

Same Song, Different Key

**An Theoretical Analysis of Danish Social Democratic
Discourses on Asylum/Immigration as locations of Power, Agency and Identity**

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An Theoretical Analysis of Danish Social Democratic Party Discourses on Asylum/Immigration as locations of Power, Agency, and Identity

Brian M. Hollingsworth – 20163142

Supervisor: Danny Raymond

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Abstract

The Social Democratic Party in Denmark has recently and sharply re-directed their course navigation with respect to their policy orientation concerning asylum and immigration much to the surprise of the media and almost anyone else paying attention. Reflecting the contemporary concerns of political actors in the increasingly nationalist sovereign hierarchies of the West at the moment, the Social Democrats have now also conceded their liberal ideology bringing it more in harmony with those political voices who emblemate the post-modern sociology of the Sovereign paradigm in which nation-states persist with producing and broadcasting discourses and narrative content supporting a surgically restrictive response to the modern crisis of intenant global migration. Considering what historically has been the case, the shifts in attitudes would illustrate a sea change as could be compared to a fundamentally subsumed notion of the liberal/leftist position to asylum and immigration policies. Ahead of securing an odds favored increase of executive powers in 2019, the party has distributed a radically restrictive asylum/immigration reform package which now has brought the party previously known for their center liberalist value proposition into a more closer alignment with the nationalistic and xenophobic ideations of the of their opposition counterparts, namely the Danish People's Party. How could this unlikely alignment of typically opposed political parties, and in this case those whom are more known for their nationalist centric and more anti-immigrant positions on Asylum/Immigration policy impact the stability of the Democratic model? A model which relies on the validity of argumentation across the party divide as an important safeguard against the potential tyranny of the ruling class. The objective, then, of this study is to analyze the Asylum/Immigration related discourse produced by the Social Democratic Party in Denmark and more clearly view their constructions as linguistic instruments utilized strategically for the the assertion of power, the negotiation of identity, and agency. The study will also identify what co-relative factors influence changes in discursivity over time and look to clarify how these discourses shape our perceptions (thoughts) and influence our behaviors(actions) as we consider this look at discourse in light of the central need make the politically questionable real. For this thesis, I've chosen to employ a theoretical framework based on the principles of Discourse Analysis conceptualized by Lacalau and Mouffe and Michel Foucault though, I will also rely on Political Discourse Analysis as well to assist in strengthening my analysis. The analysis covers a 40 year span and is segmented to highlight discourses produced by three of the party's former and current chair persons. The study indicates that changes in discourse can be related to changes dynamically occurring in historicized spatial territories of the totalized field such as the economy or labor. This also can be linked to changes in public attitude, for example. The value of the findings of this study, should not only add in some way to the vast canon of discourse study but it should also remind the reader that the future possibilities for social development will invariably cross the spectrum of discourse analysis and interpretation as a way to develop understandings of our shared realities owing ultimately to the promotion of the Western democratic experiment.

Keywords: Discourse, Immigration, Social Democrats, Discourse Analysis, Identity, Agency

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I. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

At first glance, it would appear that the Social Democratic party in Denmark have decidedly and unabashedly joined the bandwagon of the rising acceptance towards populist ideologies that foster the ever rising anti-immigrant attitudes ruminating in the West. An unusual change in their positions which would also seem to run counter to the core party mantra of '*fraternite,liberte,egalite*'. This wouldn't be an unfair assesment since.."*Over the last three decades many Western European social democratic parties have been challenged by populist radical right parties. The growth and success of parties on the right flank of the party system represents a triple challenge to the social democrats...*" (Bale,et.al:2008,p.1). This shift in policy towards immigrants and asylum management can be further scrutinized on one level as an unlikely acquiescence to a political climate which also fails to acknowledge any consequence of toying with the tribalist rhetoric of right wing nationalism and thus leading democraitc societies away from arguing the merits of otherwise sucessfully applied leftist ideological commitments expressing more humanitarian views on immigration issues. Instead, these types of nationalist, anti-immigrant notions have historically been the ownership of their rival actors from the centre right side of the political spectrum ,namely, the Danish People's Party (DF) who are considered to chiefly motivate the 'politicization of the issue and, have vaulted into mainstream popularity by almost singly highlighting it and thus signfying the hefty ballast weighing to the perceived social impact of producing anti-immigrant rhetoric in times of crises. Times historically considered to be threatening to the democratic experiement and to the general idealism of the western paradigm . "*The core issue of the populist radical right is arguably immigration (Ivarsflaten,2008). Their demand for restrictive immigration policies commands broad support across Western European electorates, especially among the less affluent and less educated, thereby threatening a loss of vote share for social democratic parties'* (Ibid: p. 2) While charecterizations of this sort might begin to explain what impact various underpinning factors may likely have on the discursivity underlying a held political value within the social imagainary, it is also interesting to look more closely at the surrounding contexts which influence the constanacy of discourses, in this case those prouduced by the Social Democrats, and when observed through the lens of history. In my thesis, I broaden the study field to take an introspective approach to the analysis of the morphology of the party's (SD) position on Immigration both where and how it can be seen manifest across space and time and which not only uncovers the enduring drive by the Social Democrats to achieve and maintain their ideological influence but

it is also made clear by my arguments that, as commentary on the constructive imaginary, the Social Democrats (SD) can be regarded as an institutionally viable actor within their sphere of influence, even if albeit purely in the pursuit of political influence and power, and even as the popularity of opposing ideologies challenge their future relevance. Given this motivation to verify as well as to indemnify the power relations at stake, renowned social scientists such as Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci have analyzed the language patterns of the respective institutional actors through the ages in order to better determine both the real value and the impacts on our social practices of the types of politicized speech produced as well as offer a clearer interpretation of languages used in part as economic constructions according to post-Marxian notions of the social. If the SD are willing to abide this political alignment, what then could possibly be at stake for the Social Democrats in accordance with their position shift on immigration? Moreover, what about this change in position is problematic to the democratic model when the Social Democrats are its architect and chief vanguard?

1.2 Problem Formulation & Research Question(s)

While it should be understandable that political parties alter their positions on a given social issues based in analysis of economic and national-centric metrics, changes that reduce the intrinsic value of the standard ideological pillars of the democratic model deserve the vigilance of the entire analytical community to determine the impacts that is borne on the model as a result. In the case of this study, SD has seemed to alter their position in such a radical way and the question that arises is at what cost to national as well as global society do these types of changes pose? Based on this formulation of a problem, which I believe underlies our scrutiny of any saturating discourses such as with Immigration, I will answer the following questions:

1. *How do social democrats embed their asylum/immigration discourses as substantiations of power and identity, and as stewards of agency (for the party/'state' and also for 'other')?*
2. *What are the contextual factors that influence the discursivity of the subject of immigration when considered in a historical context? How do discourses reflect this?*

1.3 Thesis Preview

In the sections that follow I will lay out the contextual frameworks on which the analysis of data has been conducted. The paragraphs that immediately follow are dedicated to providing the epistemological, ontological and methodological contexts of the study. Thus, I provide the contextual foundation for how to view discourse "*as an object to be known in some way and consequently mastered*" (Price.1999,p.3)" In the subsequent sections, I provide the required background detail on the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis(CDA) which for the purposes of this study operate

both as method and theory. In the analysis section, I have applied the theoretical framework with the intention to provide an analysis which offers readers "*...with opportunities whether to conform to perceived norms or whether to draw more creatively on their knowledge of them*" (Ibid. P.7) Finally, I conclusion section I provide my interpretations of the impact that the practice of discourse production and distribution has on our cognitive relationships to realities and to the subjective symbols. It should also be noted by finding in the conclusion that discourses based in a progressive dispositif can be equally as impressive on a society as those expressing nationalist ideological points of view.

II.Theory of Science

2.1 Discourse and Social Constructionism

In order to facilitate an adequate study and analysis of the small group data set i've gathered, I've chosen to observe these Immigraton discourses in their constitutive contexts as they relate to the principle concepts underlying (Social Constructionism). Social Constructionism posits the idea that "*the content of our consciousness, and the mode of relating we have to each other, is taught by our culture and society; all the metaphysical quantities we take for granted are learned from others around us*" (Owen, 1992, p. 386). This frame of understanding allows for an closer observation of what underlies the various relational contexts of social life and how they function. Understanding this, then, we can assign interpretive meaning and a value context that illustrate how instutionalized communication practices shape our social interactions and influence our perceptions of social issues such as immigration and of refugees themselves. Another way to understand the centrality that discourse plays in the social constructionist paradigm is that "*...language is more than just a way of connecting people. People 'exist' in language*" (Gergen & Gergen, 1991) Berger and Luckman inform us that "*people socially construct reality by their use of agreed and shared meaning communicated through language*"(cited in Speed, 1991, p. 400).I was drawn to this paradigm after much reading on the theme but also because it provides for loose interpretation of available data in the assesment of what underlies, in this case the constitutive nature of our human realities. The constructionist framework also allows for varied findings reflecting on the nuanced individuality of the lived human experieince. The objective of this study is to illustrate how discourses are produced in relationship to influential social variables such as, for example, public opinions and changing attitudes. The same categorical discourses also behave signifigantly around flucuations that follow changes in the national economic outlook and so, can certainly come to shape our perceptions of reality over time as well as influence our understanding of what is considered a generalized form of knowledge of a given social issue. This issue of knowledge assumption is an espicially poingnant consideration in the analysis of the ethical mooring of

immigration discourses in light of the Social Democrats having so sharply altered their position. Considering the Social Constructionist paradigm, however, *"We are thereby forced to resign our cherished position as 'knowers' and our assumptions that there are 'facts' we can come to know" These so-called facts along with other ideas and assumptions are social constructions, artefacts of a socially mediated discourses.*" (Anderson and Goolishian, 1988) In light of this study we should consider how discourses on immigration work in society as informing a 'grand-narrative', one which is heavily debated across the socio-political spectrum and which has become in the digital age a grossly saturating media issue. I look to analyse the discourse as it relates to the commodifications of power and identity and then discover how our perceptions of reality are formed accordingly. The Social Constructionist viewpoint also provides the modes of evaluating and associating discourses which are implicated as part of the 'grand narratives' informing our society and which *..have been produced by and in turn influence people and is something which people measure themselves against.*"..... *'Grand Narratives are supported by the weight of numbers, tradition and firmly entrenched power structures'*. (Van Niekerk, 2005) Therefore the meanings and values we impose on our behavioral or attitudinal responses to a variety of social phenomena is externally dictated and organized by whatever dominating ideologies or interpretive frameworks are available at the time. With this in mind I have elected for a study of immigration discourses highlighting an analytic overview in their historical context to observe how the above mentioned considerations play out over time. Additionally, the Social Constructionist paradigm frames the notion of discourses as (potentially) *"reflective of a narrow or one sided view of a postulated reality and which actually provide for the development of problems rather than their solution"* (Dickerson & Zimmerman, 1998) What more, then, can we know about the rationalized discursivity of Social Democratic discourses on immigration upon closer look? Moreover, how closely might the production of more popular policy centric discourses by the Social Democrats resemble the underpinnings of the constructionist paradigm and with special respect to their influence and/or impact in the broader and dynamically occurring scope of interactions informing and constructing our social reality? In the following sections I look to provide the ontological and methodological contexts of my research design which is intended to underlie the objectivity of the analysis component committed to this study on the discourses produced by Denmark's leading centre-left political actor. I should also here note my decision to combine the methodological and theoretical chapters of my thesis into one section since Discourse Analysis is generally understood to be utilized in a fluid manner linking both contexts and I will of course elaborate on this synergy in the corresponding section ahead.

