



AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

Master's Thesis

Inclusion and equitability in the support for non-western women to access the Danish Labour Market

Liliana Haydeé Núñez-Andersen

**Master of Social Science (MSc), European Studies
and Latin American Studies**

Department of International Affairs

Aalborg University Denmark



Title:

“How can the support for non-western women to enter Danish labour market can be more inclusive and equitable?”

Semester: 4th Semester

Semester theme: Master's Thesis.

Project period: March 2022 to June 2022.

ECTS: 30 ECTS.

Supervisor: Lise Rolandsen Agustín.

Hand in: Digital.

Author: Liliana Haydeé Núñez-Andersen.

“Please help others rise. Greatness comes not from a position, but from helping build the future. We have an obligation to pull others up”.

(Indra Nooyi)

ABSTRACT

The labour market inclusion of Non-Western women in the EU has historically been a relevant topic, especially in recent decades after consecutive waves of immigration from countries outside the bloc. This master's thesis will set the focus on Non-Western women's labour inclusion in Denmark, a country with relatively new experience in integration of non-western communities, especially in comparison to other EU countries.

Statistics show that there is a marked gap between ethnic Danish women and Non-Western women regarding their participation in the labour market. Numerous strategies have been deployed to narrow this gap, which have partially helped in some areas but have not had the desired impact overall, generally under the premise of non-western women lacking skills, both linguistic and professional, and that they might also be limited by cultural or religious boundaries, which are likely conducive to their inadequate insertion to the labour market. However, when we look deeper into the non-Western community, the ethnical and cultural diversity within this group is clearly palpable, yet politically overlooked. A good example of this is the Latin American sub-minority among non-Western women in Denmark. Data gathered during a previous research project on Latin American Reunified spouses revealed 100% of the interviewed women, are multilingual and with education ranging from a bachelors' degree and higher, and still found their inclusion to the labour market full of obstacles that made it virtually impossible for them to access a job at a similar level as the one they held in their home countries. They also felt they just were not given a fair chance to use their transferable skills on jobs that were not the common ones offered to foreigners such as cleaning or warehouse work. Through the experiences they shared, the barriers to their access and insertion to the labour market are clearly related to the lack of support from their municipalities, the lack of recognition of their previous skills and qualifications and the restrictive nature of the family reunification process under Danish laws, that imposes unfair restrictions to women, such as an extended processing time under which women are not allowed to neither work nor study.

Considering the barriers exposed above, the main problems on which this thesis is intended to focus is sharing this information with relevant actors, such as a Social Democratic party political advisor within the Ministry of Immigration and Integration in Denmark, as well as researchers and specialists in different relevant disciplines, in the spirit of finding whether the diversity among non-Western women is reflected in a differentiated support linked to their labour market

access, and in what ways the system could be more inclusive and equitable to help alleviate the barriers that hinder their participation in the Danish Labour market.

The theoretical framework underpinning this study is generous, linked to the Human, Social and Cultural Capital these women bring to Denmark, how the social construct of non-Western influences they way they are perceived socially. The Dual Segmented Market Theory will inform the analysis of reasons why these women are pushed towards the lower segments and why upward mobility seems to be virtually impossible to them. The Positioning theory will also aid the analysis of how they are viewed in terms of Labour Market inclusion, and how strong certain barriers such as proficiency in Danish as a gateway to labour market access can result in Decapitalisation,

The study concludes by answering the main research question by confirming that the support system for Non-Western women in Denmark is not inclusive of all sub-minorities, and the need for a different approach is needed, in order to truly attend to the wide diversity within the non-Western women community, especially those like the Latin American Reunified Spouses who need a different approach. Some alternatives to the current system will be offered by the interviewed participants and further recommendations will be drawn from the overall analysis of the issue.

Keywords: Labour Market Inclusion – non-Western women – Latin American Reunified Spouses – barriers – inclusion – equitability-

INDEX

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Abstract..... | 3 |
| 1. Introduction Chapter | 6 |
| 2. Background section..... | 9 |
| 3. Literature Review | 18 |
| 3. Methodology Chapter | 27 |
| 3. Theory Chapter | 43 |
| 4. Analysis Chapter | 59 |
| 5. Conclusion and recommendations | 75 |
| 6. Bibliography | 77 |

1. INTRODUCTION CHAPTER

1.1 Motivation

The globalized world in which we live might still keep geographical boundaries, yet the evolution in connectivity and access to opportunities of all kinds have made possible to view the world from a more universal perspective. Just some decades ago, it would still be difficult to communicate in real time with people from another country, or to stay on top of what takes place in a different region. One of the most significant pieces of evidence of this evolution is represented by the phenomenon of immigration.

Immigration by definition means “*the act of someone coming to live in a different country*” (Cambridge Dictionary 2022). These eleven words are deep vessels to the meaning they carry. My motivation is led by discovering the different dimensions to this definition and the social implications of being a migrant with aspirations and ambition in a different society. Unveiling the ‘someone’ or migrant, and for the purpose of this study, non-western migrant women, specifically Latin American ones, who they are, what these aspirations and ambitions are for these women, what goals do they have, etc. Then focusing on ‘the act’ of migrating and the myriad of different sub-acts implied. This ‘act’ often compresses a long thought process, both retrospective and prospective. The women in this study are reunified spouses, who have decided to move to Denmark to start a life and a family with a Danish citizen and have made the conscious decision to ‘coming to live in a different country’, aware and willing to leave their native social ecosystem and be metaphorically transplanted to a very different environment. Many of them -as the ones I have interviewed for this study- come with hopes and wishes to live a fruitful life with their spouses, but also with a strong desire to resuming and/or furthering the careers they forged in their home countries, to become active members of the society and the labour market. They bring a wide range of specialized skills and solid work experience to the table, and often they meet obstacles that hinder their access and adequate insertion to the Danish labour market. This particular problematic was addressed in a previous research project that focused on finding out what there the barriers that hindered their labour market inclusion in Denmark and it yielded insightful outcomes, from both the Latin American reunified spouses’ perspective, as well as interviewed representatives from the Integration Department at several municipalities in Denmark.

Having listened to these women's testimonies and how clear the common barriers they had identified are, my main motivation to further the study in this topic is to push the research to the next level and explore the support these women receive in order to tackle these barriers. This focus will also lead to analyse the diversity within the non-western women in Denmark, who represent over 180 countries in the world, and if the current policy body and specific initiatives reflect this diversity by offering differentiated support or not. Secondly, to reach out to key stakeholders in order to open a space of discussion regarding Latin American women in Denmark, their willingness to contribute to the society and the Welfare State by becoming active participants in the labour market, and also to elicit their perspective on the issue presented, in order to acquire a more nuanced understanding of how inclusive and equitable the Danish Integration system is regarding Latin American reunified spouses' labour market inclusion.

1.b Problem formulation

The labour market inclusion of non-western women has gained relevance in the last decades, and especially in recent years in Denmark. This is relevant to the target group in this study since Latin American women are a sub-minority within the Non-western women who are, as explained before, a highly diverse community, however in their majority from MENAPT (Middle East, North Africa, Pakistan and Turkey), for which reason most government efforts are focused on these group of women, however generalized as non-western. This study aims at investigating into the equitability of support for non-western women, in order to find out how the integration system could be more supportive to different sub-groups, especially regarding the particular labour market needs of some sub-minorities among non-western women. It is also desirable to find out in what ways this support given could be more inclusive of the diversity among non-western women and how it could become more equitable, in order to give the right and needed support to different sub-minorities.

The Latin American reunified spouses are a good sample of the diversity among non-western women, and how different the approach to boost their labour market participation should be, given the particular characteristics of the group. Stating this difference could potentially be of generalization use considering other ethnical sub-minorities within the non-western community that might share similar characteristics as the sample population of women in this study.

1.c Research question and sub-questions

The research question at which this thesis project aims is :

“How can the support for non-western women to access the labour market in Denmark be more inclusive and equitable?”

Having this main question leading the project, other sub-questions also emerge, and they are:

1. What is the social construction of the non-western woman in Denmark, considering the high diversity among them?
2. Why do some sub-groups receive differentiated support to access the labour market and to integrate in general? What are the benchmarks/ grounds of this specific support?
3. What is the biggest paradigm change needed to inspire the necessary actions to aim at a more equitable among non-western women, especially in the case of Latin American reunified spouses?

In order to understand this subject matter of this study in its full dimension, it is necessary to review certain organic elements to this problematic. This is the aim of the next background section.

2. BACKGROUND SECTION

2.a Immigrants in Denmark

Denmark's immigration and integration development is relatively new. Although the first significant waves of immigration to Denmark -mainly from Pakistan and Turkey- started in 1960 due to industrial labour shortages, it was not until 1991 that the statistics on immigrants and their descendants were introduced (Statistics Denmark 2017:2). As explained by the EU Commission, "(...) the family members of these workers, as well as refugees from Chile and Southeast Asia, followed in the 1970s. However, Denmark only became a country of immigration in the 1980s when a steady pattern of arrivals could be observed". (EU Commission 2022).

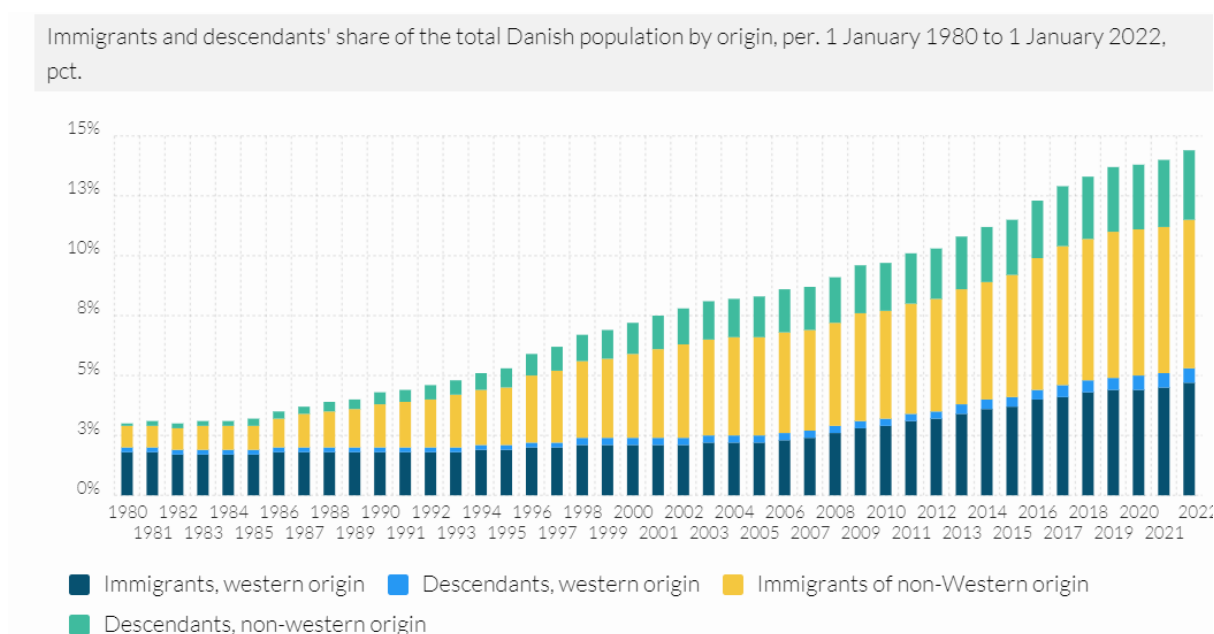


Figure 1: Immigrants and descendants' share of the total Danish population by origin (1990-2022). Source: Integrationsbarometer 2022.

As it can be appreciated in the chart above, the growth has been steady. According to the Integration Barometer, "the share of immigrants and descendants in the total population has increased by 11.4 percentage points since 1980 - from 3.0 per cent. in 1980 to just 14.4 per cent. in 2022" (Integrationsbarometer 2022).

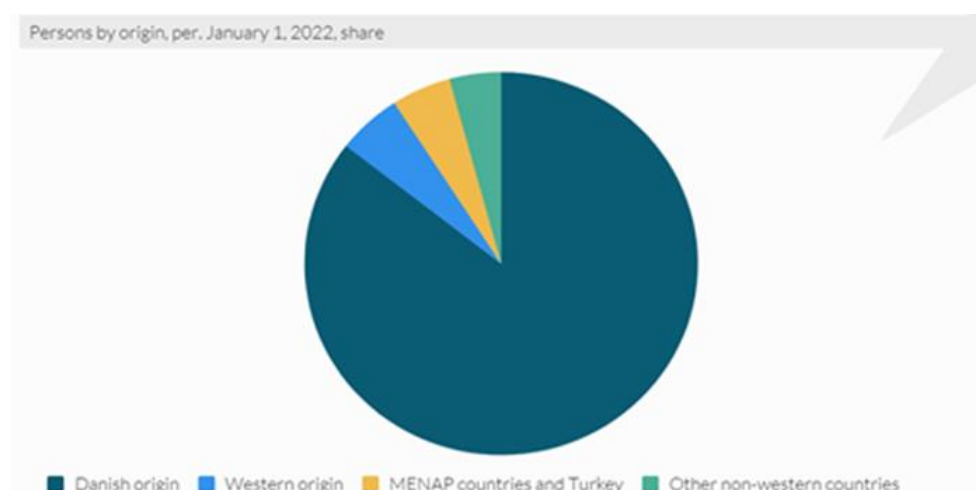


Figure 2: Persons by origin 2022. Source: Integrationsbarometer 2022 (Hvor mange og hvem er indvandrere i Danmark?)

The chart above shows the current demographic composition of Denmark's population, which during the first quarter of 2022 ascended to a total of 5.613.420 people. The table below offers a numeric breakdown by origin:

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| Danish origin | 5.026.379,0 |
| Western origin | 312.310,0 |
| MENAP-countries and Turkey | 288.406,0 |
| Rest of non-western origin | 246.325,0 |

Figure 3: Total population by origin. Source: Integrationsbarometer 2022 (Hvor mange og hvem er indvandrere i Danmark?)

Note: The group 'MENAP countries and Turkey' includes Syria, Kuwait, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Somalia, Iraq, Qatar, Sudan, Bahrain, Djibouti, Jordan, Algeria, United Arab Emirates, Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Iran, Yemen, Mauritania and Oman, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkey.

2.b. The Danish Flexicurity system

The Danish Labour Market in particular has strong peculiarities that clearly shape the way in which it functions. One of these features is the denominated *Flexicurity*, which *“means that employers can easily hire and fire to adjust to the needs of the marketplace. At the same time, employees have a secure safety net in-between job”* (Denmark.dk 2022). In other words, the Flexicurity model is intended to create a system where the *“labour market is both flexible, competitive and highly productive.”* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2022).

The Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment presents the dynamics between the three key components of the Flexicurity model (STAR 2022):

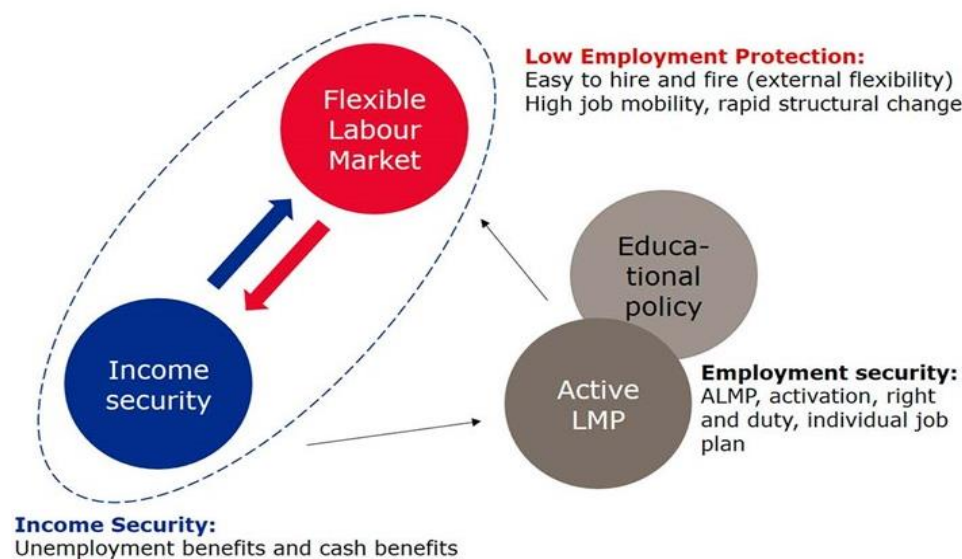


Figure 4: The Danish Flexicurity Model (Source: STAR 2022)

The Flexible Labour Market entails much less restrictive employment protection, *“allowing employers the flexibility to reconfigure the workforce to adapt to changing market conditions”* (Ibid 2022). As explained in the graphic, it is easy to hire and fire workers, yet employers have a safety net of income security that enables them to sufficiently support themselves until they find another job. The flexible model does not equate lack of policy. The active labour market policy supporting this model aims at attracting, supporting and aiding people to access, remain and return to the labour market as fast and as effectively as possible, offering different options such as education, guidance or upgrading of skills, training, monetary support, among other initiatives, introduced by the Reform of 2013 which aims at helping disadvantaged groups, among which most immigrants can be found (Rekrutteringsguide 2021: 5).

The concept and intention of the Flexicurity model projects the vision of dynamic market labour that can be both flexible and secure to all. However, statistics indicate that the labour market in Denmark presents noticeable gaps among the different groups that compose it. These differences will be discussed in the next section.

2.c. Participation in the Danish Labour Market

The Danish labour market “(...) comprises more than 50% of the population – a relatively high percentage compared to other countries, partly due to the very high employment rate of women (...)” (Bjerre et al 2021:138). According to the most recent statistics, 79.7% of the Danish Labour Force (16-66 years old) participate actively in the Labour Market, and there are considerable differences if origin is isolated as a factor.

Activity and employment rates (end November) by frequency, age, ancestry and time

| | 2020 |
|--|------|
| Economic activity rate | |
| 16-64 years | |
| Total | 77.7 |
| Persons of Danish origin | 79.7 |
| Immigrants | 67.9 |
| Immigrants from western countries | 74.1 |
| Immigrants from non-western countries | 63.4 |
| Descendants | 66.3 |
| Descendants from western countries | 71.9 |
| Descendants from non-western countries | 65.6 |

Figure 5:

Activity and employment rates (end November) by frequency, age, ancestry and time. Source: Statistics Denmark 2022.

Quite predictably, the statistics show that persons of Danish origin conform the biggest group to participate in the labour market in Denmark, followed by immigrants of western descent.

