analysis, Martin Henriksen seems to hold a relatively strong point of view on various integration issues considered to be present in Denmark. This is no different in case of Muslims and their position in the Danish society. The gathered online articles revealed that he is probably the one who had the most to say about that matter. One of the statements reads:

"Islam is in many ways incompatible with being a Dane. Danishness and Islam are in opposition to each other. [...] The vast majority of those with Muslim background in Denmark are so far away from Danish culture that it does not make sense to characterise them as Danes" (Bloch 2017).

Henriksen gave a far more definite opinion on the issues discussed above. By saying *"in many ways incompatible"* and *"in opposition to each other"*, his statements seem to show the sees the the entire Muslim population as following an entirely different system of cultural and social norms and values, which are very far from being Danish. Since for Henriksen being integrated means being Danish, what could be seen in the earlier parts of this analysis, Muslims are spoken of as if it was nearly impossible for them to integrate in Denmark. Islam is considered contrary to values which Denmark, and the notion of Danishness, stand for. Henriksen's use of words indicates that being a Muslim limits one's possibility of being, or becoming, a Dane and thereby, becoming an integrated member of the Danish society. On another occasion he said:

"It is quite obvious that today there are large groups of persons of foreign descent who live here but who are not Danes. And they don't want to be either. We often see that descendants of Muslim immigrants are more Muslim than their parents, thus becoming less Danish" (Henriksen 2016).

By using words such as *"quite obvious"*, *"large groups"*, *"who are not"*, and *"don't want to be"*, Henriksen spoke about the issue as if it was a confirmed fact. The question of one's identity is not a simple one - many factors influence how one sees themselves and how one is seen by others. Such a definite character of Henriksen's statement shows his somewhat inflexible attitude towards Muslim immigrants, characterised by a dose of negativity towards their ability to become integrated. Where such an attitude comes from, however, can most likely be seen in a final statement of his:

"Denmark is a small country, and it causes violent and unimaginable problems if too many live as if they were somewhere else. [...] Parallel society, insecurity, crime, gang conflict, Syrian warriors and terrorism. Danes feel like strangers in their own country, and it is especially because Denmark is becoming more and more Muslim, but also because the total immigration is too violent" (ibid.).

The words *"too many live as if they were somewhere else"* seem to show that Henriksen pointed out to the part of population which has not become a complete component of the Danish society. Therefore, lack of integration, especially among Muslims, is seen here as causing certain problems, among which, violence seems be the most pressing one. This only confirms Henriksen's standpoint on the presumably failed integration of the Muslim part of population.

Additionally, one of the issues he sheds light on, is the problem of parallel societies. In the same discussion on integration challenges Henriksen said: *"they alienate themselves. [...] if you visit Brøndby Strand, Mjølner Park, Vollsmose or many other places in the country - they are not Danish"* (Bloch 2017). From this perspective, integration does not only concern aspects such as economic or cultural, in the sense of shared values and norms which ought to be respected and followed. What comes into the picture here, is the social integration - interactions with the members of the receiving society through sharing the same geographical space. Although not in a direct relation to Muslim part of the society, Inger Støjberg also referred to the problem of ghettos and crime as supposedly more common among immigrants of non-Western origin. She said: *"there are people living in ghettos and parallel societies in Denmark, and we see how non-western immigrants are overrepresented in crime statistics"* (Bloch 2017). Støjberg seems to not only share Henriksen's opinion on the faulty geographical distribution of Danes and "non-Danes", but she also linked it to crime which, as might be deduced from her statement, stems out from the perception of lacking social integration among non-Western immigrants.

The realities of immigrant integration in Denmark

I will now look upon different statistics regarding integration of immigrants and their descendants in Denmark, in order to explore what is actually happening "on the ground". Inclusion of the latter group was dictated by the fact that integration is a long-term process, and in order to explore its results, one must look at different developments which happen over time. That being said, I will focus on answering the question: *"what are the realities of immigrant integration in Denmark?"*. It must be acknowledged, however, that the following discussion will not provide a complete picture of how non-Western immigrants and their descendants have been integrating into the society. This is due to complexity and multidimensionality of integration, and exploring all its elements exceeds the scope of this research. I will thereby focus mainly on the issues I found most pressing in the political discourse, as they seem to be considered most important in today's integration debate.

The latest statistics show that there are 741 572 immigrants and their descendants in Denmark. Among them, these who originate from non-Western countries, with biggest groups from Turkey and Syria, account for 481 640 people which constitutes 64.2 per cent of all immigrants in Denmark (Danmarks Statistik a). These numbers have been increasing gradually - in 2010, for instance, individuals who originated from non-Western countries accounted for 7.2 per cent of Danish population compared to 8.4 per cent in the third quarter of 2017 (Integrationsbarometer). In relation to age groups, non-Western immigrant population consists in 27.6 per cent of children and youth under age 19, in 64.6 per cent of persons aged 20-59, and in 7.8 per cent of persons who are 60 and older. Furthermore, 50.2 per cent of all non-Western immigrants in Denmark are women (Danmarks Statistik b).