2.2 On Discourse

The term "Discourse" is used to illustrate the various *"ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and relations*

between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern (Weedon, 1987). Discourses are utilized in our societies as "forms of power that circulate in the social field and can attach to strategies of domination as well as those of resistance" (Diamond and Quinby, 1988). Commonly observed examples of the frameworks for socio-politically constructed discourses include speeches, political debates, television interviews, political party manifestos and platform statements. Michel Foucault developed the concepts of the 'discursive field' and the 'apparatus' or 'dispositif' as constitutive parts of his conceptualizing of the relationship between language, social institutions, subjectivity and power. Discursive fields such as the law or the family, as an example, contain a number of competing and contradictory discourses with varying degrees of power to give meaning to and organize social institutions and processes. Interestingly, the 'dispositif', as Foucault explains is "first a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions—in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the apparatus (dispositif) (Pløger, 2008, p,5) Such political discourses which are produced and generated as part of and in the context of the constitutive 'dispositif' framing its production then also 'offer' a range of modes of subjectivity (Weedon, 1987.). Foucault's notion not only highlights the dynamism of discourse production and generation occurring within the social specifically relating to institutionally sponsored subjectivity, but also points to the important role and the necessary objectivity of findings provided through critical analysis. Researchers study and observe the production as well as the constituted and constitutive manners of discourses, among other reasons, to determine the rationale of intent and their truthful validity based on semiotic interpretations of the language in use. Following the philosophical origins of Michel Foucault's analyses of the relationships between discourses and their roles in generating knowledge/power in pursuit of the construction of the social, researchers have previously been able to draw close associations between the fragmented production of discourses delivered by key institutional and social stakeholders and the conceptualized values of power and ideology within the social imaginary. With this understanding we can observe the specific uses of language used by stakeholders to bring emphasis to a given "subject" as well as determine their vehicular utility for what could be considered as pre-meditated strategies anchored in a historical paradigm and applied to the production and dispersal of said discourses. Political discourses are constructed as a way to establish a framework for the political associating of a polity living in sub-alternated versions of a modern democratic society to a political party as well as a way to position the party and its leadership as worthy of inheriting the implied institutional power to govern over them. The ongoing constructive research and analyses of political discourse allows for the dissection of the language of

fact from the language of politically constituted expediency and illustrates in many cases the ways in which produced discourses often do not have their groundings in the conceptual understanding of a truth reaching toward human universality nor do they seem necessarily intended to accommodate such notions. In this light, consequently, discourse *"is not and can never be a transparent medium that mirrors the world"* (Miller, 1990, p. 3). This dialectical notion, in my view, suggests a considerable consequence to the fundamental health and abiding longevity of the western democratic model. Recognizing this controversy, however, and as a budding social scientist, I concur to the value and importance of closely and fervently monitoring the social impact of discourses on the normalized thought processes and behaviors of humans comprising the very life blood and bone materiality fueling the engine of the (so-called) western democratic model. Moreover, we can observe how societal norms are generated through and in relation to discourses and how they are then (re)applied to the social and political discursive dynamics operating at every level of the world in which we live. At various times, the subjective nature of discourses take on greater or lesser relevance in regards to their material volume and place within the social imaginary due to various related and non related factors that are in constant flux so it is relevant to study and compare discourses and their changes over time as it pertains to the (re)formation and maintenance of the modern nation state. Here, I cite two constructionist based assumptions on the fluid nature of discourses provided by Gergen (1994);

1. *"The terms by which we achieve understanding of the world and ourselves are social artifacts, products of historically and culturally situated interchanges between people."* (1994, p. 59)

2. *"The degree to which a given account of the world or self is sustained across time is not dependent on the objective validity of the account but on the vicissitudes of social process".* (1994, 49)

In my research, I have selected various Asylum/Immigration related discourses of the Danish Social Democratic Party which represent their communicated position placed in a historical context connoting distinctly different time periods as a way to analyse the fluid alterations of discourse even as national as well as global responses to the issue of migration have continued to challenge the efficacy of the democratic paradigm in the West. As I close out this section, I cite the insights of various scholars each of whom clarify the relevance and underlying significance of studies related to Discourses, *"Literate practices....are concomitants of what is a social activity, one that is tied to institutional projects of discipline and power...moulding, making, disciplining of human subjects', populaces and communities"* (Cited in Price, 1998, p. 4) Wallace (1992) also makes a similar point; "Discourses are ideologically determined ways of talking about persons places, events or phenomena" (Ibid)

Understanding these notions in the context of this study should guide the interpretive analysis of shifts in their position over time which link to an ideological consideration as one of the factors informing and orienting changes in discourse.

2.3 Gramsci on Discourse

Antonio Gramsci is a well known Marxist philosopher who, among a variety of other well noted contributions to the social and political sciences, has provided us with an accessible framework leading towards both deeper and broader analyses of the constructive nature of the social as well as providing nuanced considerations of the use of and intention behind the language informing the *speech acts* produced by those socially and institutionally vetted actors which entrench the social field with a copious density of produced content. Such patterns of language, commonly referred to as discourses heretofore identify the various communicative modes for the distribution of ideas adhering as *knowledge* and as *relations of power*, emanating from distributed communications and from the vaulted (sponsored) conversations dispersed through media which are circulating around us at all times. Of the production of knowledge, Gramsci notes further how it "*emerges from the combined endeavors of intellect, emotion and engagement with 'the people' (Jubas, 2010,p.3) "*" which draws us ever closer to understanding the discursive practices informing SD immigration discourses. I draw further analytical motivation from Gramsci's philosophical extensions on Marxist social theory which underlie his concept of Cultural Hegemony here explained below:

"cultural hegemony is the domination of a culturally diverse society by the ruling-class who manipulate the culture of that society—the beliefs, explanations, perceptions, values, and mores—so that their imposed, ruling-class worldview becomes the accepted cultural norm; the universally valid dominant worldview, which justifies the social, political, and economic status-quo as natural and inevitable, perpetual and beneficial for everyone, rather than as artificial social constructs that benefit only the ruling class." (Wikipedia)

The analytical framework which I believe should effectively correlate my thesis to the Gramscian framework is based primarily in his explanations of the role that discourses play as vital constitutive tools which are produced to maintain asymmetrical power relations between social groups and additionally between classes of people. This conceptual understanding appears wholly compatible within the discursive frame of analysis of a political party such as the Social Democrats who have seen the waning of their political capital in recent times after having enjoyed a significant period of a hegemonic hold over the Danish society. In fact, "*for the first three post-war decades the Social Democrats were primarily in power [where] at times they ruled in majority governments...and at other times they formed single party minority governments.*" (Pedersen, *Op Cit. P,2*) The parliamentary elections of 1973 would change this however as "*a number of new parties gained seats in*

parliament, which would not only dilute the context of bloc party competitive dynamics but, among which the largest was the right-wing progress party(Fremskrtdpartiest) gaining around 16% percent of the votes".

(Pedersen:p,2) Notably, the right-wing Danish People's Party has its origins in this right-wing predecessor and is known typically to have stood in chief opposition to Social Democratic ideologies. Until recently, that is. My thesis will provide an interpretive historiographic analysis of a set of discursive data representing the Immigration discourses which have been produced by the Danish Social Democrats over a span of time and which consequently have occurred in the context of shifting leadership, dynamic shifts in political attitudes and the overarching transnational events that constantly, though however uncontrollably, influence our perspectives and responses to our selective and collective realities. From an analytical perspective, however, considering the circumstances generating around the tenure of a specific party leader here seen as the chief author of discourses, it could be argued, pragmatically offers the strongest examples of the factors weighing on the production of political discourses inside a party communications apparatus(dispositif) which are then subsequently distributed at least in part for the purposes of establishing and/or maintaining an preferred agency and a power relation within the social. Contextually, however, I am viewing power not in its dominant and autocratic form but in its more everyday iteration as part of a structural reality we agree to abide by. This type of power is rendered through 'Normalization' in which power, as Michel Foucault notes, is circulated, embedded in discourses as part of ongoing social processes. "*Normalization is the process where the individual is not just categorized but is controlled and even constructed by the power vested in institutions and antecedent social practices*"

(Miller.1990.p,8) In the following sections I will present the texts, originating as public speeches delivered by the party in each case and which also represents the immigration discourses which have been produced by 3 of the party's most well-known foremen. I have also worked to include the economic, political and transnational contexts which circulate simultaneously within the spectrum and which also arguably may have influence on the production of discourses and ultimately which of those discourses are selected and highlighted for distribution. Through the blended application of Critical Discourse and Political Discourse Analyses, I go further to specifically highlight words and patterns of language use as well as examples of employment of a historical discursivity which I believe illustrates how discourses are tied together over time to symbolize continuity even as modifications of subjectivity are ongoing. Focusing on this as part of my analysis, I hope, should provide us with a valid consideration as to what informs the strategies for achieving socio-political agency which the Social Democrats use to maintain a power relation through the production and transmission of their discourses on Immigration. Finally, I go on to provide my assessment of the initial research question(s) which I believe illustrate the philosophical concepts put forth both by Marx and Gramsci should

2.4 Foucault's Ontology of Discourse

Reknowned French philosopher Michel Foucault has produced a rich and expansive body of work from which students, researchers and scholars alike have extrapolated a variety of methodological and theoretical tools and resources in order to enhance the rigor of the analytic contexts of social science research. Consequently, Foucault's ideas can be contextually applied in a variety of disciplines for the purposes of elevating and enhancing the mean values of the objectivity required to more effectively validate the findings of similar type of qualitative research such as this study reflects. For the purposes of this study, however, I will try to align my analysis as well as anchor my findings in the objective resilience of Foucault's conceptualized ontology of discourses which itself is based in post-modern structuralist ideas of reality and I believe more than adequately emphasizes the way in which (structuralized) social interactions are governed by fixed discursive practices which can come to influence and directly impact all measure of phenomena occurring within the fields of the social and does not exclude exertions upon the thought life and actions taken by the individual. *"One of the reasons...Foucault conceived discourse as social structure and discursive practice as social practice. 'Discourse' is not simply dialogue or philosophical monologue (Diaz-Bone, et. al. 2008: p.9) "*. From this perspective one can begin a process of discovery where we more closely observe the structural behaviors of the data selected for this study (herein identified as immigration discourses) on the basis of their analytical merit; *"Foucaultian discourse is conceived of as a super-individual reality; as a kind of practice that belongs to collectives rather than individuals, and as located in social areas or 'fields' (Ibid. p 8)"*. Foucault assigns three main ideas which summarize his ontological views of discourse which I have provided in its entirety as an appendix to this study (See Appendix 1). I will nonetheless further use this section to establish the closest possible link between Foucaultian principles of discourse analysis and the purposes of this study. I turn now to Foucault's notions on the correlativity of discourse and the productions of knowledge and/or power utilizing discourse as vessel and vehicle under the auspices of discursive practice. *"Now, clearly the notion of power alone will not do, for power in itself presupposes an array of phenomena which are not themselves power. For example, it presupposes something that is exercising the power; properties in virtue of which it is possible for that thing to exercise power; another thing over which the power is exercised, and this would necessarily include changes in the thing as the result of the exercise of power upon it; and indeed all manner of other relationships which are not reducible to power (Miller, 1990 p.120)"* Indeed and with respect to immigration discourses, it is meaningful to look closer at the exertion of a substantial though arguably non-descript power relation to identify their effects on the generalized social perceptions of the problems facing society when relating them to disenfranchised social groups. Foucault posits the idea of *'impersonal social power'* as this notion that;

" Power is not one individual's domination over others or that of one group or class over others. Rather it is something that circulates, which only functions in the form of a chain. It's never in anybody's hands (Ibid.). Miller (1990) continues; "This mode of power involves a process Foucault and others call 'normalization' Normalization is the process where the individual is not just categorized but controlled and even constructed by the power vested in institutions and in antecedent social practice.....It does not just compel certain forms of behaviour but actually produces a certain kind of human being (Ibid.) Understanding this, the study can show how SD normalize their immigration discourses observed through a lens of historical continuity in order that a particular type of human being or beings is produced. Moreover, we should consider seriously the notion of the very type of human being that has arisen as a result of the regular exposure to these types of discursive normalization processes. This notion problematizes the larger question on the ethical context informing the construction of human consciousness and as to what data map(s) or info gathering frameworks most idealize the integrity of that building process over time and ones which should ultimately produce balanced and productive citizens. Is our human development best served by the current models for normalizing impersonal power through discourse as we now exist in a technological era affording institutions the ability to facilitate a politically induced over-proliferation of our contact with their normalized discourses? While I acknowledge not being able to more empirically determine the impacts of discourses of 'ideology' on individuals or on society as a whole, however allowing for Foucault's understanding I will be able to draw a relationship between changes in immigration discourse and social attitudes which should be thought of in this instance as indicators of linked behavior toward a subject or other social category implicated in these discourses. In addition to power, I will also illustrate how the substantiations of power intersect with and co-exist with the ongoing manifestations of (political)identity. And because we are looking into the abyss which has become the immigration debate, I will also analyze the discourses for their commentary on agency as well and I'll attempt to elaborate on this further in the next section.

III Methodological and Theoretical Frameworks

3.1 Laclau and Mouffe: Critical Discourse Analysis

The study of discourses is helpful as a way to understand how patterns of language use perpetuate our comprehensions of 'reality' and facilitate our capitulation to what is to be accepted as 'knowledge'. One can methodologically map how discourses take their shape within the social field and moreover how these discourses generate actualized locations of power and institutional authority, in this case in accordance with the paradigms of the Western Democratic model. Understanding, however, that discourses are selectively produced assumptions of 'reality' or rather pre-meditated inputs of categorized knowledge and not

necessarily indicative of a totalized picture of the mutating 'realities' in which we as individuals are actually operating, we apply Discourse Analysis to unravel the reasoning and validity of highlighted discourses working in the social field at a given point in time. Further, we observe the impacts and the effects that discourses have on the various segments of the society as they can be seen functioning as an important aspect of the larger theoretical fields of observations commonly referred to in its relationship to Structuralist philosophy (Cite Structuralism) In any case, the study of discourse presents a robust field of knowledge production for analysis and consideration. This study will focus on how discourses of a political nature are constructed to produce specific constructs within the social field. Asylum discourses, for example, are particularly ideal for this type of research since there exists the probability to be able to illustrate how these particular discourses reflect on an intended power relationship between a given stakeholder and the public. A closer look should also provide additional analysis which highlights the use of discourse in the promotion of a socially locatable ideological relevance. In their book on the subject, Jørgensen and Phillips offer three approaches that researchers can apply to the framing of Discourse analysis in the social field which essentially reference the following frameworks: Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis and Discursive Psychology.