Activity and employment rates (end November)

Frequency: Economic activity rate | Sex: Total | Age: 16-64 years | Region: All Denmark | Time: 2020:

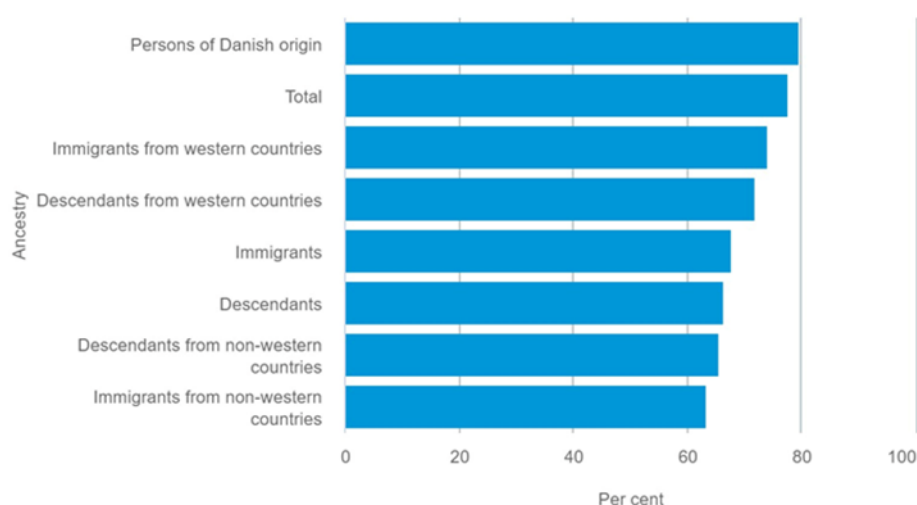


Figure 6:

Activity and employment rates (2020). Source: Statistics Denmark.

The most significant gap is found between Danish and non-western immigrants. The reasons to this gap will be discussed in later chapters. However, it can be said that reflects a variety of converging elements that translate into certain obstacles some non-western immigrants face when attempting to enter the Danish Labour Market, which in time add an extra layer of difficulty to their satisfactory access to jobs and especially, to the job they are qualified to do in their home countries.

The non-western community has been the focus of much attention in the past years in Denmark, mostly due to the fact that it has grown exponentially in Denmark in the past decades, and it also is the group where the highest number of refugees and reunified family members can be found.

2.d. Women in the Danish Labour Market

In the previous section it could be appreciated that one strength of the robust quality of the Danish Labour Market derives also from the fact that there is a strong participation of women in it. There is a small gap of only 4% between men and women of Danish origin, which reflects a healthy gender balance in terms of employment, and the trend continues to be in favour of narrowing this gap. However, the disparity in employment between Danish and Non-Western immigrants is even more significant between women of Danish origin compared to non-significant between women of Danish origin compared to non-western women, as shown in the chart below:

Figure 5.3: Employment rates of immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin and persons of Danish origin aged 25-64 years by gender, from 2010 to 2019 (percentage)

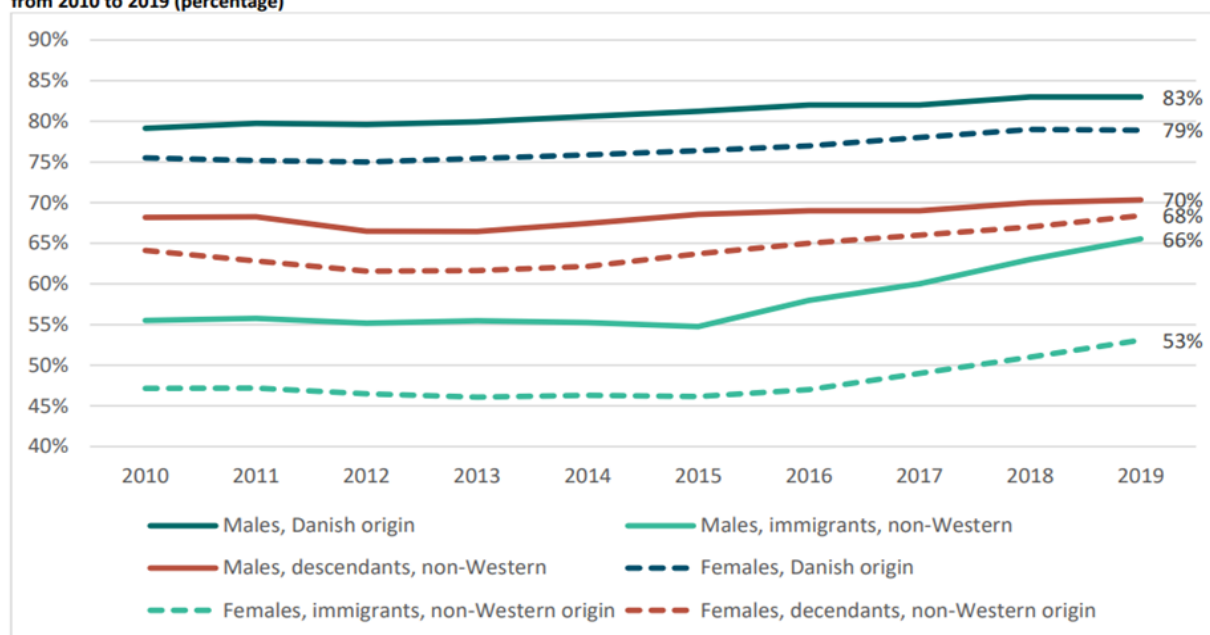


Figure 7: Employment rates of immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin and persons of Danish origin aged 25-64 by gender, from 2010 to 2019. Source: Statistics Denmark 2022.

This gap can be explained by many reasons, however, the most commonly found ones are linked to *“lack of general and professional qualifications among the women, a lack of personal network to help and support them when searching for a job, and the challenges they may face due to cultural and family-related traditions”* (Integrational Migration-Denmark 2021). In later sections, this generalization will be contested provided it is not fully representative of all non-western immigrant women, considering they come from 150 different countries and from different regions of the world, hence different cultures and idiosyncrasies.

Another important factor is the grounds on which these women become immigrants to Denmark. As previously observed, the majority of them do come from MENAPT countries, predominantly as refugees or reunified spouses of refugees. Nevertheless, many other non-western women come to Denmark as reunified spouses to Danish citizens, and the policy provisions for these women are very different than the ones specified for refugees or reunified spouses to refugees. The Integration Act of 1990, which has been amended on several occasions, defines the rights and obligations of all refugees and dependents, as well as for non-western reunified spouses and other dependants to Danish citizens. Additionally, the Integration Act also outlines the responsibilities that fall on the Danish municipalities to enforce this policy and implement integration initiatives aimed at boosting the integration of those immigrants within the Act.

The biggest difference among non-western women drawn by the Integration Act is related to the level of municipal support they received, considering their status of either refugee, reunified spouse to a refugee, or whether they are reunified spouses to Danish citizens. These last group is considered self-sufficient by the Integration Act, which in practical terms means that they are minimal municipal support. In contrast, refugees or reunified spouses to refugee have a far more complex system of support and also, certain demands imposed in order to access those benefits. This topic will be further developed in the Policy Review section.

2.2 The Latin American reunified spouses

As mentioned in earlier sections, the non-western community in Denmark is made up of people who come from 150 different countries spread across the three vast continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. However, references to non-western is primarily associated with MENAPT countries and their cultural, social, and religious values. This generalization tends to eclipse the other sub-minorities in the non-western community who are different and share more cultural, social, and religious elements with the western world, due to colonial ties and compatible

idiosyncrasy. This is particularly the case of Latin American migrant women, especially those married to Danish citizens who are here in Denmark with the purpose of building a life with their partners and family, but also to rebuild themselves socially and professionally, many time with limited support network.

This sub-minority has been my focus group for the past year, and previous work has led me to investigate further into who these Latin American reunified spouses in Denmark are and why it is important to recognize the differences that make them somewhat atypical if compared with the stereotypical non-western concept. The main findings and outcomes of the previous study regarding barriers hindering the labour market inclusion of Latin American reunified spouses in Denmark will be presented below, and they are intended derive into the next research step to investigate: considering the barriers these women report, how can they be helped? How can the support offered to them can be more inclusive of their particular needs?

2.2.a. Barriers that hinder the labour market inclusion of Latin American Reunified Spouses in Denmark: Main findings.

The analysis of the empirical data gathered during the aforementioned project revealed that Latin American reunified spouses (as well as any other non-EU/non-Western) fall under the self-sufficient category. This means that the support given by the municipalities is circumscribed to signing an Integration contract that includes the access to Danish Language education, at which level of the course the reunified spouse should start and that the course should be completed within the first 5 years of residence. Some municipalities also add some guidance regarding labour market inclusion, such as webinars or workshops, but there is a consistent approach in terms of support or guidance towards labour market inclusion. These reunified spouses are expected, as self-sufficient immigrants, to rely on their Danish spouse and family and self-manage their integration process (Nunez-Andersen 2021: 6-7)

The self-sufficiency status within the Family Reunification category poses a challenge to these spouses who must find out their way into the system without specific support, especially in the case of the interviewed spouses, given their specificity of their skills, in most cases highly regulated professions that require licensing or official recognition in order to be able to work within that particular field.

The objective was, therefore, to interview Latin American reunified spouses willing to offer their insightful testimonies regarding their own experiences throughout the process. Among the main findings, the following facts can be mentioned:

- 80% of the interviewed Latin American women are reunified spouses under Danish Law.
- The remaining 20% are LA spouses of Danish citizens who came to Denmark on their own means, as highly skilled professionals via Fast track visas.
- 100% of the interviewed spouses are at least bilingual (Spanish/English) and either speak Danish or are learning Danish at the moment.
- 100% of the interviewed spouses hold a higher education degree at BA level as a minimum, and extensive work experience in their corresponding field prior to coming to Denmark.
- 100% of the reunified spouses have actively looked/are actively looking for job opportunities in their field or nearly related fields. Some of them have decided to further their studies or train in a different trade/profession just to have access to the labour market. However, they see their labour market inclusion hindered by very clear obstacles.

To better understand the problematic in its full dimension, the project also included interviews to representatives of the Integration department in Copenhagen, Hjørring and Aalborg municipalities, who also offered their perspective to unveil the matter of what are the barriers that hinder the access of Latin American reunified spouses to the labour market in Denmark.

2.2.b. Outcomes: A dual perspective

From the empirical data gathered throughout the over 40 hours of interviewed accrued with both pools of interviewees, the commonalities emerged and helped grouping the most relevant barriers that both the Latin American reunified spouses identified, as well as the ones distinguished by the Integration Services in the aforementioned municipalities.

The chart below summarizes the 3 main barriers each group identified (Núñez-Andersen 2021: 19-23):

What are the main barriers that hinder the labour market inclusion of Latin American reunified spouses in Denmark?

| The Latin American reunified spouses' perspective | The Integration Service representatives' perspective |
|---|--|
| 1. Some constraints in the <i>Family Reunification process</i> , especially the prolonged period and the consequent "limbo" situation while they await their residence permit to be granted, given they are not allowed to work or study during this period. | 1. The initial <i>lack of Danish language skills</i> once they move to Denmark. given proficiency in Danish is elementary aspect to measure successful social and labour market integration |
| 2. <i>The limited information and support</i> provided in terms of labour market inclusion as newcomers to Denmark. Due to their self-sufficient status, the support municipalities are obliged to provide is limited. However, their experiences reveal significant inconsistency in this regard. | 2. The <i>prioritization of resources</i> that municipalities must do according to their local reality. In this respect, it is their observation of what is stipulated by the Integration Act that also impacts their deployment of resources and the consequential support they can offer to the different groups of immigrants that come to their municipalities |
| 3. The <i>lack of adequate bridging between their previous education and work experience</i> and the offered work options. The education and work experience background these women posses represent an untapped wealth of transferable skills that could potentially be applied to other jobs within proximity to their skills and qualifications. | 3. The <i>conflict between expectations and reality</i> , when it comes to previous education and related work experience of Latin American reunified spouses, and the reality of the labour market in Denmark. |

Figure 8: Self-made table.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

To acquire a nuanced stand regarding the research question, extensive reading on key areas has been conducted and multiple sources have been analysed. There is not much relevant scholar literature regarding the specific case of Latin American reunified spouses in Denmark, for which reason focusing on literature regarding non-western women in general was necessary, as a good start-point.

The first point of attention was therefore the analysis of the dichotomy Western and Non-Western immigrants, as an epistemological construction (Zhang 2020 / Noda 2020/ Smith 2009) that establishes a clear division in the way immigrants are perceived in Denmark, which will also impact on the policy and the overall legal framework that will outline their integration process in Denmark (Rockwook Foundation 2015/2018/2022/ Nordic Council of Ministers 2014, 2019, 2021,2022/ Regering 2018/ Ministry of Immigration and Foreign Affairs 2021/ Statistics Denmark 2017, 2022). From this perspective, it was clearly necessary investigate further into what the non-western construction means to the Danish system, why non-western immigrants need certain integration strategies, viewed especially from the western perspective in terms of cultural differences mainly (Jensen et al 2010) and the impact on the established legal framework (The Integration Act/ The Alien Act).

One of the most salient aspects when it comes to integration of non-western immigrants is the challenges receiving countries face in terms of overall integration. Official statistics (Integration Barometer 2022 / Statistics Denmark 2022) evidence the gap in the labour market, which in the case of Denmark, has a particular characteristic defined by Flexicurity (Andersen 2020/ Denmark.dk 2022/Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2022/STAR 2022), the persistent gap in participation between non-western immigrants and ethnic Danish women as well as Western immigrants in general.

Both the empirical previously gathered, and the literature analyzed led the study to focus on the relevance of theoretical considerations that establish a link between the position of non-western women in the Danish system and their labour market integration. It became relevant to look into Human, Social and Cultural capital theories (Creese et al 2008/ Chiswick and Miller 2007/ Lancee 2012 / Bordieu 1986 / Greve 2018), exploring the different aspects that interplay when it comes to integration of non-western into the Danish context: who they are, what skills and

education they bring to the Welfare State table, how do they relate to each other and to others within their ethnical groups, and how much their cultural ties can have an impact on their integration in Denmark. As a consequence, another divide emerged reviewing the Dual Market Segmentation theory (Baron 1979/Rutherford et al 1996/ Febo-Kolding et al 2019/ Lusi & Bauder 2010), which explains the division of the labour market into primary and secondary segments, and how natives are normally found in the primary sector, differently from immigrants who are generally relegated to the secondary sector.

Most literature on Integration errs on the Assimilation model side, rather the multicultural system of integration. the Assimilation theory is brought up as means to aid the analysis on how these women are expected to be integrated, and to understand the demands such as Danish language proficiency as quasi condition to enter the Labour market. As a contrast, the Multicultural theory will attempt to bring a different perspective as the other side of the coin to Assimilation. (Borooah and Mangan 2010, (Rodriguez-Garcia 2010). Lastly, some literature suggests that the assimilation process immigrants go through in Denmark causes a decay in the labour market positioning of immigrants, explained by the Martin Rojo's Decapitalisation theory (Lønsmann 2020).

Additionally, the policy review section also adds on the body of research, showing a tendency of focus on certain sub-minorities more strongly than others, with clear ties to the theoretical aspects discussed above, yet leaving a noticeable gap regarding the adequate support needed by Latin American Reunified Spouses who despite sharing similar barriers to all non-western women such as a hindered access to the labour market, yet are not affected by negative social control nor lack of competitive skills (Riano 2001/ Riano 2015/ Nunez-Andersen 2021 /Cruz Barajas 2021).

3.a Relevant Integration Policy Reviewed

In the next section, the current policy regulating Immigration and Integration in Denmark will be present. Additionally, relevant government's initiatives targeting non-western women in Denmark will be reviewed. The first one is the ambitious government proposal "Danmark kan mere (I)", which will focus on the labour market activation of non-western women as means to boost their integration and productivity as opposed to being passive receivers of social benefits. The second is "Den glemte kvinderkamp", a commission set by the current government with the purpose of setting the focus on "how Danish society can strengthen its efforts towards honor-related social control, including, among other things, by resolving any special considerations and

fear of contact on the part of the authorities and society” (Kommissionen for den glemte kvinderkamp 2022).

(i) Current policy regulating Immigration and Integration of foreigners in Denmark

According to Jensen et al, foundational policy in Denmark are two: “(...) *the Aliens (consolidation) Act (Udlændingeloven) and the Integration Act (Integrationsloven)*. The Aliens act addresses foreigners’ legal status in Denmark concerning for example entry and residence permits (temporary and permanent) whereas the Integration Act concerns the actual processes of integration. Until August 2010, the Integration Act addressed only refugees and family reunification of refugees and immigrants, but a recent law reform has expanded the target group to include for example labour immigrants and their families (...)” (Jensen et al:3)

1999 is considered the year Integration formally started in Denmark, with the sanction of the Integration Act which outlines the Immigration and Integration policy in Denmark, establishing it as an independent policy, depending on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Integration and stipulating rights and duties for all immigrants in general, as well as the responsibility placed in the municipalities to reinforce the policy developed.

“(...) Thus, according to the Danish Integration Act (1999), the aim of integration in Denmark is twofold: to contribute to the newly arrived migrant’s possibility for participation on an equal footing with other citizens in the political, economic, work-related, social, religious and cultural life of society; and to induce economic self-reliance. But at the same time the aim is also to provide the individual immigrant with an understanding of the fundamental values and norms of Danish society (...) (Integration Act: §1, as quoted by Mouritsen and Jensen 2014:8).

The Integration Act is therefore the cornerstone of all Immigration and Integration policies in Denmark. It has been amended several times since its first sanction in 1999, reflecting the adjustment to each new governments view of Integration, yet the essence and foremost original goal remains intact: “*participation in the labour market is the main focus of the Danish integration policy*” (EU Commission 2022).

The Integration Act is complemented by The Alien (Consolidation) Act (2001) , which defines specific aspects of each alien or newcomer category in Denmark, i.e., asylum seeker, refugee, reunified spouse, etc. , as well as the full extent of their rights and obligations.

As previously mentioned, the Integration Act defines the integration programme each of these newcomers will follow once they are granted residence permit and what type of residence status

is given to these different categories of immigrants. In the graphic below, a break-down of the most relevant immigrant categories can be appreciated:

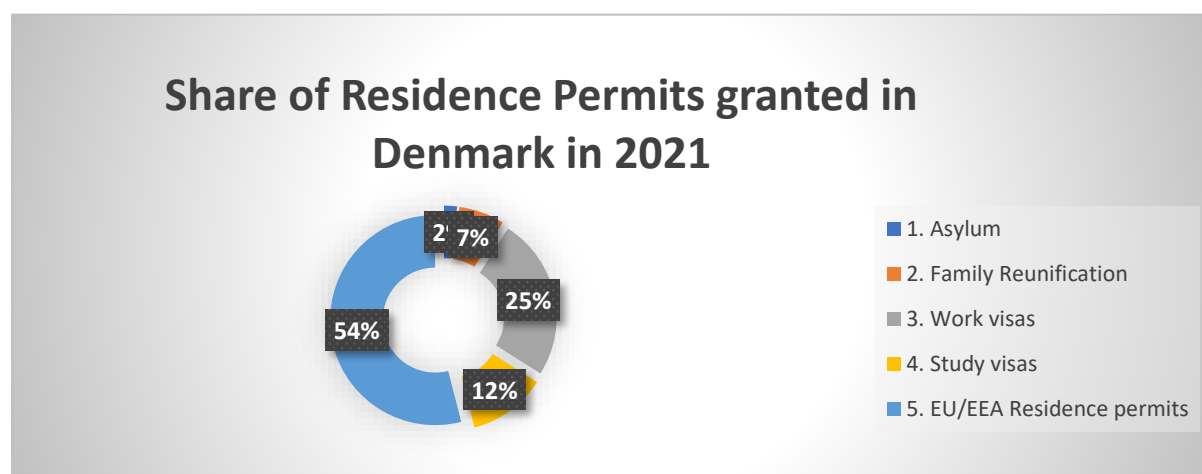


Figure 9: Share of Residence Permits granted in Denmark in 2021. Source: Udlændinge og Integrationsministeriet 2021:14 (Own graphic)

For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on **Family Reunification** as the most relevant aspect of this policy. The table gives a clearer view of family reunification permits granted between 2015-2021:

Table 2.4: Number of positive decisions on family reunification 2015 – 2021*

| Category | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021* |
|---|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Spouses and cohabitants (A) | 4,996 | 3,624 | 3,927 | 2,959 | 1,908 | 2,592 | 1,596 |
| - of refugees in Denmark | 2,575 | 1,425 | 1,156 | 493 | 356 | 480 | 249 |
| - of other immigrants in Denmark | 228 | 201 | 256 | 268 | 219 | 302 | 181 |
| - of which Danish/Nordic nationals in Denmark | 2,193 | 1,998 | 2,515 | 2,198 | 1,333 | 1,810 | 1,166 |
| Family reunification according to the EU rules (B) | 246 | 218 | 209 | 289 | 329 | 296 | 373 |
| - of which spouses and cohabitants (b) | 237 | 201 | 200 | 266 | 298 | 270 | 351 |
| - of which children | 8 | 16 | 9 | 21 | 29 | 23 | 19 |
| - of which parents/other family | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Spouses and cohabitants (A+B) | 5,233 | 3,826 | 4,127 | 3,225 | 2,206 | 2,862 | 1,947 |
| Minors (C) | 6,403 | 3,836 | 2,878 | 1,352 | 985 | 1,123 | 542 |
| - children to refugees in Denmark | 5,517 | 2,887 | 2,109 | 643 | 425 | 430 | 162 |
| - children to other than refugees in Denmark | 886 | 949 | 769 | 709 | 560 | 693 | 380 |
| Total (A+B+C) | 11,645 | 7,678 | 7,014 | 4,600 | 3,222 | 4,012 | 2,511 |

* 1 January - 31 August 2021

Figure 10: Number of positive decisions on Family Reunification 2021 - Source: Udlændinge og Integrationsministeriet 2021, page 14.