Job market participation

Labour market statistics offer an insight into rates of employment, unemployment, and numbers of persons outside the labour force. The overall activity rates are based on the number of individuals considered to be of working age which is 16-64. As of today, Danmarks Statistik shows data on labour force participation of non-Western immigrants up to November 2015. It indicated activity and employment rates among immigrants on a level of 53.7 per cent, and 58.7 percent among their descendants (Danmarks Statistik c). According to Integrationsbarometer, employment rate among non-Western adults aged 24-64 is 49 per cent which is 14.5 percent less than among their descendants, and a bit more than 28 per cent less than people of Danish origin (Integrationsbarometer). The lower rates presented here are most likely a result of a different age range: the statistic included individuals no younger than 24, compared to the lower age limit of 16 in Danmarks Statistik. Therefore, both sources provide comparable results.
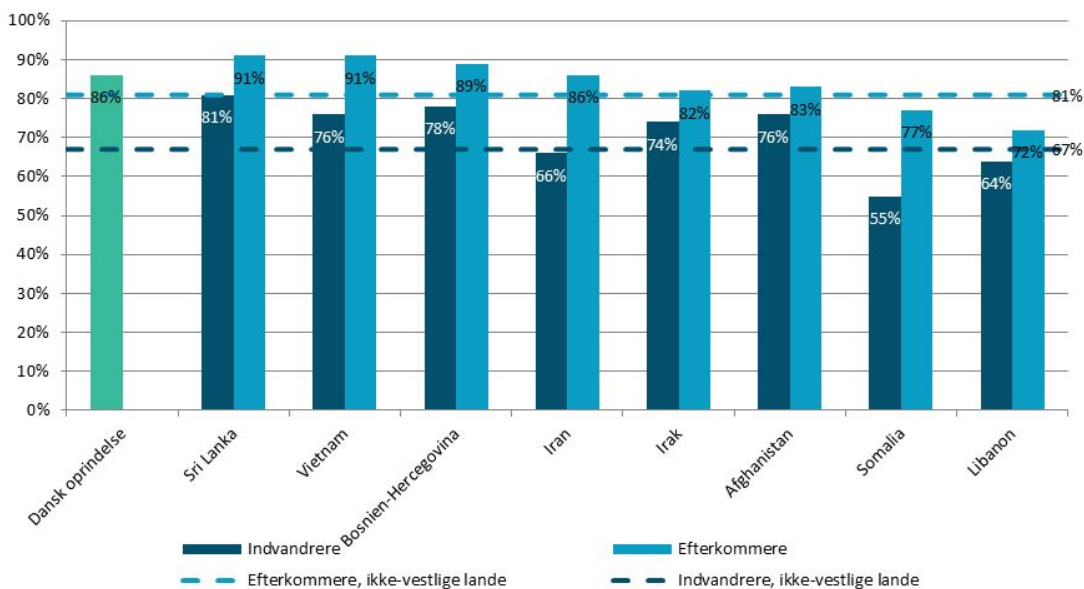
The activity rate among non-Western immigrants was lower than that of persons coming from Western countries, and significantly lower than that of persons of Danish origin. There was also a difference between women's and men's activity rate - appx. 58 per cent among men and 50 per cent among women. Activity rate of non-Western descendants was a little higher than of immigrants. Here, however, the full assessment of their integration in the

labour market is not possible, as many of them were still enrolled in education, and therefore had not yet entered the age group in which employability is usually much higher (Statistical Yearbook 2017). Nevertheless, a considerable difference in the gap between descendant men and women can be noted, compared to immigrants - activity rates among both men and women were at the level of appx. 59 per cent. This shows a considerable change, compared to appx. 8 per cent difference between the two genders among non-Western immigrants (ibid.).

In May 2016, the Ministry of Immigration and Integration released a report, which revealed a somewhat surprising data. It said: *"approximately 90 per cent of descendants from Sri Lanka, Vietnam and Bosnia are in education or are employed. By comparison, it is 86 per cent among people of Danish origin"* (Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet a). One needs to note, that these data concern both employment and education, which can explain the discrepancy with the data provided by Danmarks Statistik, which focused on employment alone. If one takes into account, however, that education, next to employment, is often considered the most important indicator of integration (Integrationsbarometer), as well as it paves the way to the job market, the overall performance of immigrants in both spheres might be worth being looked upon when exploring one's activity.

Figure 1. The proportion of individuals aged 16-24 in the education system, or employed, divided into refugees, persons of Danish origin, and immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin, 2014.

Figur 1: Andelen under uddannelse eller i beskæftigelse fordelt på flygtningegrupper samt personer med dansk oprindelse og gennemsnit for alle indvandrere og efterkommere med ikke-vestlig oprindelse, 16-24 år, 2014.

Kilde: Udlændinge, Integrations- og Boligministeriets udlændingedatabase i Danmarks Statistik, IMRAS06.
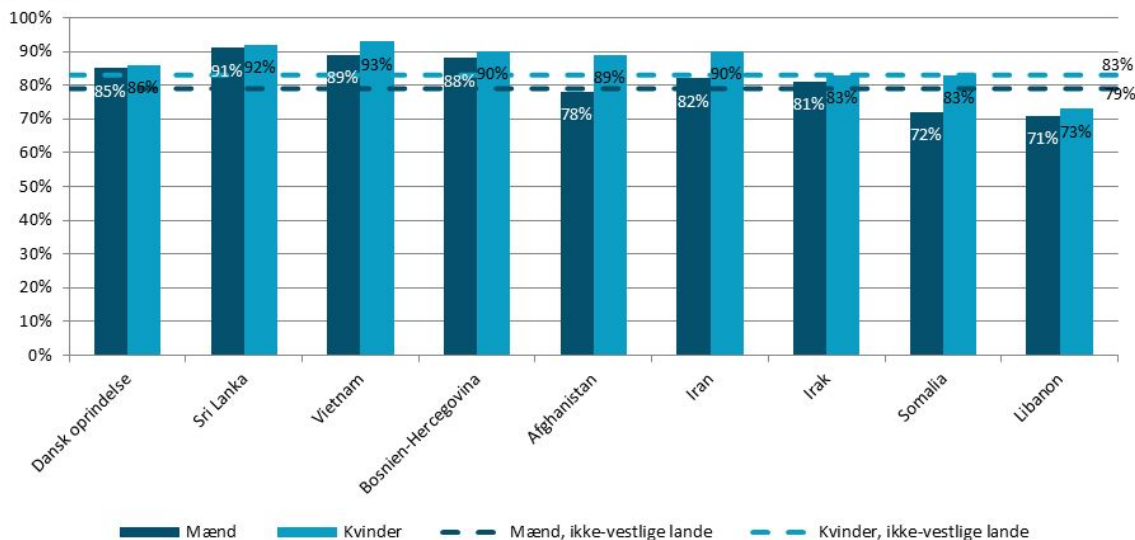
Source: Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet a.