This thesis will primarily employ the framework originated by Laclau and Mouffe, which postulates that *"discourses construct the social world in meaning, and that owing to the fundamental instability of language, meaning can never be fixed"* (Jørgensen and Phillips: 2002 p.). Specifically on the subject of political discourses, it is wholly worthwhile to apply this type of analysis which should help better determine what underwrites the meanings and value propositions involved in the production of various discourses while other discourses remain uninitiated or uninvestigated, as well as how those popular and sometimes artificially enlightened discourses affect society and bear such weight of consideration as actualized inputs of knowledge/power and as realized entities of the social matrix contained within a space. In this context, that contained space I mention symbolizes the space of information in which is contained the total, fluid, chaotic amalgam of the democratic Nation-State. As Jørgensen and Phillips have written, however, the discourses that are produced in this space are in constant conflict and competition with each other, engaged in what they have termed a perpetual *'discursive struggle'*. This struggle, as they go on to write represents the strategic attempts to achieve a highly coveted and potentially corruptible hegemony in society through the pre-meditated enactment of a discursive practice and with the certain emphasis to produce discourses on subjects that have been determined through institutionally sponsored research to elicit measurably actionable responses from and by the body electorate. One example that highlights the competitive nature of discourses can be applied when studying the possible logic behind voting behaviors which more than likely do have a gripping and direct link to the discourses that political parties produce with the

hopeful intention to move people to surrender their support while also at the same time persuading the same audiences to avert other courses of socio-political incitement classically through the refined enlistment of "blind spots" which in my view are also carefully prescribed through quite blatant acts of omission. So even within this discursive struggle exists another struggle which is centrally compelling to me. While I concur that discourse is but one of the primary constitutive elements of our known world, I am driven to look more closely at the specific and strategic use(s) of the kind of language (speech acts) which is produced to order and maintain a western based democratic society and when analyzed against the idealized and equalizing language of the democratic paradigm. In this thesis, I will apply a round set of methodological principles taken from the volume of Discourse Analysis in order to identify the context of the discursive practices used by the Danish Social Democratic Party as it relates to their discourses on Asylum/Immigration and as it can be observed over a span of time. While the analysis should hope to do much to explain the underlying reasoning behind the production of subjective discourses, I realize that any analysis resulting from this theoretical approach can not be considered ultimately or wholly conclusive since language, for our purposes, can never be fixed in meaning nor is any single interpretation of those meanings universally regarded or adhered to neither with respect to institutional or social bodies. This means that while I can work to point out how the language is used to elicit activity or otherwise for the purposes of enlistment into the corps of the exceptional. These motivations should be evident either in the consistency of the language used to highlight a discourse or either in the radicalization of the change in the language used for the very same discourse. In each case, I will argue, there are measurable impacts which can be brought to bear on the larger analysis of the structural conflicts of the Democratic experiment in the west.

3.2 On Identity

As a way to offer a clearer terminological context to this thesis, in these next paragraphs, I provide clarifications on the notions of both '*Identity*' and '*Agency*' in hopes to underwrite the constructive nature of discourse as well as highlight a purposeful dynamism assigned to the discursive field of ideas. It's also been added to illustrate the manner in which discourses are produced to facilitate certain ways of understanding (knowledge) and coding of our social realities as well as influence the responsive and reflexive ways in which we individually or collectively relate and/or react to those discourses. "*It is [these] collective meanings which constitute the structures that organize our actions*" (Wendt cited in Das, 2009, p.9) Part of this study will analyze how SD immigration discourses reflect an intention to derive a collective meaning on the issue of immigration which should then also help substantiate a meaningful and actionable political identity around and over the issue. Drawing further from Wendt's constructivist IR theoretical perspective is the notion of '*collective meaning*' and how it links to constructive notions of '*identity*' explaining that "*..actors acquire identity-relatively stable, role*

specific understandings and expectations about self-by participating in the constitution of such collective meaning. Identities are [thus] inherently relational."(Ibid. p.9). Das writes further in his article, "This socially constituted nature of Identities is significant as the basis of States' interests must relate to the ontological notion of the State"(Das, 2008,p. 9) Here Das helps explain for us how to interpret the relational social construct which is borne out primarily in discourse is responsible for our general understandings of what is 'The State'. Clearly, the SD discourses produced concerning immigration are meant to reflect the Sovereignty of the state if nothing else can be said though I will attempt to do so. What is intended is to observe the manifestation of the SD identity through time and to also illustrate and I concur how collective meaning transfers itself into more institutionalized notions of the State. What notion of 'State might SD be now promoting seen in a historical perspective? Given the enduring volatility of the issue of immigration in the West, SD discourses seem tailored somehow to not compromise the integrity of the constitutive nature of their political identity, of course. There remains an issue, however as to the extent that an actor, in this instance SD, is willing to go to achieve the end of temporally fleeting sustainability and invariably a constitutive political Identity is very much a fluid and transformative entity owing its materialization to a host of variables at the national and extra national levels of reality.

3.3 On Agency

As to the notion of 'Agency', my analysis of SD immigration discourses should illustrate their constructive function not just as agentive vehicles produced for purposes of their own behalf but will also highlight the scope of the 'agency' (or lack thereof) afforded to the immigrant, though here typically being framed as a constrained entity within discourses as an categorized 'other'. Ahearn writes of 'agency' in terms of the "*..human capacity to act (Ahearn.1999,p.2)*" which provides an element of consideration to the analysis of political discourses. How then do SD discursive practices concerning immigration insure the constructive facilitation of 'agency' through discourse when observed over time and as discourse themselves morph and mutate? Perhaps more interesting is the agency afforded 'the other' which is implied in the discourse and through a strategically 'spatialized' relational context but indicative of a dominant asymmetrical power relation between the actor and the acted upon. " *In the late 1970's and early 1980's, sociologist John Giddens first popularized the term 'agency' and...it focused on ways that human action are dialectically related to social structure in a mutually constitutive manner.*" (Ibid. p 2) Ahearn writes further,"Agency is emergent in sociocultural and linguistic practices.." which themselves are "socially and linguistically constrained according to norms and social practices" (Ibid. p.3) A plain understanding of this notion, in my view, links directly not only to the constitutive nature of discourse but how these discourses ultimately shape our realities and vice-versa. With SD being observed in the role of a key political

actor. could there be any consequence in validating the agency which is framed in discourses produced by a party arguably operating according to strategically underlying political motivations? In the context of this study, we are looking at how SD has utilized their constructive modes of discourse not only to illustrate agency as resistance to opposition but how they also generate agentive considerations otherwise considered to be in "*complicity with, accommodation to, or reinforcement of the status-quo—sometimes all at the same time (Ibid.p.3)*". Understanding this helps inform the part of the analysis which looks factors that motivate changes in discursivity over time with an interesting reference point to ponder as it relates to changes occurring in the variant nature of transnational migration over the same period of observed history. The objective approach to locating 'agency' in SD discourses is framed squarely in a contextual understanding Ahearn's notion of 'agency' as materializing within institutionalized social practices. Ahearn's conceptual notions which "...recognizes that language shapes individuals' thought categories even as it allows them to be transcended"(Ibid, p.5) seem complimentary to a critical analysis of the selected data. In this way, my work intersects with the work of linguistic anthropologists in whom Ahearn has assigned the value of their examining speech events as a method to illuminate how people think about their own and others' actions

3.4 Research Design

This study is centered around an interpretive analysis of texts that have been produced by the SD over the course of time. The goal is to illustrate the constructive and constitutive nature of their production, Specifically, the study of discourses will be focused on Asylum/Immigration related issues. I have selected three examples which span a 40 year period and these have been categorised according both to their time periods of their production as well by the respective party forman in tenure at a given moment in time. This should be seen as a way to highlight the national and transnational historical events playing out at the time which I contend will have influenced the production of certain, if not all, discourses. The reference to the party foreman is more further a practical way to divide the discourses into units of historically approachable data- It may anecdotally provide a reference to the underlying '*pathos, ethos and logos*' which inform their discourse over time though I do not however intend to elaborate on this here in this study. The objective of this study is to illustrate the use of discourses as vehicles to appropriate power, agency, and identity through conducting an analysis where I apply a critical theoretical framework. I do not intend however to use the study to identify any malicious intent which could be easily objectified through non-empirical research and analysis. I do hope to have structured the analysis in a way which is not only informative to the reader but also useful as a basic template for other student researcher to think of broader and more robust design approaches relating to the analysis of discourse.

3.5 Biases and Limitations

Of the very interpretive nature applied to Discourse Theory as a field of study, scholars have noted the subjective context in which studies can be interpreted: *"Thus for example it is common to hear that a) everything is discourse. b) that anything discursive in nature is by definition fictive or without foundation and that, c) therefore everything is fictive and without foundation."* (Miller, 1990, p.2) Though, as Potter (1996) explains, *"This can cut both ways — at times it can be a struggle to establish the legitimacy of this kind of research with more mainstream psychological colleagues; yet at other times it can be a context that allows superficial theorizing and loose analysis"* (Richardson (Ed), 1996, p.8) Acknowledging the likelihood that my study does not reach an objectively empirical threshold of validity, I am confident nonetheless in the interpretive validity provided in the analysis and for which CDA as a theoretical framework has effectively provided. I would like to acknowledge that because the meaning and value placed on language can never be definitively known, I acknowledge the bias presented by the particular reflexive influences that comprise my life experiences and the ways in which I have developed my own knowledge and cognitive awareness in addition to how I represent the social and class I am guided however by Threadgold (1997), *"...who points out that one does not analyze texts, one rewrites them, one does have an objective meta-language, one does not use theories one performs one's critique (p.1)* (Price, 1999, p.7)" I concur that this to be the most effective context within which to view the findings provided in this study.

IV Analysis

4.1 The Party Manifesto as Discourse

In this section I will try and explain the context and role that the *party manifesto* plays as an structured ideation of discourse typically published and distributed by political parties to advance a hegemonic strategy within the socio-political imaginary in most instances. *"As attempts at 'social dreaming', that is the exercises in thinking collective life and imagining futurity, manifestos can be understood as a species of utopianism, in this case, as a particular example of nonfiction writing with an eye toward an as yet fictive future."* (Weeks.2014,3) The Manifesto, in a broad historical sense, has been at times been highlighted and emphasized in various periods of western and global intellectual, political and philosophical expansion and has been critically regarded as those speech acts bearing important social significance and possessing of such critical impact as to affect the dominant political thought paradigms of the day. Understanding this context, I believe provides us with that arguable acknowledgement of the broad critical appeal of Marx's and Engels' *Communist Manifesto* in this instance. *"The Communist Manifesto may not be the first manifesto but, but it has an iconic status serving as the text that founds the genre"*.(Weeks.2014,3) Thus, the Manifestos included in this study for the purposes of analysis will be

so analysed in this context of their production as 'utopian' themed texts which strategically adhere to certain linguistic and semiotic principles of language use be they written or spoken acts. Further on the form of the Manifesto, Moylan (cit) has stated "*that the form takes on as part of its charge the motive to provide a more direct articulation of the processes of social change*". (Weeks.2014,4). "*The Manifesto form, writes Felicity Colman, wants to take action, to intervene, to re-imagine and remember different forms of existence*"(Weeks.2014,4) These characteristics of the Manifesto are distinctive in my view of them as examples political discourses and seem to earnestly suggest a zealous ideological idealism which I believe warrants analysis if for nothing else as a way to archive the relationship between the dynamics of the fluid changes occurring in our societies and the on-going and often strategic transformation of the messaging which potentially usher in quite new 'realities' in which we must contend our very being. Weeks explain further, "*The power of the Manifesto comes from its distinctive voice – its register, tone style as much as from its claims and announcements. Indeed perhaps the most definitive characteristic of the manifesto is the amplitude of this loud genre, which I take to include its poetic certitude, its agonistic mode of discourse and its passionate state* For examples of the traditional manifesto form, consider the first and last lines of the main body of the Communist Manifesto, which begins with what the text knows and ends with what it wants us to do."(Miller, 1990, p.7) It is appropriate, then to rely on the findings of a Critical Discourses Analysis which can objectively and more specifically show how these elements Weeks describes are accordingly positioned through language use and coordinated speech acts. " And since "the manifesto form in particular demonstrates that utopian hope can be elicited as much from the analytical and stylistic practices of a text as from its specific claims and explicit purposes", (Miller, 1990, p.7) a discourse analysis pairs well as a way to underwrite with interpretive consideration the academic and intellectual meanings for whatever lofty intentions may be claimed within this type of a politically driven format. Interestingly, also unique to the Manifesto form is the way in which the author(s) is able to manipulate the nature of time primarily as way to increase the urgency of a response to the text which should then guarantee the delivery of promises made on Utopian solution. As my study relates to a component of expansive time (40+ years), we can then see how this nature of temporality and the compression of historical time affect the constitutions of power, identity and agency as viewed from periodic perspectives covering a span of years. This study will provide a context for how Social Democrats in Denmark have worked to facilitate their constitution over time, if at all.