The table above also shows the different pathways reunification can follow. Section A is the relevant disaggregation to this project. However, it is important to state the difference between these three sub-categories.

Family reunification under Danish law happens in three special cases:

- ✓ *Reunified family of refugees*, who are normally dependants of those who were granted residence in Denmark under one of the categories mentioned under section 8 of the Alien Act (Alien Act 2019:7-9).
- ✓ *Reunified dependents of other immigrants*, such as those who have already achieved permanent residence in Denmark after having resided for an extended period of time.
- ✓ *Reunified family members of Danish/Nordic Nationals in Denmark*, that is to say, those who are citizens from non-EU/no-Nordic countries and marry a Danish/Nordic citizen.

This last one sub-category of spouses and cohabitants (A) of Danish/Nordic nationals in Denmark is the one under which Latin American reunified spouses fall, as third-country citizens married to Danish or Nordic citizens.

Reunified spouses to Danish/Nordic citizens seeking residence in Denmark, along with refugees and their reunified family members are all covered by the Integration Act. However, the regulations for each category are different, and it is what sets them apart in terms of, for example, benefits and active municipal support. In other words, “(...) *refugees and foreigners reunited with refugees are offered a **self-support and return program** whereas foreigners reunited with other than refugees, for example a Danish citizen, are offered an **introduction program** (...)*” (Udlændinge og Integrationsministeriet 2021:64)

The common element in both programmes is the demand of learning Danish as an essential step to integration. Once these newcomers are assigned to a municipality, then the “*kommuner*” are the ones organizing meetings and setting up these programmes in motion, and part of it regardless of the status, they bridge the connection between official languages centres and the refugee/reunified family member, so they are allocated to an adequate start point to start learning Danish.

However, the most significant difference between reunified spouses of refugees and reunified spouses of Danish / Nordic citizens lays in nature and extent of state support they receive.

In section 42a.-(1) of the Alien Act, the rules for the family members of refugees who apply for family reunification in Denmark are very clear:

“(...) An alien who stays in Denmark and submits an application for a residence permit under section 7 will have the expenses for his subsistence and necessary healthcare services covered by the Immigration Service until the alien is granted a residence permit or the alien leaves Denmark or is returned (...)” (The Alien Act 2019:88)

This means that reunified spouses and family members of refugees fall under the same category as the main residence holder, and the state support for them entails a set of helps and benefits that contribute to their maintenance in Denmark. This normally entails temporary and long-term accommodation, monetary support and activation programmes aiming at fast labour market insertion through, for example, internship and apprenticeship placements in cooperation with different businesses and organizations.

Contrastively, different rules apply to reunified spouses to Danish/Nordic citizens, as prescribed by section 9(3) of the Alien Act:

“(...) A residence permit for a cohabitant (...) must be conditional upon the requirement that the person living in Denmark undertakes to maintain the applicant (...) a residence permit under subsection (...) may depend on the requirement that the person living in Denmark proves that he can maintain the applicant” (The Alien Act 2019:9)

In other words, reunified spouses of Danish/Nordic citizens are considered self-sufficient. This means that the integration and labour market insertion efforts fall exclusively on them and their Danish/Nordic spouses. With exception of Danish lessons being an essential part of the Integration Programme, there is no further prescribed obligation of the municipalities to push these spouses into the labour market as it is the case of refugees.

As it will be argued in later sections, this difference is crucial when assessing how equitable the support is for non-western women to enter the labour market in Denmark.

3.b. Further strategies and proposals targeting non-western women in Denmark

In the past years, there have been numerous efforts to identify challenges in the labour market participation of non-western women, and some of the ones that have been isolated “(...) are lack of general and professional qualifications among the women, a lack of personal network to help and support them when searching for a job, and the challenges they may face due to cultural and

family-related traditions (...)” (Udlændinge og Integrationsministeriet 2021:69-70). Considering this perspective as the foundation for strategies to combat these challenges, below the main initiatives are described.

3.b.1. "Danmark kan mere (I)" (Denmark can do more)



Figure 11: Proportion of non-western women and descendants who are unemployed (Own translation). Source: Danmark kan mere I (2019)

In 2019, at the beginning of the new governments’ administration, the agreement “A fair direction for Denmark” was signed among the main political parties in Denmark and the consensus on the main foci of work for this new government were summarized. Among the most relevant social and economical issues mentioned, integration to the labour market of immigrants and refugees, especially of women was set as a priority:

“ (...) At the same time, there are still challenges associated with making integration work everywhere. Too many immigrants and refugees are not participating in the labour market. In particular, this applies to women who have come to Denmark as adults (...)” (Social Demokratiet 2019:15)

This objective was later embodied in the new government’s proposal “Danmark kan mere (I)” published in September 2021 under the motto “Flere i arbejde. Danmark skal være rigere, grønnere og dygtigere” (More employed. Denmark will be wealthier, greener and more skilled)” (Own translation - Regering 2021)

In this proposal, the current government directly addresses the need for non-western women to be inserted in the labour market in Denmark and identifies a specific group among them: the MENAPT women. The proposal supports the idea that a “Work logic must replace supply logic” (Own translation- Regeringen 2021: 22).

Until this proposal, the women targeted by this initiative had access to social and economic help without having the obligation to work.

"(...) refugees and reunified families are required to sign both a compulsory Contract of Integration and a Declaration on Integration and Active Citizenship. The Contract of Integration encompasses a range of specifically defined goals and milestones of successful integration, as well as an agreement about the tools and measures to achieve these goals (...)" (Mouritsen & Hovmark Jensen 2014: 11)

The first group targeted will be those who have been on cash benefit system *kontanthjælpssystemet* for three out of four years and who have not passed the minimum

Test in Danish 2 or completed 6th grade (Regeringen 2021: 24) and it is the municipalities who need to implement the new policy when ready and extend it to other people who are still outside the labour market.

Although the proposal is still being worked on, the idea is to promote the labour market inclusion of these women by giving them a choice of finding a job by themselves or provide them with jobs that will match the needs of the Danish labour market, such as the care or service sector, as referred to by Primer Minister Mette Frederiksen above.

3.b.2. The Commission for the Forgotten Women's Fight (Kommission for de glemte kvinderkamp)

Apart from unemployment, there are other issues that are at the top of the priorities when it comes to statistics among non-western immigrants, and one of them, especially among MENAPT women is social control and gender inequality, therefore the government set in January 2022 *"the Commission for the Forgotten Women's Struggle, which will make recommendations on how girls and women from immigrant backgrounds can be better supported and given the opportunity to decide over their own lives"* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Integration 2022).

The Commission is led by Christina Krzyrosiak Hansen, currently mayor of the Holbæk municipality and now president of the commission. In her own words, *"(...) too many girls and women do not have the same freedom as the rest of us because they are exposed to negative social control. They are not free to choose their own partner and be with those they love. They are not free to be who they want to be or go the way they want in life. This should not be the case in today's Denmark"* (Ibid).

The Commission is also integrated by other idoneous experts in immigration and integration and relevant stakeholders who would have the mission of ensuring that *"the Danish society can strengthen its efforts towards honor-related social control. Among other things, by dealing with special*

considerations and fear of being touched by the authorities and society” and “must also consider how public institutions can more clearly and effectively assert the values of democracy” (Ibid).

Although this is a newly established Commission, they already have their first meeting on 8th March this year and will continue meeting to monthly. Their work is meant to create a space of public debate on these social issues affecting especially MENAPT girls and women, bringing together invested stakeholders from all areas of society. The Commission’s work is expected to be concluded by the first quarter of 2023.

Even though the work of the Commission is not directly linked to the labour market inclusion of non-western women as the “Danmark kan mere” government’s proposal, improving their conditions at a social level might have a positive impact on their choices regarding studies or work.

The main aim of this thesis is deepening the research to understand how the support for non-western women to access the labour market in Denmark can be more inclusive and equitable. In other words, how inclusive is the approach to facilitate and foster the access to the labour market for non-western women as the Latin American reunified spouses who are not MENAPT women? Are they also being equitably helped? Are their needs met in this area?

In the next chapters, a comprehensive outline of this master thesis will be offered.

3. METHODOLOGY CHAPTER

In this chapter, all relevant methodological considerations will be developed. Firstly, the ontological approach will be presented linked to the research question and sub-questions. Later, the focus will be on the research strategy, design, and limitations. Then all aspects pertinent to data collection, processing and analysis will be stated. Lastly, the participants will be introduced.

3.1 Ontological approach: Hermeneutic Constructivism

As existentially unique beings, we all humans have our own view of the world around us. Who we are, individually and as members of a collective society influences this view and has an impact on how we interact with our environment, how we conceive our ideas and how we ideologically project ourselves. Concepts, ideas, prejudices are passed on socially, through language exchange with others can have an impact on how others shape their own reality.

From this perspective, it is key to understand how we communicate our ideas, as well as how others do, and how these infinite number of ideas and viewpoint coexist, interact, and impact our social ecosystem on a day-to-day basis, and at different levels. It is then relevant to understand the importance of language within this dynamic. Language makes it possible for our ideas to be externalized and shared, and it is a key component in the relationship between us and the world around us. In any human relation, regardless of its nature, language is fundamental to express our ideas, our beliefs, our agreements, and disagreements, and to help others understand where we stand and on what we believe. These are core elements to Gadamer's Hermeneutic Constructivism, which will offer a purposeful ontological foundation to this thesis. From this perspective, we can appreciate the power of what how our views are communicated to others through language, and how our knowledge or our worldviews are likely to be adopted by others. From the simplest to the most complex examples, ideas can affect how others think. If we speak positively about a particular issue, that reality that we share with the outside world can also be adopted by others. Conversely, if we share negative views on a topic, it is also likely to affect how others view that issue.

Gadamer's work delves into how language bridges the individual with the collective world, and how individual experiences are transposed to the social environment through language. Peck and Mummery explore explain that bearing in mind that the perception of world is inherently

individual, *"the most basic consideration for a researcher has to do with providing a theoretical account of the relationship between "the individual" and "the world" or "reality" (...) and "language" that unravels the connection between the individual's experience of the world and the role that language plays within that"* (Peck & Mummery 2018:390).

From the Hermeneutic Constructivist perspective, we humans are constantly experiencing the world, which in Gadamer's words *"does exist independently of human affairs"* (Gadamer 1960/2003 as quoted by Peck and Mummery 2018:392). Our limited nature as human beings yield us unable to absorb this world in its entirety. Our experience of the world is circumscribed to our limited human capacity, thus there are experiences that will always remain unseen, unnoticed by us, but seen and noticed by others. These experiences are called *"events"* and the ones that shape our worldview. Gadamer affirms that human beings are moved towards trying to understand the world, yet not in a perfect manner as in absolute understanding but to achieve a personal comprehension of these events, which will be sufficient to satisfy the world's sense-making process. Considering these arguments, *"(...) then being itself is an active movement on the part of the person that can be embodied in terms of a being situated within a stream of events (...) "* (Peck and Mummery 2018:393). These events cannot speak for themselves, they are dialectally transmitted through language, which from Gadamer's angle, *"(...) is more than merely an instrument for working on the world; instead, it is the medium of being human, not in terms of restriction to the possibilities of human understanding, but rather as its very condition (...) "* (Ibid). This dialectic connection shifts the focus to another important element of Hermeneutic Constructivism: The I / Thou relationship.

Yang and Qin introduce the connection to rhetorical communication which *"is not confined to human interactions but includes the Gadamerian I-Thou interaction between an interpreter and a text, an artwork or ordinary events. Rhetoric means the whole of worldly knowledge, with all its contents, that are stated in language and interpreted in a language community (Gadamer, 2000, p. 24, as quoted by Yan and Qin 2019:582).*

The I/Thou interaction signifies the relationship established between the *"I"*, which *"(...) represents all that we bring with us to an event of understanding and embodies the possibilities that we have available to us in an event of understanding (...) "* (Ibid). In other words, the *"I"* represents the sum of all our events or experiences historically embedded in ourselves, that act as filters through which new experiences or events we acquire are conducted. On the other hand, the *"Thou"* is everything outside the *"I"*, *"(...) is all that is other; not simply in terms of objects themselves, but rather in terms of the way in which things in the world are able to have a relation with the I (...) "* (Ibid).

We construct our idea of the world through time. Whenever we encounter something new, a new experience, a new event to understand, all those past experiences have an impact on how the new knowledge is received. This is what Gadamer defines as prejudice, “(...) a series of historically mediated, anticipatory, and languaged structures through which the world comes to be meaningfully understood (...)” (Ibid:394). This way, any interaction between the “I” and any form of the “Thou” is infused by these prejudices formed from past experiences or events, from previous interactions with other “Thou” forms, etc.

From a Hermeneutic Constructivist perspective, it is possible to understand the value of how meaning is made. The manifestation of everything in the world before an individual, and the use of language as a medium to create meaning is a constant event in our lives. What the “I” sees, perceives, interprets, associates through the filters of “prejudice”, then communicates, and later puts out in the world, becoming the “Thou” that is shared with other part-takers of this dialogue described above by Gadamer. This meaning that is created and shared, will most likely be accepted by others as their own. From this perspective, therefore, an positive or negative idea about a foreigner, an immigrant could potentially multiply within a society, especially if the “I” has accumulated a certain type of experiences in this aspect. Ideas can be reproduced very quickly socially, and this is how collective meaning comes to being, especially in certain debatable topics for any society.

This view provides the perfect foundation for Social Constructivism as the most suitable epistemological perspective for this thesis.

3.2. Epistemological approach: Social Constructivism

Human beings are inherently gregarious beings and communities are constantly formed and expanded. The social essence of our beings is what makes human. As established by the ontological perspective of Hermeneutic Constructivism, these connections have language as a conductive channel, and understanding of the world, both at individual level and at collective level, happens within this dialectic dynamic. Ideas, concepts, prejudices, biases, anything any person shares through language with another individual or group is likely to influence the way other person think about a particular subject or issue.

Relevant scholars sustain that “(...) social reality does not fall from heaven, but that human agents construct and reproduce it through their daily practices. Berger and Luckmann called this 'the social construction of reality' (...)” (Berger and Luckmann 1966, as quoted by Risse 2008:145). Our shared

space and time with others from our community has an effect on who we are, how we think, what we believe in and also, how we perceive others. Onuf refers to this concept by stating that “(...) *social relations make or construct people – ourselves – into the kind of beings that we are. Conversely, we make the world what it is, from the raw materials that nature provides, by doing what we do with each other and saying what we say to each other. Indeed, saying is doing: talking is undoubtedly the most important way that we go about making the world what it is (...)*” (Onuf 2013:4). This is where the relevance of what is being said and reproduced within a society is key to the identity of that society. In the context of this study, it is the social construct of the non-western woman that has been put together socially for the past decades. The reproduction of this concept has been so consistent, to the point of stereo typification, reflecting mostly some aspects of some of the non-western culture, yet often generalized without much scientific fundament, but only the social construction of the idea.

Social constructivism observes how societies are made by individuals and how people are made by society as well (Ibid). This is a constantly on-going process that will also entail some degree of regulation, therefore it is key to this perspective to focus on the concept of rules, as a consistently mediating element between the people and society. In other words, “(...) *social rules (the term rules includes, but is not restricted to, legal rules) make the process by which people and society constitute each other continuous and reciprocal (...)*” (Ibid). These rules are the social guidelines that tell people what they should do. As explained by Onuf:

“The “what” in question is a standard for people’s conduct in situations that we can identify as being alike and can expect to encounter. The “should” tells us to match our conduct to that standard. If we fail to do what the rule tells us to, then we can expect consequences that some other rule will bring into effect when other people follow the rule calling for such consequences” (Ibid).

The behaviour people might have towards rules is what is denominated “practices”. These rules also indicate what roles “agents” (people or institutions) have in society. These practices which reflect the intention of agents before different norms form “institutions”. From these agents’ perspective, “ (...) *society consists of diverse institutions that seem, for the most part, to be held in place by rules linking them to other institutions (...)* Any stable pattern of rules, institutions and unintended consequences gives society a structure, recognizable as such to any observer (...)” (Ibid:5-6). These social systems can also be appreciated by “outsiders”, who are agents belonging to a different society, who can also interact and create new meaning, new structures (Ibid). From this perspective, that social construct about certain issues or subjects, as it is the concept of non-western woman for example, entices a somewhat axiological weight. If the social construct

presents non-western immigrants as for example, threats to the Danish culture, then it is very likely the rules regulating everything pertinent to these 'outsiders' will be aimed at restricting the actions of these outsiders, as a rule applied to the whole group as a general because it responds to a collective social construct that in many ways is framed as a potential threat to the Danish people's cultural capital (see Theory chapter, section

Transposed to the IR context, "certain entities – such as states, international organisations or their respective leaders – are capable of acting (...)" ([Braun et al 2019:2](#)). What constitutes an agent has been highly debated in IR, as it has been the expected "practices" these agents should display. Alexander Wendt (1987) introduced the agent–structure problem into IR. At the core of this theoretical problem lies the question of whether agents shape social structures or vice versa (Ibid). From the constructivist perspective, the focus is also set on the discursive dimension agents utilize. Social behaviour can only be interpreted in connection with the language produced to manifest it. From Foucault's conceptualization of the agent's narrative, "(...) *discursive practices establish power relationships in the sense that they make us 'understand certain problems in certain ways, and pose questions accordingly'* (...) And further, although it is "we" who impose meaning, "we" do not act as autonomous subjects but from a "subject position" made available by the discursive context in which we are situated" (Foucault 1991: 58, as quoted by Risse 2009:145). In other words, the social "we" has the power to construct a reality around us that can be easily adopted as true by the individual members. As will be presented in the Analysis chapter, the political narrative in Denmark has become more and more abrasive in terms of the position taken by the state of restricting rules even more in the case of immigrants and refugees. If the political discourse carries this message and it is diffused to the rest of society, it is quite likely very likely to affect the position of a big group of society, if not its majority.