Figure 1 shows further the positive change from immigrant to descendant generation. In terms of participating either in education or job market, activity rates among 16-24 year olds who are immigrants of non-Western origin are once again considerably lower than among persons of Danish origin - the difference oscillates at appx. 14 per cent. It shows, however, that the difference between Danes and non-Western descendants is not as big anymore - rates of activity among descendants is considerably higher than among immigrants, which corresponds with the data provided by Danmarks Statistik. It shows that there seems to be a general tendency towards a more active participation among next generations.

Furthermore, the data provided by the Ministry also revealed certain phenomena in regards to gender. Namely, the gap in participation in education and employment between men and women is decreasing - similarly to data provided by Danmarks Statistik, the report showed that the differences between the two genders among descendant generation are not as big as among immigrants. In addition, in some cases the proportion of education or employment is higher among women than among men, with the largest gap in Somali and Afghan groups, where women's participation was higher by 11 per cent (Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet a).

Figure 2. The proportion of non-Western descendants and persons of Danish origin aged 16-24 in the education system, or employed, according to gender, 2014.

Figur 2: Andelen under uddannelse eller i beskæftigelse blandt efterkommere fordelt på køn, flygtningegrupper samt personer med dansk oprindelse og gennemsnit for alle efterkommere med ikke-vestlig oprindelse, 16-24 år, 2014, pct.

Kilde: Udlændinge, Integrations- og Boligministeriets udlændingedatabase i Danmarks Statistik, IMRAS06.

Source: Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet a.

Figure 2 shows another interesting phenomenon. Among non-Western female descendants, who in fact were more active than men in all groups, certain nationalities performed better than women of Danish origin. These are namely women from Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Bosnia, Iran, and Afghanistan. The report states that on average 9 out of 10 descendant women from these countries were in education or employment, compared to approximately 86 per cent among women of Danish origin. A similar tendency was registered among non-Western descendant men from Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and Bosnia, from whom approximately 88-91 percent were part of the education or labour system, compared to 85 percent among men of Danish origin.

The above data, both from Danmarks Statistik and the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, indicate several phenomena. Firstly, the employment rates ranging from approximately 54 per cent among non-Western immigrants to around 59 percent among their descendants give a somewhat negative picture of immigrants participation on the job market, but it shows an upward trend towards descendant generations. A certain improvement can be seen in the positive change towards a smaller gap between men and women among

descendant groups. Secondly, according to data provided by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, certain non-Western nationalities stand out in terms of their performance in the education system, as well as on the job market. Here, however, only joint statistics are available, and the data for both are presented in a unified manner. Therefore, taking into account the relatively low employment rates, I deduce that certain groups of non-Western immigrants and especially their descendants must have performed exceptionally well in terms of their participation in the education system. The given data suggest, that in terms of education there are groups of non-Western descendants who have been more active in obtaining education than people of Danish origin, and this is particularly visible among women.

In order to verify that data, I took a look at Danmarks Statistik once again. The information I found there seems to confirm the above results - non-Western descendants aged 20-29 are generally enrolled in education to the same extent that persons of Danish origin. Among men, the rate for both groups is 39 per cent; among women, these who come from non-Western backgrounds participate in education system at the rate of 47 per cent, compared to only 45 per cent among women of Danish origin (Danmarks Statistik d). The more detailed statistics show significant differences between individual age levels, as well as certain factors which influenced the final result, such as the fact that non-Western descendants are very young, and there are nearly three times more 20 year olds than 29 years old, what significantly affects the statistical outcome.

However, the percentage of youth who are neither enrolled in education nor employed, is noticeably higher among descendants than persons of Danish origin - among 20 year olds the overall rate stands at 18 per cent of Danish youth, and for non-Western descendants, it is 26 per cent for men and 20 per cent for women (ibid.) All in all, numbers show certain tendencies among youth, which strongly differ depending on age ranges. Although non-Western descendants present lower rates of participation in labour market, in terms of education, they do not perform any worse than the original Danish youths, and in fact there are certain groups which perform slightly better.

When debating whether the present employment rates shall be considered high or low, comparative study can help provide a better understanding of the integration outcomes in that

sphere. 2017 analysis of employment among non-Western immigrants in three Scandinavian countries - Denmark, Sweden, and Norway showed, that there are certain differences between their participation in the labour market. For instance, among Bosnians who fled their country during the 1990s, 73 percent are employed in Sweden, 71 per cent in Norway, and only 51 per cent in Denmark. For refugees and immigrants of Iranian origin, employment rate in Denmark stands at the level of 47 per cent, compared to 60 per cent in Norway and 63 per cent in Sweden. A similar result was found among Iraqi immigrants - 37 per cent are employed in Denmark, compared to 47 per cent in both Sweden and Norway (Winther 2017). Therefore, the assessment of the level of immigrant integration through employment rates shows that compared to some of the other Scandinavian countries, Denmark performs considerably worse. This seems to be confirmed by International Monetary Fund which in June 2017 released a report which included analysis of the Danish labour market and its policies. The report suggested that the labour market system in Denmark is *"generally"* successful in matching demand and supply, what has led to a relatively low unemployment rate among its population. However, it revealed that *"employment among non-Western immigrants remains particularly low at only 30 percent after 3 years of residence (against 75 percent for native Danes)"* (International Monetary Fund 2017). This suggests that the Danish job market might be undermined by a considerably low employment rates among non-Western immigrants.

Adapting the values

Discourse analysis showed that there is a great political debate on integration in terms of immigrants' ability to accept and follow values seen as fundamental for the coherent functioning of the Danish society. As we have seen in the first part of the analysis, politicians identified values as one of the major determinants for one's becoming integrated. Analysing them in relation to how they are perceived by immigrants and to what extent they are followed is extremely challenging for several reasons.