4.2 SD Discursive Practices as forms of Power

In this section I highlight how the discursive practices of each of three SD party leaders selected for this study reflect on their strategies regarding language use as ways to constitute forms of *power*. Specifically I will be looking at how the issues of Immigration/Asylum is communicated by each person and given the socio-political

contextual drives that informed their respective periods of tenure. With this in mind, however, it is important that we think of *power* not only as being direct and oppressive but as indirect and coercive specifically as it relates to a discourse analysis of a given political text. On the broad suppositions linked to power, Miller also writes about our typically binary understandings of power " ... *it presupposes something that is exercising the power; properties in virtue of which it is possible for that thing to exercise power; another thing over which the power is exercised, and this would necessarily include changes in the thing as the result of the exercise of power upon it; and indeed all manner of other relationships which are not reducible to power.*" (Miller.1990,7)

Here, I also cite Jørgensen and Miller's take on this notion of power which is observed as both concealed and revealed through discourse and the respective practices associated to their production and dispersal. Of the specific context of power they provide the following, "*Power is not [to be] understood as something which people possess and exercise over others, but as that which produces the social.*" (Jørgensen, et al, 2002,37)

For the purposes of this study, I intend to steer clear of any binary notions of power since it would most likely prevent an adequate analysis of the language from forming. Citing Miller, "... *the contention is not just that all discourse exists to control some person or group, or as a form of submissive activity.*" (Miller.1990,8) He further continues in this clarification "...*the meaning and hence the very nature of discourse -as distinct from the reasons for, or effects of, its production -is something wholly determined by relations of power. Thus that some speech act is to be understood as meaning x rather than y is a matter of what one's power position is; the speech act means one thing to the master and another to the slave.*" (Miller. 1990,7) Admittedly, I believe that I bring an understanding of the context of political parties and their institutionally sanctioned power to this study which, I submit, much more resembles that of the slave than the master. This has to do with how 'subjects' are impersonally formed and implicated in a variety of discourses as well my own relationship and response to the discourses that occupy our awareness and understanding of the so-called social and my so-called place in it. While this might be considered a bias which could conflict the objectivity of my findings, one should not deny the pragmatism of the slave's critique since it has often been shown historically to be able to effectively and critically illustrate a crisis of opportunity which may improve the functionality of our western democratic models or otherwise conclude its failure while applying the same scrutiny to the politicized ideas of the day and so the validity of this analysis should remain intact on some very meaningful level. With this in mind, the sections that follow will break down how power has been constituted over time by the Social Democrats in their discourse and strategic application of the practices of discursivity and will focus on the Head Leadership tenures of Anker Jørgensen, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen and Mette Frederiksen.

4.3 Anker Jørgenesen

Anker Jørgenesen presided as the *Socialdemokratiet* party foreman from 1972 to 1987. Within this same period, he also served as Denmark's Prime Minister in successive terms including from 1972-1973 and again from 1975-1982. In his book, "Noget af en historie", Thomas Thurah writes of Jørgensen; "*Anker Jørgensen did not appear as a strong or visionary prime minister, but with his popular and open-minded appearance, he helped maintain a broad support behind the welfare state, just as he as party foreman helped to democratize the Social Democracy itself. After declining support at three elections, in 1987 he stepped down as chairman and was then succeeded by Svend Auken*"(Thurah,2018) As a way to try and better illustrate the discursive priorities of the social democrats at a given point on the politico-historical timeline, here as well as in the subsequent sections on two succeeding party leaders, I will briefly provide some background on the socio-political phenomena coinciding with Jørgenesen's tenure, and which are likely to have dictated the 'order of discourses' circulating within the field of the political as well as how Jørgensen's (albeit the party's) attentions would be directed in respect to the production of certain discourses on a particular subject. It should be clearly stated that there is a meaningful relationship between the priority and prominence of discourses circulating within a dense field of political discourses at a given point in time and applying an empirical objectivity (i.e. determining nodal points and floating signifiers) which should thus provide the discourses with context and thus elucidate the frameworks for the eventual assignation of meaning and interpretation. For example, at the time that Jørgensen took over as Prime Minister, the presiding Labor Minister Erlin Dinesen (1910-1986) had ordered a complete stop of all non-western immigration. This had been done in response to the economic strains placed on the Danish labor market imposed by the first of two Oil Crises. Understandably, the management of this crisis period would capture the attention and priority of the Social Democratic (SD) lead parliament and Immigration through the first part of Jørgensen's tenure would not be defined by prolific production of discourses on immigration. Also during this same period, though, the country was engaged in the very early stages of an anticipated federation membership with its European neighbors which would turn out to be an important issue wherein Jørgensen would need to exhibit his ideological leadership both as party chairman and especially as Prime Minister of the small Kingdom of Denmark which, at that critical moment, would be entering into socio-economic fellowship with much larger, economically and politically more relevant European counterparts. The Aarhus University sponsored website, danmarkshistorien.dk, provides us with the following details regarding the contextual challenges facing Anker Jørgensen:

"The campaign (leading) up to the EC vote in 1972 had been built up on expectations of cheap consumer goods, but instead there had been price increases and oil shortages...Anker Jørgensen's first years as Prime Minister, however, would be characterized by great political and economic difficulties and the Social Democrats as a party were, in the years following the referendum, marked by considerable internal discord and wrangling.... In 1973, Denmark was hit by the (first) oil crisis, which further made economic policy more difficult. Anker Jørgensen's was, however, able to carry out a number of crisis settlements, but at the parliamentary elections in 1973 a widespread political dissatisfaction was expressed in the population (resulting) in the so-called landslide election, where the Social Democrats went from 70 seats in the Danish Parliament to 46..Jørgensen once again took over the Prime Minister's post after the parliamentary elections in 1975. His reign was characterized by the great economic problems of the 1970s with mass unemployment, rising foreign debt and high inflation. He carried out a number of income-policy and economic interventions, among other things. law on the payroll subsidy fund and the severance pay. However, he had growing difficulties in joining his economic policy from the trade union movement and from the bourgeois parties".(danmarkshistorien.dk)

Consequently it would be in 1982 and during the difficulty of these downturning economic and dynamically occurring global phenomena when Jørgensen, albeit the Social Democratic party, would seize the opportunity to deliver what would be their first ever comprehensive manifesto with respect to the issue of Immigration and which at the time emphasized ensuring the legitimacy of access to a full set of rights for immigrant workers in Denmark bearing the standard equivalency of the nationalized (Danish) working class ideologies of the day;

"In the work program, the Social Democrats (Socialdemokratiet) formulated for the first time an overall political proposal on immigrants' conditions in Denmark. The reason for this was, among other things, that migrant groups had been particularly hard hit by the unemployment caused by the economic crisis of the 1970s, and (also) that the Progress Party (Fremskridtspartiet, created in 1972) had begun to make immigrant-critical statements in the previous years. The work program's stated vision was to ensure equal rights and obligations for immigrants consistent with those of Danish citizens. However, in the programme's specific points, the rights aspect is dealt with most extensively. This is seen, among other things. in the goals that immigrants and especially women and children should be guaranteed...e.g. the same opportunities as other Danes with regard to education, etc. and that they should be able to maintain their own cultural and religious traditions. On the contrary, it seems compulsory to lie as an implicit claim; eg. to be part of the labor market. The work program was part of the negotiations for a new immigration law, which in 1983 became a reality and reflected many of the social-democratic wishes".(danmarkshistorien.dk)

It is this initial highlighted discourse on Immigration produced towards the end of Jørgensen's tenure that I have herein elected to institute for the purposes of my study as the departure platform from which I begin my analysis of the SD discourses around immigration and attempt to mine their strategic use of language over the broad span of time for their implications of power, identity, and agency embedded within the articulatory form of the Party Manifesto.

4.3a On Power

As an example of power discourse, the politically strategic placement of texts and slogans symbolizing the literal '*border crossing*' breadth of the international socialist worker's movement, placed together with other coercive and politically specific types of language used in the 1982 '*Invandrepolitik*', appears as unapologetic in its articulations of a very leftist form of ideological social fantasy even as it attempted (succeeded?) in appearing as (ultimately) achievable aims in the very real and very democratic sense. The insistence on the recognition of core Socialist Workers ideal which are central to the 1982 '*Invandrepolitik*', indicate how the Social Democrats have utilized the Manifesto as a discursive vehicle in which to position a notion of power. It should be noted that this has been done in this case through using a type of language which equalizes all subjects while providing an almost commensurate agency of representation.. This has been done as part of a formula for articulating power through discourse where Howarth(2010) explains;

"....in one important respect[power] consists of radical acts of institution which involve the elaboration of political frontiers and the drawing of lines inclusion and excusion. (Howarth 2010,2)"

In this 1982 *Manifesto for Work* we can see clearly that there appears an overarching social democratic intention in the articulating of context to radically re-draw the lines ,or rather re-frame the context of inclusion by focusing on expanding the fundamentality of the rights and access to the Danish welfare state afforded to immigrants living and working in Denmark. One clear indication of this is the fact that, "the work program was specifically aimed at immigrants and therefore contained text in Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, Arabic and Urdu in addition to Danish. This, to me, seems to be a clear strategic indication that the Social Democrats, in their institution of a hegemonic discourse, were willing to act radically in their attempts at expressing and normalizing a leftist ideological view of [political] domination. In doing so they have created a necessary antagonism which will allow for the discourse to be considered as a relevant piece of information. Additionally in this work manifesto, and in keeping with a Marxian socialist theoretical outlook, the Social Democrats, I assert, have placed a considerable political value on the re-constitution of social practices focused around essentializing and equalizing the role of the immigrant in the Danish society. This Manifesto, the 1982 '*Invandrepolitik*' is interesting in that it represents the Social Democrats first ever structured approach to the issue of Immigration. However, from the outset and early on in the introduction to this manifesto, Jørgensen uses language that clarify the party's ideological position;

"...In this situation, we may find that there are people who react negatively to the immigrants. The absurd thing is that this attitude has also gained ground in some political circles. For us as Social Democrats, it is imperative to fight this distrust of immigrants..... We will continue our political struggle against the forces that oppose reasonable and decent conditions for immigrants and increase our efforts to integrate and align living conditions with the rest of the Danish population. This must be done taking into account and with respect for the cultural

identity of immigrants.....The Danish labor movement will continue its struggle against any form of injustice in our society in the work of equality and freedom. It is not the Social Democracy that decides alone in Denmark. If our struggle is to succeed, it requires an even stronger work movement. You can participate in the work to make us strongerWith the work program that is available here in Urdu, Turkish, Serbo-Croatian and Arabic, we have for the first time stated, together, the position and the social responsibility that must be used as the basis for immigrants' conditions in Denmark. " (danmarkshistorien.dk)

Here in this text sample one can begin to see a form of ideological power being constituted within the text but written out as improving upon the current formulated social relations of the day which are being forged discursively by the broadening of the classic political struggle of the 'worker' which is now in this instance being articulated so as to include the 'immigrant' as a kind of socio-political 'compadre'. The Social Democrats have offered a radical departure from the status quo and rising negative public opinion regarding immigrants by instead expressing through the manifesto the social and legal possibilities for 'immigrants' working and living in Denmark being worthy of complete equivalence with the danish citizen/worker. Furthermore, I concur that these notions should be understood as being linked in discursive terms and regarding the use of similar language structured in a way that is most common to articulating the international socialist worker's movement. By insisting that the immigrant be seen this way, the Social Democrats are using their immigration discourse in a radical way as a pathway to constitute new social relations and practices by re-drawing the political frontiers of inclusion. With regards to this activity being constituted discursively as a form of power, Howarth(2010) explains;

"the drawing of political frontiers presupposes the construction of antagonistic relations between differently positioned actors through the logics of equivalence and difference." (Howarth, 6.2010). Subsequently, throughout this text, Jørgensen and the Social Democrats have quite consistently emphasized the antagonistic context of the discourse by highlighting in an almost classical way their ideological difference as it most likely relates to the politically opposed actors sharing real estate in the sphere of the political and then having done so by re-drawing the frameworks around which the 'immigrant' 'worker' and, 'worker's rights are framed and this within a context of a radical new social inclusion of this newly defined 'immigrant' Regarding this, we can to look see how

Jørgensens words abound with ideological reflection:

' For us as Social Democrats, it is imperative to fight this distrust of immigrants.....We will continue our political struggle against the forces that oppose reasonable and decent conditions for immigrants and increase our efforts to integrate and align living conditions with the rest of the Danish population. This must be done taking into account and with respect for the cultural identity of immigrants.....The Danish labor movement will continue its struggle against any form of injustice in our society in the work of equality and freedom. It is not the Social Democracy that decides alone in Denmark. If our struggle is to succeed, it requires an even stronger work movement. You can participate in the work to make us stronger."(danmarkshistorien.dk)

Jytte Andersen, a former Immigration policy tow-holder contributing to this manifesto strikes a similar chord in her own remarks;

" The social democratic immigration policy is clear. It is based on respect for the individual, the desire to create equal opportunities for all and the desire for a safe life for all citizens. It is our goal to create equality between all people in Denmark, both in terms of rights and duties....With this program we hope to help pave the way for greater understanding between immigrants and Danes, to create mutual respect and to ensure better living conditions for the people who have chosen Denmark as their new homeland"(danmarkshistorien.dk).