All these elements of social constructivism can aid the interpretation of the situation Latin American Reunified Spouses encounter in Denmark, as newcomers or former "outsiders", now insiders into a society with a set pattern of "practices" reinforced by different agents, institutions and structures which collectively set expectations and rules that, despite their helpful intention, might or might not be enough for these women to achieve a successful labour market integration and even overall integration in general.

3.3. Research strategy

Primarily, qualitative research is the chosen strategy to lead methodologically in this project. The choice made is reflected in how Saldana (2011:2) defines qualitative research:

“Qualitative research is an umbrella term for a wide variety of approaches to and methods for the study of natural social life. The information or data collected and analyzed is primarily (but not exclusively) non-quantitative in character, consisting of textual materials such as interview transcripts, field notes, and documents, and/ or visual materials such as artifacts, photographs, video recordings, and Internet sites, that document human experiences about others and/or one’s self in social action and reflexive states “ (Saldana 2011:3).

Saldana’s concept resonates harmonically with the nature of this project, which gathers a number of personal experiences and perspectives, as well as key elements that will provide adequate context to each of them and could not be properly appreciated in any other way.

Despite qualitative research is the predominant approach, there will also be some quantitative elements to study, to be able for example, to understand the demographic characteristics of the non-western women population in Denmark and how sub-minorities are represented within this population. This approach has been supported by diverse scholars, given that “ (...) *mixed methods research has been a longstanding feature of sociological inquiry, combining quantitative and qualitative perspectives to examine the breadth and depth of social phenomena. Recently mixed methods studies have become ever more eclectic with researchers adopting 'complex methodological hybridity and elasticity' (...)*” (Bryman, 2006, Green and Preston, 2005: 171, as quoted by Gabb 2009:43).

3.3.a Research delimitations

Since the aim of this project is to find out how can the support for non-western women to access the labour market in Denmark be more inclusive and equitable today, based on empirical data gathered since April 2021 up to May 2021, this will be the time delimitation of this study. However, there will be a review of current policy, strategies and reports developed of older date.

3.3.b Research reasoning

Regarding the research reasoning approach, the reasonable one for this study will be an inductive approach. As explained by Sauce and Matzel:

“Inductive reasoning is a logical process in which multiple premises, all believed true or found true most of the time, are combined to obtain a specific conclusion or to supply evidence for the truth of a conclusion (...) is often used to generate predictions or to make forecasts (...) the conclusion of an inductive inference is not a logical certainty ” (Sauce and Matzel 2017:1).

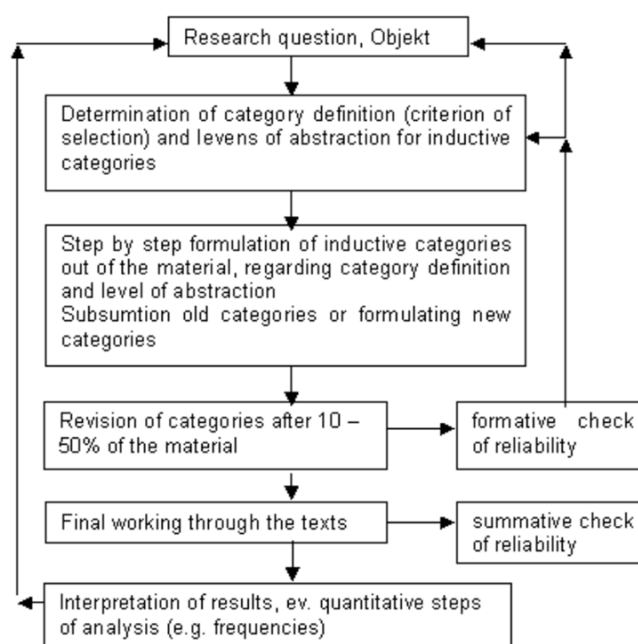


Figure 12: Step model of inductive category development (Mayring 2000: 3)

As illustrated in the graphic above, inductive reasoning induction is a bottom-up process. This procedure has the aim to “ (...) formulate a criterion of definition, derived from theoretical background and research question, which determines the aspects of the textual material taken into account. (...) If the research question suggests quantitative aspects (e.g. frequencies of coded categories) can be analyzed (...)” (Ibid). Through inductive reasoning, conclusions can be generalized from the data gathered and analyzed, in a flexible way considering the nature of the data gathered.

Applied to this thesis, the start point will be based on previously gathered data during my aforementioned 8th Semester project (see Annex, Item 1). I will use this data to present it as the springboard as a platform to build on relevant background knowledge, represented by the perspectives shared by different relevant agents from the political, social service and academic fields, with regards to how equitable the support non-western women have available in order to access the labour market in Denmark. Potentially, this could also lead to speculations or sparkle

ideas regarding how the system could be more inclusive/ equitable , as potential means so these reported barriers could be removed or at least, alleviated.

The previous step will set a strong basis to dive into the gathering of new empirical data from the new interviews that have been conducted, where the aim will be focusing on answering this thesis' main question. Further details on the interviews will be developed in the data collection section.

As part of the key empirical data to analyse is also a body of current policy and government initiatives to boost the labour market inclusion and the social participation of non-western women. These documents will provide a view on the state's perspective on where Latin American Reunified spouses, as a sub-minority, are positioned in terms of support available/offered towards their labour market inclusion.

The theoretical framework present in this study will be profusely infused in the analysis the main goal will be answering each of the sub-questions, which are underpinned by theories that could explain each of the issues addressed in them, and they are also present in the questions asked to participants during the interview. This combination is intended to facilitate answering the overarching research question, as in the table below:

| “How can the support for non-western women to access the labour market in Denmark be more equitable?” | | |
|--|---|--|
| Research sub-questions | Relevant Theories | Interview questions |
| 1. What is the social construction of the non-western woman in Denmark, considering the high diversity among them? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western vs Non-Western • Welfare State • Cultural Capital | 1. How equitable/inclusive is the support for non-western women to access the labour market in Denmark? Why? |
| 2. Why do some sub-groups receive differentiated support to access the labour market and to | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human Capital • Social Capital | |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| integrate in general? What are the benchmarks/grounds of this specific support? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dual Segmented Market | 2. Why do you think some sub-groups do not get so much support or interest as others? |
| 3. What paradigm change is needed to inspire the necessary actions to aim at a more equitable among non-western women, especially in the case of Latin American reunified spouses? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assimilation • Multiculturalism | <p>3. Considering the data shared about Latin American Reunified Spouses, in what way do you think these women could be best helped or supported?</p> <p>4. From your perspective, what is the biggest paradigm change needed to inspire the necessary actions to remove these reported barriers?</p> |

Figure 13: Self-made.

3.3.b Empirical data

Inherent to the qualitative research nature of this thesis, the empirical data gathered will be mainly qualitative as well, complemented by some quantitative data, mainly linked to statistical information. The core of qualitative data will be divided into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are the ones that provide “ (...) *first-hand testimony or direct evidence concerning a topic under investigation. They are created by witnesses or recorders0 who experienced the events or conditions being documented (...)*” (Harvard Library 2022). The ***primary sources*** in this study will be composed by

- a. ***Empirical data gathered from interviews*** of Latin American Reunified Spouses and also representants of the Integration Services in different municipalities in Denmark, who shared their insight that led to identifying what the barriers that hinder the labour market inclusion of Latin American Reunified Spouses were.

b. *New interviews* to political and non-political idoneous referents who are elicited to share their views on how equitable the aforementioned support is and offer their valuable insight regarding the topic.

c. *Government policies / initiatives / proposals* aimed at non-western women and in particular, pertinent to labour market inclusion.

Additionally, secondary sources will also be analyzed. “A secondary source describes, interprets, evaluates, or analyses information from primary sources (...)” (Harvard Library 2022). Among these secondary sources there can be found:

- Relevant research papers from a variety of scholars that will provide scientific sustain to the data analysis.
- Relevant reports on Immigration and Labour Market Inclusion of non-western women at local and regional level, from relevant sources such as the Nordic Council of Ministers, Statistics Denmark, The Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment (STAR), The 2021 International Migration – Denmark report to the [OECD](#), the 2021 report on Gender Equality in the EU by the [European Commission](#), and also reports generated from different ministries in the current government in Denmark, all produced between 2014 and 2022.
- Online articles from different online newspapers and political portals, such as The Local DK, The Copenhagen Post, Politiken, Berlingske, among others.

Finally, the quantitative data presented will be strictly related to statistical information that can provide context and comparative value to this study.

3.3.d. Data collection

The chosen method was to conduct semi-structured interviews. According to Galetta, “(...) *the semi-structured interview, valued for its accommodation to a range of research goals, typically reflects variation in its use of questions, prompts, and accompanying tools and resources to draw the participant more fully into the topic under study (...)*” (Galetta and Cross 2013:45).

As recommended by Brinkmann, the interview was “introduced by a briefing in which the interviewer defines the situation or the subject “ (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015:154). The briefing

was given to potential interviewees in the form of electronic mail. Therefore, the email invitation to the participants explained the details of my research work and the reason why I considered their perspective valuable. Additionally, a report containing a summary of the outcomes of the previous project on labour market inclusion of Latin American Reunified Spouses was attached to their email for context (See Item 2, Annex) . The main findings in the report would provide interviewees with an adequate context to the interview, portraying a summary of the testimonies the previously interviewed Latin American Reunified Spouses had shared in their interviews. Additionally, further detail on specific cases among these women were shared for the purpose of expansion or exemplification, which proved very effective to add to illustration of the hindered labour market inclusion these women encounter in Denmark, and the particular needs they have when it comes to support that could be offered and could help them towards a more inclusive participation in the labour market. Along with this report, I also attached a set of questions as interview guidelines, in line with the research question and sub-questions (See Annex, item ...). The aim of these chosen questions was to elicit as much insight and perspective on labour market inclusion of non-western women in Denmark in general, and of Latin American Reunified spouses in particular, and simultaneously, stay consistent with the theoretical framework used to later inform the analysis of the data gathered.

For the purpose of transparency, time optimization and appreciation of these participant's offered time, the questions were shared in advanced, consent was requested to record interviews and a transcript of each interview was produced and shared with the participants for vetting before including them in this thesis. All interviews were conducted and recorded via Zoom, and as stated in the email invitation, they would be about 30 minutes long.

The only exception was the interview that took place *in situ* at the Danish Parliament. In this case, the interview lasted about 1 hour due to the interest in expansion and illustration of every aspect of the report sent prior to the interview, and the marked interest Mr Dagstaar had in comprehending all aspects of situation Latin American Reunified Spouses portrayed to him via the empirical data gathered through their testimonies. This interview also represented an opportunity to reach out to the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, as the key player for policy making and initiatives aimed at all immigrants in general, but in particular, at non-western women who might not have the chance to bring this problematic directly to them. As mentioned in the Introduction chapter, one strong motivation for me to having consistently focused my research on Labour Market inclusion of Latin American women as a non-western sub-minority is

to bring these experiences directly to those who have power of decision and can make a meaningful difference for these women.

3.3.e. The Participants

The main idea for this thesis project has been to further the research on labour market inclusion of Latin American reunified spouses as a sub-minority among non-western women into more complex sphere of action. In the previous project carried out, the research work reached the municipal level, where I had the opportunity of interviewing representatives of the Integration Services in different municipalities in Denmark. Their perspective is key, as the ones implementing the policy developed by the Ministry of Integration and Foreign Affairs in Denmark, which has the main policy-making responsibility within the government. My intention was therefore to elevate my research directly to the political field, by seeking contact with the Immigration and Integration Committee (UII) at the Danish Parliament. As explained in the official website:

“The committee works with a wide range of topics in the area of asylum and refugees, foreigners and integration. It can e.g. be the conditions of asylum seekers, the rules for residence in Denmark, e.g. family reunification, humanitarian residence and opportunities for foreign students and workers to reside in Denmark, integration of refugees and immigrants and prevention of radicalization and extremism. The tasks and responsibilities can be divided into 2 main areas:

- *consideration of bills and motions for resolutions that fall within the committee's remit*
- *ongoing parliamentary scrutiny of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Integration's administration of legislation in this area” (Folketinget 2022).*

I reached out to Rasmus Stoklund (S), who is a member of the Folketing for the Social Democrats. I emailed him directly, but I got an answer from Kanishka Dagsteer, a close political advisor who got my email forwarded by Rasmus Stoklund, with the request of taking the interview instead of him. Mr Dagsteer kindly invited me to the Parliament for an in-situ interview, which was one of the best experiences in my life. From past experiences, interviewing politicians has been a more fast-paced experience, giving their limited availability interviewees might seem rushed and strict to specific points. The difference I felt in this experience, interviewing a political advisor instead, was quite substantial. Mr Dagstaar’s positive predisposition was felt throughout the interview, both to answer my questions and to ask questions to be fully informed of relevant aspects of both

the report shared with him as well as the relevant aspects about the particular situation investigated in this thesis.

To this political view, I wanted to add the perspective of other relevant researchers and idoneous professionals who could provide relevant insight and experience, and whose perspectives would be valuable to not only understanding the problem presented, but with the hope to setting the spotlight on a less debated or studied sub-minority among non-western women, and potential inspire new ideas that can benefit not only the women in this study , but other non-western women in general. The selection process of these interviewees was inspired by the empirical data research.

One of the many secondary sources analysed was the 2019 “Integrating Immigrants into the Nordic Labour Markets” report produced by the Nordic Council of Ministers, which together *“(...)with the Nordic Council are the main forums for official Nordic co-operation, which involves Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, the Faroe Islands, Greenland and Åland”* and their *“(...) vision is to make the Nordic region the most sustainable and integrated region in the world (...)”* (Norden 2022). One of the relevant chapters focused on “Policies promoting higher employment for non-Western immigrant women”, and it was written by Jacob Nielsen Arendt, who is a researcher at the Rockwool Foundation, *“(...) an impartial, self-financing foundation which exists to generate knowledge that can contribute to strengthening the social and economic sustainability of the welfare state”* in Denmark (Rockwool Fonden 2022). Throughout my search, I continued finding relevant sources from the Department of Knowledge and Welfare at the Nordic Council, which “works with initiatives pertaining to education and research, social matters including health and welfare issues, as well as labour market matters”. That led me to Anna-Maria Moskilde, who is one of their senior advisors and has been working with all publications relevant to labour market inclusion of immigrants. Following the labour market inclusion research line, I encountered Jonas Felbo-Kolding’s PHd dissertation “Labour Market Integration On the multiple dimensions of immigrant labour market integration”, as one very useful source of insight on how the Danish Labour Market works as a setting for immigrant’s labour market inclusion, which also adds a different perspective to my thesis, more centred on the perspective of the employer rather than the immigrant (in this case, Latin American reunified spouses as a non-western sub-minority). The focus on the Latin American reunified spouses also led me to reach out to specialists on Latin American studies. This is how I decided to invite Georg Wink to participate, as a leading specialist in the matter. Lastly, I was drawn to the work Morten Sodemann has done on transcultural

experiences of migrants in Denmark. I had the pleasure of participating in an online conference on “Sustainable integration in the Nordic countries in the face of Covid-19” in November 2020 where he was one of the keynote speakers, and have also read some of his work, like “Hybrid Identities” (Sodemann 2021) and his most recent

| Name | Occupation | Organization |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| Kanishka Dagstaar | Political Advisor - Areas of work: Foreigners and integration, Citizenship, Development, Housing | Social Democratic Party: Integration, and Immigration Committee at the Danish Parliament. |
| Jacob Nielsen Arendt | Research Professor. Research Area: Labour Market, Immigration, Health Economics | The Rockwool Foundation |
| Anna-Maria Mosekilde | Senior Adviser at the Department of Knowledge and Welfare | The Nordic Council of Ministers |
| Jonas Felbo-Kolding | Post-doctoral researcher and analyst. Research area: labour-management cooperation, intra-EU labour migration, comparative welfare state and labour market models and non-standard employment | Fagbevægelsens Hovedorganisation |
| Georg Walter Wink | Associate professor and head of the Centre for Latin American Studies. | University of Copenhagen |
| Morten Sodemann | Professor in global health and migration medicine. | University of Southern Denmark Odense University Hospital |

PhD, specialist in infectious
medicine
Research area: treatment of
infections among children in
Guinea-Bissau.
Consultant in infectious
medicine at Odense
University Hospital Founder
of the Clinic for Migration
Medicine in 2008.

Figure 15: Self-made

work “What you don’t know will hurt the patient” ([Sodemann 2022](#)), both works which portrays the inner journey immigrants withstand within the Danish context, that is many times unseen by Danish and which in many cases can define their integration experience, having an impact especially in their labour market insertion. The information of interviewees is summarized in the table below.

3.4. Research limitations

Regarding the available research material, studies on Latin American women in Europe are very limited, especially in relation to labour market inclusion. Some studies have been conducted in other EU countries and the UK (add authors), but there is virtually not much research done about the Latin American community in Denmark in general.

Another relevant aspect is linked to the fact that the interviews for this project were secured and agreed during the months of February and March 2022. This was the time of the beginning of the Russian invasion to Ukraine, which happened exactly on 24th February 2022. This situation directly affected the work of the full Danish government, but specifically the pressure has been felt at a higher intensity in the Ministry of Integration and Foreign Affairs, and especially the Committee for Immigration and Integration at the Parliament, considering all the emergency policy work they have been producing in the light of the reception of displaced Ukrainian refugees into Denmark. Due to these circumstances, government organisms, especially the ones affected by the current situation in Ukraine, are working on full capacity totally devoted to the Ukraine crisis and many interview invitations were declined. This situation does not have a

negative impact on this study per se, since my main objective was to have access to an interview with the current party in government, that is to say, the Social Democratic Party and I did manage to secure an interview with them. I believe the value of having had other perspectives from different political parties would have added comparative value considering the different views parties might have on how to handle, promote, boost the labour market inclusion of non-western women, of which Latin American Reunified Spouses are a sub-minority. However, it is the Social Democratic party the key player in this aspect as the party in power, at least within the time delimitation of this study.