Firstly, any attempts to examine how people view certain values are strongly based on their thoughts and feelings, which can provide incomplete or unreliable results, as such data are hard to systematise and validate. Secondly, there do not seem to exist many reliable sources

which would use tools capable of equipping any researcher with capabilities to gather information on people's' opinions and points of view. Thirdly, many of the existing sources of information on that matter come from evidently biased backgrounds, and are often dictated by nationalistic attitudes. That being said, there seems to be very little or no data on how Danish values are perceived by immigrant groups, what makes completing a comprehensive analysis in this regard beyond the bounds of possibility. Therefore, in order to provide the most reliable image of how non-Western immigrants relate to the Danish values, and thus to what extent they can be considered integrated, I decided to focus on the arguments identified by politicians in the first section of this analysis.
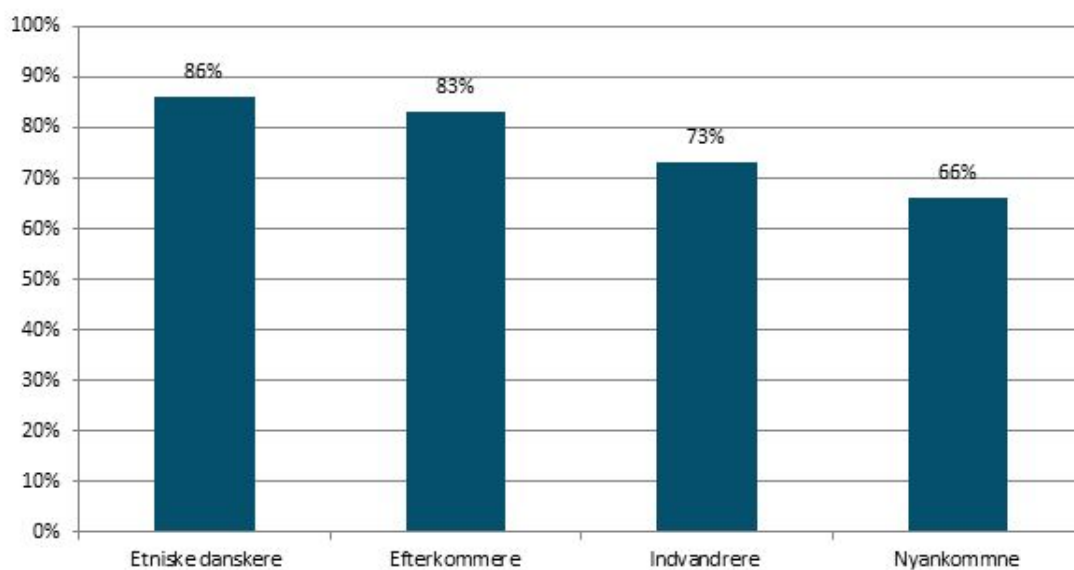
It is very unlikely to become able to conduct analysis on the realities on the presumably pressing issues, such as immigrants who *"do not want to be Danish"*, or who are *"not taking values to themselves"*. By extracting the more concrete issues that were pointed out as highly problematic, however, I will try to explore how they present themselves in reality. On a general level, the values which were identified as divergent from what non-Western immigrants believe in, were mainly these of equality and freedom. Considering the fact that the political discussion on non-Western immigrants' attitudes towards the Danish values revolved mainly around the supposed integration issues among Muslim population in this regard, I will also try to explore the realities of integration within this particular group. Main issues identified in that context were social control, parallel societies, and crime.

Freedom is a value which can be understood in multiple ways: political, individual, freedom of speech, and many others. When conducting discourse analysis, I was not able to establish the exact meaning behind politicians' words, when they spoke about the value of freedom-based society. However, since the issue of "social control" came up more than once during the analysis, I believe that freedom was there understood on a relatively general level - as freedom of an individual. This means the freedom to be guaranteed rights and liberties allowing them to decide about themselves, have a voice, and act in accordance to one's beliefs, on an individual level. This is the understanding which dictated my search for data which would illustrate how the value of freedom is considered among the members of the non-Western immigrant groups, with a special focus on Muslim community. It needs to be noted once again, however, that any attempts to analyse one's attitude towards certain values, such as freedom, cannot give as reliable results as measuring employment, for instance. This

is an analysis of people's personal views on certain issues, and should be treated in a rather soft manner.

A report released by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration in May 2017 provided information about presumed views on freedom of speech among Danish population. The question asked during the research was of whether everyone should be allowed to organise meetings and present their case, if they have one. The results can be seen on figure 3.

Figure 3. The proportion of non-Western immigrants, descendants, newly arrived refugees and family members, and persons of Danish origin, who believe that everyone should have the right to hold meetings and speak about their case, 2016.

Anm.: Figuren er baseret på 1.969 besvarelser fra ikke-vestlige indvandrere og efterkommere samt personer med dansk oprindelse og 359 besvarelser fra ikke-vestlige nyankomne flygtninge og familiesammenførte.
Kilde: Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriets Medborgerskabsundersøgelse 2016 og registerdata fra Danmarks Statistik.

Source: Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet b.

The figure shows that 73 per cent of immigrants who had spent at least three years in Denmark and 83 per cent of their descendants agreed, that one should be allowed to hold meetings and present their case. One can deduce that the freedom of speech is respect in these groups. Data in the figure indicate few phenomena. Firstly, the percentage of those who seem to accept the value of freedom in the aforementioned context increases along with time spent in Denmark - the increase is significant between newcomers and immigrants, as well as between immigrants and descendants where the difference is even bigger. This might suggest

that one's view and position towards the mainstream society and its perception of the value of freedom changes over time - it points towards a potentially positive outcome of integration.

Secondly, the difference between descendants and persons of Danish origin is relatively small and oscillates around three per cent. One can argue that this shows that integration taking place over time leads to a significant transformation of one's attitude towards the value of freedom of speech. Lastly, freedom which some politicians take as very fundamental for being Danish and thus being the full member of the society, is not seen as necessary by 14 per cent of ethnic Danes. This poses a question of whether the political perception of what it means to be Danish and thus integrated in terms of sharing common values, corresponds to what can be seen in real life.

Individual freedom can imply, among other things, that one has a right not only to have their voice heard but also decide about themselves in accordance to personal values and beliefs. The issues of social control and widening gender inequality, supposedly present among people coming from certain non-Western countries, have been a subject of a political debate. A report released in January 2017 by the Danish Ministry of Immigration and Integration focused on social control among young people coming from non-Western backgrounds. The report stated that 24 per cent of immigrants and descendants aged 18-29 felt limited by their families when choosing a partner or spouse. The percentage of people with Danish origin who felt the same way accounted for only two per cent (Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet c).