It's the clarity of the ideological fantasy proposed in the text that make also clear the (hegemonic) power being constituted as part of a broader discursive practice occurring at all times and which ontologically constitute a totalized sphere of the social and which shape our very realities. So....*"As Laclau and Mouffe insist, a discursive structure is not merely a cognitive or contemplative entity it is an articulatory practice which constitutes and organizes social relations"(Howarth. 2010,4)* Here again Howarth enlightens the analysis with insight *"In short, therefore I shall argue that power is an ontological feature of social practices and relations . At root, this is because all social forms are the result of political struggles and decisions" (Howarth.2010,3)* The indications of struggle and its juxtaposition to radical social change illustrate the very hegemonic nature of the discourse and set the frameworks for perpetuating a host of other associated notions such as Identity which we will review further in the following section.

4.3b On Identity.

To better understand how *'identities'* might be constituted within discourse, it might help to stop here to apply the objective analytical tools provided by Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical framework. *"Laclau and Mouffe have constructed their theory by combining two major theoretical traditions, Marxism and structuralism. Marxism provides the starting point for thinking about the social and structuralism provides a theory of meaning.*

(Jørgensen, Et.al, 25 2002) As such, the notion of *'identity'* in discourse can be understood as a fluid historically reflexive element of the discourse though adhering to a guideline for its reproduction meant to optimize interpretation and effect. Jørgensen, in his book on Discourse Theory reminds us that, *"specific articulations reproduce or challenge the existing discourses by fixing meaning in particular ways".(Jørgensen, Et.al, 25 2002)*

This context suggests that something like the notion of *'identity'* itself is very much tied to the ways in which meaning is fixed with regards to relationship of the signs being highlighted in a given discourse. Laclau and Mouffe have developed a set of empirical tools and terminologies to assist with providing an empirical framework for analyzing language (discourse) and here I mention two notions; *nodal points* and *floating signifiers* which help illustrate the objective contexts of a discourse as well as assist in locating and interpreting meaning in language used in the discourse. These concepts, I believe, are instrumental not only in assigning the interpretive meaning to discourses but which also help in determining the role and intertextual value that the *'identities'* may play in the

discourses. *"Nodal Points are the privileged signs around which discourses are organized, but these signs are empty(in meaning) in themselves. Floating signifiers are signs that different discourses struggle to invest with meaning in their own particular way".(Jørgensen 28.2010)* For the purposes of this study, I argue that the nodal point around which this discourse on immigration is centered in its interpretation is a common sense interpretation of the 'working class' or possibly 'working class struggle'. While there is little mention of the term(s) per se within the text, the language being used throughout the text can and do all link their (meaningless) discursivity to help make logical assumptive interpretations of notions such as the '*working class*' or the '*working class struggle*' as politically antagonistic themes. Staying with this idea of the working class as the nodal point of the SD discourse on immigration, I also want to herein acknowledge the floating signifiers such as '*identity*' '*self*' '*immigrant*', '*Social Democracy/Governance*', '*culture*', '*society*', '*policy*' '*equality*' '*freedom*' all themes of which in my view have been implicated in this discourse in part as a way to further illustrate the antagonisms necessary to construct an ideologically hegemonic position within the political imaginary, a primary locality and chief validating microcosm of the totalized social imaginary. Thus it is the manner and practice in which the floating signifiers become fixed in their meaningful relation to the other signs inscribed in their linguistic articulation within a particular discourse which subsequently help to generate either the re-production or the disrupted re-framing of 'identities' possessing of some historical acknowledgment. This should also be an indication of the fluid nature of identity and especially as it relates to politically motivated discourse. Howarth explains further, *"Identities in this perspective are not given primordial entities, which are reducible to real interests or structural locations in a social formation, but precarious constructions that are constituted by political practices of inclusion and exclusion.....In short social and political identities emerge are vulnerable and incomplete entities which emerge and are constituted through process of identification and investment."* (Howarth 2010 314) In one instance within this Social Democratic discourse on immigration, we can see how the 'identity' of the 'Social Democrat' is symbolized as part of what Howarth notes as the *"reproduction and sedimentation of social relations via....and through the elaboration of ideologies and fantasies."*(Howarth 2010 314)

Examples of framing the Social Democratic 'Identity':

1. *'For us as **Social Democrats**, it is imperative to fight this distrust of immigrants.*
2. *"We will continue our **political struggle** against the forces that oppose reasonable and decent conditions for immigrants and increase our efforts to integrate and align living conditions with the rest of the Danish population. This must be done taking into account and with respect for the cultural identity of immigrants"*
3. *"The **Danish labor movement** will continue its struggle against any form of injustice in our society in the work of equality and freedom..... If our struggle is to succeed, it requires an even stronger work movement."*

4. "The **social democratic** immigration policy is clear. It is based on respect for the individual, the desire to create equal opportunities for all and the desire for a safe life for all citizens. It is our goal to create equality between all people in Denmark, both in terms of rights and duties."

5. "The **Social Democrats'** immigration policy is based on respect for man and the will to create equal opportunities for all. It aims to create equality with Danish citizens in a number of important areas, both in terms of rights and duties. Immigrants are understood to be foreigners who legally settle in this country.

6. "The **Social Democrats'** immigration policy must be based on solidarity and responsibility"

7. "The **Social Democrats'** immigration policy is based on tolerance and freedom. It strives to give Danish society the cultural and human values that immigrants can bring to our culture.

In another instance we can see examples of how the 'identity', or more rather how we are encouraged to 'identify' with, the 'immigrant' which is being radically reframed as a challenge to the dominating mainstream social structures of the day...

Examples of framing the Immigrant 'Identity'

1. "...that **immigrants** are integrated and get life conditions in line with the rest of the Danish population"

2. "With this work manifesto that is available here in Urdu, Turkish, Serbo-Croatian and Arabic, we have for the first time stated, together, the position and the social responsibility that must be used as the **basis for immigrants' conditions** in Denmark"

3. "With this program we hope to help pave the way for greater understanding **between immigrants and Danes**, to create **mutual respect** and to ensure **better living conditions** for the **people who have chosen Denmark as their new homeland**.

4. "Immigrant policy must ensure that **immigrants are admitted and settled in Danish society**, just as **immigrants and Danes must mutually respect each other's cultural background**".

5. "that **immigrants** after 3 years of residence in the country **must be guaranteed the right to vote and to stand for election at municipal and county council elections**,

6. "that **immigrants are given the opportunity to maintain their cultural and religious traditions**. Grants for their cultural activities, including magazine activities must be ensured, and at the same time, efforts must be made to ensure that Danes and immigrants have the opportunity for joint cultural activities"

4.3c On Agency

With respect to a workable notion of 'Agency' and also "recognizing that language shapes individuals' thought categories, academics [linguistic anthropologists] interested in Agency examine specific speech events in order to illuminate how people think about their own and others' actions." (Ahearn, 13.1999) Thus it is entirely relevant, in

the academic sense, to look objectively at discourses in the way in which I intend in this study and to try and objectively derive the context of the 'agency' represented in the selected discourses on immigration. Now, when we look at 'agency' through this lens of the concept of 'practice theory' which provides that "*Agency is emergent in socio-cultural and linguistic practices*", (Ahearn, 13. 1999) it should be evident then to concede how discourses as well as institutionalized discursive practices play integral parts in shaping our thoughts and behaviors and in constituting various types of Agency at various times throughout our known history. In this instance, however, it appears that Jørgensen and the Social Democrats have utilized their discourses on immigration as ways to promote what would be considered by scholars as a particularly Liberal/Neo-Liberal version of agency via the displays of a radical antagonism which challenges the status-quo being inscribed within the discourse. It is this radical antagonism which then gives rise to new possibilities and new opportunities for subjects to imagine and it is there where I assert that one should be able to locate the 'agency' within the discourse. Here are some examples of a notion of 'liberal' agency in the discourse using language that challenges the status-quo and structure at that time,

1. *"We will continue our political struggle against the forces that oppose reasonable and decent conditions for immigrants and increase our efforts to integrate and align living conditions with the rest of the Danish population. This must be done taking into account and with respect for the cultural identity of immigrants"*(danmarkshistorien.dk)

2. *We know, of course, that problems exist in the relationship between Danes and immigrants. It is extremely important for us to solve these problems. Through our congressional decision, we have created a basis for political action to solve these problems.*

3. *The social democratic immigration policy is clear. It is based on respect for the individual, the desire to create equal opportunities for all and the desire for a safe life for all citizens. It is our goal to create equality between all people in Denmark, both in terms of rights and duties*

4. *With this program we hope to help pave the way for greater understanding between immigrants and Danes, to create mutual respect and to ensure better living conditions for the people who have chosen Denmark as their new homeland.*

And here I'll also mention the use of words like "struggle", "fight", "equality" and 'culture' which also lend themselves to an objective interpretation of the discourse as liberal leaning and even arguably neo-liberal. The discourse also seems to openly and wilfully reflect this sense of liberal agency that is bestowed rather than initiated as the Social Democrats are introducing a radical and totalized way of thinking about and the role of the 'immigrant' in the Danish society and within the overlapping spheres of the social.

4.4 Poul Nyrup Rasmussen

"When Svend Auken took over as chairman of the Social Democracy in 1987, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen was elected deputy chairman. He became MF in 1988 and was the chairman of the Business Committee in 1988-92. Many Social Democrats were frustrated by the long time in opposition, and despite great progress in the election in 1990, so many Poul Nyrup Rasmussen as a more realistic prime minister than the party's chairman. Against this background, at an extraordinary party congress in April 1992, he made an election for the chairman against Svend Auken and won. After the Schlüter government's resignation in January 1993, Nyrup Rasmussen formed the government together with the central parties, the Center-Democrats, the Radical Left and the Christian People's Party."(denstoredanske.dk). Rasmussen served as Prime Minister of Denmark from 1993-2001. He would later become a member of the EU parliament from from 2004-2009 and was made the party foreman for the Party of European Social Democrats(PES) from 2004-2011. "The core of Poul Nyrup Rasmussen's policy was an aggressive effort for growth and employment, a policy that he wanted to implement at the EU level in order to improve the European welfare societies. He strengthened the Prime Minister's office and went into more detail than his predecessors. Although he encountered criticism for his handling of various cases and in the early years of lack of clarity when he appeared in the media, Nyrup Rasmussen quickly emerged as the undisputed leader of government cooperation with the central parties".(denstoredanske.dk) Rasmussen's tenure may be best summarized accordingly;

"Poul Nyrup Rasmussen's government was able to show a number of positive results, with low unemployment and profits on the public accounts as the most important. On the other hand, issues such as immigration, early retirement, the welfare state's future and legal policy created serious problems for the government. These problems remained unsolved, inter alia. as a result of disagreements in the party and a management style that constantly created conflicts. At the parliamentary elections in November 2001, the Social Democratic Party had the worst election since 1973 and was reduced to the second largest party after the Liberal Party. In this reflection are the uniqueness of the historicized circumstances facing Rasmussen and the Social Democrats at that time. Even in light of any analysis, I assert that it is reasonable to consider the notion that the intertwining tension of discourses circulating in the sphere of the social and the uncertainty of the social response to those very socio-political dynamics in play at the time should definitely have an influence on the discursivity engaged in practice by the Social Democrats onto those subjects and weighing heavy with historical antagonism and further how these said discourses will ostensibly be produced to offer illusions of more opportunities more than those same discourses symbolize the limitations of a possible given social action. For this part of my analysis I have selected the 1993 published pamphlet titled 'Flytninge I Danmark' which contains Rasmussen's own ideological reflections

on the issue along with the party position reflecting the times. Where Social Democrats, under Anker Jørgensen seemingly opted to highlight the multiple translation of their Manifesto into the languages of the immigrants documented to be living in Denmark at the time, we can now see how the use of pictures and statistical information work in the same way as relevant non-discursive signifiers used in this case to assist in the articulation and normalization of the Social Democrats' ideological viewpoint. By 1992, though, it appears that there has been a shift in the nodal points and a renovation of the floating signifiers on which these discourses on immigration are being based on as compared to the discourses produced during Jørgensen's tenure and especially given the apex of a moment for immigration policy having recently occurred in the time between 1982-1983, an positively watershed era for immigration policy in Denmark and possibly unique in the world. In this period of immigration discourse production, however, the Nodal point has shifted from *civil rights* to *human rights* and the floating signifiers of *immigrant* and *citizen* have been now been replaced by *refugee* and *assistance*. And here we can begin to glean how contexts in the same/similar discourse can and do shift over time thus challenging us to move our understanding of the world according to these so-called shifts and according to the intentions of their producers and here Jørgensen is first to re-set the significance of the immigration issue through their updated discourses, "*As a humanitarian welfare society that respects human rights, we must make our contribution when people are in need*" (Jørgensen 5, *Flytninge I Danmark, 1993*) While one can still quite obviously assess the liberal ideology implicated in the discourse, this notion of the 'assistance' provided to the 'Refugee' is framed as a temporary context with the understanding and expectation that the people in need return to their homeland as would be possible to do so. This appears a departure from the earlier focus on the civil rights of immigrants living and elevating their equality of access to the welfare system to the level of Danish citizens. "It's necessary that we Social Democrats *It is necessary that we Social Democrats go into information work extensively and indicate solutions to the practical problems that exist regarding receiving refugees. At the same time, we must also work to create opportunities for refugees to return to their home country as soon as possible* (Jørgensen 5, *Flytninge I Danmark, 1993*) From this point we can look further into how the changes (if any) that may have occurred over time have influenced how notions of power, identity and agency might be reflected in the text. Thus, these changes occurring in the discourse should be seen as the reflexive response to the socio-historical events occurring at the time.