3. THEORY CHAPTER

This chapter will aim at providing adequate theoretical framework to the matters investigated in this project. It is important to understand the theories underpinning the position of Latin American reunified spouses as a non-western minority living in a Western country, being inserted in the Welfare State in Denmark. To this purpose, the Positioning theories will support the analysis to understand how these women are viewed in terms of human, social and cultural capital, and simultaneously, how they view themselves in similar terms, and also what is the nature of the support they are given as newcomers to the Danish Welfare State and Labour Market, to understand if they are inclusively and equitably supported by the system. Additionally, the empirical data gathered during previous research projects suggest that there is a tendency to a segmentation in the Danish labour market, where ethnicity might be a factor to consider in terms of access not only to jobs but also to career development and progression. Therefore, the Dual Segmentation theory will be also explored in order to find underlying connections to the data, as well as the Assimilation and Decapitalization theories will focus on the pressures and barriers these women experience when entering the Danish system. Multiculturalism theory which will be presented as an adequate alternative to Assimilation, especially linked to facilitating the labour market access of highly skilled immigrants such as the interviewed Latin American Reunified spouses. The summary of the links between sub-questions and applied theories follows:

| “How can the support for non-western women to access the labour market in Denmark be more equitable?” | |
|--|--|
| Sub-questions | Relevant Theories |
| 1. What is the social construction of the non-western woman in Denmark, considering the high diversity among them? | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Positioning Theory• Western vs Non-Western• Welfare State• Cultural Capital |

| | |
|--|--|
| 2. Why do some sub-groups receive differentiated support to access the labour market and to integrate in general? What are the benchmarks/ grounds of this specific support? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human Capital • Social Capital • Dual Segmented Market |
| 3. If is the biggest paradigm change needed to inspire the necessary actions to aim at a more equitable among non-western women, especially in the case of Latin American reunified spouses? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assimilation • Decapitalization • Multiculturalism |

Figure 16: Self-made.

3.1. Positioning Theory

The Positioning theory has been gradually gestated by Rom Harré since 1990, and solidly established in 2012 in his work *“Positioning theory: moral dimensions of social-cultural psychology”*, and defines it as:

“(...) based on the principle that not everyone involved in a social episode has equal access to rights and duties to perform particular kinds of meaningful actions at that moment and with those people. In many interesting cases, the rights and duties determine who can use a certain discourse mode ... A cluster of short-term disputable rights, obligations and duties is called a ‘position’ (...) ” (Harré 2012, p. 193).

Applied to the area of immigrant integration, this theory could help explain the social construct of non-western women in Denmark, and also the particular position of Latin American Reunified spouses who, despite coming to Denmark with high, pre-migratory Human Capital, find their access to the labour market hindered, and from their perspective, how they position themselves faced with these hurdles. Similarly, this theory can help interpret the perspective of the government and other actors in the way they position non-western women through narrative, policy, and opinion.

The Positioning theory emerges as a constructionist approach from the psychology field, yet popular among post-structuralist and gender studies specialists such as Bronwyn Davies, who, much in line with the Hermeneutic Constructivist ontology, sets the focus on language as a medium to create meaning through social interaction. Davis affirms that:

"(...) a conversation unfolds through the joint action of all the participants as they make (or attempt to make) their own and each other's actions socially determinate. A speech-action can become a determinate speech-act to the extent that it is taken up as such by all the participants" (cf. Muhlhausler and Harré, 1990; Pearce, 1989, as quoted by Davis & Harré 1990:4).

This theory deals with *"how people use words (and discourse of all types) to locate themselves and others (...) it is with words that we ascribe rights and claim them for ourselves and place duties on others"* (Moghaddam and Harré 2010: 2-3). From this perspective, it is possible to create social divide, the discursive dichotomy of "us and them" or even "us vs them". This tension can clearly have an impact on the way the "them" is perceived by the "us", even *"direct moral implications, such as some person or group being located as 'trusted' or 'distrusted', 'with us' or 'against us', 'to be saved' or 'to be wiped out'"* (Moghaddam & Harré, 2010, p. 2).

Focusing on the specific issue of labour market inclusion of Latin American Reunified Spouses, this theory could help understand the convergent perspectives on the issue of employability, the impact of being deemed "self-sufficient" from the outset and the effect of the municipal support (or lack of) has on these women. As Lønmann explains:

"The construction of "the employable migrant" constitutes a shift towards increased responsabilisation of the individual as part of a neoliberal ideology, and a rhetoric that implies that individual freedom and agency are unlimited (Diedrich and Styhre 2013: 762). In other words, the notion of employability not only turns a structural problem into a personal one, but also frames it in a positive light"(Lønmann 2020:50).

3.2. Western and Non-Western Immigrants

Immigrants in Denmark are normally divided into two main groups:

- a. **Immigrants of Western Origin**, which includes those from all the rest of Europe, the UK, Andorra, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Norway, San Marino, Switzerland, Vatican City, Canada, the USA, Australia, and New Zealand.
- b. **Immigrants of Non-Western Origin**, which is comprehensive of over 150 different countries in Asia, Africa and South America.

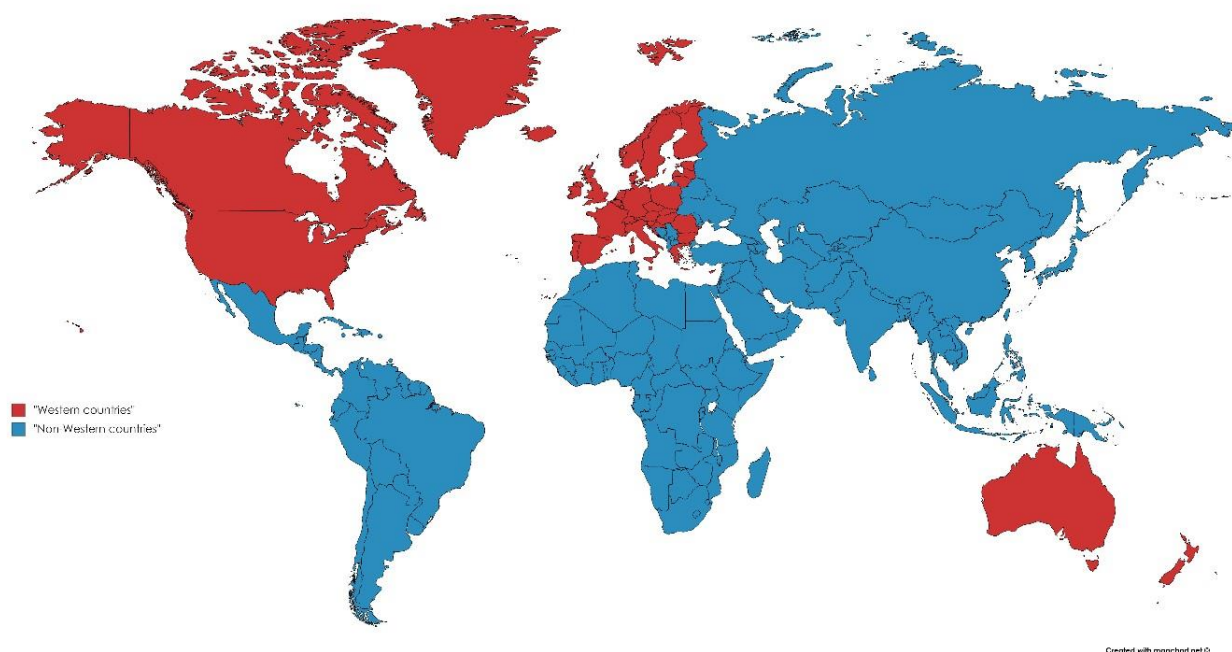


Figure 17: Western and Non-Western Countries – Source: The disorder of things (2022).

At first glance, this division might seem simply geographical. However, it is in fact more complex than that. Many scholars agree that the division is more cultural and epistemological, rather than geographical, reflecting that the divide “ (...) is a consequence of colonialism and eurocentrism”. (Noda 2020:3). In other words, the non-western nomenclature seems to be sufficiently self-explanatory: everything that is not western. This encompasses not only the geographical aspects, but also cultural, religious, social, economic, etc. It has also been discussed the impact this classification has on statistics and political narrative globally. Focusing on how this classification affects immigrants in Denmark, it is evident that it has a strong impact not only on policy but also in the narrative behind policy production and reform oriented to non-western immigrants and reunified family members. As explained by ...:

“ (...) The establishment and operation of these concepts by Statistics Denmark, which maintains a population register (the CPR register) that covers all residents of Denmark, has profound implications for the problematization and government of the population group known as non-Western immigrants. Social statistics, as Foucauldian scholars argue, is a fundamental technology of power of the modern state. The statistical knowledge produced about non-Western immigrants creates the group as such by describing its “own regularities” (Foucault, 2007): the rate of criminalisation of its members, their employment rate, income level, education level, and so forth.

This knowledge enables politicians, media professionals, and social scientists to talk about non-Western immigrants – people from over 150 countries across the world – as a somewhat monolithic object of governmental intervention and social scientific inquiry (...) (C Zhang 2020)

This perspective is evidenced in the debate generated about some laws passed in recent years, oriented to non-western immigrant and refugees, as well as their descendants, with a special focus on the MENAPT sub-minority, which represents around the 55% within the non-western immigrant population (Regering 2018/CNN 2020/DW 2021).

Among the most salient recent changes, an exemplary one is the initiative promoted by the government since 2018 called “Ét Danmark uden parallelsamfund – Ingen ghettoer i 2030” (A Denmark without a parallel society- No ghettos in 2030”) (Regeringen 2018), which reflects the purpose the current government has to strategically alter the demographic composition in certain areas of Denmark where the concentration of immigrants is high, especially MENAPT immigrants, by deploying resources and interventions to boost integration in these areas. An important factor is that a high proportion of people from MENAPT countries arrive in Denmark as refugees or for family reunification, which is a determinant factor to perpetuate their cultural, social and religious values, even though they might clash with Danish or Western values in general. This is a contrastive element regarding other immigrants from other countries who are more likely to move to Denmark because of a job offer or study place (The Local 2021).

3.2.a. The Non-Western identity and the Danish identity differences

The perception of non-western immigrants in general within the Danish society has particular characteristics, that many times are portrayed as opposite or in conflict with what is considered ‘Danish identity’. According to Jensen et al (Jensen et al 2010:8-9), there are 5 key components to this identity:

- a. Cultural Christianity.
- b. Danish Language.
- c. Social and cultural homogeneity
- d. Egalitarianism and Democracy
- e. Welfare society.

In the light of these concepts, the idea of non-western immigrants -especially MENAPT non-western immigrants or refugees- is of opposite or not compatible with these elements of the Danish identity, especially what concerns religion, social and cultural differences, and the impact these differences might have on the integration of immigrants from this group. As explained by Jensen (Ibid:2), *“the overshadowing concern with cultural and religious differences in Denmark today pertains to minorities of immigrants and descendants from non-western countries, most of whom are (identified as) Muslims (...)”* and the perception of their *“low ability or willingness to integrate into the ‘modern’ Danish society and democracy”* (Jensen et al 2010:2).

3.2.b. Challenges to tackle regarding non-western immigrants

The main diversity challenges associated to non-western immigrants are summarized by Jensen et al in three core themes (Jensen et al 2010:2)

1. **Unemployment**, *“seen as a problem for the sustainability of the Danish welfare model”* (Ibid).
2. **Parallel societies (Ghettoisation)**, and the fear of *“parallel societies hostile and indifferent to one another, of Sharia law being de facto implemented outside Danish law, and generally the erosion of society’s social cohesion”* (Ibid).
3. **Radicalisation/extremism within the Muslim community** (Ibid).

For the purpose of this research project, the focus will be set in the first challenge enunciated above, which is unemployment, particularly in the case of non-western women, with especial attention on the sub-minority represented by Latin American reunified spouses.

3.1.c. The Danish Welfare State as part of the Nordic Model

The seminal work of Esping-Andersen in 1990 became one of the most valuable foundation to the definition and classification of Welfare State characteristics. As Manow explains:

“ (...) Esping-Andersen argued that we can observe systematic variation in the character of the developed welfare states of the West, which he grouped into three distinct welfare state models: a Scandinavian social democratic model, a conservative continental European model, and a liberal Anglo-Saxon model (...)” (Manow 2021:1)

Denmark’s Welfare State has evolved into one of the strongest role-models of the Scandinavian Welfare State Esping-Andersen typified, especially in the last century. As Petersen sustains the Danish model is a variant of the Nordic welfare one, as he explains:

“The Nordic welfare model is based on a regulated market economy with dual-earner families and characterized by comprehensive (universal) social security and social services, tax financing, and regulated labour markets. Furthermore, the Nordic model of welfare has been very successful with respect to poverty reduction and has significant redistributive effects (...)” (Petersen 2020:2).

As it has been mentioned in the Introduction chapter, Denmark’s experience with immigration and integration is relatively new. The Welfare State described above is a clear reflection of the homogenous nature of that Denmark consistently conserved socially and culturally. In a uniform society, where people ‘pull their own weight’ and contribute consistently to the keeping of such structure and support the weaker or the ones in need of help, this type of Welfare State can thrive and become as robust as it became for Denmark and the rest of the Scandinavian countries for the past decades.

However, the world we had 100 years ago is not the same we have right now. A myriad of economic, social, political phenomena has occurred, and it has been felt in every corner of the planet. In the case of Denmark, the challenges are very well defined by Petersen:

“The welfare state is still very popular with the citizens, but we face challenges such as an ageing population, immigration, individualization, and the like that require policy responses in the near future. At the same time, the Danish welfare state has historically shown itself to be both dynamic and institutionally sluggish. Whether this means that we will also have a welfare state 100 years from now is difficult to predict, but a good bet is that the Danish model is well equipped to survive the coming decades. However, it will hardly do so in the precise form that we know today” (Petersen 2020:20).

3.1.d. The Welfare State Theory and non-western immigrants’ labour market participation

As mentioned above, one of the most important challenges that the government faces regarding non-western immigrants in Denmark is the yet high rate of unemployment that persists in this community, especially in the female population, as revealed by the statistics shared in earlier chapters. This is considered a destabilizing element to the Welfare State the political response has been consistently clear: there is need to activate and integrate those who can work to the labour market, not only by invitation at times, but through labour market activation programmes or initiatives aimed at specific groups that put pressure on the welfare system and the active labour force, like the “(...) major labour market reform in 1993 [that] marked the shift from so-called passive to

active labour market policy and was pushed further with the Active Social Policy Act (Lov om Aktiv Socialpolitik) of 1997. Participation in municipal activation programmes became a requirement for receiving social benefits (...) This incentive-based thinking in relation to the individual recipient expanded in the 2000s with a comprehensive activation programme and a reduction of cash benefits in order to increase recipients' incentive to take jobs (...)" (Petersen 2020:11).

The Welfare State in Denmark faces other big challenges too, such as aging population but politically, immigration has been one of the challenges that has been used politically the most, as represented in the Danish Political Discourse that will be presented next in the Analysis chapter.

3.2 The Human Capital Theory

This theory can help explaining the context in which non-western women, especially Latin American reunified spouses are expected to enter the labour market. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines human capital as *"(...) the stock of knowledge, skills and other personal characteristics embodied in people that helps them to be productive. Pursuing formal education (early childhood, formal school system, adult training programmes) but also informal and on-the-job learning and work experience all represent investment in human capital (...)"* (OECD 2022). From this perspective, productivity within society is reflected by how much a people 'invests' in improving their labour market-value via education, work training, etc. Universally, and especially in Western societies, the higher the skills or the more advanced in formal education a person is, the better the chances of success they would have, and therefore, better access to well-paid jobs and career advancement opportunities. This is an essential element of the Human Capital discourse linked to immigration to Western countries, *"which frames the education and skills of individuals in terms of their potential contribution to a nation's economic goals, and seeks immigrants who can hit the ground running and adapt flexibly to the labour market* (Li 2003, as quoted by Creese et al 2008:70). This paradigm is quite embedded in the Immigration Policy of most of the Western World, where in general, countries tend to attract immigrants selectively. They seek to appeal to highly educated/skilled professionals to improve the work force and elevate the level of competencies within the labour market. Denmark is a good example of this, which is reflected in the "Positive List" that the Danish government produce every year that includes "a list of professions experiencing a shortage of qualified professionals in Denmark" (NyiDanmark 2022).

Focusing specifically in the case of Latin American Reunified Spouses, there are certain elements that need to be also taken into account, like for example gender, that can have an impact on their human capital. As Meares explains:

“ (...) The few studies which have focused on the migration experiences of professional women suggest that it tends to have a negative impact on their careers (Hardill, 2002; Iredale, 2001; Man, 2004; Salaff & Greve, 2006; Suto, 2009), including downward occupational mobility and/or a re-orientation away from professional life towards the home and family. This transition has been variously theorised as de-skilling (Man, 2004), feminization (Ho, 2006), re-domestication (Yeoh & Willis, 2005) and, most recently, compromised careers (Suto, 2009). Although these studies account for the dual impact of international migration, which generally involves both career damage (a move down the career ladder, a shift to part-time work, re-training or a move out of the workforce altogether) and an increase and/or intensification of domestic responsibilities (...)” (Meares 2010:473)

This theory can help understand how the Latin American reunified spouses’ human capital is considered for their integration to the labour market and if they are deemed as valuable as other immigrants.

3.3. The Social Capital Theory

As previously mentioned, Latin American reunified spouses are deemed self-sufficient, hence expected to relate directly on their Danish spouses and further social networks to achieve successful integration at all levels.

Pierre Bourdieu was one of the first sociologists to have deeply delved into the social capital theory and defines it as:

“(...) Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (...)” (Bourdieu 1986: 21).

Bram Lancee (2012:18) utilizes Bourdieu’s definition and, gathering other scholars’ ideas, he expands the conceptualization of social capital by examining its constitutive elements, establishing first a difference between **structural and cognitive social capital**. The **structural components** refer to the “wires in the network” (Ibid). In other words, “structural social capital consists of 1) a collection of ties characterised by the relation between the people connected and 2) the possible institutional embeddedness of these ties. The basic idea of the latter is that when ties are embedded in institutions, it is more likely that resources will be exchanged” (Putnam 1993; Veenstra 2002; Völker &

Flap 1995, as quoted by Lancee 2012:18). The cognitive components, on the other hand, are the “nodes”; in other words, *“the attitudes and values such as perceptions of support, reciprocity and trust that contribute to the exchange of resources”* (Poortinga 2006 as quoted by Lancee 2012:18). The author also makes a distinction between *“use and access”* to those resources, that could be *“actually or potentially available”* (Lancee 2012:18-19). From this perspective, the use of social capital could have an impact on labour market inclusion, provided social networks and resources enhance the chances of finding jobs, since *“people often receive useful job information in routine exchanges, rather than in explicit job referrals”* (Lin and Ao (2008), as quoted by Lancee 2012:19), and also considering other less tangible resources such as the help to apply for a job, for example (Ibid:20).

These elements of social capital could explain the indispensable need to consider social capital integrated to human capital to understand the full dimension of the labour market inclusion of immigrants in general, but in particular of Latin American reunified spouses, given their being the focus group in this study.

Figure 2.1 *Different elements of individual social capital*

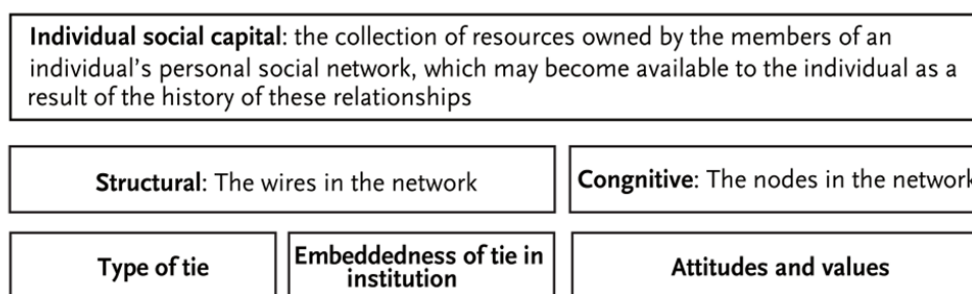


Figure 18: Different Elements of individual social capital. Source: Bram Lancee (2012:20).