Furthermore, the statistics showed several other phenomena. Firstly, although both genders experienced social control, the percentage was higher among women - among 18-19 year olds, 36 per cent of women felt limited by their families compared to 20 per cent among men. Secondly, the feeling of being controlled was higher among women who were neither employed nor enrolled in education. 22 per cent of women who were members of the labour market felt limited by their families, compared to 35 per cent among women who were neither working nor studying (ibid.). These results seem to show that participation in life of the mainstream society provides these women with more confidence and higher self-esteem, which consequently leads to more control over one's life, as well as changing views on one's right to freedom.

Moreover, the report also noted differences in the results on social control depending on a housing situation of these individuals. It revealed that the rates of social control appeared to be higher in the areas where the majority of residents were of immigrant backgrounds. For women, for instance, the gap is relatively high - 18 per cent of those who did not have immigrant friends felt controlled by their families, compared to 40 per cent of those whose friends are only of non-Western origin (ibid.). This data can also indicate that young people who experience being controlled by their families in, are also restricted in terms of who they can be friends with. In both cases, the feeling of being influenced and pressured by one's family shows the existence of social control within those societies, which limits one's access to the fundamental value of personal freedom.
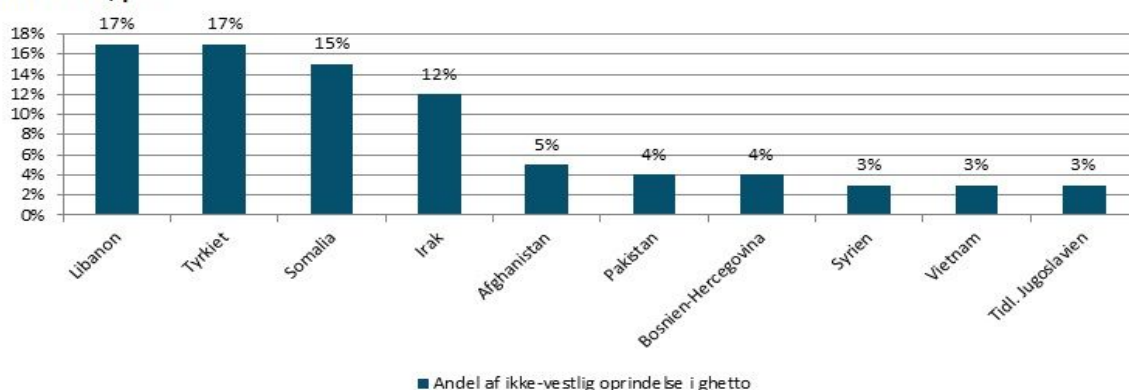
Parallel societies and crime

The above discussion provides a starting point for exploring another problem tackled in the political debate - the existence of ghettos where parallel societies of people with immigrant backgrounds are formed. The problem was seen as creating a cultural and social gap between immigrants and the Danish society, consequently leading to exclusion of individuals from the society's life. The existence of areas inhabited mostly, or exclusively, by people of non-Western origin is seen as counteracting the supposedly already weak integration in Denmark. What do statistics tell us about the realities in this regard?

Obtaining the exact data on the ghetto situation on Denmark proved to be challenging. The most recent information, coming from the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, says that the number of ghetto areas in Denmark accounted to 25 in 2015. The number of people who lived in these 25 ghettos by that time was 59.682 persons, what corresponded to 1 per cent of the entire Danish population. Furthermore, 62 per cent of people living in ghetto areas came from non-Western backgrounds, 32 per cent were of Danish origin, and the remaining 8 per cent came from other Western countries (Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet d). The indicative numbers can be seen on the figure below:

Figure 4. Residents of non-Western origin in ghetto areas, divided into countries of origin, 2015.

Figur 2: Beboere med ikke-vestlig oprindelse i ghettoområder fordelt på typiske oprindelseslande, 1. januar 2015, pct.

■ Andel af ikke-vestlig oprindelse i ghetto

Anm.: Figuren viser de ti typiske oprindelseslande for beboerne med ikke-vestlig oprindelse i ghettoområderne.

Note: Tidl. Jugoslavien dækker over Jugoslavien før opsplitningen.

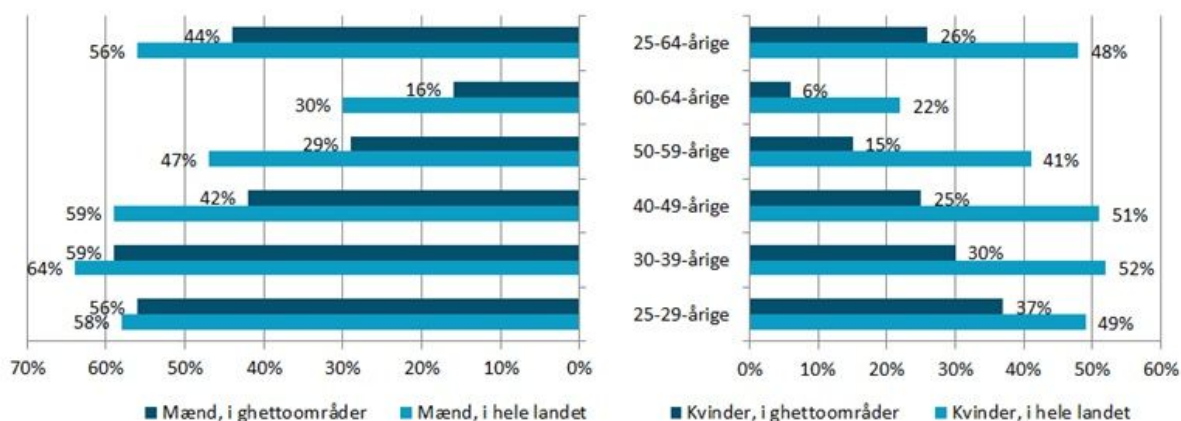Kilde: Egne beregninger på baggrund af registerdata i Danmarks Statistik.

Source: Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet d.