4.4a On Power

What is noticeable in this case about the language/text used in this discourse is how it does not make so much use of antagonistic posturing through language nor does it employ what Howarth notes as the 'logic of fantasy' in order to erect a hegemonic position on immigration. Instead, as compared to the 1982 Immigration Manifest

seems to simply rely on a reproduction of core Socialist ideologies as it relates to post World War II notions of efficient refugee management and given the idea that this discourse has been produced in light of violent conflicts occurring in the former Yugoslavia at the time which would send millions fleeing towards the safe harbor of European countries such as Denmark. *"As a humanistic welfare society that respects human rights, we must make our contribution when people are in need"*(Jørgenensen 1993,3) Though not completely lacking in antagonism, the discourse does seem to only allow for a modicum of its use as would be necessary to establish an 'us' and 'them' context in the discourse, *"Unfortunately, we must also recognize that some extreme groups have directed an inexplicable hatred of strangers, which not least affects the refugees whose fate is already tragic..... We, as a responsible party, cannot be a complacent witnesses"* (Jørgenensen 1993,3). In this single simple statement Jørgenensen has re-asserted the Social Democrats authority to govern here described as the 'responsible party' while at the same time briefly antagonizing this notion of the hatred of foreigners by marginalizing those types of opinions to the category of the 'extreme'. I contend that Jørgensen thus expects the audience to view the Social Democrats as morally and ethically superior in terms of their governance. Further to this, I believe it is this superiority of ideology that reflects the possibilities for constituting power and thus establishing a dominant hegemonic regime. As compared to the 1982 Immigration Manifesto, this discourse makes significantly more use of statistical and factual information in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the issue to its readers. These additions not only reflect a fluid development in discursive practices over time as well illustrate the ways in which more modern discourses might be framed but they also indicate the additional content/information political parties may need to consider in order to advance theoretical ideas into actual knowledge and moreover to maintain an intended asymmetrical power relationship with a given constituency. In this particular discourse the power manifests itself as a Hegemonic practice constituted by a Social Democratic Prime Minister (Rasmussen), along with his party attendees voted into their position as the chief managers of the varied affairs of State. Here Howarth offers us a contextual understanding of two types Hegemonic practices seen emerging from the language of power discourses, *"First, Hegemony is type of political practice that captures the making and breaking of political coalitions, Secondly, Hegemony can be seen as a form of rule that can elucidate the way in which a regime, practice or policy holds sway over a set of subjects by winning their consent or securing their compliance"*.(Howarth 2010,317) I assert that this 1992 Manifesto on Immigration is a reflection of the latter context of how an discourse is reflective of the reflexive ideations of Hegemony constituted by a social democratically led sitting government, then headed by Poul Nyrup Rasmussen. We should also now begin to acknowledge how notions of power expressed by Social Democrats, and political parties generally, in their discourses over time quite clearly express a plausible reflexivity which directly relates to the social, cultural,

political and international conditions existing at a given point on a historical timeline. The contrast of this discourse when compared to the first example starkly lies in the way the 1982 Manifesto presents a not previously introduced radical ideological fantasy in order to constitute a significant form of power within the political imaginary, while although after a decade we see a shift to an exercise in governmentality as the language and non-discursive elements of the discourse take on a more pragmatic and administrative connotations. Here Rasmussen provides an overview of the strategy for the governmental handling of refugees, primarily those fleeing the former Yugoslavia at the time and which centers around three themes; real-time information, the reception and placement of refugees and international cooperation. In this strategy Rasmussen has effectively taken ownership of a process (information distribution and access, directed the parliamentary response as to how to engage the issue and thereby limiting and dominating the actions of the members of parliament as well as having emphasized the role of international cooperation which acknowledges Rasmussen's as a spokesman for Denmark at the EU level. Following are examples of the statements used to institute certain practices and attitudes around refugee handling

"It is important that the parties in the Folketing clearly mark a common basic idea of how the tasks in connection with the practical reception of asylum seekers and the subsequent handling of refugees must be resolved.I also hope that the party's fellow members will also do their part to ensure that the debate on refugees is occurring on a factual basis This booklet should be seen as the Social Democrat's initiative to give a precise and brief information about the country's refugee policy, how many refugees we receive, what rules we work for and the international obligations we have" (Jørgensen 1993,4)

"It is in this connection that we need to find a solution so that we avoid the large asylum center. Instead, we need to find out how, we create unconventional receiving locations with a good geographical spread. We must ensure that the municipalities and the local population are involved in the process already in the preparatory phase"(Jørgensen 1993, 4)

"The third main task is international work where we from Denmark must do everything possible to secure safe refugees for the world's refugees on both the EU and the world. At the same time, at international level, we must also work to ensure that refugees can return to their home country as soon as possible"(Jørgensen 1993 5)

While the language Jørgensen uses in these statements may not seem to reflect any marked intention to dominate or control subjects, one should be able to see from the analytical perspective the instructive provocations as premeditated intentions are intended to dictate the very protocols around the handling of refugee cases which we should now understand as a different though albeit significant form of power available to political parties.

4.4b On Identity

Unlike Poul Nyrup Rasmussen's radically re-defining ideological discourse, here Jørgensen has opted for a much more pragmatic and even straightforward use of language for reasons one must consider to have both a historical and personal context. Where Rasmussen's has used language that appears to symbolize a boldness of ideological possibility, Jørgensen has renegotiated the identity of the Social Democrats in his discourse on Immigration. Instead of posturing an fantastic ideal of social-democratic ideology and thereby heralding the social democrat as the author of progressive change within the political imaginary, this discourse alternatively appears to offer up a view of the Social Democrat as more pragmatic and effective stewards of government with the ability and oversight to effectively manage affairs of state such as can be seen here in the case of refugee and immigration management. In the opening statements, Jørgensen categorizes refugee management into three simplified sub-relational contexts which he lists as 'tasks' in the manifesto explaining accordingly; *"The large refugee flows that put pressure on the Danish borders mean that we are facing three main tasks: real information, the practical reception and further placement of refugees, international cooperation"*(Jørgensen 4, 1993) Interestingly this statement, I firmly believe, works simultaneously to establish a particularly governmental/institutional form of power, plus frame the social democratic identity as well as constitutes a key political agency onto the immigration issue virtually all at once. Providing the manifesto on Immigration with an consumable area focus expresses both power and authority through defining the parameters within which the issue is viewed and then secondly outlining what steps will be taken to address the issue as stated in the discourse. Additionally, the Social Democrats have also provided other information in the manifesto that seem to intend to assert clear interpretations around certain elements like, for example, including the briefly stated ,geneva convention compliant definitions of 'refugee' and 'asylum seeker'. At the same time this inclusion identifies them mainly as subjects and not sovereign individuals in pursuit of any notion of freedom within the discourse and I question whether their mention rises to the threshold of achieving 'identity' in discourse or whether the inclusion of these 'subject' definitions exist mainly for the purposes of providing a internationally standardized identification of a subjugated cohort and then placed in the discourse as way to promote the further substantiation of an asymmetrical power relation allowing for a dominant posturing by the Social Democrats as chief representatives of 'The State'. *In this way this discourse, and when seen in a comparative light clearly expresses how ...social and political identities are vulnerable and incomplete entities which emerge and are constituted through processes of identification and investment."* (Howarth 2010, 314)

What is interesting, then about this discourse, is to note in comparison the re-negotiation of the social democratic identity by Jørgensen moving from that of an ideological vanguard of liberal Danish politics from a mere decade ago to a more pragmatic , albeit liberal steward of State affairs and possessing of a strategic oversight of the issues of the day. Additionally relevant is the tight relational context between the notions of power, identity

and agency contained within this text. Further to this, I will proceed to look at how 'Agency' might be present in this 1994 manifesto on immigration.

On Agency

The type of 'agency' located in this discourse appears explicitly and strategically divided between the role of '*the state*' and then to some extent I find there is a notion of ideological leadership or rather the ability of the '*Social Democrats*' to govern in so that way the most important agency within the discourse occurs within a tight co-relevant contextual bond. The way in which statements are worded and linked, I view, as an indication of an discourse emphasizing in part a reproduction of Social Democratic values which can be considered the historically binding elements of the discourse and so delivering on an tacit reproductive form of agency on the one hand but one which has also been produced in order to structuralize 'praxis' or practice into the institution of Government and further into the Danish society related to the issue of refugees, in this case those fleeing from violence in the territories of the former Yugoslavia. I have found that the reproductive aspects of the discourse rely on words and statements which ideologize well established and often expressed Social Democratic principles while at the same time establishing a basic administrative framework to address the gradual increase in immigration to Denmark.

Here I list some examples of Jørgensen's statements reflecting both reproduction and structuralization;

"As a humanistic welfare society that respects Human Rights, we must make our contribution when our fellow man is in need" (Jørgensen 1993)

"We set requirements and conditions for the refugees who come to Denmark, but in return we must be open and tolerant to them. It does not exist second-rate people in the Social Democrats world. We believe all people are equal - It also applies to refugee" (Jørgensen 1993)

Notably, these two examples comprise both the opening and closing statements of Jørgensen's opening remarks to the manifesto and it is these statements which I believe more than any other inform some part of the context in which the rest of the content of the manifesto should be viewed and inevitably which inform a vital aspect of the 'agency' implied within the discourse. Here in my view, I believe that Jørgensen has included these statements in order to insure the ideological integrity of the party by referencing notions of 'equality', 'human rights' and the 'welfare state' as a way to frame an otherwise administratively concerned and institutionalized process as a somehow revived Social Democratic action draped now in their ideological humaneness. While the agency of 'party' is implicated in this discourse in a rather subdued fashion, its inclusion does, however accompany another agentive notion which we know as 'the state'. In this instance Jørgensen and his party are stewarding the states' handling a refugee crisis and as such a proxy of national government power and aligning this authority together with the honoring the Refugee Convention and the pertinent UN/EU member burden share

compels the agency to manifest in a strategically linked and beneficial manner. Alternatively, Jøregenesen relies on definitions, facts and figures in his discursive production in order to constitute an agentive notion of 'the state' signaling a shift from a decade ago in the tone of discourses on immigration from one built up on ideological fantasy into a much more pragmatic ideation. It is this chain of linked elements which has been strewn into the discourse which I view as a sort of totalized modality for the posturing of the agency of 'state' agency. Here I list and briefly explain the sections follows below :

1. **What is a Refugee?** – *A reference to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention definition of a refugee*
2. **Poverty**- *Financial duress is not an automatic pre qualification for refugee status and protection though poor countries are at greater risk of producing unstable 'refugee generating' conditions calling for a response to their need.*
3. **What is an Asylum Seeker?** - *A clarification whose residency and status is ultimately based on an qualified juridical approval by the State on a case by case basis*
4. **How Many?** – *Statistical overview of the number of asylum seekers to Denmark since 1983
Overview of the number of refugees from the former Yugoslavia placed in other European countries complying to UNCHR mandates for emergency placement*
5. **Refugee Camps** – *Number of UN Reported IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) placed in camps
-Danish camps built in Bosnia and Hercegovina
-Cost justification based provided by way of comparison of the weekly EU Farm Subsidy cost equaling the yearly UN budgeting for refugee management.*
6. **The L 41 Temporary Residency Law** – *Explaining the temporary (Visa) provisions put in place to process refugees from unaffected regions of the former Yugoslavia not directly impacted by the conflict plus extending a provision of asylum to a number of prisoners of war from Bosnia and Hercegovina. The provision included 6 month provision period with possibilities for extension up to 2 years. Uncertain of the resolution of cases according to the standardized administrative processes due to unrest and instability.*
7. **Some are sent back** – *Clarifying the "manifestly unfounded claim" procedure for handling applicants not reaching the UN Convention threshold defining 'refugee' status*
8. **Case processing times are too long** – *Resolving to shorten asylum processing periods with an emphasis on lowering expectations of long term residency and expelling rejected applicants*
9. **Criminality** – *Here explaining that small or minor crimes can not cancel one's asylum status as they have the right to due process under the rule of law consistent with Danish citizens. Moreover refugees can be sent back into circumstances. It should be made clear however that the majority of foreigners stand against criminality in the equal context as Danish citizens decry it.*

10. **Ghettos** -Here resolving to undo the 'ghettoization' of foreigners by distributing immigrants more evenly into those counties that have statistically fewer immigrants than the statistical average shows. Danish Refugee Help will take charge of securing housing in these counties. Ghettoization perpetuate risks to Danish society by condensing foreign cultural norms and isolating rather than integrating foreigners into society which should be the ultimate aim. Their cultural identities should remain in tact.