Within the context of labour mobility, *“social capital in the form of membership in a transnational network is an important form of distinction in migrant source communities. Individuals with social capital can access information about migration destinations that may not be available to the wider community about immigration laws, housing and labour market conditions”* (Ghosh 2007, as quoted by Lusis and Bauder 2010:33). The acquisition of social capital in the case of the Latin American reunified spouses is extremely valuable, provided these women will chiefly rely on their limited social networks, at least initially, and the access to resources might therefore prove limited.

3.4. The Cultural Capital Theory

The Cultural Capital theory not only compliments the other two theories previously developed, but also adds a highly pertinent dimension to the theoretical framework offered. It is Bourdieu who developed this theory, which initially was studied in the educational context of 1960's France. In his own words, the concept of cultural capital appeared to him " (...) *as a theoretical hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success (...)*" (Bourdieu 1986:243). Bourdieu explored the impact that higher access to diverse resources and opportunities were key factors in academical achievement and sought to find the bias on the cultural capital transmitted by families to individuals coming from higher social status contributes to their overall achievement. Bourdieu classified the sources of cultural capital as:

- a) Embodied: language, mannerisms, preferences acquired over time, "(...) *the work of acquisition is work on oneself (self-improvement), an effort that presupposes a personal cost (...)*" (Ibid:244).
- b) Objectified: cultural goods, books, works of art, "(...) *cultural goods can be appropriated both materially – which presupposes economic capital – and symbolically – which presupposes cultural capital (...)*" (Ibid:247).
- c) Institutionalized: qualifications, education credentials, or any "(...) *certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time (...)*" (Ibid:248).

The Cultural Capital theory can help us understand how relevant social constructs in embodied, objectified, and institutionalized dimensions have a powerful impact on how non-western women are viewed from a Danish perspective, and if that is equivalent to the social and cultural self-image these women have, considering they are a highly diverse group, for which reason heterogeneous standpoints are predicted. This theory will particularly be useful to understand the restrictive nature of the qualifications' conversion and validity recognition Latin American reunified spouses have identified as one of the main barriers to labour market access in Denmark.

3.5. Dual Labour Market Theory

The quantitative data presented earlier indicates that the participation of non-western women in the Danish labour market is not yet idea, and there is a persistent gap in comparison with ethnic

Danish women. Focusing on the sub-minority on which this study verses, there is further, relevant empirical data that also indicates that the kind of jobs offered or initially performed by Latin American reunified spouses are consistently unskilled jobs, unrelated to their work experience and professional background, which is not always considered a priori during their integration process. This triggers speculation on whether the Danish Labour Market offers equal, multi-level access to all, or is indeed selective and stratified. This is why the Dual Labour Market theory is going to be explored, to understand the underpinning concepts that can help confirm this speculation.

This theory starts being developed first by Michael Piore, an American economist whose work “Birds of Passage” on multi-scale studies of labour market structure and mobility contested traditional theories which focused only on economic factors and did not consider sociological factors that are imperative to include in such analysis. Even though Piore’s work was written back in 1979, the current scenario described appears to be reproduced at his point of the new millennium: developed western economies consistently attract migrant workers, normally from less developed areas of the world, normally to fill jobs which are not the ones native workers do. Piore sustains that initially, labour force migration was a two-way modality which would benefit both, the sending, and the receiving country (Piore 1979: 1) He explains that:

“(...) Both countries thought of the migrants as temporary. In the sending country the migration was supposed to relieve population pressure and overcome rural unemployment (...). In the receiving country, migrants were supposed to complement native labour, taking jobs that the latter did not want and in his way overcome critical labour shortages. Over time, however, the migration process has been the source of an increasing number of problems and a focal point of clashes between native and foreign populations (...)”
(Ibid:1)

Decades later, Piore’s work remains as relevant as ever and his Dual Market Theory can help explaining the existing segments in most of the developed western economies in general, and the division in the Danish Labour Market in particular. Two are the main fundamentals, as explained by Febo-Kolding et al (Febo-Kolding et al 2019:6):

1. *“(...) all modern industrialised economies have a secondary labour market segment characterised by low skills and poor working conditions, which is unattractive to native workers but filled by often temporary labour migrants with lower reservation wages because of their different frame of reference (Piore 1979).*

2. *"(...) this labour demand mechanism of segmentation is counteracted by labour market institutions and welfare state arrangements (Peck 1996; Rubery 2007) (...) and their respective institutional configurations (e.g., labour market or welfare regimes) should therefore play a moderating role in the degree of segmentation we would expect (Esping-Andersen 1990; Hall & Soskice 2001) (...)"*

From this perspective, there would be at least two segments in the labour market that will drive natives and immigrants in different directions as a general rule. It could also be considered as an element of *"a capitalist economy that continually requires labour for the unpleasant or unpopular jobs that give firms flexibility"* (Stalker 2001, as quoted by Lusis & Bauder 2010:30).

One key feature of this theory is the contrastive nature of each of the segments at many levels. In other words, *"(...) in the primary sector, work is typically stable, well paid and offers upward mobility whereas, in contrast, the secondary segment is often characterized by unstable work with low pay, poor working conditions and few prospects for promotion (...)"* (Ibid). Both these segments depend on each other, yet they present firm limitations. This means that mobility between these segments is virtually non-existent. This is where the institutionalized governance of the labour market plays a very important role, since *"the rules guiding labour market engagement (...) differ between segments"* (Peck 1996:576). In other words, the more restrictive the policy body of the receiving country is in terms of allowing migrants to access the higher sector, the more they are pushed to the lower sector, regardless of how competent they might be in their home countries. These restrictions can be substantiated in different ways; for example, as *"(...) institutionalized cultural practices of credential non-recognition (...) and by expected cultural conventions and performances of professionalism, which many immigrants do not have access to (...)"* (Lusis & Bauder 2010: 30-31).

3.6. Assimilation or Multiculturalism?

Migration scholars have extensively analyzed the different ways in which receiving countries expect newcomers to incorporate to the the main society. There are different models, but the most salient ones are often Assimilation and Multiculturalism, as two very commonly applied variants of integration underlying theories to their policies. As well stated by Borooah & Mangan:

"(...) A central pillar of the debate in Western countries about immigrants concerns the relative merits of multiculturalism versus assimilation: should immigrants preserve their traditions and culture while living in the host country or should they absorb themselves into the ways and manners of their hosts2

? Of course, in practice, the distinction between the two need not be as stark. Within the two polar cases of multiculturalism and assimilation there are various degrees of integration and coexistence . Integration provides for the coexistence of minority cultures with the majority culture. Assimilation requires the absorption of minority cultures into the majority culture. In simplistic terms the aim of assimilation is a monocultural, perhaps even a monofaith, society; the aim of integration is a multicultural, pluralist society (...)" (Borooah and Mangan 2010: 34)

Furthering the distinction between these two main incorporation models, Rodriguez-Garcia explains that:

*"The **assimilationist model**, from the French liberal tradition, is based on the need to respect common legal values and principles that are shared by all in order to foster a cohesive, inclusive society. Assimilation is based on the idea of monoculturality and of the full adoption (whether by submission or absorption) of the rules and values of the dominant society so that the minority group becomes culturally indistinguishable from the dominant society (...)" (Rodriguez-Garcia 2010: 253).*

Applied to the Danish context, from the assimilationist perspective, all immigrants coming to Denmark should go through a process of assimilation that would led them to a full adoption of rules and values (Ibid), to learn the language, to embrace all elements of the Danish identity, to then be incorporated or integrated into the Danish society. In other words, become, behave, and sound as Danish as possible.

On the other hand, the contrast is given by the opposite strategy which is multiculturalism. Rodriguez-Garcia states that:

" Conversely, the model of cultural pluralism, from the Anglo-Saxon tradition, which can be found in countries such as the UK, the Netherlands, and Canada, is based on the acknowledgment and protection of cultural diversity (...)" (Ibid: 254).

This is naturally the opposite to assimilation. Applied to the Danish context, it could mean less emphasis on 'becoming as Danish as possible', but a case of embracing diversity in a more flexible way.

3.7. Decapitalisation

Lack of earlier access to Danish language education and lack of Danish language skills have been recurrent barriers mentioned by both interviewed Latin American reunified spouses and Integration department agents at different municipalities in my previous research project. It is socially expected that migrants who come to Denmark must learn the language, as part of their Integration contract/programme. As Lønsmann explains:

“Studies investigating language, ideology and employability for migrants show that competence in the language of the host society is often ideologically linked with symbolic capital and social mobility (Flubacher et al. 2016; Kraft and Lønsmann 2018). Competence in the local language is commonly seen as an important factor in gaining access to the job market, especially for migrants in low-paying jobs (Flubacher et al. 2018). Consequently, much adult language education for migrants is based on language ideologies that frame monolingualism in the local language as an important dimension of social homogeneity and societal cohesion (Simpson and Whiteside 2015)” (Lønsmann 2020: 50-51).

In other words, learning and becoming proficient at Danish is framed as the gateway to improved employability and mobility within the labour market, as well as a sign of successful integration, since language learning is one of the benchmarks to measure it, as the 3rd most important goal among the 9 National goals for Integration (Integrationsbarometer (bis) 2022).

However, there are discrepancies among scholars whether becoming proficient at Danish is really a guarantee of upward mobility, or simply a positive narrative framing to boost assimilation, especially when they encounter the actual barriers to entering the labour market. As Lønsmann explains:

“Migrants have been shown to be at a disadvantage linguistically and culturally in gatekeeping encounters such as job interviews (Kirilova 2013; Roberts 2013). Even with competence in the local language, migrants are still likely to be excluded and marked as “other”, and unlikely to obtain upward mobility (Allan 2016; Creese and Wiebe 2012, as quoted by Lønsmann 2020:51).

This perspective positions migrants as the ones in lack of skills, in this case Danish skills, and that can potentially eclipse the rest of the skills these migrants might have, as it is the case of Latin American Reunified Spouses who are highly skilled women. From this perspective of expected monolingualism, this theory could explain the fact that women in this study (as all non-Danish immigrants in Denmark) might be positioned in disadvantage compared to native Danish population from the outset. This focus on the skills migrants lack, as opposed to what they are equipped with, brings forward a more structural problem, explained by the Decapitalisation Theory, developed by Martin Rojo, initially in the context of language learning in Spain, but also applied extensively in the migration studies. Martin Rojo affirms that:

"(...) decapitalisation describes the phenomenon of preventing the capitalisation of social agents by "acts of subtracting capital and of discouraging capital formation" (Martín Rojo 2013: 138). This can be done by devaluing linguistic varieties and communicative practices, e.g. "the lack of valuation of students' previous schooling, languages and knowledge", and through acts of discouraging capital formation "with the tendency [...] to orient students toward unskilled jobs and toward lower positions in the labour market" (Martín Rojo 2013: 138, as quoted by Lønsmann 2020:52).

This theory could help explain the perceived Dual Market Segmentation in Denmark, why Latin American Reunified Spouses have encountered so many barriers despite possessing high Human Capital, which translates into *"negative valuation of migrants' existing language competences and work experience, and on the positions in the labour market to which they are directed. Also in a work context, Moyer (2018) describes decapitalisation as a process where highly educated migrants who take on low-wage jobs get positioned low on the local social scale. In this way, mobility across borders is accompanied by downward social mobility and status loss"* (Ibid).

This theoretical framework will certainly prove useful to understand the various aspects of the labour market inclusion of Latin American reunified spouses in Denmark. Each of the theories above will aid the analysis of the data and will be key to understand the problem, to then lead to nuanced answers to the research question and sub-questions.

4. ANALYSIS CHAPTER

This chapter will offer a deeper analysis of all the empirical data gathered, in connection with the theoretical framework presented earlier. The analysis will be organized as follows: first, an account on the political narrative and the government's perspective in Denmark will be given, to add on to the context of the analysis. Then, an answer to each of the sub-questions in this study will be developed through the combined interaction of the relevant theories and literature. All these elements were linked to questions asked during the interviews to elicit different perspectives.

4.1 The Political Discourse in Denmark

The political discourse in Denmark has consistently been aligned with the perspective of non-western cultures often clashing with the Danish Identity principles and it has become much stronger in recent years. An earlier example of this is the post-9/11 words the prime minister Nyrup Rasmussen chose to refer to those who 'wish to live their lives in Denmark' to 'commit themselves clearly to the idea that democracy and the constitution stand above all else including religion, and for human rights and democratic values to be respected in Danish society' (Mouritsen 2019:7). The message was categorical: immigrants who come to Denmark must conform to the values upheld by the Danish society. There is no compromise on human rights nor democratic values. The mentioning of religion as a value that can not be above the constitution constitutes a strong signal especially to the Muslim community, given the 9/11 aftermath, and also because by this time, social negative control and honour-related crimes had become an increasing problem.

The Mohammed Cartoon Crisis of 2005/2006 (The Local 2015) brought even more tension to the established divide, when cartoonist Kurt Westergaard (The Local 2015) drew twelve caricatures of Mohammed, that were later published by the Jyllands-Posten daily on September 30, 2005, included portrayals of the prophet wearing a bomb inside a turban and as a knife-wielding nomad flanked by shrouded women (The Local 2015) and these "images sparked deadly protests in the Muslim world as angry demonstrators burned Danish flags and torched diplomatic offices. Boycotts of Danish products led to a plunge in exports" (Ibid). The reaction of the Muslim community against the published cartoons acted as a catalyst to reveal the social tension that in a way divided the society in "us" vs "them", because crisis like this one are the stages to reveal

irreconcilable differences at a cultural level, such as the freedom of speech in Danish society and the supremacy of religion for the Muslim community.

Former Integration Minister Inger Støjberg's reforms to the laws during her mandate were highly controversial and much criticized (The Local 2015 / The New York Times 2015), which led to her recent impeachment trial (Altinget 2021) and later conviction on last December 2021 (Politico EU 2021), "after a special court found her guilty of illegally separating several couples of asylum seekers where the woman was under 18" (The Guardian 2021). A year before this conviction, the former Integration minister also wrote an article where she openly stated that "(...) one might as well be honest and put it bluntly: Non-Western, and thus primarily Muslim immigration, has harmed Denmark far more than it has benefited" (BT 2020), referring mainly to the crime statistics that show "(...) there is a strong over-representation of criminals from non-Western countries, as the crime statistics clearly indicate (...)" (ReMix 2020). Former Minister Støjberg's words might represent her views but can also be seen as representative of a portion of the Danish society that sees immigrants as a load to the Welfare System.

The new government led by Mette Frederiksen since 2019 has continued to maintain the hard line on immigration and integration policies. The now former Minister of Integration Mathias Tesfaye's classification for ethnic minorities is an example of this, "singling out people from North Africa and the Middle East in statistics with reference to higher crime rates and lower employment rates" (EU Commission 2020). Another aspect of this new classification is the additional extra layer of ethnical sub-division, which has triggered hard criticism, provided that "(...) Statistics Denmark divides the population into three groups: people of Danish origin, immigrants, and descendants. And then the group of descendants joins forces with the group of immigrants" (Information DK 2019). This means that second generation immigrants who have been born in Denmark but have non-western ancestry are not considered to statistics unless they have a Danish parent. This is clearly evidence of how sensitive this topic is, since many of these descendants have lived in Denmark all their lives, they have grown up with Danish values, going to Danish schools, feeling more Danish than their parent's ethnicity or origin, and are statistically labelled the same as their parents. The social gap seems to be very difficult to narrow.

4.2 The government's perspective

As explained in previous chapters, the non-western community is often associated with three main social issues in Denmark: unemployment, parallel societies, and radicalisation/extremism (Jensen et al 2010:2).

Focusing strictly on non-western women, the issues that emerge as priorities to tackle are quite specific, especially centred in unemployment, clearly enunciated by Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen during her 2022 New Year Speech:

"(...) The best thing is to get a job. If you cannot do that, then you must be useful in some other capacity in order to claim your benefits. And to you – especially women of a non-western background, who are unemployed, even though you have lived in Denmark for many years: We need you. We will target our proposal of a 37-hour work duty to those areas where the shortage of staff is significant. This is especially the case in the elder care facilities (...) Now, I know that it is not possible to work on equal footing with trained and experienced colleagues from day one. But then you can do other things. Make sandwiches. Do laundry. Extra cleaning. You start out being useful at the nursing home, in return for your unemployment benefits. As soon as you are ready for an education or a job, you must earn your own income. It is good for gender equality. For integration. And mom and dad having a job is the best defence against child poverty (...)" (Statsministeriet 2022).

This speech reflects the general discourse construct of non-western women in Denmark: unemployed, collecting cash benefit and in need of labour market activation, not as well trained and experienced as others (i.e Danish/Western counterparts), and in need to embrace Danish values such as gender equality and effective integration through contributing to the welfare state, yet in a somewhat positive tone, framed as beneficial for all, but even more to the non-western woman the Prime Minister is addressing. A message like this, in the context of the New Year speech, that traditionally is watched by most Danes, is a powerful statement. The positioning of non-western women directly by the political leader can definitely shape the perception of the population. This conception of non-western women proves very useful to understand the strategies intended in the policies developed to target this group and its specific needs.

1. What is the social construction of the non-western woman in Denmark, considering the high diversity among them?

The first key aspect to elucidate with this first question was linked to understand what the view on non-western women in Denmark was, if there was enough awareness of the high diversity among them, and in general, how these women are socially perceived in Denmark.

A good point of departure seems to be the dichotomy Western- Non-western, as one of the most decisive elements to determine what the general perception is. According to Georg Wink, addresses this issue from a more conceptual level focusing on, he states that:

"(...) the fantasy of Western and Non-Western" as the origin of the problem, triggering lots of political, bureaucratic biases that actually come from that. And of course, from this Western/Non-Western perspective, you still have the idea applied of countries as containers , as in for example, anyone with an Argentine passport , doesn't matter if he or she holds two Ph.Ds. but what matters is in which category they are fit, if Western or non-Western (...)"(Item 9: 3-7, Annex)

Wink's point is so relevant to the reality depicted by the women in the interview, as well as the reality that many other non-western women live. Just because they fall into this demographic category, they are positioned in a less favourable position in the labour market, even when they might be educated at similar or even higher level than the media of Danish women, as is the case of the Latin American Reunified spouses in this study. It should be ability and competences that should determine the positioning of women in the labour market and in the society in general, not their ethnicity.

On this note and according to Morten Sodemann:

" It is quite obvious that Danes have a view of the world that's consisting of Western and Non-Western (...) where you are either familiar, or you are a foreigner... And if you are a foreigner, then you are part of a mass, and it doesn't matter if this mass is diverse or not, they are just foreigners; and therefore, they should adopt the ideas, the rules, the regulations and just get integrated and learn some language, we don't want too much noise (...)"

Wink and Sodemann's perspectives are congruent with the epistemology of Western and non-Western world. There is clearly a social construction of the non-western immigrant, and it is such a present ingredient in the Danish political narrative (see section 4.1 above) , which has been consistent in the past decades and proves how powerful the construction of meaning through diffusion of ideas over time. As Boswell et al sustains that " (...) a narrative stabilises 'the assumptions needed for decision making in the face of what is genuinely uncertain and complex. They can

be representationally inaccurate – and recognizably so – but still persist, indeed thrive (...)” (Boswell et al 2011:4). As it could be appreciated above with the Prime Minister’s New Year’s speech, the diffusion of these ideas can certainly affect the public opinion. Why would anyone think differently if it is that narrative comes straight from the political leader of a country?