Furthermore, the statistics revealed, that employment rates among residents of ghetto areas were relatively low, and they were the lowest among persons coming from non-Western countries: only 35 per cent were employed by 2015 (ibid.). As shown earlier in the analysis, the overall employment rate among non-Western immigrants in Denmark in 2015 oscillated around 53-54 per cent, and among their descendants it was around 58-59 per cent. This indicates, that the overall number of persons being a part of the Danish labour market who reside in ghetto areas remains lower than the labour market participation among the overall non-Western population in Denmark. This can also be seen as an outstanding issue when compared to statistics among immigrants coming from other Western countries, where the difference in employment between individuals living in and outside ghetto areas was only 6 per cent (ibid.). This data indicate that individuals of non-Western origin perform considerably worse on a labour market, when residing within ghetto areas.

A slightly different picture can be seen, however, if we take a closer look at differences between men and women, as well as specific nationalities. In terms of gender, women performed far worse than men. For instance, among 30-39 year olds, 59 per cent of men in ghetto areas were on the job market in 2014, compared to only 30 per cent of women. In fact, in all age ranges, employment rates among women were significantly lower than among men, resulting in an overall proportion of 44 per cent for men and 26 per cent for women.

Figure 5. Employment rates among 25-64 year old non-Western residents of ghetto areas and the whole country, according to gender and age groups, end of November 2014.

Figur 5: Beskæftigelsesfrekvens blandt 25-64-årige beboere i ghettoområder og i hele landet med ikke-vestlig oprindelse fordelt på køn og aldersgrupper, ultimo november 2014, pct.

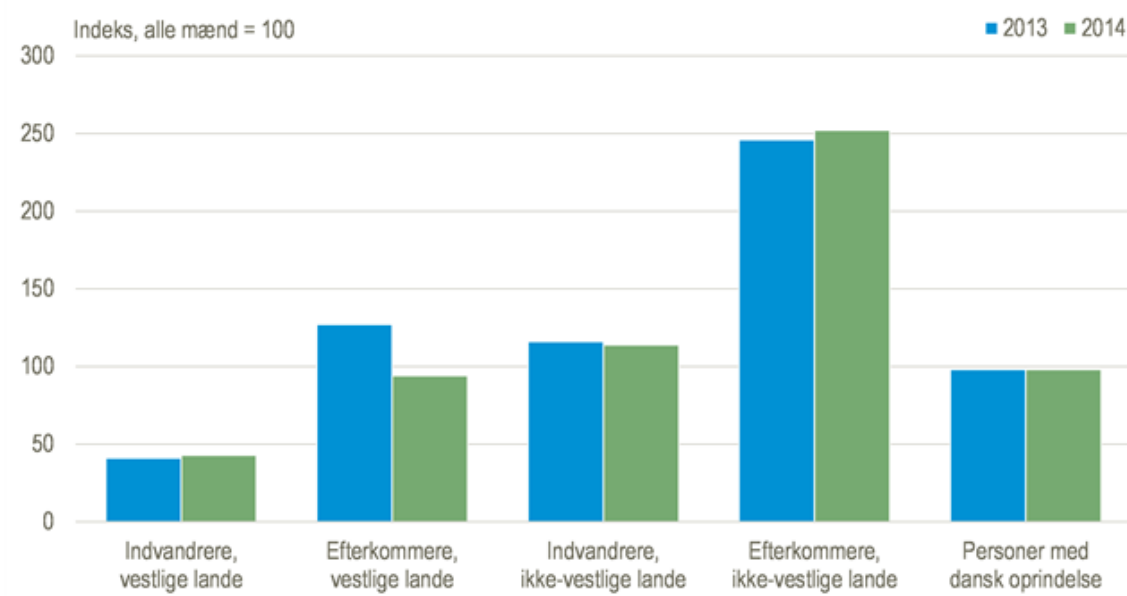Kilde: Egne beregninger på baggrund af registerdata i Danmarks Statistik.

Source: Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet d.

The figure also shows that in terms of employment, the performance of people residing in ghetto areas compared to the performance of immigrants in the entire country in general varied greatly according to gender. These gaps, however, were much bigger for women. For 25-29 year olds, for instance, the gap between immigrant men in ghetto areas and immigrant men in the entire country stood at the level of only two per cent. For women in the same age range, however, the difference was 12 per cent, and it gradually increased from one age group to another, resulting in only six per cent employability among women aged 60-64 and residing in ghetto areas, compared to 22 per cent of all immigrant women at that age (Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet ibid.). As a result, the average gaps between employment rates among residents of ghetto areas and all non-Western immigrants in Denmark, stands at the level of 12 per cent for men and 22 per cent for women.

In terms of crime, which was identified by some politicians as a pressing issue common among non-Western immigrants, especially residing in ghetto areas, the available data give a following picture.

Figure 6. Penal code index for men.

Straffelovsindeks for mænd

Indeks, alle mænd = 100

■ 2013 ■ 2014

Anm.: Standardiseret for både alder og socioøkonomisk status.

Source: Danmarks Statistik e.

The figure presents rates of crime for all different groups for years 2013 and 2014. As of 2014, men descendants of non-Western origin had a criminal index of 252, which was 152 per cent higher than the entire male population in Denmark. The index for non-Western immigrants was 114, and for ethnically Danish men, 98. The data show that unlike all other issues discussed in the analysis where a positive change from immigrants to descendants could be observed, in terms of crime there is a tremendous gap between the two groups, and descendants clearly performed much worse. In addition, a small decrease among immigrants could be observed from 2013 to 2014, whereas among descendants the criminal index increased even further. This shows that crime among individuals of non-Western origin is an issue which seems to be a deepening problem.

So far, I have presented data and discussed two main issues which political discourse identified as major integration problems - employment of non-Western immigrants and their relationship with the generally accepted rules. As we saw in the first part of the analysis, in connection to the latter some politicians expressed their concerns regarding Islam and how its rules and social norms differ from those followed in Denmark. This was perceived as an obstacle to integration of Muslims.