11. **Racism** - Offers a reference to Jewish persecution during WWII as a form of racism which is to be avoided along with any other tendencies toward hatred of foreigners or any practice of xenophobia or harassment of people of color.

It's the (seemingly) selective addition of these brief and concisely worded sections viewed in their totality as well as the way in which they have been linked which I assert constitute an ideologically motivated agency of the 'state' which in this instance is manifested as an introduction of reformed 'praxis' or practice which Rasmussen and the Social Democrats intend to become a structuralized reality. This type of agency is one that in a broader sense is generative of a necessary 'governmentality' around the issue of immigration and goes to cementing the power relations between the Social Democrats and the Danish polity. This discourse, for these and other reasons, then, stands in stark contrast to vaulted agency of 'ideology' and 'worker rights' produced just one decade ago under Anker Jørgensen's tenure. To close out the analysis, in the following section I will look more closely at the most recent version of the party's manifesto on Immigration having been produced during the tenure of Mette Frederiksen.

4.5 Mette Frederiksen

Mette Frederiksen has been the party chairperson since 2015 after succeeding Helle Thorning Schmidt who was Denmark's first female prime minister in addition to having been the first woman to chair the Social Democratic party in the small Scandinavian kingdom. Under Thorning Schmidt, though, Frederiksen served as Minister of Employment from 2011 to 2014 and then as Minister of Justice from 2014 to 2015. Her current hard-line views on immigration and its relationship to the stability (or lack thereof) of more effective programming around social integration are well documented and can be argued that they now consequentially reflect the ideals of their political opposition in some ways. My research has not found that this notion is out of bounds though I would categorize her opinions merely symbolic of the necessary and even typical reflexivity politicians might want to possess relating to one's given response to the political dynamics occurring within the socio-political matrix at a given point in linear time and more subsequently over the span of time. At the beginning of the decade, for example, Frederiksen would be quoted saying the following as it relates to the issue of immigration or its other subvariant themes;

"BT, November 2001: Mette Frederiksen warns against the Social Democrats throwing themselves into the tightening race: "Every time we step a step to the right, there are others who take two. We cannot win the battle."

"Politiken, February 2002: After the election, Mette Frederiksen again delivered a party to the party leadership. "We might as well be honest. We in the Social Democratic Party have borne the national lie that the number of immigrants was the big problem rather than focusing on integration"

In 2003 Frederiksen would go on record to clarify her position after learning about a cooperation pact forged with their political rivals, The Danish People's Party, whose anti-immigrant/nationalist stance has continued to create a good deal of competitive political and ideological fervor among all parties in the sphere. Here, though, Frederiksen appears open to some paths toward cooperation with DF on certain unspecified issues ;

"Berlingske, September 2003: Mette Frederiksen learned that the Social Democrats agreed to a foreign policy settlement with the Danish People's Party and the VK government. "My personal attitude is that I only co-operate with the Danish People's Party only. This can be done on very specific practical political points, where they are part of the majority. It's about parliamentary reality. "

Jumping ahead to 2016, we find Frederiksen would go on record and offer arguably an radically challenging position around the immigration issue highlighting the party's willingness adopt harsher measures for the processing of Asylum.

"Rizau, January 2016: Mette Frederiksen, agrees with the proposal from the party's group chairman, Henrik Sass Larsen, that refugees must stay in camps in their neighboring areas and seek asylum from there instead of traveling to Denmark and seeking asylum: "It is entirely clear, we need to find some more sustainable solutions to the refugee situation. We need more assistance to the neighboring areas, so the refugee camps get a better quality. If we are to help more refugees and also the pregnant, elderly, disabled people who cannot escape the Mediterranean, then we must go that way. "

In that same year, the Social Democrats would produce an updated manifesto on Immigration entitled Fair and Realistic: An Immigration Policy that Unites Denmark. One thing that was immediately notable was how much more comprehensive it was and that it appears to have been formatted much like a magazine and relies on a host non-discursive elements namely pictures and statistical graphs and figures Where the 1982 manifesto was published in black and white and then translated into the languages of foreigners migrating to and living in Denmark and where the 1993 manifesto was just 7 pages comprised of largely abbreviated factual and statistical statements, this iteration of what I imagine is symbolic of the modern manifesto goes significantly further to catch the attention of the Danish polity. Resembling a magazine layout, the layered discourse is a collection of text, pictures, figures and diagrams and attention grabbing headline text used to introduce the sections of the discourse. This could be due to a number of reasons though I would cite the developments of our media driven ages of information which have precipitated gradual though marked changes in the expanding palette of discursive practices of political parties

which I believe have introduced a much more comprehensive media-savvy approaches to the produce. Indeed, one can quite easily acknowledge a synergy between the media and political spheres for better or worse and this has resulted in more polished presentations of discourse which now rely heavily on non-discursive symbols to elevate and even elongate the appeal of produced discourses as they now are moved through various mediums while thus attempting to achieve a material relevance in a densely populated and competitive continuum of unceasing information. There is also the factor of the waning political standing of the Social Democrats occurring gradually where they have steadily lost seats in parliament since from a time where they once had celebrated the ideological triumphs of the modern welfare state though also while the influence of their primary opposition, The Danish People's party would continue to grow since they'd come onto the political scene. The Danish Peoples Party have been continued to maintain an nationalist/anti-immigrant position and today are arguably the most relevant party in the political sphere. As we introduce the final discourse, it is sensible for one to consider if Mette Frederiksen and the party brain trust are intent on reclaiming a coveted power relationship with the polity with whom the Danish People's Party have been enjoying a protected nationalist affair and now are looking to radically reframe stale liberal ideals. Notable are how external global and domestic narratives around which this discourse has been produced and how this compels the discourse in very certain ways. The nodal point in this manifesto, I believe seems to be an entrenched notion of 'state sovereignty' which then aggressively attaches to a variety of floating signifiers such as the '1951 UN Refugee Convention'. 'humanitarian aid' and 'externalization of borders' plus also 'non western migration'. While remarkable, it is questionable though whether the reflexivity reflected in this discourse is actually of any benefit to the democratic experiment or not. Needless to say, discourses which so obviously are replete with intention and indications of a power play should be a compelling to analyze. I will look to do just that in the following sections;

4.5a On Power

As a discourse illustrative of power we have yet another shift in what form of power is manifest in the manifesto and in this instance, unlike the preceding, texts this power has now been reformed into a type more resembling a *biopolitical* relation where impositions of State authority over subjects' bodies become a central focus of the narrative accompanying the stated contingency of action within the manifesto. Here I cite Michel Foucault;

"Biopolitics deals with the population, with the population as a political problem, as a problem that is at once scientific and political, as a biological problem and as power's problem." (M. Foucault 1976:245) Here you have Frederiksen framing the immigration challenges as threatening the Danish population while attempting to hold true to leftist ideals through a stronger focus on integration and a stricter management of those projects. To open the manifesto, Frederiksen builds the ideation of radical reform starting with a section entitled "Numbers Mean

Something". Here Frederiksen exploits numerical realities of the immigration crisis in Europe as a way to illustrate socially/economically de-stabilizing threat to the welfare state while also including text to illustrate typical ideological tomes as a countering weight to the discourse and more likely as a way to distinguish a position otherwise known to belong to their political opposition. *"For just as much truth it is that we cannot help everyone here in Europe and Denmark. Just as great a truth is that human beings on the run must be helped"* (Frederiksen 6,2016). However and by comparison though, this train of thought stands out uniquely as a position that relies less on its expressions of core socialist ideals embodying *liberte, egalite, fraternite*, and instead focused on the enactment of biopolitical authority over the liminal bodies of non-western refugees fleeing all manner of urgent circumstances. *"The number has a meaning. Denmark must have the control again. We will introduce a ceiling on how many new ones non-western foreigners who can come to Denmark in a year....That they learn the language, get a job and acquire our basics....' And we have suggestions on how we can actually enforce such a ceiling while adhering to international conventions. We want to change ours asylum system and i.a. create a receiving center outside Europe. In the future, it will only be possible to obtain asylum Denmark as quota refugee through the UN."* (Frederiksen,2016, 6). Clearly, Frederiksen has shifted the focus in immigration policy orientation to one of strictly controlling the number of refugees entering Denmark allowing for the introduction of new technologies of power while reframing the liberal paradigm here as it embellishes on notions of 'other' as a socio-economic threat and thus subverting notions of 'brother' and part of a connected global community. Pointedly, one should also acknowledge the important contextualizations which have been omitted which in this instance are any commonly held notions respective of the human rights of those refugees confronting their lives as they unfold in the most vulnerable and most liminal of all human circumstances. This form of power or more specifically biopower has been categorized by scholars as strategies for dominance which are constituted out of a promotion of liberalist ideologies which as Foucault explains; *"must produce freedom, but this very act entails the establishment of limitations, controls, forms of coercion, and obligations relying on threats."* (Foucault 63–4 2008) In his critique of Michel Foucault's book *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Terry Flew has pointed to how Foucault theorized liberalist biopolitical discourse as an interplay of tension between notions of freedom and limitation; *"(1)The perception of exposure to danger, whether it be of exposure to crime, disease, sexual deviancy, loss of savings or unemployment, becomes an 'internal psychological and cultural correlative of liberalism', even if the extent of actual exposure to dangers such as plague, death, war etc. are in fact declining' (2)There is a considerable extension of the range of procedures of control, coercion and constraint (disciplinary technologies) as a counterweight to the greater focus upon the freedoms of the individual;(Flew.2013 232)* As we can see and as compared to the lofty notions of human equality being constituted through the extension of a full set of civil rights

for migrants where we see Jorgensen relying on the power of Socialist ideology and an exploitation of the contingent antagonism surrounding the immigration issue, Frederiksen offers a post structuralist framework largely comprised of biopolitical technologies of domination and upheld through post-modern techniques of governmentality. Specifically, though, it is a notion of Sovereignty which provides for the contextualized understanding of this revised discourse.

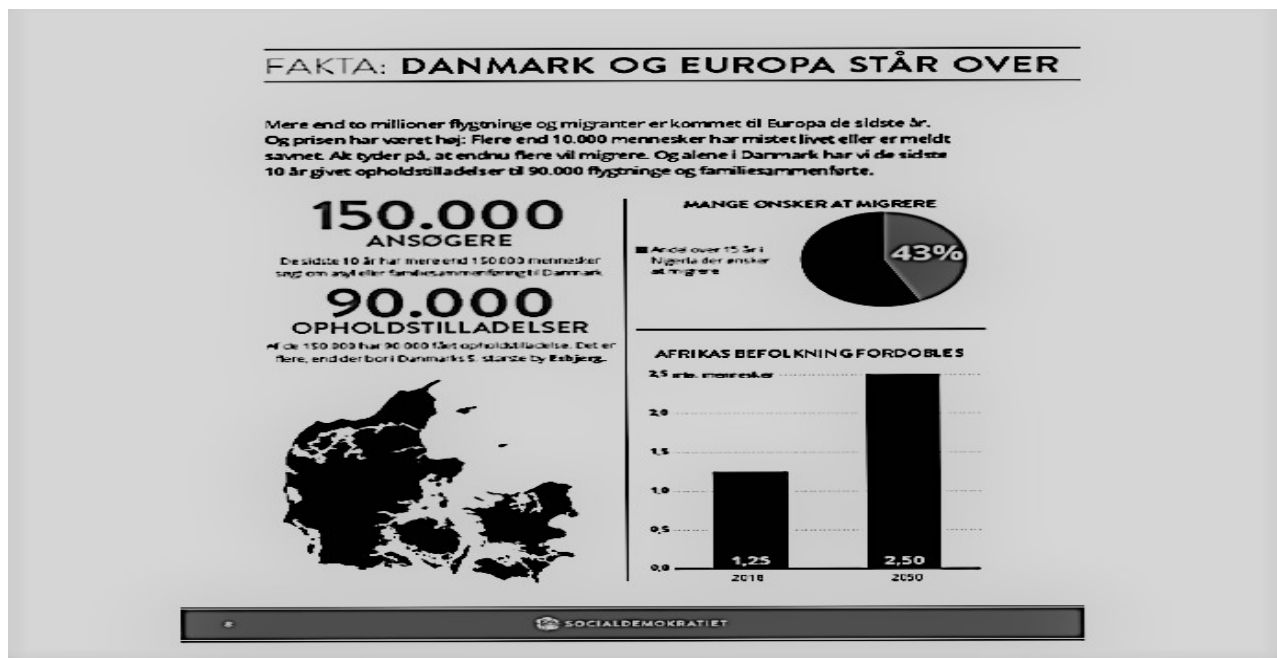
4.5 b On Identity

Most certainly as a consequence of the biopolitical framework inscribed in this discourse, notions of Identity as well as Identification, I believe, are expressed in clearly. Here we have the identity of the 'State' shifting away from an institutional ideation to one more reflexive National collectivity or rather the Nation-State. Frederiksen sets the tone for this notion of the preservation of the Nation-State writing "*Throughout history we have disagreed - also about the big questions. But Denmark is best when we enter compromises and take the big leaps forward together.....The same is needed when it comes to the immigration issue. That we lift ourselves over the daily discussions. Think in the long term while thinking more about what is both fair and realistic than what is in the parties short-term interest. Simply said, an immigration policy that unites Denmark*(Frederiksen 5, 2016).