The construction of policy narrative can potentially shape social reality , but also can go beyond that and “ (...) also call for action upon this reality (...) Such calls will be based on more or less grounded assumptions about how interventions will influence the dynamics or groups that are the targets of policy. For example, the narrative might involve claims about how restricting benefits for asylum seekers has led to a reduction in the numbers of asylum applications (...) (Ibid:5). Therefore, the fact that proposals and initiatives tend to focus predominantly on MENAPT women, reinforces the established social construct. The political discourse in Denmark is a clear example of how social constructs can be developed and sustained over time, according to social fluctuations, circumstances, and collective beliefs.

As Anna-Maria Moskilde explains:

“ (...) There has been a strong political focus on MENAPT women and focusing also on developing solutions to deal with the phenomenon of negative social control, and I think this is a political priority. And this is why we see a strong emphasis on specific target groups. So, when we try to support and develop Nordic cooperation on integration of refugees and immigrants, we also try to include data from other groups, so we have cooperation with, for example, SSB (The Norwegian Statistic Bureau) and they have received a lot of data on all the minority groups that we have. So, for example, our data show that the majority of women migrating to the Nordic region come from the Philippines and Vietnam, and of course they are not part of the political focus. When we do our research, we try to have a broader view so we can look more into the structural barriers also, and not only focus on the specific cultural issues (...)”.

From the perspective above, an awareness of the diversity among non-western women is acknowledged, as well as how some sub-minorities are ‘left out’ from the line of support MENAPT women receive. Moskilde’s perspective on the prioritization of this group is key, since negative social control is an urgent issue to address, and resources are deployed to eradicate such destructive phenomenon. Nevertheless, there are other sub-minorities within the non-western women, who need are also part of the statistics but do not receive the support they need, which

is primarily labour market inclusion support. This idea is expanded by Jacob Arendt who refers to Latin American Reunified Spouses as a sub-minority:

"(...) I don't think there's any doubt the rules and restrictions (...) have taken place with an entirely different population in mind, and therefore, in that sense it is not very inclusive, in the sense of it doesn't take into account the heterogeneity, the differences in immigrant population. I don't think the legislation have had this group of women in mind at all, to be frank (...)"

Having reviewed literature and integrating the empirical data gathered, an answer to sub-question 1, *"What is the social construction of the non-western woman in Denmark, considering the high diversity among them?"* seems to be quite evident. Despite of the fact that those who work close with non-western women through research and data gathering as some of the interviewees in this study understand the complexity of the existing diversity among women in this group, the social construct of non-western women is highly linked to the MENAP sub-minority. The other sub-minorities such as the Latin American women included in this study are not the first group that is the most commonly associated with the notion of non-Western women. One of the possible reasons for this lack of focus on these women, might be that, apart from the obvious numeric difference between them, there are other contrasts that might have an impact. As explained by Staab:

"Latin American women migrate to a variety of destinations, and for a variety of reasons; some leave alone or in family groups, some join up with their families abroad(...), while some relocate in search of better financial prospects and personal freedom. Some depart with high-level skills or simply out of a pressing need to provide for themselves and their families, fitting into different occupational strata, keeping in contact with their original place of residence, sending remittances home, settling down or returning to their countries or origin (...)" (Staab 2004:9)

The Latin American Reunified Spouses, who have come to Denmark to reunify with their Danish spouses and to settle with them in Denmark represent almost half of the Latin American female population in 2022, as per the statistics shared above. They also have particular characteristics that makes them a distinct group with clear characteristics. From the data gathered and analyzed both in the previous project conducted and this present study, the main differences emerged between these two groups of women are:

| MENAPT Women | Latin American Reunified Spouses |
|---|--|
| Low participation in the labour market. | High participation in the labour market. |
| Lower education level compared to Western/Danish women | Comparative similar or even higher level than Western/Danish women (educated at BA level as minimum, some with master's or PHd education) |
| Limited linguistic skills | 100% of the interviewed women are bilingual (Spanish/English) or multilingual (Danish or other languages). |
| Affected by negative social control situations. | Not affected by negative social control situations. |
| In need of labour market activation support, skills' boosting and encouragement to enter the labour market. | Willing to participate in the labour market given their professional background and experience. All of the women come from a long-standing labour market participation in their home countries, at highly-skilled level. |
| Municipal support (financial aid included), labour market activation support, Danish language education targeted to a fast labour market inclusion. | Considered self-sufficient, hence no municipal support, no professional counselling or adequate "bridging" between previous education/training and work experience and offered job opportunities in Denmark. |

Figure 21: Self-made.

2: “Why do some sub-groups receive differentiated support to access the labour market and to integrate in general? What are the benchmarks/grounds of this specific support?”

Having established there is a strong tendency to associate non-western women with MENAPT women and observing all government proposals and initiatives are aimed to this particular sub-minority, the next question is aimed at finding out the reasons why they are supported in ways other non-western women are not.

Kanishka Dagstaar, representing the views of the Social Democratic Party in Denmark, observes that:

“ (...) I think the reason why the strategies in the Danish system, in municipalities are directed primarily towards MENAP women is because of the number of women and men that come to Denmark from these countries and have had a lot of difficulties getting into the labour market. I think that these women over here (pointing at statistics on Latin American women) represent a lower share of the total amount of immigrants that have come to DK over time, and I think there's also a view that women from countries that are not MENAP have the ability to find jobs themselves and are more resourceful and don't need assistance from Danish authorities as much as MENAP women (...)”(Item 5:6-12, Annex).

MENAPT women conform an undeniable minority. Latin American Reunified spouses are clearly less in number, looking at the most recent statistics below:

Total of non-western women **126667**

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Total of MENAPT women | 55481 |
| Total of Latin American women | 7838 |
| Total of Asian and African Reunified Spouses | 27116 (6.2%) |
| Total of Latin American Reunified Spouses. | 3755 (48%) |
| Source: Statistics Denmark 2022 | |

The numeric factor continues to be a decisive element in the provision of support to MENAPT women, from the perspective shared above. The lack of prescribed support to Latin American women also derives from the regulating policy on Family Reunification, which establishes that Latin American (and the rest of non-Western reunified spouses under Danish Law) are self-sufficient, which in practical terms resonates with what the political advisor mentions above: they are expected to self-manage their access to the labour market, without any support from the government, simply because they are deemed to be capable of doing it with the support of their Danish spouses and families, who are the part of their network. A link can be established here with the Social Capital theory. The Latin American reunified spouses are expected to form, maintain and rely on the networks they form, and it is the inferred perception that they are capable of doing that and being in a way 'sponsored' by their own Danish partners, it is also expected the spouse and new Danish family are the support networks these women should rely on, rather than expecting any extra help from the municipalities beyond the Danish language education. Bourdieu defined Social Capital as:

"(...) the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a "credential" which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (...)" (Bourdieu 1986: 21).

From the state's perspective, Latin American reunified spouses have access to enough resources to self-manage not only their labour market access but also their integration process in general. In other words, these women are viewed as high in social capital. However, there is one element of the Social Capital Theory that is relevant, and it is the kind of resources they need, that don't have to do with financial help or housing help. They need help of a more institutional nature, to feel they are part of this community and they can also have access to the resources they need, that might not be the same as other women need, but which are also important. According to Morten Sodemann:

"(...) Basically, we don't want any disruption, or 'noise' because we have a perfect society and the perfect regulations and we don't need to change that. If you want to stay here, you need to show that you are willing you want to live like us; and that spills over into this field. We see it a lot in healthcare because we get nurses and doctors that come from other countries and they want to work here, but it takes them years to get through the process and it works against them. This sort of need of this identity you need to adopt

completely before you can become a doctor. You have to assimilate fully first...The language, the education you bring with you, your training is not sufficient because it is from a different country. So, you have to show your worth and it's almost like you have to start cleaning, and if you are good at that, then you can be promoted to something more complicated. Not as a professional, but as a human being, you have to show you are willing to submit yourself to this and that you are able to adapt to these rules and pick them up and live by them, until you have lived here long enough that we can accept you as a doctor or any other professional (...)"(Item 10:17-24, Annex).

Sodemann's perspective depicts the reality many immigrants experience when they come to Denmark and hit the 'institutional wall'. As the nurses and doctors, he speaks about, many of the Latin American Reunified spouses experienced the same situation, coming to Denmark from a very successful professional life in their home/previous countries and not being able to access the labour market at a reasonably related level. This touches on the Human Capital Theory and the Positioning Theory, and the duality experienced, because it is perceived differently from the spouses' perspective and from the state's perspective. Seen from these women's perspective, Latin American Reunified spouses position themselves outside the social construct of non-western women discussed above. Quite oppositely, they position themselves as culturally closer to Western women, with similar idiosyncrasy, academic and professional ambition, and with no social nor religious constraints. Seen from the Human Capital perspective, they are highly skilled, well-educated individuals who would appear to have the qualities of the desirable professionals that are sought after in Denmark. However, in practical terms, that Human Capital that is considered high in their home countries or previous country of residence, is not perceived in the same way in Denmark as a receiving country, because their qualifications and experiences are, as they, from a non-western country, hence not quite at the same foothold as other Western or Danish women.

Similarly, from the prism of the current political discourse, they are positioned as non-western women, both statistically and administratively, since they also have certain policy restrictions that put them in an oxymoronic position within the Danish society: on one hand, they are deemed self-sufficient, not in need of municipal or state support and able to self-manage, with the help of their Danish spouses and family. However, from the policy constraints perspective, they are deemed as highly dependent on their spouses, whom initially are they only Social capital these women have. Settling in a new country, with a new language to learn, having to learn new social codes, etc., is already quite a task for anyone, especially for new couples. If we also add the extra

layer of pressure for Danish citizens to aid their Latin American Reunified spouses in their labour market insertion, many times without knowledge on how their spouses' professions are regulated in Denmark, or what the steps to follow are, it becomes quite a discouraging experience to both, according to some of the testimonies of some of the Latin American women. It is not a matter of willingness, but of weighing in what is the most effective way to get to the goal. Municipalities represent the institutional social capital that these spouses could benefit from and of which they lack at the moment, especially in regard to bridging their skills and work experience to potential employers who are already in the municipal network. The reality reported by these women is quite distant from this ideal scenario.

The spouses have reported that the only jobs they have been offered are unskilled jobs such as cleaning, working in warehouses, etc. Their education and work experience are either overlooked or not considered good enough to compete in the Danish market, and many times they are left with no option but taking these jobs, or if they choose to study, they might need to either top-up or completely re-do their education or training in order to be hired in Denmark. In this aspect, the social construction of being non-western eclipses the individual quality of each of these women that would want to see their skills and previous experiences not only visualized and valued, but utilized in the labour market.

This is one of the factors that reinforces the idea of Dual Segmented Labour Market in Denmark. From this perspective, there are two, or even more segments in the labour market. The reality of these spouses is that they are pushed towards the lower segment, that is the one where unskilled workers go. This is naturally a point of conflict, especially when it comes to labour market inclusion. A very interesting perspective, focusing on the following aspects, is introduced by another interviewee. According to Jonas Felbo-Kolding:

" If you want to look at labour market integration, the first thing you have to remember is that a labour market is just that: is a market; and as long as politicians are unwilling to create a market on the side of the labour market so to speak, which is fully subsidized by the Public Sector or the State, it is a market where you have to have employers hire migrant workers or native workers. And for me that is the starting point. My perspective from the LM integration is that someone has to hire you (...) For me the key players will still be employers (...) Employers are the ones who evaluate how transferrable your skills are. You can claim that what you have done in a different country would be completely comparable to what they are asking you to do in the Danish context,

but ... it makes no difference as long as there are no employers are not willing to buy in on it. That's the harsh reality of it (...)" (Item 7:2-9, Annex).

This perspective is quite revealing of a reality that is sometimes overlooked. Despite the efforts that can be done by the state, in labour market it comes down to the needs of the market. Non-western immigration has been closely related historically to the needs of the market, to generally fill jobs that Danish normally would not perform. As natives to the receiving country, they are more likely to work in the upper segment of the market, where better and more secure jobs can be found, as well as better work conditions, stability, and union protection.

Therefore, the answer to this sub-question is clear: there is more support to MENAPT women because they are numerically superior, they have more urgent needs terms of integration, not only to the labour market but also at social level, and they are considered less resourceful than other non-western women to procure certain resources without municipal support. This situation is far from ideal, because it secludes a group of women who could enormously benefit from very specific help that can help them enter the labour market in a more satisfactory way, by for example taking into consideration their transferrable skills to at least provide some approximation to their actual Human Capital, that would provide them with a more attractive and fair possibility to become active members of the labour market in Denmark.

3. What paradigm change is needed to inspire the necessary actions to aim at a more equitable support among non-western women, especially in the case of Latin American reunified spouses?

After having established the social construct of non-western women in general, and their position and level of support in the system, especially of Latin American reunified spouses as a sub-minority, the focus was set on potential ideas to change the current situation of these women. According to Jonas Felbo-Kolding:

"(...) There is no simple solution to it. An example can be the enlargement of the EU in 2004. Lots of different economists and politicians were worried that people from these new countries would just flood in. They would come from all of Central and Eastern Europe, and they would come in great numbers, and they would stand at the borders to DK from Germany, waiting to come in. And 1st of May 2004 came, and they were not there. We had of course measures to prevent them from coming in great numbers but that wasn't the problem. What drove the numbers of these migrants and their integration to the LM was the need of employers for work, there was a lack for labour. This was an external shock to the system. Danish employers were not at the border

welcoming these migrants. They were forced to hire them because they could not get Danish workers. So, if you are looking for something to change, there is only so much that can be done in structural reform. We have done all of the structural reform we could do in the Danish LM (...) think of it in the queue sense, you are just back of the line. It's similar to what happens in a club. Once they've taken everyone, they want in first, if you are still in line, maybe it's your turn. And of course, at an individual level you can do all you can in order to "skip the line" or to get further ahead in line, in terms of improving your Danish skills, etc. We also know that employers have difficulties in terms of valuing education taken outside Denmark... (...) Sometimes people see it as discrimination or racism, but I am more inclined to say it's just keeping at what you know or what you think you know (...)"(Item 7: 23-41, Annex).

Felbo-Kolding's views reflect the same reality perceived by the spouses, but from the employer's perspective, which in his own words are the key players and the gatekeepers of the labour market, the ones that need convincing to create change. "Skipping the line" for example with learning Danish and being linguistically functional can be linked to the Positioning Theory, where women are from the outset placed in a position of deficiency for not having Danish language proficiency. This is particularly seen as unfair by the interviewed Latin American reunified spouses, provided all of them are at least bilingual and fluent in English, and could initially use this language as means to access to a job more in tune with their skills. Also, the Assimilation theory can also be associated with this reality, since workers who become closer to success are those who "skip the line" in terms of becoming more assimilated into society, by for example speaking the language. Bearing in mind that "Assimilation is based on the idea of monoculturality and of the full adoption (whether by submission or absorption) of the rules and values of the dominant society so that the minority group becomes culturally indistinguishable from the dominant society (...)" (Rodriguez-Garcia 2010: 253)", it seems like the only way to succeed into labour market is by assimilating as much as possible.

According to Jacob Arendt:

"It is a question I find hard to answer objectively. I think there is no doubt that better awareness of the skills of some of these immigrant groups could create better outcomes and that many Danish employers are probably not aware of what they are missing. But how to come about this change? It is difficult to answer. I think we need more information about this particular group of immigrants, exactly the kind of studies that you are doing, but also in a quantitative methodology

to try to summarize how many we are talking about, on a national scale that are actually experiencing these reported barriers" (Item 6: 21-25, Annex).

Arendt introduces the need of raising awareness of the skills the immigrants have, which is one of the points made by the previously interviewed spouses. It reinforces the idea of a change of paradigm not only in the way in these Latin American Reunified spouses are viewed, but also treated in terms of their integration needs. Their needs are more related not only to the labour market inclusion per se, but to the access to a different segment of the market that might be more in tune with the skills and experience they bring.

According to Morten Sodemann's perspective:

" (...) I think the trick is to by-pass the discourse and mind set of the majority of Danes. There's a saying in some migrant communities that to be as good as the, in this case, the Danes, you have to be 1000 times better than them. You can see those who succeed, they worked on becoming 1000 times better. But you can even by-pass that by just doing, pushing and ignoring all the remarks about your behaviour, or know your place, or go back to your broom, etc. You can by-pass all that if you keep pushing and smiling, having a belief in yourself, in that way you have a free pass around the hierarchies you have to face. We see that with doctors and nurses, when they believe in themselves in a way that is so convincing that we ignore the language and that you come from somewhere else (...) It's an attitude problem, really. I'm talking about the attitude of these women, they should ignore these clear signals that they receive, and on the other hand, it's a problem amongst the majority, since they behave as a majority. It's an attitude problem, and it's a willingness to look at this as an asset, as a way of securing the welfare state, not just now but also in the future, the sort of resources, the 'low-hanging fruit' we are not picking (...)" (Item 10: 26-32/40-45, Annex).

Sodemann adds to the analysis by also focusing on the attitude Latin American reunified spouses should have and keep going despite the prejudice. This is precisely one of the common characteristics found among the interviewed group of women and that was included in the data shared with all participants. The women interviewed did not stop at the first barrier. They kept pushing and all of them have either accessed the labour market at a more satisfactory level than the initial offer of unskilled jobs, or are studying, in order to boost their chances to enter in a similar way. This could be also related to their own positioning within the Danish context. They aspire to having a job that meets their professional needs, that matches their actual or at the very least, their transferrable skills.

It has been a mission to all the interviewed reunified spouses to achieve that place in the Danish labour market, and their wish is that this situation can be reviewed and improved for the other women that will come.

According to Anna-Maria Moskilde:

"(...) I hope there is a willingness to learn from other countries and we hope that with this new report we are launching we would be able to get the message across that it can be done differently and also there is in general in the public sector, it is more and more acknowledged that we need to have a more individual approach in solving many different problems. It will take a long time, but we hope that with the work we are doing that we can actually push a bit towards this understanding, especially looking at what Sweden does in terms of ensuring migrant women get the right job and comparable equal pay (...)" (Item 8: 40-45, Annex)

From this perspective, it is also important that the change comes from 'learning from others', which might prove useful to at least have some examples of success to continue inspiring ideas of change. From the varied input offered by the interviewees, it can be inferred that the answer to the sub-question is as complex as the question itself: there is no easy answer, and the change needs to come from multiple actors, not only the Danish government. A change in the political narrative could be useful to persuade employers to give a chance to newcomers, like these highly qualified Latin American reunified spouses who are very willing to enter the labour market and be active members of society and contributors to the Welfare State. This will clearly be a step forward to potentially moulding the social construct of non-western women into a more suitable one, that can reflect the vast diversity among them. It is not about questioning the support MENAPT women receive, it is about reshuffling existing resources, such as municipal sponsored internships within the labour market activation programmes and customize them to match the skills of these reunified women who, if given the chance, could prove themselves labour market willing and ready. This will also be intimately related to the Positioning Theory and how a change of paradigm can shift the current limited situation in terms of how these women are viewed socially. As a consequence, having a more differentiated approach might also result in a different integration model that will mix other elements to the current Assimilative one, that could add features of the Multicultural approach, in a harmonic way, for example, by taking advantage of the Human and Cultural Capital these Latin American Reunified spouses bring, visualize the high compatibility with the Danish cultural values, and focus on what they can actually do, rather than limiting their position to what they are not yet able to do, such as being proficient in Danish.