Analysing the realities of integration of this particular group in Denmark proved to be beyonds the bounds of possibility for several reasons. Muslim population in Denmark is estimated to be 4.9 per cent, however this alone is uncertain because it is challenging to gather information about religious affiliation of those who do not belong to the Danish Church. Moreover, there are other factors which influence the final statistic, such as Muslims carrying a Danish citizenship, Danes who converted to Islam, etc. Danmarks Statistik only provides information about national and ethnic backgrounds of immigrants. Therefore, in order to estimate the numbers of those who are affiliated with Islam, certain assumptions about a relationship between statistical information about immigrants' backgrounds and the degree of their religious affiliation need to be made. Research conducted by some independent sources suggest, that the proportion of Muslims among immigrants oscillate between 38 and 39 percent, compared to 41 per cent of Christians (Sameksistens). This is however not confirmed by official statistics and should only be treated indicatively.

Taking into account that even establishing the exact number of persons affiliated with Islam in Denmark proves to be challenging, an analysis of how this part of population has been performing in different spheres is not feasible. As we saw earlier in the analysis, many of the arguments used by politicians in regards to Muslims in Denmark, were mainly based on believed cultural differences between *"Danishness"* and Islam, which were seen as in opposition to each other. Some of the arguments read: *"they don't want to be Danish"* or *"descendants are becoming more Muslim than their parents, thus becoming less Danish"*. In my opinion, what we could see in the political discourse was that many of the opinions given on this particular subject revolved around somewhat personal understandings and views on Islam in general, which more than once led to generalisations which are not possible to be measured in a reliable manner. For instance, it is highly unlikely for a person to explore an extent to which an individual is willing to become Danish, and thus integrated. That would require a thorough examination of one's personal views and feelings, which in case of this research cannot give a reliable picture of integration outcomes.

We can of course try and theorise about Muslims' role in some of the phenomena analysed and discussed throughout this chapter. For instance, in terms of social control which was measured through the perceived pressure from family in choosing one's partner or spouse, the data showed that youth coming from religious backgrounds felt more controlled than youth

coming from families where religion was not practiced (Udlæninge- og Integrationsministeriet c). However, the source did not specify which religions these young people were affiliated with, so one cannot make unambiguous conclusions based on that data.

All in all, I believe that the discussion on Muslims' disadvantaged position in regards to integration cannot be treated in an analytical manner under this research for two reasons. Firstly, as I mentioned before, the political statements in which strong focus was put on how Islam is supposedly the major obstacle for becoming integrated in Denmark, were strongly characterised by personal views of those behind them and did not give room for examination of facts. Secondly, the research showed that in reliable statistics available, there is little data on Muslims alone, which made compiling analysis on their position in the integratio context even more challenging. I would like to argue, however, that considering how much attention was put in the political discourse on that issue, it certainly provides a point of departure for further research in this area.

CHAPTER VI

Conclusion

Introduction

As I explained in the introduction, the purpose of this research was to take a closer look at integration of non-Western immigrants in Denmark. My choice to focus on this particular group was dictated by a presumption that individuals of non-Western origin were overrepresented as challenging or problematic to integrate into the Danish society. A preliminary search for data revealed that the political discourse indeed only covered integration issues among non-Western immigrants - those from Western countries were by no means considered in the integration debate. Therefore, having established the object of my research, I decided to first examine how the issue of integration is constructed in the political discourse. Then, by exploring the realities through various statistical data, my intention was to determine whether what is presented by politicians corresponds with what is taking place "on the ground". I will first briefly sum up the conclusive points drawn from the analysis, followed by compiling findings from both sections.

Summary

As mentioned before, the statements analysed in the first part of the analysis do not present reality - they are rather discursively constructed opinions and should be treated as such. The analysis of those shed some light on how immigrant integration is perceived by politicians and enabled me to observe several tendencies standing out.

Firstly, successful integration is generally believed to entail that one fully accepts the Danish culture with its values and social norms. Although some voices were raised that an immigrant should not to be forced to abandon their own culture, the main perspective is one where integration does not leave room for divergences. Certain politicians share an opinion that to

become integrated meant to become Danish, and one must simultaneously abandon the elements of one's original culture in order to fully accept the new one - this refers to the cultural dimension of integration where one's relationship with the values and norms of the mainstream society are assessed.

Secondly, the majority of politicians whose statements have been analysed in this paper, speak of integration in a considerably negative manner - they point at supposedly wrong political approach to immigration and integration throughout the years, causing an inadequate legal framework. Furthermore, they discuss more specific issues which are believed to present a picture of how integration has failed. Low employment rates, particularly among immigrant women, are seen as a pressing problem, especially in terms of being a burden for Danish economy - this refers to the structural dimension of integration. A recognition of values playing an important role in integration is also present among politicians. Integration is seen as faulty due to lack of attachment to Denmark among immigrants, which leads them to not living according to Danish values and not considering oneself a Dane. Lastly, values being an important component of one's integration are also present in the political discussion on Islam - politicians speak of Muslims as a group where a considerable number of individuals do not have respect for Danish values and democracy. Furthermore, they are believed to be *"too far from Danish culture"*, which makes it much harder to consider them Danish, and thus integrated. The issues of alienation causing creation of parallel societies, as well as supposedly higher crime rates and violence are also mentioned in the discourse - this can be referred to the social dimension of integration where one's relationships with the mainstream society are looked upon.

In the second part of the analysis I focused on compiling information which shows how the issues identified in the political discourse appear in reality. Various statistics on employment rates as well as employment together with education as an activity towards becoming a part of the labour market were included, and revealed certain tendencies which I will discuss shortly. The issue of the supposed problems with accepting the Danish values, which was also identified in the discourse, were in nature more challenging to examine. In the analysis, I focused on the notions of freedom, equality, social control, parallel societies, and crime, which were recognised as most relevant in terms of integration among non-Western immigrants. Naturally, they could not be analysed in all respects, but depending on the

available data I managed to extract certain inclinations which might help understand the realities of issues seen as an outcome of failed integration.