Subsequently, this statement seems indicative of the Social Democrats' change in position and seems to somehow signal the establishment of a radical political coalition with their opposition, the Danish Peoples' Party. This, to me show how the highlighting of the Nation-State in discourse should be seen as a method in which to frame an unlikely or unprecedented political cooperation as well as appears to be an effective framework for the placement of biopolitical techniques of domination. And this in my view has largely to do with the degree of complicity of ideals occurring among influential political actors within the Danish Welfare State. For what has been commonly associated positions of the Danish People's party we can now find espoused by Frederiksen and a visibly post-modern, post-structuralist Social Democratic party. "Too many (foreigners) have come into Denmark without becoming a part of Denmark. This places a strain on cohesion". And in what is titled "The New Freedom Struggle" Frederiksen responds with proposal of stricter requirements for the integration of non-western foreigners living in Denmark;

"It requires a showdown against the standards that exist in some parts of Denmark. It requires First of all, more people to become a part of the Danish society. Where we share the same basic values of life and living. And where we meet in residential areas and schools. A 10-year plan must ensure that no residential areas, schools or educational institutions in the future are composed of more than 30 per cent non-western immigrants and descendants. And more [foreigners] must contribute to the Danish society. We will therefore introduce a duty to contribute for 37 hours a week for all immigrants receiving either integration assistance or social welfare

benefits". (Frederiksem 7,2016) And so, if we view the constitution of the 'nation-State' co-relatively as a constitution of a fundamentally assumed notion of 'us', we can then turn our focus to the ideation which, in this discourse, is constitutive of a notion of 'Them'. which in this instance I have identified as the 'non-western immigrant'. And this identification Frederiksen has proceeded to economically, spatially and conditionally regionalize through the combined use of graphics and statistical figures along with text which compellingly situates the identification of the so called 'non-western' immigrant and also as the origin point of the precipitating crisis as being specifically from Africa. Here Frederiksen has provided a variety of statistical figures and graphic slides symbolizing Africa in various challenging migration contexts to support a narrative focus on Africa as an origin of crises and moreover as a site for the implementation of biopolitical technologies. I've included two appendices to provide examples of Frederiksen's use of non-discursive signs and symbols along with text as a way to identify the non-western immigrant as well as locate the origin of crises.



Here we see bold outsized numbers put along with pie and bar graphics which Frederiksen has used to frame the contingency of action. You can also see placed below the number a graphic of Denmark which when put together with the other symbols as well as the text begin to frame the contingent nature of the asylum/immigration issue and this sets up the proposal for a justified and sovereign control of the situation. Frederiksen seems to have relied quite a bit more on the use of non-discursive elements to make her case as we can now see indicated in the following example:

FOR EN VARIG UDFORDRING



In this above appendix we can once again see the use of oversized numbers to illustrate the number of drowned persons while traveling a migratory route which is superimposed over the European countries and sitting above a display of the African continent which contains arrows placed along areas which are known origin generators as they seem to push up and point toward Europe. Again, this has been included as part of this manifesto as part of the Social Democratic argument for a stricter brand of liberal politics. While I do not find these suggestions to resemble the positions of the political rivals, I do still question the legitimacy of this shift and the potential consequence this suggests to the body politic. The starkness of identity and identification on display here, the black and whiteness of it if you will, it should be reminded has been expressed with little consideration of the preservation of notions and of contexts human rights or universal freedom and so this is an illustration that these notions we are looking for within discourse have to do not only with language but with non-discursive symbols as well and that acts of omission can also be used to frame the contexts of discourse as we no have seen,

4.5 c On Agency

As a reflection on the times, I am certain that this discourse will mark a significant point (a zenith?) in regards to the radical nature of postt-modern political thought and opinion. I say this in part to illustrate the shifts in agency that can be seen happening in the discourse over time and how it makes clear how far the Social Democrats have

traveled ideologically since the storied eras of the Danish Welfare State which their party architected and orchestrated. Where Social Democrats seemed once upon a time to be sure to balance the voices of agency represented in their discourse, I cite the new proposals for domination as a subjugating factor and thereby reducing or even completely eliminating possibilities for certain agency to spring forth. Again I would attribute this to a strategic omission of ideation as discourse is subject to strategic proposal. So. In this case Frederiksen has seemed to restrict the agency to fewer categories than her predecessor may have which reforms the discourse in a very post-modern and post-structuralist perspective. Considering she uses the word Denmark instead of words like nation, country or people, I believe reflect on Frederiksen's intention to write in a particular form of agency. Thus, one should be able to acknowledge the agency of 'Sovereignty' as the one of the primary agencies on display as we can see her below;

"Denmark must be able to decide for itself how many non-Western foreigners we want to accept. We can't do that today. Social Democracy will change this by introducing an annual ceiling. And we will set up a reception center outside Europe. This must be done within the framework of the international conventions. In a way that at the same time creates a fairer and more humane asylum system. It must no longer be possible to apply for spontaneous asylum in Denmark. In return, Denmark must accept quota refugees" (Frederiksen 2016).

Beyond this, though not by much, I would ascribe a pronounced agency of governmentality as Frederiksen lays out the suite of restrictive reform proposals which cross a number of signifiers to illustrate a comprehensiveness of application which then work to justify the ensuing program of domination through biopolitics;

- *"Denmark must have the control again. We will introduce a ceiling on how many new non-western foreigners can come to Denmark in a year."*
- *"The possibility of obtaining a stay in Denmark by spontaneously seeking asylum on Danish soil is removed. Instead, spontaneous asylum seekers will in future be sent to a reception center where they will also have their case dealt with"*
- *"That there are strict requirements for family reunification to Denmark, especially for incoming spouses. For example, there must be strict requirements are imposed on language, education, employment and some prior knowledge of Denmark. And it must be an obligation that, as a moving spouse, you work and contribute to the community in Denmark."*
- *"A "repatriation reform" that can ensure that several rejected asylum seekers are sent home. Such a reform must imply: a) being created"*

- *a new special unit in the police with special competences within repatriation of rejected asylum seekers, b) put in with massive advice on return travel already on entry and asylum application, c) the possibility of financially supporting voluntary return before introducing final refusal of asylum.*
- *"Danish border control must be maintained as long as there is no control over the EU's external borders. At the same time, the Social Democracy will work for a reform of the Schengen cooperation. So the starting point is that it is the individual countries who can decide when and how long they want to control their own borders".*
- *"The principle that you as a newcomer to Denmark must first contribute before you can fully benefit from the Danish welfare services is reasonable when it comes to cash benefits. The free and equal access to welfare solutions such as doctor visits, schooling and elderly care must be maintained"*
- *"We expect all foreigners in Denmark to contribute. This also applies to refugees on temporary residence. It does not change the fact that refugees who are here temporarily have to return home when conditions in their home countries allow".*

And so the agitative contexts in the discourse as I view them have been resigned and reduced and the discourse seems to quite clearly reflect changes in course of liberal ideological pathos over time. It is an arguable point to consider whether these changes will be an effective step for the Social Democrats, an effective development of the social welfare model, or a harm to the preservation of ideas about our existence permeating at the meta level above the political

V Conclusion

In this thesis we have taken a closer look at the immigration discourses produced and distributed by the Social Democrats over time. Here, I've highlighted three examples of their discourses being compiled as manifestos, each represented by the respective party chairperson in position at the time and used here as a method of timestamping the discourse and a way to more meaningfully historicize their production. I have tried to show how through their immigration discourses just how it is that the Social Democrats respond to a contingent antagonistic moment which invite the exercise of Hegemony. I cite Ernesto Laclau here as he explains; *"Discourse is a kind of link between social elements where each of the elements, considered in isolation is not necessarily linked to the other...Therefore linking them involves some kind of intervention. This intervention is exactly what we call 'Hegemony'"* (Hansen, et.al 2014, 256-7) As it relates to the essence of the ideations I've found in the examples of discourse used here, I now acknowledge how it is that Social Democrats have positioned their immigration discourses and again Laclau informs us how *"Hegemony transforms the discursive moment of intervention into a primary one"*. (Hansen 2014, 257) This notion appeared most evidently in the Jørgensen manifesto and the introduction of unprecedented provision for immigrant workers and thus ushering in a documented golden era of the liberal socialism of the west. This can also be seen in Mette Frederiksen's post modern/neoliberal approach which

assertively essentially acknowledges the political challenges circling the immigration issue in our contemporary reality, though not with purely factual data, and attempts to unfasten some of the socialist ideology from ineffective historically oriented columns which in this case have resulted in a downturn of popularity since their ideological 'hay days'. This perspective of neo-liberalism, as Wendt(1992) explains, "*offers a fundamentally behavioral conception of both processes and institutions: they change behaviour but not identities and interests*" and "*this leaves us with an assumption about the agency neo-liberal discourse: states are the dominant actors in the global system and security is defined in terms of self interest*"(Das 2009, 267) Frederiksen appears clearly guided by post-liberal notions of the State as she introduces the employment of biopolitical technologies of power while justifying this as a mandatory practice required in order to preserve the economic and social security of the Sovereign. It is important however to be willing to question the motivation of the party even if the political justifications seem to somehow fit a predictable model, "*It is obvious of course the politics of immigration in liberal democracies fluctuates, that its salience ebbs and flows, and that it exhibits a tendency to go through predictable cycles, At times then the normally placid politics of immigration is transformed into a more tensely contested inter-state politics, or rarely into critical majoritarian politics*" (Freeman 1995, 866) In this thesis you find analytical reflections that illustrate this prioritization in each of the selected examples and that concluding that there does not exist a single model or central model for positioning of immigration policy. I do note, however how the volatility of the issue currently on display throughout most of Europe including here in Denmark creates its own set of challenges socially and, moreover, in the interim there exists a woeful lack of focus on the sister issue of integration resembling the attention we might generally give chopped down tree. Something of an unfortunate, though not tragic, reality. Though, over time, it is evident that the Social Democrats have attempted at least in their discourse to promote some notion of human equality over the course of time, it could only be said of Jørgensen that he offered the boldest ideas with regards to the theme. His manifesto could just have easily been titled 'I put my money where my mouth is'...and out of the mouth, of course, flows the discourse. And while I find that the Social Democrats have undertaken their discursive practices in a manner which can and have already been well documented and codified, I find it also highly relevant that continued and qualified analytical activity remains socially vibrant and in the current political dynamic that it stays a social and academic imperative since we understand "*the dynamics of immigration foster misperceptions about their characteristics and consequences that amount to a systemic tendency toward temporal illusion* and I likewise tend to agree that "*the effects of migration tend to be lagged, the short term benefits oversold and long term cost denied and then hidden to show up on the outyears [of a sitting administration]*" (Freeman 1995, 883) Understanding this, then, I would summarize the changing notions of power, identity and agency in the discourses over time as consistent with the academic

contemplations already put forward. And while it is my qualified hope as one living through a period in the ever expansive arc of time that we strike a harmonic balance between the response to immigration and the consideration of projects encouraging integration, I do worry that the Social Democratic proposition will be relegated to an exercise in Hegemony as a result of having reduced an affordable agency for immigrants and instead having created liminal identities for the purposes of control. This, I believe, as Feeman points out, will result in very little ideological agency which could ultimately improve social relations and opportunities and thus commensurately benefit all people living in the

Danish welfare state today.

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