This will prevent the assumed Decapitalisation they suffer by having to settle for unskilled jobs or job offers that do not contemplate their actual and transferable skills.

Moreover, the change might need to come from the women who might need to be more prepared to face these challenges objectively and stay strong and keep on trying to open doors for themselves. Latin American reunified spouses should be fully aware of what the process of Family Reunification entails, also from the practical point of view, especially from the perspective of skills.

5. CONCLUSION

The overarching research question to this study reflects the quest for answers that led the work done, in order to arrive to a nuanced answer. The labour market inclusion of Latin American Reunified Spouses is a topic that does not draw much attention compared to inclusion of other non-western minorities, so opening a space of dialogue and bringing the focus to this sub-minority represents an effort to at least provide visualization and initiate dialogue.

The input of the interviewees has been key to nurture this study with deep knowledge and insight. The political views of Kanishka Dastageer as an advisor for the Social Democratic Party is key to not only understand the current government's perspective on non-western women, but also an opportunity for these women's perspectives and experiences to be known by those who have decision power. As a specialist in Latin American studies, Georg Wink's perspective was valuable to confirm the perceived Western-Non-Western dichotomy that is so present in the Danish social context, and to also understand the emergent need for a more multicultural approach not only politically but also socially. The input of Anna-Maria Moskilde was key to also add a comparative element to the study, in line with the work the Nordic Council of Ministers to for integration at a regional level. Having the opportunity to interview authors of relevant sources included in this study has also represented an important addition to this study. Jonas Felbo-Kolding's work on integration of migrant workers in Denmark added the new dimension of focusing on the employers' perspective as key actors in the labour market dynamics. Jacob Nielsen Arendt's extensive work on refugees in Denmark also added significantly to understanding the positioning of non-western migrants. The input offered by Morten Sodemann has also brought a different angle to the problematic of labour market inclusion and expanded the perspective towards the emotional aspect of being a migrant and the volitive effort required to withstand some of the situations non-western immigrants experience. Their input, added to the reviewed literature and policy add nuanced value to this study and allow to form an answer to the research question:

"How can the support for non-western women to access the labour market in Denmark be more inclusive and equitable?"

The answer is indeed as complex as the question. It has been established that the support for non-western women is not inclusive, given not all sub-minorities are contemplated in the proposals or interventions in place, which aim exclusively to MENAPT women. Therefore, the support is neither equitable, because the particular needs of sub-groups are not included. These needs are as diverse as the non-western community is. However, in the case of Latin American women, it

has been also established that their needs are primarily aimed at the aspiration they express of adequate labour market inclusion, and their desire to be seen as highly skilled women with potential to effectively contribute to the Welfare State if given the right opportunity.

These spouses have identified clear barriers to their labour market inclusion, and the main one is the lack of consideration of their Human Capital to be better placed in the labour market in Denmark. Hence that is a good start to answer the question above. The support for non-western women can be more inclusive if the diversity among them is acknowledged, and if their needs are considering devising support strategies. The Latin American Reunified spouses might be economically self-sufficient, but they lack institutional Social Capital, that web of network and resources that native Danish have in order to achieve labour market insertion and mobility. That could be an aspect to expand within the support municipalities could give. For example, by connecting Reunified Spouses with relevant partners/ potential employers in related fields and help them put a foot in the labour market by fostering internships for example, even temporary unpaid ones, which the spouses would be willing to do, as a form of investment on their adjusting to the new labour market.

Recognizing the diversity among non-western women should be also part of a political effort to renew the narrative in order to be more inclusive. If the narrative shifts, and integrates the element of diversity and the acknowledgment of many different sub-minorities within the non-western community, the chances of an improve social construct of non-western women can be higher. This could potentially represent a win-win situation for all: for the Danish Welfare System, including skilled workers faster, and boosting the productive workforce. For the women, to feel included and positioned more satisfactorily, boosting their independence and their productivity, and for the society in general, to lessen (and hopefully eliminate) the the “us” and “them” divide.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andersen, T (2021), “The Danish labor market, 2000–2020”. IZA World of Labor 2021: 404 doi: 10.15185/izawol.404.v3.
- Baron, H. M. (1980) ‘Book reviews : Birds of Passage: migrant labor and industrial societies By MICHAEL J. PIORE (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1979). 229pp. \$14.95’, *Race & Class*, 21(3), pp. 322–325. doi: [10.1177/030639688002100317](https://doi.org/10.1177/030639688002100317).
- Bjerre, L., Pace, M., & Sen, S. (2021). Accessing the Danish Labour Market: On the Coexistence of Legal Barriers and Enabling Factors. In V. Federico, & S. Baglioni (Eds.), *Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers’ Integration in European Labour Markets : A Comparative Approach on Legal Barriers and Enablers* (1 ed., pp. 135-148). Springer. IMISCOE Research Series
https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-67284-3_7
- Borooah, Vani & Mangan, J. (2009). Multiculturalism versus Assimilation: Attitudes towards Immigrants in Western Countries. *International Journal of Economic Sciences and Applied Research (IJESAR)*. 2. 33-50.
- Boswell, C., Geddes, A. and Scholten, P. (2011) ‘The Role of Narratives in Migration Policy-Making: A Research Framework’, *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13(1), pp. 1–11. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00435.x.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood: 241–58.
- Braun, B et al(2019), “Rethinking Agency in International Relations: Performativity, Performances, and Actor-Networks.” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 22 (4): 787–807.
(<http://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-018-0147-z>)
- Brinkmann, S & Kvale, S 2015, *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. 3. edn, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Cambridge Dictionary (2022) <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/immigration>

- Chiswick, Barry R.; Miller, Paul W. (2007) : The international transferability of immigrants' human capital skills, IZA Discussion Papers, No. 2670, Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA), Bonn, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:101:1-2008041550>
- CNN (2016), " Denmark adopts controversial law to seize asylum seekers' valuables", <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/01/26/europe/denmark-vote-jewelry-bill-migrants/index.html>
- Creese, G. et al (2008). The 'Flexible' Immigrant? Human Capital Discourse, the Family Household and Labour Market Strategies. Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale. 9. 269-288. 10.1007/s12134-008-0061-0.
- Cruz Barajas, T. et al (2021), Cruce de Miradas, Revista Informativa de la Asociación Civil Internacional Siempre Siempre boletín en línea <http://siempre-ong.org/publications-news/> Primera edición: 2021 ISSN: 2736-6820
- Davies, B. & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves. Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 20(1), 43–63. <https://doi.org/10.1111/J.1468-5914.1990.TB00174.X>
- Denmark.dk (2020), Working in Denmark, The Danish Labour Market, <https://denmark.dk/society-and-business/the-danish-labour-market>
- DW (2021), "Why Denmark is clamping down on 'non-Western' residents", <https://www.dw.com/en/why-denmark-is-clamping-down-on-non-western-residents/a-56960799>
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) , "The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism", Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990. Pp. vii + 248. ISBN 0-691-02857-5.
- European Commission (2022), European Website on Integration, " Governance of migrant integration in Denmark, European Union. https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/country-governance/governance-migrant-integration-denmark_en
- Felbo-Kolding, J., Leschke, J. and Spreckelsen, T. F. (2019) A division of labour? Labour market segmentation by region of origin: the case of intra-EU migrants in the UK, Germany and Denmark. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 45(15), pp. 2820- 2843.
- Flick, U. (2007), "What is qualitative research?", in Designing qualitative research (pp. 2-15). SAGE Publications, Ltd, <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208826>

- Folketinget (2022), “About the Committees”, Christiansborg. <https://www.ft.dk/da/udvalg/udvalgene>
- Gabb, J. (2009), ”Researching Family Relationships: A Qualitative Mixed Methods Approach”. Methodological innovations online. [Online] 4 (2), 37–52.
- Gadamer, H. G. (2003). Truth and method. New York: Continuum Press. (Original work published 1960).
- Galletta, A., & Cross, W. E. (2013). The Semi-Structured Interview as a Repertoire of Possibilities. In Mastering the Semi-Structured Interview and Beyond: From Research Design to Analysis and Publication (pp. 45–72). NYU Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qgh5x.7>
- Greve, B. (2018). Do stakeholders in Denmark know about social investment within long-term care? *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy*, 34(2), 127-139.
doi:10.1080/21699763.2018.1465447
- Hall, P. and Soskice, D. (1990), ”*Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*”, Oxford, Oxford Scholarship Online,
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/0199247757.001.0001>> accessed 12 Jun. 2022.
- Harré, R. (2012) Positioning theory: moral dimensions of social-cultural psychology. In J. Valsiner (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Culture and Psychology*. New York: Oxford University, pp. 191–206.
- Harvard Library (2022), “Knowing a primary source when you see one”,
<https://guides.library.harvard.edu/HistSciInfo/primary>
i Danmark, opnår bedre arbejdsmarkedstilknytning”, Research Unit, Copenhagen.
- Integrationsbarometer (2022), Hvor mange og hvem er indvandrere i Danmark?.
<https://integrationsbarometer.dk/tal-og-analyser/INTEGRATION-STATUS-OG-UDVIKLING>
- Integrationsbarometer (bis) (2022), “De nationale målsætninger”, Ministry of Immigration and Integration.
https://integrationsbarometer.dk/barometer/sammenlign/?v=ffd8e6eb0967&include_country%3Aboolean=on&indicators%3Alist=3N1&indicators%3Alist=3N2&indicators%3Alist=3N3
- INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION – DENMARK - REPORT TO OECD (2021), Ministry of Immigration and Integration, Copenhagen.

- Jensen et al (2010), Tolerance and Cultural Diversity Discourses in Denmark. European University Institute.
- Kommissionen for den glemte kvindekamp (2022) , <https://www.denglemtekvindekamp.dk/om-kommissionen/>
- Lancee, B. (2012). Social capital theory. In Immigrant Performance in the Labour Market: Bonding and Bridging Social Capital (pp. 17–32). Amsterdam University Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt45kd4j.6>
- Lancee, B. (2012). Social capital theory. In Immigrant Performance in the Labour Market: Bonding and Bridging Social Capital (pp. 17–32). Amsterdam University Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt45kd4j.6>
- Li, Yang and QIN Ming-li(2019), “The Rehabilitation of Rhetoric in Gadamer’s Philosophical Hermeneutics.” *Philosophy Study*.
- Lønsmann, D. (2020) Language, employability and positioning in a Danish integration programme. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Vol. 2020 (Issue 264), pp. 49-71.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2020-2093>
- Lusi, T. and Bauder, H. (2010), Immigrants in the Labour Market: Transnationalism and Segmentation. *Geography Compass*, 4: 28-44. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-8198.2009.00277.x>
- Manow, P. (2021), “Models of the Welfare State : The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State (2 ed.)”, Edited by Daniel Béland, Stephan Leibfried, Kimberly J. Morgan, Herbert Obinger, and Christopher Pierson: Political Science, Political Economy Online Publication Date: Dec 2021DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198828389.013.45
- Meares, C. (2010), “A fine balance: Women, work and skilled migration”, *Women's Studies International Forum*, Volume 33, Issue 5, Pages 473-481, ISSN 0277-5395,
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2010.06.001>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark (2022), Fact sheet “Introduction to the Danish Labour Market and Workforce”. <https://um.dk/en/sitecore/content/websites/invest-in-denmark/home/publications/danish-labour-market>

- Ministry of Immigration and Integration Affairs (2022), News Archive, “ The forgotten women's struggle: Commission must challenge the culture of honor”.
- Moghaddam, F. and Harré, R. (2010) Words, conflicts and political processes. In F. Moghaddam and R. Harré (eds) *Words of Conflict, Words of War: How the language we use in political processes sparks fighting*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
- Mouritsen, P. & Hovmark Jensen, C. (2014), *Integration policy in Denmark*, Migration Policy Centre, INTERACT Research Report, Country Reports, 2014/06, INTERACT Research Report - <http://hdl.handle.net/1814/32020>
- Nielsen Arendt, J. et al (2022) , “Permanent Residency and Refugee Immigrants’ Skill Investment”, Study Paper No. 161, The ROCKWOOL Foundation Research Unit, Copenhagen.
- Norden (2022), Nordic Council of Ministers, “Welcome to Nordic Co-Operation”, <https://www.norden.org/en>
- Nordic Council of Ministers (2020) Virtual conference arranged by the Nordic Council of Ministers, “Sustainable integration in the Nordic countries in the face of Covid-19: What are we learning?”. <https://nordicwelfare.org/integration-norden/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2020/09/Program-Nordic-Integration-Conference.pdf>
- Nunez-Andersen, L. (2021), 8th Semester Project, “Barriers that hinder the Labour Market inclusion of Latin American Reunified Spouses”, AAU, Denmark (See Annex).
- Ny I Danmark (2022), “New Positive Lists for People with a Higher Education and for Skilled Work for the first half of 2022”. SIRI, Ministry of Immigration and Integration. <https://nyidanmark.dk/en-GB/News%20Front%20Page/2021/12/New%20Positive%20Lists%20January%202022>
- OECD (2022), “Productivity, human capital and educational policies”, <https://www.oecd.org/economy/human-capital/>
- Onuf, N. (2012). Making Sense, Making Worlds: Constructivism in Social Theory and International Relations (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi-org.zorac.aub.aau.dk/10.4324/9780203096710>
- Orion Noda (2020), Revista Brasileira de Politica Internacional, King’s College London, War “Studies, London, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

- Peck B & Mummery J. (2018), Hermeneutic Constructivism: An Ontology for Qualitative Research. Qual Health Res.;28(3):389-407. doi: 10.1177/1049732317706931. Epub 2017 May 15. PMID: 29298573.
- Peterse, K (2020), “Welfare State Policies from the Beginning Towards an End?”, The Oxford Handbook of Danish Politics. Edited by Peter Munk Christiansen, Jørgen Elklit, and Peter Nedergaard.
- Philip Manow (2021), The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State (2 ed.), Edited by Daniel Béland, Stephan Leibfried, Kimberly J. Morgan, Herbert Obinger, and Christopher Pierson. Print Publication Date: Nov 2021 Subject: Political Science, Political Economy Online Publication.
- Piore, M. (1979), Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-28058-7 - Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies – Excerpt.
- Regering (2021), “Danmark kan mere I: Flere i arbejde. Danmark skal være rigere, grønnere og dygtigere”, Finansministeriet, Christiansborg.
- Regeringen (2018), “Et Danmark uden parallelsamfund”, Økonomi- og Indenrigsministeriet.
- Rekrutteringsguide (2021). ”En guide til at opsøge og rekruttere selvforsørgende kvinder med ikke-vestlig baggrund til beskæftigelsesrettede forløb” , Ministry of Integration and Foreign Affairs of Denmark.
- Riano, Y. (2003), “Migration of Skilled Latin American Women to Switzerland and Their Struggle for Integration”, YAMADA Mutsuo (ed.) 2003: Emigración Latinoamericana: Comparación Interregional entre América del Norte, Europa y Japón. Population Movement in the Modern World VII. JCAS Symposium Series 19. The Japan Centre for Area Studies, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka. Pp. 313 – 343
- Risse, T. (2009). European Integration Theory. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 128-148.
- Rockwool Fonden (2022), “The Foundation”, <https://www.rockwoolfonden.dk/en/fonden/>

- Rodríguez-García, D. (2010). Beyond Assimilation and Multiculturalism: A Critical Review of the Debate on Managing Diversity. *Journal of International Migration and Integration / Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale*. 11. 251-271. 10.1007/s12134-010-0140-x.
- Rojo, Luisa. (2013). (De)capitalising students through linguistic practices. A comparative analysis of new educational programmes in a global era. 10.21832/9781783091010-007.
- Rutherford, T. D., Jessop, B. and Peck, J. (2008) 'Peck, J. 1996: Work-place: the social regulation of labor markets. New York: The Guilford Press', *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(4), pp. 571–582. doi: 10.1177/0309132507088120.
- Saldana, Johnny (2011), "Fundamentals of Qualitative Research", Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2011. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/aalborguniv-ebooks/detail.action?docID=665394>.
- Sauce, B & Matzel, L. (2017). Inductive Reasoning. 10.1007/978-3-319-47829-6_1045-1.
- Scribbr (2022), "Primary vs Secondary Sources", <https://www.scribbr.com/working-with-sources/primary-and-secondary-sources/>
- Shultz-Nielsen, M & Tranæs. T (2015) , "The impact of immigrants on public finances – A forecast analysis for Denmark", Study paper no. 90, ISBN 978-87-93119-04-8, The ROCKWOOL Foundation Research Unit, Copenhagen.
- Smith, J (2009), "What is Non-Western philosophy?", <https://www.jehsmith.com/1/2009/12/what-is-non.html>
- Sodemann, M 2021, 'Hybrid Identities', *The Nordic Psychiatrist*, vol. 2021, no. 1. <https://www.thenordicpsychiatrist.com/post/hybrid-identities>
- Staab, S. (2004). In search of work. International migration of women in Latin America and the Caribbean. Selected bibliography.
- Statistics Denmark (2017), Documentation of statistics for Immigrants and Descendants 2017 Month 01, Statistics, København.
- Statistics Denmark 2022-<https://www.statbank.dk/statbank5a/selectvarval/saveelections.asp>

- The Aliens Consolidation Act No. 239 (2019), Ministry of Immigration and Integration Ref. No. 2018-12386
- The Consolidation Act No. 608 (2002) , Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs.
- The Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment (STAR) (2020), “Key figures for employment efforts in Denmark”, Arbejdsmarked Rekruttering.
- The Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment, “ The Danish Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment Flexicurity”- <https://www.star.dk/en/about-the-danish-agency-for-labour-market-and-recruitment/flexicurity/>
- The Integration Act (2013), “Bekendtgørelse af lov om integration af udlændinge i Danmark (integrationsloven)”, Ministry of Immigration and Integration, Copenhagen.
- The Local DK (2021), “Denmark says ‘non-Western’ immigrants cost state 31 billion kroner”, <https://www.thelocal.dk/20211015/denmark-says-non-western-immigrants-cost-state-31-billion-kroner/>
- The Rockwool Foundation (2018), “Flygtninge og familiesammenførte, der uddanner sig
- The Social Democratic Party (2019), “Political understanding between Socialdemokratiet, Radikale Venstre, SF and Enhedslisten: A fair direction for Denmark”, Christiansborg.
- Van Langenhove, L. (2017) Varieties of Moral Orders and the Dual Structure of Society: A Perspective from Positioning Theory. *Frontiers in sociology*. [Online] 2.
- Waldinger, Roger, and Michael I. Lichter. *How the Other Half Works : Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor*, University of California Press, 2003. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/aalborguniv-ebooks/detail.action?docID=224245>
- Warde, A & Savage, M 2009, *Il capitale culturale e l’analisi sociologica della cultura: una reinterpretazione*. in M Santoro (ed.), *Cultura in Italia : La Cultura come Capitale : consumi, produzioni, politiche, identità*. Societa Editrice Il Mulino, Bologna, pp. 27-50.

- Zhang, CH. (2020), “The Epistemic Production of *Non-Western in Denmark”, The Disorder of Things. <https://thedisorderofthings.com/2020/09/30/the-epistemic-production-of-non-western-immigrants-in-denmark/>