The analysis of the available data showed that in terms of employment, non-Western immigrants do not perform very well as their average participation in the job market of 53.7 per cent is much lower than among Danes, and there is also a considerable advantage of men over women. In comparison with other Scandinavian countries, such as Norway and Sweden, Danish integration measured through employment of non-Western immigrants seems to remain far behind. Similarly, when analysing the general attitudes towards freedom, where statistics on opinions on one's right to hold meetings and speak their case are available, a bit more than 70 per cent of immigrants agreed that one should be entitled to doing so. Social control, which was measured through one's feeling of being pressured by family when choosing a partner, oscillated around 20 per cent among immigrants, compared to only three per cent among Danes. The data also showed that there was, once again, a considerable gap between men and women, with the latter feeling way more pressured. In terms of parallel societies, the research showed that over 60 per cent of ghetto residents are of non-Western origin. Furthermore, residing in ghetto areas causes lower employment rates especially among women and the gaps are far bigger than among immigrants living outside ghettos.

Such results might seem to be confirming the political concerns, which could be seen in the first part of the analysis. They indeed present an image of persons coming from non-Western countries as performing at a level which can be perceived as insufficient to consider their integration into the Danish society successful. From a theoretical perspective, however, integration is a long-term process which should be assessed and measured over time. Thus, the analysis of how descendant generations perform in the afore discussed spheres comes in handy.

The statistics show that descendant generations manifest better results in many of the areas tackled in the political discourse. Although employment rates among non-Western descendants are still quite low, an improvement of around five per cent was registered, compared to immigrant generation. The positive change towards higher employment rates was accompanied by decreasing gaps between men and women, where employment rates were equal for both genders. A similar tendency could also be seen in data which treated

education and employment together - all in all, the average rates for descendants were the same as for Danes, which suggests that although their labour market participation was relatively low, their participation in education is comparable to youth of Danish origin. Women activity stood out in this sphere in particular, where in some non-Western nationalities the rates of participating women were higher than among those of Danish origin. Since education is perceived as paving the way to labour market, this data can potentially indicate positive developments towards employment among people of non-Western origin. A similar inclination was observed in the analysis of one's attitude towards freedom of speech - compared to 70 per cent of immigrants who share the opinion that one should be allowed to hold meetings and present their case, the number amounted to 83 per cent amongst their descendants. Interestingly, the result in this group was approximately the same as for persons of Danish origin, which suggests that if one measures integration through that variable, descendants do not differ much from the mainstream society.

However, the growing tendency among non-Western descendants to become more integrated was not observed in regards to all issues under discussion. In terms of social control, for instance, which was explored through one's feeling of being pressured by family when choosing a partner, the percentage was approximately the same in both immigrant and descendant groups. Furthermore, the feeling of social control was much higher among women, and no distinction between generations was made in this regard. Finally, when looking upon crime which in the political discourse was believed to be much higher among persons of non-Western origin, statistics seem to confirm political statements. Crime index for non-Western immigrants was considerably higher than for Danes, but among descendants the numbers skyrocketed. This was the only sphere, in which a presumably deepening problem has been observed.

Final remarks

So far, I have summarised and discussed the most important points drew from the analysis performed in this research. The results obtained throughout the analysis have led to few observations. Firstly, all three dimensions of integration - structural, cultural, and social -

which I chose to include in the theoretical framework for this research, were somewhat included in the political discourse. The different aspects within these dimensions, however, were strongly limited to only few which politicians identified as significant for assessing integration. In my opinion, the issues they recognised as relevant were seen as directly affecting the rest of the society, rather than immigrants themselves. Such a conclusion is dictated by the fact that none of the statements tackled the issue of one's access to legal statuses, acquisition of legal statuses or relationships with other members of the society, for instance. Therefore, I conclude that such an assessment of the results of non-Western immigration in the political discourse shall not be seen as complete as there are several other aspects which could be taken into account and presumably change the overall evaluation. Secondly, I have observed that the political discourse was to a considerable extent charged with personal views on the matter under discussion. As I explained before, analysing the realities of integration among the Muslim part of population, for instance, was not feasible due to the character of the arguments given by politicians. Data presenting how individuals feel or view certain things is extremely limited, and if one narrows it down to a specific group, carrying out an analysis becomes impossible. I would like to argue, however, that this field seems to be open for further research, where certain tendencies in terms of integration could possibly be analysed and established.

Thirdly, although data used to present the realities of integration revolved around the different issues identified in the political discourse, I stumbled upon information which somewhat exceeded the scope of the analysis. More specifically, the discourse revealed that one of the signs of faulty integration is low employment among persons of non-Western integration. Although analysis revealed that this can generally be observed in reality, a more thorough examination of the available data revealed that in terms of education, participation among these groups is on a considerably high level and can be compared to performance of ethnic Danes. Such high numbers of immigrant descendants undertaking education can be seen as their willingness to engage in activities which can result in employment. Considering that over time the amount of individuals engaging in the system has been gradually increasing, one can deduce that it is a sign of positive developments in their integration.

Last but not least, in order to answer the question posed in the beginning of this research, I would like to conclude that finding a clear answer proved to be challenging. Certain

phenomena taking place in the Danish society seem to confirm political concerns about the outcomes of integration among persons of non-Western origin. Especially in terms of employment, one can argue that Danish integration system has to an extent failed in getting these people into work, as the employment rates oscillate around relatively low levels. Similarly, in terms of social integration, where one can observe creation of ghetto areas, where over a half of their residents are of non-Western origin, political discourse recognising it as a negative side of integration can be seen as justified. As well, crime and social control can also be seen as more present among individuals belonging to groups of non-Western origin. However, I would argue that if one considers the processes taking place over time into account, and compares how descendants perform in comparison to immigrants, it will become clear that there is an upward trend towards better integration. As I mentioned, however, this depends on what criteria one chooses to use in order to assess the final integration outcomes. I would wish for my final conclusion to be as following: political discourse does not seem to acknowledge the full spectrum of integration processes. By focusing mostly on things which do not work well, especially in regards to how it affects the mainstream society alone, politicians seem to be presenting a picture of failed integration with no vision for improvement. Such an approach can lead to disregarding or overlooking elements which might work well and offer room for development towards a more successful integration of non-Western immigrants and descendants. With such a conclusion in mind, I wish to pose a question which might serve yet another research: what are the possible consequences of such a representation of integration in the political discourse?

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